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EDITED BY

CLEMENT LAWRENCE SMITH AND TRACY PECK

THE ANNALS OF TACITUS, I.–VI.

W. F. ALLEN
COLLEGE SERIES OF LATIN AUTHORS

TACITUS

THE ANNALS

BOOKS I.-VI.

EDITED, WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND INDEXES

BY

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Professor of History in the University of Wisconsin

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PREFACE.

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

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

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

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

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

March 17, 1890.
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INTRODUCTION.

TACITUS.

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

1 Cornelium Tacitum, scriptorem historiæ Augustæ, quod parentem suum eundem dicet, in omnibus bibliothecis collocari insit. Flav. Vop., Tac. 10.
INTRODUCTION.

honors was under the three emperors Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian; it is known that he held the praetorship A.D. 88. As Vespasian died A.D. 79, it is not likely that he was less than twenty-five at this date, this being the earliest age at which the questorship, the first of the honores, could be held.

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

3. The works of Tacitus are:—

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

✓ (2) De vita Iulii Agricolae, written A.D. 97 or 98: a master-piece of biographical composition.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE ANNALS.

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

TIBERIUS.

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

7. The modern fashion of whitewashing the disreputable characters of history is one with which I have little sympathy, except so far as it must be admitted that no man is wholly bad, as no man is wholly good. Neither can I agree at all with those who would defend Tiberius by depreciating the motives of his historian. That Tacitus sympathized with Germanicus and Agrippina, as against Tiberius, is no doubt true; it was his right as a patriot and an historian to choose his side. That he constantly imputes to Tiberius sentiments and motives for which the narrative gives no evidence, thus carrying his preconceived theories and prejudices into the interpretation of historical
INTRODUCTION.

events, is a more serious charge against him, but one which we must admit to be true. But at the same time it must be acknowledged that he carries his prejudice only into the interpretation of historical facts, not into the statement of the facts themselves. His statements constantly afford a corrective to his judgments, and these statements have on the whole withstood all criticism in point of accuracy. An instructive illustration of this is afforded by the case of Gnaeus Fiso, Books II. and III. Tacitus appears himself to have believed that Fiso was guilty of the death of Germanicus, and has at any rate by his language so completely impressed this belief upon the world, that most historians accept it as a matter of course; but his narration of the events affords absolutely no evidence for it.

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

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

10. Tiberius was by nature cold, reserved, self-distrustful, stern,—characteristics not in themselves bad, but which can easily be mistaken for jealousy, suspiciousness, and harshness, and which indeed easily pass into these unamiable qualities. The innate liberality, justice, and integrity of his character were obscured in the eyes of superficial observers by these less attractive characteristics, especially when they were contrasted with the popular manners and sunny disposition of his brother Drusus and nephew Germanicus. It may readily be believed that the morbid tendencies of his nature were increased when, on the command of Augustus, he was obliged to put away his much-loved wife Vipsania and marry the haughty and licentious Julia, who disliked and despised him. In a fit of moody impatience and disgust he withdrew from the court, and lived in retirement several years at Rhodes; and this episode, too, may well have developed still further the unamiable side of his nature. And yet Augustus, alienated from him for a time, recalled him to Rome, and designated him as his successor.
INTRODUCTION.

with marks of high confidence and even with terms of affection
(Vale incundissime Tiberi, et feliciter rem gere, Saee. Tbk. 21),
not without expressions, at the same time, which showed that he
recognized in him dangerous elements of character. Tiberius
himself seems to have been fully aware of the presence of these
evil impulses in his nature, and shrank with what we have no
right to call an insincere reluctance from the assumption of
absolute power. And yet, during the fifteen years from his
accession to his retirement at Capri, it is hard to point out
a single act of his which was manifestly unjust and cruel. So
well was the worse side of his nature kept under by his better
qualities.

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

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

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

tion of facts, although unsound and prejudiced in explaining them, marks clearly enough (VI. 51) the stages of this deterioration.

14. If we read impartially the account of the treason trials under Tiberius, it is plain that Libo in the second book, Silanus in the third, and even Cremutius Cordus and Sabinus in the fourth, were justly punished; while in the miserable affair of Piso the emperor acted with dignity and moderation. But from the death of Drusus (IV. 8, A.D. 23) we mark a gradual change; the emperor is no less just, and perhaps no less merciful, but appears suspicious and ungenerous towards the family of Germanicus (IV. 13), and gradually develops moodiness and bitterness of temper. This is especially apparent after he was made acquainted with the lampoons of Votienus (A.D. 25, IV. 42), which appear to have wounded deeply his proud and sensitive nature. The breach with Agrippina the next year (IV. 53), joined with the solicitations of Sejanus, prompted him to withdraw into that sullen seclusion with which his name is most familiarly associated. But even now, while we cannot acquit him of undue suspiciousness and cruelty, he cannot, at least until after the fall of Sejanus, be charged with positive injustice; his victims appear to have been guilty, even if their punishment was excessive. This deterioration of character showed itself also in other acts. In the early years of his reign he would not have been a party to the trick by which the condemnation of Sabinus was secured (IV. 68); his interference with the action of the senate (VI. 3) is not after the model of his conduct on assuming the throne (see I. 25); his greediness for gain (VI. 19) is in painful contrast with his earlier freedom from covetousness (II. 48; III. 18); while his violent and public abuse of Agrippina and her son Drusus (VI. 25, 24) shows the total loss of the dignified reticence which had once characterized him. Even the infamous delator Fulcinus Trio could charge upon him, *flavam senio miniem* (VI. 38), and the words attributed to Arruntius, *cum Tiberius post tantam rerum experientiam vi*
System of Delations.

Dominationis convulsus et mutatus sit (VI. 48), are no doubt a truthful expression of the way his change in character and administration struck a contemporary.

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

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

1 On this subject see Dür, Die Majestätsprozesse unter dem Kaiser Tiberius. Heilbronn programme, 1879-80.
INTRODUCTION.

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

THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

17. The Roman Empire at the accession of Tiberius embraced all the lands in the circuit of the Mediterranean Sea except Mauretania, Thrace, Lycia, and Rhodes. Cappadocia was added to the empire during the reign of Tiberius; these other countries, together with Britain, under Caligula and Claudius. The empire was sharply divided into two portions,—the ruling part, or Rome (now extended so as to comprise the whole of Italy, as well as the Roman colonies and municipia outside of Italy), and the subject part, the provinces. The provinces, twenty-eight in number, were administered by gov-
PROVINCES OF THE EMPIRE.

Governors sent from Rome with absolute authority over all provincials; it is to be understood, however, that within the borders of nearly every province there were not only communities of Roman citizens, but also cities and principalities which had retained their nominal independence as allies of the Roman people, and that neither of these classes was in law subject to the governor. During the reign of Tiberius the number of provinces was increased to thirty by the annexation of Cappadocia, and the division of Germany into Upper and Lower. Of the twenty-eight provinces, eleven were governed, after the method of the Republic, by proconsuls commissioned by the senate; one, Egypt, was in strictness of speech not a province at all, but a kingdom, of which the emperor was king; the other sixteen were placed under the immediate government of the emperor, who administered them by deputies, legati, clothed with complete governmental authority, as his representatives, or by fiscal agents, procuratores.

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

A. SENATORIAL PROVINCES.

I. Governed by proconsules consulares.

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

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

II. Governed by proconsules praetoris

4. Cyprus.
5. Creta et Cyrena.
6. Achaea: Greece proper, including Thessaly and Epirus.
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7. Macedonias: extending west to the Adriatic, and north to the mountains separating it from Moesia.
8. Sicilia.
10. Gallia Narbonenesis: extending from the Alps to the Pyrenees, and embracing the valley of the Rhone.
11. Baetica: southern Spain, formerly known as Hispania Ulterior.

B. IMPERIAL PROVINCES.

I. Governed by legati consulares.

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

II. Governed by legati praetorii.

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

III. Governed by procuratores, of equestrian rank.

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

IV. Governed by a praefectus.

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

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

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

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

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

23. As in the Republic, the magistrates were the organs of the senate, being now in a considerable part appointed by that body. The administrative authority of the emperor within the city was exercised through a body of officers, praefecti and curatores, appointed by him and responsible solely to him; and it followed as a matter of course that these officers soon crowded the regular magistrates out of the chief part of their functions. Two of these praefects by the nature of their duties became the leading officers in the state; the praefectus praetorio, who, as commander of the body-guard, exercised chief military authority in Italy; and the praefectus urbi, who, in the reign of Tiberius, was the chief municipal officer. The praefect of the city exercised criminal justice in the name of the emperor, concurrently with the quaestiones perpetuae, presided over by the pretors; but his authority was not long in superseding the quaestiones, which before the end of the second century had disappeared entirely. The pretors who exercised
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civil jurisdiction, the *urbanus* and *peregrinus*, continued for a while to perform the same functions; the others attended to financial matters, or presided over the games. It was important that the magistracies should be regularly filled in order that there might be a sufficient number of *consulares* and *praetorii* to hold proconsulships and other offices held only by persons of this rank. But all the magistracies became more and more merely formal and nominal. Tiberius is more than once spoken of by Mommsen as the one who brought the monarchy to completion — *der Vollender der Monarchie*. He received as a perpetual grant the *imperium* which Augustus received only for ten years at a time; he systematically maintained and enlarged the privileges of the senate, and its share in the government; while he as systematically ignored the powers of the popular assemblies, and reduced the republican magistracies to a mere shadow.

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

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

1 Marquardt, Römische Staatsverfassung, III. 451.
provincial life. In this cult Rome was regularly associated with Augustus, and no very nice distinction appears to have been made between divus Augustus and the reigning emperor, who also was lawfully known as Augustus.\footnote{Gaissaud, \textit{Les assemblées provinciales dans l'empire romain.}}

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

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

\textit{a.} Livia, the mother of the emperor, was a woman of great personal beauty, and an ambitious, domineering spirit; apparently not one who would scruple long at any means to secure her ends. She exercised a great ascendency over her husband, and expected to exercise the same over her son; and nothing in the history of Tiberius is more noteworthy than the effort he made to preserve the due balance between the dutiful affection for his mother, characteristic of Roman family life, and his determination to keep the reins of government in his own hands (see I. 72; II. 34; III. 17. 64; IV. 57; V. 1).

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

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

\textit{d.} Agrippina, daughter of Marcus Agrippa and Julia, and wife of Germanicus. A woman of high spirit and ambition, and of unblemished personal character. It is impossible for us to know whether her ambition
Genealogical Table of the Imperial Family.

1. **Julius Caesar**  2. **Julia**

4. C. Octavius = 3. **Atia**

8. Mark Antony = 7. Octavia
   m. 9. C. Marcellus

15. **Antonia**
   m. Drusus (13)

14. Marcellus
   m. Agrippa = 10. **Julia** = 12. Tiberius
   m. Vipsania = 13. Drusus
   m. Antonia (16)

   22. Lucius
   23. Agrippa
   24. Agrippina
   m. Germanicus
   m. Agrippina

   27. Nero
   28. Drusus
   29. Gaius (Caligula)
   30. Drusilla
   31. Julia (Livilla)

IV. 75
33. Nero

5. Augustus = 6. Livia Augusta
m. Scribonia

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

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

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

THE LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF TACITUS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ Essay on History.
space in his works have an individuality of character which seems to pervade all their words and actions. We know them as if we had lived with them."

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

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

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

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

b. The use of simple verbs where the prose writers employed compounds is especially characteristic of the Annals. The greater precision of the compounds fitted them for the uses of prose speech, while the poets, whom Tacitus here imitates, appear to have found a certain freedom and picturesque-ness in the simple forms: e.g. posuit for proposuit, put forth, I. 7. 5; versæ for versam, overturned, II. 41. 4; firmabat for confirmabat, strengthened, I. 71. 5.

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

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

d. The construction of the partitive genitive is carried to a great length, particularly as depending upon abstract nouns or the neuter (usually plural) of adjectives used abstractly, and even masculine and feminine adjectives; e.g. uligines paludum, marshy swamps, I. 17. 5; subiecta vallium, the valleys below, I. 65. 1; (but prominentia montium, the spurs of the mountains, II. 16. 2;) tacita suspicionum, silent suspicions, IV. 41. 1;
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rubrio paludum, in the slippery marsh, I. 65. 6; levis cohortium, the light cohorts, III. 39. 1.

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

f. Tacitus shares with the poets a fondness for the dative case, especially the dative of service or purpose (very common in the gerundive), of agency, and the dative as substituted for ad with the accusative; thus we find it not infrequently as end of motion; e.g. Gaius Caesar componentem Armeniam deligitur, Gaius Caesar is selected to put in order the affairs of Armenia, II. 4. 3; qui tributo aderant, who had come for tribute, IV. 72. 5; claris scriptoribus, by renowned writers, I. 1. 4; centurionem morti deposuit, it [the legion] demands the centurion to put him to death, I. 23. 6; altius conspectibus, in the eye of those who would see under the surface, I. 32. 7; paen firmator, confirmor of peace, II. 46. 6.

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

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

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

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

j. In respect to conjunctions, his principal peculiarity is the frequency of aequadon; e.g. oiamore tali, by shouts and weapons, IV. 48. 4; sociis regnus, allied nations and kings, III. 55. 3.

Notice, too, the fondness for such variety in combination as: Tiberii Gaiose et Claudii ao Nerone, of Tiberius, Gaius, Claudius, and Nero, I. 1. 5.

Other usages of conjunctions unfamiliar to the student of earlier Latin are donee, (until), and quamquam, almost invariably with the subjunctive; quamquam also without a finite verb; quamvis equivalent to quamquam; quos inter quos (whenever); quamvis, equivalent to quoniam; tamquam and similar particles to express an alleged reason; perinde quam; e.g. quamquam multi occidisset, although many had fallen, IV. 73. 6; (but quamquam id quque dictum est, although that too was said, I. 76. 7; donee dieum, until they were deterred, I. 1. 4; (but donee fama cadam null, until the same report brought word, I. 5. 6;) quamquam exercitus contracto, although his army had been got together, I. 48. 1; quamvis domus deliberatur, although the house was falling, II. 38. 10; tamquam auctus liberis Drusus domum Germanici magis uigueret, because [as they said] the birth of children to Drusus was another blow to the house of Germanicus, II. 84. 3; quosiam oculus ad multitudinem restaurant, whenever they turned their eyes to the crowd, I. 95. 2.

A. The historical infinitive, though not peculiar to Tacitus, is found very abundantly in his writings; peculiar to him is its use
INTRODUCTION.

in subordinate temporal clauses; e.g. Ubi Artabanus ministri, when Artabanus threatened, II. 4. 4.

He is very fond of stringing a number of historical infinitives, one after another, in the way of enumeration; e.g. Jasonus miles, ducundus, pendentes omnes armatus prostrata arma, etc., the soldiers fell into lawlessness and disorder, lent their ears to the talk of every mischief-maker, etc., I. 16. 3.

i. The complementary infinitive is common after verbs and adjectives where earlier prose writers would have used a subordinate clause or a gerund; e.g. parvissima mira, attempting to burst through, I. 64. 1; datu mecuriis... venae discerner, the priest being authorised to distinguish the genuine, VI. 13. 4.

m. In clauses of comparison he commonly omits the correlative et or tamen, and often uses a positive instead of a comparative in one or both of the clauses; e.g. claris maioris quam veterum, ancestors rather distinguished than ancient, IV. 61. 1; quanto insanius exsanguatus, the more indiscreetly he had boiled over with rage, the more patient when his anger was over, I. 74. 7.

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

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

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

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

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

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

s. As purely Greek or poetic constructions may be instance: immotum fixumque Tiberio fuli, it was immovably fixed in the
INTRODUCTION.

mind of Tiberius, I. 47. 1; ut quibusque bellum invitis ant
expiemtibus erat, according as each was opposed to war or de-
sired it, I. 59. 1; falsa exterritum, terrified without reason, IV.
28. 3; minor quadrirgantorum miliurn, less than 400,000, IV. 63.
2. See also b, c, f, h.

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

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

AB EXCESSU DIVI AUGUSTI

LIBRI I.–VI.
ARGUMENT OF BOOK I.

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

1-15. Introductory.


31-49. Mutiny of the German Legions.


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

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

55-71. First campaign of Germanicus.


CORNELII TACITI

AB EXCESSU DIVI AUGUSTI

LIBER I.

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

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

libertatem et consulatum: the republic, the second period of Roman history, extending from B.C. 509 to the establishment of the principatus by Augustus, B.C. 37. The following magistracies are named as temporary interruptions of the libertas et consulatus.

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

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

consulare ius: the office of military tribune with consular power is first mentioned B.C. 445; from this time until B.C. 406 tribunes alternated irregularly with consuls; from B.C. 408 until 367 military tribunes were elected every year except two, when there were consuls, and five years in which no magistrates were elected.

3. Cinnæ... Sullæ: Cinnæ was consul four years in succession, B.C. 87 to 84; Sulla was made perpetual dictator B.C. 82, and laid down his office in 79. The word dominatio, used to designate their despotic authority, is contrasted with the constitutional potestas of the
Pompeii Crassique potentia cito in Caesarem, Lepidi atque Antonii arma in Augustum cessere, qui cuncta discordiis civilibus fessa nomine principis sub imperium acceptit. Sed veteris populi Romani prospera vel adversa claris scriptoribus memorata sunt; temporibusque Augusti dicendis non defuere decora ingenia, donec gliscente adulatione deterrerentur. Tiberii Gaioque et Claudii ac Neronis res, florentibus ipsis ob metum falsae, postquam occiderant, recentibus odiis compositae sunt.

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

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

nomine principis: this is the correct name of the new dignity established B.C. 27, when Caesar (Octavianus) laid down his extraordinary powers, received the name of Augustus, and entered upon his new office. See 9. 6: non regnum tanum acque dictaturam, sed principis nomine, constitutum rem publicam.

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

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

claris scriptoribus: Instr. 35. temporebus...dicendis: dative after defueras.

decora ingenia: especially Livy, whose history ended at the death of Drusus, B.C. 9. Aulus Vitellius, Pomponius Falco, Cremonianus Cordus (IV. 34), and others.

deterrerentur: Instr. 35. 5. Tiberii, etc.: these are the reigns embraced in the present work — heretofore they have received no impartial treatment.

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

falsae, which had been falsified, recentibus odiis, while the hatred against them was fresh.

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

Postquam Bruto et Cassio caesae nulla iam pub. ica arma, Pompeius apud Siciliam oppressus, exutoque Lepido, interfecto Antonio ne Julianis quidem partibus nasi dux reliquus, posito triumviri nomine already found worthy historians. et is here emphatic: and these, too, the last. cetera, the rest, i.e. the events which followed, ending with the death of Nero, at which point the Histories of Tacitus begin. ira et studio: prejudice, either against or for. 2. postquam, etc.: in this long and involved sentence the principal verbs are the historical infinitives insurges and trahere; the force of the postquam continues through reliquus [erat], and serens agrees with the subject (understood) of insurges, referring to Cæsar. Notice also the characteristic use of the participle to express the relation of a subordinate clause (Inf. 35 a), the omission of the copula (Id. r), and the constant change of construction (Id. r).

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

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

ne Julianis quidem partibus: the leaders of the opposite party—Brutus, Cassius, the Pompeys—had perished before. Now, by the death of Antony, the party of Cæsar, too, was reduced to a single leader. Cæsar: Gaius Octavius (the emperor Augustus), great-nephew of Julius Cæsar, was adopted by him, and took his name, Gaius Iulius Cæsar. To distinguish him from his great-uncle, he is commonly known as Octavius; in his own time, however, he was simply Gaius Cæsar.

posito triumviri nomine: see note on pontem, i. 3. Augustus never formally laid down his authority until B.C. 27. He was triumvir from 43 to 33, consul in the year 31, and every year after until 23. For the year 32, therefore, he had no legal authority, unless as triumvir. Mommsen, therefore (Staatrecht, II. 696), concludes that he continued to act as triumvir after the second term had expired, and that it was only by an afterthought that, in the Monumemtum Augustorum (4. 1) he says, annus triumviratus (cf. Sueton. Oct. 27; triumviratum rei publicae constitendas per decem annos administrandi). According to Mommsen, an officer appointed for revising the constitution was not held to any term: certainly Antony did not lay down his office at the
consulem se ferens et ad tuendam plebem tribunicio iure contentum, ubi militem donis, populum annona, cunctos dulcedine otii pellexit, insurgere paulatim, munia senatus magistratuum legum in se trahere, nullo adversante, cum ferocissimi per acies aut proscriptione cecidissent, cetera nobilium, quanto quis servitio prompt-

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

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

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

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

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

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

*annona*: this refers, says Furneaux, "not to the regular corn dole (which he reduced from 200,000 to 150,000) ... but to the careful organization of the supply from Egypt and elsewhere, and to special distributions, gratuitous or at a price below cost, in times of scarcity." He says (Men. Anc. 3. 10): *Consul undecimun [B.C. 23] duodecim fragmenta duodecim fragmenta privata componerentur.* Seutonius says (Oct. 41): *Fragmentum ... sepe levissimo, interdum nullo praetereundo.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. neque provinciae: it has been often remarked that the rule of the emperors, even the most tyrannical, was more endurable to the provincials than the practically irresponsible government of the magistrates of the republic. See 76. 4: Achaiaam ac Macedoniam onera deprasantis lexari in praesum poenaeulorum imperio tradique Caesaris placuit.

suspecto, regarded with dislike.

legum: the law which established (8 B.C. 149) the quaestor rerum repetendarum, or court for the trial of extortion in the provinces, and the various laws passed afterwards, to reorganize the court and define its powers. Their efficacy was disturbed by the causes here mentioned.

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

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

subsidia: the appositive to express purpose, = at subsidia est sent.

dominionali: Intr. 35 f.
sororis: i.e. Octavia. This is the Marcellus addressed by Vergil (Aen. VI. 862 f.) — In Marcellus etsi. He died in the year of his editorship, B.C. 23, at the age of twenty. See table, Intr. 26.
pontificatum, etc.: these ablative cases are construed with extulit, as instrument.

ignobilem: the origin of Agrippa was so humble that he chose to drop his father's name Vipsanius, as not being that of any well-known gens. The inscription on the Pantheon, erected by him, reads: M. Agrippa L. f. cos. tertium facti. See Freeman, Methods of Historical Study, p. 245.
geminatis: he was consul two years in succession, B.C. 28 and 27, a very unusual thing under the empire for any person but the emperor himself.
generum: he married Julia, the daughter of Augustus. See table, Intr. 26.
Neronem et Claudium Drusum privilegnos imperatoris nominibus auxit, integra etiam tum domo sua. Nam genitos Agrippa Gaium ac Lucium in familiam Caesarum induxerat, neccum posita puerilli praetexta principes inuentutis appellari, destinari consules specie recusantis flagrantissime cupiverat. Ut Agrippa vita concessit, Lucium Caesarem euntem ad Hispanoiis exercitus, Gaium remeantem Armenia et vulnere invalidum mors fato propora vel novercae Liviam dolum abstulit, Drusoque pridem extincto Nero solus e privilegis erat, illuc cuncta vergere: filius, collega imperii, consors tribuni-
ciæ potestatis adsumitur, omnisque per exercitus ostentatür, non obscuris, ut antea, matris artibus, sed palam hortatu. Nam senem Augustum devixerat adeo uti nepotem unicum, Agrippam Postumum, in insulam Planasiam proiercerit, rudem sane bonarum artium et robore corporis stolide ferocem, nullius tamen flagiti flagri compertum. At hercule Germanicum Druso ortum octo apud 5 Rhenum legionibus imposuit aedificique per adoptionem a Tiberio iussit, quamquam esset in domo Tiberii filius iuvenis, sed quo pluribus munimentis insisteret.

Bellum ea tempore nullum nisi adversus Germanos supererat, abolendas magis infamiae ob amissum cum Quintilio Varo exercitum quam cupidine proferendi

n. mal acta by which Tiberius was designated as successor to the throne. He was adopted A.D. 4, after the death of Gaius, on which occasion he appears to have laid aside his gentle name (Claudius), as was regularly done by the early emperors. His dignity as crown prince is, like that of the emperor himself, summed up in his association in the proconsular and tribunician powers. The potestas tribunicia was granted to him B.C. 6, was renewed on occasion of his adoption, and given for life A.D. 14. The imperium proconsulare was probably conferred B.C. 8 (Momms. Röm. St. II. 1051). omnis... ostentatur: there appears to have been no formal presentation of him to the armies as destined to the succession; the reference is to his commands in Germany and Pannonia.

palam horatrus: her designs were no longer concealed.

4. Agrippam Postumum: son of Agrippa and Julia, daughter of Augustus; for his fate, see chap. 5. Planasiam: Nanova, near Elba.

5. Druso: the younger brother of Tiberius, and like him a distinguished commander; he died B.C. 9. octo legiones: four in Upper, four in Lower Germany. The authority of Germanicus extended over all these, the special commanders of the two armies being placed under him; see chap. 31 and Intr. 18. B. 16. and 23.

esset: Intr. 35 j.

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

pluribus munimentis: in order to lessen the danger of a vacancy on the throne; non legiones, non classis perinde forma imperio munimenta quam numerorum ibereorum.

6. abolendas infamiae: Intr. 35 n.

cum Quintilio Varo: the famous defeat of Varus by Arminius in the Teutoburg forest, A.D. 9. See chap. 60. This set a limit to the advance of the Romans into Germany, or
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7 imperii aut dignum ob praemium. Domi res tranquillae, eadem magistratum vocabula; iuniores post Actiacam victoriam etiam senes plerique inter bella civium nati: quotus quisque reliquis, qui rem publicam vidisset! Igitur verso civitatis statu nihil usquam prisci et integri moris: omnes exixa aequalitate iussa principis aspectare, nulla in praecons formidine, dum Augustus aetate validus seque et domum et pacem sustentavit. Postquam propecta iam senectus aegro et corpore fatigabatur, aderatque finis et spes novae, pauci bona libertatis in cassum disserere, plures bellum pave- 

3 scere, aliupere. Pars multo maxima imminentis dominos varii rumoribus differebant: trucem Agrippam et ignominia accensum non aetate neque rerum experientia tantae moli parem; Tiberium Neronem maturum annis, spectatum bello, sed vetere atque insita Claudiae fami-

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

cupidine profereundi imperii: Augustus laid it down as a praecip-
tum imperii not to advance the boundaries of the empire; consilium concurrendi intra terminas imperii, 11. 7. In fact Tiberius put an end to hostilities after three years of no material success.

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

post Actiacam pugnam: the battle of Actium, B.C. 31, in which Octavius defeated Antony. This was the end of the civil wars; the re-

public had perished already. See note on publica arma, 2. 1.

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

4. statu, constitution.

prisci et: a closer coupling than if necque had been used— the good old cus-

toms; see similar instance in 70. 5. We have here a terse and vigorous de-

scription of the changes in temper and feeling as the monarchy was estab-

lished.

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

et (corpore) = etsi.

aderat, was: at hand.

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

peror.

disserere: this word in Taci-
tus very often governs the accusa-
tive.

3. differebant: made the subject of disparaging talk, pushed to proce-

dis in composition having the meaning uncommon.

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

spectatum bello: he had car-
ed on war with great distinction, and had celebrated triumphs over the Pannonians (B.C. 9), the Ger-

mans (B.C. 7), the Illyrians, Panno-
A.D. 14.] ANNALS.

lieae superbia, multaque indicia saevitiae, quamquam pre-
mantur, erumpere. Hunc et prima ab infantia eductum in
domo regnatrix; congregos iuveni consulatus triumph-
phos; ne iis quidem annis, quibus Rhodi specie secusss
esul egerit, aliquid quam iram et simulationem et secre-
tas lubidines meditatum. Accedere matrem muliebri
impotentia: servientium feminae duobusque insuper adu-
nians, Dalmatians, and Germans (A.D. 12).

ter china: ablative of characteristic. This was an inborn trait of
the Claudian gens. When, however, Sestonius proceeds (76. 2)
to say Claudius omnes ... optimates assertoriques unusus dignitatis ac
potestatis patratorum semper sui, it may be questioned whether the
tradition is in accordance with historical fact. Mommsen (see Appen-
dex to Vol. I. of his Roman History) shows that this family was
peculiarly free from bondage to tradition, and was, on the other
hand, prone to innovation; that its members were "the predeces-
sors of the Gracchi and of Cesar. In this respect the Claudii were
justly called to ascend, in combina-
tion with the Julian house, the imperial throne, and even on that
throne they did not wholly forget the traditional policy of their clan;
for it is only in the light of this tradi-
tional policy that we can rightly
understand why Tiberius and Clau-
dius declined the title of Imperator,
and various similar traits." 

premancitur, suppressed; kept concealed; the verb takes the time of
the supposed speakers; as belonging to the indirect discourse, it
would properly be in the imperfect.

eductum, educated; educated would be the word properly

consultatus: B.C. 13 and 7.

triumphos: see note on specta-
tum bello.

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

lis ... annis: B.C. 6 to A.D. 2;
this was in appearance a voluntary retirement, but as he was not per-
mitted by Augustus to return, he was to all intents and purposes an
exile; remansit ergo Rhodi contra
voluntatem (Suet. Th. 12). The
cause of this retirement is not cer-
tain. Tacitus, chap. 53, attributes
it to the infidelities of his wife Julia,
daughter of Augustus. Sestonius hints
the same, but says that Tiberius himself gave as a reason the
fear of exciting the jealousy of Galus
and Lucius Cesar; nihil alius se-
cessum devinisse se quam asemulatio-
nis cum Gaio Luctioque suspicionem.
Velleius (II. 99) gives essentially the
same reason; se fulger suus orien
tum infantum laborat ini-
tis. His position at court was cer-
tainly a difficult and embarrassing
one.

aliquid: see App. I.

5. impotentia, imperiosus tem-
por; cf. V. 1, morti impotens, user
facilis. The idea is 'powerless to
control one's self.'

duobus adulcendentibus: Ger-
manicus and Drusus.
lescentibus, qui rem publicam interim premant, quandoque distrahanter.

5 Haec atque talia agitantibus gravescere valetudo Augusti, et quidam scelus uxoris spectabant. Quippe rumor incessaret, paucos ante menses Augustum, electis consciis et comite uno Fabio Maximo, Planasiam vectum ad visendum Agrippam; multas illic utrimque lacrimas et signa caritatis, sperant ut eum fore ut juvenis penenibus avi redderetur; quod Maximum uxori Marciae aperit. Fuisse, illam Liviam. Gnarum id Caesari; neque multo post extincto Maximo, dubium an quaesita morte, auditos in funere eius Marciae gemitus semet incusantis, quod causa exitii marito fuisse. Ut cumque se ea res habuit, vixdum ingressus Illyricum Tiberius properis matris litteris accitur; neque satis compertum est, spi-

quandoque distrahant: i.e. in their disputes for the succession, when Tiberius should have died. As a matter of fact, the two princes lived in the closest intimacy and affection, and both died before Tiberius. quandoque = aliquando. 5 agitantibus: Intro. 35 a. Some editors take it as a dative of reference — also a construction very characteristic of this writer. Intro. 35.

scelus uxoris: the current story was that she put poison in some figs still hanging on the tree, which he then plucked and ate.

3, ex eo: construed with spern (Paulius).

Marciae: she was a cousin of the emperor, her mother Atia being a sister of his mother.

4, gnarum = notum: a frequent usage in Tacitus.

dubium an, perhaps; Tacitus is very fond of parenthetical expressions of this kind.

quaesita (i.e. a se), voluntary.

Primum facinus novi principatus fuit Postumi Agrip: pae caedes, quem ignarum inermunque quamvis firmatus animo centurio aegre confecit. Nihil de ea re Tiberius apud senatum disseruit; patris iussa simulabat, quibus praescrispsisset tribuno custodiae adposito, ne cunctaretur Agrippam morte adficere, quandoque ipse supremum diem explevisset. * Multa sine dubio saevaque Augustus de moribus adulescentis questus, ut exsilium eius senatus consulto sanciretur perfecerat; ceterum in nullius umquam suorum necem duravit, neque mortem nepoti pro securitate privigni inlatam credibile erat. Propius vero Tiberium ac Liviam, illum metu, hanc apud, in. Instr. 35 s.

Nolam: an important city in Campania.

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

prov repair quae: Instr. 35 s.

5. caedes: according to Suetonius (Thb. 25), this murder too was effected before the announcement of the death of the emperor.

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

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

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

quandoque, as soon as, properly whenever.

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

duravit, hardened himself.

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

7 At Romae ruere in servitium consules patres eques.
8 Quanto quis ielustrior, tanto magis falsi ac festinam-
tes, vultuque composito, ne laeti excessu principis neu
tristiores primordio, lacrimas gaudium questus adula-
tionem miscerant. Sex. Pompeius et Sex. Appuleius
consules primi in verba Tiberii Caesaris iuravere, apudque

5. centurioni: according to Sextus, it was a tribune, probably the
one who had given the orders to the centurion. The answer of Tibe-
rias is given by Suetonius in almost the same words.
6. Sallustius: a great-nephew of the historian, adopted by him as
his heir; see III. 30.
subderetur: in this compound of sub lies the idea that the charge
would have been false.
periculofo: ablative, the subject
seu: the first seu is omitted, an
omission common in Tacitus.
non, etc.: under the present
system of government there could
be no divided responsibility; to
bring the matter before the senate
as Tiberius proposed would put an
end to his authority (vim prin-
cipatus resolueret). In ratio con-
stat, etc. (cf. radicum reddendam
5), there is an allusion to the audit-
ing of accounts (Punicus).
7. eques: collective, the equest-
rian order.
8. laeti, cheerful; see above. The
thing to be avoided was of energea
the appearance rather than the real-
ity of gladness.
primordio: the accession of
Tiberius.
3. primi: as chief magistrates,
they took the oath independently;
after which the prefects, who were
not magistrates in the strict sense of
the term, but officers of the emperor,
took it at their hands (apud eum).
in verba iuravere: this is the
form of the military oath of the
republic; it was taken personally to
the possessor of the imperium—
A.D. 14.

ANNALS.

13

eos Seius Sterbno et C. Turranius, ille praetorianum cohortium praefectus, hic annona; mox senatus milesque et populus. Nam Tiberius cuncta per consules incipiebat, tamquam vetere re publica et ambiguus imperandi; ne edictum quidem, quo patres in curiam vocavat, 

and that was, under the empire, solely the emperor. It was therefore equivalent to an oath of allegiance to him as supreme ruler. It was now exacted once a year, and was moreover extended to all classes—senatus milesque et populus. See chap. 34; also Momms. XXM. St. II. 749.

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

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

The praetorian annona: the office of praefectus annonas was established in the last part of the reign of Augustus; the date is not certainly known. The first incumbent was Seius Turranius, who was still holding the office, A.D. 48 (XL 31). As the title prefect implies, he had no independent authority, but was only the representative of the emperor, who in person had the cura annonae, as well as the imperium over the whole empire (Momms. XXM. St. II. 960). The praefectus annonas was taken from the equestrian order, and appointed for an indefinite term; at this time his office ranked as the first of the equestrian dignities, but it afterwards stood third in rank among these (Hirschfeld, Untersuchungen, p. 135). His duties were to provide the markets of the capital with grain and other necessaries, and to oversee the sailors, bakers, etc., who performed the labor in detail.

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

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

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

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

5. Edictum: every magistrate had the right of issuing edicta or proclamations, and the tribunes had
nisi tribuniciae potestatis praescriptione posuit sub Aus-
gusto acceptae. Verba edicti fuere paucae et sensu
permodesto: de honoribus parentis consultationum, neque
abscedere a corpore idque unum ex publicis muneribus
usurpare. Sed defuncto Augusto signum praetoriiis
cohortibus ut imperator dederat; excubiae arma cetera
aulae; miles in forum, miles in curiam comitatatur.

Litterae ad exercitus tamquam adepto principatu misit,
nusquam cunctabundus nisi cum in senatu loqueretur.

Causa praecipua ex formidine, ne Germanicus, in cuius
manu tot legiones, immensa sociorum auxilia, mirus
apud populum favor, habere imperium quam exspectaret
mallet. Dabat et famae, ut vocatus electusque potius a

the right of summoning the senate. Tiberius therefore called the senate
together by virtue of his tribunician
power (see note on chap. 3); his
praetorius imperium did not give
him this right.

posuit: for proponit; Intr.

35 A.

6. neque abscedere: he owed
this service to his adoptive father.

id: relates to de ... consultationum; this duty he took upon
himself.

7. signum: the military pass-
word.

ut imperator: having the pro-
torius imperium; see note to
filius, 3. 3.

cetera aulae, everything else that
belongs to a court.

8. cunctabundus, showing hesi-
tation.

loqueretur: for this subjunctive
of repeated action, common in the
post-classical writers; see A. and G.
§ 329. 4.

9. causa praecipua: he wished
by this show of hesitation to force
the senate to a formal offer of the
throne; armed with this legal au-
thority, he would be freed from fear
on account of the popularity or
military force of Germanicus. In
the meantime he promptly exercised
the powers which he already pos-
sessed. With the words nam Tiber-

ius Tacitus begins to describe the
hesitation and apparent reluctance
of Tiberius to assume any new title
or power; he already having the
tribunician power and the imper-
ium. With sed defuncto, etc., he
shows that in spite of this hesita-
tion to assume new powers, he exer-
cised his old powers promptly and
vigorously, and thus was princeps
in all but name; the reason for
both is the fear of Germanicus.
tot legiones: see note to chap.
3. 5. These eight legions made about
40,000 men, to whom must be added
fully as many auxiliaries.

exspectaret: as adopted son and
successor; see 3. 5.

10. dabat et famae, he had regard
also, etc.; i.e. his dignity and reputa-
tion required that he should assume
the purple by a constitutional grant;
and not by an informal act, which
would have the look of usurpation.
re publica videretur quam per uxorium ambitum et senili adoptione inrepsisse. Postea cognitum est ad introspecciiendas etiam procerrum voluntates inductam dubitationem; nam verba vultus in crimine detorquens recondebat.

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

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

11. inductam, put on, assumed. verbs, vultus: of others.

recondebat, stare up, lay up, as a grudge. Tacitus' explanation of facts and imputation of motives must not be accepted as of equal authority with his statements of fact. (litr. 15.) Hesitation and indecision were prominent traits of character in Tiberian, and may perhaps afford a sufficient explanation of his demeanor on this occasion.

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

heredes: Tiberius two thirds, secundus heredes, Livia one third, as we learn from Sestonius, Oct. 101.

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

in spem secundam = secundos heredes: Drusus, son of Tiberius, one-third, Germanicus and his male children ex partibus reliquos. This appointment of second and third

heirs was to take effect only in default of first heirs, or in case the first heirs should fail to qualify, cernere; for the heir had the option of declining the inheritance.

primores: sc. quaedam. Sestonius says prophineque amicosque conplices.

gloria, love of glory, i.e.

3. civilem: becoming a private citizen.

quadreringenti triciens quinquies: this is given by Sestonius as two separate legacies, legatum populo Romano quadreringenti, tributus triciis quinque sestertiorum (Oct. 101), tributus being used by him as equivalent to Tacitus' plab. This is usually explained as meaning that quadreringenti [sc. centena milia sestertiorum] = $4,000,000 went into the treasury, while trices quinquales, $75,000, was distributed viribus. It is hard to understand, if this is the case, why Tacitus should give them as one legacy; moreover, three and a half million sesterces divided among the 200,000 persons entitled to gratuities would make the pauper sum of 17½ sesterces = 87½ cents apiece, while it is known from Dio Cassius
quinquies, praetoriarum cohortium militibus singula numnum milia, urbanis quingenos, legionariis aut cohortibus civium Romanorum trecenos nummos viritim dedit.

Tum consultatum de honoribus; ex quis maxime in

(LVII. 14) that the sum actually received by each beneficiary was 260 sesterces = $13.00 — too great a discrepancy, even if we are to suppose that Tiberius added something from his own purse. We must assume, therefore, with Margaredt (Eum. Staatheer. II. 126) that the whole amount was distributed viribus, and find the distinction between populam and plebs (tributum) in the peculiar organization of the tribes for alimentary donations during the empire. At this period, as Mommsen says (Eum. Staatheer. III. 1. 445), "wherever the Tribes appear as corporations, it is of this plebs frumentaria," consisting of a limited number of persons, chiefly freedmen, membership being a special and personal privilege. The tribes, as thus organized (not to be confused with the voting tribes), continued in existence into the fourth century. Note that, the number of tribes being 35, the legacy of 3,500,000 sesterces made 100,000 sesterces to each. The sestertius (sesterces) was a coin, originally of silver, but under the empire of copper, of the value of a little over four cents; the demusarius was four sesterces. The sestertium was not a coin, but a value of 1000 sesterces. In payment of large sums gold was of course used (the aureus was of the value of 100 sesterces; but, as the ratio of gold to silver has since risen about one third (from about 15:1 to 16:1), it follows that the present value of the sesterce in gold is over five cents. As all these values are approximate, we will follow Mommsen's practice, and reckon the sesterce at five cents. When values are given with numeral adverbs, as in this passage, we are to understand centena mihia sestertium.

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

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

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

4. de honoribus: see last chapter, de honoribus parentis consulorum.

insignes: see aemulanda, object of censuators. See App. I.
signes ut porta triumphali duceretur funus, Gallus Asi-
nius, ut legum latarum tituli, victarum ab eo gentium
vocabula anteferrentur, L. Arruntius censuere. Addebat 5
Messalla Valerius renovandum per annos sacramentum in
nomen Tiberii; interrostatuque a Tiberio, num se man-
dante eam sententiam prompsisset, sponte dixisse re-
pondit, neque in iis quae ad rem publicam pertinentem
consilio nisi suo usurum, vel cum periculo offenseionis: ea
sola species adulandi supererat. Conclamant patres 6
corpus ad rogum umeris senatorum ferendum. Remisit
Caesar adroganti moderatione, populunquque edicto monuít
ne, ut quondam nimiis studiis funus divi Iulii turbassent,
ita Augustum in foro potius quam in campo Martis, sede
destinata, cremari vellent. Die funeris milites velut praec-
sidio stetere, multum inridentibus qui ipsi viderant
quique a parentibus acceperant diem illum crudi adhuc
sertitii et libertatis improspere repetitae, cum occasus
dictator Caesar aliis pessimum, aliis pulcherrimum fa-

porta triumphali: this gate is
usually asserted to have been be-
tween the Capitoline and the Tiber.
Jordan, however (Topographie der
Stadt Rom. L. p. 260, n. 76) holds
that it was a mere formix or arch,
on the Campus Martius.
Gallus Asinius: a son of the
eminent censor Asinius Pollio. The
practice of putting the cognomen be-
fore the nomen was common under
the empire. In this case the praecu-
nomen was regularly omitted.
latarum: a. ab Augusto.
5. interrostatuque, etc.: Tibe-
rius steadily declined ostentations
and adulatory honors, at least in
the early years of his reign.
eas: the show of independence.
6. umeris senatorum: Sulla was
the first who received this honor.
remisit, excuse (cf. III. 55.1).

This does not mean that he pro-
hibited it, and we learn from Sae-
tonius and Dio that the proposition
was carried out.
turbassent: the speech of Mark
Antony at Caesar's funeral so fired the
people that they broke to pieces the
benches, and burned the body of
Caesar in the forum.
sede destinata: Augustus had
built a mausoleum for himself and
his family upon the Campus Mar-
tius, the remains of which may be
still seen. It was a circular build-
ing, and was surrounded with plea-
sure grounds: inter Flamininum
viam ripamque Tiberis . . . . . cer-
cumiectasque silvas et ambulationes
in usum populi rami tum publica-
[Note.
7. Inridentibus: ablative abso-
decisus dictator: Instr. 35 g.
cinus videretur: nunc senem principem, longa potestia, provisae etiam heredum in rem publicam opibus, auxilio scilicet militari tuendum, ut sepultura eis quieta foret.

Multa 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 Octavius vitam finivisset.

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

1. in rem publicam: the heirs were provided with means to maintain their usurped authority.
2. vana mirantibus: the idle commenting upon coincidences.
3. Idem dies: Aug. 19 [= a. d. xiv. Kal. Sept.]. His first consulship (as coetus equester after the death of Hirtius and Pansa) began Aug. 19, A.D. 43; he had, however, received by a special vote of the Senate early in the same year, the imperium pro praetore, the consulship of the consul to the consul, to the consular imperium, so that his exercise of full authority began with his consulship on the date assigned. Some late writers reckoned the reign of Augustus from this event, and the present passage may perhaps be taken to show that Tacitus so understood it, although he does not speak of the imperium as continuous. According to Mommsen (Hermes, Vol. XVII, p. 635), this was the interpretation of Augustus himself, as shown in his calendar of festivals.
4. simul acqueverat: he had held the consulship thirteen times, Valerius Corvus six times, Marcus seven times.
5. septem et triginta annos: more exactly thirty-six years and two months, from June 27, B.C. 32.
6. nomen imperatoris: this refers to the usage of the republic, when a commander was saluted as imperator by his soldiers after a victory. These victories of Augustus were of course for the most part gained by his officers, but acting under his imperium. The first of these twenty-one occasions was probably after the victory at Philippi, B.C. 42.
7. honorum: Instr. 35 d. 4. hd: sc. dicentur. The opposing views are introduced by discebatur contra in the next chapter.
8. parentem: Julius Caesar, his father by adoption, whose death he avenged.
neque haberis per bonas artes. Multa Antonio, dum in terfectores patriae uliscruratur, multa Lepido concessisse. Postquam hic socordia senuerit, ille per libidines pessum datus sit, non alius discordantis patriae remediumuisse quam ab uno regeretur. Non regno tamen neque dicatur, sed principis nomine constitutam rem publicam; mari Oceano aut annibus longinquos saepius imperium; legiones provincias classes, cuncta inter se conexa; ius apud cives, modestiam apud socios; urbem ipsam magnificum ornatum; paucas admodum vi tractata, quo ceteris quies esset.

Dicebat contra: pietatem erga parentem et tempora rei publicae obtentui sumpta; ceterum cupidine dominandi concitos per largitionem veteranos, paratum ab adulescente privato exercitu, corruptis consulibus legiones, simulatam Pompeiæarum gratiam partium; mox

5. concessisse: Sestonius says, on the other hand (Oct. 27): restitutione aliquando collegit, ne quæ fieret praecipitis, sed inceptam utique auctoribus exerciti. 6. principis: see note on nomine principis, 1. 3. and Introd. 20. He selected by preference a civil title, and one having associations with the republic. Sulla and Cesar had been perpetual dictators, and the title of king was very offensive to the Romans. The advice of Masenas to avoid the title of king is well known.

annibus longinquus: the Rhine, Danube, and Euphrates. saepius: i.e. from the rest of the world. It was the policy of Augustus to define the empire by fixed and, where possible, natural boundaries.

conexa: this refers to the efficient postal system of the empire. magnificum ornatum: he had repaired eighty-two temples, and built numerous others, besides theatres, aqueducts, etc. He boasted that he had found Rome of brick and left it of marble.

10. tempora; exigences. ceterum, but in reality. largitionem: Cicero says (ad Att. XVI 8 1) quinquagesimæ demeritus dat; this would be about $10,000 spicere.

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

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

ius praetoris: the praetorian power, carrying with it the authority to command troops, was bestowed upon him by the Senate; Cic. Phil. v. 17. 46. It was strictly an uncon-stitutional act, Momms. Rom. Staatsrecht. II. p. 631.

invaserit, enroll'd upon, = got possession of, containing the idea of usurpation.

caesius: at the battle of Mutina, March 13. The suspicion here expressed (see Pansa, etc.) is alluded to by Suetonius (Oct. 11): Pansa quidem adae suspecta mort fuit ut Glyco medicus custoditum sit, quam venenum vulneri indigesit. Invito senatu: probably dative. According to Suetonius (Oct. 26) it was demanded non minus exercitus: his messenger, the centurion Cornelius, pointing to his sword, said, sic faciet, si vos non faceritis.

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

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

2. sane: concessive, it is true.

Brutorum: i.e. Marcus and Decimus.

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

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

post: here an adverb. This relates in time only to poenas assassina, as the treaties here mentioned came before the overthrow of Pompeius and Lepidus, both of which events took place B.C. 35.

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

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

clades: both of these were in Germany: the defeat of Lollia, B.C. 16; that of Varus with great loss (the famous battle of the Teutoburg forest, against Arminius, 90.

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

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

Vedii Pollionis: see App. I. This Vedius Pollion, a friend of Augustus, used to throw his condemned slaves to the lampreys in his fishpond. His immense house was torn down by his heir, Augustus, and the Livian portico constructed in its place, giaia luxurias viae neque sua; Ovid, Fast. VI, 644. See Seneca, de Ira. III, 40.

coll: the craving of Augustus for divine honors, ascribed to him here, appears to be shown also by inscriptions. "According to all appearance, the worship of the living ruler, making its appearance simultaneously throughout Italy, was, if not directly instigated by him, at least expressly authorized." (Mommsen, Hermes, XVII, p. 641. See also 'The Caesareum at Alexandria' by Prof. A. C. Merriam, Trans. of Am. Phil. Ass., 1883.) Tiberius constantly refused it (Intr. 24). Augustus, too, in the city, according to Suetonius (Oct. 52), declined it: nam in urbe quidem perinotissime abstinuit hoc honores; and in the provinces insisted upon being associated with the goddess Roma, communis suae Romanae nominis. This cult became the leading religion of the provinces, as is abundantly shown by inscriptions; being in each city in the hands of a college of priests called Augustales (Intr. 24), per flamines: the flamen was a
Ne Tiberium quidem caritate aut Rei publicae cura successorem adscitum, sed quoniam arrogantiam saevitiamque eius introspekerit, comparatione determina sibi gloriam quaevisisse. Etenim Augustus paucis ante annis, cum Tiberio tribuniciam potestatem a patribus rursum postularet, quamquam honora oratione, quaedam de habitu cultuque et institutis eius iecerat, quae velut excusando exprobraret.

Ceterum sepultura more perfecta templum et caelestis religiones decernuntur. Versae inde ad Tiberium preces. Et ille varie disserebat de magnitudine imperii, sua modestia. Solam divi Augusti mentem tantae molis caperem; se in partem curarum ab illo vocatum expierendo didicisse quam arduum, quam subjectum fortuna regendi cuncta onus. Prinide in civitate tot illustribus viris subnixa non ad unum omnia deferrent; plures

priest of a special deity or a special cult.

tribuniciam potestatem: the tribunician power was granted to the emperor by a vote of the people, upon recommendation of the Senate; to a colleague, however, as in the case of Tiberius, it was granted directly by the prince, according to the rules of cooptation, but usually after consulting the Senate. Collegium sibi copernunti: (Start. Oct. 27.) Momms. Rhm. St. II. 19.8. habita, cultu, institutis: referring respectively to body, dress, and manners. According to Suetonius (Tit. 69), Augustus said of him naturae eitae aetas non animi. The description of Suetonius represents him as of stern countenance, and sparing in speech — adducto foro vulnus, plerumque taciturn. His busts and statues show him to have been handsome and dignified, but with a peculiarly compressed mouth, in which suspicion and cruelty might lurk. See frontispiece.

quamquam: Intr. 35 j.

ceterum, non: or hominem: expressing a return from a digression to the main subject.

templum: this was erected by Livia upon the Palatine.

decernuntur: this vote was passed Sept. 17. Augustus was now ranked among the greater gods: an inscription cited by Marquardt (Rhym. Staatsverr. III. 443) reads: Augstir optimus maximus ad diurnum Augustus catherique omnes di immortalis. See Intr. 25.

II. 3. non: instead of me, in order to qualify ad unum, by way of contrast to plures. He seems to have had in mind some such scheme as that actually adopted by Diocletian, three hundred years later, of a division of the sovereign power between two or three colleagues of equal dignity; not, as in the case
facilior munia rei publicae sociatis laboribus exsecuturos. Plus in oratione tali dignitatis quam fidei erat; Tiberio 4 que etiam in rebus, quas non occuleret, seu natura sive adsuetudine, suspensa semper et obscura verba; tunc vero nitent ut sensus suos penitus abderet, in incertum et ambiguum magis implicabantur. At patres, quibus 5 unus metus, si intellegere viderentur, in questus lacrimas vota effusae; ad deos, ad effigiem Augusti, ad genua ipsius manus tendere, cum proferri libellum reci- tarique iussit. Opes publicae continebantur, quantum 6 civium sociorumque in armis, quot classes regna provinciae, tributa aut vestigalia, et necessitates ac largitiones. Quae cuncta sua manu perscripserat Augustus, addi-7 deraque consilium coercedi intra terminos imperii, incertum metu an per invidiam.

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

4. occuleret: subjunctive of characteristic.

magis: sc. even than usual.

5. Intellegerat, see through him.

cum: introducing a positive statement of time, nearly equivalent to and then. A. & G. 345 4.

libellum: this schedule (provinciae totius imperii) was one of the three papers which were deposited by Augustus, together with his testament, with the vestal virgins (Suet. Oct. 101). A second contained directions for his burial, the third contained indicem rerum a se gestarum, quem velut incidit in actis tabulis, quas ante Monumentum Statuerunt, of which the well-known Monumentum Augustae is a copy. Dio (LVI. 33) adds τον άνθρώπον τόν τῷ Θεῷ θεραπεύεις χρηστόν; also, that there was a fourth paper, containing rules and directions of government.

6. civium sociorumque: legionary troops and auxiliaries.

regna: probably countries like Cappadocia and Mauretania, still in name independent kingdoms, although ready to be incorporated in the empire as soon as the occasion should come. Perhaps in this class is comprised Egypt, which, although a part of the empire, was never reduced into the form of a province, but was governed directly by the emperor as a kingdom (Intr. 15. 26).

tributa ... vestigalia: the tributa were levied directly upon the provinces, the vestigalia were indirect taxes, such as portoria (customs-duites) and decuma (tithe). See Marquardt, Röm. Staatsw. II. 178 n.

necessitates ac largitiones: necessary expenses and donations.

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

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

successors might surpass him in power and glory.

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

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

3. collecto animo, recovering his presence of mind.

nequaquam... mallet: Dio makes his reply to have been that it was unbecoming that the one who made the division should also select his share, 'Non habeo ad reipub vi ne aliquibus.'

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

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

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

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

Vipsania: daughter of Agrippa.

Her mother was daughter of Cicero's friend Atticus. Her divorce, which was for political reasons, was a
great grief to Tiberius. Suetonius (Tib. 7) calls her Agrippina, and relates this incident: *saeclum omnino
ex occurrent visa eo adn conservavit et
saeclum obsessus est, ut
saeclum siti ne unquam in com-
puncta sine pothas veniret.*

Civilia's marriage, like the
proposition of Sejanus to marry
Livia (IV. 39) betrayed an ambition
beyond a private station.

Pollonia Asinii: the distin-
guished orator and man of letters.
See Verg. Ecl. 4, and Hor. Od. II.

frocliam, high spirit. Pollio, al-
though he submitted himself to
the imperial rule, never accepted it
cordially, but displayed an indep-
dence of spirit, sometimes amounting
to opposition. Pliny (N.H., XXXVI.
4, 10) calls him *acris vehementiae.*
For the son's character, see the next
chapter.

18. L. Arruntius: a leading
statesman of the time; his death by his
own act is related VI. 48.

divitiam, etc.: these adjectives,
agreeing with the object of sus-
pectabat, express reason, because
he was rich, etc.

2. succurrere, although they would
be equal to it.

idem: plural.

vel: Intr. 35 r.

M. Lepidum: probably grand-
son of the triumvir, invariably
spoken of by Tacitus with the high-
est respect; on occasion of his
death (VI. 27), he says, *de cuesto
moderatione atque sapientia . . .
satis coniugavi.*

3. Cn. Pisonem: a man ingenuo
violentium et obsequii ignarus (II.
43). His grandfather was *legatus*
of Pompey in his eastern wars. He
is represented as a bitter en-
emy of Germanicus, and was suspec-
ted of having poisoned him; the ac-
cusation, whether true or not, was
the cause of his own death (III.
15).

omnesque . . . circumventi
sunt: Gallus was in some way im-
plicated in the affair of Sejanus, and
was put to death, or put himself to
sunt. Etiam Q. Haterius et Mamercus Scaurus suspi-
cacem animum perstrinxere, Haterius cum dixisset ‘Quo
usque patieris, Caesar, non adesse caput rei publicae?’
Scaurus quia dixerat spem esse ex eo non irritas fore
senatus preces, quod relationi consulum iure tribuniciae
potestatis non intercessisset. In Haterium statim invec-
tus est; Scaurus, cui implacabilis irascebatur, silentio
trasmisit. Fessusque clamore omnium, expostulatione
singulorum flexit paulatim, non ut fateretur susci a
se imperium, sed ut negare et rogari desineret. Constat
Haterium, cum deprecanditi causa Palatium introisset
ambulantisque Tiberii genua adverteretur, prope a mili-
tibus interfectum, quia Tiberius casu manibus eius
death (VI. 23). The death of Ar-
rustius, on the other hand, Tacitus
admits to have been due to the
enmity of Macro, and perhaps not
even known to the emperor (VI.
47). The death of Piso was the re-
sult of an open criminal prosecution;
the charge of Tacitus is, therefore,
without foundation, unless, perhaps,
in relation to Gallus.
4. Q. Haterius: a distinguished
orator (IV. 61), but of a mean
naturae; Mamercus Scaurus, in-
signis nobilitate et orandus causis,
vela pro bivio (VI. 29). The char-
acter of the man sufficiently explains
Tiberius’ displeasure.
relational: the technical term for
the action of the magistrate in
bringing business before the Senate;
as the act of a magistrate it could
be forbidden by the tribunes.
quod non intercessisset: the
relatio here in question was in re-
currence to a law investing Tiberius
with the dignity of princeps. As he
already had the proconsular imperi-
num and the tribunician power,
in which two powers were summed
up the military and civil authority
of the imperial office, the law on
this occasion had the effect of for-
nally placing in his hands the head-
ship of the state. A portion of the
corresponding law for Veipsian is
extant.
5. implacabilis: because his
words implied that he did not be-
lieve Tiberius to be sincere in his
opposition.
6. flexit: magis ratione quam
honore vicissus est, Vell. II. 124.
7. Palatium: originally identi-
cal with Palatianus, as the name of
the hill. Augustus built a splendid
house here, and the name of the
hill became especially associated
with the imperial residence, which
hence became known as Palatium.
From this the word ‘palace’ has
passed into most modern languages.
genua: advocatus is properly fol-
lowed by the dative, but compound
verbs regularly construed with other
cases are frequently used by Tacitus
with the accusative.

an: the ellipsis of dubium est
inerum had become so common that
an now merely expresses an alter-
native.
impeditus prociderat. Neque tamen periculo talis viri mitigatus est, donec Haterius Augustam oraret eiusque curassimis precibus protegeretur.

Multa patrum et in Augustam adulatio. Alii pa\textsuperscript{14} rentem, alii matrem patriae appellandam, plerique ut nomini Caesaris adscriberetur "Iuliae filius" censebant. Ile moderandos feminarum honores dictitans eademque se temperantia usum in iis quae sibi tribuuerunt, ceterum anxius invidia et muliebre fastigium in diminutionem sui accipiens ne licetorem quidem ei decerni passus est aramque adoptionis et alia huiusce modi prohibuit.

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

\textsuperscript{14} prociderat: this is probably the incident related by Suetonius (\textit{T.I.A.}\textsuperscript{27}) to illustrate Tiberius’ hatred of flattery: \ldots consularem si sibi, ut per genos orare conantem, sita suffragiis, ut cadere supinus.

\textsuperscript{14} 2. alii \ldots censebant: neglect of concinnity (Intr. 35 r).

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

3. moderandos: so Suetonius (\textit{T.I.A.}\textsuperscript{52}), adhucdaller maximus nec feminae conventientibus negoLIis abstineret. Livia was an intriguing woman, and, no doubt, like many modern queens mothers, would have liked to rule in her son’s name. On several occasions he gave way to her; generally Tiberius showed himself firm in repressing such ambition, velut partes sibi aequas potentias vindicaret (Intr. 56 s).

\textsuperscript{14} eademque, etc.: this assertion is evidently sincere; Tacitus (IV. 37. 2) calls him \textit{solidus epemneth honoribus}. See Intr. 24, and III. 47. 5.

\textsuperscript{5} licetorem: the vestal virgins were accompanied in public by lictors, but there were no precedents for these symbols of empire to accompany a private woman. Livia had, however, a lictor when officiating as priestess of Augustus, and afterwards two lictors were granted by the Senate to the younger Agrippina (XIII. 2).

\textsuperscript{5} aram adoptionis: i.e. to commemorate her adoption by Augustus, see 8. 2. Such altars were not unusual, and implied no personal sacredness.

4. Germanico Caesari: see 3. 5. proconsulare imperium: this was granted by the Senate. Its possession made him the colleague of the emperor, and designated him as successor: see Momms. \textit{Rom. St.}
Candidatos praeturae duodecim nominavit, numerum ab Augusto traditum; et hortante senatu ut augeret, iure iurando obstrinxit se non exessurum. Tum primum e campo comitia ad patres translatâ sunt; nam ad eam diem, etsi potissima arbitrio principis, quaedam tamen studiis tribuum siebant. Neque populus ademp- tum ius questus est nisi inani rumore, et senatus largitionibus ac precibus sordidis exsolutus libens tenuit.

II. 1031. He had not yet received the tribunician power.

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

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

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

16. e campo . . . translatâ sunt: this refers only to the election of praetors; the consules continued in form to be elected by the people at least until the time of Vespasian. (Momms. Röm. St. II. 865.) Velleius (II. 124) speaks of this in ordinatio comitiorum, quorum munus sua scriptam dedit Augustus reipublicâ. The place for holding the comitia was the Campus Martius. Velleius (II. 126) says of this: revocata in campo publico, nummata et foro sedilie, ambitio campo, discordia curia.

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

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

3. senatus: because all the important magistracies must be held by
mutatus princeps licentiam turbarum et ex civili bello
s p e m p r a e m i o r u m o s t e n d e b a t . C a s t r i s a e s t i v i s t r e s
simul legiones habebantur, praeidente Iunio Blaeso,
qui sine Augusti et initiis Tiberii auditus ob iustitium
aut gaudium intermisserat solita munia. Eo principio
lascivire miles, discordare, pessimi ciusque seremonibus
praebere aures, denique luxum et otium cupere, discipli-
nam et laborem aspernari.

Erat in castris Percennius quidam, dux olim theatra-
lium operarum, dein gregarius miles, procax lingua et
miscere coetus histrioni di studio doctus. Is imperitos
animos et quenam post Augustum militiae condicio
ambigentes impellere paulatim nocturnis colloquis aut
flexo in vesperam die et dilapsis melioribus detrerrimum
quemque congregare. Postremo promptis iam et alii
seditionis ministris velut contionabundus interrogabat,

Tiberius (12–8 B.C.), and organized
as a province a few years later,
comprised at this time the country
upon the rivers Drave and Save. It
was afterwards extended north to the
great bend of the Danube below
Vienna, and was always one of the
most important provinces from a
military point of view. Between the
three legions posted here and the
eight legions upon the Rhine (that
is, in the provinces of Rhaetia and
Noricum), there were no troops ex-
cept a few scattered garrisons of
auxiliaries. The murini in Pannon-
ia, therefore, followed by that of
the German legions, threatened to
strip the entire northern frontier of
its defences.

mutatus princeps: Intr. 35 g.
2 castris aestivis: this was in
the open country, a castra station
at Poetovio (Peteum), on the Drave.
(Mommsen, Provinces of the Roman

Empire, I. p. 26.) When they went
into winter quarters (30. 3), it was
within the walls of the town.
tres legiones: the VIII. (Augusta),
IX. (Hispania), and XV. (Apol-
linaria).

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

4. operarum: hired applauders,
claqueurs. In Pliny (Ep. VII. 24),
their service is itself called elestra-
this opera.
5. dilapsa, etc., when the better
minded had scattered to their tents.
17. alii . . . ministri: others
besides himself, as agents of sedi-
tion.
moderante Tiberio ne plures quam quattuor candidatos commendaret, sine repulsa et ambitu designandos.

Inter quae tribuni plebei petivere ut proprio sumptu ederent ludos, qui de nomine Augusti fastis additi Augustaeis vocarentur. Sed delecta pecunia ex aera, utque per circum triumphali veste uterentur; currum vehi haud permissum. Mox celebratio annua ad prae. torem translatata cui inter cives et peregrinos iurisdictionem evenisset.

Hic rerum urbanorum status erat, cum Pannonias legiones sedito incessit, nullis novis causis, nisi quod senators, who had heretofore been obliged to canvass for votes (largitionibus ac precibus sueditis). tenues sc. ius.

plures . . . candidatos: ques. praetorius. These were called candidati Caesaris. The commendatio sine repulsa et ambitu was equivalent to an appointment, and grew out of the formal and official sufragia, or personal canvassing of the republic. Augustus had continued the republican form of sufragia: tribus cum candidatis suas circumhavit. supplicatioque more sollemnis (Suet. Oct. 56). Velleius (II. 124) relates an interesting fact, in relation to this commendation: mehi frae. trigue mon, candidatus Caesaris . . . destinari praetorius contigit, consecutis, ut necesse post non quemquam duros Augustus, necesse autem Caesar commendaretum Tiberius.

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

vocarentur: subjunctive, as being part of their request.

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

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

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

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

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

16. Pannonias: Pannonia, or Illyricum superior, conquered by
cur paucis centurionibus, paucioribus tribunis in modum servorum oboedirent. Quando ausuros exposcere remedia, nisi novum et nutantem adhuc principem precibus vel armis adirent? Satis per tot annos ignavia peccatum: quod tricena aut quadragena stipendia senes et plerique truncato ex vulneribus corpore tolerent. Ne dimissis quidem finem esse militiae, sed apud vexillum tendentes alio vocabulo eosdem labores perferre. Ac si quis tot casus vita superaverit, trahi adhuc diversas in terras, ubi per nomen agrorum uligines paludum vel inculta montium accipiant. Enimvero militiam ipsam gravem infructuosam: denis in diem assibus animam et corpus aestimari; hinc vestem arma tentoria, hinc saevitiam centurionum et vacaciones munera redimi. At herculae verbera et vulnera, duram hiemem, exercitatus aestates, bellum atrox aut sterilem pacem sempiterna.

paucis, etc.: there were six tribunes and sixty centurions to a legion.

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

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

adhibe = insuper.

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

uligines paludum: Intr. 35 c.

6. denis assibus: the *ass* was worth about a cent.

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

vacationes munera, *furloughs*. Redimi is used in a different sense with the two subjects,—buying off the cruelty by buying furloughs; *cf.* *Hist.* i. 46: *luctisitissimus quisque miles laborat.*
8 Nec aliud levamentum quam si certis sub legibus militia iniretur, ut singulos denarios mererent, sextus decimus stipendii annus finem adferret, ne ultra sub vexillis tene rentur, sed isdem in castris praemium pecunia solvere tur. An praetorias cohortes, quae binos denarios accep refill, quae post sedecim annos penatibus suis reddantur, plus periculorum suscipere? Non obtrectari a se urba nas excubias; sibi tamen apud horridas gentes e con tubernis hostem aspici. Adstrepebat vulgus, diversis incitamentis, hi verberum notas, illi canitiem, plurimi detrita tegmina et nudum corpus exprobrantes. Post tremo eo furoris venere ut tres legiones miscere in unam agitaverint. Depulsi emulatione, quia suae quisque

saevitas fatigari, donec vacatio nem emerit. 8. certis ... legibus, well-defined conditions.
singulos denarios: their pay (see above) was ten asses a day. The as was a copper coin; the denarius was originally a silver coin, as its name implies; worth ten asses; see note on quadrigerinties, 8. 3. In the time of the Second Punic War the standard of the copper currency was lowered, so that now the as was worth about one cent, and the denarius nearly twenty cents.

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

9. binos denarios: the pay of the pretorians was legally double that of the legionaries; but by paying them in silver, while the legionaries were paid in copper, their pay was really more than three times as great—two denarii being nearly forty cents, while deni asses were only ten cents. The not unreasonable demand of the mutineers was the reduction of their term of service to its former length, payment according to the spirit of the law, cash bounties promptly paid, and the abolition or regulation of the nominally voluntary service after discharge.

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

countuberniis, etc.: i.e. were before their very eyes.

18. exprobrantes, displaying, by way of reproach. 2. eo, to that point or degree. The genitive after adverbs of place is common in the writers after Cicero.

miscere in unam: this would have been to destroy all discipline and organization; see 34. 4, where the first act of Germanicus was to order the mutineers discere in manipulos. The object of the move was probably like that of a round robin, to avoid individual responsibility.
legioni eum honorem quarebant, alio vertunt atque una tres aquisas et signa cohortium locant; simul congerunt 4 caespites, exstruunt tribunal quo magis conspicua sedes foret.

Properantibus Blaesus advenit, increpabatque ac re-5 tinebat singulos, clamitans: 'Mea potius caede imbuite manus; leviore flagitio legatum interficietis quam ab imperatore desciscitis. Aut incolmis fidem legionum reti-6 nebo, aut iugulatus paenitentiam accelerabo.' Aggeraba-19 tur nihil minus caespes, iamque pectori usque acceverat, cum tandem pervicacia victi inceptum omisere. Blae-8 sus multa dicendi arte non per seditionem et turbas desideria militum ad Caesarem ferenda ait, neque veteres

3. *eum honorem*; *i.e.* of being the one—retaining its individual organization, absorbing the other legions into itself, and giving its name to the united body.

*alio i.e.* have recourse to another plan.

tres aquisas, etc.: the silver eagle was made by Marius the standard of each legion. Besides this each maniple had a *signum*. It has been questioned whether a cohort had a separate standard, and the present passage has been explained as meaning the three manipular standards of the several cohorts. Caesar, however (*B. G. II. 25*), says: *quaruo cohortis . . . signiserr interfecit, signo aminta*, which seems to prove that the cohort had a standard and standard-bearer of its own.

4. *tribunal*: this was a raised platform used in Rome by the pretors and other magistrates for the administration of justice. As the consul and military tribunes exercised judicial power, there was a tribunal in every camp made of turf, which was used also for the purpose of addressing the soldiers; this was_in the middle of the camp, at the left of the general's tent, *praetorium*. On this occasion the soldiers seem to have erected a new tribunal, probably in the middle of their own quarters.

*sedes*: the place where they collected their standards.

5. *properantibus*: best taken as dative.

*leviore flagitio, etc.*: a very condensed expression,—*it will be a lighter fault for you to, etc.*

*legatum, commander*: *i.e.* Blaesus. As governor of the province, and commander of its forces, his full title was *legatus Augusti pro praetore*, 'deputy of the emperor with praetorian powers' (*Intr. 17*).

19. *aggerabatur*: the manuscript reads *aggerebatur*, a much weaker expression: moreover, the compound, according to the usual orthography of the manuscript, should be *aggerebatur*.


*veteres*: *i.e.* in the time of the Republic.
ab imperatoribus priscis neque ipsos a divo Augusto tam nova petivisse; et parum in tempore incipientes
principis curas onerari. Si tamen tenderent in pace tempore quae ne civilium quidem bellorum victores
expostulaverint, cur contra morem obsequii, contra fas
disciplinae vim meditentur? Decernerent legatos sequer
14 coram mandata darent. Acclamatione ut filius Blaesi
tribunus legatione ea fungeretur peteretque militibus
missionem ab sexdecim annis; cetera mandaturos, ubi
prima provenissent.
20 Prefecto iuvene modicum otium; sed superbire miles,
quod filius legati orator publicae causae satis ostenderet
necessitate expressa quae per modestiam non obtinuis-

p. rum in tempore, very inap-
portunately.
3. tenderent, meditentur; this
change to present time in indirect
discourse is common in Tacitus.
Drager attributes it to a desire to
avoid similarity of ending; Plintz, to
the effort of the writer to place
himself in imagination in the time
of the occurrence,—a more proba-
ble explanation.
4. coram, in his presence—as a
regular, orderly delegation.
mandata, their message.
subjunctive in indirect discourse.
ab sexdecim annis, after sixteen
years of service.
5. expressa, extended, agrees with
the antecedent implied in quae.
20. Nauportum: Ober Laybach
in Carniola. Lying upon the upper
waters of the Save, it occupied the
entrance to the province of Pan-
nonia.
turbatum: s. ease; object of
accepere.

vexilla: bodies of troops de-
tached on special service had as
their standards vexilla, made of
cloth, instead of metal signa, used
in the legion. These standards were
fixed in the ground, and to pull
them up, convellere, was the signal
for moving.
municipiis instar: the munici-
pium was a town which had received
Roman citizenship, still retaining
the management of its own local
concerns. This municipal organi-
sation was gradually extended from
Italy into the provinces; but as
Pannonia had been only recently
organized as a province (a.d. 10),
the town in question had not yet
received municipal privileges, al-
A.D. 14.]

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35

incipi erat, retinentis centuriones irissu et contumeliis, postremo verberibus insectantur, praecipua in Aufidienum Rufum praefectum castrorum ira, quem deréptum vehiculó sacris gravant aguntque primo in agrine, per ludibrium rogitantes an tam immensa onera, tam longa itinera libenter feret. Quippe Rufus diu manipulis, dein centurio, max castris praefectus, antiquam duramque militiam revocabat, vetus operis ac laboris et eo immittor, quia toleraverat. Horum ad ventum redintegra tur seditio, et vagi circumiecta populabantur. Blaesus paucos, maxime praedam onustos, ad terrem ceterorum affici verberibus, claudi carceri iubet: nam etiam tum legato a centurioibus et optimo quoque manipulário parebatur. Illi obniti trahentibus, 3

though large enough for this purpose (municipii instar), and probably having a forum, or market-place, and Roman inhabitants. After being pillaged on this occasion, Nausporus never recovered its prosperity, and the colony of Emont, Laybach, shortly afterwards founded about fifteen miles to the northeast, prospered at its expense.

retinentis: consative, attempting to restrain them.

praefectus castrorum: prae- fectus is not the title of any special magistrate or officer, but is a general term for any officer, civil or military, appointed in charge of a special service, as a centurion or tribune placed in command of a camp, a detachment, a body of cavalry or of auxiliaries. The praefectus castrorum was appointed from among the primipilares, or chief centurions, with powers similar to those of a quarter-master. After the time of Domitian there was one for each legion, and he afterwards became the regular commander of the legion in place of the legatus. Mar-
prensare circumstantium genua, ciere modo nomina
singulorum, modo centuriam quisque cius manipularis,
erat, cohortem, legionem, eadem omnibus imminere clai-
mitantes. Simul probra in legatum cumulat, caelum
ac deos obtestantur, nihil reliqui faciunt quo minus
invidiam misericordiam metum et iras permoverent.
Accurritur ab universis, et carcere effracto solvunt vin-
cula desertoresque ac rerum capitale damnatos sibi
iam miscetent.  

22 Flagrantior inde vis, plures seditioni duces. Et
Vibulenus quidam gregarius miles, ante tribunal Blaes
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 patillium habet atque armat. Responde,
Blaese, ubi cadaver abieceris: ne hostes quidem sepul-
tura invidet. Cum osculis, cum lacrimis dolorem meum

nomina singulorum, individ
ueat by name, contrasted with cen
turiam, which was appealed to as a body.

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

2. nihil reliqui factum, leave nothing undone.

5. universam, all in a body.

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

22. tribunal Blaes: the regu
lar tribunal of the camp, not that
constructed by the mistineers (18.4).

turbato, intermingled, as a mob.

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

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

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

2. sepultura: ablative of specifi-
cation or possibly of separation,
after the idea of withholding im-
plied in invidiant, grudge. We
should expect also a dative of the
person; but the construction here
found is common in writers of this
period.
implevero, me quoque trucidari iube, dum interfectos
nullum ob scelus, sed quia utilitati legionum consuleba
mus, hi ~epeliant.' Incendebat haec fietu et pectus a
atque os manibus verberans. Mox disiectis quo rum a
per ueros sustinebatur, praecipest et singulorum pedi
bus ad volutus tantum consternationis invidiaeque coii
civit, ut pars militum gladiatorae qui servitio Blaes
erant, pars ceteram eiudem familiam vincirent, alii ad
quaridnum corpus effunderentur. Aci ni propepe neque 3
corpus ullam reperiri et servos adhibitis cruciatibus ab
nuere caedem, neque illi fuisse unquam fratrem perno
tuisset, haud multum ab exitio legati abe rant. Tribu
nos tamen ac praefectum castrorum extrusere, sarcinae
fugientium direptae, et centurio Lucilius interdictur,
cui militaribus factis vocabulam "Cedo alteram" indi
derant, quia fracta vite in tergo militis alteram clara
voce ac rursus aliam poscebat. Ceteros latebrae tex
ero, uno retento Clemente Iulio, qui perferendis milii
tum mandatis habebatur idoneus ob promptum ingen
nium. Quin ipsae inter se legiones octava et quinta 6

3. interf ectos: himself and his
brother.
hi: his fellow-soldiers.
23. incendebat, etc.: the tears
and other expressions of grief added
fire to his words; "incendiary talk."
fietu ... verberans: lat. 35 r.
2. disiectis: agrees with ilia un
derstood, antecedent of quorum.
He pushed apart the men on whose
shoulders he was standing, and
dropped to the ground.
pedibus advolutus: cf. 13. 7.
familiam, body of slaves.
3. aberrant: the indicative of
spodosis is joined with the pluperfect
subjunctive of protasis, to indicate
that the action was actually begun,
and on the point of being completed.
So with parabatur, 6.
4. vocabulum, nickname.
Cedo alteram: sc. vitern, Give
us-another; the old imperative,
common in colloquial language.
vita: branches of vine were used
in the army for flogging Roman
citizens; cudgels, for other soldiers.
Livy says of Scipio at Numantia:
vi Romanus cred Julius, ut extra
nus, fustibus ceediti (Ep. 57). The
vine-stick was the badge of the cen
turion’s office.
oposcebat: it was his habit.
5. perferendis ... mandatis:
dative with idoneus, a post-Augus
tan usage. See 26. 1.
decima ferrum parabaet, dum centurionem cognomento
Sirpicum illa morti deposcit, quintadecumani tuentur, ni
miles nonanus preces et adversi aspernantis minas
interieisset.

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

4 Druso propinquanti quasi per officium obviae fuere
legiones, non lactae, neque insignibus ful-
gentes, sed illuvie deformi et vultu, quamquam maestri-

6. cognomento, by name (not a
mors: Intr. 35 f.
34. quamquam: Intr. 35 f.
abstrusum, reserved.
praetorii cohortibus: see note
on Selius Strabo, p. 3.
2. delecto milite: i.e. out of the
other pretorian cohorts.
praetoriani equitis: a turma
equitum was attached to each
century of these pretorians.
robora Germanorum: these
were mounted guards composed of
German mercenaries. Augustus
dismissed them after the defeat of
Varus; perhaps he recalled them
into service, or this may have been
done by Tiberius.
Aelius Seianus: he succeeded
his father as pretorian prefect, and
ruled the empire for several years
in the name of Tiberius. See IV.
1 ff, and, for his death, the passage
from Dio, which follows Book V.
juveni: depending upon rector,
where the genitive might be ex-
pected. Imperatori and cetera
are in a similar construction. (Intr.
35 f.)
cetera: i.e. the soldiers; pericu-
lorum: i.e. punishments, in case
they should mis-behave. The context
seems to show that it is the pretor-
ians, not the legionaries, that are
referred to.
4. quasi per officium, as if to
show him honor, relating to what
follows. This was, nevertheless,
nothing but their duty as soldiers.
insignibus: decorations and
badges of individual soldiers.
illuvie deformi et vultu . . .
propiones: intr. 35 f.
tiam imitarentur, contumaciae propiores. Postquam 25 vallum introit, portas stationibus firmant, globos armatorum certis castrorum locis oppressi iubent; ceteri tribunal ingenti agrine circumveniunt. Stabat Drusus silentium manu poscens. Illi quoties oculos ad multitudinem retuluerant, vocibus truculentis strepere, rum sum viso Caesare trepidare; murmur incertum, atrox clamor et repente quies; diversis animorum motibus pavebant terrebantque. Tandem interrupto tumultu 3 litteras patris recitat, in quis perscriptum erat praecipuam ipsi fortissimarum legionum curam, quibuscum plurima bella toleravisset; ubi primum a luctu requiesset animus, actum apud patres de postulatis eorum; mississe interim filium, ut sine cunctatione concederet quae statim tribui possent; cetera senatui servanda, quem neque gratiae neque severitatis expertem haberi par esset.

Responsum est a contione, mandata Clementi centu. 28 rioni quae perferret. Is orditur de missione a sedecim annis, de praeemiis finitae militiae, ut denarius diurnum stipendum foret, ne veterani sub vexillo haberentur.

imitarentur: subj. after quamquam (Intr. 35). contumaciae propiores: really in a spirit of defiance manifested in their looks. 25. firmant and iubent: the prefects. The praetorians were kept out (cf. 30. 1).
2. stabat: emphatic and picturesque from its position. A statue in the Louvre, in the attitude here described, is believed by Stahr to represent Drusus on this occasion.
illii: the ringleaders who stood in front.
3. plurima bella: Tiberius had conquered Paannonia in four campaigns (B.C. 13-9), and had afterwards, with Germanicus, suppressed a formidable insurrection there and in Daemata, known as the Batavian War (A.D. 6-9), gravissimum omnium exterrorum bellorum post Punicam. Sect. 713. 16.
sextii: Tiberius, as we have seen, was careful to observe the forms and maintain the still surviving powers of the Republic; it belonged to the Senate to reward and to punish (neque gratiae neque severitatis expertem haberi).
28. 2. orditur: in relation to these demands see notes to chap. 17.
40  TACITUS.  [Book I. 

Ad ea Drusus cum arbitrium senatus et patris obtendēret, clamore turbatur. Cur venisset, neque augendis militum stipendiis neque adlevandis laboribus, denique nulla bene faciendi licentia? at hercule verbera et necem cunctis permittī. Tiberium olim nomine Augusti deserīa legionum frustrari solītum: easdem artes Drusum rettulisse. Numquamne ad se nisi filios familiarum venturos? Novum id plane quod imperator sola militis commoda ad senatum reiciat. Eundem ergo senatum consulendum, quotiens supplicia aut proelia indicantur; an praemia sub dominis, poenas sine arbitro esse?

27 Postremo deserunt tribunal, ut quis praetorianorum milītum amicorumve Caesāris occurreret, manus intentantes, causam discordiae et initium armorum, maxime infensi arbitrium . . . obtendēret: i.e. gave as an excuse for not acting the fact that the decision lay with them.

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

ūlmī: when he was their commander.

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

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

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

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

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

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

causam: Int. 35 ff.; cf. 30, 1, documentum fāciō; 11. 64, 6, causas bella. There are a few examples in earlier writers (e.g. Hor. Sat. I. 4, 10, ut magnum); but the classical writers regularly used a relative clause in such cases. Deli-
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A.D. 14]

Cn. Lentulo, quod is ante alios aetate et gloria belli firmare Drusum credebatur et illa militiae flagitia primus aspernari. Nec multo post digredientem cum Caesare ac provisus periculi hiberna castra repetentem circumstistunt, rogitantes quo pergeret, ad imperatorem an ad patres, ut ilic quoque commodis legionum adversaretur; simul ingruunt, saxa iacuunt. Iamque lapidis ictu cruentus et exitii certus accursu multitudinis quae cum Druso advenerat protectus est.

Noctem minacem et in sclerus erupturam fors lenivit; nam luna claro repente caelo visa languescere. Id miles rationis ignarus omen praesentium accepi, suis laboribus defectionem sideris adsimulans, prosperaque cessura quae pergerent, si fulgor et claritudo deae redegeretur. Igitur aeris sono, tubarum cornuumque concentu strepere; prout splendidior obscuriorve, laetari aut maerere; et postquam ortae nubes offeceret visui credendumque.

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

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

2. digredientem cum Caesare: Drusus was probably accompanying him to the gate outside of which the praetorians, multitudo quae cum Druso advenerat, were stationed; these troops, seeing his danger, came to his rescue, as afterwards described. provisus: a word used only in the ablative, and peculiar to Tacitus.

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

erupturam, ready to break out.

visa languescere: this eclipse took place Sept. 26.

2. quae pergerent: see Appendix I.

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

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

ortae nubes: Farnaeus suggests "that their spirits rose after the time of greatest obscuration was past, but that after this the moon became permanently hidden by
conditam tenebris, ut sunt mobiles ad superstitionem 
perculsa semel mentes, sibi aeternum laborem portendi, 
sua facinora aversari deos lamentantur. Utendum incli-
nnatione ea Caesar et quae casus obtulerat in sapientiam 
vertenda ratus circumire tentoria iubet; accitur centurio 
Clemens et si alii bonis artibus grati in vulgus. Hi 
vigilii stationibus custodiis portarum se inserunt, spem 
offerunt, metum intendunt. 'Quo usque filium impera-
toris obsidebimus? quis certaminum finis? Percen-
nione et Vibuleno sacramentum dicturi sumus? Per-
cennius et Vibulenus stipendia militibus, agros emeritis 
largentur? denique pro Neronibus et Drusis imperium 
populi Romani capessent? Quin potius, ut novissimi 
in culpam, ita primi ad paenitentiam sumus? Tarda 
sunt quae in commune expostulantur; privatam gratiam 
statim mereare, statim recipias.' Commotis per haec 
mentibus et inter se suspectis, tironem a veterano, legi-
onem a legione dissociant. Tum redire paulatim amor 
obsequii; omnitut portas, signa unum in locum prin-
cipio seditionis congregata suas in sedes referunt.

Drusus orto die et vocata contione, quamquam rudis

clouds, and that even this common phenomenon, coupled with the 
eclipse, worked upon their minds."
4. In sapientiam, to the account of 
good sense.
5. vigilii, watch, patrol: sta-
tionibus, posts, pickets; custodia, 
guards.
6. Percenniones, etc.: the oath 
of the Roman soldier was taken per-
sonally to his commander. 
emeritis, after discharge.
Neronibus et Drusis: not merely 
alluding to the illustrious families — 
the Claudian and Livian genus, to 
which the Neros and Drusi belonged: 
we see besides this the tacit recog-
nition of an imperial or royal family.
7. novissimi in culpam: they 
either were, or were absurdly repre-
sented as being, less guilty than the 
others.
in culpam . . . ad paenitentia-
tiam: Instr. 35 r.
tarda: i.e. of fulfilment; the ad-
vice is, do not wait to negotiate in 
a body: make your peace individu-
ally (privatam).
mereare and recipias are apo-
doxia to a protasis implied in pri-
vatam: if you make your submission 
as individuals, you earn and you re-
ceive favor at once.
29. rudis, untrained.
dicendi, nobilitate ingenita incusat priora, probat praesentia; negat se terreore et minis vinci: flexos ad modestiam si videat, si supplices audiat, scripturum patri ut placatus legionum preces exciperet. Orantibus rursum idem Blaesus et L. Apronius, eques Romanus e coorte Drusi, Iustusque Catonius, primi ordinis centurio, ad Tiberiummittuntur. Certatuminde sententiiis, cum alii opperendos legatos atque interim comitate permulcendum militem censerent, alii fortioribus remediiis agendum: nihil in vulgo modicum; terrere, ni paveant; ubi pertinuerint, impune contemni; dum superstitio urget, adiciendos ex duce metus sublatis seditionis auctoribus. Promptum ad asperiora ingenium Druso erat; vocatos 4 Vibulenum et Percenenum interfici iubet. Tradunt pleisque intra tabernaculum ducis obtutos, alii corpora extra vallum abieect ostentui. Tum ut quisque praecipuus turbator conquisiti, et pars, extra castra palantes, a centurionibus aut praetoriarum cohortium militibus

nobilitate ingenita: he had the dignity of bearing which often accompanies the consciousness of high birth. The busts and statues of Drusus represent him as strongly resembling his father, especially in the characteristic compression of the lips.

2. orantibus: ablative absolute, with no expressed subject: of their request (Lantr. 35 s).

rursum idem: the younger Blaesus, who had been their messenger before.

cohortes, suile: see VI. 9.

Iustus Catonius: he was praetorian prefect under Claudius, and was put to death by the intrigues of the Empress Messalina.

primi ordinis: i.e. of the first cohort of the legion, which outranked the others. The first centurion of the first cohort was called primus pilus, and ranked with the higher officers.

3. certatuminde: i.e. among the counsellors of Drusus.

nihil ... modicum, no halfway measures.

terrere ... pavessant: cf. pavabant testimonum, 25. 2.

ex duce: proceeding from, or inspired by, the commander. There would be an ambiguity in duces, which would naturally be a subjective genitive.

4. promptum ad asperiora, etc.: Tacitus calls him (76. 3) suile annum missis gaudenti. According to Dio Cassius (LVII. 13), Tiberius frequently reproved the intemperate and brutal disposition of his son;—haec ... inveteres salutares. He adds that the sharpest swords were
caesi; quosdam ipsi manipuli documentum fidei tradider. Aixerat militum curas praematura hiems imbribus continuis adeoque saevis ut non egredi tentoria, congregari inter se, vix tutari signa possent, quae turbin atque unda raptabantur. Durabat et formido caelestis irae, nec frustra adversus impios hebescere sidera, ruere tempestates; non alius malorum levamentum quam si linquerent castra infausta temerataque et soluti piaculo suis quisque hibernis redderentur. Primum octava, dein quinta decima legio rediere; nonanuis opperiendas Tiberii epistulas clamitaverat, mox desolatus aliorum discensione imminentem necessitatem sponte praevenit. Et Drusus non exspectato legatorum regressu, quia praesentia satis considerant, in urbem redit.

Isdem ferme diebus isdem causis Germanicae legiones turbatae, quanto plures, tanto violentius, et magna spe fore ut Germanicus Caesar imperium alterius pati ne-

called promur. Nevertheless, many amiable traits appear in him, especially his constant affection for his cousin and adopted brother Germanicus, of whom he might easily have been jealous.

69. documentum: cf. causam, 27. 1 n.
70. nec frustra, etc.: this is the reasoning of the soldiers, as is shown by the construction (indirect discourse).
malorum: neuter.
placulo, guilt; cf. Verg. Aen. VI. 569, comissae placula,
4. epistulas: for epistulum, after the analogy of litteras.
dsolas, abandoned.
5. considerant = consederant: an archaic form.
60. Germanicae legiones: this mutiny was even more formidable than that of Pannonia; the army was larger, there was an active and warlike enemy watching for an opportunity, and the commander of the province, Germanicus, by his personal qualities, and his official authority, as well as by his relation to the imperial family, might have been a formidable rival to the unpopular emperor (Intr. 26 B). The authority of Germanicus extended over the tres Galliae (Intr. 18. 16), and also over what was left of the province of Germany (Intr. 18. 21. 23), established by Drusus (R.C. 12), and reconquered by Arminius (A.D. 9). The army of Germany consisted of eight legions, with their quota of auxiliaries, stationed upon the left bank of the Rhine.
quiaret daretque se legionibus vi sua cuncta tracturis. 
Duo apud ripam Rheni exercitus erant; cui nomen superiori, sub C. Silio legato, inferiorem A. Caecina curabat. 
Regimen summæ rei penes Germanicum, agendo Galliarum censui tum intentum. Sed quibus Silius moderabatur, mente ambigua fortunam seditionis alienae spectabantur; inferioris exercitum miles in rabiem prolapsus est, orto ab uneventibus manipulis quintanisque initio, et tractis prima quoque ac vicesima legionibus; nam isdem aestivis in finibus Ubiorum habitabantur per otium aut levia munia. Igitur audito fine Augusti vernacula.
multitudo, nuper acto in urbe dilectu, lasciviae sueta, laborum intolerans, implere ceterorum rudes animos: venisse tempus quo veterani maturum missionem, iuvenes largiora stipendia, cuncti modum miseriaum exposcerent saevitiamque centurionum ulciscerentur.

Non unus haec, ut Pannonicas inter legiones Percennius, nec apud trepidas... illicitum aures alios validiores exercitus respicientium, sed multa seditionis ora vocesque: sua in manu sitam rem Romanam, suis victorius augeri rem publicam, in suum cognomentum adscisci imperatores. Nec legatus obviam ibat: quippe plurium vecordia constantiam exemerat. Repente lymphati strictis gladiis in centuriones invadunt: ea vetustissima militaribus odiis materies et saeviendi principium. Prostratos verberibus mulcant, sexageni singulos, ut

Mommsen, these troops, hastily levied after the disaster of Varus, were taken from those members of the city populace who did not possess citizenship. Suetonius says of Augustus (Oct. 25): libertas militiae, praestitum Romam inceptiorum causa et si tumultus in gravior annoa materetur, bis unus est; sumet ad praetorium coloniarii Illyricum contingens; iterum ad tuitum ripae Rheni fluminis, the latter being the case in question. Implere: i.e. with the notions expressed by veniisse, etc.
maturum missionem, etc.: the same demands as those of the Pannonian soldiers. Cf. 17. &
iuvenes: those in active service.
5. respicientium: the Pannonian legions were so near Italy, that they might expect to be promptly crushed by new forces brought against them.

Imperatores: not emperors, but commanders; referring to Drusus and his son, their present commanders, both of whom bore the name Germanicus. The name, derived from that of the province, was also borne by the brother of Germanicus, the emperor Claudius: senator... decretis Germaniici cognominem ipsi [Drusus] posterosque eius (Suet. Claud. 1); sometimes also by Tiberius.

22. obviam ibat: i.e. the emergency.
vecordia: the prefix ve expresses negative, and often positive evil, as in Vercovia, the evil Jupiter; vecorn, with mind led astray. Cf. Aulus Gellius, V. 12.
constantiam, presence of mind.
2. sq. these, referring to the centurions, but attracted to agree with materies. The centurions, whose badge was a vine-stick, were chiefly remembered by the men as using this in flogging them.
numerum: there being sixty centurions to a legion; 'the men wanted to show them what it was to have sixty floggers.' Holbrooke.
numertum centurionum adaequarent; tum convulsos
laniatosque et partim examinos ante vallum aut in
annem Rhenum proiciunt. Septimius cum perfugisset 4
ad tribunal pedibusque Caecinae advolvi eteru, eo usque
flagitatus est donec ad exitum dedeteret. Cassius 5
Chaerea, mox caede Gai Caesaris memoriam apud pos-
teros adeptus, tum adulescens et animi ferox, inter ob-
stantes et armatos ferro viam patefecit. Non tribunus 6
ultra, non castrorum praefectus ius obtinuit; vigilias
stationes et si qua alia praesens usus indixerat, ipsi part-
tiebantur. Id militares animos altius coniectantibus 7
praecipuam indicium magni atque implacabiliis motus,
quo neque disiecti aut paucorum instinctu, sed pariter
ardescerent, pariter silerent, tanta aequalitate et con-
stantia ut regi crederes.

Interea Germanico per Gallias, ut diximus, census 88
accipienti excessisse Augustum adfertur. Neptem 9
eius Agrippinam in matrimonio pluresque ex ea libe-
ros habebat, ipse Druso fratre Tiberii genitus, Augustae 3

4. Septimius (otherwise un-
known) and Cassius Chaerea:
two of the centurions.
eius usque: explained by donec
dedeteret (Intr. 35 f.).
5. Gai Caesaris: better known
as the Emperor Caligula. His mur-
der was A.D. 41.
6. castrorum praefectus: see
20. 11.
eius obtinuit, maintained his au-
thority.
7. altius coniectantibus, in the
eyes of those who could see under the
surface (Intr. 35 f.): coniectan-
tibus governs animos.
pariter (cf. ipsi partiebant
above): they needed no leader, like
the Pannonian legions, but governed
themselves.
regi: i.e. by a commander.

88. ut diximus: 31. 2.
2. Agrippinam: Intr. 36 d.
liberos: the number is given by
Sestonius (Calig. 7) as nine in
all: there were now three boys liv-
ing, Nero, born A.D. 6; Drusus,
born A.D. 7; and Gaius (the Em-
peror Caligula), born A.D. 12; all of
these were conspicuous in the clos-
ing years of the reign of Tiberius,
and the deaths of the two eldest
are among the most serious crimes
imputed to the emperor. Three
boys, between Drusus and Gaius,
had died in infancy. There were
afterwards born three girls: Agrip-
pina, the mother of the Emperor
Nero; Drusilla and Julia Levia.
(Mommsen, Herman, XIII. 245.)
3. Druso: the very image of
manly beauty and of winning grace
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eapos; sed anxius occultis in se patrui aviaeque odiis, quorum causae aciores, quia iniquae. Quippe Drusi magna apud populum Romanum memoria, credebaturque, si rerum potitus foret, libertatem redditurus; unde in Germanicum favor et spes eadem. Nam iuveni civile ingenium, mira comitas et diversa ab Tiberiis sermone vultu, adrogantibus et obscuris. Accedebant muliebres offensiones novercalibus Liviae in Agrippinam stimulis, atque ipsa Agrippina paulo commotor, nisi quod castitate et marii amore quamvis indomitu animus in bonum vertebat.

34 Sed Germanicus quanto summae spei propior, tanto impensius pro Tiberio niti, seque et proximos et Belgarum civitates in verba eius adigit. Dehinc audito

in converse, a brave soldier and an able general, a pronounced panegyrist, moreover, of the old republican system, and in every respect the most popular prince of the imperial house.' Monsan. He conquered Germany, and died, a.c. 9, from a fall with his horse.

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

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

4. libertatem redditurum: see II. 82; also note above. Suetonius (7IV. 50) speaks of a letter written by him to Tiberius, and betrayed by the latter to Augustus, qua secum de cegendo ad restitendum libertatem Augusto aequat. There is no doubt that he sympathized with the aristocratic constitution of the Republic rather than the new monarchy; but this incident can hardly have been true, for it is certain that he retained the favor and confidence of Augustus to the last.

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

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

nisi quod: there is an ellipsis of thought here,—a violence of temper which we should condemn, but that, etc.; cf. Agr. 6., nisi quod in bene nescer bene movere iuvat, quanto in malo plus celeres est.

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

Belgarum civitates: evidently he administered the oath of alle-
legionum tumultu raptim profectus obvias extra castra habuit, deiectis in terram oculis velut paenitentia. Postquam vallum ininit, dissoni questus audiri coeptere; et quidam prensa manu eius per speciem exosculandi inseruerunt digitos, ut vacua dentibus ora contingeret; ali curvata senio membra ostendebant. Assistentem contionem, quia permixta videbatur, discedere in manipulos iubet: sic melius audituros respondum; vexilla praeferru, ut id saltem discernet cohortes: tarde obtenevare. Tunc a veneratione Augusti orsus flexit ad victorias triumphosque Tiberii, praecipuis laudibus celebrans quae apud Germanias illis cum legionibus pulcherrima fecisset. Italiae inde consensum, Galliarum fidem extollit; nil usquam turbidum aut discors. Silentio haec vel murmur modico audita sunt. Ut 85 seditionem attigist, ubi modestia militaris, ubi veteris
disciplinae decus, quonam tribunos, quo centuriones exegissent rogitans, nundant universi corpora, cicatrices ex ulmeribus, verberum notas exprobrant; mox indiscretis vexibus pretia vacationum, angustias stipendi, duritiam operum, ac propriis nominibus incusant vallum, fossas, pabuli materiae lignorum aggestus, et si qua alia ex necessitate aut adversus otium castrorum quaeuntur.

4. Atrociissimus veteranorum clamor oriebatur, qui tricena aut supra stipendia numerantes, mederetur fessis, nee mortem in isdem laboribus, sed finem tam exercitae militiae neque inopem requiem orabant.

5. Fuere etiam qui legatam a divo Augusto pecuniam reposcerent, faustis in Germanicum omnibus; et si vellet imperium, promptos ostentaveret. Tum vero, quasi scelere contaminaretur, praeceps tribunali desiluit. Opposuerunt abeunti arma, minitantes ni regrederetur; at ille moriturum potius quam fidem exueret clamitans, ferrum a latere diripuit elatumque deferebat in pectus,

tribunos: nothing has been said of any violence towards the tribunes, but it appears from 32. 6 and 7, that they had been deprived of authority.
indiscretia, confused.
pretia vacationum, the sums paid for furloughs. Ct. 17. 6.
opposuerunt abeunti arma, minitantes ni regrederetur;

3. Fuere etiam qui legatam a divo Augusto pecuniam reposcerent, faustis in Germanicum omnibus; et si vellet imperium, promptos ostentaveret. Tum vero, quasi scelere contaminaretur, praeceps tribunali desiluit. Opposuerunt abeunti arma, minitantes ni regrederetur;

faustis . . . ominibus: i.e. declaring that they had nothing against him personally. Ct. faustus in Cassarem ominibus, V. 4. 3.
opposuerunt abeunti arma, minitantes ni regrederetur;

materialia, timber; lignorum, fuel.
adversus otium: i.e. without necessity; but to keep the men busy, and thus out of mischief.
2. mederetur: depends upon orahant, which also (by neglect of conciinancy, Intr. 35 r) governs the accusatives mortem, etc. The sense of this very condensed passage is, —that he would not let them die in the midst of their sufferings, but would grant them rest, and that not in poverty.

5. quam: for quam ut; common in Livy also.
deferebat . . . ni, was upon the point of, etc.; but. Some commentators (e.g. Stahr), in their eager partisanship for Tiberius, represent this act of Germanicus as mere display, and assert that he readily allowed himself to be disarmed. It is cer-
ni proximi prensam dextram vi attinuisset. Extrema 6 et conglobata inter se pars contionis ac, vix credibile dictu, quidam singuli proprius incendentes, 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.

Consultatum ibi de remedio; etenim nuntiabatur 88 parari legatos qui superiorem exercitum ad causam eandem traherent: destinatum excidio Ubiorum oppidum, imbutaque praeda manus in direptionem Galliarum erupturas. Augebat metum gnarus Romanae seditio et, si omitteretur ripa, invasurus hostis; at si auxilia et socii adversum ascendentes legiones armanentur, civile bellum suscipi. Periculosus severitas, flagi- tain that there was an element of weakness and ostentation in his character, but there is no reason for questioning his sincerity here, and the action was consistent with his whole career. When we consider how many emperors were afterwards made him, at the head of eight legions, a formidable rival to his unpopular uncle.

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

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

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

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

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

suscipi: the present tense implies that calling out this levy, etc., would be in itself an act of civil war.
tiosa largitio; seu nihil militi sive omnia conceduntur, in ancipiti res publica.

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


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

3. conceduntur: see App. I.
4. volutatis: the same figure as in the English turn over in one's mind.
    stipendia . . . meritis: stipen-
    diam muneri (lit. to earn pay) was to serve a full campaign; this means, therefore, to those who had served twenty years.

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

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

    duplicari: Suetonius says (7ib. 48) that this was the only donation given by Tiberius to the soldiers except after the fall of Sejanus. The frugal disposition of Tiberius was undoubtedly often carried to the extent of parsimony and even niggardliness, and this was a leading cause of his unpopularity. On several occasions, however, he showed a prompt and wise liberality: see II. 47, 48, 86; IV. 64.

27. In tempus, for the emergency. Cf. ad tempus, 7, 2 a.

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

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

aestivis: see note, 16, 2.

contracta, get together.

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

fisci: the baskets in which the money was carried; the word was used for the emperor's special trea-

sury, or privy purse (the treasury of
peratore rapti inter signa interque aquilas veberentur. Germanicus superiorem ad exercitum prefectus secundam et tertiam decimam et sextam decimam legiones nihil cunctatas sacramento adigit. Quartadecimani paulum dubitaverant; pecunia et missio quamvis non flagitiantibus obleta est.

At in Chaucis coeptavere seditionem praesidium agitantes vexillarii discordium legiōnem et praesenti duorum militum supplicio paulum repressi sunt. Iusse rat id M'. Ennius castrorum praefectus, bono magis exemplo quam concesso iure. Deinde intumescente motu profugus repertusque, postquam intutae latebrae, praesidium ab audacia mutuat: non praefectum ab iis, sed Germanicum ducem, sed Tiberium imperatorem violari. Simul externitas qui obstiterat, raptum vexill. 4

the republic being called aerarium), from which it has passed into the modern word fiscal. It was the custom, on a march, to deposit money bags with the standards. Mommsen (Hermes, 1878, p. 256) thinks that there is an error in ascribing this conduct to the first and twentieth legions, that it was the leaders of the mutiny, the fifth and twenty-first.

4. secundam, etc.; these were the legions of Upper Germany.

88. In Chaucis: this nation inhabited the shore of the North Sea, at the mouth of the Weser, the modern East Friesland. Tacitus (Germ. 35) describes them in his time as populat inter Germanias nobilitissimus, while Pliny, on the other hand (N. H. XVI. 1) speaks of them as a wretched race of fishermen. They were subdued by Tiberius in one of his German campaigns (Vell. Pat. II. 106), and a garrison was left among them after the defeat of Varus.

coeptavere, agitantes: cf. ostensionem, 35. 3 n.

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

discordium, disaffected; i.e. those engaged in the mutiny, the 1, V., etc.

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

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

89 Interea legati ab senatu 1 regressum iam apud aram
* Ubiorum Germanicum adeunt. Duae ibi legiones,
prima atque vicexima, veteraniique nuper missi sub vex-
illo hiemabant. Pavidos et conscientia vecordes intrat
metus, venisse patrum iussu qui irrita facerent quae per
4 seditionem expresserant. Utque mos vulgo quamvis falsis
reum subdere, Munatium Planicum consulatu functum,
principem legationis, auctorem senatus consulti incu-
sant; et nocte concubia vexillum in domo Germanici
situm flagitare occipliant, concursuque ad ianuam facto
moliuntur fores, extractum cubili Caesarem tradere vex-

4. ad ripam: sc. Rheni.
decessisset: representing a future
perfect of direct discourse, whenever
should depart.
in hiberna: sc Cologne; see 39. 2.
29. legati: the ones mentioned
14. 4.
regressum: i.e. from the army
of Upper Germany; see 37. 4.
arum Ubiorum: probably in the
oppidum itself; this altar was
dedicated to Augustus.
2. prima atque vicexima: see
37. 3.
sub vexillo: construed with
hiemabant, referring to those who
had recently obtained their condi-
tional discharge, 36. 4.
4. falsis: dative,— to subject to
accusations, however false they may
be.
Munatium Planicum: consul
A.D. 13; he was son of the Planus
addressed by Horace (Od. 1. 7).
auctorem, as being the author.
senatus consulti: the imagined
ordinance in question.
vexillum: it has been much de-
bated whether this was the vexillum
under which the veterans mentioned
above were serving, or the scarlet
banner, yerno vexillum, of the com-
mander, which served as a signal
for battle (quod cras insignis, sum
ad arma concurrer egereret, Cena.
B. G. II. 20). In favor of its being
the general's standard is the consid-
eration that it is hard to see why
the other should be in the general's
house, and also the illustration it
would give of the subordination of
the soldiers, — having possession
of the standard of the commander,
they would perform his functions
for themselves, just as they had
previously directed the posting of
guards, etc. (32. 6). On the other
hand, it is more natural to suppose
that the vexillum is the one pre-
viously mentioned, while the phrase
in domo Germanico situm seems
to imply that it was out of its usual
place; the scarlet vexillum would
be there as a matter of course.
ianuam, the doorway; fores,
the door itself.
illum intento mortis metu subigunt. Mox vagi per vias \textit{5} obvios habuere legatos, audit\ae consternatione ad Germanicum tendentes. Inerunt \textit{contumelias, caedem parant, \textit{6 Planco maxime, quem dignitas fuga imp\textit{pediverat; neque alhid periclitanti subsidium quam castra primae legionis. Illic signa et aquilam amplexus religionem sese tutabatur, \textit{7 ac ni aquilifer Calpurnius vim extremam arcuisset, rarem etiam inter hostes, legatus populi Romani Romanis in castris sanguine suo altaria deum commaculavisset. Luce demum, postquam dux et miles et facta nosce-\textit{bantur, ingressus castra Germanicus perduci ad se. \textit{8 Plancum imperat receptique in tribunal. Tum fatalem increpans rabiem, neque militum, sed deum ira resurgere, cur venerint legati aperit; ius legationis atque ipsius Planci gravem et immeritum casum, simul quantum dedecoris adierit legio, facunde miseratur, attonitaque magis quam quieta contione legatos praesidio auxilia-\textit{rium equitum dimittit.

\textit{Eo in metu arguere Germanicum omnes, quod non ad \textit{40

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{traders vexillum: an act of weakness on the part of Germanicus.}
\item \textit{fuga: ablative of deprivation; imp\textit{pedire regularly takes \textit{ad.}
\item \textit{castra primae legionis: each legion, in winter quarters, was en-\textit{camped apart.
\item \textit{religiones, rerum: for the standards, which had a certain sacredness in the eyes of a Roman soldier.
\item \textit{rarum: relates to what follows, as is regularly the case with an ad-\textit{jective standing in opposition with a clause, as here.
\item \textit{altaria: properly a larger altar, but here used as equivalent to \textit{ara. The altar, with the standards, stood in the \textit{principia of the camp.
\item \textit{luce, etc.: as soon as it was light enough for recognition.
\item \textit{perduc\textit{i impero regularly takes \textit{as with the subjunctive.
\item \textit{fatalem: explained by deum ira-\textit{neque militum; \textit{sc. esse, de-\textit{pending upon the idea of speaking, implied in increpans: the frenzy was not theirs, but was the work of the gods.
\item \textit{ius legationis: \textit{sc. violatum; re-\textit{ferring to the sanctity and inviolabi-\textit{lity of the office of ambassador, recognized in all ages.
\item \textit{legio: the first, in whose camp Plancus had been assaulted.
\item \textit{oomnes: the members of his suite, his officers, etc.
\end{itemize}
superiorem exercitum pergeret, ubi obsequia et contra
rebellis auxilium: satis superque missione et pecunia et
mollibus consultis peccatum; vel si vils ipsi salus, cur
filium parvulum, cur gravidam coniugem inter furentes
et omnis humani iuris violatores haberet? illos saltem
avo et rei publicae redderet. Diu cunctatus aspernan-
tem uxor, cum se divo Augusto ortam neque degene-
rem ad pericula testaretur, postremo uterum eius et
communem filium multo cum fetu complexus, ut abiret
perpulit. Incedebat muliebre et miserabile agmen, pro-
fuga ductis uxor, parvulum sinu filium gerens, lamentan-
tes circum amicorum coniuges, quae simul trahebantur;
ne minus tristes qui manebant.

41 Non florentis Caesaris neque suis in castris, sed velut
in urbe victa facies, gemitusque ac planctus etiam mili-
tum aures oraque advertere. Progrediuntur contuberni-
is; quis ille fiebilis sonus? quid tam triste? feminas
illustris, non centurionem ad tutelam, non militem, nihil
imperatoriae uxor aut comitatus soli; pergere ad Tre-

satis . . . peccatum: sc. esse, enough blunders had been made.
The staff of Germanicus regard his conduct as pusillanimous.
2. filium parvulum: afterwards the Emperor Gaius (Caligula), now
two years old. Dio Cassius (LVII. 5) says that the soldiers seized both
him and Agrippina, restored her to her husband, but kept the boy as a
hostage. This statement is perhaps confirmed by chap. 44, where Ger-
manicus excuses the absence of his wife, but promises the return of the
boy. It would seem that, for whatever reason, Caligula was left with the
army.
avo: Tiberius.
3. divo Augusto ortam: see
Inscr. 26 d.
4. incedebat: the wretchedness
of the situation was increased by
their being obliged to go on foot.
At the same time the word opens
the sentence with a certain dignity,
and its position makes the picture
more vivid; cf. stetit Drumus, 35. 2.
circum: an adverb.
quies manebant: their husbands
and friends.
41. Caesaris: limits facies in
the predicate.
contubernia: the ablative with-
out preposition after verbs of motion
is characteristic of the poets and
later prose writers.
2. triste: a substantive; sad spec-
tacle.
centurionem: sc. esse.
uxoris and comitatus: limiting
nihil; nothing which belonged to,
etc.
veros et externae fidei. Pudor inde et miseratio, et patris Agrippae, Augusti avi memoria, socer Drusus, ipsa insigni fecunditate, praecella pudicitia; iam infans in castris genitus, in contubernio legionum eductus, quem militari vocabulo Caligulam appellabant, quia plurumque ad concилиanda vulgi studia eo tegmine pedum induebatur. Sed nihil æque flexit quam invidia in Treveros; orant ob-sistunt, rediret maneret, pars Agrippinae occurrantes, plurimi ad Germanicum regressi. Isque, ut erat recens dolore et ira, apud circumfusos ita coepit:

'Non mihi uxor aut filius patre et re publica cariores sunt; sed illum quidem sua maiestas, imperium Romanum ceteri exercitus defendent. Coniugem et liberos meos, quos pro gloria vestra libens ad exitium offerrem, nunc procul a furentibus summmoveo, ut quidquid istud sceleris imminet, meo tantum sanguine pictur, neve

Treveros: the seat of this old Gallic tribe was the modern Trèves. it externae fidei: if the text is correct, fidel is to be taken as a dative expressing purpose (Intr. /); to surrender themselves into the protection of foreigners, — a disgrace to the Roman army. Most editors, however, would strike out the et, and consider externae fidei as a genitive of characteristic.

3. Drusus: their former commander, father of her husband Germanicus. In these nominatives (Drusus, ipsa, infans) there is a peculiar change of construction; not merely was the memory at work, but the hero himself was present to their mind's eye. It also emphasizes the relationship (Intr. 35 a).

in castris genitus: this was the popular belief; but, according to Suetonius (Cal. 8), he was born at Antium.

eo tegmine: the caliga was a heavy coarse shoe, covering the whole foot, worn by the common soldiers; while persons of rank wore the finer and lighter calceus.

4. quam: for the more regular acc.
invidia, grudge. They grudged them the honor of sheltering their commander's wife and child; cf. obsession, 44 i.

52. patre: his adoptive father, Tiberius, referred to below by illu-

2. liberos: in fact, only one child was with him.

offerrem: the protasis is implied in pro gloria vestra; I would gladly offer them if it would sub-

nunc, as ut is.

quidquid istud sceleris, what-

er ever crime on your part (that is, which, etc.). Note the characte-

ristic use of istud, the so-called de-

monstrative of the second person.
occisus Augusti proneos, interfacta Tiberii nurus non-
3 centiores vos faciat. Quid enim per hos dies inasum
4 interretatumve vobis? Quod nomen huic coetui dabo?
Militenses appellem, qui filium imperatoris vestri vallo
et armis circumcedistis? an cives, quibus tam proiecta
senatus auctoritas? Hostium quoque ius et sacra lega-
tionis et fas gentium rupistis. Divus Iulius seditionem
exercitus verbo uno compescuisti, Quirites vocando qui
sacramentum eius detrectabant; divus Augustus vultu
et aspectu Actiacas legiones exsterruit: hos ut nonum
eosdem, ita ex illis ortos si Hispaniae Suraeae miles
6 aspernaretur, tamen mirum et indignum erat. Primane
et vicésima legiones, illa signis a Tiberio acceptis, tu
tot proeliorum socia, tot praemissius aucta, egregiam duce
vestro gratiam refertis! Hunc ego nuntium patri, laeta

4. proiecta, cast away; trampled
under foot.
hostiam quoque ius, the rights
which even enemies possess.
5. Quirites, fellow-citizens; im-
plying their dismissal from service.
This incident, which occurred just
before the battle of Thapsus, b.c.
46, is related by Suetonius (Jul.
70).
Actiacas: referring to a mutiny
at Brundisium shortly after the bat-
tle of Actium (Suet. Oct. 17).
esedem, on their level. The use
of nonum may point to his expec-
tation of the throne, or to antici-
pated military distinction.
Hispaniae Suraeae: he was
unknown to these; if you were
Spanish or Syrian soldiers, which
you are not.

indignum erat: the indicative
is regularly used in apodosis in ex-
pressions denoting possibility, pro-
piety, etc. A. & G. 508 e.
6. illa... tu: addressing one of
the other. Illa would regularly re-
late to the one first mentioned; but
the first legion was an old one,
which could hardly have received
its standards from Tiberius; while
the twentieth may easily have been
levied during his wars. In speech,
moreover, the use of the pronoun
depends more upon the actual posi-
tions of the persons referred to, than
upon their place in the sentence.
The use of the word tirones below
would imply that one of the legions
was newly levied. See also 31. 4.
vernacula multitudine.

7. laeta omnia: he had not
heard of the Pannonian revolt.

includi legatos: the climax —
centuriones... tribunos... legatos — seems to point to mili-
tary legati. But no mention has
been made of any violence against
them; while the assault upon Planc-
cus, a legatus from the senate (39.
4), could be very well described by
these words. As the senatorial
legati are shown in the same chap-
omnia aliis e provinciis audiendi, feram? ipsius tirones, ipsius veteranos non missione, non pecunia satiatos; hic tantum interfici centuriones, eicii tribunos, includi legatos, infecta sanguine castra flumina, meque preca- riam apiamam inter infensos trihere. Cur enim primo 48 contionis die ferrum illud, quod pectori meo infigere parabam, detraxistis, o improvidi amici? Melius et aman- tius ille qui gladium offerebat. Cecidisset certe non- dum tot flagitiorum exercitui meo conscius; legiisset: 'ducem, qui meam quidem mortem impunitam sinceret, Varii tamen et trium legionum ulisceretur. Neque enim di sinant ut Belgarum quamquam offerentium decus istud et claritudo sit, subvenisse Romano nomini, compressisse Germaniae populos. Tua, dive Auguste, caelo recepta mens, tua, pater Druse, imago, tui memori- ria isdem istis cum militibus, quos iam pudor et gloria intrat, eluant hanc maculam irasque civiles in exitium

43-5. sumina: the Rhine, upon the borders of which they were.
48. ferrum illud: 35-5.
meius et amantius: sc. facit.
3. exercitu meo conscius, implicated with my army. As re- sponsible for its discipline, he treats himself as involved in what he had not prevented." Furneaux.

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

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

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

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

6. gloria, desire for glory. Cf. 3. 2 n.
hostibus vertant. Vos quoque, 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 paeniten- tiam, id fidei vinculum crit.'

44. Supplices ad haec et vera exprobrari fatentes orabant "punirem quaestus, ignoscere lapis, et ducere in hostem; reyocaretur coniunx, rediret legionum alumnus neve ob imminem partum et hiemem; venturum filium; cetera ipsi exsequeentur. Discurrent mutati et seditionis sissimum quemque vinctos trahunt ad legatum legonis primae C. Caetronium, qui iudicium et poenas de singulis in hunc modum exercuit. Stabant pro contione legiones destrictis gladiis; reus in suggestu per tribunum ostendebatur: si nocentem acclamaverant, praeceps datus trucidabatur. Et gaudebat caedibus miles, tam-

5, alia, changed.
6, legatos: there seems to be a confusion in the writer's mind. The senatorial legati were already safely on their way home (30. 8), and no imprisonment of legionary legati has been mentioned. The phrase includs legato (42. 7), as well as the present expression, are — so far as our knowledge goes — merely rhetorical.
7, imperatori, the emperor.
8, turbidos: the ringleaders (seditionis qui quaerentem quique, 44. 3), who are not to be admitted to repenance.
9, alumnus: the youthful Caligula was a camp pet.
10, reditum: the accusative is regularly used with excus to designate the person or the act apologized for; here it denotes the thing that she was excused from doing.
11, partum: nothing is known of any child of Agrippina born this year; if there was any, it must have been short-lived.
12, exsequeuntur: a hint for the massacre which followed.
13, vinctos: a plural adjective with a collective noun is rare before Livy.
14, legatum legiones primae until the Gallic campaigns of Caesar the legion was commanded by its six tribunes. Caesar detailed one of his legati to the command of each legion, and from this time the legatus legionis was the regular commander of the legion, until superseded in the second century by the praefectus castrorum (see note, 40. 1).
15, pro contione, in the manner of a public meeting. The camp had a forum in front of the tribunal (18. 4 n.), where the soldiers were addressed by their commander.
quam semet absolveret; nec Caesar arcebatur, quando nullo ipsius iussu penes eodem saevitia facti et invidia erat. Secuti exemplum veterani haud multo post in 6 Raetiam mittuntur, specie defendendae provinciae ob imminentes Suebos, ceterum ut avellerentur castris trucibus adhuc non minus asperitate remedia quam sceleris memoria. Centurionatum inde egit. Citatus ab imperatore nomen ordinem patriam numerum stipendiorum, quae strenue in proelis fecisset, et cui erat dona militaria edebat. Si tribuni, si legio industriae innocenti sique approbaverant, retinebat ordinem; ubi avaritiam aut crudelitatem consensu obiectavisset, solvebatur militia.

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

6. exemplum: sc. legiones.
Raetiam: this province comprised the southern part of Bavaria (Vindelicia), besides Tyrol (Raetia propria). It was conquered by Tiberius and Drusus, B.C. 15, and was governed by a procurator. Instr. 18. B. III.
Suebos: the Suevi of South Germany, belonging to the Marcomanic kingdom of Marobudus. See II. 26, 62. They were separated from Raetia by the Danube.
ceterum, but in reality, by way of contrast with specie, etc. Cf. 10. 1.
7. centurionatum: an examination of the list of centurions, with the object of rewarding merit, punishing the unworthy, and filling the places of those massacred.
ordinem, rank. This depended upon the cohort to which each belonged; the first ranked highest, etc. See note on primi ordinis, 29. 2.
patriam: they were Roman citizens, not natives of provinces. patria refers, however, to the native city, not to the province.
dona militaria: e.g. torques, corona, etc.
edebat: quisque is understood as antecedent to the subject of fecissent, and is as antecedent of cui. (Instr. 35 r.)
8. avaritiam: in selling fur- loughs, etc.; see 17. 6.
objeetavissent: the so-called subjunctive of repeated action, explained as a general condition: after Cicero, this may in Latin take a subjunctive (A. & G., § 302, 4 and 322). With acclamaverant (4) and approbaverant above, the indicative is used.
solvebatur: a dishonorable discharge.
militia: ablative.
45. Vetera: sc. castra; this was near the modern Xanten, on the left bank of the Rhine. With
hibernantium. Nam primi seditionem coeptaverant; atrociissimum quodque facinus horum manibus patratum; nec poena commilitonum exterriti nec paenitentia consta-
3 versi iras retinebant. Igitur Caesar arma classe socios
demijtere Rheno parat, si imperium detrectetur, bello
certaturus.

48 At Römæ, nondum cognito qui fuisse exitus in
Illyrico, et legionum Germanicarum motu audito, tre-
pida civitas incusare Tiberiœm quod, dum patres et
plebem, invalida et inermia, cunctatione fœcita ludicetur,
dissideat interim miles neque duorum adulcescentium
nondum adultæ suætoritate complimique causae. Ire ipsum
et opponere maiestatem imperatoriam debuisse cessuris,
ubi principem longa experientia eundemque severitatis
et munificentiae summum vidissent. An Augustum
fessa aetate totiens in Germanias cóminearem potuisse:
Tiberium vigentem annis sedere in sepulcro, verba pa-
4 trum cavillantem? Satis prospectum urbane servituti;

manum est and similar phrases Tacit-
us generally joins the nominative.
Dräger.
1. iras: the plural of abstract
nouns, not infrequent in the classi-
cal age, is used sparingly, but with
a great variety of meaning, in later
writers. (Intr. 35 a.)
2. certaturus: to overpower them
by force.
arma: the first and twentieth
legions. — socios: the auxiliares,
about equal to the legions in num-
bers.
invalida et inermia: in
apposition with patres et plebem.
The neuter expresses contempt.
2. debuisse: be ought to have
already gone.
cessuris, who would have yielded.
Cf. trajectiæ, 31: i.
severitatis . . . summum: not
referring to character, but to official
power — very much what Drusus
had said of the senate (25. 3).
3. an Augustum, etc.: a
rhetorical question in direct discourse,
in which the second verb (sedere)
is the principal one, really intro-
duced by an, while the first verb,
potuisse, is subordinate, and in a
sense conditional: seeing that Au-
gustus had been able, etc., does now
Tiberius sit still? Cf. Cic. in Cat. 1.
3. An vero vir amplissimus, etc.
in Germanias: cf. Suet. Oct. 20:
rehqua per legatos administravit:
uit tamen quibusdam Pannoniis
atque Germaniciis aut intervenireat
aut non longe abisset, Rhenum
vel Mediolanum vel Agrippiam
usque ab urbem progescit.
vigentem annis: in fact, he
was fifty-six years old, while Augus-
militaribus animis adhibenda fomenta, ut ferre pacem velint. Immotum adversus eos sermones fixumque Ti. 47.

berio fuit non omittere caput rerum neque se remque publicam in casum dare. Multa quippe et diversa ange-

bant: validior per Germaniam exercitus, propior apud

Pannoniam; ille Galliarum opibus subnixus, hic Italiae

imminens; quos igitur anteferret? ac ne postpositi con-
tumelia incenderentur. At per filios pariter adiri maes-
tate salva, cui maior e longinquo reverentia. Simul 4

adulescentibus excusatam quaedam ad patrem reicere,

resistentisque Germanico aut Druso posse a se mitigari

vel infringi: quod aliud subsidium, si imperatorem spre-
vissent? Ceterum ut iam iamque iturus legit comites, 5

conquisitum impedimenta, adornavit naves; mox hiemem

tus, at the last expedition he is known to have undertaken, was

fifty-five.

4. fomenta (from fove, soothing applications.

militaribus, etc.: now that the free state has been reduced to servit-
tude, the army must be trained to peace.

47. immotum ... fixumque

Tiberio fuit: Vergil, Aen. IV. 15:

si mihi non animo fixum immo-
tumque sedet. See Intr. 34, 35. 4.

omittere: cf. 24, 21, 36. 2.

caput rerum: his place as head of the state, which was necessarily

at Rome.

4. multa ... anhgebant: i.e., the consideration as to which would be

most perilous, to neglect the stronger,

or the nearer mutiny, or to visit

neither — the course finally adopted.

quae: for utros.

4. incenderentur: depends upon the idea of fearing, contained in anhgebant.

3. pariter: in relation to the two armies; neither could consider itself

slighted, if both sides were visited

by an emperor’s son.

4. longinquo: his dignity in-
spired more awe at a distance than

if he himself should visit the

legions.

4. excusatam, excusâble: agreeing

with the phrase quaedam, etc.

reicere, rifer.

5. ceterum: cf. 3. 1.

ut: used with the participle like

the Greek ἀναφερει, — a usage very rare

in classical Latin.

iam iamque iturus: upon the

very point of going. Suetonius, Tit.

38: Biennium continuo post adessem

imperium pater forte non excituit;

sequenti tempore, praeterquam in

propinquâ oppida, et cum longis-

time, Anto tenus, nasquam aeful

idque terraro et pacare dies; quam-

vis provincias quoque et exercitus

revisurus se tanger promississel,

et propè quattuor pfectionem

præpararet, vehiculis comprehen-
sit, commentibus per municipia et

colonias dispositis, ad extremum
aut negotia varie causatus primo prudentes, dein vulgum, diutissime provincias fefellit.

48 At Germanicus, quamquam contracto exercitu et parata in defectores ultione, dandum adhuc spatium ratus, si recenti exemplo sibi ipsi consulenter, praemittit litteras ad Caecinam, venire se valida manu ac, ni supplicium in malos praesumant, 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 causas et merita spectari; ubi bellum ingratum, inno-centes ac noxios iuxta cadere. Illi temptatis quo idoneos rebantur, postquam maiorem legionum partem in officio vident, de sententia legati statuunt tempus quo foedissimum quemque et seditioni promptum ferro invadant. Tunc signo inter se dato irruptunt contubernia, trucidant ignaros, nullo nisi consciis noscente quod caedis initium, quis finis. Diversa omnium, quae

nota pro iuven unda suscipi piasus.

prudentes, the thoughtful: cf. 9. 3.
diutissime provincias: because they most eagerly desired his presence.

48. parata ultione: cf. bello certaminibus, 45. 3.

consulenter: i.e. the soldiers of the two legions quartered at Vetera, who were invited to follow the example of the first and twentieth (see 44 and 45). It is a subjunctive of future condition, thrown into the imperfect by the sequence of tenses; the apodosis is dandum spatium.

ad Caecinam: Caecina, the chief commander (legatus) of this army, appears to have gone on from civitas Ubiorum to Vetera (see 37. 3).

2. aquiliferis signiferisque: these were men selected from the ranks for strength and fidelity. All the centurions having been slaughtered or driven away (32. 2 and 3), the standard-bearers were now in actual command of the legions. Furieux.

infamiae: the dative with eximo is poetic and post-classic.

causas et merita: some might offer excuses, some had services to boast of.

4. signo: not signal, but sign for mutual recognition. Pfitzer.

trucidant, etc.: this savage punishment, inflicted with the condainvance of the amiable Germanicus, was the not unnatural reaction from the panic into which he had fallen during the mutiny. It illustrates too a certain innate ferocity, that is found in even the mildest Romans.
umquam accidere, civilium armorum facies. Non proelio, non adversis e castris, sed isdem e cubilibus, quos simul vescentis dies, simul quietos nox habuerat, discendent in partes, ingerunt tela. Clamor vulnera sanguis palam, causa in occulto; cetera fors regit. Et quidam bonorum caesi, postquam intellecto in quos saeviretur pessimi quoque arma rapuerant. Neque legatus aut tribunus moderator adfuit; permissa vulgo licentia atque ultio et satietas. Mox ingressus castra Germanicus, non medicinam illud, plurimis cum lacrimis, sed cladem appellans, cremari corpora iubet.

Truces etiam tum animos cupido involat eundem in hostem: piaculum furoris, nec aliter posse placari commilitonum manes quam si pectoribus impis honesta vulnera accepiissent. Sequitur ardorem militum Caesar iuncto que ponte tramittit duodecim milia e legionibus, sex et viginti socias cohortis, octo equitum alas, quorum ea seditione intermerata modestia fuit.

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

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

2. discendunt in partes, draw off on two sides. cetera, what followed.

3. intellecto: Istr. 35 s.

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

plurimis cum lacrimis: if this had been narrated of Tiberus, these would have been called ‘crocodile tears.’

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

piaculum: sc. fere; connected by nec with aliter posse, etc., and expressing their motives. Some put piaculum in direct opposition with eundum in hostem (Istr. 35 s).

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

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

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

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

quarium: relates to both cohorts and alas. See note on auxilia, 36. 2. For the geography of the expedition see Excarus, at end of this book.

60. agitabant = erant or debant: a meaning frequent in Sallust and Tacitus.

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

...this term originally designated the road-way, of varying breadth, separating the squares of land laid out according to the rules of the Roman Agrimensores. It thus came to mean any artificial road-way, and especially any artificially constructed boundary, as contrasted with natural boundaries (rivers, mountain-ranges, etc.). It was not a line, but a belt of some width (castra in limite locat) defended by earthworks (II. 5), ditches, masonry, and redoubts, and could only be crossed at certain points, answering to bridges over a river (Mommein, Provinci, i. 132).

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

....coepitum, laid out.

scindit, penetrates; there is a kind of exergua here,—they penetrated the forest, and reached the limes, upon which they entered, thus 'cutting' it in two, and encamped, using its walls for two sides of their camp.

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

concaedibus, æditis; to protect
acceletantur; etenim atterlerant explortores festam eam Germanis noctem ac sollemnibus epulis ludicram. Caesar cum expeditis cohortibus praeire et obstantia silvarum amoliri iubetur; legiones modico intervalllo sequuntur. Juvit nox sideribus inlustris, ventumque ad vicos Marsorum et circumdatae stationes stratis etiam tum per cubilia propterque mensas, nullo metu, non antepositis vigiliis; adeo cuncta incuria disiecta erant neque bellii timor, ac ne pax quidem nisi largiita et soluta inter temulentos. Caesar aidas legiones, quo laffor $\text{51}$ populatio foret, quattuor in cuneos dispersit; quinquaginta milium spatium ferro flammisque pervastat. Non a the sides, between the front and rear walls of the $\text{ales}$. 3. incassutum, unguarded; used as a participle, and followed by the dative of the agent. 5. expeditis, lightly equipped; leaving their baggage and whatever else they could behind them. obstantia silvarum: a partitive genitive, nearly equivalent to obstantes silvos. Intr. 35 d. 6. Marsorum: this nation, only mentioned casually in the Germania (2), as antiquum nomen, occupied the country south of the Lippe, bordering upon the Chatti. The point reached by Germanicus is believed by Knöke (Die Feldzüge des Germanicus in Deutschland, 1887, p. 30) to be Herdecke on the Ruhr. Near this point three smaller streams empty into the Ruhr, which would explain the plundering in four directions, described in the next chapter. According to Knöke, the Romans followed the Lippe east for two days' march, and then turned abruptly to the south. He places the site Cassia north of Herdecke, at the end of the third day's march,—a situation which does not agree with Tacitus, from whom we gather that it was traversed on the first day. Moreover, the $\text{ales}$ is likely to have been near the Rhine, and parallel with it, not with the Ruhr. stratis: sc. Germanis. 7. neque bellii timor: for the reason given at the beginning of the chapter—the mutiny of the legions had thrown them all off their guard. ne pax quidem: not even the degree of discipline and order which is necessary in peace. inter temulentos: Intr. 35 f. $\text{51}$, cuneos, columns. In actual fighting, the cuneus (cognit porcinum, "boar's head," in soldier Latin) was a wedge-shaped column, the advantage of which was quia a pluribus in unum locum tela militum emuper (Vegetius, III. 19). On this occasion, for plunder and slaughter merely, it was probably an ordinary column. The four columns were probably despatched up the Ruhr and its three branches. See note on Marsorum, 50. 6. quinquaginta milium: probably the space covered by the expedition. 2. non sexus, etc.: Arnold (Deutsche Urvöl, p. 71) remarks
sexus, non aetas miserationem attulit; profana simul et sacra et celeberrimum illis gentibus templum quod Tam- 
fanae vocabant solo aequantur. Sine vulnere milites, 
qui semisomnos, inermos, aut palantis ceciderant.

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

that the campaigns of Drusus and Tiberius were for conquest; those 
temple: probably a sacred grove, which was cut down. Taci-
tus says (Germ. 9), nec cohibere 
generibus eius nefas in umbra 
humani oris speciem assimilare ex 
magnitudine coelestum arbitrantur. 
At the same time, he speaks (43) 
of the temple of Nerthus. But, 
as is well known, a Roman temple 
(consecrated place) was not neces-
sarily an aedes (building).

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

5. gnarum: passive: see 5. 4 n. 

6. porch: Intr. 35 f.

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

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


9. recentibus, in late services; governed by fidens.
52. largiendis, etc.: the payment of the legacy, and shortening of the term of service (37. 1 and 5).
55. quasivisset: the subject seems to be taken from Germanici in the next clause: he was vexed that Germanicus had obtained such glory after gaining the favor of the soldiers by unworthy means. The exploits were not after all very remarkable, and one wonders how it was known that Tiberius was vexed.
2. rettulit, laid before the senate for action; probably with a view to the triumph voted the next year (55. 1). Merely to lay information before the senate is deferre.
3. intention, with more earnestness. — fida, sincere. Velleius Paterculus (II. 125), a partisan of Tiberius, after giving only moderate praise to Germanicus, represents Drusus as prius antiquaque se-

verbatim unus. In fact, Drusus had shown more decision and tact than Germanicus, in suppressing the mutiny.
58. Iulia: daughter of Augustus by Scribonia; married at the age of fourteen to Marcellus; then, to Agrippa, by whom she was the mother of Agrippina and the princes mentioned 3. 3; afterwards to Tiberius; see note on Vipsania, 12. 6. She was now fifty-two years old.

Pandateria: now Ventotene, in the gulf of Gaeta.
Reginorum: of Regium, Reggio, at the extreme point of Italy, opposite Sicily. The mention of the people instead of the town is a survival of the primitive political conception, by which the organized community is the fundamental institution, the city or territory occupied by them being only secondary, — a point of view precisely opposite to that of the present day.
Caesaribus spreveratque ut imparem; nec alia tam intima Tiberio causa cur Rhodum abscederet. Imperium adeptus extorrem, infamem, et post interfectum Postumum Agrippam omnis spei egenam, inopia ac tabe longa peremit, obscuram fore necem longinquitate exsilii ratus. Par causa saevitiae in Sempronium Gracchum, qui familia nobili, soleres ingenio et prave facundus, eandem Iuliam in matrimonio Marci Agrippae temeraverat. Nec is libidini finis: traditam Tiberio pervicax adulter contumacia et odis in maritum accendebat; litteræque, quas Iulia patri Augusto cum insetatione Tiberii scrispit, a Graeco compositae credebantur. Igitur amotus Cercinam, Africi maris insulam, quattuorsdecim annis exsilium toleravit. Tunc milites ad caedem missi invenere in prominenti litoris, nihil laetum opposuerunt. Quorum adventu breve tempus petivit ut supreme mandata uxorii Alliaeae per litteras daret, cervi-
cemque percussoribus obtulit, constantia mortis haud
indignus Sempronio nomine; vita degeneraverat. Qui
damn non Roma eos milites, sed ab L. Asprenate pro
consule Africæ missos tradidere auctore Tiberio, qui
famam caedis posse in Asprenatem verti frustra spera
verat.

Idem annus novas caerimonias accepit addito soda-
lium Augustalium sacerdotio, ut quondam Titus Tatius
retinendis Sabinorum sacris sodales Titios instituerat.
Sorte ducti e primoribus civitatis unus et viginti: Ti
berius Drususque et Claudius et Germanicus adiciun
tur. Ludos Augustales tunc primum coeptos turbavit 3
discordia ex certamine histrionum. Indulserat ei ludicro
Augustus dum Maecenati obtemperat effuso in amorem
Bathylli; neque ipsae abhorrebat talibus studiis, et civile

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

8. vita: best taken as ablative.
9. auctor, at the institution of.
54. sodalium Augustalium: a
-collegium, in honor of Julius, Augus
tus, and afterwards Livia and Clau
dius. It consisted, as is said below,
of twenty-one of the leading men of
the state, to whom certain members
of the imperial family were added.
The seat of their cult was Bovillae
(near the modern Albano, about
twelve miles from Rome), the origi
nal home of the Julian gens. An
inscription found here reads, Vedeti
vel patrii gentiles Iulii... sara
lego Albano dicata. See II. 41. 3.
retinendis sacris: dative; see
Intr. 35 f.

sodales Titios: of this ancient
college very little is known. Its
name associates it with the patrician
tribes of Titia, and the fact that it
was charged with the special duty

of preserving the Sabine sacra
supports the generally accepted
view, that the Titans were the Sabine element of the Roman
people.

2. Claudia: the younger brother
of Germanicus, emperor (A.D. 41-
54).

3. Ludos: see note on Augustales,
15. 3.

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

ei ludicro: i.e. pantomimes.
dum obtemperat, out of cour-
tesy. This causal use of dum is
rare in Cicero, but common in later
writers.

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

civile: he was fond of parodying
his republican simplicity.
55 Druso Caesare C. Norbano consulibus decernitur Germanico triumphus manente bello; quod quamquam in aestatem summa ope parabat, initio veris et repentina in Chattos excursu praecepit. Nam spes incesserat dissidere hostem in Arminium ac Segestem, insignem utrumque perfidia in nos aut fide. Arminius turbator Germaniae; Segestes parari rebellionem saepius alias et supremo convivio, post quod in arma itum, aperuit suavisque Varo ut se et Arminium et ceteros proceres vinciret: nihil ausuram plebe principibus amotis, atque

misceri: reflexive; mingle himself, take part in.

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

triumphus: this triumph was celebrated two years later, A.D. 17; see II. 41. 2. To vote a triumph before the conclusion of the war (manente bello) was very unusual.

ut singulae, etc., in early spring, by a sudden raid (voluptatibus vulgi. Alia Tiberio morum via: sed populum per tot annos molliter habitum nundum audebat ad duriora verte.

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

2. dissidere in, were divided into factions between.

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

saepe: bed faith in one contrasted with loyalty in the other; cf. 28. 3 a.

Arminius: aet. et, and especially.
quod: relates to convivium.
itum: aet. aususit, advised.
proceres, nobles: principibus, chiefs: the former by birth, the latter by election (Germ. 12). We are not to understand from this passage that the two classes were identical, but that the elected mag-
ipsi tempus fore quo crimina et innoxios discernet. Sed Varus fato et vi Arminii ceedit; Segestes quam consensu gentis in bellum tractus discors manebat, auctis privatis odiis, quod Arminius filiām eius aliī pactam rapuerat, gener invisus inimici sociī; quaeque apud concordes vincula caritatis, incitamenta irarum apud infensos erant.

Igitur Germanicus quattuor legiones, quique auxiliarius milia et tumultuarias catervas Germanorum cis Rhenum colentium Caecinae tradit; totidem legiones, duplicem sociorum numerum ipse duit, positoque castello super vestigia paterni praesidii in monte Tauno expeditionem in Chattos rapit, L. Apronio ad

Istrates were as a general thing taken from the hereditary nobility. *ipsi*: Varus.

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

4. *quamquam ... tractus*: Instr. 35 r. *consensu gentis*: he was dragged into the war against his judgment, by the unanimity of his people.

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

*gener invisus inimici socii*: some editors put a comma after invisus, which would make socii nominative, pointing to an unfriendly feeling between Sigimerus, father of Arminius, and Segestes, father of his wife Thasneldis. There is no occasion, however, to drag in Sigimerus. The objection to making socii genitive is that then both epithets express the feelings of Segestes,—an apparent tautology. But the two adjectives express different degrees, and perhaps different stages of enmity,—inimicus, unfriendly, relating purely to feeling, which was perhaps of long standing; while invisus, hated, suggests a specific ground of the feeling,—his revolutionary plans, or his elopement with his daughter.

*Cf. Suet. Cal. 15: nihil tibi admisissem cur noniquam invisum esset.*

66. tumultuarias, hastily levied.

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

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

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

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

*expeditionem*: not light-armed, but *uninumeratus*, i.e. with baggage, etc., so as to be capable of a rapid march (rapit).

L. Apronio: one of his legati, who had been consul A.D. 8. He
munitiones viarum et fluminum relict. Nam, rarum illi caelo, siccitate et annibus modicis inoffensum iter properaverat, imbresque et fluminum auctus regredi-enti metuebantur. Sed Chattis adeo improvisus advenit ut quod imbicillum aetate ac sexu statim captum aut trucidatum sit. Juventus flumen Adranam nando tra-miserat, Romanosque pontem coeptantis arcebant. Dein tormentis sagittisque pulsi, temptatis frustra condicionibus pacis, cum quidam ad Germanicum perfugissent, reliqui omisiss pagis vicisique in silvas dispersunturn.

Caesar incenso Mattio (id genti caput) aperta populatus vertit ad Rhenum, non auso hoste terga abuentium lacessere, quod illi moris quotiens astu magis quam per formidinem cessit. Fuerat animus Cherusci iuvare

was probably left at the fort on Mount Tsanua.

1. rarum illi caelo: so dry a season that the march was uninterrupted (inoffensum). Tacitus calls the country supersum caelo (C. 2).

2. regredien: dative of reference; his way back.

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

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

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

pagis vicisique, cantons and vil-

lagus. The words are not contrasted with one another, as independent localities; rather, the districts in which the villages were situated; they left the settled districts to escape into the forest. C. 7. pagis vicisique, Germ. 12, with the remarks of Sohm, Altfränkische Reiche und Gerichtserfassung, Chap. 1.

6. Mattio: this place must have been north of the Eder; its name appears again in that of the Mat-

tauci, who inhabited the modern Nassau in the time of Tacitus (C. 29), but appear at this time to have lived further north. Nipper-
dey. The early Germans had no cities, but lived in scattered villages, and Mattium can have been only a village of unusual size.

vertit, returned: Intr. 35 b. illi: relating to hoste; dative of possession.

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

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

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 commotis potior habetur. Adderat Segestes legatis filium, nomine Segimundum; sed iuvenis conscientia cunctabatur. Quippe anno quo Germaniae descivere sacerdos apud aram Ubiorum creatus ruperat vittas, profugus ad rebelles. Adductus tamen in spem clementiae Romanae pertulit patris mandata benignaque exceptus cum praesidio Gallicam in ripam missus est.

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

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

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

57. valdidius, more influential, promptus . . . magis fidus.

Intr. 35 sq.

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

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

Germaniae: i.e. the nations of Germany.

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

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

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

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

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

4. pretium fuit (sc. operae), was worth while; i.e. to go to the
succor of Segestes.
convertere, reverse his march.

5. obsidentes: i.e. Segestes.
clientium: the clientes, or personal followers, described in the
Germania, 13 and 14. The personal relation seemed to that of
the Roman client, but with the important difference that it was an
honorable one, establishing no social inferiority.

6. uxor Arminii: her name is given by Strabo (VII. p. 292) as
Thenaeida, her son’s as Thumelicus.
animo: an ablative of characteristic, the limiting genitive taking
the place of a qualifying adjective.
in lacrimas: this preposition, as often in Tacitus, expresses a result.
(Intr. 35 i.)

6. Apollina: e.g. weapons, badges of honor, standards, etc.
tum, now: i.e. at the time of the present surrender, as shown by the
imperfect veniebant.
data, which had been given; i.e. at their victory over Varus.
ingens visu: cf. proceras membr., 64. 3.

68. civitate donatus sum: to bestow citizenship was one of the
privileges of the prince.
ex vestris utilitatibus, in accordance with your interests.
bonae societatis, his steadfast loyalty.

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tum exercitui prae sidebat, reum feci. Dilatus segnita\textsuperscript{4} ducis, quia parum praesidii in legibus erat, ut me et Arminium et conscios vinciret flagitavi: testis illa nox, mihi utinam potius novissima! Quae secuta sunt, de\textsuperscript{5} feri magis quam defendi possunt; ceterum et inieci catenas Arminio et a factione eius inectas perpe\textsuperscript{11} sus sum. Atque ubi primum tui copia, vetera novis et\textsuperscript{6} quieta turbidis antehabo, neque ob praemium, sed ut me perfidia ex solvam, simul genti Germanorum idoneus conciliator, si paenitentiam quam perniciem maluerit. Pro iuventa et errore filii veniam precor. Filiam necessi\textsuperscript{7} state huc adductam fataeor; tuum erit consultare utrum praevaleat, quod ex Arminio concepit an quod ex me genita est.' Caesar clementi responso liberis propin\textsuperscript{8} quisque eius incolumitatem, ipsi sedem vetere in prov\textsuperscript{11} incia pollicetur. Exercitum reduxit nomenque imperatoris auctore Tiberio accepit. Arminii uxor virilis sexus stirpem edidit; educatus Ravennae puere quo mox ludi\textsuperscript{11} bri o conflictatus sit, in tempore memorabo.

4. quia, etc.: with flagitavi.

illa nox: that of the convorium, mentioned 55. 3.

5. quae secuta sunt: i.e. his participation in the attack on Varus; see 55. 4.

inieci catenas, etc.: nothing is known of these circumstances.

6. ubi primum: that is, now at last.

tui copia, access to you.

antehabo: only here and IV. 11. 5.

me perfidia, etc., acquire myself of bad faith; i.e. by his acquiescence (55. 4).

7. filii: Segismundus.

necessitate: i.e. not by her free will.

8. vetera in provincia: this side of the Rhine, which had been a Roman province ever since the time of Julius Caesar. Here many Germans were settled from time to time, as subjects of the Roman empire, rendering military service for the lands they occupied. See note on Ubiorum, 31. 3.

9. nomen imperatoris: the honorary designation of a victorious general, bestowed by the soldiers under the republic by acclamation. It was now given by the senate, at the motion of the emperor; as a special honor it is contrasted with the official title of the prince himself.

memorabo: probably in the lost books, for nothing further is known of this. He is mentioned by Tacitus (A.D. 47, XL. 16) as apparently
Fama dediti benigneque excepti Segestis vulgata, ut quibusque bellum invitis aut cupientibus erat, spe vel dolore accipitur. Arminium super insitam violentiam rapta uxor, subiectus servitio uxoris uxoris uterum veecordem agebant, volitabitaque per Cheruscos, arma in Segestem, arma in Caesarem poscens. Neque probris temperabat: egregium patrem, magnum imperatorem, fortem exercitum, quorum tot manus unam mulierculam avexerint!

Sibi tres legiones, totidem legatos procubuisse; non enim se proditione neque adversus feminas gravidas, sed palam adversus armatos bellum tractare. Cerni adhuc Germanorum in lucis signa Romana, quae dis patriis suspenderit. Coleret Segestes victam ripam, redderet filio sacerdotium hominum: Germanos numquam satis excusatores quod inter Albim et Rheum virgas et secures et togam viderint. Aliis gentibus ignorantia imperii Romani inexplerta esse supplicia, nescia tributa: quae quoties exuere irritusque discesserit ille inter numina dicatus Augustus, ille delectus Tiberius, ne imperium

already dead, and as devoid of all national sentiments, — infectum alieno servitio cultus, omnibus externis. §8. dediti ... vulgata ... rapta, etc.: Instr. 35 s.

Invitis aut cupientibus: a dative of interest like the Greek απρόσωπος ἀνθρώπος: according as they were unwilling or destitute. Instr. 35 t.

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

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

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

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

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

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

7. nescia, unknown. irritus discesserit, withdraw baffled: includes both Augustus and Tiberius.

delectus, chosen, as alone worthy to succeed Augustus; used ironically. Cf. 7. to.
A.D. 15.]

**ANNALS.**

79

adulescentulum, ne seditiosum exercitum paveserent. Si patriam parentes antiqua mallet quam dominos et colonias novas, Arminium potius gloriae ac libertatis quam Segestem flagitiosae servitutis ducem sequerentur.

Conciti per haec non modo Cheruscii, sed contemninae gentes, tractusque in partibus Inguioeramus Arminii patruus, vetere apud Romanos auctoritate; unde maior Caesari metus. Et ne bellum mole una ingrueret, Caecinam cum quadraginta cohortibus Romanis distraheundo hosti per Bructeros ad flumen Amisiam mittit, equitem Pedo praefectus finibus Frisiorum ducit. Ipse imposi-

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

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

60. non modo . . . sed: the omission of etiam is rare in Cicero, but common in Livy and later writers. In partibus, into the party: a common expression. Veteiae apud Romanos auctoritate, of long-standing influence with the Romans; i.e. before the revolt of Arminius.

2. mola una: i.e. the concentration of the entire force of the enemy; see distraheundo hosti below. Quadraginta cohortibus Romanis: an equivalent expression for four entire legions. Germanicus had the other four. From quum mittit, 63. 5, it appears that Cecina had his own legions, but there is no mention of auxiliaries.

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

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

praefectus: x. equitum.

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

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

Frisiorum: the Frisians, on the coast of the North Sea, from the

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

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

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

pedes aequa classis: these three bodies, under Cecina, Peto, and Germanicus, respectively, met upon the Ems, apud praedictum amnem, probably at Rhine. The strategy of Germanicus, in reaching the Ems by so long a circuit, has been censured; but it must be remembred that water passage is speedier and easier than that by land.

Chauci: see 38. 1 n.

4. sua urentis: in order not to afford supplies for the Romana.
aquilam: for the recovery of a second eagle, see II. 25; the third was recovered in the reign of Claudius.

5. agmen: i.e. that of Germanicus, who probably followed the Ems in a southeasterly direction, while Stertinius was engaged in chastising the Bructeri.

Amisiam . . . inter: Instr. 35. 1. Teutoburgiensi saltu: see Excursus at the end of this Book.

61. omni . . . aderat: Stertinius (50. 4) had now joined him.

2. umido paludem: nearly the same as amnis paludibus (Instr. 35 d); cf. uigintis paludum, 17. 5.
tos locos visuque ac memoria deformis. Prima Vari 3 castra lato ambitu et dimensis principiis trium legionum manus ostentabant; dein semiruto vallo, humili fossa accisae iam reliquiae consedisse intellegebantur. Medio campi albetia ossa, ut fugerant, ut restiterant, disiecta vel aggerata. Adiacebant fragmina telorum equorumque 4 artus, simul truncis arborum antefixa oder. Lucis pro pinquis barbarae aerae, apud quas tribunos ac primorum ordinum centuriones mactaverant. Et cladis eius super- 6 stites, pugnam aut vincula elapsi, referebant hic cecidisse legatos, ilic raptas aquilas; primum ubi vulnus Varo adactum, ubi infelici dextera et suo ictu mortem inven- nerit; quo tribunalis contionatus Arminius, quot patibula captivis, quae scrobones, utque signis et aquilis per superbiam illusurit. Igitur Romanus qui aderat exercitus 62 / sextum post cladis annum trium legionum ossa, nullo

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

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

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

dein: the second camp.

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

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

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

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

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

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

6. referebant, related.

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

scrobones: for burying alive.

per superbiam: Intr. 35 i.

62, qui aderat exercitus: repeated from 61. i., for rhetorical effect. Nipperdey.
noscente alienas reliquias an suorum humo tegeret,
onnes ut coniunctos, ut consanguineos, aucta in hos-

tem ira, maestì simul et infensi condebat. Primum
extruendo tumulo caespitem Caesar posuit, gratissimo
munere in defunctos et praesentibus doloris socius.

Quod Tiberio haud probatum, seu cuncta Germanici in
deterius trahenti, sive exercitum imagine caesorum
insepulturumque tardatum ad proelia et formidolosio-
rem hostium credebat; neque imperatore ausuratu
et vetustissimis caeremoniis praeditum attrectare feralia
debuisse.

sed Germanicus cedentem in avia Arminium secutus,
ubi primum copia fuit, evehì equites campumque, quem
hostis insederat, eripi iubet. Arminius colligi suos
et propinquare silvis monitos vertit repente; mox sig-
nnum prorumpandi dedit iis quos per saltus occultaverat.

omnes: accusative.
2. gratissimo: i.e. to the sol-
diers. Notice the variety of con-
struction in the contrasta: munere,
an ablative of characteristic, being
set against socius, and in defunc-
tos corresponding to praesentibus
(Intr. 35 r). Notice, too, the loose
syntax of the whole passage.

3. seu cuncta, etc.: as usual, an
imputation of bad motives to Tibe-
rius; but, in the eyes of a genuine
votary of the Roman religion, this
was an unwarrantable pollution (see
below); Stahr maintains, moreover,
that the interruption to the cam-
paign was no slight disadvantage.
formidolosiorum: with an ob-
jective genitive only here.
attrectare, handle. It appears
from Suetonius (Col. 2) that he
gathered the remains with his own
hands: caesorum clade Variana
victors ac dispersas reliquias suo
tumulo humaturus, colliger e sua

manu et comportare primus aggres-
vus est. This act polluted a person:
consuevdo Romana fuit ut polluti
funere minime sacrificarunt. Serv.
ad Am. XI. 2. The pollution was
greater by reason of the special
consecration of Germanicus (au-
suratus, etc.).

63. avia, the wilderness. Ar-
minius repeats the strategy by which
he had destroyed the army of Varus,
and nearly succeeds a second time.
evehì: i.e. from his lines; charge.
2. colligì: reflexive.
monitos: agreeing with suos;
render actively, after directing them
(Intr. 35 l).
silvis: the Roman, still in the
forest (avia), seem to have come
upon the Germans in an open field,
campum; that it was a manly
field is shown by the swamp, palu-
dem, into which a part of his troops
were pushed.
saltus: the wooded ravines in
Tunc nova acie turbatus eques, missaque subsidiariae 3 cohortes et fugientium agmine impulsae auxerant consternationem; trudebanturque in paludem gnaram vincentibus, iniquam nesciis, ni Caesar productas legiones instruxisset; inde hostibus terror, fiducia militi, et 4 manibus aequis abcessum.

Mox reducto ad Amisiam exercitu legiones classe, ut 5 ad vexerat, reportabat; pars equitum litore Oecani peteret Rhenum iussa; Caecina, qui suum militem ducebat, monitus, quamquam notis itineribus regredeteret, pontes longos quam maturrim superare. Angustus is trames 6 vastas inter paludes et quondam a L. Domitio aggerrar- tus; cetera limosa, tenacia gravi caeno aut rivis incerta

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

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

fugientium: the cavalry.

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

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

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

5. legiones... reportabat: really only two out of the eight. Cæcina

led his four direct to the Rhine; while the second and fourteenth also marched by land, under Publius Vitellius (701). Miller (Phil. locut., 33. 399) explains the contradiction by the supposition that the four legions went in the fleet as far as the Frisian coast, and that there the ships were lightened by landing the legions under Vitellius, — a proceeding not improbable in itself.

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

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

quam maturrim: for fear of pursuit.

6. L. Domitio: the grandfather of the emperor Nero; his expedition was probably s c. 6. Cf. IV. 44. 2.

cetera, the rest of the ground;
erant; circum silvae paulatim acclives quas tum Arm- 
nius implevit, compendiis viarum et cito agmine onustum
7 sarcinis armisque militem cum antevenisset. Caecinae
dubitanti quonam modo ruptos vetustate pontes repo-
neret simulque propulsaret hostem, castra metari in loco
64 placuit, ut opus et alii proelium inciperent.] Barbari
perfringere stationes seque inferre munitoribus nisi
lacessunt, circumgreediuntur, occursant; miscetur ope-
rantium bellantiumque clamor. Et cuncta pariter Ro-
manis adversa, locus uligine profunda, idem ad gradum
instabiliis, procedentibus lubricis; corpora gravia loricis;
3 neque librare pila inter undas poterant. Contra Cerus-
cis sueta apud paludes proelia, procera membra, hastae
ingentes ad vulnera facienda quamvis procul.
4 Nox demum inclinantis iam legiones adversae pugnae
cxemit. Germani ob prospera indefessi, ne tum quidem
sumpta quiete, quantum aqaurum circum surgentibus
iusq oritur vertere in subiecta, meraque humo et obruto
6 quod effectum operis duplicatus mili labor. Quadra-

* 64. perfringere, etc.;: Instr. 33 f.
  2. idem, at once.
  3. in loco, on the spot where he arrived at the causeway.
  4. opus et alii proelium = ales opus alii proelium: while the main
      body were engaged on work, a portion were to beat back the enemy.
  5. quantum aqaurum oritur, all the streams that rise.
  6. ad gradum, for standing; contrasted with procedentibus.
  7. subiecta, the ground below (cf. 65. 1, n.).
  8. quod: the implied antecedent, so, is limited by operis, and is sub-
      ject of obruto.
gesimum id stipendium Caecina parendi aut imperi-
tandi habebat, secundarum ambiguarumque rerum sciens
eoque interrissim. Igitur futura volvens non aliud rep-
7
perit quam ut hostem silvis coerceret, donec saecli
quantumque gravioris agminis anteirent; nam medio
montium et paludum porrigebatur planitie quae te-
nuem aciem pateretur. Deliguntur legiones quinta
8
dextro lateri, unetvicesima in laevum, primani ducen-
dum ad agmen, vicesimanus adversum secuturos.<
Nox 66
per diversa inqüies, cum barbari festis epulis, laeto
cantu aut truci sonore subiacta vallium ac resultantis
saltus complerent, apud Romanos inválidi ignes, inter-
ruptae voces, atque ipsis passim adiacerent vallo, ob-
errarent tentoriius, insomnes magis quam pervigiles.
Ducemque terruit dira quies; nam Quintilium Varum
sanguine oblitum et paludibus emerson cernere et
audire visus est velut vocantem, non tamen obsecutus
et manum intendentis repulisse.

6. parendi aut imperiandis: i.e. as private soldier or officer.
7. futura: the plan for the morrow.
silvis coerceret, held in check within the wood (the silvae are active
of the last chapter). Between them and the marsh was a strip of even
ground (planitas, wide enough for a thin line of soldiers (tenuum
acitem). The fifth and twenty-first legions were ordered to hold this
ground, while the baggage, etc., got
over the causeway, protected by the
first and twentieth. The plan, how-
ever, failed through the insubordi-
nation of the troops.
quantum: sc. esset; cf. note
on quantum aquarum, 5.
gravioris agminis: the baggage-
train.
monstium: evidently the low
wooded hills described above (63,
6) as silvae passim activae.
There are no mountains in this part
of Germany.
66. per diversa, in different
ways; partly from the noises made
by the enemy, partly by the occur-
rences within the camp.
subiecta vallium, the valleys be-
low (infra. 35 d').
ignes, voces: sc. essent.
passim adiacerent, lay scattered
along.
2. quies, dream.
cernere: he had probably known
him in life.
obsecutus (sc. esse) and rep-
ulisse, like cernere and audire,
depend upon visus est.
intententis: sc. manum; agrees
with Var. understood. The phan-
том held out its hand to beckon
Coepta luce missae in latera legiones metu an contumacia locum deseruere, capto propere campo uementia ultra. Neque tamen Arminius quamquam libero incursu statim prorupit; sed ut haesere caeno fossisque impedimenta, turbatis circum milites, incertus signorum ordo, utque tali in tempore sibi quisque properus et lentae adversum imperia aures, irrumpere Germanos iubet, clamitans "En Varus eodemque iterum fato vincat legiones!" Simul haec et cum delectis scindit agmen equisque maxime vulnera ingerit. Illi sanguine suo et lubrico paludum lapsantes excussis rectoribus disicere obvios, proterere iacentes. Plurimus circa aquilas labor, quae neque ferri adversum ingruentia tela neque figi limosa humo poterant. Caecina dum sustentat aciem, sulfoso equo delapsus circumveniebatur, ni prima legio sese opposuisset. Iuvit hostium aviditas, omissa caede praedam sectantium, enisaque legiones vesperascente die in aperta et solida. Neque is misericordarum finis. Struendum vallum, petendus agger; amissa Caecina, or perhaps threatening. Cf. manus intStatementis, 27. 1.

3. missae in latera legiones: these were the fifth and twenty-first, which had been the leaders of the mutiny. (See 31. 3).

capto . . . campo: instead of forming to keep back the enemy (hostem silvis coerceret), they deserted their posts, and hurried across to the level ground beyond the morass.

4. incursus, opportunity of attack, afforded by this desertion. He waited until the army was embarrassed in the morass.

fossis, bog-holes. The ablative without is after haesere is poetical.

turbati: Intr. 35 c.

incertus signorum ordo: the maniples, and therefore the standards, were thrown into confusion.

utque, and as [is natural].

5. simul haec: utr. dict.

scindit agmen: i.e. by taking it in the flank, and cutting it in two.

equis: i.e. of the baggage and officers, for Caecina had no cavalry.

7. adversum, in the face of.

8. circumveniebatur, was on the point of being cut off by the enemy.

9. iuvit: i.e. the Romans.

enisaque, struggled forth.

vesperascente die: the fight had lasted the whole day.

10. agger: i.e. earth, etc., for struendum vallum.
magna ex parte per quae egeritur humus aut exciditur caespes; non tentoria manipulis, non fomenta sauciis; infectos caeno aut cruore cibos dividentes funestas tenebras et tot hominum milibus unum iam reliquum diem lamentabantur.

Forte equus abruptus vinculis vagus et clamore ter ritus quosdam occurritium obturbavit. Tanta inde consternatio irripisse Germanos credentium ut cuncti ruerent ad portas, quarum decumana maxime petebatur, aversa hosti et fugientibus tuitio. Caecina comperto 3 vanam esse formidinem, cum tamen neque auctoritate neque precibus, ne manu quidem obsistere aut retinere militem quiret, proiectus in limine portae miseratione deum, quia per corpus legati eundum erat, clausit viam; simul tribuni et centuriones falsum pavorem esse docuerunt. \ Tunc contractos in principia iussosque 67 dicta cum silentio accipere temporis ac necessitatis monet. Unam in armis salutem, sed ea consilio temperanda manendumque intra vallum, donec expugnandi hostes spe propius succederent; mox undique erumpendum illa eruptione ad Rhenum perveniri. Quod si fugerent, pluris silvas, profundas magis paludes, saevitiam hostium superesse; at victoribus decus gloriam.

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

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

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

3. comperto: Intr. 35 o.
proiectus, casting himself down.
67. tempora, with monet: a novel construction with this word, common with admoneo, etc.
expugnandi: limiting spe.
perveniri: impersonal; by that tally we reach the Rhine.

2. victoribus = si vicissent.
Quae domi cara, quae in castris honesta, memorat; re-
ticuit de adversis. Equos dehinc, orsus a suis, lega-
torum tribunorumque nulla ambitione fortissimo cuique
bellatori tradit, ut hi, mox pedes in hostem invaderent.

Haud minus inquiues Germanus spe cupidine et divers-
sis ducum sententiis agebat, Arminio sinerent egredi
gressosque rursur per unio. et impedita circumveni-
rent suadente, a ciora Inguiomero et laeta barbaris,
ut vallum armis anbirent: promptam expugnationem,
plures captivos, incorruptam praedam fore. Igitur orta
die prorunt fossas, iniciunt cratres, summam valli prens-
sant, raro super milite et quasi ob metum' defixo.

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

nulla ambitione: i.e. with sole regard to the efficiency of each. Cf. sine ambitione, IV. 64. 2.
hl. mox pedes: first the mounted soldiers, then the infantry.
agebat: describes the situation, nearly equal to erat— the Germans were no less uneasy.
sinerent: depending upon suadente.
egressos, etc.: on the march, as the day before, and as in the attack on Varus.
atrociors, more vigorous.
promptam, easy.
die: cf. 3. v. 49. 1. Tacitus appears to use the two genders indifferently, as in poetry.
prorunt fossas: i.e. fill them up; cf. Livy IX. 14. 9, cum fossas exploraverint, pars vellenter vallum aequi in fossas prouerint.
cratera, hordae, made by weaving rods, which were then laid over the ditch as a sort of bridge.
super, on top.
defixo, motionless.
haesere, were obstructed.
coruna et tubae: the tuba, a long, straight horn, like a sh-horn (tuba terribilis sonat), was the regular instrument of the infantry; the litum, slightly bent near the end, of the cavalry; the coruma, curved about as the letter C, was used to sound the clasticum, or signal for attack. There being no cavalry in Ceccina's army, the litum was not sounded.

5. tanto maiora: i.e. in appearance.
secundis avidi, ita adversis incauti. Arminius integer, 6
Inguioferus post grave vulnus pugnam deseruere; vul-
gus trucidatum est donec ina et dies permanit. Nocte 7
demum reversae legiones, quamvis plus vulnerum, eadem
biborum egestas fatigaret, vim sanitatem copias, cuncta
in victoria habuere.

Perverserat interim circumventi exercitus fama et 69
infesto Germanorum amnse Gallias peti, ac ni Agrippi-
pina impositum Rheno pontem solvi prohibuisset, erant
qui id flagitium formidine auderent. Sed femina ingenis
animi munia ductis per eos dies induit, militibusque, ut
quis inops aut saucius, vestem et fomenta dilargita est.
Tradit C. Plinius, Germanicorum bellorum scriptor, 3
stetisse apud principium pontis, laudes et grates reversis
legionibus habentem. Id Tiberii animum altius 4
tenavit: non enim simplices eas curas, nec adversus
externos militem quaerit. Nihil relictum imperatoribus
ubi femina manipulos intervisit, -signa adeat, largitio-
nem temptet, tamquam parum ambitiose filium ductis
gregalibus habitu circumferat Caesaremque Caligulam
appellari velit. Potiore iam apud exercitus Agrippinam

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

8. quamvis: Intr. 35. /.
copias: of provisions, contrasted
with egestas.

9. pontem: probably the one
constructed the year before (49.
6).

3. C. Plinius: the elder. Ac-
cording to the younger Pliny (Epis.
III. 5), he wrote a history of the
German wars in twenty books, im-
pelled by the image of Drusa, seen
in a dream.

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

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

7 Accedebat haec onerabatque Seianus, peritia morum Tiberii oedia in longum iaciens, quae recondiderat auctaque promeret.

70 At Germanicus legionum, quas navibus vexerat, secundam et quartam decidam itinere terrestri P. Vitellio duendae tradit, quo levior classis vadoso mari innaret vel reciprocō sideret. Vitellius primum iter sicca humo aut modice adlabente aestu quietum habuit; mox impulsu aquilonis, simul sidere aequinoctii, quo maxime tumescit Oceanus, rapi agique agmen. Et opplebantur terrae; eadem freto litori campis facies, neque discerni poterant incerta ab solidis, brevia a profundis. Sternuntur fluctibus, hauriuntur gurgitibus; iumenta sarcinae corpora examina interfuunt, occursant. Permissentur inter se manipuli, modo pectore, modo ore tenus exstantes, alisque quanto subtracto solo disiecti aut obtusi. Non vox et

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

nomen principis: referring to the letters described in 36, 41.

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

peritia, weight.

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

recondideret: sc. Tiberius.

sucta, when they had grown.

70. P. Vitellio: the uncle of the emperor, Aulus Vitellius. He was an ardent partisan of Germanicus, and an orator of some repute (II. 74, 2, III. 10. 2 and 15, 3).

vadoso: this coast is flat, and the waters very shallow.

reciprocō: ebb; when grounded at the ebb it would float again more readily.

2. sidera, the season.

rapi agique, knocked about.

3. opplebantur: i.e. with water.

bravia, shallows, as in Verg. Aen. L. 11. 111. The tides were all the more troublesome to the Romans, as they were unaccustomed to them; for the Mediterranean has no perceptible tides.

4. subtracto solo: losing their footing as the bottom suddenly shelled away.
mutui hortatus iuvabant adversante unda; nihil strenuus ab ignavo, sapiens ab imprudenti, consilia a casu differre; cuncta pari violentia involvebantur. Tandem Vitellius in editorea enibus eodem agmen subduxit. Pernoctaverc sine utensilibus, sine igni, magna pars nudo aut muñtato corpore, haud minus miserables quam quos hostis circumsidet: quippe illic etiam honestae mortis usus, his inglorium exitium. Lux reddidit terram, penetratumque ad annem [Visurgin], quo Caesar classe contenderat. Impositae dein legiones, vagante fama submersas; nec fides salutis antequam Caesarem exercitumque reducem videre.


Decreta eo anno triumphalia insignia A. Caeciniae.
L. Apronio, C. Silio ob res cum Germanico gestas. 2 Nomen patris patriae Tiberius, a populo saepius ingens-
tum, repudiavit; neque in acta sua iurari quamquam
censente senatu permisit, cuncta mortalium incerta,
quantoque plus adeptus foret, tanto se magis in luv-
brico dicitans. Non tamen ideo faciebat fidem civilis
animi; nam legem maiestatis reduxerat, cui nomen apud

under the empire, the full honor of a triumph was reserved to the emperor himself, or in rare cases (as Germanicus, and Titus, son of Vespasian) to members of his family. Others received only the ornaments, by which is meant the right to appear at festivals, etc., in the distinctive dress or other characteristics of an office. The triumphal insignia were properly the vestes triumphalis (i.e. inga pita and tunica palmata), the laurel wreath, and the triumphal chair, chariot and sceptre. But even during the republic, the triumphal garments and chair were seldom granted as ornaments, the chariot and sceptre never. In the empire, the laurel wreath, too, was restricted to the emperor, and became his crown; the triumphal ornaments were now, therefore, nothing but a name, and he who received them had, so far as external insignia are concerned, only the right to the ordinary insignia praetextae of the magistrate. (Momms. Röm. St. I. 353.) At the same time the dignity of triumphalis was highly valued, and was transmitted to posterity.

2. patris patriae: this title was granted to Julius Caesar, and afterwards (A.D. 2) to Augustus. Tiberius persistently declined it (see II. 87, 2), as did certain of his successors (e.g. Nero, Vespasian, Hadrian) in the early part of their reigns; but it became at last a regular part of the emperor's titles. Suetonius (Tit. 67) puts in the mouth of Tiberius an explanation which is creditable to his modesty, and at the same time illustrates his characteristic self-distrust: si quando... de moribus meis delecteque vobis animo dubitate
eritis (quid priusquam evosse, opto ut me suprernus dicis haec mutatiae vestae de me opinione ripial) nihil honoris adieret mei patria appellatio. The words that follow, quanto... dictation, also illustrate this feeling of his.

Ingestum: i.e. by acclamation (Furness).

In acta sua iurari; the acts of the emperor were his civil acts, not properly including, however, his laws. The oath to support these was regularly taken on the 1st of January, the oath including the acts of past emperors, so far as these had not been annulled. The oath was afterwards made to include the future acts of the prince (Momms. Röm. St. II. 847), and it may be that these were included on the present occasion, from the words cuncta mortalium incerta, and from the motive attributed to him by Suetonius (Tit. 67), ne max minoris de
decore impet us invitis honoribus inve
mise sit, his words being exempli
censum convenisse esse ne se Senatus in acta consensum obligaret, quae ali

que casu mutari possit.

3. legem maiestatis reduxerat: as if the law had fallen into desec-
tude under Augustus; this was not the case, however, as appears be-
vetere idem, sed alia in iudicium veniebant: si quis profite exer cuit aut plebem seditionibus, denique male gesta re publica, maiestatem populi Romani minuisset: facta arguebantur, dicta impune erant. Primus Augustus cognitionem de famosis libellis specie legis eius tractavit, commotus Cassii Severi libidine, qua viros feminasque illustres procacibus scriptis diffamaverat; mox Tiberius, consultante Pompeio Macro praetore an iudicia maiestatis redderentur, exer cendas leges esse respondit. Hunc quoque asperaveri carmina incertis auctoris vulgata in saevitiam superbiamque eius et discordem cum mater animum.

low. The “treason trials” of the reign of Tiberius afford the most serious of the charges against him. But in the first year of his reign, the trials were according to the regular judicial procedure, and the emperor made constant efforts to mitigate the severity of the law. (Intr. 15 and 16). The government, it must be remembered, was still a republic in form, and the senate had legal authority in these cases. Certainly it was by the direct order of Tiberius that the laws were enforced; see below, 4. facta arguebantur: just as, in English and American law, charges of constructive treason are by strict right excluded, but have nevertheless been often resorted to in times of peril and excitement.

4. famosis libellis: according to Suetonius (Oct. 55), id modo centuri, cognoscendum post hoc de sic qui libellus sit carmina ad infamiam sub alio numine edunt. According to Cicero (ad Rom. III. 11. 2), maiestas was extended by Sulla, ne in quovis impune declamari liceret.

Cassii Severi: Quintilian says of him (X. 1. 117), ingenii plurimum est in eo et acerbitas mira, et urbanitas eius summa; sed plus stomacho quam consilio dedi. Cf. IV. 21. 5.

mox, afterwards; its usual meaning in Tacitus.

Pompeio Macro: for his fate, see VI. 18. 4.

praetore: the one who presided over the quaevice de maiestate. The accuser had the option of bringing the charge before one of these courts, presided over by a praetor, or the senate, presided over by the consul. See II. 79. 2. The senate, however, could decline to cognizance of them; cf. IV. 21. 3 and 4. See Mommsen, Röm. St. 11. 105.

exer cendas leges: Suetonius (Thk. 59) tells the same story, adding, et atrocissime exercuit. Pliny (Hist. 13. 11) says, discerti casus Tiberius Augustum, sed ut maiestates crimen induceret.

5. hunc quoque: as well as Augustus.

carmina: Suetonius (Thk. 59) gives some examples of these; e.g., Fastidii vivum, quis tam sitis ute crurerem; tam bibit hunc avide quam bibit ante merum. See also IV. 42, discordem, etc.: see Intr. 26 a.
Haud pigris referre in Falanio et Rubrio, modicis equitibus Romanis, praetemptata crimina, ut quibus initis, quanta Tiberii arte gravissimum exitium irrepserit, dein repressum sit, postremo arserit cunctaque corripuerit, noscatur. Falanio obiciebat accusator quod inter cultores Augusti, qui per omnes domos in modum collegiorum habebantur, Cassium quendam mimum corpore infamem adscivisset, quodque venditis hortis statuam Augusti simul mancipasset. Rubrio crini in dabantur violatum periuio numen Augusti. Quae ubi Tiberio notuere, scripsit consulibus non ideo decretum patri suo caelum, ut in perniciem civium is honor vertetur; Cassium histrionem solitum inter alios eiusdem artis interesse ludis quois mater sua in memoriam Augusti sacrasset; nec contra religiones fieri quod effigies eius, ut alia numinum simulacra, venditionibus bordorum et domuum accedant. Ius iurandum perinde aestimandum quam si iuvem feellisset; deorum iniurias dis curae.

78. modicis, of moderate circumstances; distinguished from splendidi, a frequent epithet of the wealthy knights.
praetemptata, attempted, but frustrated by the emperor.
dein repressum sit: the whole of this appears to refer to the time of Tiberius, who is represented as having for a while, as a matter of policy (quanta . . . . . artis, see Intr. 13), held in check his natural severity. Some editors have supposed the reference to be to the reigns of Titus and Domitian.
2. cultores Augusti: this refers not to the sodales Augustales (54. 1), but to a private cult, held at the houses of citizens. The sodales were a recognized collegium or guild: these were only organized in modum collegiorum.
mancipasset: this word designates the special formalities by which real estate was sold by Roman law,—the statue passed with the grounds. The sale of a statue of Augustus was construed as an affront to him, and, therefore, an act of treason.
vioalatum . . . . numen Augusti: i.e. by an oath taken in his name, which was afterwards broken.
3. consulibus: they presided over the senate, and consequently over all cases that were tried before that body. See 72. 4 n.
caelum, divine honors; (10. 8).
histrionem, mimes.
ludus: scenic representations, in January, instituted by Livia; afterwards called Palatini, from being performed in the palace.
deorum iniurias dis curae:
Nec multo post Granium Marcellum praetorem Bithyniae quaestor ipius Caepio Crispinus maiestatis postulavit, subscripte Romano Hispone. Qui formam vitae inquit quam postea celebrem miseriae temporum et audaciae hominum fecerunt. Nam egens ignotus inquiries, dum occultis libellis saevitiae principis adreptit, mox clarissimo cuique periculum facessit, potentiam apud unum, odium apud omnis adeptus, dedit exemplum, quod secuti ex pauperibus divites, ex contemptis metuendi perniciem aliis ac postremum sibi invenerent. Sed Marcellum insimulabat sinistros de Tiberio sermones habuisse, inevitabile crimen, cum ex moribus principis foedissima quaque deligeret accusator objectare tque reo; nam quia vera erant, etiam dicta credebantur. Addit Hispo statuam Marcelli altius quam Caesarum

this whole passage, showing the efforts of Tiberius to set bounds to the vindictiveness of his courtiers, expresses wise and sagacious statesmanship.

praetorem: properly proconsul praetorius,—it being a senatorial province, governed by a proconsul of praetorian rank. Probably the term praetor is here used as a reminiscence of the times of the republic, when provinces were regularly governed by praetors.

quaestor ipius: the questors were assigned by lot to the several provinces, and stood in a close personal relation, necessitas, to the commander, so that any act of unkindness or ingratitude towards him was regarded as impuditas.

maiestatis, treason; the indictment included also repletandae (exertion), as appears from the closing sentence of the chapter. Accusas, in the sense demand for justice, accuse, is construed with the genitive of the crime.

subscribente, supporting the accusation. According to Roman criminal law, prosecutions were made by private individuals, the chief prosecutor being supported by one, two, or three others, whose business it was to assist and supplement his work. The chief accuser was primus subscriptor, the others, secundus, etc. See Intr. 16.

qui: i.e. Crispinus.

formam vitae, plan or course of life; i.e. the trade of an informer.

occultis libellis: written accusations secretly put into the hands of the emperor.

saevitiae adreptit, worm himself into his cruel counsel; cf. III. 50. 5.

facessit: follows dum. secuti, those who followed.

divites, metuendi: sc. facti.

3. objectaret, put in the mouth of; i.e. he represents him as having attacked the vices of the emperor. Because the charges against the emperor were true, the assertion that
sitam, et alia in statua amputato capite Augusti effigiem 5
Tiberii inditam. Ad quod exarist adeo ut rupta taciturnitate proclamaret se quoque in ea causa laturum sententiam palam et iuratum, quo ceteris eadem necessitas fieret. Manebant etiam tum vestigia morientis libertatis. Igitur Cn. Piso 'Quo' inquit 'loco censebis, Caesar? si primus, habebo quod sequar; si post omnis, vereor ne 7
imprudens dissentiam.' Permutus his, quantoque incautius efferret, paenitentia patiens tuit absolvì reum criminibus maiestatis; de pecuniis repetundis ad recipiatores itum est.

75 Nec patrum cognitionibus satiatus iudiciis adsidebat in cornu tribunalis, ne praetorem curuli depelleret; multaque eo coram adversus ambitum et potentium 2
preces constituta. Sed dum veritati consultitur, libertas

the defendant had made such charges was so probable as to be inevitable.

5. exarsit: it was an act of disrespect to his predecessor, coupled with a show of honor to himself.

laturum sententiam, would cast a vote; i.e. in the senate.

saeclum: same word.

5. Cn. Plido: see 13. 3. His cautious utterance did not make him lose his favor with the emperor, as in the next book he is represented as receiving an important command in the east. See Pl. 43. 5. censebimus, give your vote.

primus: this was his right, as princeps senatus.

7. patiens: sc. tanto magis (Intr. 35 6).

tuit, suffered. Most editors supply sententiam, which would indicate that he had changed his opinion. But it rather appears that he was ashamed of his unwonted excitement, and put up with (patiens) a decision contrary to his wish.

recipiatores: these were a board for the assessment of claims. The criminal charge having failed, "the trial of Marcellus became a mere civil question of damages." Furneaux.

76. nec patrum, etc.: he not only took part as a senator in the cases which came before the senate, but, as head of the state, princeps, attended the regular courts to see that justice was done.

iudiciis adsidebat: Suetonius says (Tib. 33), magistratus pro tribunalis cognosceribus peregrinque se offerebat consiliarium.

in cornu tribunalis: the tribunal being semi-circular in shape, and the pretor, as president of the court, sitting in the middle.

curuli: sc. sella.

multa constituta, many points were established.

2. libertas corrumpetur: a just verdict was obtained, but the
Inter quae Pius Aurelius senator questus mole publicae viae ductuque aquarum labefactas aedias suas, auxilium patrum invocabat. Resistebat aerarii praetoribus subvenit Caesar pretiumque aedium Aurelio tribuit, erogandae per honesta pecuniae cupidies, quam virtutem diu retinuit, cum ceteras exueret. Properti Celeri praetorio, veniam ordinis ob paupertatem petenti, deciens sestertium largitus est, satis comperto paternas ei angustias esse. Temptantis eadem alios probare causas senatui iussit, cupidine severitatis in iis etiam quae rite faceret acerbus. Unde ceteri silentium et paupertatem confessioni et beneficio praeposuerunt.

Eodem anno continuis imbrisus auctus Tiberis plana urbis stagnaverat; relabenti secuta est aedificiorum et hominum strages. Igitur censuit Asinius Gallus ut libri Sibullini adirentur. Renuit Tiberius, independence of the courts destroyed.

Inter quae: this is general, referring not to the judicial proceedings before the praetor, but to the zeal shown by Tiberius in the administration of justice.

mole, ductus: both probably describe construction,—the building of the road and the carrying of the water.

aerarii praetoribus: abl. ablat.: the care of the treasury was transferred by Augustus from the quaestors to the praetors, who now began to lose a part of their judicial powers.

eroganda . . . pecuniae, paying out money; it depends on cupidiae.

diu retinuit: indeed, two of the most striking examples of this liberality were in the very last years of his life; see VI. 17 and 45.

veniam ordinis, relief from the burdens of his order; the sena-
tor must have an estate of decies sestertium = $50,000.

paternas, inherited; i.e. not the result of dissipation.

acerbus: no doubt there was great risk of being deceived. Dio (LVII. 10) says that he gave his gifts openly, because the secret gifts of Augustus were often purloined by his agents. The investigation of the case by the senate was open.

76. plana urbis: the low ground between the Capitoline and the Palatine. This was once a swamp, and was drained by the cloaca maxima.

aedificiorum . . . strages: a case of zeugma. Probably the buildings were undermined, and a pestilence followed. Furneaux.

5. censuit, proposed; the word used for the formal and official expression of opinion.

libri Sibullini: these were in the
perinde divina humanaque obligation; sed remedium coercendi fluminis Ateio Capitoni et L. Arruntio mandatum. Achaian ac Macedoniam onera deprecantis levari in praesens proconsulari imperio tradique Caesaris placuit. Edendis gladiatoribus, quos Germanici fratri ac suo nomine obtulerat, Drusus praesedit, quamquam vili sanguine nimirum gaudens; quod in vulgus formidolosum et pater arguisse dicebatur. Cur abstinererit spectaculo ipse, varie trahebant; alii taedio coetus, quidam tristitia ingenii et metu comparationis, quia Augustus

5. obtegens, obscuring. His contempt for such superstitions is mentioned also by Dio Cassius (LVII. 14), who says that, while others took these events as an omen, he ascribed them to the excess of water, and appointed a standing board of five senators, selected by lot, to have charge of the river, and to regulate the supply of water. A recently discovered inscription of the reign of Claudius gives the names of five curatores aereum et aedui Tiberis ex auctoritate Ti. Claudi Caesaris Avg. Germanici Principis Antiquary, February, 1888.

Ateo Capitoni: for his death and character, see III. 75. He was curato aereum, an office which he held for ten years, A.D. 13 to 23, succeeding Messala. Augustus had established, among other offices, the curatum...aereum, adui Tiberis, etc. (Suet. Oct. 37).

4. Achaia: this province, embracing Greece proper, was separated from Macedonia by Augustus, B.C. 27, and received its name from its leading state, the Achean league. In the division of the empire between the senate and the emperor, Achaia and Macedonia, like most of the older provinces requiring no military force, were left under the senatorial administration of the republic, and governed by proconsuls, proconsularis imperio. The administration of these officers was more oppressive than that of the legati who governed the imperial provinces. They were chosen by lot, held office for only a year, and surrounded themselves with a degree of pomp which the military legati did not affect. Moreover, they were paid by the province, while the legati were paid by the emperor whom they represented. It was therefore a favor to these provinces levare proconsulari imperio tradique Caesaris. They were annexed to the province of Messia (see 80. 1), but were again made senatorial provinces by Claudius. Nipperdey suggests that, as imperial provinces, they were relieved from the tribute which they owed to the aereum. 5. quasquinquales vellis, tali usus or nonm in blood, even cheap blood—he was too lavish even of the lives of the vulgar. See 29. 4, promptum ad aspernem ingenium Drus erat. formidolosum, calculated to inspire fear.

5. ipse: Tiberius. trahebant, interpreted. Cf. 62. 3.
comiter interfuesset. Non crediderim ad ostentandum saevitiam movendaque populi offensiones concessam filio materiem, quamquam id quoque dictum est.

At theatri licentia, proximo priore anno coepit, gravius tum erupit, occisis non modo e plebe, sed militibus et centurione, vulnerato tribuno praetoriae cohortis, dum probrā in magistratus et dissensionem vulgi prohibent. Actum de ea seditione apud patres dicebanturque sententiae, ut praetoribus ius virgarum in histrionem esset. Intercessit Haterius Agrippa tribunus plebei increpitusque est Asini Galli oratione, silente Tiberio, qui ea simulacra libertatis senatui praebebat. Valuit tamen intercessio, quia divus Augustus immunes verberum histriones quondam responderat, neque fas Tiberio infringere dicta eius. De modo lucaris et adversus lasciviam fautorum multa decernuntur; ex quis maxime insignia, ne domos pantomimorum senator introiret, ne ingressus in publicum equestes Romani cingerent aut alibi quam in theatro spectarentur, et spectantium immodestiam exilio multandi potestas praetoribus fieret.

7. non crediderim, etc.: a good illustration of the absurd stories that were told of Tiberius.
77. theatris licentiae: see 54. 3. occisis, vulneris: with an acridic force, not perfect,—soldiers and centurions were killed, a tribune wounded. This usage is common in classic writers with deponent verbs, but not with passive.
praetoriae cohortis: stationed at the games to preserve order; it was removed by Nero, a.d. 55; see XIII. 34.
2. dicebantur sententiae, veris were already given to this effect. The measure would probably have been carried but for the intercession of the tribune.
3. Haterius Agrippa: probably the son of Q. Haterius (15. 4) and a daughter of Agrippa; he is called (II. 51. 2) propinquus Germanici. (Agrippina, the wife of Germanicus, was also a daughter of Agrippa.)
4. Augustus: Suetonius says (Oct. 45), coercitionem in histriones, magistratus in omni tempore et loco leges vele ter permissem, admitt praeterguam ludis et scena. Some, nevertheless, were flogged by his order.
5. ex quis, etc.: cf. 8. 4 n.
egredientes: sc. pantomimoi, object of cingerent.
spectarentur: see App. I.
78 Tempulum ut in colonia Tarraconensi structurat
Augusto petentibus Hispanis permissum, datumque in
omnia provincias exemplum. Centesimam rerum venalium
post bella civilia institutam deprecante populo
edixit Tiberius militare aerarium eo subsidio niti;
simul imparem oneri rem publicam, nisi vicesimo
militiae anno veterani dimitterentur. Ita proximae
seditionis male consulti, quibus sedecim stipendiorum
finem expresserant, aboluta in posterum.

79 Actum deinde in senatu ab Arruntio et Ateio an
ob moderandas Tiberis exundationes verterentur flu-
mina et lacus, per quos augescit; auditaeque munici-

78. in colonia Tarraconensi: Tarragona in Spain. Augustus re-
sided there for a year, and made it, instead of Carthago Nova, the seat
of government of the province of Hiber Spain, from this time known
as Tarraconensis. Hieber, in Her-
men, i. (1866), p. 110.
potentibus Hispanis: the re-
quest must have been made by the
assembly of the province, consisting
of representatives of its cities. (Gui-
raud Att. Prov. p. 56). The wor-
ship of Augustus, now established,
became the chief cult of the prov-
ince, being in the care of a consilium
composed of flamen of equestrian
rank from each city, Hieber.
exemplum: it was the first tem-
ple consecrated by a province to
Augustus alone; before this time
temples had been erected jointly to
Augustus and Rome. The temple
now built was the most splendid
in the city; remains of it are still
extant. This special cult of the
province and city must be distin-
guished from that of the Augustales,
who were freedmen, and who were
found here as in other provinces.
2. centesimam [partem] re-
rum venalium: a tax of one per-
cent on sales, reduced by one-half,
A.D. 17 (II. 42. 6).
militare aerarium: established
by Augustus, B.C. 6, to provide for
retiring veterans. Mon. Anc. III.
36. The fund thus established not
proving sufficient, this centesima was
devoted to this purpose, and sums
from other sources, as from con-
fusion, legacy duties, and foreign
revenues (see II. 42. 6).
niti, depended upon.
imparem oneris: i.e. unless the
full twenty years of service were re-
quired; thus the concession of Ger-
manicus (36. 4) that the discharge
should take place after sixteen years
(male consulti) was tacitly re-
voked.
sedecim stipendiorum: geni-
tive of characteristic—a sixteen-
year limit.
79. actum, etc.: the report of
the commissioners appointed 76. 3.
municipiorum et coloniarum, town;
there was no longer any
essential distinction between these
two classes of towns, since they had
all alike received Roman ci-
sizenship; but the distinction in names
piorum et coloniarum legationes, orantibus Florentinis, ne Clanis solito alveo demotus in amnem Arnum transferretur idque ipsis perniciem adferret. Congruentia his Interamnates dissipuere: pessum ituros fecundissimos Italiam campos, si amnis Nar (id enim parabatur) in rivos diductus superstagnavisset. Nec Reatini silebant, Velinum lacum, qua in Narem effunditur, obturui recusantes, quippe in adiacentia erupturum; optime rebus mortalium consuluisse naturam, quae sua ora fluvinibus, suos cursus, utque originem, ita fines dederit; spectandas etiam religiones sociorum, qui sacra et lucos et aras patris amnibus dicaverint; quin ipsum Tiberim nolle prorsus accolis fluvii orbatum minore gloria fluere. Seu preces coloniarum seu difficultas operum sive superstitionis valuit, ut in sententiam Cn. Pisonis concederetur, qui nil mutandum censuerat.

was preserved to indicate the difference in origin.

Florentinina: the colony of Florentina, Florence, on the banks of the Arno, had taken the place of the ancient Etruscan city of Fiesole, Fiesole, at the top of a steep hill.

Clanis: this river flowed into the Tiber, but its sources, in the marshes between Clusium and Arrretum, could be easily diverted into the Arno, a branch of which rose in the same marshes; this would relieve the inundations of the Tiber. This region has been, in the present century, thoroughly drained.

2. Interamnates: the inhabitants of Interamna, Terni, situated upon the Nar. The falls of the Nar at Terni, among the finest in Europe, were made by artificially draining the lands above, the work of the distinguished statesman of the third century B.C., Manius Curius Dentatus. This artificial channel became the outlet of the Lacus Vellus; and from the refusal of the Reatini to have it blocked up, as being the work of nature, it would appear that they had lost the tradition of its origin.

3. adiacentia: the ager Remii, a valley of great beauty and fertility in the high Apennines.

sociorum: these were the independent Italian nations in alliance with Rome. But this alliance had been brought to an end by the Social War, B.C. 90, which had resulted in the admission of all the socii to Roman citizenship. The use of the term on this occasion, therefore, is only traditional; at this period it was usually applied to nations outside of Italy.

4. Tiberim: the god of the river; cf. sacra, etc., 3.

5. Pisonis: Gnaeus Piso, mentioned 74. 6.
Prorogatur Poppeae Sabinae provincia Moesia, additis Achaia ac Macedonia. Id quoque morum Tiberii fuit, continuare imperia ac plerosque ad finem vitae in isdem exercitibus aut iurisdictionibus habere. Causae variae traduntur: aliis taedio novae curae semel placita pro aeternis servavisse, quidam invidia, ne plures frue- rentur; sunt qui existimant, ut callidum eius ingeniurn, ita anxium iudicium; neque enim eminenter virtutes sectabatur, et rursus vitia oderat: ex optimis periculum sibi, a pessimis dedecus publicum metuebat. Qua haesi- tatione postremo eo provectus est, ut mandaverit quis- busdam provincias quos egredi urbe non erat passurus.

De comitiis consularibus, quae tum primum illo principe ac deinceps fuere, vix quicquam firme- ausim: adeo diversa non modo apud auctores, sed in ipsius orationibus reperiuntur. Modo subtractis candi-

"drive them away, and hunger ones will come in their place."
semel placita, what had once satisfied him.
anxium iudicium: this was a real characteristic of the emperor.
exercitibus aut iurisdictionibus: these refer respectively to the offices of legatus, or governor of an imperial province, having troops under him, and procurator, or agent of the emperor in a certain group of small provinces (Noricum, Rhetia, etc.), whose powers were judicial and administrative only.
comitiis consularibus: see note, 15. 1.
tum primum: i.e. in the second year of Tiberius, the consuls of the previous year having been design-ated by Augustus, deinceps refers to the subsequent years of Ti-berius.
orationibus, messes in recommendation of a candidate.
subtractis, omitting; giving
datorum nominibus originem cuiusque et vitam et stipendia descripsit, ut qui forent intellegeretur; aliquando ea quoque significacione subtracta candidatos hortatus, ne ambitu comitia turbarent, suam ad id curam pollicitus est. Plerumque eos tantum apud se professos disseruit, quorum nomina consulibus edidisset; posse et alios profiteri, si gratiae aut meritis confiderent: speciosa verbis, re inania aut subdola, quantoque maiore libertatis imagine tegabantur, tanto eruptura ad infensius servitium.

no name, but describing them so that they were readily recognized.
e ea quoque significacione, even this indication of his wishes; he made no public indication at all.
3. disseruit, declared.

posse et alios, etc.: of course the nomination by the emperor was not a legal prerequisite to the election; others might register themselves (profiteri) with the consuls, without asking for his approval.
MAP OF NORTHERN GERMANY
To illustrate the
CAMPAIGNS OF GERMANICUS.

[Map showing various regions and places]

Proposed site of the Salian Teutoburgians.
EXCURSUS.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE GERMAN CAMPAIGNS.

Germanicus conducted operations against the Germans during three years, A.D. 14, 15 and 16. The campaign of the first year was hardly more than a reconnaissance, having as its principal object to divert the minds of the soldiers from the recent tragedies, and inspire them by success. It was directed against the Marsi, a nation who bordered the Chatti upon the north, and who, as we are informed by Strabo (VII. p. 290) had moved back into the interior of the country, pericrinoa de rive t[β]o β[θ]ia k[φ]o[ν], probably at the time that Tiberius established the limes, or military frontier, spoken of I. 50. The Marsi were south of the Lippe, and probably upon the upper waters of the Ruhr.

The operations of the two following years had as their object partly to avenge the defeat of Varus in the Teutoburg Forest (A.D. 9), and partly to recover the territory lost at that time. Drusus, father of Germanicus, had conquered Germany as far as the Elbe, and established the province of Germania (B.C. 12). All of this territory, with some trifling exceptions, was lost by the defeat of Varus, and the military force of the province was withdrawn to the left bank of the Rhine, where it was, strictly speaking, within the boundaries of the Gallic province of Belgica.

In order to understand these campaigns it is necessary to cast a glance at the geographical situation (see Map). The river Rhine flows from Mentz to Cologne through a picturesque mountain region, unsuited to military operations. The country east of the river was here occupied by the powerful tribe of the Chatti, the modern Hessians,—almost the only German
nation that has not changed its residence or name from that time to this. The natural approach to their country was up the valley of the Main; and at the mouth of this river, upon the Rhine, at Moguntiacum (Mentia), the Romans established the headquarters of one division of their army.

At the northern extremity of the mountains dwelt the Tenceteri; and at this important strategic point on the western bank, the German tribe of the Ubii had received lands, ut arserent, non ut custodirentur (Germ. 28). Here were the headquarters of the lower army, until A.D. 50, the oppidum of the Ubii was made a Roman colony (see I. 31. 3 n.), named Colonia Agrippina, in honor of the empress Agrippina, who was born there. The legions were now removed to Bonn, a few miles further up the river. The chief military position, however, upon the Lower Rhine, was about sixty miles below, where the river Lippe flows into the Rhine from the east. The valley of this river formed the natural approach to the country of the Cherusci (the nation of Arminius) as the Main did to the country of the Chatti. North of the Lippe dwelt the Usipetes and Bructeri; but the country between the Lippe and the Ruhr, a few miles further south, appears to have remained, for some distance back from the Rhine, in the hands of the Romans. (See I. 50. 2 n.) Still further east, and south of the Lippe, the Tubantes occupied the lands from which the Sugambrians had been removed by Tiberius (II. 26. 3 n.); the Tubantes had before been north of the Lippe. The military road from the Rhine into the heart of Germany was necessarily, like the modern railroad, carried along the banks of the Lippe; and opposite the mouth of this river was established the principal camp of the lower army—at Vetura (sc. castra), as that of the upper army was opposite the mouth of the Main. All the military operations of Germanicus, except a single short campaign against the Chatti, had this camp as their base of operations.

In the second year, A.D. 15, after this campaign against
the Chatti (I. 56), Germanicus set on foot an expedition on a large scale against the Bructeri, upon the upper Ems. While in this region, in the neighborhood of the modern Münster, he conceived the plan of visiting the Teutoburg Forest, the scene of the defeat of Varus (A.D. 9).

It is from the account of this expedition alone (I. 60) that we learn the name of this battle-field, and it is from this passage and II. 7 that we get our only direct information as to its situation. Varus, as we learn from Dio Cassius (LVI. 18), had penetrated to the Weser, where he seems to have remained some months in summer quarters. Learning then of an uprising at some distance, he set out with his entire force, including all his baggage, as well as the women and children, for winter quarters upon the Rhine, intending to suppress the revolt upon his way. He is likely, therefore, to have set out by the direct road, but he had certainly left this road when he was attacked, for he is represented as making his way with difficulty, even before the attack, through a heavily wooded country, cut up with deep ravines, where he was obliged to cut trees to clear the way, and to build bridges, being greatly impeded too by the slippery nature of the soil,—there being a heavy rain and high wind.

Now, the principal military road of the Romans was by the valley of the Lippe, which then as now afforded the most direct route from the Lower Rhine into the interior of Germany. On this river was the fortress Aliso, built by Drusus; and at the head of the river (ad caput Lupiae), Tiberius had passed one winter, A.D. 4 (Vell. Pat. II. 105). It is reasonable to suppose that Varus marched by this road, and only left it when he arrived in the neighborhood of the insurgent tribe, which may perhaps have been, as Knoke suggests, the Bructeri.

From Tacitus we learn two important facts. First, that the scene of the disaster was upon the Lippe; for the Germans who were besieging a fort upon this river (II. 7) retired at the approach of Germanicus, first, however, destroying the mound which he had erected on the battle-field the previous year.
(I. 69). From I. 69, 5 it appears that it was also near the Ems. Germanicus had marched ad ultimos Bructerorum, by which we must understand the part of their territory furthest from the Rhine; that is, where the Ems runs for some distance almost parallel with the Lippe, nearly southeast of Münster. This was the country (quantum Amisiam et Lupiam amnes inter) which he laid waste; and here he found himself near (haut procul) the Teutoburg Forest. Now, there is but one region which answers all these conditions,—hilly, heavily wooded, with deep ravines (a saltus), and clayey soil, upon the Lippe and near the Ems. This is the forest of Havixbrock, east of Beckum and northeast of Hamm. Here the remains of a Roman camp are still to be seen, and in the neighborhood are other memorials and local names, which appear to recall the event. (See Essellen, Das varianische Schlachfeld im Kreise Beckum, Berlin, 1874.)

Other places have been proposed, and plausibly defended: especially Mommsen (Die Oertlichkeit der Varusschlacht, Berlin, 1885) gives the great weight of his authority to the mountain region northeast of Osnaburg, where (at Barenau) a very large number of Roman coins of the reign of Augustus and of earlier date have been found. But it is hard to believe that this situation would be considered 'near' to an army on the Upper Ems; and Mommsen takes no notice of the evidence in Tacitus that the tumulus, and therefore the battle-field, was on the Lippe. Knoke (Die Kriegstüge des Germanicus, Berlin, 1887) argues for the valley entered by the Dören pass, south of Osnaburg. This situation would agree with I. 69, 5, being haut procul to Germanicus when on the Upper Ems; but it is too far from the Lippe to agree with II. 7.

In this discussion we necessarily confine our attention to general geographical and strategic considerations: what may be called the tactical point of view, the configuration of the battle-field, is practically worthless for us. Nearly all ancient historians (Cesar is a marked exception) are deficient in the
EXCURSUS.

capacity—a rare one at any time—of describing accurately and intelligibly the physical features of a battle-field or any similar locality; and the description of the battle-field in question, given by Dio Cassius (LVI. 20), a writer separated from the event by centuries of time, and who cannot be supposed to have visited the spot in person, is too indefinite to be of much assistance. Velleius, a contemporary writer, makes no mention of mountains, or even hills; his words are, inclusus silvis paludibus insidiis (II. 119). Florus also (II. 30. 36) says per paludes perque silvas. Probably fifty localities could be found within the region of the Weser, Ems, and Lippe which would correspond sufficiently well with these descriptions; and, as Mommsen remarks (p. 6), “several solutions of a problem, when only one of them can be correct, really give us no help to a solution until we are in a condition to establish the exclusive possibility of one of the number.” This appears to be done, for the forest of Havixbrock, by a comparison of Tacitus’ Annals, I. 60. 5 and II. 7.

The campaign of A.D. 15 was far from being a success, and came near being a signal disaster. But Germanicus had now learned how to fight with the Germans, and the campaign of A.D. 16, narrated at length in Book II. (5 to 26), exhibits his generalship in the most favorable light. Upon this campaign, instead of taking the old route by the valley of the Lippe, Germanicus proceeded by water, following the lagoons and estuaries along the coast as far as the mouth of the Ems, and up that river to some point from which he struck across the country to the Weser. His natural course would have been to follow the valley of the Hase nearly east, keeping north of the mountainous region about Osnaburg (see II. 8. 4 n.). Whatever course he took, he met with so few obstacles that Tacitus says not a word about the march. The Weser was successfully passed, and two considerable victories were won; and thus the German wars came to an end with credit, if not with any decisive gain.
ARGUMENT OF BOOK II.

A.D. 16; STATILIUS SISENNA TAURUS, L. LIBO, COSSS.


27–32. Impeachment of Libo Drusus.

27. Grounds of accusation. 28. Indictment. 29–31. Trial and voluntary death of Libo. 32. Rewards, etc.


A.D. 17; C. CAELIUS, L. POMPONIUS, COSSS.


A.D. 18; T. CAESAR AUGUSTUS III., GERMANICUS CAESAR II., COSSS.


A.D. 19; M. SILANUS, L. NERVAEUS, COSSS.


Liber II.


1. Tauro: his full name was Titus Statilius Sisenna Taurus; the order here found (the gentile name between the two cognomina) is so unusual with Tacitus that the editors consider the last cognomen to be a gloss.

mota, stirred up, for commota (Intr. 35 a).

provinciae Romanae: the only Roman province in the East at this time, except in Asia Minor and Egypt, was Syria, which embraced also Phoenicia and Judaea, being bounded on the east by the Euphrates and the desert.

Parthos: the Parthians were a nation of mountaineers, who lived southeast of the Caspian Sea. After the breaking up of Alexander's empire, they gained their independence under Arsaces (about B.C. 250), but their kingdom was not greatly enlarged until the time of Mithridates L., about the middle of the second century before Christ. He took advantage of the collapse of the empire of the Seleucidae, after the battle of Magnesia (B.C. 190), to seize all the territory as far west as the Euphrates. The empire of the Parthians was the only formidable rival of that of Rome, from which it was separated by the Euphrates and the Arabian desert. At this time its power had greatly decayed, but it still had sufficient strength and prestige to make the relations with Parthia a constant subject of care and anxiety to the Roman emperors.

gentis Arsacidarum: the royal family of Parthia, descendants of Arsaces, its first king. The cruel and tyrannical Phraates IV. gave four of his sons as hostages to Augustus, among them this Vonones. Phraates was murdered B.C. 2, by his illegitimate son Phraates, who succeeded him, but was shortly set aside for Orodes, a distant kinsman. After his assassination, probably A.D. 7, Vonones was given to the Parthians as king, at their request.

2. quamquam, etc.: Phraates succeeded to the throne of Parthia, B.C. 38. Two years later Mark Antony led an expedition against him, and was ignominiously repulsed.

venerantium: equivalent, by a not uncommon usage, to veterani—"the officers of respect." Among other things, he had restored (B.C. 250).
vererat partemque prolis firmandae amicitiae miserat, 
haud perinde nostri metu quam fidei popularium diffusus.

2 Post finem Phraatis et sequentium regum ob internas 
caedes venere in urbem legati a primoribus Parthis, qui

3 Vononem vetustissimum liberorum eius accirent. Magni-

ficum id sibi crediti Caesar auxitque opibus. Et ac-

cerebae barbari laetantes, ut ferme ad nova imperia.

4 Mox subiit pudor: degeneravisse Parthos; petimum alio 
ex orbe regem, hostium artibus infectum; iam inter 
provincias Romanas solium Arsacidarum haberì darique.

5 Ubi illam gloriam truncantium Crassum, exturbantium
Antonium, si mancipium Caesaris, tot per annos servi-
tutem perpessum, Parthis imperet? Accedebat de-
dignantes et ipse diversus a maiorum institutis, raro
venatu, segni equorum cura; quotiens per urbes ince-
deret, lecticae gestamine fastuque erga patrias epulas;

20) the standards captured from
Crassus and others. See Horace,
Ep. I. 12, 27: ins imperiumque 
Phraatis Caesaris acceptum gentibus 
minor.

carnem: i.e. as hostages; among
them Vonones.

firmandae amicitiae: dative
with miserat; cf. distraxendo hosti 
mutilati, l. 60, 2.

haud perinde . . . quam: equiva-
 lent to not so much . . . as.
diffusus, because he distrusted;
parallel with metu (Intr. 35 r).

2. ob internas caedes: quali-
fying hostium. See note on gentis,
1. 1.

venere in urbem legati: this
was A.D. 5.

3. magnificum: it added to his
glory to furnish a king to the rival
empire.

Caesar: Augustus.
opibus, present.

ut ferme: sc. fid.
irridebantur et Graeci comites ac vilissima utensiliwm anulo clausa; sed prompti aditus, obvia comitas ignotae Parthis virtutes, nova vitia; et quia ipsorum moribus aliena, perinde odium pravis et honestis.


6. vilissima, etc.: this refers to the Roman practice, introduced by Vonones, as well as the decies, of sealing up the commonest necessaries of life, such as bread and salt, that they might not be pilfered by slaves.

virtutes, vitia: the former refers to prompti aditus, obvia comitas; the latter to all that precedes.

Arsacidarum e sanguine: the degree of relationship is not known.

Apud Dahas: the Dahae lived at this time east of the Caspian Sea; but the name of the modern Daghestan appears to show that they once resided west of that sea. Artabanus had been king of Media Atropatene.

2. Armenia: this mountainous country had retained its independence between the Parthian and Roman empires.

vacua: i.e. its royal throne.

Artavasden: the son of Tigranes I, who took part in the Mithridatic war against Rome; his capture by Antony was B.C. 34.
catenas: it is said that, to reconcile him to the disgrace, his chains were at first of silver, then of gold.

3. Arsacidarum: i.e. of Parthis.

4. Tigranes: he was brother of Artaxias, and had been captured with his father Artavasden; his accession was B.C. 20.

5. in matrimonium: the son and daughter (Erato) of Tigranes II. were married and reigned as associates, after the Egyptian custom (more externo), according to which Ptolemy and Cleopatra, being brother and sister, were married and shared the throne.

The following table gives the relationship of these Armenian princes:
gusti impositus Artavasdes et non sine clade nostra
dejectus. Tum Gaius Caesar componendae Armeniae
deligitur. Is Ariobarzanen, origine Medum, ob insig-
nem corporis formam et praeclarum animum volentibus
Armeniis praefecit. Ariobarzane morte fortuita ab-
sumpto stirpem eius haud toleravere; temptatoque femi-
nae imperio, cui nomen Erato, eaque brevi pulsa, incerti
solutique et magis sine domino quam in libertate pro-
fugum Vononem in regnum accipiunt. Sed ubi munitari
Artabanus et parum subsidii in Armeniis, vel, si nostra
vi defenderetur, bellum adversus Parthos sumendum
erat, rector Surae Creticae Silanus excitum custodia
circumdat, manente luxu et regio nomine. Quod ludi-
brium ut effugere agitaverit Vonones, in loco reddemus.
Ceterum Tiberio haud ingratum accidit turbari res
Orientis, ut ea specie Germanicum suetis legionibus

Tigranes I.

Artaxias. Tigranes II. Artavasdes II. (7)
Tigranes III. Erato. Ariobarzanen.
Artavasdes III.

4. Artavasdes: probably a younger son of Artavasdes I. He
is not mentioned in the Monumen-
tum Anacyclus, which speaks here
(V. 35) only of a season of confu-
sion; tandem gentem postea descri-
scentem et rebellantem domitam per
Gazam filium meum regi Ariobar-
zanen regis Medorum Artabazae filio
regnavam tradit, et post eum mortem filio eius Artavasdes.

2. Gaius Caesar: see I. 3. 3; it
was on his way home from this
expedition that he died, A.D. 4.

Ariobarzanen: this was a change
of dynasty; see 4. 1 n. After the
death of his son Artavasdes III,

the throne was restored to the
Armenian line in the person of
Tigranes IV. (see VI. 40. 2), who
was distantly related to that line.

3. stirpem eius: Artavasdes III.
Erato: the daughter of Tigranes
II., who had ruled conjointly with
her brother Tigranes III. (3. 5), had
been succeeded by her uncle, Arta-
vades II. (1), and was now restored.

defendere: sc. Vonones.
rector: the proper title of the
governor of Syria was legatus.

5. ludibrium, mockery of royal
state. For the event see 68. 1.

6. ceterum Tiberio, etc.: with
these words begins the most serious
of the special charges made by Tacit-
us against Tiberius — that, uneasy
at the growing popularity of his
adopted son, he made the disturbed
condition of the East a pretext to
abstraheret novisque provinciis impositum dolo simul et casibus obiectaret. At ille, quanto aciorea in eum studia "militum et aversa patrui voluntas, celerandae victoriae intentior, tractare proeliorum vias et quae sibi tertium iam annum belligeranti saeva vel prospera evenissent: fundi Germanos acie et iustis locis, iuvari silvis, paludi-
bus, brevi aestate et praematura hieme; suum militem haud perinde vulneribus quam spatiiis itinerum, damnno armorum adfici; fessas Gallias ministrandis equis; longum impedimentorum agmen opportunum ad insidias, defensantibus iniquum. At si mare intretur, promptam 4 ipsis possessionem et hostibus ignotam, simul bellum maturius incipi legionesque et commenatus pariter vehi;

separate him from an army that was strongly attached to him (suetsis legioniouibus) and assigned him to this new and perilous command, taking measures at the same time to have him privately assassinated. As Tacitius evidently believed (see Intr. 7) that the death of Germanicus, which followed very shortly (72. 2), was the effect of poison, administered by Piso, at the instigation of Tiberius, — an assertion which is repeated by most modern historians, — we have a right to assume that he has given us all the evidence upon which the story rests, and it will easily appear from the following narrative that there is absolutely no evidence, even circumstantial, in its favor. In the present chapter the only fact of importance is the transfer of Germani-
cus from one important command to another. This was connected with a change of policy, the emperors finally deciding to give up all efforts to recover possession of Ger-
many, and simply maintain the frontier of the Rhine. That he feared the popularity of Germanicus, and was glad of a pretext to change his command, is not unlikely; it has been a not unusual policy in all ages.

novis provinciis: see 43. 2, provinciae quae mari dividentur,
2. tractare, consider, with reference to his future operations.
proeliorum vias: the route, whether by land or water. He had tried both ways the year before, and now decided for the water.
qua evenissent: i.e. the expe-
rience of his past campaigns, ex-
plained in fundi ... iniquum.
3. iustis: i.e. suited for regular operations.
iuvari, etc.: contrasted with fund-
di ... locis.
danno: see I. 71. 3.
ministrandis equis: these had been freely offered (I. 71. 3); but the loyalty of the Gauls must not be tried too severely.
4. possessionem: has here an active sense; taking into pos-
session.
maturius: the expedition could be made by water earlier than land forces would find the ground fit for marching.
integrum equitem equosque per ora et alveos fluminum media in Germania fore. Igitur hic intendit, missis ad census Galliarum P. Vitellio et C. Antio. Silius et Anteius et Caecina fabricandae classi praeponuntur.

Mille naves sufficere visae properataeque: aliae breves, angusta puppi prorquire et lato utero, quo facilitis fluctus tolerarent, quaedam planae carinis, ut sine noxa siderent; plures appositis utrimque gubernaculis, converso ut repente remigio hinc vel illinc appellerent; multae pontibus stratae, super quas tormenta vehementur, simul aptae ferendis equis aut commanetui; velis habiles, citae remis augebantur alacritate militum in speciem ac terro-

integrum: sc. viribus. They had been worn out by the long marches of the previous year.

huc: to this plan, — an advance by water.

ad census: see note on agendo censu, l. 31. 2.

P. Vitellio: see l. 70. The name of Antius occurs upon an inscription. For Silius and Caecina see l. 31.

Anteius: not otherwise known; as it is Tacitus’ habit to give the prenomens on the first mention of a person, and as it is unlikely that an obscure person would be joined with the two governors, Nipperdey reads here Apronius (l. 76. 2).

mille naves: for conveying the entire army and stores. These ships were of three classes, — the first for the sea; the largest number (plures) for river navigation; also a large number (multae) for the conveyance of horses and engines. It is probable, as Knoke suggests (p. 396), that the first class conveyed the troops to the mouth of the Ems, where they were transferred to smaller boats.

breves: i.e. contrasted with more longae, ships-of-war. This class was designed for conveying the troops through the sea; the two other classes, for river navigation. Knoke.

utero = abeo.

quaedam: i.e. a part of those already described.

planae carinis, etc.: so in Cæsar, B. G. III. 13, of the Gallic ships: carinae aliquanto plasores quam nostrarum navim, quo facilitis voda ac decentum actus excipere possent. Dutch vessels are still built with broad, flat keels, so as to rest easily on the sand.

siderent: in the shallows along the coast and the ebb-tide; Knoke, less probably, refers it to river shallows.

appositis, etc.: Tacitus describes the boats of the Scandinavians as follows (Germ. 44): utrimque prora paralium semper appollina frontem agit. The viking ships discovered of late years have this shape.

converso, etc.: cf. Hist. III. 47, pari utrimque prora et mutabilis remigio.

pontibus, deck.

citae: here a participle, impelled: referring (as well as habiles) to all the ships.

augebantur: i.e. when the sol-
rem. Insula Batavorum in quam convenirent praedicta, ob faciles appulus accipiendisque copiis et transmittendum ad bellum opportuna. Nam Rhenus uno alveo continuus aut modicas insulas circumveniens apud principium agri Batavi velut in duos amnes dividitur, servatque nomen et violentiam cursus, qua Germaniam praevehitur, donec Oceano misceatur; ad Gallicam ripam latior et placidior adfluens (verso cognomento Vaahalem accolae dicunt), mox id quoque vocabulum mutat Mosa flumine, eiusque immenso ore eundem in Oceanum effunditur. Sed Caesar, dum adiguntur naves, Silium legatum cum expedita manu irruptionem in Chattos facere iubet; ipse audito castellum Lupiae flumini appositum obsideri, sex legiones eo duxit. Neque Silio ob subitos imbres aliud actum quam ut modicam praedam et Arpi principis Chattorum coniugem filiamque raperet, neque Caesari copiam pugnae obsessores fecere, ad famam adventus eius dilapsi; tumulum tamen nuper diuers quickeased their speed (alacrity) in rowing, the appearance of the ships was more formidable.—In, expressing purpose or result, is in no writer so common as in Tacitus (Intr. 35 r).

4. Insula Batavorum: the island formed in the provinces of Guelderland and Holland by the rivers Rhine and Meuse and the Waal which connects them: see Germ. 20.

5. Faciles appulus, facilities for landing.

6. Qua . . . et, both . . . and, transmittendum ad bellum, for carrying war into the enemy’s country. (Intr. 35 r).

7. Irruptionem: from his headquarters at Mentz, before joining the main expedition.

8. Castle: this was probably the fortress Aliso, mentioned below; if not, it must have been a short distance further up the river, at any rate near the Teutoburg Forest. That the attack upon it was formidable, and the expedition a dangerous one, is shown by the fact that Germanicus took with him the large force of six legions.

9. Tumulum: see I. 62. 2; its mention here shows conclusively that the battle-field was in the immediate neighborhood of the Lippe. The

Mosa: an ablative of price, the regular construction with modo, exchange for. In reality the Waal does not change its name, but is lost in the Meuse.
Varianis legionibus structum et veterem aram Druso sitam disiecerant. Restituit aram honorique patris princi- ceps ipse cum legionibus decucurrit; tumulum itereare hau dict visum. Et cuncta inter castellum Alisonem ac Rhenum novis limitibus aggeribusque permunita.

Iamque classis adverterat cum, præmisso conmeatu et distributis in legiones ac socios navibus, fossam cui Drusianae nomen ingressus, precatusque Drusum patrem ut se cadem uastes libens placatusque exemplo ac memoriam consiliorum atque operum iuvaret, lacus inde et Oceanum uisque ad Amisiam flumen secunda naviga- tione pervehitur. Classis Amisiae relictà laevo amne, altar nee not have been on the same spot, but in the neighborhood. legionibus, Druso: datives, not of agency, but of interest. sitam: the use of this word, as equivalent to conditam, is peculiar to Tacitus. decucurrit: the decursio was a solemn march three times round the altar; see Verg. Aen. XI. 188. haud visum: Furneaux thinks because it was too distant for him to visit. The natural interpretation of the passage, however, especially with the pluperfect, disiecerant (i.e. before they dilapidae sunt), is that both altar and mound were near the fort.

5. Alisonem: a fortress established by Drusus, at the junction of the Allsa with the Lippe. It is disputed whether the name is to be recognized in that of the town of Alsem, near Paderborn, or of the river Alse, which flows into the Lippe at Hamm. The situation at Hamm, upon the middle course of the Lippe, equally near the Chermuci and the Bruceri, is much the most probable. Moreover, it would be quite practicable to construct defences connecting this point with the Rhine (cuncta inter castellum Alisonem ac Rhenum), while to do this with a place so distant as Alsem would be difficult, and, in the present hostile relations with these tribes, practically impossible. As this fort was constructed by Drusus, it is probable that his altar was near to it, — an argument for regarding this as the fort mentioned at the beginning of the chapter. limitibus, defensive works (see I. 50. 2 n.); aggeribus, causeways.

6. adverterat: i.e. at the appointed place (6. 4).

praemisso: to the Ems. fossam: this connects the Rhine with the Yssel, thus giving a passage into Lake Flero. Suetonius (Claud. 1) says of Drusus, fossas novi et summneri operis effecti, quae uana abhinc Drusianae vacaverunt. lacus: the series of small lakes and lagoons, part of which are now united in the Zuyder Zee.

2. Amisiae: to be construed with laevo amne, on the left bank (i.e. the side towards Gaul). It is taken as a locative by some; but although Ptolemy mentions a place called 'Apurem', Tacitus would have
erratumque in eo, quod non subvexit aut transposuit militem dextris in terras iturum; ita plures dies efficiendis pontibus absumpsit. Et eque quedem ac legiones prima aestivalia, nondum accrescente unda, intrepidis transierit; postremum auxiliorum agmen Batavicum in parte ea, dum insulatam aquis artemque nandi ostentant, turbati et quidam hausti sunt.

Metanti castra Caesaris Angrivariorum defectio a tergo 4

been likely to add oppidum or castellum, as with Also in the last chapter. It cannot correspond with the modern town of Emden, which is on the right bank. Most editors insert ert; but it is likely that Germanicus made use of the boats which were built expressly for river navigation. It is true he is criticised for not conveying his troops by water further than he did, but this may be explained by supposing, with Knoke, that his original intention had been to sail up the Hase or some other confluent of the Ems. This would explain the emphatic position of Amilcan,—the fleet was left in the Ems, on its left bank. The narrative shows that the place where he landed was still under the influence of the tides. It appears, moreover, from 23, 1, that on his return he conveyed his troops in ships per flumen Amisiam—from which it is probable that he left the fleet some way up the river.

subvexit aut transposuit, carry further up stream, or at least land on the other bank. See App. I.

pontibus; it is possible that he built more than one bridge for so large an army, but more likely that the plural is used for the singular,—a bridge of several arches or divisions.

3 aestivalia: the flats along the river, flooded at high tide. We have in this chapter more even than the usual abruptness and compression. It is clear, however, that the sudden rise of the tide was while the army was marching up the right bank of the river.

in parte ea: i.e. in the rear (postremum agmen).

am er... ostentant: the Batavians, living in a country of rivers and lakes, were expert swimmers.

turbati, etc.; i.e. by a sudden and rapid rise of the tide.

4. metanti castra: another violent transition. The passage from the Ems to the Weser is not mentioned, and must be supplied in mind either here or at the end of the chapter. The present place is the most probable, because the establishment of the camp at the end of the march, when in the neighborhood of the enemy, would be much more important, and more likely to receive special mention than any of the encampments along the road. Moreover, the words at the beginning of the ninth chapter show that the army was already upon the Weser, and cannot be conjoined with what goes immediately before, except by understanding that the camp here laid out was on or near this river.

Angrivariorum: see App. I.

The course from the lower Ems to the mountainous region of the
nuntiatur; missus illico Sertinius cum equite et arma-
tura levi igne et caedibus perfidiam ultus est. Flumen
Visurgis Romanos Cheruscossque interfuebat. Eius in
riparum ceteris primoribus Arminius adstitit, quaesi-
toque an Caesar venisset, postquam adesse responsum
est, ut liceret cum fratre colloqui oravit. Erat is in
exercitu cognomento Flavus, insignis fide et amissus per
vulnus oculo paucis ante annis duce Tiberio. Tum per-
missum, progressusque salutatur ab Arminio; qui amo-
tis stipatoribus, ut sagittarii nostra pro ripa dispositi
abscederent postulat, et postquam digressi, unde ea
deformitas oris interrogat fratrem. Illo locum et proc-
lium referente, quodnam praemium recepisset exquirit.
Flavus aucta stipendia, torquem et coronam aliaque
militaria dona memorat, irrisente Arminio vilia servitii
prelia. Exin diversi ordiuntur, hic magnitudinem Ro-
manam, opes Caesaris, et victis graves poenas, in dedi-
tionem venienti paratam clementiam; neque coniugem
et filium eius hostiliter haberi: ille fas patriae, liberta-

Weser, where the events next to be described took place, was in a gen-
erally southeasterly direction. The
natural route would have been to
follow the Hase nearly east, and
then turn to the south, when in the
neighborhood of the Weser. This
course would explain the revolt of
the Angerwari as being in his rear,
for they dwelt on the lower waters
of the Weser, about Bremen, and
apparently on both banks of the
river (Knorke).
9. cum ceteris primoribus:
the chief part of his army did not
arrive until the next day (11. 1).
2. Flavus: probably a Roman
nickname, because of his yellow
hair.
amisso...oculo: in the same
construction as fide.
apuis ante annis: perhaps af-
after the defeat of Varus, A.D. 9-11.
3. permessum: see App. I.
stipatoribus: the personal fol-
lowers, who crowded about him.
pro: cf. 13. 4; 81. 1.
torquem: this ornament —
seen about the neck of the so-called
Dying Gladiator, and other statues
of this class — was worn by Celts
and other barbarians, and was often
bestowed by way of reward upon
Roman soldiers. Cf. Aul. Gell. IX.
13.
diversi: in a discussion,
which passed into altercation.
in dedicationem venienti, for who-
ever submits himself. The asynd-
teton before it may be filled by but.
coniugem et filium: see 1. 57. 5.
Auerius,
tem avitam, penetralis Germaniae deos, matrem precum sociam; ne propinuorum et adfinium, denique gentis suae desertor et proditor quam imperator esse mallet. Paulatim inde ad iurgia prolapsi quo minus pugnam consererent ne flumine quidem interiecto cohibebantur, ni Stertinius accurrens plenum irae armaque et equum poscentem Flavum attinuisset. Cernebatur contra mi- nitabundus Arminius proeliumque denuntiatus; nam pleriaque Latino sermone interiacebat, ut qui Romanis in castris ductor popularium meruiisset.

Postero die Germanorum acies trans Visurgim stetit. 11 Caesar nisi pontibus praeidiiisque impositis dare in discrimen legiones hauil imperatorium ratus, equitem vado tramittit. Praefuere Stertinius et e numero primi- pilarium Aemilius, distantibus locis invecti, ut hostem deducerent. Qua celerrimus amnis, Chariovalda dux Batavorum erupit. Eum Cheruci fugam simulantes in plantiensem saltibus circumiectam traxere; dein coorti et undique effusi trudunt adversos, instant cedentibus, collectosque in orbem pars congressi, quidam eminus pro-

**penetralis, native.**

propinquorum et adfinium, blood relations and connections by marriage.

1. cohibebantur: the river did not prevent them, and they would have rushed at each other, *had not* (21), etc.

3. ductor popularium meruis- set, he had served as leader of his countrymen (as auxiliaries before his revolt).

11. nisi . . . impositis: like quamquam (Intr. 35 f).

Imperatorium, worthy of a commander; a novel use of this word.

3. primitium: primitium: see note on *primi ordinis*, l. 29. 2. The prime- pilus who had completed his service and been discharged was called primitiarius (as consularis from consularis). The primitiarii formed an *ordo* which enjoyed many privileges, such as the exercise of higher commands, and admittance to the equestrian order.

3. erupit: *i.e.* across the river. saltibus: ablative.

congressi: *i.e.* comminus; opposed to eminus.
4 turbant. Chariovaldā diu sustentata hostium saevitia, 
hortatus suos ut ingruentes catervas globo perfringerent, 
ataque ipse densissimos irrupens, congestis telis et 
suffosso equo labitur, ac multi nobilium circa; ceteros 
vis sua aut equites cum Sertinio Aemilioque subveni- 
tentes periculo exemere.

18 Caesar transgressus Visurgim indicio perfugae cog- 
noscit delectum ab Armino locum pugnae; conve- 
nisse et alias nationes in silvam Herculi sacram, ausu- 
rosque nocturnam castrorum oppugnationem. Habita 
indici fides et cernebantur ignes, suggessisse propius 
speculatores audiri fremitum equorum immensique et 
inconditi agminis murmur attulere.

3 Igitur propinquuo summae rei discrimine explorandos 
militum animos ratus, quonam id modo incorruptum 
foret secum agitabit. Tribunos et centuriones laet 
aeapius quam comperta nuntiare; libertorum servilia 
ingenia; amicis inesse adulationem; si contio vocetur, 
ilic quoque quae pauci incipient reliquis adstrepare. 
5 Penitus noscendas mentes, cum secreti et incustoditi 
ter militaris cibos spem aut metum proferrent. 
18 Nocte coepta egressus augurali per occultu et vigilibus

4. subvenientes: they had crossed at other points.
18. transgressus: probably having taken advantage of the disper-
sion of the enemy by the cavalry, to build a bridge.
alias nationes: i.e. besides the Cheruscii.
Herculis: this god, mentioned in the Germania, was probably 
Donar (Thor); he is by some identified with Irmin.
ausuros, etc.: see 13. 4.
2. attulere, brought word; gov-
e rms the clause audiri . . . murmum.
3. incorruptum, without deceit,
ignara, comite uno, contectus umeros ferina pelle, adit castrorum vias, adasit tabernaculis, fruiturque fama sui, cum hic nobilitatem ducis, decorum alius, plurimi patientiam comitatem, per sera per locos eundem animum laudibus ferrent, reddendamque gratiam in acie faterentur, simul perfidos et ruptores pacis ultioni et gloriae mactandos. Inter quae unus hostium, Latinae linguae a sciens, acto ad vallum equo voce magna coniuges et agros et stipendii in dies, donec bellaretur, sestertios centenos, si quis transfugisset, Arminii nomine pollicetur. Incendit ea contumelia legionum iras: veniret dies, daretur pugna; sumpturum militem Germanorum agros, tracturum coniuges; accipere omen et matrimonia ac pecunias hostium praedae destinare. Tertia ferme vigilia assul- tatum est castris sine connectu teli, postquam crebras pro munimentis cohortes et nihil remissum senseret.

Nox eadem laetam Germanico quietem tulit, viditque se operatum et, sanguine sacri respersa praetexta, pul-

took this roundabout way to avoid discovery.

ignara, unobserved; cf. gnarum.

I. 5. 4.

1. castrorum vias: the camp was regularly laid out in streets.

2. sui: an objective genitive, what they said about him.

4. per seria per locos, when serious and when merry; qualifying eundem.

2. in acie: i.e. by their conduct in battle.

2. perfidos: the Cherusc.i had broken faith with Varus.

2. sestertios centenos: this was about $50,000; their present pay was ten asses, about ten cents. It is limited by stipendii.

2. omen: his promise of wives and lands; they would realize it by their own prowess.

3. matrimonia: Intr. 35 a.

4. tertia vigilia: at about midnight, the night being divided into four watches.

5. assultatum est, an assault was made; here with the dative; cf. I.

5r. 6.

6. postquam, etc.: joined with sine ... tell; they withdrew without any actual fighting, when, etc.

5. nihil remissum: no relaxation of vigilance.

6. quietem, dream.

7. operatum: sc. rebus divinis; a frequent technical use of this word.

The tense shows that the sacrifice had been completed.

8. sacr.i: here the sacred offering or victim.

praetexta, the tegn praetexta, white with a purple border, was worn by children and by the higher
chrioremiam manibus aviae Augustae accepisse. Auctus ominc, addicentibus auspiciis, vocat contionem et quae sapientia praevisa aptaque imminenti pugnae disserit. Non campos modo militi Romano ad proelium bonos, sed si ratio adsit, silvas et saltus; nec enim immensa barbarorum scuta, enormis hasstas inter truncos arborum et enata humo virgulta perinde haberi quam pila et gladius et haerentia corpori tegmina. Denserent ictus, orarucronibus quaererent; non loricam Germano, non galeam, ne scuta quidem ferro nervove firmata, sed viminum textus vel tenuis et fucatas colore tabulas; primam utcumque aciem hastatam, ceteris praecusta aut brevia tela. Iam corpus ut visu torvum et ad brevem impetum validum, sic nulla vulnerum patientia; sine pudore flagitii, sine cura ducum abire fugere, pavidos adversis, inter secunda non divini, non humani iuris memores. Si taedio viarum ac maris finem cupiant, hac acie parari: propiorem iam Albim quam Rhenum, neque bellum ultra, modo se, patris

magistrates, and also by all engaged in sacred rites.

2. auctus, encouraged.

addicentibus, being favorable.

sapientia: ablative; what provisions had been made by his forethought.

3. ratio, good management.

silvas et salinas: cf. 5. 3.

perinde haberi, are so manageable.

pila, etc.: both javelin and sword were short,—the pilum about six feet, the gladius two.

tegmma: defensive armor,—loricam, etc., below.

4. nervo, hide.

coloris: cf. Germ. 6, scuta lectis simis coloribus distincta; these are the forerunners of the medieval coats of arms.

praecusta: with points hardened in the fire.

5. iam, moreover.

ut... nie, although... yet. So in the Germania, 4. magna corpora et tamen ad impetum valda.

adversis: poetic ablative absolute, contrasted with inter secunda; cf. sperat safatus, Hor. Od. II. 10. 13 (Intr. 35 7).


cupiant: i.e. the Roman soldiers.

ultra, any longer.

patris patruique: both Drusus.
A.D. 16.]  

ANNALS.  125

patruique vestiglia prementem, isdem in terris victorem sisiterent.

Orationem ductis secutus militum ardo, signum-que pugnae datum. Nec Arminius aut ceteri Germanorun proceres omittabant suos quisque testari, hos esse Romanos Variani exercitus fugacissimos, qui ne bellum tolerarent, seditionem induerint; quorum pars onusta vulneribus terga, pars fluctibus et procellis fractos artus infensus rursum hostibus, adversis dis obiciant, nulla boni spe. Classem quippe et avia Oceani quaesita, ne quis venientibus occurreret, ne pulsos premeret: sed ubi miscuerint manus, inane victis ventorum remorumve subsidium. Meminissent modo avaritiae crudelitatis superbiae: alius sibi reliquum quam tenere libertatem aut mori ante servitium?

Sic accensos et proelium poscentes in campum, cui Idistaviso nomen, deducunt. Is medius inter Visurgim

and Tiberius had penetrated to the Elbe. For patrul, see l. 33. 3 n.

isdem in terris: i.e. the region beyond the Weser.

16. 2. fugacissimos: i.e. they had escaped from the slaughter of Varus, and had mutinied for fear of being exposed again to a like danger; cf. ceterorum Britannorum fugacissimi, Agr. 34.

seditionem: referring to the mutiny of the previous year.

vulneribus: wounds in the back (not the scars from flogging).

fluctibus, etc.: referring to the march of Vitellius, l. 70.

rursum: signifies obilcant, referring to the defeat of Varus.

3. quaesita, resorted to.

miscuerint: subjunctive, representing a future perfect,—after the battle now to be fought.

4. allud... reliquum: the omission of the interrogative particle is not in itself uncommon, but is very unusual in indirect discourse.

16. Idistaviso: the last part of this word is evidently the German Wesse (meadow); the first part is conjectured by Jacob Grimm to be Ids (nymph, elf), and he proposes to change to Idisaviso, a reading adopted by most editors. It is probably to be taken as nominative, that being the usual construction of Tacitus with substantives, in phrases like nomen est (l. 45. 1 n). It is usually placed just above the great bend of the Weser near Munden, where the river runs for some distance parallel with the Wesergebirge, and quite near to it. Kniese places it a little further up, at Eisenberg, which name he thinks derived from Idistaviso. The following plan, copied from Kniese, presents
et colles, ut ripae fluminis cedunt aut prominentia montium resistunt, inaequaliter sinuatur. Pone tergum insurgebat siva, editis in altum ramis et pura humo inter arborum trunços. Campum et prima silvarum barbara acies tenuit; soli Cherusci iuga insedere, ut proeliantibus Romanis desuper incurrerent.

Noster exercitus sic incessit: auxiliares Galli Germanique in fronte, post quos pedites sagittarii; dein quattuor legiones et cum duabus praetoriiis cohortibus ac delecto equite Caesar; exim totidem aliae legiones et levis armatura cum equite sagittario ceteraque sociorum cohortes. Intentus paratusque miles, ut ordo agminis

at any rate an intelligible battle-ground:—

**Battle of Idstavir.**

1. Position of the Romans.
2. Path through which the Germans advanced.
3. Path used by Maroboduus.

1. prominentia montium, *the spurs of the mountains*, a truer partitive than *subiecta voluntem*, l. 65, i. resistunt: the correct explanation of this puzzling passage appears to be given by Knolz. resistent is to be taken here in its original, purely neuter signification, the Romans in the flank.

2. praetorii cohortibus: see I. 3 n; these two cohorts appear to have been sent to the crown prince as a special bodyguard.

3. ut ordo, etc.: to deploy from the march (ordo agminis) into line of battle (in aciam),

17. per ferciam, impatiently, thus disturbing the plan of the battle (Intr. 35 i). validissimos, Stertinium: both with their infinitives depending on iubet. The former were to attack the Cheruscans on the right flank as they descended from the ridge, while Stertinius made a circuit on the mountain side, and took the German position in the rear. adfuturus: i.e. to attack in front, co-operating in season with these flank movements.
2. octo aquilae: this was the number of legions in the army, and the standard of the legion was a silver eagle (propria legionum numina).
silvas: where the enemy were. advertere, attracted the attention of; cf. l. 41. 11: geminaque ac planctus eisam militem aures oraque advertere.
3. praemissus eques: that is, both the postremos equitum, and those under Stertinius. postremos: the entire rear, including the Cherusci, who were furthest from the river. These were attacked by Stertinius. 4. duo...agmina: those who occupied the woods were pushed forward into the plain, because the hills in their rear were occupied by the cavalry forces; those in the plain, attacked in front by the pedesteria acies, fell back into the woods. The imperfect shows the effort at these movements, but all was in confusion. 5. medii inter hos: so as to add to the confusion. detrudebantur: by Stertinius. vulnera: by wounding wounds, thus inspiring by his example. These ablatives qualify sustentabat.
6. illa rupturus, and would have burst through at that point. Vindelicorum: the Vindelic, occupying the southwestern part of Bavaria (Augsburg is Augusta Vindelicorum) formed a part of
7 Nisu tamen corporis et impetu equi pervasit, oblitus faciem suo cruore, ne nosceretur. Quidam agnitum a Chaucis inter auxilia Romana agentibus emissumque tradiderunt. Virtus seu fraus eadem Inguisimero effusium dedit. Ceteri passim trucidati; et plerosque transire Visurgim conantes inicta tela aut vis fluminis, postremo moles ruentium et incidentes ripae operuere.
8 Quidam turpi fuga in summa arborum nisi ramisque se occultantes admotis sagittariis per ludibrium figebantur, alios prorutae arbores adfixere.
9 Magna ea victoria neque cruenta nobis fuit. Quinta ab hora diei ad noctem caesi hostes decem milia passuum cadaveribus atque armis opplevere, repertis inter spolia eorum catenis, quas in Romanos ut non dubio eventu portaverant. Miles in loco proeli Tiberium imperatorem salutavit struxitque aggerem et in modum tropaeorum arma subscriptis victarum gentium nominibus, bus imposuit. Haud perinde Germanos vulnera jucundus

the province of Retia. See I. 44, 6 n.
7. oblitus: i.e. by himself. Chaucis: they had submitted to the Romans, and were serving as auxiliaries. See I. 38, 1, and 60, 3. emissum, suffered to escape.
8. Visurgim: the river flows here in a general westerly direction, so that by crossing it they would still be in the country of their friends.
9. ruentium, the fugitives, crowding upon them.
prorutae, cut down, by the Romans.
18. quinta ab hora: about eleven o’clock.
2. Tiberium imperatorem: this was according to the ancient custom of saluting the victorious general as imperator. This honor, and that of the triumph, were bestowed only upon generals who fought inimicorum and suis auspiciis; in accordance with this principle, the emperors reserved them to themselves, since the governors of the provinces were only their legati.

tropaeorum: these were erected after a victory, and consisted of pieces of armor generally fixed to the trunk of a tree, upon some elevated spot, so arrayed as to present the appearance of the conquered warrior. It was a Greek custom, adopted by the Romans. Cf. Verg. Aen. XI. 5: ingenia quorum decisis atque romae | constabat tumulo, fulgentique incitatur arma... apat rovantes sanguine cristas | abe- lague truncas viri et his sae thurao// pepitum | perfusumque locis, cipe-
excedia quam ea species dolore et ira adfecit. Qui modo abire sedibus, trans Albim concedere parabant, pugnam volunt, arma rapiunt; plebes primums iuventus senes agmen Romanum repente incursant, turbant.

Postremo deligunt locum flumine et silvis clausum, 3

1. ea species: i.e. of the description of the ground, as well as of the engagement, is very obscure. From the fact that the Romans found in front of them the earthwork which separated the territories of the Cherusci from those of the Angri-

2. modo, just now; the sight roused them to fury.

plebes, etc.: see Intr. 353.
arta intus planitie et umida; silvas quoque profunda palus ambibat, nisi quod latus unum Angrivarii lato 4 aggere extulerant quo a Cheruscis dirimerentur. Hic pedes adstitit; equitem propinquis lucis texere, ut in- 20 gressis silvam legionibus a tergo foret. Nihil ex his Caesari incognitum: consilia locos, prompta occulta növerat astusque hostium in perniciem ipsis vertebat.

Seio Tuberoni legato tradit equitem campumque; pedi- tum aciem ita instruxit, ut pars aequo in silvam aditu

varii, it would seem that they were marching towards the north; but we have no other positive clue to the position, and do not even know what river is referred to. Knöke points to Leese, a few miles north of Minden, on the east bank of the Weser, where the remains of an earthwork have been found, connecting the river with a marshy plain, which in the time in question must have been covered with woods. The ground here answers completely to the description (as may fifty other places in the region); and an interesting piece of supplementary evidence is a heap of small stones of equal size, artificially flattened on two sides, which would seem to be such as were hurled by the libratores, mentioned in the next chapter. He thinks that a loaded caisson was left by some accident in the morass, when the Romans withdrew. The appended plan, from Knöke, gives the localities in question, and will assist in understanding the manoeuvres, even if the correctness of his view cannot be absolutely established. The German line ran, according to him, from the agger at Leese, southeasterly to the Rehburg hills, their centre being at Düsseldorf. The Romans approached from the plains south of Loccum.

Angrivarii: they dwelt on both sides of the lower Weser; their name is preserved in Engern, the name given to this part of Saxony in the Middle Ages.

dirimerentur: i.e. as a boundary.

4. hic: relating not to aggere alone, but the whole passage locum...ambibat. Their lines (on this plan) must have stretched southeast from the agger to the neighborhood of Düsseldorf.

propinquus lucis: probably in advance of the position, and towards one side; probably on the south- west slopes of the Rehburg Hills.

Aequo...aditu: this would be according to the plan at the right of the Roman advance, where the German cavalry could have fallen upon their rear, if they had not been engaged by Tuberus. The ground being level (plana) the advance here was made easily.
inciderēt, pars obiectum aggerem eniteretur; quod ardum sibi, cetera legatis permisit. Quibus plana even-
erant, facile inrupere; quis impugnandus agger, ut si morum succederent, gravibus superne ictibus conflictabantur. Sensit dux imparem comminus pugnam, remotisque paulum legionibus funditores libritoresque excutere tela et proturbare hostem iubet. Miṣsae e tormentis hastae, quantoque conspicui magis propugnatores, tanto pluribus vulneribus deicti.

Primus Caesar cum praetorii cohortibus capto vallo dedit impetum in silvas; collato illic gradu certatum. Hostem a tergo palus, Romanos flumen aut montes claudebant: utrisque necessitas in loco, spes in virtute, salus ex victoria. Nec minor Germanis animus, sed ġenerere pugnae et armorum superabantur, oun ingens multitudo ġritis locis praelongas hastas non protenderet, non colligeret, neque adsultibus et velocitate corporum uteretur, coacta stable ad proelium: contra miles, cui

aggerem eniteretur: for the accusative, cf. I. 30. 2 (gregis), I. 61. 6 (elatis). III. 14. 5 (readere).
ardrum: i.e. erat; i.e. the assault upon the agger.
sibi: with permisit, or rather, by sevqua, some word like sumpserit. 3. plana: i.e. the aqueus aedĭus.
superne: the use of an adverb as an attributive adjective, found also in Livy; cf. comminus below. 4. funditores libriterosque: the former were regular slingers, who cast pebbles and leaden bullets, glandes; the librítores used leather thongs, iera, and hurled large stones. When the defenders had been dislodged from the rampart by these missiles and those from the engines, the legions were again brought up.
5. tormentis: catapults, from which shafts were sent; see I. 56. 5 n.
6. primus Caesar: he led the attack after the capture of the works. We are to understand that the other divisions of the infantry were already in the woods. collato gradu: a hand to hand fight; cf. congressi, I. 3 n. When they had passed the agger, they still met a stubborn resistance. 7. montes: the wooded hills where the cavalry fight was going on, in which the Romans had the worst of it.
21. colligeret, draw back, recover. This metaphorical use of collige is found only here.
stabile, stationary,—they were not able to move.


28 Sed aestate iam adulta legionum aliae itinere ter-

1. scutum: this kind of shield was rectangular, and curved so as to come partly round the body and protect it.
2. insidens capulo manus: this gave a surer grasp.
3. impulsos: a compound, found only in Livy, Tacitus, and Ausonius.
4. sive: the omission of the first sive is not unusual in Tacitus. It may be rendered or perhaps.
5. vulnus: see 17. 6.
6. legio: this is not unusual in Tacitus. It may be rendered or perhaps.
7. insidens: the cavalry fight is said to have been indecisive, from which we are to gather that it was on the whole a failure; cf. I. 65. 4 n.
8. congeriæ: armorum: probably a trophy like that in 18. 2.
10. properavissent: this represents a future perfect indicative of the direct discourse; he directs him to carry on the war unless the enemy should submit.
11. omnium: neuter.
12. adulta, literally, full grown; i.e. at its height. According to Servius (ad Verg. Georg. I. 43), the three months of each season are called respectively, novem, adultus, praecept.
restri in hibernacula remissae; plures Caesar classi impositas per flumen Amisiam Oceano invexit. Ac primo placidum aequor mille navium remis strepere aut velis impelli; mox atro nubium globo effusa grando, simul variis undique procellis incerti fluctus prospectum adimere, regimine impediere; milesque pavidus et casuum maris ignarus dum turbat nautas vel intempestive iuvat, officia prudentium corrumpet. Omne dehinc caelum et mare omne in austrum cessit, qui tumidis Germaniae terris, profundis annibus, immenso nubium tractu validus et rigore vicini septentrionalis horridior, rapuit disiectique naves in aperta Oceani aut insulas saxis abruptis vel per occulta vada infestas. Quibus paulum aegreque vitatis, postquam mutabat acutus eodemque quo ventus ferebat, non adhaerere ancoris, non exhaerere irrumpentis undas poterant; equi tumenter; sarcinae, etiam arma praecipitabant quo levarentur alvei, manantes per latera et fluctu superurgente. Quanto violentior cetero

per Amisiam: showing that, in all likelihood, he had left the fleet in the river; see 5. 2 n.

2. ac primo: i.e. after entering the ocean.

mille navium: see 6. 2.

remis . . . impelli, resounded with the (splashing of the) oars, or was fretted by (the ships, propelled by) sails.

globo: ablative of source without a preposition after effusa, a construction also found in Sallust and Livy.

incerti: as distinguished from the regular swell of a steady gale.

prudentium: the experienced sailors, contrasted with the landlubber soldiery.

3. in austrum cessit: cf. cessere, I. 1. 3: the southwest wind conquered all the rest.

tumidis, smolten, i.e. hilly; the wind came from the mountainous lands of Central Germany. See Agricola, 10, monies causa et materias tempestatum. These ablative are construed with validua. See App. I.

rigore: the cause of horridior.

insulae: they were sailing between the mainland and the low islands along the coast.

4. mutabat: neuter; the ebb tide set in, thus carrying them in the same direction as the wind.

eodem, i.e. in the same direction. This does not refer merely to the tide, but to the movement of the great waves, which was felt as soon as the southwest wind carried them out of the shelter of the shore. Pfister.

manantes, leaping.
mari Oceanus et truculentia caeli praestat Germania, tantum illa clades novitate et magnitudine excessit, hostilibus circum litoribus aut ita vasto et profundo ut credatur nevissimum ac sine terris mare. Pars navium haustae sunt, plures apud insulas longius sitas ejectae; milesque nullo illic hominem cultu famæ absuntur, nisi quos corpora equorum eodem ëlisa toleraverant.

3 Sola Germanici triremis Chaucorum terram appult; quem per omnes illos dics noctesque apud scopulos et prominentis oras, cum se tanti exiti ërum ëlamitaret, vix cohibucre amici quo minus eodem mari oppeteret.

4 Tandem relabente aestu et secundante vento claudae naves raro remigio aut intentis vestibus, et quaedam a validioribus tractæ, revertere; quas raptim refectas misit ut scrutarentur insulas. Collecti ea cura plerique; multos Angrivarii nuper in fidem accepi redemptos ab interioribus reddidere; quidam in Britanniam rapti et remissi a regulis. Ut quis ex longinquó revenerat, miracula narrabant, vim turbínüm et inauditas volucres, monstra maris, ambiguas hominem et belarum formas, visa sive ex metu credita.

24. vasto et profundo: supply mare from the following mare.
3. sine terris: qualifying mare, —a sea stretching to the end of the earth.
2. insulas longius sitas: they may have been driven upon any of the lands surrounding the North Sea; it appears from Germ. 44, that Tacitus considered Scandinavia an island. It is not likely, however, that in this case any tides would have come from them, and the reference below ut scrutarentur insulas, shows that it was probably the low uninhabited islands outside of those by which they were coasting.
3. scopulos: a rhetorical exaggeration, as this is a sandy coast.
5. oppeteret: sc. mortem.
4. relabente aestu: as in the last chapter, not the tide, but the stormy waves.
6. redemptos ab interioribus: they had managed to escape from the shipwreck, but had been caught and reduced to slavery among the inland nations.
6. monstra maris: Peco Albinus wrote of this expedition.
Sed fama classis amissae ut Germanos ad spem belli, ita Caesarem ad coercendum erexit. C. Silio cum triginta peditum, tribus equitum milibus ire in Chattos imperat; ipse maioribus copiis Marsos irrupit, quorum dux Mallovidius nuper in ditionem acceptus propinquuo luco defossam Varianae legionis aquilam modico praesidio servari indicat. Missa ex templo manus quae hostem a fronte elicet, alii qui terga circumgressi recluderent humum; et utrisque adfuit fortuna. Eo promptior Caesar pergit introrsus, populatur, exsccindit non ausum congredi hostem aut, sicubi restiterat, statim pulsum nec unquam magis, ut ex captivis cognitum est, paventem. Quippe invictos et nullis casibus superabiles Romanos praedicabant, qui perdita classe, amissis armis, post constrata equorum virorumque corporibus litora cadem virtute, pari feroce, et velut aucti numero irrupissent. Reductus inde in hiberna miles, laetus animi, quod adversa maris expeditione prospera pessavisset. Addidit munificentiam Caesar, quantum quis damn professus erat exsolvendo.

Nec dubium habebatur labare hostes petendaeque pacis consilia sumere, et si proxima aestas adiceretur, posse bellum patrari. Sed crebris epistulis Tiberius monebat rediret ad decretum triumphum: satis iam

In these terms: — ilium, pigris immania monstra sub undis | qui ferat, Oceanum, qui saevas undique primit, | aegyptiaco navis, rati-ibus consurgere præsìta. (In Seneca, 
Suaror. I. 15.)

ambigus . . . formas: these were the monsters,—partly human, partly animal, like mermaids. The genitive denotes the objects between which the doubt existed.

25. a. aquilam: three eagles had been lost with Varus. The first was recovered the year before (L. 60. 4); the third, according to Dio, in the time of Claudius.

3. hostem: the modicum præ dicium.

26. animi: Intr. 35 s; a construction especially common with animi, quas, any one of the soldiers.

5. decretum triumphum: see L. 55. 1.

satis . . . casuum: the puzzling question why the frontier of the Elbe was given up by Tiberius, is

answered by Mommsen (Rom. Prov. I. 61. seq.) by pointing to the uneasy condition of both Gaul and Pannonia, and the impossibility of maintaining so distant a frontier with the armies and resources of the empire. See also the advice of Augustus, coeptis intra terrenas imperii, I. 11. 7.

noviens: these were B.C. 9 and 8, after the death of Drusus; A.D. 4 and 5, an independent command; and 9, 10, and 11, after the defeat of Varena. To these add an embassy, B.C. 7, and a campaign begun against Marobodus, A.D. 6.

Sugambros: the Sugambri had formerly occupied the lands south of the Lippe, but had, like the Ubii, been transported across the Rhine, and received lands in the relation afterwards known as that of the litoris, rendering for them military service. See I. 31. 3 n. Their lands upon the Lippe appear to have been taken by the Tubantes, I. 51. 4 n.

Marobodum: this was A.D. 6, when Tiberius, recalled by a revolt in Pannonia, had agreed to a peace with Marobodus; see 46. 2.

ultiones consultum esset, 4. modestiam, etc., he assails his modesty; i.e. tempts him on this side by this offer.

praesens: he entered upon the office, however, while absent from the city; see 53. 1.

nullo hoste: ablative absolute of cause.

lauream (coronam): worn in a triumph, and afterwards consecrated to the Capitoline Jove.

6. decori: a new use of the dativus incommodi, for things; cf. morti vestit, I. 48. 2, and extratum surdites, VI. 23. 5.
A.D. 16.]

Annals.

Sub idem tempus e familia Scriboniorum Libo 97 Drusus defertur moliri res novas. Eius negotii initium ordinem finem curatus disseram, quia tum primum reperta sunt quae per tot annos rem publicam exedere. Firmius Catus senator, ex intima Libonis amicitia, a iuvenem improvidum et facilem inanibus ad Chaldaeorum promissa, magorum sacra, somniorum etiam inter-

27. Libo Drusus: in the Calendar of Ammianus he is called Marcus; both Suetonius (74A. 25) and Dio Cassius (L.VIII. 15) call him Lucius, probably by a confusion with his brother, the consul of the present year (1. 1.). The family Libo was of the Scribonian gens (e familia Scriboniorum), but the father of the conspirator had been adopted by Marcus Livius Drusus, father of the empress Livia, and had assumed his name. It would seem, however, that both his sons had re-entered the Scribonian gens; perhaps by re-adoption; for the consul of A.D. 16 is called Lucius Scribonius Libo, and the expression (32. 2) ne quis Scribonius cognomen dum Drusi assumeret shows that Libo Drusus was a Scribonius, not a Livius.

The following table, from Nipperdey, will enable one to trace the complicated relationships of this family:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cn. Pompeius Magnus</th>
<th>Lucius, cos. aed. 34</th>
<th>Lucius, Scribonia = Augusta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sex. Pompeia = Scribonia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Livius Drusus</td>
<td>Julia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pompeia</td>
<td>M. Livius Drusus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caesia</td>
<td>L. Libo, cos. aed. 16</td>
<td>M. Drusus Libo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(\(\cdot\) the dotted line indicates adoption.

defertur: for the beginning of the delationes, which were the scandal of this reign, and continued to be an abuse until the time of Domitian, see I. 72. 3. It was the abuses developed in this case quae per tot annos rem publicam exedere.

2. senator: as he is not designated as consularis, praetorius, or archiebus, he probably received the praetorship as a reward (32. 1); he is, however, still called senator, A.D. 24 (IV. 32. 7).

amicitia: Intr. 35 a; cf. 77. 1.

inanibus: dative neuter.

Chaldæorum, astrologers; magorum, magicians; the Chaldaens were famed from antiquity for their knowledge of the stars; the magi, the priests of the Medes, ministers of a corrupted form of the religion of Zoroaster, readily converted their religious formalities into the practice of magic rites. In this way the word magic came to have its present meaning. Rome, under the empire, swarmed with these and other kinds of fortune-tellers.
pretēs impulsit, dum proavum Pompeium, amitam Scriboniam, quae quondam Augusti coniux fuerat, consobrinos Caesares, plenam imaginibus domum ostentat, hortaturque ad luxum et aes alienum, socius libidinum et necessitatum, quo pluribus indicis illigaret.

28 Ut satis testium et qui servi eadem noscerent repertīt, aditum ad principem postulat, demonstrato criminē et reo per Flaccum Vescularium equitem Romanum, cui propior cun Tiberio usus erat. Caesar indicium haud aspernatus congressus abnuit; posse enim eodem Flacco internuntio sermones commēare. Atque interim Libonem ornat praetura, convictibus adhibet, non vultu alienatus, non verbis commotior, — adeo iram consobrinos Caesares: Gaius and Lucius, grandsons of Augustus. This near kinship to the imperial family, in the absence of a fixed rule of succession, appears to have inspired Libo with a dangerous ambition. The case was very similar to that of the Duke of Buckingham and other members of the royal family, whom Henry VIII. caused to be beheaded. (See Bailey, Succession to the English Crown, p. 106 seq.). But Libo appears to have gone a step further than Buckingham or Surrey.

plenam imaginibus domum: the ius imaginum, or right of having waxes masks, representing distinguished members of the family, which were kept in the atrium, and carried in funeral procession, was the distinguishing mark of nobility; it established the pedigree.

socius necessitatum: i.e. helping to borrow money for him. For a different use of necessitātus, see 1. 11. 6.

28. noscerent, would acknowledge.

repperit: i.e. Catus.

eadem: i.e. the alleged crimes.

Flaccum Vescularium: for his death, see VI. 10. 2.

cui ... erat: we see the beginnings of a court in the modern sense, in this requirement of an intermediary. See Inge, Society in Rome under the Caesars, p. 119.

3. interim: Suetonius says (Tiā. 25) that he waited two years before bringing the matter to a head, but that in the meantime he was constantly on his guard against assassination: inter pontifices sacrificandi pro seceptis plumborum cultura subiciendum curavi, et secretum potius nosteri adhibiit Drusus filio dēdit, dextrāque ambulandīt, veluti incumbēnti, quoad pergeretur tergo, continuāvit. Suetonius, it may be added, represents Libo as unquestionably guilty, — res nonum ilam molebatur,— and his guilt appears clearly enough from the account of Tacitus. Velleius (II. 129) represents the action of the emperor as very prompt, — quam celeriter ingratum et nova molestiōm oppressit!
diderat; cunctaque eius dicta factaque, cum prohibere posset, scire malebat, donec Iunius quidam, temptatus ut infernas umbras carminibus elicaret, ad Fulcinium Trionem indicium detulit. Celebre inter accusatores Trionis ingenium erat avidumque famae malae. Statim corripit reum, adit consules, cognitionem senatus poscit. Et vocantur patres, addito consultandum super re magna et atroci.

Libo interim veste mutata cum primoribus feminis circumire domos, orare adines, vocem adversum pericula poscere, abuentibus cunctis, cum diversa praetenderent, eadem formidine. Die senatus metu et aegritudine fessus, sive, ut tradidere quidam, simulato morbo, lectica delatus ad forges curiae innisusque fratri et manus ac supplices voces ad Tiberium tendens immoto eius vultu excipitur. Mox libellos et auctores reci-

cum prohibere posset: i.e. be allowed him to commit himself.

temptatus: i.e. by Libo.
infernæ . . . elicaret: a form of magic resorted to on rare and momentous occasions; as in the story of the witch of Endor. 1 Sam. 28.

Fulcinium Trionem: see III. 10. 11. and 13. 2.

indictum detulit: this was the first step in the procedure, which, it will be remembered, regularly emanated from private persons (Intr. 15 and 16). The witness (index) laid his testimony before the professional accuser, who then brought the case before the magistrates (adit consules).

4. corripit, indicet; a term properly used for physical arrest, but common in this sense.

adit consules: see I. 72. 4 n. and 73. 3 n.

cognitionem: the term properly used for a trial by the senate, as distinguished from the indictum of the courts.

29. veste mutata, putting on mourning—perhaps not formal mourning, the tenua fulsa, but with neglected robes, tenui sordida.
vocem, consuet; finding none, he was obliged to enter the senate house sine patrono; see next chapter.

2. fratri: Lucius Libo, consul ordinarius of the year (1. 1). He is not mentioned here as consul, because his term expired July 1, while the trial took place in September (32. 4). The practice was introduced by the triumvirs, B.C. 39, and in the reign of Augustus it became the custom, to elect the consuls for only a part of the year, usually six months (I. 55. 1 n). After the reign of Tiberius, it was common to have three or four pairs of consuls or even more in a year. See Mommsen, Röm. St. II. p. 79.

libellos, documents.
80. Caesar in his moderation, he never pursued crimes

즉 Caesar ita moderans, ne lenire neve asperare crimina

80. videretur. Accesserant praeter Trionem et Catum accusatores Fonteius Agrippa et C. Vibius, certabantque

cui ius perorandi in reum daretur, donec Vibius, quia nec

ipsum inter se concederent et Libo sine patrono introisset,

singillatim se criminis obiecturum professus, probavit libellos vecordes adeo ut consultaverit Libo an habiturus foret opes, quis viam Appiam Brundianum usque

pecunia operaret. Inerant et alia huiusce modi stolida

vana, si mollius acciperes, miseranda. Uni tamen libello manu Libonis nominibus Caesarum aut senatorum

additas atroces vel occultas notas accusator arguebat.

3. Negante reo agnoscentes servos per tormenta interrogari placuit. Et quia vetere senatus consulto quaestio

in caput domini prohibebatur, callidus et novi iuris repertor Tiberius mancipari singulos actores publico iubet,

moderans: sc. alibi or verba.

me: expressing here in form a purpose rather than a result; — showing such self-restraint as not to seem.

80. certabant: when more than one person wished to conduct the prosecution, the decision between them was made by the magistrate, by a procedure known as "accusatio," as in the case of Cicero and Cassius in the impeachment of Verres.

perorandi: pleading in a set speech.

singillatim: taking up the items of the indictment one by one, as Cicero had done against Verres.

consultaverit: sc. Chaldaea, etc.

viam Appiam: this road was 350 miles long; it was a pernicious charge, as Tacitus says, but it was implied that it was only as emperor that he could hope to possess such means.

2. si mollius acciperes: qualifies miseranda.

80. tamen: the rest was folly—this was crime.

notas: partly magic characters, (occultas), partly of a criminal nature (atroces).

3. agnoscentes: though they testified voluntarily, their testimony was not valid without torture.

quaestio in caput domini: see Cic. pro Mil. 22, 59; pro Deiot. L.

3. sequi and consulatus were made exceptions, and afterwards maiestas and some other crimes. It is hard to see, therefore, why Tiberius should have recourse to the subterfuge here mentioned.

novi iuris repertor: as a matter of fact, this device had been employed by Augustus (Dio, LV. 5).

With some reason, therefore, Stahr accuses Tacitus not only of inaccuracy, but of direct falsification.

actori publico, treasury agent, generally a slave or a freedman. By the sale of the slaves to him they became servi publici, and
scilicet ut in Libonem ex servis salvo senatus consulto quaereretur.

Ob quae posterum dies reus petivit, domunque digressus extremas preces P. Quirinio propinquo suo ad principem mandavit. Responsum est ut senatum rogaret. Cingebatur interim militi domus, strepebant etiam in vestibulo, ut audiri, ut aspici possent, cum Libo ipsis quas in novissimam voluptatem adhibuerat epulis excruciatus vocare percussorem, presens servorum dextris, inserere gladium. Atque illis, dum trepidant, dum refugiunt, evertentibus appositionem in mensa lumen, feralibus iam sibi tenebris duos ictus in viscera derexit. Ad gemitum conlabentis accurrere liberti, et caede visa miles abstitit.

Accusatio tamen apud patres asseveratione eadem peracta, iuravitque Tiberius petiturum se vitam quamvis nocenti, nisi voluntariam mortem properavisset. Bona inter accusatores dividuntur, et praeturae extra

might be questioned against their former owner.

salvo, without violating;

postermum dies: a delay, called *comperenentatio*, which allowed the accused to go into voluntary exile, or commit suicide.

P. Quirinio: see III. 23. 1, 48. 1.

§1, ut senatum rogaret: the petition (preces) must be addressed to the senate, which had sole cognizance of the matter.

cingebatur, etc.: by order of the senate.

cum ... vocare: Intr. 35 a.

excruciatus: *i.e.* with terror. He supposed the soldiers had come to put him to death.

percussorem: a slave who should put him to death.

inserea: *i.e.* in their hands.

2. illis, etc.: they were too much frightened to execute his wish.

feralibus, of death; predicate with tenebris. The darkness of the night was to him the darkness of death.

4. peracta, carried through to judgment.

petiturum; *i.e.* fasces. We see here an illustration of the peculiar formality of Tiberius' mind (Intr. 16). The law must take its course, and then mercy may interpose.

necemti: dative of advantage.

§§. bona ... dividuntur: by the law of Augustus, the accusers received one-fourth of the property; here they received the whole. The rule by which the property of those who committed suicide before conviction was not confiscated (VI. 29. 2), was violated in this case; cf. IV. 20. 1.

praeturae extra ordinem: Tiberius had sworn (I. 14. 6) not to ex-
ordinem datei iis qui senatori ordinis erant. Tunc Cotta Messalinus, ne imago Libonis exsequias posterorum comitaretur censuit, Cn. Lentulus, ne quis Scribonius cognomentum Drusi assumeret. Supplicationum dies Pomponii Flacci sententia constituti. Dona Iovi Marti Concordiae, utque iduum Septembrium dies, quo se Libo interfecerat, dies festus haberetur, L. Piso et Gallus Asinius et Papius Mutilus et L. Apronius decrevere; quorum auctoritates adulationesque rettuli, ut sciretur vetus id in re publica malum. Facta et de mathematicis magisque Italia pellendis senatus consulta; quorum e numero L. Pituanius saxo dejectus est, in P.

ceed the legitimate number of twelve praetors. Dio, however (LVIII. 20), says that he appointed sometimes fifteen and sometimes sixteen. Probably the praetorship was now given to senators who had not reached the required age, or held the offices which by law should have preceded this. Pfitzner suggests that the office was assigned to them in advance.


Imago: see 37. 3 n.

Cn. Lentulus: highly praised by Tacitus at his death; see IV. 44. 1.

cognomentum: there are several instances of a family agreeing never to use a particular praenomen, the most famous one being that of the Manlii, who forbade the name Marcus on account of the treason of Marcus Manlius (Liv. VI. 20); so Lucius in the Claudian gens, on account of the misdeeds of two of that name (Suet. Tull. 1). See also III. 17. 8. That the cognomen Drusus was prohibited in the present case, was probably because of its association with the imperial family, in the father of Germanicus and the sons of both Germanicus and Tiberius.


L. Apronius: see II. 56. 1.

4. Concordiae; see Orelli, 25: pro salute Tiberis Caesaris Augusti optativi et institutis principii. For other fragments of inscriptions found in the ruins of the Temple of Concord, above the arch of Septimius Severus, see Jordan, Topographie der Stadt Rom. I. 2. 333.

decrevere, proposed.

of... adulation: as old as the time of Tiberius, — in the time of Tacitus this abuse had reached a great height.

de mathematicia: i.e. astrologers; such votes were often passed, but never carried out persistently.

saxo: se Tarspius; this punishment was inflicted for false witness, incest, sorcery, and perhaps other crimes.
Marcium consules extra portam Esquillinam, cum classicum canere iussissent, more prisco advertere.

Proximo senatus die multa in luxum civitatis dicta a Q. Haterio consulari, Octavio Frontone praetura functo; decretumque ne vasa auro solida ministrandis cibis furent, ne vestis serica viros foedaret. Ex cessit Fronto ac postulavit modum argento suppellectilii familiae. [Erat quippe adhuc frequens senatoribus, si quid e re publica crederent, loco sententiae promere.] Contra Gallus Asinius disseruit: auctu imperii adolevisse etiam privatas opes, idque non novum, sed et vetustissimis moribus; aliam apud Fabricios, aliam apud Portam Esquillinam: within the modern Porta Maggiore, the regular place for such executions.

cum classicum ... iussissent: on the morning of the day of trial, the trumpet was sounded on the citadel, arx, around the walls, and finally before the house of the accused.

more prisco advertere: the punishment more prisco, of one who was judged a public enemy, was to be put naked in the pillory and begged to death: cum iussisset munere hominis correciis inter furcias, corpus virgis ad necem caedid (Suet. Nero, 40). Usually, however, he was scourged for a while and then beheaded.

88. Q. Haterio: see I. 13. 4. praetura functo: not merely of praetorian rank (praetorius), but having actually held the office; for many by special grant enjoyed the rank (ornamenta) without having held the office.

foedaret: the Romans in early times dressed wholly in wool, and silk (serica) was regarded as at once effeminate and indecent.

2. excessati: i.e. menti furoris in his propositions; cf. 24. 1.
Scipiones pecuniam; et cuncta ad rem publicam referri, qua tenui angustas civium domos, postquam eo magnificia venerit gliscere singulos. Neque in familia et argento quaque ad usum parentur nimium aliiquid aut modicum nisi ex fortuna possidentis. Distinctos senatus et equitum census, non quia diversi natura, sed ut locis ordinibus dignationibus antistent, ita iis, quae ad requiem animi aut salubritatem corporum parentur, nisi forte clarissimo cuique plures curas, maiora pericula subeunda, delenimentis curarum et periculorum carensum esse. Facilem assensum Gallo sub nominibus honestis confessio vitiorum et similitudo audientium dedit. Adiecerat et Tiberius non id tempus censurae nec, si quid in moribus labaret, defuturum currigendi auctorem.

rem publicam: the state of society.
referri, are referred to as a standard, are judged in relation to.
qua tenui: ablative absolute of time, opposed to postquam...veneri.
angustas: sc. esse.
ceo magnificientiae, to that pitch of splendor.
gliscere, grew in wealth, etc.
distinctos: sc. a plebe.

senatus et equitum census: the senatorial census was according to Mommsen (Röm. St. 1. 420) fixed at 1,000,000 sesterces = 500,000; the equestrian census was 400,000 sesterces = 200,000 (id. III. 499).
locis: places in the theatre, where the senators occupied the orchestra, and the equites, by the Roman law, the first fourteen rows of the curia. ordinibus relates to the class (senatorial and equestrian); dignationibus (as distinguished from dignitate), to their qualifications, in property, birth, etc., for offices and responsibilities.
it iis (sc. antistare, so likewise they have the advantage) in those things, etc. The passage is harsh and very likely corrupt.
clarissimo: a standing epithet for senators, as splendidissimus for knights having a senatorial census.
subeunda, carentund esse: following nisi. The extension of the accusative with infinitive to dependent clauses in oratio obliqua had begun before Tacitus, though no case of protasis occurs before him; cf. Intr. 35 s.
delenimentis: the comforts of wealth.

6. non id tempus censurae: the regimen morum was a regular part of the duties of the censors during the republic, and during the empire was assumed by the emperors. Tiberius hints that he will himself see to that, when the time comes (nec...defuturum currigendi auctorem).
Inter quae L. Piso ambitum fori, corrupta iudicia, saevitiam oratorum accusationes minitantium increpans, abide se et cedere urbe, victum in aliquo abdito et longinquu rure testabatur; simul curiam relinququebat. Commotus est Tiberius et, quamquam mitibus verba Pisonem permulsiisset, propinquos quoque eius impulit ut abeuntem auctoritate vel precibus tenerent. Haud minus liberi doloris documentum idem Piso mox dedit vocata in ius Urgulania, quam supra leges amicitia Augustae extulerat. Nec aut Urgulania obtem peravit, in domum Caesaris spreto Pione vecta, aut ille abscessit, quamquam Augusta se violari et imm. quern quiereretur. Tiberius hactenus indulgere matris civile ratus ut se iturum ad praetorium tribunal, aditura Urgulaniae diceret, processit Palatio, procul sequi iussis militibus. Spectabatur occursante populo com positus ore et sermonibus variis tempus atque iter ducens, donec propinquis Pisonem frustra coercetibus, deferri Augusta pecuniam, quae petebatur, iuberet. Isque finis rei, ex qua neque Piso inglorius et Caesar maiore fama fuit. Ceterum Urgulaniae potentia adeo nimia civitati erat ut testis in causa quodam, quae apud senatum tractabatur, venire dederat: missus est praecept qui domi interrogaret, cum virgines Vestales

24. L. Piso: for his death, as was alleged, of the occurrence here related, see IV. 21. 4.

fori, courts: these were regularly held upon the Forum.

abire, was going away; expressing future time, as frequently in colloquial language.

relinquere = relinquere parabat.


4. abscessit, desert. violari, suffered an affront.

imminui: i.e. in her dignity.

5. hactenus: qualified by ut... dicaret.

civile, lawful (for any citizen).

procul... militibus: i.e. in order to place no constraint upon the courts; see L. 7. 7.

6. occurrante: i.e. casually,

coercetibus: attempting to dissuade him from his suit.

8. virgines Vestales: the most
in foro et iudicio audiri, quotiens testimonium dicerent, vetus mos fuerit.

85 Res eo anno prolatas haud referrem, ni pretium foret Cn. Pisonis et Asinii Galli super eo negotio diversas sententias noscere. Piso, quamquam futurum se dixerat Caesar, ob id magis agendas censebat, ut absenté principé senatum et equites posse sua munia sustinere decorum rei publicae foret. Gallus, quia speciem libertatis Piso praeciperat, nihil satís illustre aut ex dignitate populi Romani nisi coram et sub oculis Caesari, eoque conventum Italiae et adfluéntis provinciarum praesentiae eius servanda dicebat. Audiente haec Tiberio ac silente magnis utrimque contentionibus acta.

88 sed res dilatae. Et certamen Gallo adversus Caesarem exortum est. Nam censuit in quinquennium magistratum comitía habenda, utque legis, quae legati, qui ante praeturam ea militia fungebantur, sam tum praetores destinarentur; princeps duodecim /andidatos in annos singulos nominaret. Haud dubium erat eam senten-

sacred and highly privileged persons in the state.
86. res prolatas, postponement of business. Of this phrase res dilatae (4) is a variation.
pretium: used for operae pretium only by Tacitus; cf. l. 57. 4.
2. agendas: x. res.
equites: i.e. as indici in the courts, distinguished from the judicial action of the senate (I. 72. 4 n., and 73. 3 n.).
3. conventum . . . provinciae: deputations from Italian towns and from the provinces; they came to Rome on business connected with taxes, public contracts, etc.
4. haec: nominative.
88. in quinquennium: the election, by the senate (I. 15. 1) should be made for five years in advance, as had been done under Caesar; the intention probably was to establish the custom of each year designating those who should hold office five years later. Those who at present were in command of legions—equites pro praetore, many of whom were not yet of pretorian rank—were to be appointed at once to the pretorship, while the rest of the appointments for the five years were to be made by the emperor.

utque, etc.: Inst. 35 r.
2. haud dubium erat, etc.: the infinitive after negative expressions of doubt (for nisi with subjunctive) belongs to Livy, Nepos, and late writers.
tiam altius penetrare et arcana imperii temptari. Ti-berius tamen, quasi augeretur potestas eius, disseruit:
grave moderationi suae tot eligere, tot differe; vix per 3
singulos annos offensiones vitari, quamvis repulsam pro-
pinqua spes soletur: quantum odii fore ab iis qui ultra
quinquennium proiciantur? Unde prospici posse quae
cuique tam longo temporis spatio mens, domus, fortuna?
Superbire homines etiam annua designatione: quid si 4
honorem per quinquennium agitent? Quinquuplicari 5
prorsus magistratus, subverti leges, quae sua spatia ex-
ercendae candidatorum industriae quarerendisque aut
potundis honoribus statuerint. Favorabili in speciem
oratione vim imperii tenuit.

Censusque quorundam senatorum iuivit. Quo magis 57
mirum fuit quod preces Marci Hortali, nobilis iuvenis,
in paupertate manifesta superbius accepisset. Nepos 6
erat oratoris Hortensii, illectus a divo Augusto liberali-
 arcana imperii: by interfering with the details of administration, which were reserved to the emperor and his privy council. One of the principles of the imperial government was the withdrawal of the military authority from the senate, and its concentration in the hands of the emperor.

quasi, etc.: cf. I. 14. 6 n.
differre: i. e. in quinquennium.
3. mens, sententia (loyalty, etc.); domus, familia connections; fortuna, means; all of these might change in the course of five years.
4. honorum: as magistratus designatus. The consul elect ranked above the consules, and was asked his opinion (sententia) in the senate before them; and so with the other magistrates. To enjoy this dignity for five years would excite arrogance and give rise to complications.

5. leges: the laws which fixed the age at which the several magistrates could be held, their order, and the intervals of time which must elapse between them.
vim imperii tanui: he kept in his hands the substance of power.
accepisset: the thought of those who felt surprise.
2. oratoris Hortensii: the orator, the rival of Cicero, but older than he, and opposed to him in the case of Verres. Hortensius was distinguished for prodigality and luxury, hence no doubt in part the poverty of the family; his son, father of this Hortensius, had gone over from the
TACITUS. [Book II.

tate deciens sestertii ducere uxorem, suscipere liberos, ne clarissima familia exstingueretur. Igitur quattuor filiis ante limen curiae adstantibus, loco sententiae, cum in Palatio senatus haberetur, modo Hortensii inter oratores sitam imaginem, modo Augusti intuens, ad hunc modum coepit: *Patres conscripti, hos, quorum nume rum et pueritiam videtis, non sponte sustuli, sedquia princeptes monebat; simul maiores mei meruerant ut posteros haberent. Nam ego, qui non pecuniam, non studia populi neque eloquentiam, gentile domus nostrae bonum, varietate temporum accipere vel parare potuisse, satis habebam, si tenues res meae nec mihi pudori nec cuquam oneri forent. Issus ab imperatore uxor em duxi. En stirps et progenies tot consulum, tot dictatorum. Nec ad invidiam ista, sed conciliandae miseri cordiae refero. Adsequentur florente te, Caesar, quos dederis honores; interim Q. Hortensii proneptes, divi side of Caesar to that of Brutus and Cassius, and had consequently lost his life and property.

deciens sestertii: 1,000,000 sesterces = $50,000; see 1. 8. 3 n.
ducere, etc.: Instr. 35 f.
suscipere: this word, like sus tuli below, describes the formal act by which the father recognized his children and undertook to rear them. They were laid at his feet directly after birth, and if he lifted them up (rostulari), they were cared for; if he refused to do this, they were exposed in the mountains and forests, and allowed to die.

3. loco sententiae: i.e. when he was called upon for his opinion upon the question under discussion; an illustration of the custom described in 32. 2; cf. agredi relationem, 35. 3.

4. modum coepit: *Patres conscripti, hos, quorum numerum et pueritiam videtis, non sponte sustuli, sed quia prin cepes monebat; simul maiores mei meruerant ut posteros haberent. Nam ego, qui non pecuniam, non studia populi neque eloquentiam, gentile domus nostrae bonum, varietate temporum accipere vel parare potuisse, satis habebam, si tenues res meae nec mihi pudori nec cuquam oneri forent. Issus ab imperatore uxor em duxi. En stirps et progenies tot consulum, tot dictatorum. Nec ad invidiam ista, sed conciliandae miseri cordiae refero. Adsequentur florente te, Caesar, quos dederis honores; interim Q. Hortensii proneptes, divi

5. studia populi, popularity.

gentile, heredity in our gens.

varietate temporum, under the changed conditions of the time.

accipere: by inheritance; parare: by his own exertions.

6. tot consulum, tot dictatorum: the Hortensian gens had contributed only one of each,—the orator Hortensius, consul B.C. 69, and Quintus Hortensius, dictator B.C. 286; on the mother's side, however, Hortensia was descended from the Marcin, and probably other distinguished gens.

7. florente te, under your reign; i.e. conferred by you.

alumnos: because they were reared by the will and favor of Augustus.

Aged, often held meetings of the senate (Suet. Oct. 29). As we see, it was adorned with images of distinguished men.

5. studia populi, popularity.

varietate temporum, under the changed conditions of the time.

accipere: by inheritance; parare: by his own exertions.
Augusti alumnos ab inopia defende.' Inclinatio senatus incitamentum Tiberio fuit quo promptius adversaretur, his ferne verbis usus: 'Si quantum pauperum est venire huc et liberis suis petere pecunias coeperint, singuli numquam exsatibuntur, res publica deficiet. Nec sane ideo a maioribus concessum est egredi alicrado relationem et quod in commune conducat loco sententiae proferre, ut privata negotia et res familiares nostras hic augeamus, cum invidia senatus et principum, sive indulserint largitionem sive abnuerint. Non enim preces sunt istud, sed efflagitatio, interpetestiva quidem et improvisa, cum alis de rebus convenerint patres, consurgere et numero atque aetate liberum suorum urgere modestiam senatus, eandem vim in me transmittere, ac velut perfringere aerarium, quod si ambitione exhauserimus, per sceleria supplendum erit. Dedit tibi, Hortale, divus Augustus pecuniam, sed non compellatus nec ea lege, ut semper dare tur. Languescet aliqui industria, intendetur societia, si nullus ex se metus aut spes, et securi omnes aliena subsidia exspectabunt, sibi ignavi, nobis graves.' Haec atque talia, quamquam cum assensu audit a b iiis quibus omnia principum, honesta atque in-

88. inclinatio, favorable disposition.

incitamentum: explained by Furneaux in relation to promptius, — "he had made up his mind, and seeing the sympathy of the senate, spoke at once before it had gone too far."

2. res publica, the public resources (common wealth).

3. egredi...relationem: see note on erat quisquis, 33-2, and relationis, l. 13-4.

4. senatus, principum: objective genitives.

indulserint: with the accusative of the thing granted; it would take a dative of the person.

5. compellatus, addressed; i.e. requested.

6. ex se: their hopes and fears should depend upon their own exertions.

7. haec atque talia: they were wise and timely words, expressing the true principle of charitable action.

quamquam, etc.: for Tacitus'
honesta, laudare mos est, plures per silentium aut ocul-
tum murmur excepere. Sensitque Tiberius; et cum
paulum reticuisset, Hortalo se respondisse ait, ceterum
si patribus videretur, daturum liberis eius ducena ses-
tertia singulis, qui sexus virilis essent. Egere alii grates:
siluit Hortalus, pavore an avitae nobilitatis etiam inter
angustias fortunae retinens. Neque miseratus est post-
hac Tiberius, quamvis domus Hortensii pudendum ad
inopiam delaberetur.

Eodem anno mancipii unius audacia, ni mature sub-
ventum foret, discordiis armisque civilibus rem publicam
percusisset. Postumi Agrippae servus, nomine Clemens,
comperto fine Augusti pergere in insulam Planasiam et
fraude aut vi raptum Agrippam ferre ad exercitus Ger-
manicos non servili animo concepit. Ausa eius impedi-
vit tarditas onerariae navis; atque interim patrata caede,
ad maiora et magis praecipitia conversus furatur cineres
vectusque Cosam, Etruriae promunturium, ignotis locis
sese abdit donec crinem barbanque promitteret; nam
aetate et forma haud dissimili in dominum erat. Tum

false standard of judgment, see Instr.
34.
3. ducena seestertia = $10,000
apiece, the census of the fourth decu-
ripia of judges, which Augustus added
to the three chosen from the sena-
tors, equites, and tribuni aerarii.
9. retinens: a participle having
the regimen of the verbal adjective
in -er, governing the objective geni-
tive; commoner in Tacitus than in
any other writer.
10. quamvis: Instr. 35 j.
89. mancipii: see 2 4 r.
2. Postumi Agrippae: see I. 3.
4. and 6. 1.
concepit, conceived the purpose;
a very rare use of concepsum with the
indefinite.
3. praecipitia, peribus.
furatur cineres: in order to
destroy the evidence of Agrippa's
death.
Cosam: an old Etruscan city,
occupying the principal promontory
on the Etruscan coast, and the point
most accessible from Planasia. A
Latia colony was established here
B.C. 273; so that it was, upon this
cost, the northernmost seat of the
Roman power at the time of the
Punic Wars.
3 promitteret, let grow. Probably
Agrippa, rués bonarum artium et
robore corporis stolidi ferax (I. 3 4),
was of shaggy hair and beard. The
Romans at this date regularly shaved.
in dominum: this is the only
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per idoneos et secreti eius socios crebrescit vivere Agrippam, occultis primum sermonibus, ut vetita solent, mox vago rumore apud imperitissimi cuiusque promptas aures aut rursum apud turbidos eoque nova cupientes. Atque ipse adire municipia obscuro diei, neque propa- 5 lam aspici neque diutius isdem locis, sed quia veritas visu et mora, falsa festinatione et incertis valescunt, relinquebat famam aut praeveniebat. Vulgabatur in- 40 terim per Italiam servatum munere deum Agrippam, credebatur Romae; iamque Ostiam inventum multitudo ingens, iam in urbe clandestini coetus celebrabant, cum Tiberium aniceps cura distrahere, vine militum servum suum coerceret an innem credulitatem tempore ipso vanescere sineret; modo nihil spernendum, modo non omnia metuenda ambiguis pudoris ac metus reputabant. Postremo dat negotium Sallustio Crispo. Ille e clienti- 3 bus duos (quidam militesuisse tradunt) deligit atque hortatur, simulata conscientia adeant, offerant pecuniam, fidem atque pericula polliceantur. Exsequuntur ut ius- 4 sum erat. Dein speculati noctem incustodiam, accepta

instance of this construction after similis or dissimilis. Cf. Intr. 35 f.
4. crebrescit, the rumor spreads.
5. relinquebat . . . praeveniebat: he gave no opportunity for comparing the reality with the report, but relied upon expectation or memory for gaining adherents. The combination of these imperfects with the historical infinitives adire and aspici is peculiar.
40. Ostiam: the port of Rome, at the mouth of the Tiber.
celebrabant: this is taken by Doederlein to be a seuma,—the populace thronged about Clemens in Ostia, and he was secretly talked about in Rome,—on the ground that the impostor did not probably enter the city until he was carried in chains to the emperor. The meaning seems, however, to be that he entered Ostia publicly, but Rome secretly; and the expression in Palatinum traxere, after his arrest, implies that he was already in the city.
cum . . . distrahere: Intr. 35 a.
suum: because whatever had been Agrippa’s he had inherited.
2. pudor, metus: cf. 24. 6 n.
Sallustio Crispo: the one through whom the murder of Agrippa had been effected; see I. 6. 6.
3. conscientia, complicity.
pericula: participation in perils.
idonea manu, vinctum clauso ore in Palatium traxere. 5 Percontanti Tiberio quo modo Agrippa factus esset, respondisse fertur 'Quo modo tu Caesar.' Ut ederet socios subigii non potuit. Nec Tiberius poenam eius palam ausus, in secreta Patalii parte interfici iussit corpusque clam auferri. Et quamquam multe domo principis equitesque ac senatores sustentasse opibus, iuvisse consilii dicentur, haud quae situm.

41 Fine anni arcus propter aedem Saturni ob recepta signa cum Varo amissa ductu Germanici, auspiciis Tiberii, et aedes Fortis Fortunae Tiberiae iuxta in hortis quos Caesar dictator populo Romano legaverat, sacrarium genti Iuliae effigiesque divo Augusto apud Bovillas dicabantur.

5 C. Caecio L. Pomponio consulibus Germanicus Caesar a. d. vii. Kal. Ianuas triumphavit de Cheruscis Chat-

5. quomodo tu Caesar: persisting in his claim, or perhaps insolently reminding Tiberius that he was no real Caesar. Furneaux takes it as imputing fraud to Tiberius; but his succession was public and regular.

6. haud quae situm: a wise and mild policy. The rumor, however, of accomplices within the palace, following the discovery of Libo's conspiracy, must have been one of the predisposing causes of Tiberius' jealous and suspicious disposition in his later years.

41. arcus: this arch stood over the Sacred Way, at the point where it met the Vicus Jugarius, at the corner of the Basilica Julia, just below the Temple of Saturn. aedem Saturni: the temple, at the foot of the Citrus Capiolhnum, used as the treasury (serarium). There still stand eight columns belonging to it, or rather to a restoration of it in the fourth century.

ob recepta signa: see I. 60. 4 and II. 25. 2. ductu Germanici, auspiciis Tiberii: cf. 18. 2; even a victory gained by a colleague or crown prince, as Germanicus was, was referred to the auspices of the emperor, as in the case of an ordinary legatus. Momms. Rei. St. II. 1054.

Fortis Fortunae: the goddess of Chance; her temple, on the other side of the Tiber, was the scene of a popular festival, June 24, frequented especially by slaves and unfortunate people; the river was thronged with gayly-adorned boats. Or. Fast. VI. 777.

in hortis, etc.: cf. Horace, Sat. 1. 9. 18: trans Tiberim ... propius Caesaris hortos. The plural horti denotes pleasure-grounds, park.

Bovillas: see I. 54. 1 n. 2. triumphavit: this was voted two years before (I. 55. 1; see also I. 72. 1 n.).

Ceterum Tiberius nomine Germanici trecentos plebi 42 sestertios virtim dedit seque collegam consulatui eius destinavit. Nec ideo sinceris caritatis fidem adsecutus amoliri iuvenem specie honoris statuit struxitque causas aut forte oblatas arripuit. Rex Archelaus quinquagesi-mum annum Cappadocia potiebatur, invisus Tiberio, quod eum Rhodi agentem nullo officio coluisset. Nec id Archelaus per superbiam omiserat, sed ab intimis Augusti monitis, quia florentis Gaio Caesare missaque

4. augebat, enhanced.
visum, attention, interest.
eximia...species: he inherited
the physique of his father Druses (1. 33. 3 a); see portrait at end of
book. Omnes Germanico corporis
animique virtutes, et quamvis memini
culsum, contigisse saltis constat: formam et fortitudinem ejusdem,
ingem in utroque eloquentiae
doctrinaeque genus praeecessum, be-
novientiam singularem, constat
et asque hominum gratiae ac pro-
merendi amoris mirum et efficax
studium. Saec. Cal. 3.
quincum libribus: Nero (V. 3. 2),
Druses (VI. 23. 4), Gaius (better
known as Caligula), Agrippina
(mother of Nero), and Drusilla; for
the birth of his youngest child Julia
(Livilla) see 54. 1.

5. reputantibus: ablative ab-solute. Intr. 35 a.
avunculum, uncle on the mother-
ner’s side.—mother’s brother. The
mother of Germanicus was Antonia
minor, and her half-brother was the
Marcellus addressed by Vergil. The
mother of Antonia and Marcellus
was Octavia, sister of Augustus, who
married first Gaius Marcellus, then
xiv.

48. trecentos...sestertios: about 315 sili-giae.
consultatui: for the next year;
see 53. 1.
2. Rex Archelaus: he received
the kingdom of Cappadocia from
Mark Antony, B.C. 36.
Rhodi agentem: see I. 4. 4.
3. Gaio Caesare: l. 3. 2. As long
ad res Orientis intuta Tiberii amicitia credebatur. Ut versa Caesarum subole imperium adeptus est, elicit Archelaum matris litteris, quae non dissimulatis filii offensionibus clementiam offerebat, si ad precandum veniret. Ille ignarus doli vel, si intellegere crederetur, vim metuens in urbem properat; exceptusque immittit a principe et mox accusatus in senatu, non ob criminis quae fingebantur, sed angore, simul fessus senio et quia regibus aequa, neminem inimica insolita sunt, finem vitae sponte an fato implevit. Regnum in provinciam redactum est, fructibusque eius levari posse centesimae vectigal professus Caesar ducentesimam in posterum statuit.

Per idem tempus Antiocho Commagenorum, Philopatore Cilicum regibus defunctis turbabantur nationes, plerisque Romanum, alis regium imperium cupientibus; et provinciae Suria atque Iudaea, fessae oneribus, 

as he lived, Tiberius had no prospect of the throne.

4. versa = eversus (Intr. 35 4).
With the death of Gaius and his brother Lucius, and the murder of Agrippa Postumus, the family of Augustus became extinct in the male line, and the succession passed to his step-son Tiberius. See I. 3. 3.
5. si intellegere crederetur: the apodosis is implied in vim metuens.
immitti: a case of enslavement, the adjective, agreeing with princeps, being put for the adverb.
non ob, etc.: construed with finem... implevit.
crimina: Dio Cassius (LVII. 17. 7) says that he was acquitted (inbed), being so weak (fessus senio) that he could not stand, and was carried into the senate in a litter.
aequa: to be treated like a common man.
6. in provinciam: this decree was carried out the next year (56. 4), and the number of organized provinces thus brought to twenty-nine. Cappadocia was governed by procurators until the time of Vespasian.
centesimae vectigal: see I. 78.
2. Tiberius had declared the year before that it could not be dispensed with; now the increase of revenue accruing from the new province warranted its reduction to one-half of one per cent (ducentesimam partem).
7. Antiochus: his kingdom, Comagene, lying north of Syria, was, as appears from 56. 5, annexed to the empire. It became a part of the province of Syria; but after twenty years its independence was restored by Caligula.
Philopatore: he ruled over the eastern part of Cilicia, lying between Comagene on the east and the Roman province of Cilicia on the west.
Iudaea: this country, conquered by Pompey, B.C. 64, was reckoned a
deminationem tributi orabant. Igitur haec et de Armenia quae supra memoravi apud patres disseruit, nec posse motum Orientem nisi Germanici sapientia composi; nam suam aetatem vergere, Drusi nondum satis adolevisse. Tunc decreto patrum permisae Germanico provinciae quae mari dividuntur, maiusque imperium, quoquo adisset, quam iis qui sorte aut missu principis obtinerent. Sed Tiberius demoverat Suria Creticum Silanum, per adfinitatem conexum Germanico (quia Silani filia Neroni vetustissimo liberorum eius pacta erat), praefeceratque Cn. Pisonem, ingenio violentum et obse-

part of the province of Syria, but had a separate financial administration, under a procurator. It became an independent province after its subjection by Titus, A.D. 70. 

48. supra: see chaps. 3 and 4.

eae: connects haec, etc., with the clause posse . . . composi.

motum: used adjectively.

vagare: not used in relation to time by earlier writers. Tiberius was now fifty-nine, Drusus about thirty.

2. provinciae quae mari dividuntur: i.e. all the provinces of Asia, - Syria, Cilicia, Cyprus, Bithynia, Galatia, Paphlagonia, and Asia. The republics of Rhodes and Lycia, the kingdom of Cappadocia for a short time, and that part of Pontus which lay north of Cappadocia, were still independent, but were shortly incorporated in the empire. Egypt was not included in his command, for the reason that Egypt was never reckoned as a province, but as a kingdom; see 59. 4 a.

malius imperium: so that the governors of the provinces were placed under his authority. Momms. Röm. St. I. 57.

sorte aut missu principis: i.e. imperial or senatorial governors (Instr. 17). The governors of the senatorial provinces were assigned by lot; those of the imperial provinces were appointed by the emperor.


Cn. Pisonem: the family of the Pisos was among the oldest and most powerful of the noble families of Rome, and Gnaeus was at this time perhaps its leading member. He was a man of large experience, ambitious, and self-assuming (see L 13. 3), and of a violent temper. Seneca (de Ira, I. 18. 3), relating a gross instance of cruelty and injustice perpetrated by him as governor of Spain, calls him vir a multis vitis integer, sed pravus et cui placebat pro constantia rigor. That he was appointed by Tiberius with the commission to murder Germanicus, as Tacitus insinuates, there is absolutely no evidence; if the emperor wished to be rid of his adopted son, he needed not to resort to this clumsy method of attaining his end. That Piso committed the murder for his own end has as little evidence, and is in the highest degree improbable; if he had intended to do this, he would not have begun by insubordination and insult, but
qui ignarum, insita ferocia a patre Pisone, qui civili bello resurgentibus in Africa partes acerrimo ministerio adversus Caesaris iuvit, max Brutum et Cassium secutus, concessus reditu petitione honorum abstinuit, donec ultero ambivt tur delatum ab Augusto consulaturn accipere. Sed praeter paternos spiritus uxoris quoque Plan
cinae nobilitate et opibus accedebatur: vix Tiberio concedere, liberos eius ut multum infra despectare. Nec dubium habebat se delectum qui Suriæ impone
tur ad spes Germanici coercendas. Credidere quidam
data et a Tiberio occulta mandata; et Plancinam haud
dubie Augusta monuit aemulatione muliebri Agrippinam
insectandi. Divisa namque et discors aula erat tacitis
6 in Drusum aut Germanicum studiis. Tiberius ut pro
prium et sui sanguinis Drusum fovebat; Germanico
alienatio patruam amorem apud ceteros auxerat, et quia
claritudine materni generis anteibat, avum M. Antonium,
avunculum Augustum ferens. Contra Druso proavus

by countning the favor and confidence
of his intended victim. That he re
joiced at his death seems, however,
certain. Furneaux's suggestion seems
reasonable, that the emperor, whose
suspicious disposition was excited by
the popularity of Germanicus,—and,
which must be added, the scheming am
bition of Agrippina,—and who at the
same time was somewhat apprehen
sive of Piso, as a man adhibuit princi
pem locum non indignum, et su caus
Sertur, aequorium, placed them to
together of a purpose—that Piso
was to be some check on his young
'imperator,' who in turn was to check
him as an 'imperium maius' on the
spot." What seemed a sagacious
piece of policy resulted in a tragedy.

partes: i.e. the republican party.
After the defeat of Pompey at Phars
alia, B.C. 48, the senatorial leaders
gathered their forces in Africa, where they were defeated by Caesar
at Thapsus, B.C. 46.

reditus: to Rome as a citizen.
abstinuit: as a sign of dissat
faction.

ambivtur, was solicited.

consulaturn: he was consul sufr
fectus, B.C. 23.

4. Plancinae: probably daughter
or grand-daughter of Lucius Mun
tius Plancus (censor B.C. 22); sister
of the Plancus mentioned, L. 39. 4.
insectandi: appears to limit
monuit. Nipperdey, however, de
clares this to be an impossible con
struction, and explains it as a gen
tive of purpose, like cognoscendas
antiquitatis, 59. 1.

cattis . . . studiis: cf. quan
dique disirhabant, L. 4. 5.

6. avunculum, really his great-
eques Romanus Pomponius Atticus dedecere Claudiorum imagines videbatur; et coniunx Germanici Agrippina fecunditate ac fama Liviam uxorem Drusi praecelletbat. Sed fratres egregie concordes et proximorum certaminibus inconcussi.

Nec multo post Drusus in Illyricum missus est, ut 44 suesceret militiae studiaque exercitus pararet: simul iuvenem urbano luxu lascivientem melius in castris haberi Tiberius, seque tutiorem rebatur utroque filio legiones obtinente. Sed Suebi praetendebantur auxilium adversus Cheruscos orantes; nam dicessu Romanorum ac vacui externo metu gentis adsuettudine et tum aemulatione gloriae arma in se verterant. Vis nationum, 3 virtus ducum in aquo; sed Maroboduum regis nomen invivum apud populares, Arminium pro libertate bellantem favor habebat. Igitur non modo Cherusci soci 45 ique eorum, vetus Arminii miles, sumpsere bellum, sed

uncle, brother of his grandmother Octavia. See 41. 5 n.
Pomponius Atticus: Cicero’s well-known correspondent. His daughter Pomponia married Agrippa, and was mother of Vipsania, mother of Drusus; see I. 3. 1 n. and 12. 6 n.
Liviam: sister of Germanicus and better known as Livilla (IV. 3. 4 seq.).
44. Illyricum: see I. 5. 5 n.
5. suesceret: neuter.
pararet, gua.
2. Suebi (Sumbiani): the great race of south Germany (the Mock-Deutsch), divided into a number of independent nations. Most of these had united under the rule of Maroboduus, the seat of whose kingdom was in Bohemia. The name of the nation thus formed was Marcomanni, ‘men of the frontier; en Germaniae vetut from est. Germ. 42. They were the source of the modern Bavarians.
praetendebantur, etc., the pre-tact put forward was that the Suevi, etc.; latr. 35 q. vacui, because free; joined by ac to the causal ablative diacessum. et tum, and on this occasion; the desire of glory being added to the usual motives (gentis adsuettudine).
arma in se verterant: this is what Tiberius had anticipated in withdrawing Germanicus; see 36. 3. internis discordiis relinguus.
3. favor habebat: opposed to regis nomen invivum [habebat]; a change of phrase involving a kind of zeugma, habeb being used in a different sense in the two clauses: his royal title rendered Marobodius unpopular, while popularity came to
e regno etiam Marobodui Suevae gentes, Semnones ac Langobardi, defeceræ ad eum. Quibus additis praepol-lebat, ni Inguioeramus cum manu clientium ad Maroboduum perfugisset, non aliam ob causam quam quia fratris filio iuveni patruus senex parere dēcignabatur.

3 Deriguntur acies, pari utrimque spe, nec, ut olim apud Germanos, vagis incursibus aut disiectas per catervas: quippe longa adversum nos militia insueverat sequi signa, subsidii firmari, dicta imperatorum accipere.

4 Ac tunc Arminius equo conlustrans cuncta, ut quoque advectus erat, recuperatam libertatem, trucidatas legiones, spolia adhuc et tela Romanis derepta in manibus multorum ostentabant; contra fugacem Maroboduum appellans, proeliorum expertem, Hercyniae latebris defensum; ac mox per dona et legationes petivisse foedus, proditorem patriae, satellitem Caesaris, haud minus infensus animis exturbandum quam Varum Quintilium interfecerint.

5 Meminissent modo tot proeliorum, quorum eventui et ad postremum iectis Romanis satis probatum penes utros summa belli fuerit. Neque Marobodius iactantia sui aut probris in hostem abstinebat, sed Inguioerum

Arminius (Instr. 35 r'). Only a part of the German nations had kings, and even with these the royal power was very weak. Germ. 7.

46. Semnones et Langobardi: see the Germania, 39 and 40. They occupied the country upon the Elbe. The Langobardi are those who invaded Italy in the sixth century and are known as Lombards.

2. clientium: no doubt the personal followers (comites) described in the Germania, 13, 14, and 15. They were the dux and genichundmen of the Anglo-Saxons.

Iuveni: Arminius was now thirty-five years old (88. 4).

3. incursibus: ablative of manner. sequi signa, etc.: cf. the description of the Chatti, Germ. 30.

4. adhuc, moreover.

proeliorum expertem: because Marobodius had never fought with the Romans; he had, however, fought with other Germans.

Hercyniae: the great mountain ranges of Germany, especially those which surround Bohemia, the seat of the kingdom of Marobodius.

proditorem patriae: he had made an honorable peace with Tiberius (26. 3 n.).

46. iactantia sui: cf. note on sui, 13. 1.
tenens, illo in corpore decus omne Cheruscorum, illius consiliiis gesta quae prospere ceciderint testabatur; vexcordem Arminium et rerum nescium alienam gloriam in se trahere, quoniam tres vacuas legiones et ducem fraudis ignarum perfidia deceperit, magna cum clade Germaniae et ignominia sua, cum coniuex, cum filius eius servitium adhuc tolerent. At se duodecim legioniabus petitum duce Tiberio inlibatam Germanorum gloriam servavisse, mox condicionibus aequis diesscum; neque paenitere quod ipsorum in manu sit, integrum adversum Romanos bellum an pacem incruentam malint. His vocibus instinctos exercitus propriae quoque causae stimulabant, cum a Cheruscis Langobardisque pro antiquo decore aut recenti libertate et contra augendae dominationi certaretur.

Non alias maiore mole concursum neque ambiguo magis eventu, fusis utrimque dextris cornibus; sperabaturque rursum pugna, ni Maroboduus castra in colles subduxisset. Id signum perculsi fuit; et transfugis paulatim nudatus in Marcomanos concessit, misitque legatos ad Tiberium oratuos auxilia. Responsum est

*tenens*: *i.e.* by the hand.

*corpore, person*: a not uncommon use of the word.

*illius consiliiis*: but (I. 68. 1) it was by the advice of Inguiomerus, against the judgment of Arminius, that the Germans made their unsuccessful attack upon the Roman camp.

*vacuas, unprepared, as in Agr. 37. hospitalem nostrorum vacui spernent. The reading is not very satisfactory, and is changed by Dörger to sequas, which would describe their condition after leaving the main road, while traversing the Teutoburg Forest.

*coniumz, etc.*: I. 37. 5.

2. *duodecim legionibus*: this was A.D. 6. The size of this army, four times the size of that of Varus, shows the strength of the kingdom of Maroboduus. Peace was made before they came to blows.

*ipseorum*: the Marcomani.

3. *aut*: the ancient glory of the Cherusci contrasted with the newly established independence of the Langobardi.

*contra*: *i.e.* by Maroboduus.

5. *perculsi*: *sc. eius*.

In Marcomanos: his home, Bohemia,—the nation being put for the territory.
non iure eum adversus Cheruscos arma Romana invocare, qui pugnatibus in eundem hostem Romanos nulla ope iuvisset. Missus tamen Drusus, ut rettulimus, paci firmator.


6. pacī: Int. 35 f.; the dative is often used, instead of a genitive, to express the function which one is designed to fulfil. 
47. duodecim urbes: an inscription of the year 33 (Orelli, 687) mentions fourteen: Ephesus and Cibyra, in addition to the twelve here given. For the destruction of Cibyra, see IV. 13. 1; that of Ephesus may have been related in the lost portion of the fifth book. 
celebrēs, populus.
Asiae: the province of Asia, comprising the west of Asia Minor. 
3. nam, etc.: for the emperor’s care for the provinces see I. 2. 2 n. 
aerario aut fisco, the treasury of the state or the provy purse. 
remisit: no doubt by a senatus consultum; cf. IV. 13. 1. 
4. damno ac remedio, in amount of lust and need of relief.
Mosteni . . . Hycani: two towns, called respectively Hycania Mostonorum and Hycania Macedonum. For this use of aut cf. 46. 3 n. 
5. consulari obtinente Asiam: the proconsul of Asia was regularly of consular rank; if, therefore, a commissioner of the same rank should be sent, questions of precedence and authority might arise.

Isdem temporibus deum aedes vetustate aut igni abo.

48. in publicum, of a public character. It cannot be intended to contrast the liberality of the state with that of Tiberius as an individual, because, although the remission of tribute was made by the senate, the gift of ten million sesterces was made by the emperor himself. The next case was one of private necessity.

Aemiliae, Musae: probably a libertina, or freedwoman. As her property was to go to the fiscus, it would seem probable that she not only had no heirs, but that even her manumiser was uncertain; the kinship of Aemilius Lepidus was not certain (videbatur). He is probably the one who is called (III. 32. 2 and 72. 3) in sagis and pecunias modicu.

Aemilio Lepido: dative after tradidit.

In parte: it was common to associate the emperor with the legitimate heirs; Augustus is said in this way to have inherited, in the last twenty years of his life, about $70,000,000 (Suet. Oct. 101). Cf. Tac. Agric. 43.

prioribus ... tabulis, an earlier milia. Wills might still be made orally, but were regularly written on waxen tablets, which were then tied together and sealed.

scriptum: i.e. as sole heir.

nobilitatem, etc.: showing that his reluctance in the case of Hortalias (38) was on the ground of unworthiness; see below.

2. nuncupantes: this word, originally meaning to name the heir orally in the presence of witnesses, appears to be used here for any form of appointment, as in Pliny (Paneg. 43), nec quia offendit alius nuncupari; sed quia ipse meruit.

2. Q. Vitellium: an uncle of the emperor, and brother of Publius Vitellius (I. 70. 1); cf. Suet. Vit. 2.
49. coepseb ab Augusto: it was the policy of Augustus to revive early forms of Roman worship, which had fallen into disuse, being obscured by the more fashionable rites of Greece and the Orient. This revival of the national deities had a certain value as a conservative force in society, and especially in quickening the sense of patriotism; but as a religion, it was a mere piece of antiquarianism, with no vitality.

Libero, etc.: this is the Eleusinian triad, introduced very early in the republic, as the first Greek rite formally established in Rome. The Roman deities identified with Demeter, Dionysus, and Kore hardly appear at all in the primitive religion of Rome, and their worship is purely Greek. The temple in question was vowed by the dictator Aulus Postumius, at the battle of Lake Regillus, B.C. 496, and dedicated by Spurius Cassius, three years later.

Lucio et Marco Publicii: they were brothers, and sedites, B.C. 240 or 238.

apud forum holitorium: the vegetable market was north of the Forum Boarium, or cattle market, between the Capitoline and the river, outside of the walls. Janus was one of the most ancient gods of Rome, originally a god of the sun, but who had come to be regarded as the god of beginnings. The victory of Gaius Duilius here mentioned, the first naval battle gained by the Romans, was in the first Punic War, B.C. 260.

2. Spei: the deification of abstract qualities, — Concordia, Pudicitia, Honor, etc., — was very characteristic of the Roman religion.

50. adolescebat: its beginnings have been described (I. 72-74): it afterwards became the curse of society in this reign. On this occasion the emperor set himself against the abuses of this law, and mitigated the punishment of adultery.

neptem: her mother was probably one of the two daughters of Octavia, by her first husband, Marcus. The other daughter married Agrippa, and was mother of Germanicus, Agrippa, mentioned in the next chapter.

conexa, being related: her connection with the imperial family
tatis delator arcessebat. De adulterio satis caveri lege Iulia visum: maiestatis crimen distinguui Caesar postulavit, damnariique si qua de Augusto irreligioso dixisset; in se iacta nolle ad cognitionem vocari. Interrogatus a consule quid de iis censetur quae de matre eius locuta secus argueretur, reticuit; dein proximo senatus die illius quoque nomine oravit, ne cui verba in eam quoquo modo habita crimini forent. Liberavitque Appuleiam lege maiestatis: adulterii graviorem poenam deprecatus, ut exemplo maiorum propinquis suis ultra ducentesimum lapidem removeretur suasit. Adultero Manlio Italia atque Africa interdictum est.

De praetore in locum Vipstani Galli, quem mors abstulerat, subrogando certamen incessit. Germanicus atque Drusus (nam etiam tum Romae erant) Haterium Agrippam propinquum Germanici fovebant; contra plerique nitebantur ut numeros liberorum in candidatis

gave ground for bringing her offence under the charge of maiestas. This interpretation had been given to the law by Augustus, and is contained even in the English law of treason of Edward III. But Tiberius rejected the principle, by declaring that the charge of adultery should be tried by the Julian Law, just as in the case of other persons, while that of maiestas should be limited to language in dispraisement of Augustus.

2. lege Italic [de adulteriis et stupriis]: passed by Augustus, B.C. 17; it established fine and banishment in place of the punishment by the husband, which had been allowed by the old law. See below.

distinguui: that the two charges should be considered separately.

3. eius: of Tiberius.

5. illius: his mother.

5. graviorem poenam deprecatus: the punishment, by the Julian Law, was deportation to an island, and the confiscation of one-third of the fortune and half of the dowry, while the man lost half his property; this he would commute to banishment within Italy, with no confiscation.

propinquis: dative of agent; by a council of kinmen, as in ancient times.

Italia atque Africa: ablative of separation with interdictum est.

51. subrogando: the prefix sub, as in consul suffractus, indicates an election to fill a vacancy.

2. propinquum Germanici: he was grandson of Agrippa, and, therefore, nephew of Agrippina, wife of Germanicus. See note on nepos, 50. 1; also i. 77. 3.
praepollerebat, quod lex iubebat. Laetabatur Tiberius cum inter filios eius et leges senatus disceptraret. Victa est sine dubio lex, sed neque statim et paucis suffragiis, quo modo, etiam cum valerent, leges vincebantur.

52 Eodem anno coeptum in Africa bellum, duce hostium Tacfarinate. Is natione Numida, in castris Romanis auxiliaria stipendia meritus, mox desertor, vagos primum et latrocinii suetos ad praedam et raptus congregare, dein more militiae per vexilla et turmas componere, postremo non inconditae turbæ, sed Musulamiorum dux haberet. Valida ea gens et solitudinibus Africæ propinquaque, nullo etiam tum urbium cultu, cepit arma Maurosque accolas in bellum traxit: dux et his, Mazippa.

164 Tacitus.

lex: ac Papia Poppaea; by this law Augustus attempted (A.D. 9) to check the growing tendency to an unmarried life; see III. 25. 1. For the preference of fathers as candidates, cf. XV. 19, Plut. Ep. VII. 16. 2.

3. Laetabatur: the imperfect would seem to show that he was always glad to throw the responsibility on the senate. Nothing in the language implies a triumph over law "in the interest of autocracy," as Farneaux says: although the words sine dubio, of course, indicate that Tacitus so regarded it.

etiam cum valerent: i.e. during the republic.

53. Tacfarinate: called by Mommsen "an African Arminian." This insurrection, he tells us, was only one incident, "of unusual proportions," of a warfare between the civilized province and the wild tribes of the south, which "must have been permanent" (Provinces, II. p. 345).

2. Numida: Numidia corresponded in general to the eastern half (Constantine) of the modern Algeria. It lost its independence after the battle of Thapsus, B.C. 46, and was united with the province of Africa, B.C. 25 (Intr. 18. A. 1): after the reign of Tiberius it was placed under the military government of a senator of the emperor, of pretorian rank, and was at last organized as a separate province, probably in the time of Septimius Severus.

auxiliaria . . . meritus, having served in the auxiliaries (L. 36. 4 n.).

per vexilla et turmas: turmas were divisions of cavalry; the vexillum was used for cavalry, and also for squads and detached bodies of infantry. As the Numidians were almost exclusively a nation of horsemen, it is likely that their infantry was composed of only a few scattered companies, not organized into cohorts and maniples (which would have used metal sigmas), but having each its own vexillum. The phrase means, therefore, in companies of foot and horse.

Musulamiorum: these were a people of western Numidia, near Mauretania—Mauros accolas.

3. dux et his, there are also had a leader.
Divisusque exercitus, ut Tachfarinas lectos viros et Romanum in modum armatos castris attineret, disciplina et imperii suesceret, Mazippa levi cum copia incendia et caedes et terrem circumferret. Compulerantque Cinithios, haud spemendam nationem, in eadem, cum Furius Camillus pro consule Africam legionem et quod sub signis sociorum in unum conductos ad hostem duxit, modicam manum, si multitudinem Numidarum atque Maurorum spectaret; sed nihil aequae cavebatur quam ne bellum metu eluderent: spe victoriae inducti sunt ut vincerentur. Igitur legio medio, leves cohortes duaeque alae in cornibus locantur. Nec Tachfarinas pugnans detrectavit. Fusi Numidae, multosque post annos Furio nomini partum decus militiae. Nam post illum reciparatorem urbis filiumque eius Camillum penes alias familias imperatoria laus fuerat; atque hic, quem memoramus, bellorum expers habebat. Eo pronior Tiberius res gestas apud senatum celebravit; et decreverat patres triumphalia insignia, quod Camillo ob modestiam vitae impune fuit.

4. attineret, held, a favorite word with Tacitus.

disciplina: suesceret is used here as a transitive verb, and with the ablative, like adnauisse; many editions change to disciplinae.

5. Cingthios: these lived further east, near the Lesser Syrtes.

pro consule Africam: this is the original and correct term, the pro-consul acting for the consul.

spectaeres: subjunctive of indefinite subject, in the second person singular.

eludarent: i.e. the Numidians, "if a larger force was brought against them." Furnæus. The chief point in his strategy was not to alarm the enemy.

6. leves cohortes duaeque alae: these were auxiliary troops; Roman troops were organized in maniples of infantry, and turmae of cavalry.

8. reciparatorem urbis: the great Camillus, who recovered the city after its capture by the Gauls, B.C. 390. The Lucius Camillus who triumphed B.C. 338 was probably not his son, but grandson.

familias: Publius Furius Philus triumphed B.C. 223, and Lucius Furius Purpureus, B.C. 300; they were of the same gens, but not the same familia as Camillus.

9. triumphalia insignia: see L. 73. 1 n.

impune: i.e. this distinction did
Sequens annus Tiberium tertio, Germanicum iterum consules habuit. Sed eum honorem Germanicus inijit apud urbeb Achaiae Nicopolim, quo venerat per Illyricam oram viso fratre Druso in Delmatia agentem, Hadriatici ac mox Ionii maris adversam navigationem perpessus.

Igitur paucos dies insumpsit reficiendae classis; simul sinus Actiaca victoria inclutos et sacratas ab Augusto manubias castraque Antonii cum recordatione maiorum suorum adit. Namque ei, ut memoravi, avunculus Augustus, avus Antonius erant, magnaque illic imago tristium laetorumque. Hinc ventum Athenas, foederique sociae et vetustae urbis datum, ut uno lictore uteretur.

Excepero Graeci quasatisissimis honoribus, vetera suorum facta dictaque praeferentes, quo plus dignationis adulatio habet. Petita inde Euboea transitis Lesbum, ubi Agrippina novissimo partu Iuliam edidit. Tum extrema

not cause him to be an object of envy and suspicion to the emperor.

68. annus . . . habuit:Tacitus is very fond of personification with expressions of time; cf. annus, I. 54. 1, mar, I. 28. 1, dies, I. 49. 2, lac, I. 70. 7.

tertio: the regular form of the adverb is tertium; but both forms were in use in the time of Cicero (Aes. Gall. X. 17). It was probably preferred here to avoid the jingle, Tiberium tertium Germanicum iterum.

Nicopolim, city of victory; built by Augustus in the neighborhood of the promontory of Actium, in order to celebrate his victory over Mark Antony, B.C. 31. Epirus, in which this city was situated, was a part of the province of Achaia, and was made a separate province perhaps in the reign of Vespasian.

2. sinus: the shores of the Ambracian Gulf.

manubias: Suetonius (Oct. 18) says, locum castrorum, quibus fecerat suis, exornatum navibus spoliis, Neptuno ac Marti consacravit.

castra Antonii: this was on the promontory of Actium, opposite the promontory on which Nicopolis was situated.

3. avunculus Augustus, avus Antonius: see 41. 5 sq.; it was a cheerful association with the former, a sorrowful one with the latter.

uno lictore: he was entitled to twelve lictors; this concession was made to the ancient glories of Athens. According to Suetonius (Calig. 3), harena ac feroxiae epida sine lictoribus adiit.

4. praeferentes, displaying, mentioning with pride.

dignatio (not dignatio): it implies, as a verbal noun, the regard which they bestowed, the action of the verb dignari.

64. Iuliam: also called Livilla.
Asiae Perinthumque ac Byzantium, Thraecias urbes, mox Propontidis angustias et os Ponticum intra spidin locos et fama celebratos noscendi; pariterque provincias internis certaminibus aut magistratum inuris fessas refovebat. Atque illum in regressu sacra Samothracum visere nitentem obvii aquilones depulere. Igitur adito Ilio quaqueque ibi varietate fortunae et nostri origine veneranda, relegit Asiam appellitque Colophona, ut Clarii Apollinis oraculo uteretur. Non femina illic, ut apud Delphos, sed certis e familis et ferme Mileto accitus sacerdos numerum modo consultantium et nominam audit; tum in specum degressus, hausta fontis arcani aqua, ignarus plerumque litterarum et carminum edit responsa versibus compositis super rebus quas quis mente concepit. Et ferebatur Germanico per ambages, ut mos oraculis, maturum exitium cecinisse.

At Cn. Piso, quo properantius destinata inciperet, civitatem Atheniensium turbido incessu exterritam oratione saeva increpat, oblique Germanicum perstringens, quod

2. Perinthum: on a promontory of the Propontis; Byzantium, on the site of Constantinople. Propontidis angustias: the straits of Constantinople, beyond the Propontis, or Sea of Marmora; os Ponticum is the entrance to the Black Sea. magistratum: both Roman governors and native magistrates. 3. sacra Samothracum: the mysteries celebrated in the island of Samothrace by the Cabiri. Ilio: a recent city, built on the supposed site of Troy, by Sulla. It was on the hill of Hierakó, recently explored by Dr. Schliemann. quae: its antecedent is in the same construction as Ilio. neuer: a subjective use of this genitive, common in late writers. But it is objective in a certain sense: that which gave origin to us. Colophona: one of the lesser cities of the famous Ionian league; Mileitus was one of the most important of these. Clarii Apollinis oraculo: this oracle was, according to tradition, founded by Manto, daughter of the seer Tiresias, and was afterwards presided over by her son Mopsus. 4. modo, only. 5. ut mos oraculis: the oracles being generally easy to interpret after the event. 55. destinata: referring to the supposed intent of Tiberius to procure the death of Germanicus. oblique . . . perstringens: not
contra decus Romani nominis non Athenienses tot cladibus a mortis: sed colluviationem illum nationum comitate nemia coluisse: hos enim esse Mithridatis adversus Sullam, Antonii adversus divum Augustum socios.

1. Etiam vetera obiectabat, quae in Macedones improprium violenter in suos fecissent, offensum urbi propria quoque ira, quia Theophili quendam Areti iudicio falsi damnum precibus suis non concederent. Exim navigatione celeri per Cycladas et compendia maris adaequatur Germanicum apud insulam Rhodiam, haud nescium quibus infectionibus petitus foret: sed tanta manuetudine agebat ut, cum orta tempestatas raperet in abrupta possetque interitus inimici ad casum referri, miserit triremis quorum subsidio discriminis eximeretur. Neque tamen mitigatus Piso, et vix diei moram perpassus linquit Germanicum praeventique. Et postquam Suriam ac legiones attigit, largitione ambitu infimos manipularium iuvando, cum veteres centuriones, severos tribunos demoveret locoque eorum clientibus suis vel deterrimo cuique attributebat, desidiam in castris, licentiam in urbibus, vagum ac lascivientem per agros militem sineret, eo usque cor-

by name; the reproaches against the city necessarily reflected upon Germanicus. 
colluviationem illum nationum: Demosthenes upbraided his countrymen for their lavishness in bestowing citizenship. In later days this privilege was openly sold.
adversus Sullam: Athens was occupied forcibly by Mithridates; oppugnabantur ab amicis, et animos extra moenia, corpora necessitatis servientes intra maris habeant (Vell. Pat. II. 23). For their subservience to Antony, Augustus deprived them of the privilege of selling their citizenship.

2. vetera, their ancient misconduct,—their feebleness against Philip, their injustice towards Aristides and others.
Areti iudicio = Arei pagi iudicio, by a judgment of the Areopagus, the chief court of Athens.
falsi, forgery.
3. compendia maris: cf. compendia varrum, I. 63. 6.
raperet: sc. Pisonem.
4. veteres centuriones, etc.: here he went beyond his powers, as the appointment of these officers belonged exclusively to the emperor. 
Munm. Rom. St. II. 798.
desidiam, etc.: see III. 13. 3.
ruptionis proiectus est ut sermone vulgi parens legionum haberetur. Nec Plancina se intra decora feminì tenebat, sed exercitio equitum, decursibus cohortium interesse, in Agrippinam, in Germanicum contumelias iacere, quibusdam etiam bonorum militum ad mala obsequia promptis, quod haud invito imperatore ea fieri occultus rumor incedebat.

Nota haec Germanico, sed praeverti ad Armenios instantior cura fuit. Ambigua gens ea antiquitas hominum ingenios et situ terrarum, quoniam nostris provincis late praetenta penitus ad Medos porrigitur; maximisque imperis interiecti et saepius discordes sunt, adversus Romanos odio et in Parthum invidia. Regem illam tempus non habebant, amoto Vonone sed favor nationis inclinabant in Zenonem, Polemonis regis Pontici filium, quod is prima ab infantia instituta et cultum Armentiorum semulatus, venatu epulis et quae alia barbari celebrabant, proceres plebemque iuxta devinserat. Igitur Germanicus in urbe Artaxata, approbantibus nobilibus,

5. feminina: dative after decora. 

decursibus: a military review which, by order of Augustus, took place three times a month (Veg. I. 27).

6. praeverti: the prefix praee expresses his desire to anticipate any further movements in this place.

66. ambiguity: the twofold application of this word is expressed in the chiastic order hominium ingenios, as being divided in sympathy between the Romans and the Parthians; situs terrarum, as their land stretched along the Roman provinces and reached to Media, maximis imperis interiecti.

discordes: not inter se, but towards both empires.

 odio, invidia: the Romans were enemies; the Parthians, rivals.

2. amoto Vonone: see 4.4. Polemonis, regis Pontici: this Polemo was made king of that part of Pontus which lay east of the Thermus, by Antony and Octavius, B.C. 34, his kingdom also including Armenia Minor. It was annexed to the Roman empire by Nero, A.D. 63, and became a part of the province of Galatia, under the name Pontus Polemoniacus.

instituta ... semulatus: compare the demesne of Vonones, 2.5.

3. Artaxata: capital of Armenia, founded by King Artaxias, on the advice of Hannibal; the name of this founder was now bestowed upon the new king. The word is generally a neuter plural.

approbantibus nobilibus, etc.: as usual, in barbarous states, the no-
circumfusa multitudine, insigne regium capiti eius imposuit. Ceteri venerantes regem Artaxiam consalutaverunt, quod illi vocabulum indiderant ex pomine urbis.

4. At Cappadoces in formam provinciae redacti Q. Verniani legatum acceperunt; et quaedam ex regiis tributis deminuta, quo mitius Romanum imperium speraretur.

5. Commagenis Q. Servaeus praeponitur, tum primum ad ius praetoris translatis.

67. Cunctaque socialia prospera composita non ideo laetum Germanicum habebant ob superbiam Pisonis, qui iussus partem legionum ipse aut per filium in Armeniam ducere utrumque neglexerat. Cyrrî demum apud hiberna decimae legionis convenerunt, firmato vultu, Piso adversus metum, Germanicus, ne minari crederetur; et erat, ut rex tuli, clementior. Sed amici ascendendis offensionibus callidi intendere vera, adgerere falsa ipsumque et Flancinam et filios variis modis criminari. Postremo paucis familiarium adhibitis sermo coeptus a Caesare, qualem ira et dissimulatio gignit, responsum a Pione precibus contumacibus; discesseruntque apertis odiis. Post quae rarus in tribunali Caesaris Piso, et si quando

bles gave their consent, the people their acclamations.

quod: a relative.

4. Cappadoces, etc.: see 42, with notes. The officers here named, Veranius and Servaeus, devoted friends of Germanicus, were commissioners to organize the new government; this being done, they returned to him.

5. ad ius praetoris: i.e. to the condition of a province. The imperial governor (legatus Caesaris pro praetore), exercised essentially praetorian powers. Commagene was annexed to Syria, its independence was restored by Caligula, and it was again annexed by Vespasian.

67. socialia, the affairs of the allies.

2. Cyrrî: a town upon the principal road from Antioch to Commagene.

decimae legionis: the name of this legion was Pretensis.

firmato = compacto: each tried to conceal his feelings. The same idea is expressed by dissimulatio below.

3. intendere, exaggerate (Intr. 35.4).

4. precibus contumacibus, requests which betrayed an insubordinate spirit.

apertis: see App. I.

in tribunali Caesaris: the governor of Syria would naturally be
assideret, atrox ac dissentire manifestus. Vox quoque eius audita est in convivio, cum apud regem Nabataeorum coronae aureae magnopere Caesari et Agrippinac, leves Pisoni et ceteris offerrentur, principis Romanus, non Parthi regis filio eas epulas dari; abiecitque simul coronam et multa in luxum addidit, quae Germanico quamquam acerba tolerabantur tamen.


M. Silano L. Norbano consulibus Germanicus Aegyp- tum profisciscitur cognoscentae antiquitatis. Sed cura...
provinciae praetendebatur, levavitque apertis horreis pretia frugum multaque in vulgus grata usurpavit: sine milite incedere, pedibus intactis et pari cum Graecis amictu, P. Scipionis aemulatioue, quem eadem factita-visse apud Siciliam, quamvis flagrante adduc Poenorum bello, accepimus. Tiberius cultu, habituque eius lenibus verbis perstricto, acerrime increpuit, quod contra instituta Augusti non sponte principis Alexandriam introi-
set. Nam Augustus inter alia dominationis arcana, vetitis nisi permisso ingredi senatoribus aut equitibus Romanis illustribus, seposuit Aegyptum, ne fame urgeret Italian, quisquis eam laude castraque terrae ac maris quamvis levi praesidio adversum ingentes exercitus insedisset. Sed Germanicus nondum comperto profectionem eam incusari Nilo subvehebatur, orsus

3. sponte, consent; properly used with a possessive, in late writers with a genitive.
4. Illustribus: i.e. those equites who had a senatorial fortune, one million sesterces.
5. seposuit Aegyptum: Egypt was never formally made into a province, but was governed by the emperor as a separate kingdom, always having common equites as its governors. It was, therefore, a serious offence in Germanicus to visit it without permission.
6. urgeret: Egypt was one of the chief sources of the corn supply for Italy, and must not be exposed to the chances of war and revolution.
7. quisquis, whosoever, pretender or rebel, subject of urgeret.
8. clastra terrae ac maris: Alexandria and Pelusium, at the extreme west and east, which could be easily held adversum ingentes exercitus.
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oppido a Canopo. Condidere id Spartani ob sepultum illic rectorem navis Canopum, qua tempestate Menelau Græciam repetens diversum ad mare terramque Libyam deictus est. Inde proximum amnis os dicatum Herculi, quem indigenae ortum apud se et antiquissimum perhibent eosque, qui postea pari virtute fuerint, in cognomentum eius ascritos; mox visit veterum Thebarum magna vestigia. Et manebant stræctis molibus litterae 4 Aegyptiae, priorem opulentiam complexae; iussusque e senioribus sacerdotum patrum sermonem interpretabi, referebat habitasse quondam septingenta milia acetate militari, atque eo cum exercitu regem RhamSen Libya Aethiopica Medisique et Persis et Bactriano ac Scythà potitum quasque terras Suri Armeniique et contigui Cappodoces colunt, inde Bithynum, hinc Lycium ad mare imperio tenuisse. Legebantur et indita gentibus 5 tributa, pondus argenti et auri, numerus armorum equo-

60. Canopo: spelt also Canopus; an ancient city upon the westernmost mouth of the Nile; its prosperity was ruined by the founding of Alexandria, Pearson.

3. proximum amnis os: object of visit: the Canopic mouth was called also Herculean.

4. antiquissimum: of all the Hercules of tradition.

5. cognomentum eius asteros: identified with the hero.

6. veterum Thebarum: it appears from Pliny (N. H. VIII. 185) that he visited Memphis also, where he received an omen of his approaching death from the Bull Apis; Germanicus Caesarus manus overatus est hand multo postea extincti. According to Ammianus Marcellinus (XXII. 14. 8), the bull refused food from his hand.

4. stræctis molibus: the immense structures, the ruins of which still stand, — temples, palaces, tombs, etc.; ablative of place, litterae: written characters (hieroglyphics).

8. complexae, containing a statement of:

regem RhamSen: Rameses II., the Great (Seastrias), of the 19th dynasty, in the 15th century, B.C. For a graphic delineation of this king and of Egyptian life at this period, see Eber’s Uarda.

Lybia, etc.: they boasted overmuch, as the monuments show that the conquests of Rameses never extended beyond Syria.

Bithynum . . . Lycium ad mare: the Bithynian Sea was the Euxine; the Lycian, that part of the Mediterranean which lay between Cyprus and Rhodes.

5. legebantur: all these are read
rumque et dona templis ebur atque odores, quasque copias frumenti et omnium utensilium quaecumque natio penderet, haud minus magnifica quam nunc vi Partho-
rum aut potentia Romana iubentur. Ceterum Germani-
cus aliis quoque miraculis intendit animum, quorum praecipua fuere Memnonis saxeae effigies, ubi radiis solis
icta est, vocalem sonum reddens, disiectasque inter et
vix pervias harenas instar montium eductae pyramides
certamine et opibus regum, lacusque effossa humo,
superfuentis Nili receptacula; atque alibi angustiae et
profunda altitudo, nullis inquirentium spatiiis penetrabi-
lis. Exim ventum Elephantinen ac Syenen, claustra
olim Romani imperii, quod nunc rubrum ad mare
patescit.

Dum ea aetas Germanico plures per provincias trans-
igitur, haud leve decus Drusus quaesivit illiciens Ger-
manos ad discordias utque fracto iam Marobodu usque

at the present day in the same
hieroglyphics.

odores: spices and perfumes.

61. Memnonis saxeae effigies: this was a colossal statue of King
Amenophis III. of the 18th dynasty,
sixty feet in height, cut from a sin-
gle block of granite. It was be-
lieved by the Greeks to represent
the hero Memnon, son of Eos, slain
in the Trojan war; and the sound
heard at sunrise was explained as
his salutation to his mother, the
Dawn. The name Memnon would
seem to have been an easy confu-
sion of sound with Amenophis; the
sounds heard were probably caused
by some expansion of the stones in
the heat of the sun.

pyramides: these works of the
4th dynasty are in the neighborhood
of Memphis.
lacus: the lake, or reservoir, of
Moeris, somewhat further up the
river, constructed by a king of
the 12th dynasty, about 2300 B.C.
This also has been recently discov-
ered.

angustiae . . . altitudo: sc. flu-
mensis: this refers to the first cata-
tract, where the river is narrow and
so swift that it cannot be sounded.
spatiiis: i.e. of line.

2. Elephantinen ac Syenen: the proper limits of Egypt towards
Ethiopia.
rubrum ad mare: the Indian
Ocean, comprehending also the Ara-
bian and Persian Gulfs. The refer-
ence is to the expedition of Trajan,
A.D. 116, when he launched upon
the Persian Gulf, which he had now
made the boundary of his empire.
This passage, therefore, gives a clew
to the date of composition of the
Annales (Intr. 2).
in exitium insisteretur. Erat inter Gotones nobilis iuvenis nomine Catualda, profugus olim vi Marobodui et tunc dubiis rebus eius ultionem ausus. Is valida manu fines Marcomanorum ingreditur corruptisque primoribus ad societatem irruptit regiam castellumque iuxta situm. Veterae ilic Sueborum praedae et nostris e provincis lixae ac negotiatores reperti, quos ius commercii, dein cupido augendi pecuniam, postremum oblivio patriae suis quemque ab sedibus hostilem in agrum transtulerat. Maroboduo undique deserto non aliud subsidium quam misericordia Caesaris fuit. Transgressus Danuvium, qua Noricam provinciam praefuit, scripsit Tiberio non ut profugus aut supplex, sed ex memoria prioris fortunae: nam multis nationibus clarissimum quondam regem ad se vocantibus Romanam amicitiam praetulisse. Responsum a Caesare tutam ei honoratamque sedem in Italia fore, si maneret; sin rebus eis aliud conduceret, abiturum fide qua venisset. Ceterum apud senatum disseruit non Philippum Ateniensibus, non Pyrrhum aut Antiochum populo Romano perinde metuendos fuisse. Extat oratio, qua magnitudinem viri, violentiam subiec-

64. Simul nuntiato regcm Artaxian Armeniis a Germanico datum, decreverc patres ut Germanicus atque Drusus ovantes urbem introirent. Structi et arcus cir-
cum latera templi Martis Ultoris cum effigie Caesarum, laetiore Tiberio, quia pacem sapientiā firmaverat, quam si bellum per actes confecisset.

Igitur Rhescuporim quoque, Thraeciae regem, astu aggregxit. Omnum eam nationem Rhoemetalces tenuerat; quo defuncto Augustus partem Thraecum Rhescuporidi fratri eius, partem filio Cotyi permiserit. In ea divisione arva et urbes et vicina Graecis Cotyi, quod incultum ferox annexum hostibus, Rhescuporidi cessit; ipsorumque regum ingenia, illi mite et aratoorum, huique atrox avidum et societatis impatiens erat. Sed primo subdola concordia egere; mox Rhescuporis egredi fines, vertere in se Cotyi data et resistenti vim facere, cunctanter sub Augusto, quem auctorem utriusque regni, si sperneretur, vindicem metuebat. Enimvero audita mutatione principis immittere latronum globos, exscindere castella, causas bello. Nihil aequi Tiberium anxium habebat quam ne composita turbarentur. Deligit centurionem, qui nuntiet regibus ne armis disciparent;

inferior form of triumph, granted for less considerable victories, or when the victory was gained under the auspices of another. It differed from the triumph, in that the victor did not ride in a chariot, but walked or rode on horseback; wore, not the ignis pictus, but the praestita, and a wreath of myrtle instead of laurel.

2. Martis Ultoris: erected by Augustus, B.c. 2, in commemoration of the vengeance inflicted by him upon the murderers of Julius Cæsar. It was upon his forum, east of the Forum Romanum. Three columns of it are still standing; but the arches here spoken of have disappeared.

3. Thraeciae: i.e. of the interior parts of Thrace; for the sea-coast

was under the Roman rule, administered by the governor of Macedonia. The free Thracians here spoken of are the ancient nation of the Odrysae, which occupied the valley of the Hebrus. Rhoemetalces had succeeded his brother, Cotys IV., B.c. 20. The whole of Thrace was made a Roman province by Claudius.

4. hostibus: the Dacians, etc., on the north.

ipsorum, etc.: a confused construction, the genitive of possession passing into the dative of possession.

5. data: object of vertere.

6. enimvero: this word, here as elsewhere, "marks the transition from the less to the more important." Furneaux.

causas: in apposition with the
statimque a Cotye dimissa sunt quae paraverat auxilia.

2. Rhescuporis ficta modestia postulat eundem in locum coiretur: posse de controversiis colloquio transigi. Nec diu dubitatum de tempore loco dein condicionibus, cum alter facilitate, alter fraude cuncta inter se concederent accipenterque. Rhescuporis sanciendo, ut dictitabat, foederi convivium adicit, tractaque in multam noctem laetitia per epulas ac vinolentiam incautum Cotyn et, postquam dolum intellexerat, sacra regni, eiusdem familiae deos, et hospitale mensas obtestantem catenis onerat. Thraeciaque omni potitus scrisit ad Tiberium structas sibi insidias, praeventum insidiatorum; simul bellum adversus Bastarnas Scythasque praetendens novis peditum et equitum copiis sese firmabat.

6. Mollyster rescriptum, si fraus abesset, posse eum innocentiae fidere; ceterum neque se neque senatum nisi cognita causa ius et injuriam discrepeturos; proinde tradito Cotye veniret transferretque invidiam criminis.

66. Eas litteras Latinius Pandusa praetore Moesiae cum militibus, quis Coty's traderetur, in Thraeciam misit. Rhescuporis inter metum et iuram cunctatus factur patrati quam incipi facinoris reus esse; occidi Cotyn iubet mortemque sponte sumptam emichtetur. Nec tamen Caesar placitas semel artes mutavit, sed defuncto

phrases that precede (1. 27, 1 n.).
66. annum habebat: cf. laetum habebat, 57. 1.
2. modestia, compliance.
coiretur: i.e. with his nephew.
4. sanciendo foederi: Intr. 35 f. per epulas, etc.: Intr. 35 f.
sacra, the sacred character.
eiusdem . . . mensas: he violated the two most solemn obligations among primitive nations, those of kinship and those of hospitality.
5. Bastarnas: represented in the Germania (46) as a German nation. They lived in southern Russia; the Scythians, further east.
6. transferret invidiam: sc. a se in Cotyn.
66. Pandusa: the manuscript gives Pandusa, corrected to Pauusa; the correct form is found in inscriptions.
3. placitas, decided upon.
artes, policy.

Per idem tempus Vonones, quem amotum in Ciliciam 68 memoravi, corruptis custodibus effugere ad Armenios, inde Albanos Heniochosque et consanguineum sibi regem Scytharum conatus est. Specie venandi omisis 2 maritimis locis avia saltuum petiit, mox perniciate equi su diminuita militibus,  

vetere stipendiis, grown old in military service.  
amicitia: ablative of quality.  
regio: Rhescuporia.  
presidia: the military posts upon the frontier.  
2. abscedebatur: i.e. from his home.  
4. in... inque: a peculiar meaning of in, — between.  

litis: the children of Cotyis.  
Ptolemaei: Ptolemy Epiphanes; at his death, B.C. 184, Egypt was inherited by his two sons, Philometor and Physcon, to whom Lepidus was given as a guardian.  
68. memoravi: s. 3.  
Albaniae, etc.: these nations were north of Armenia, the Albanians upon the Caspian Sea, the Heniockians upon the Euxine, the Scythians further north.
ad annum Pyramum contendit, cuius pontes accolae ruperant audita regis fuga; neque vado penetrari poterat.  

3 Igitur in ripa fluminis a Vibio Frontone praefecto equitum vincitur; mox Remmius evocatus, priori custodiae regis appositus, quasi per iram gladio eum transigit.  

4 Unde maior fides conscientia sceleris et metu indicii mortem Vononi inlatam.  

69 At Germanicus Aegypto remanes cuncta, quae apud legiones aut urbes iussarat, abolita vel in contrarium versa cognoscit. Hinc graves in Pisonem contumeliae, nec minus acerba quae ab illo in Caesarem intentabantur. Dein Piso abire Suria statuit. Mox adversa Germanici valetudine detentus, ubi recreatum accepit votaque pro incolumitate solvebantur, admotas hostias, sacrificalem apparatum, festam Antiochensium plebem per lectores proturbat. Tum Seleuciam degreditur, opperiens aegritudinem quae rursum Germanico acciderat.  

5 Saevam vim morbi augebat persuasio veneni a Pisoni accepti; et reperiebantur solo ac parietibus erutae humanorum corporum reliquiae, carmina et devotiones et

2. Pyramum: a river of Cilicia, which flows into the sea.  

penetrari, crossed.  

3. evocatus: a picked veteran soldier, who continued to serve after his term was completed, with the rank and duties of centurion.  

priori: i.e. before his flight.  

4. unde: relates to the murder.  

conscientia sceleris: i.e. as having connived at his flight, and being now in danger of detection.  

Suetonius speaks of Vonones (Tit. 49) as spoliatum perfida et occiditum, apparently throwing the blame of the perfidy upon Tiberius.  

metu indicii: i.e. in case Vonones should be allowed to live.  


versa: i.e. by Piso; Intr. 35 4. 

dein = proinde, thereupon.  

admotas: i.e. altaribus.  

proturbat: this action is explained by Mommsen (Röm. St. II. 776), as meaning that formal vows in behalf of male members of the imperial family would establish a dangerous precedent; cf. IV. 17. 1.  

4. Seleuciam: upon the seacoast, fifteen miles west of Antioch, of which it served as the port.  

5. persuasio, the conviction on the part of Germanicus.  

parietibus, about the walls of the house.  

carmina et devotiones: a hendiadys, — verses containing curses, i.e., consigning to the infernal goda.
nomen Germanici plumbeis tabulis insculptum, semusti
cineres ac tabo oblitae aliaque malefica, quis creditur
animas numinibus infernis sacrati. Simul missi a
Pisone incusabantur ut valetudinis adversa rimantes.
Ea Germanico haud minus ira quam per metum accepta. 70
Si limen obsideretur, si effundendus spiritus sub oculis
inimicorum forest, quid deinde miserrimae coniugi, quid
infantibus libera eventurum? Lenta videri veneficia;
festinare et urgere ut provinciam, ut legiones solus
habeat. Sed non usque eo defectum Germanicum, 3
neque praemia caedis apud interfectorem mansura.
Componit epistulas quis amicitiam ei renuntiatabat; ad-
dunt plerique iussum provincia decedere. Nec Piso 4
mors tua ultra navis solvit, moderabaturque cursui quo
propius regredetur, si mors Germanici Suriam aper-
risset.

Plumbéis tabulis: this inscription, cut on a leaden tablet, was found
in a tomb upon the Latin Way: —
Quamodò mortuus qui istòc sepultus est nec loqui nec sermonem
potest, seìc Rhodina apud M. Liciniam | Fannium mortua est nec loqui nec
sermonem potest | iuxta qui mortuos nec ad deos | nec ad homines
acceptus est | seìc Rhodina apud M. Liciniam accepta est et tandem
volutat | quantum ille mortuos quem istòc sepultus est Dies Pater
Rhodi | ne tibi commendo uti semper odo et M. Licius Pasuato, etc.
(C. I. L., L 818; Orelli-Heuzen, 6114). For analogous superstitions,
cf. Verg. Buc. VIII., and the famous
case of Robert of Artois, A.D. 1353.
missi a Pisone: compare the
messengers sent by Domitian during
the sickness of Agricola (Agr. 43).
70. s. liberis: these were Gaius
(Caligula) and Julia (54. i); the
others had been left in Rome.
festinare et urgere: i.e. Piso;
he could not wait for the slow
working of poison.
3. defectum: i.e. in strength.
epistulas: cf. L 30. 4 n.
renuntiabet: Suetonius (Calig.
3) says, ne hinc quidem ultra progrediam quam uss amicitiam ei mone
morsu renuntiaret mandatique
domesticus solitum, si quid sibi
accideret.
iussum . . . decedere: it does
not appear that Germanicus had the
power to dismiss a governor ap-
pointed by the emperor; but the
quarrel had reached such propor-
tions that Piso seems to have
thought it advisable to leave the
province, only returning when he
learned of the death of Germanicus
(75. 2). His attempt then to resume
his command is a proof that in his
own opinion he had not been law-
fully deprived of it.
4. propius: from a nearer point.
71 Caesar paulisper ad spem erectus, dein fesso corpore, ubi finis aderat, adsistentes amicos in hunc modum ad-loquitur: 'Si fato concederem, iustus mihi dolor etiam adversus deos esset, quod me parentibus liberis patriae intra iuvantam praematu re exitu raperent: nunc scelere Pisonis et Plancinae interceptus ultimas preces pectoribus vestris relinquo; referatis patri ac fratri, quibus acerbitatibus dilaceratus, quibus insidiis circumventus miserrimam vitam pessima morte finierim. Si quos spes meae, si quos propinquus sanguis, etiam quos invidia erga viventem movebat, illacrimabunt quondam florentem et tot bellorum superstitem muliebri fraude ceedisce. Erit vobis locus querendi apud senatum, invocandi leges. Non hoc praecipuum amicorum munus est, prosequi defunctum ignavo questu, sed quae voluerit meminisse, quae mandaverit exsequi. Flebunt Germanicum etiam ignoti: vindicabitis vos, si me potius quam fortunam meamovebatis. Ostendite populo Romano divi Augusti neptem eademque coniugem meam, numera te sex liberos. Misericordia cum accusantibus erit, fingenti-busque sealenta mandata aut non credent homines aut non ignoscet.' Irravere amici, dextram morientis con-tingentes, spiritum ante quam ultionem amissuros. Tum ad uxorem versus per memoriam sui, per communes liberos oravit, exueret ferociam, saevienti fortunae sub-

71. 2. fato: ablative; cf. eis concessit (L. 3. 3), and concessus (IV. 38. 3), of a natural death.
4. quos: indefinite, as si quos above.
7. cum accusantibus, on the side of, etc.
parentibus: his mother Antonia, and his adoptive father Tibe-rius.
7. accusantibus, on the side of, etc.
3. fratri: his adoptive brother Drusus: his brother Claudius, after wards emperor, was weak minded, and be-sides stood in no relation to the present government.
fingenti seclenta mandata: i.e. if Piso and Plancina should at-
tempt to justify themselves by ap-pealing to this commission (43. 5).
72. ferociam: for Agrippina's high temper, see 1. 33. 6, IV. 12.
2 and 53. 1.
mitteret animum, neu regressa in urbe in aemulatione potentiae validiores irritaret. Haec palam et alia se creto, per quae ostendere credebat metum ex Tiberio. Neque multo post exstinguitur, ingenti luctu provinciae et circumiacentium populorum. Indoluerit externe nationes regesque: tanta illi comitas in socios, mansuetudo in hostis; visuque et auditu iuxta venerabilis, cum magnitudinem et gravitatem summae fortunae retineret, invidiam et arrogantiam effugerat.

Fenus sine imaginibus et pompa per laudes ac memoria virtutum eius celebré fuit. Et erant qui for mam aetatem genus mortis ob propinquitatem etiam locorum in quibus interiit, magni Alexandri fatis adaequarent. Nam utrumque corpore decoro, genere insigni, haud multum triginta annos egressum, suorum insidiis externas inter gentes occidisse: sed hunc mitem erga amicos, modicum voluptatum, uno matrimonio, certis liberior egisse, neque minus proeliatorem, etiam si temeritas aferit praepeditusque sit perculsas tot victorias Germanias servitio premere. Quod si solus arbiter rerum, si iure et nomine regio fusisset, tanto promptius

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aemulatione potentiae: as if foreseeing her ambitious designs.
2. ingenti luctu: Suetonius says (Calig. 5), quo defunctus est die, lapidato sunt templae, subversae dorum arae, — the temples and altars of the pitiless gods.
3. Indoluerit: Suetonius (Calig. 5) says, regum quoque barbam patuere et urorum castra ransae, ad indicium maximum luctus: regum etiam regem et exercitacionem venandi et conviciti magistratum ubatinnisse, quod apud Pothus iustiti insular est. 78. sine imaginibus et pompa: the imagines, or wax busts of ancestors, were kept in the atrium of the house, and were, therefore, not with him; the procession also appears to have been omitted.
2. ob propinquitatem: hundreds of miles apart, but alike in the far east.
magni Alexandri: he died at Babylon, B.C. 333, aged thirty-two; Germanicus was thirty-three. In the case of Alexander, too, there was suspicion of poison.
3. mitem, etc.: a strong contrast with Alexander's ferocity and intemperance.
certis, legitime.
praepeditus sit: with the infinitive, after the analogy of prohibe.
assecuturum gloriam militiae, quantum clementia, tem-
perantia, ceteris bonis artibus praestissset. Corpus
antequam cremaretur nudatum in foro Antiochensium,
qui locus sepulturae destinabatur, praetuleritne veneficii
signa parum constitit; nam ut quis misericordia in Ger-
manicum et praeumpta suspicione aut favore in Piso-
orem pronior, diversi interpretabantur.

74 Consultatum inde inter legatos quique alii senatorum
aderant, quisnam Suriae praeficeretur. Et ceteris mo-
dice nisi, inter Vibium Marsum et Cn. Sentium diu
quasitum; dein Marius seniori et acius tendenti
Sentio concessit. Isque infame veneficiis ea in pro-
vincia et Planciae percaram nomine Martinam in urbem
misit, postulantibus Vitellio ac Veranio ceterisque, qui
crimina et accusationem tamquam adversus receptos iam

75 reos instreebant. At Agrippina, quamquam defessa
luctu et corpore aegro, omnium tamen quae ultione
morarentur intolerans, ascendit classem cum cineribus
Germanici et liberis, miserantibus cunctis, quod femina

4. tanto...quantum: Inscr. 35 r.

5. sepulturas, obsequae: cremация, not interment; for his ashes
were conveyed to Rome.

parum constitit: Suetonius, on
the other hand (Calig. 1) says,
praeter lavores qui tuto corpore
erant et spumas quae per os flu-
bant, cremavit quoniam cor inter asin
incorruptum repertum est; cussus
ea natura existinnaverit ut, tunc
tum venenous, igne confusus mequeat. But
surely, if there had been any clear
evidence of foul play, Tacitus would
not have failed to mention it.

74, consultatum, etc.: the
death of Germanicus and the de-
pair of Piso having left the prov-
ince without any head, the senators

present, part officially, part unof-
cially, took upon themselves the
responsibility of establishing a pro-
visional government, no doubt as
representing the Senate, the official
organ of government at Rome. So
Germanicus (I. 43. 2) says, in the
event of his death, legatus ducem.
The action, however, was irregular
and probably invalid.

quique alii senatorum: for the
legato, too, having all held the qua-
torship, were of senatorial rank.

2. Martinam: for her death see
III. 7. 2.

Vitellio: I. 70; Veranio: 56. 4.
Both were firm friends of Germanicus.
receptos: i.e. a praetores; as if the
prosecution were already formally on
foot.
nobilitate princeps, pulcherrimo modo matrimonio, inter venerantis gratantisque aspici solita, tunc feralis re-
liquias sinu ferret, incerta ultionis, anxia sui, et infelici
fecunditate fortunae totiens obnoxia.

Pisonem interim apud Coum insulam nuntius assequi-
tur exessisse Germanicum. Quo intemperanter ac-
cepto caedit victimas, adit templam, neque ipse gaudium
moderans et magis insolescente Plancina, quae luctum
amissae sororis tum primum laeto cultu mutavit. Ad-
fluebant centuriones monebantque prompta illi legionum
studia: repeteret provinciam non iure ablatam et vacuum.
Igitur quid agendum consultanti M. Piso filius prope-
randum in urbem censebat: nihil adhuc inexpiabile ad-
missum, neque suspicione imbecillas aut inania famae
pertimescenda. Discordiam erga Germanicum odio
fortasse dignam, non poena; et ademptione provinciae
satis factum inimicos. Quod si regredeteretur, obstante
Sentio civile bellum incipi; nec duraturos in partibus
centuriones militesque, apud quos recens imperatoris
sui memoria et penitus infixus in Caesares amor praé-
valeret. Contra Domitius Celer, ex intima eius amicitia,
disseruit: utendum eventu; Pisonem, non Sentium Su-
riae praepositum; huic fasces et ius praetoris, huic
legiones datas. Si quid hostile ingruit, quem iustius

75. matrimonio: ablative of characteristic.
infelici fecunditate: her numerous children were so many hostages
to fortune.
2. Coum: better known as Cott.
3. laeto cultu: bright colors,
   jewels, etc.; ablative with mutavit.
76. centuriones: these were
   of his own appointment (see 55. 4).
2. consilii: construed with
   properandum.
nihil adhuc, etc.: this argument
   of young Piso shows that he re-
   garded his parents as innocent.
4. in partibus, in his tribe: their
   temporary enthusiasm would be out-
   weighed by their attachment to the
   imperial house.
77. huic: i.e. Piso, as the one
   nearest the speaker (see 1. 42.
   6 n.).
2. hostile: on the part of for-
   eign enemies.
arma oppositum quam qui legati auctoritatem et propre mandata acceperit? Relinquendum etiam rumoribus tempus quo senescant; plerumque innocentes recenti invidiae impares. At si teneat exercitum, augeat vires, multa quae provideri non possint fortuito in melius casura. 'An festinamus cum Germanici cineribus appellere, ut te inauditum et indefensum planctus Agrippinae ac vulgus imperium primo rumore rapiant? Est tibi Augustae conscientia, est Caesaris favor, sed in occulto; et perisse Germanicum nulli iactantius maerent quam qui maxime laetantur.'

Haud magna mole Piso, promptus ferocibus, in sententiam trahitur, missisque ad Tiberium epistulis incusat Germanicum luxus et superbiae; seques pulsum, ut locus rebus novis patieret, curam exercitus eadem sive qua teneurit repetivisse. Simul Domitium impositum trremi vitare litorum oram praeterque insulas latore mari pergere in Suriam iubet. Concurrentes desertores per manipulos componit, armat lixas, traiectisque in continentem navibus vexillum tironum in Suriam euntium intreptit, regulis Cilicum ut se auxilii iuvarent scribit.

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propris, personal; referring to the independent command given to him, as contrasted with Sentius' irregular commission.
3. recenti, while it is fresh.
4. si teneat: i.e. keeping on his present course.
5. an festinamus: the present colloquially with a future force; cf. quam conscendimus equus? Livy, I. 57. 7.
imperium: having no experience in affairs of state, and, therefore, not qualified to judge.
6. conscientia: i.e. the private understanding.
nuli = nemo: a very rare case of this plural as a substantive.
iactantius, with more orientation.
haut ignavo ad ministeria belli iuvene Pisone, quamquam suscipiendum bellum abnuisset. Igitur oram 70 Lyciae ac Pamphyliae praegentes, obvis navibus quae Agrippinam vehebant, utrimque infensi arma primo expediere; dein mutua formidine non ultra iurium processum est, Marsusque Vebius nuntiavit Pisoni Romam ad dicendam causam veniret. Ille eludens respondit ade futurum, ubi praetor, qui de veneficiis quaereret, reo atque accusatoribus diem prodixisset.

Interim Domitius Laodiciam urbem Suriae appulsus, 3 cum hiberna sextae legionis pateret, quod eam maxime novis consiliis idoneam rebatur, a Pacuvio legato praevenerit. Id Sentius Pisoni per litteras aperit monetique 4 ne castra corruptoribus, ne provinciam bello temptet. Quoques Germanici memores aut inimicis eius adversos 5 cognoverat contrahit, magnitudinem imperatoris identi-

(42, 7) had been of this class of petty kings.

70. Lyciae et Pamphyliae: Pamphylia had been made a province by Augustus, A.D. 25; Lycia was still an independent federal republic, but was united to Pamphylia by Claudius, A.D. 45.

praegentes: Piso and his company proceeded between the island of Rhodes and the mainland, while Domitius had gone into maris.

infensi: the construction is irregular; praegentes belongs to Domitius and his company, infensi to Agrippina as well.

3. eludens, in dition. praetor qui de veneficiis quaereret: there was a special quositio de veneficiis, established by Sulla among the quositiones perpetue, and presided over by one of the praetors selected by lot. Whether any given case should be brought before this tribunal or before the senate depended partly upon the accusator, partly upon the court itself (I. 72, 4 n). In this case, Piso's request to be tried before the regular tribunal was refused, and the trial was conducted before the senate. (Momm. Rom. St. II. 105.)

prodixisset: the technical term for the praetor's appointing a day for the trial, after the formal presentation of charges.

2. Laodiciam: a few miles south of Antioch, on the sea-coast.

sextae legionis: this was named Ferrata, — the "iron brigade."

Pacuvio: see Seneca, Ep. 12, 8.

legato: sc. legenti (I. 44, 3 n).

aperit, lox: before, — the accusative.

13. corruptoribus: ablative of instrument, a relation more commonly expressed with persons by the accusative with per. Pitzner thinks it shows contempt.

3. imperatoris: best understood of Tiberius.
dem ingerens et rem publicam armis peti; ducitque validam manum et proelio paratam.

80. Nec Piso, quamquam coepta secus cadebant, omisit tutissima e praesentibus, sed castellum Ciliciae munitum
adnudum, cui nomen Celenderis, occupat; nam admixtis desertoribus et tirones nuper intercepto suisque et
Planciniae servitiis auxilia Cilicum, quae reguli miserant,
in numerum legionis composuerat. Caesarisque se legatum testabatur provincia, quam is dedisset, arceri, non a
legionibus (earum quippe accitum venire), sed asentio
privatum odium falsis criminibus tegente. Consistente
in acie, non pugnaturis militibus, ubi Pisonem, ab ipsis
parentem quondam appellatum, si iure ageretur, potior
rem, si armis, non invalidum, vidissent. Tum pro mun
imentis castelli manipulos explicat, colle arduo et de
rupto; nam cetera mari cinguntur. Contra veterani
ordinibus ac subsidii instructi: hinc militum, inde loco
rum asperitas, sed non animus, non spes, ne tela quidem
nisi agrestia aut subitum in usum properata. Ut venere
in manus, non ultra dubitatum quam dum Romanae co
hortes in aequum enterentur: vertunt terga Cilices
seque castello claudunt.

81. Interim Piso classem hauad procul opperientem appug-

80. secus: cf. 50. 3 n.
praeentibus, the things at hand.
Celenderis: see 1. 45. 1 n.
2. in numerum legionis: i.e. so
as to make up a legion; the normal
number was 6000.
3. earum . . . accitum: 76. 1.
4. pugnaturis: this ablative ab-
solute has the force of an appositor,
to which ubi . . . vidiessent is pro-
tasis.
si iure ageretur, if the question
were as to right.
5. pro, in front of, unlike 13. 4
and 81. 1. nam, etc.: they needed
no other fortifications, for, etc.
6. ordinibus ac subsidii: the
army of Senius — whose movement
against Piso is not related — was in
regular order, and provided with
reserves.
inde . . . properata: i.e. Piso’s
troops.
agrestia: sharpened stakes, prun-
ing hooks, sickles, etc.
7. in aequum: to the summit
of the hill on which the citadel
stood.
nare frustra temptavit; regressusque et pro muris, modo semet affictando, modo singulos nomine ciens, praemis vocans, seditionem cooptabat, adeoque comoverat ut signifer legionis sextae signum ad eum transulterit. Tum Sentius occanere cornua tubasque et peti aggerem, erigi scalas iussit, ac promptissimum quemque succedere, alios tormentis hastas saxa et faces ingerere. Tandem victa pertinacia Piso oravit ut traditis arnis maneret in castello, dum Caesar cum Suriam permitteret consultur. Non receptae condiciones, nec aliud quam naves et tutum in urbem iter concessum est.

At Romae, postquam Germanici valetudo percrebruit cunctaque ut ex longinquo aucta in dierius adferenan
tur, dolor ira. Et erumpebant questus: ideo nimirum in extremas terras relegatum, ideo Pisoni permissam provinciam; hoc egisse secretos Augustae cum Plancina sermones; vera prorsus de Druso seniores locutos, displlicere regnantibus civilia filiorum ingenia, neque ob aliud interceptos quam quia populum Romanum aequo iure complecti redditae libertate agitaverint. Hos vulgi sermones audita mors adeo incendit ut ante editum 81. pro muris, ut the wall, towards the enemy, cf. 13. 4. semet affictando: beasting his breast and other signs of grief. seditionem: among the soldiers of Senti. signifer: not aquilifer, the standard-bearer of the legion. Each maniple, as well as, probably, each cohort, had its signum (L. 18. 3 n.), and there were as many signiferi. It was only one out of this number that deserted.

2. aggere: materials for a mound, preparatory to an assault (L. 65. 10).

3. cui: interrogative.

82. 2. ideo: begins the complaint. hoc egisse, this was the meaning of; a common use of ager.

3. de Druso: cf. II. 41. 5. displlicere ... ingenia: Suetonius (Claud. 1) says, nonnullus tradere ausus, spectum eum [ex Drusum] Augustus, revocatumque ex provincia, et quia coniurator, interceptum veneno. But it was a groundless rumor.

filiorum: Drusus was step-son of Augustus; Germanicus, adopted son of Tiberius.
magistratum, ante senatus consultum sumpto iustitio
descrerentur fora, clauderentur domus. Passim silentia
et gemitus, nihil compositum in ostentationem; et quam-
quam neque insignibus iugentium abstinerent, altius
animis maerabant. Forte negotiatores, vivente adhuc
Germanico Sura egressi, laetiora de valetudine eius
attulerer. Statim crebida, statim vulgata sunt; ut quis-
que obvius, quamvis leviter audita in alios atque illi in
plures cumulata gaudio transferunt. Cursant per urbem,
moliuntur templorum fores; iuvat credulitatem nox et
promptior inter tenebras affirmatio. Nec obstitit falsis
Tiberius, donec tempore ac spatio vanescerent; et pop-
ulus quasi rursum ereptum acerius doluit.

88 Honores, ut quis amore in Germanicum aut ingenio
validus, reperti decrctique: ut nomen eius Saliari car-
mine caneretur; sedes curules sacerdotum Augustalium
locis superque eas querceae coronae statuerentur; ludos
circenses eburnae effigies praeret, neve quis flamem aut
augur in locum Germanici nisi gentis Iuliae crearetur;

4. iustitio: see I. 16. 2 n.
5. nihil compositum: no for-
mal arrangement.
7. ut quique obvius (sc. est
negotiatoribus) equivalent to
quicumque obtius est, subject of
transferi understood.
8. moliuntur . . . fores: which
had been closed for the night.
tempore ac spatio: a hendi-
dys, in the course of time.
88. 2. Saliari carmine: the
Salli, special priests of Mars, were a
very ancient collegium, membership
in which was reserved for men of
high rank. Their chasms had come
down from high antiquity, and was
scarcely intelligible. Of those who
received the honor of having their
names inserted in this hymn, we
know only of Germanicus, probably
the younger Drusus (IV. 9. 2),
Lucius Verus, and perhaps Caracalla
(Marquardt, Röm. Stadtverf. III.
420).
sedes curules, etc.: a curule
seat at the theatre was a special
honor highly esteemed, which had
been granted to Julius Caesar and to
Marcellus after his death, and was
now bestowed upon the whole col-
gege to which Germanicus had be-
longed (I. 54. 3). The oaken
wreath was a reward of civil dis-
tinction; those here described were
made of precious materials (οὐλοδο
and θεόγραφος. Dio, XI. IV. 6. 3).
effigies: of Germanicus.
præsiret: in the sacred wagon
(calus), along with the images of
the gods.
flamen: sc. Augustalis.
arcus additi Romae et apud ripam Rheni et in monte 3 Suriae Amano, cum inscriptione rerum gestarum ac mortem ob rem publicam obisse; sepulcrum Antiochiae, ubi crematus, tribunal Epidaphnae, quo in loco vitam finierat. Statuarum locorumve in quis coleretur, haud facile quis numerum inierit. Cum censeretur clipeus auro et maginitudine insignis inter auctores eloquentiae, asseveravit Tiberius solitum paremque ceteris dicturum: neque enim eloquentiam fortunam discrimini, et satias illustre, si veteres inter scriptores haberetur. Equester ordo 5 cuneum Germanici appellavit, qui iuniorum dicebatur, instituitque uti turmae idibus Iulii imaginem eius sequerentur. Pleraque manent; quaedam statim omissa sunt aut vetustas oblitteravit.

Ceterum recenti adhuc maestitia soror Germanici 84

3. Amano: north of Antioch, separating Syria from Cilicia.
4. clipeus: a medallion bust, such as was common for distinguished persons. Tiberius held, sensibly enough, that his place among orators should not be distinguished by a medallion superior to others; Suetonius says (Calig. 3), ingeniun in utroque eloquentiae doctrinasque generis praecellens.
5. equester ordo: the turmae equitum, mentioned below; in the empire there were no knights except these equites aequo publico (Momm. Roman. 5 III. 48).
84. cuneum: a wedge-shaped division of seats at the theatre. The equites occupied fourteen concentric rows, which were divided by aisles into cunei; some of the cunei of the knights appear to have been assigned to tenuores, some to seniores. This honor was probably given to Germanicus as princeps inventus; cf. Ovid, Ex Ponto. 2. 4. 41: it imagines princeps, cui dat Germania nomen: (see also 1. 3. 2 n.).
85. turmae: the eighteen centuriae equitum, a part of the centuriate organization for voting purposes, were, for purposes of parade, divided into squadrums, turmae, of thirty men each. Their principal display was the transvectio equitum, or annual procession of the equites, from the Porta Capena to the Temple of Castor, which took place upon July 15, with great splendor. The image of Germanicus was to lead the procession like a banner.
Livia, nupta Druso, duos virilis sexus simul enixa est.
Quod rurum laetumque etiam modicis penatibus tanto
gaudio principem adiecit ut non temperaverit quin lactet
apud patres, nulli ante Romanorum eiusdem fastigii
viro geminam stirpem editam; nam cuncta, etiam
fortuita, ad gloriam vertebat. Sed populo tali in tem-
ποια id quoque dolorem tulit, tamquam auctus liberis
Drusus domum Germanici magis urget.

86 Eodem anno gravibus senatus decretis libido femi-
num coercita, cautumque ne quaestum corpore faceret
cui avus aut pater aut maritus eques Romanus fuisse.
Nam Vistilia praetoria familia genita licentiam stupri
apud aediles vulgaverat, more inter veteres recepto, qui
satis poenarum adversum impudicas in ipsa professione
flagitii credebant. Exactum et a Titidio Labeone, Vistiliae
marito, cur in uxore delicti manifesta unctionem
legis omississet. Atque illo praetendente sexaginta
dies ad consultandum datos necdum praeterisse, satis visum
de Vistilia statuere: eaque in insulam Seriphon abdita
est. Actum et de sacris Aegyptiis Judaicisque pellen-
dis factumque patrum consultum, ut quattuor milia libertini genera ea superstitione infecta, quis idonea aetas, in insulam Sardiniam veherentur, coercendis illic latrocinis et, si ob gravitatem caeli interissent, vile damnum; ceteri cederent Italia, nisi certam ante diem profanos ritus exiisset. Post quae retulit Caesar capiendam 86 virginem in locum Occiae, quae septem et quinquaginta per annos summa sanctimoniam Vestalibus sacris praesederat; eigitque grates Fonteio Agrippae et Domitio Pollioni, quod offerendo filias de officio in rem publicam certarent. Praeleva est Pollionis filia, non ob aliud quam quod mater eius in eodem coniugio manebat; nam Agrippa discidio domum immiserat. Et Caesar quamvis posthabitant deciens sestertii dote solatus est.

Saevitiam annonae incusante plebe statuit frumento 87 pretium, quod emptor penderet, binosque nummos se additurum negotioribus in singulos modios. Neque a

moral practices. The Jews also were numerous and influential at Rome. The scandalous incidents which led to the demolition of the temples of Isis, and to the banishment of the Jews, are related by Josephus (Ant. Iud. XVIII, 3, 4 and 5).

86. retulit: brought to Rome as slaves.

87. discidio, divorce.

domum: i.e. dignitatem domus.

This was not an absolute bar, for the law only required that both parents should be living.

imminentia: cf. eunctus, 84, 3.

diciens sestertii: this appears to have been the usual dowry for a noble lady.

binos nummos: two sesterces = ten cents. This was the difference between the legal price and the market value at the time. The modius was about a peck.
tamen ob ea parentis patriae delatum et antea vocabulum assumpsit, acerbeque increpuit eos qui divinas occupationes ipsumque dominum dixerant. Unde angusta et lubrica oratio sub principe qui libertatem metuebat, adulationem oderat.

88 Reperio apud scriptores senatoresque eorundem temporum Adgandestri principis Chattorum lectas in senatu litteras, quibus mortem Arminii promitbat, si patrandae neci venenum mitteretur; responsumque esse non fraudes neque occultis, sed palam et armatum populum Romanum hostes suos ulcisci. Qua gloria aequabat se Tiberius priscis imperatoribus, qui venenum in Pyrrhum regem vetuerant prodiderantque. Ceterum Arminius abscedentibus Romanis et pulso Marobodu regnum affectans libertatem popularium adversam habuit, petitusque armis cum varia fortuna certaret, dolo propinquorum cecidit: liberator haud dubie Germaniae et qui non primordia populi Romani, sicut alii reges ducesque, sed florentissimum imperium lacessisset, proeliiis ambiguis, bello non victus. Septem et triginta

2. delatum et antea: I. 72. 2. divinas, etc.: Suetonius says (Tit. 27) that when some one spoke of his occupations as sacras, he directed him to say laboriosas, and that the use of the word dominum to him he denounced as communem causas. This word properly expresses the relation of master and slave, and was inconsistent with the semi-republican constitution of the early empire, but afterwards became common among other slavehish practices. Tiberius used to say that he was imperator to his soldiers, dominus to his slaves, and princeps to others. δοῦλος ὑπὸ τῶν δοῦλων, αὐτοκράτορ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, τῶν

88 δὴ λαοῖος προβεβλήσει διὰ. Dio, LVII. 8.

89. principis, a chief; the principes of the Germans were elected in the public assembly, and, no doubt, for life (Germ. 13).

palam et armatum: contrasted chiastically with fraudae et occultis.

2. venenum . . . vetuerant: it was the consuls Gaius Fabricius and Quintus Æmilius, to whom the physician of Pyrrhus made the offer.


alii reges, etc.: Pyrrhus, Hannibal, etc.

proeliiis ambiguis, etc.: he lost
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annos vitae, duodecim potentiae explevit, caniturque
adhuc barbaras apud gentes, Graecorum annalibus igno-
tus, qui sua tantum mirantur, Romanis haud perinde
celebris, dum vetera extollimus recentium incuriosi.

some battles, but never was sub-
duced.

4. Graecorum: the Greek histo-
rians of this reign.

haud perinde, inadequately,
recentium incuriosi: so in the
Agricola (1), he calls his own age
incuruosae suorum.

AGrippina.
(From a coin in the Berlin Museum.)
ARGUMENT OF BOOK III.

A.D. 20; M. Valerius Messalla, M. Aurelius Cotta, Coss.

1-18. Trial and Death of Gnaeus Piso.

A.D. 21; T. Augustus Caesar IV., Drusus Caesar II., Coss.
31. Tiberius retires to Campania. 32. War with Tacfarinas. 33. 34. Proposition to forbid governors of provinces to have their wives with them.
40-47. Revolt of Sacrovir and Florus in Gaul.
40. Preparations for the insurrection. 41. Revolt of the Andecavi and Turoni. 42. The Treveri. 43-45. The Aedui. 46. Death of Sacrovir.
47. Report to the Senate by Tiberius.

A.D. 22; C. Sulpicius Galba, D. Iulius Agrrippa, Coss.
LIBER III.

1 Nihil intermissa navigatione hiberni maris Agrippina
Corcyram insulam advehitur, litora Calabriae contra
sitam. Illic paucos dies componendo animo insumit,
violenta luctu et nescia tolerandi. Interim adventu
eius audito intimus quisque amicorum et plerique mili-
tares, ut quique sub Germanico stipendia fecerant, mul-
tique etiam ignoti vicinis e municipiis, pars officium in
principem rati, plures illos securi, ruere ad oppidum
Brundisium, quod naviganti celerrimum fidissimumque
appulus erat. Atque ubi primum ex alto visa classis,
complementur non modo portus et proxima maris, sed
moenia ac tecta, quaque longissime prospectari poterat,
maerentium turba et rogitantium inter se, silentione an
4 voce aliqua egredientem exciperent. Neque satis con-
statabat quid pro tempore foret, cum classis paulatim suc-
cessit, non alacri, ut adsolet, remigio, sed cunctis ad
tristitiam compositis. Postquam duobus cum liberis,
feralem urnam tenens, egressa navi defixit oculos, idem
omnia gemitus; neque discerneres proximos alienos,
virorum feminarumque planctus, nisi quod comitatum

1. Corcyra: the most important of the Ionian islands.
Calabriae: this name, given now to the southwestern promontory of
Italy, was applied by the ancients to the southeastern portion opposite
Greece: it has been transferred from the heel to the toe of the boot.
2. plerique, a good many.
ut quique = quicunque.
in principem: i.e. Tiburiae.
celerrimum fidissimumque,
quickest and safest. Brundisium
(Brundis) was the regular port for
transit between Italy and Greece.
3. maris: partitive genitive.
turba: ablative.
4. pro tempore, suitable to the
occasion.
5. discerneres: subjunctive of
indefinite subject, in second person
singular,—one could distinguish.
Agrippinæ longo maerore fessum obvii et recentes in dolore anteabant.

Miserae duas praetorias cohortes Caesar, addito ut 2 magistratus Calabriae Apulique et Campaniæ suprema erga memoriam filii sui munera fungerentur. Igitur 2 tribunorum centurionumque umeris cineribus portabantur; praecedebant incompta signa, versi fasces; atque ubi colonias transgrederentur, atrata plebes, trabes et equites pro opibus loci vestem odores aliaque funerum solemnia cremabant. Etiam quorum diversa oppida, tamen obvii 3 et victimas atque aras dis Manibus statuentes lacrimis et conclamationibus dolorem testabantur. Drusus Tar-4 racinam progressus est cum Claudio fratre liberisque Germanici, qui in urbe fucrant. Consules M. Valerius 5 et M. Aurelius (iam enim magistratum oceperant) et senatus ac magna pars populi viam complevere, disiecti et ut cuique libitum fientes;aberat quippe adulatio,

*obvii, those who had gone to meet her.*

*in dolore:* qualifìes recentes.

*2, Calabriae, etc.:* as she landed at Brundisium, her route lay through Calabria, Apulia, and Campania.

*munera fungerentur: *see App. L.


*colonias: *no doubt the municipia also (see I. 79, n 1.). The important towns through which they passed—Tarentum, Venusia, Beneventum, Capua, Sinuessa—were as a fact colonies. The municipal aristocracy belonged to the equestrian order; hence plebs and equites.

*transgrederentur: *subjunctive of repeated action.

*trabes: *the *trábes* was a toga, striped white and purple, worn by the equites on public occasions.

*vestem:* for an offering; so at Caesar’s funeral: *tibicines et scenici artefacta vestem quam ex triumphorum instrumento ad praesentiam sum indusserant, 3 distractam siti atque discussum integre flammarum, et veteranorum multum legionarii arma sua,* etc. (Suet. Jul. 84).

*3 divertas, of the road:* *Cf. diversitas terras, L. 17, 5.*

4. Tarracinae: the old Volscian town of Anxur, fifty-eight miles from Rome, made a maritime colony, B.C. 329. Being at the point where the Appian Way reached the sea, it was a convenient place of meeting; cf. Hor. Sat. I. 5, 36.

*liberis Germanici: *these were Nero, Drusus, Agrippina, and Drusilla; Gaius (Caligula) and Julia were with their mother. (II. 70, 2 n.)*

5. ut cuique libitum: *i.e. with
gnaris omnibus laetam Tiberio Germanici mortem male
3 dissimulandi. Tiberius atque Augusta publico abstinuere,
inferi us maiestate sua rati, si palam lamentarentur, an
ne omnium oculus vultum eorum scrutantibus falsi in-
tellegentur. Matrem Antoniam non apud auctores
rum, non diurna actorem scriptura reperio uillo insigni
officio functam, cum super Agrippinam et Drusum et
Claudium ceteri quoque consanguinei nominatim per-
scripti sint, seu valetudine praepediebatur, seu victus
luctu animus magnitudinem mali perferre visu non tole-
3 ravit. Facilius crediderim Tiberio et Augusta, qui
domo non excedebant, cohibitant, ut par maeror et
matris exemplo avia quoque et patruus attineri vide-
rentur.

4 Dies, quo reliquiae tumulo Augusti inferebantur, mo-
do per silentium vastus, modo ploratibus inquiies; plena
urbis itinera, colucentes per campum Martis facies.

Illic miles cum armis, sine insignibus magistratus,
populus per tribus concidisse rem publicam, nihil spei

---

3. Augusta: see App. I.
par maeror: the verb is not
essex understood, but it is to be
taken with viderentur.
4. tumulo Augusti: the ma-
soleum of Augustus, in the northern
part of the Campus Martius, still
partly preserved.

vastus, desolate.

faces: these were regularly car-
rried at funerals.

3. miles . . . tribus: all of these
were present officially and in their
organizations, but the magistrates
without their insignia, etc. The
tribes here mentioned were proba-
bly not the organization described
in I. 8. 3 n., but the entire people
(populus), organized in voting
tribes.
reliquum clamitabant, promptius apertiusque quam ut
meminisse imperantium crederes. Nihil tamen Tibe-
rium magis penetravit quam studia hominum accensa in
Agrippinam, cum decus patriae, solum Augusti sangu-
imem, unicum antiquitatis specimen appellarent, versique
ad caelum ac deos integram illi subolem ac superstitem
inquirum precarentur. Fuere qui publici funeris pom-
pam requirerent compararentque quae in Drusum pa-
trem Germanici honora et magnifica Augustus fecisset:
ipsum quippe asperrimo hiemis Ticinum usque pro-
gressum neque abscedentem a corpore simul urbem
intravisse; circumfusas lecto Claudiorum Iuliorumque
imagines; defetum in foro, laudatum pro rostris, cuncta
a maioribus reperta aut quae posteri invenerint cu-
mulata: at Germanico ne solitos quidem et cuicumque
nobili debitos honores contigisse. Sane corpus ob
longinquitatem itinerum externis terris quoquo modo
crematum; sed tanto plura decora mox tribui par fuissse,
quanto prima fors negavisset. Non fratrem, nisi unius

meminisse imperantium: it
was in truth an affront to the rulers,
and Tiberius might have been per-
doned for taking offence.
3. studia ... Agrippinam: the
suspicion of Agrippina's loyalty,
which led to such tragic results, may
have begun now; but even before
the emperor appears to have felt
some uneasiness (see L. 69. 4).
solum Augusti sanguinem:
she was the only descendant of
Augustus living, except her dissolute
sister Julia (see 24. 2).
integrum ... precentur: the
partial fulfilment of this prayer, in
the survival of Caligula and the
younger Agrippina, brought no good
to the people.
5. requirerent, missed.
2. ipsum, etc.: cf. Suet. Tib. 7.

asperrimo hiemis: Intr. 35 of
Ticinum: the modern Pavia.
circumfusas ... imaginem: re-
ferring to the great number of these.
Other families (as the Livii) must
also have been represented. Drusus,
having never been adopted into
the Julian gens, was not properly
entitled to its imaginem, but the
rule was probably relaxed in his
favor. He died a. n. 9 from a fall of
his horse in the heart of Germany.
laudatum pro rostris: the
funeral oration, by some near relative,
was an essential part of the cere-
mony.
cuncta: i.e. ceremonies of honor.
4. sane: that is, this could not
have been avoided. These first
ceremonies (prima) chance had
made informal.
6 dici via, non patruum saltem porta tenus obvium. Ubi illa veterum instituta, praepositam toro effigiem, meditata ad memoriam virtutis carmina et laudationes, et lacrimas vel doloris imitamenta?

6 Gnarum id Tiberio fuit; utque premeret vulgar sermo-
nes, monuit edicto multos illustrium Romanorum ob rem publicam obisse, neminem tam flagranti desiderio celebratam. Idque et sibi et cunctis egregium, si modus adiceretur. Non enim eadem decora principibus viris et imperatori populo, quae modicis domibus aut civitati-
bus. Convenisse recenti dolori luctum et ex maerore solacia; sed referendum iam animum ad firmitudinem, ut quondam divus Iulius amissa unica filia, utdivus

Augustus creptis nepotibus abstruserint tristitiam. Nil opus vetustioribus exemplis, quotiens populus Romanus clades exercituum, interitum ducum, funditus amissas nobilis familiis constanter tulerit. Principes mortales, rem publicam aeternam esse. Proin repeterent sollemn-
ia, et quia ludorum Megaleium spectaculum suberat, etiam voluptates resumerent.

5. fratrem: Drusus; but he appears to have come all the way from Illyricum, where he had been in command (see 11. 1 n.); moreover, Terracina is fifty-eight miles from Rome, more than a day's journey.

vel . . . imitamenta: even if they were pretenses.

6. praepositam: see App. I.

egregium, honorabile.

5. decora: from decorus, principibus . . . populo, the men who are at the head of the state, and the nation that rules the world.

recenti: cf. II. 77. 3 n.

unica filia: Cesar's daughter Julia, wife of Pompey, died B.C. 54, while her father was on his expedi-
tion to Britain. Augustus lost two grandsons, Gaius and Lucius (1. 3. 3); and Suetonius says of him (Oct. 65), aliquando patientius mortem quam dedecora suntur sui.

funditus . . . familiis: e.g. the destruction of the Fabii in the war against Veli, B.C. 477.

sollemnias = solius munia.

Megaleium: the festival of the Great Mother was held April 4 to 10, and celebrated, with a remarkable and vivid symbolism, the death of nature and its re-animation at this season.

suberat: indicative, as being the reason assigned by Tactitus.
Tum exuto iustitio reditum ad munia, et Drusus Illyricos ad exercitus profectus est, erectis omnium animis spes petendae e Pisone ultionis et crebro questu, quod vagus interim per amoena Asiae atque Achaiae arroganti et subdola mora scelerum probationes subverteret. Nam vulgatum erat missam, ut dixi, a Cn. Sentio famosam venenose Martinum subita morte Brundissi extintam, venenumque nodo crinium eius occultatum, nec ulla in corpore signa sumpti exitii reperta. At Piso praemissio in urbem filio datisque mandatis, per quae principem molliret, ad Drusum pergit, quem haeu fratris interitu trucem quam remoto aemulo equeirem sibi sperabat. Tiberius quo integrum judicium ostentaret, exceptum comiter iuvenem sueta erga filios familiarum nobiles liberalitate auget. Drusus Pisoni, si vera forsent quae iacentur, praecipuum in dolore suum locum respondit: sed malle falsa et inania nec cuiquam mortem Germanici exitiosam esse. Haec palam et vitato omni secreto; neque dubitabantur praescripta ei a Tiberio, cum incallidus alioqui et facilis iuventa senilibus tum artibus uteretur.

7. iustitio: see I. 16. 2 n. Illyricos ad exercitus: see II. 46. 1; he had returned to meet the body of his cousin (2. 4), and returned again for the trial (11. 1). arroganti: by his proud and defiant bearing, as if he had no need to clear himself. subverteret: i.e. in the hope that his crime would be forgotten in the long interval. It is explained by the sentence that follows. 2. ut dixi: see II. 74. 2. nodo crinium: by means of a hollow bodkin or hair-pin. nesc... reperta: as there were no indications of suicide, it was inferred that she had been put out of the way by Piso. As in the case of Germanicus, there appears no real ground for suspicion. 8. haud = non tam; cf. Intr. 35 s; but the affection of Drusus for Germanicus was well known. liberalitate: a present, such as was usual; cf. II. 37. 2; the service, in cases like this, was gratuitous, but was rewarded with gifts. 3. si... iacentur: belongs to the indirect discourse. falsa et inania: sc. ea esse: Intr. 35 c. 4. haec: these words. facilius, ingraveos.

10. Postera die Fulcinius Trio Pisonem apud consules postulavit. Contra Vitellium ac Veranius ceterique Germanicum comitati tendebant nullas esse partis Trioni; neque se accusatores, sed rerum indices et testes man data Germanici perlatus. Ille dimissa eius causae delitio, ut priori vitam accusaret obtinuit, petitum-
que est a principe cognitionem exciperet. Quod ne 4
reus quidem abnuebat, studia populi et patrum metuens;
contra Tiberium spernendis rumoribus validum et con-
scientiae matris innexum esse; veraque aut in deterius
credita iudice ab uno facilius discerni, odium et invidiam
apud multos valere. Haud fallebat Tiberium moles 5
 cognitionis quaque ipse fama distraheneret. Igitur 6
paucis familiarium adhibitis minas accusantium et hinc
preces audit integranque causam ad senatum remittit.

Atque interim Drusus redivi Illyrico, quamquam 11
patres censuissent ob receput Maroboduum et res
priore aestate gestas ut ovans iniret, prolato honore
urbem intravit. Post quae reo L. Arruntius, P. Vi-

Germanicus; priorem vitam would
include Piso's command in spem.

excipere, take into his own
hands. This he could do by virtue
of his special judicial authority, co-
ordinate with that of the senate
(1. 72. 4 n.). To this senators were
especially subject, and in the reigns
of Gaius, Claudius, and Nero the
imperial court was converted into a
regular engine of tyranny. Tiberius,
on the other hand, characteristically
allowed the senate to make itself
responsible for “orgies of judicial
murder” (Momms. Röm. St. II. 688).

4. studia: the emperor's court
would be less influenced by the
popularity of Germanicus; more-
over, the emperor himself cared lit-
tle for public opinion.

in deterius creditas, that which
looked worse than it was.

iudice ab uno: see note on ini-
tio ab Survae, IV. 5. 4.

6. paucia . . . adhibitis: the
prince joined others with himself, but
was not bound by their judgment.

hinc: i.e. on the part of the de-

integran, etc.: it rested with the
emperor, as it did with the senate
(IV. 21. 3), to decline to undertake
the case. (Cl. also 12. 10.)

11. ob receput Marobo-
duum: II. 63. 1.

priore aestate: the military suc-
cesses belonged two years before,
and the intervening year had been
passed in securing what had been
won. It may be that priores here
means a former (see 20. 1 n.).

ovans: see II. 64. 1.

prolati honoris: it was no occa-
sion for festivity and display; more-
over, by entering the city he would
lose his imperium, and with it his
right to a triumph. This entrance,
of course, preceded the events nar-
rated in 2, etc. He appears to have
hastened from his province and
foregone the ovation, in order to do
honor to Germanicus.

2. L. Arruntius, etc.: for Arrun-
tius and Gallus see I. 12. 2 and 13. 1.
Pompeius was consul A.D. 14 (I. 7.
2). Publius Vinicius, consul A.D. 26,
was distinguished for eloquence and
literary tastes: summus amator Ovi-
TACITUS.

nicium, Asinium Gallum, Aeserninum Marcellum, Sex. Pompeium patronos petenti iisque diversa excusantibus M'. Lepidus et L. Piso et Livineius Regulus adfuere, arrecta omni civitate, quanta fides amicis Germanici, quae fiducia rei; satis cohiberet ac premeret sensus suus Tiberius. Haud alias intentior populus plus sibi in principem occultae vocis aut suspicacis silentii permisit.

12 Die senatus Caesar orationem habuit meditato tempore. Patris sui legatum atque amicum Pisonem fuisset adiutoremque Germanico datum a se auctore senatui rebus apud Orientem administrandis. Illic contumacia et certaminibus asperasset iuvenem exituque eius laetatus esset, an scelere extinxisset, integris animis diuudicandum. 'Nam si legatus officii terminos, obsequium erga imperatorem exuit eiusdemque morte et luctu meo laetatus est, odore seponamque a domo mea et privatias inimicitias non vi principis ulciscar; sin facinus in cuiuscumque mortalium nece vindicandum detegitur, vos vero et liberos Germanici et nos parentes iustis solacii adficite. Simulque illud reputate, turbide et seditiose tractaverit exercitus Piso, quaeosa sint per

dii (Sen. Contr. X. 4. 25). He was father of Marcus Vinicius (VI. 15. 1); Marcellus was grandson of Asinius Pollio, and inherited his talent for oratory. (Sen. Contr. IV. 3 and 4).

patronos, counsel.

M. Lepidus, etc.: for Lepidus see I. 13. 2; Lucius Piso was brother of the accused (II. 34. 1, IV. 20. 4); of Regulus nothing is known.

arrecta: with expectation; followed by dependent question.

senatus suos, his private feelings.

12. 2. legatum: he was governor of Hither Spain (Further Spain being a senatorial province); consul with Tiberius B.C. 7.

3. contumacia . . . laetatus esset: this, the mildest supposition, was yet a serious offence.

4. nam, etc.: Tacitus here passes abruptly to the direct discourse.

imperatorem, his commander,—Germanicus.

non vi principia: i.e. it being a private quarrel, the offence shall be punished as a private one.

5. cuiuscumque mortalium: no matter what his station.
ambitionem studia militum, arma repetita provincia, an falsa haec in maius vulgaverint accusatores, quorum ego
nimiis studiis iure succenseo. Nam quo pertinuit nu-
dare corpus et contractandum vulgi oculis permittere,
differique etiam per externos tamquam veneno inter-
ceptus esset, si incerta adhuc ista et scrutanda sunt?
Def leo equidem filium meum semperque deflebo: sed
neque reum prohibeo quo minus cuncta proferat, quibus
innocentia eius sublevari aut, si qua fuit iniquitas Ger-
manici, coargui possit, vosque oro ne, quia dolori meo
causa conexa est, obiecta crimina pro approbatis ac-
cipiatis. Si quos propinquus sanguis aut fides sua pa-
tronos dedit, quantum quisque eloquentia et cura valet,
iuivate periclitantem. Ad eundem laborum, eandem con-
stantiam accusatores hortor. Id solum Germanico super
leges praestiterimus, quod in curia potius quam in foro,
apud senatum quam apud iudices de morte eius aquir-
ritur; cetera pari modestia tractentur. Nemo Drusi
lacrimas, nemo maestitiam meam spectet, nec si qua in
nos adversa finguntur.

Exim biduum criminibus obiciendis statuitur, utque sex
dierum spatio interiecto reus per triduum defendere-
tur. Tum Fulciniius vetera et inania orditur, ambitioso
avareque habitam Hispaniam; quod neque convictum

6. repetita: on his return to
Syria, after the death of Germanicus.

7. quo, what end.

differit, to let the report be spread.
tamquam: Intr. 35 j.

8. iniquitas, unfairness.

10. praestiterimus: future per-
fect,—'This I have done: I shall
do nothing more.'

in curia: see 10, 3 n. and II.

11. spectet, have regard to; be
biased by.

si qua ... finguntur: knowing
the suspicious entertained of him-
self.

12. 2. habitam: i.e. as legis-
(see 12, 3 n.).

convictum, defensum: parti-
ciples,—if proved, if disproved;
noxae and absoluetionis are datives
of service.
noxae reo, si recentia purgaret, neque defensum absolu-

tioni erat, si teneretur maioribus flagitis. Post quem
Servaeus et Veranius et Vitellius consimili studio, et
multa eloquentia Vitellius, obiecere odio Germanici et
rerum novarum studio Pisonem vulgus militum per li-
centiam et sociorum injurias eo usque corruptisse ut
parens legionum a deterrimis appellaretur; contra in
optimum quemque, maxime in comites et amicos Ger-
manici saevisse; postremo ipsum devotionibus et veneno
peremisse; sacra hinc et immersiones nefandas ipsius
atque Plancinae, petitam armis rem publicam, utque
reus agi posset, acie victum.

14 Defensio in ceteris trepidavit; nam neque ambitio-

enem militarem neque provinciam pessimo cuique obnox-

iam, ne contumelias quidem adversum imperatorem in-

fitari poterat; solum veneni crimen visus est diluuisse,

quod ne accusatores quidem satis firmabant, in convivo

Germanici, cum super eum Piso discumeret, infectos

manibus eius cibos arguentes. Quippe absurdum vide-
batur inter aliena servitia et tot adstantium visu, ipso

Germanico coram, il ausum; offerebatque familiam reus

et ministros in tormenta flagitatbat. Sed iudices per

3. per licentiam, etc.: see II. 55. 4.
devotionibus: II. 69. 5; for
sacra and immolationes, II. 75. 3.
veneno: Vitellius argued non
potuisse ob venenum cor Germanici
Caesaris cremari (Plin. N. H. XI.
187).

acie victum: II. 81. 4.

14. in ceteris: explained by
solum veneni crimen.
trepidavit, nos modo.
obnoxiam, exposita; he allowed
all manner of license.

2. super eum discumeret: the
place of honor at a banquet for the
most distinguished guest was inmus
in medio lecto, while the host re-
clined summis in uno lecto. Piso,
therefore, occupying the former
place, was partly behind Germani-
cus, where his movements might be
unobserved by him.

3. offerebat . . . flagitatbat: he
offered the testimony of his own
slaves (familiam), and demanded
that of the attendants (ministros)
serving at the time.

4. sed: although the charge of
poisoning fell through.
diversa implacabiles erant, Caesar ob bellum provinciae inlatum, senatus numquam satis credito sine fraude Germanicum interisse. * * scripsissent expostulantes, quod haud minus Tiberius quam Piso abnuere. Simul populi ante curiam voces audiebant: non temperaturos manibus, si patrum sententias evasisset; effigiesque Pisonis transierant in Gemonaiae ac divellebant, ni iussu principis protectae repertaeque forent. Igitur inditus lecticae et a tribuno praetoriae cohortis deductus est, vario rumore, custos saluti an mortis exactor sequeretur.

Eadem Planinae invidia, maiore gratia; eoque am. 15 biguum habebatur quantum Caesari in eam liceret. Atque ipsa, donec mediae Pisonis spes, sociam se cuiuscumque fortunae et, si ita ferret, comitem exitii promittetabat. Ut secretis Augustae precibus veniam obtinuit, paulatim segregari a marito, dividere defensionem coepit. Quod reus postquam sibi exitiabile intellegit, an adhuc experiretur dubitans, hortantibus filii durat mentem senatumque rursum ingreditur; redintegratamque accusationem, infensus patrum voce, adversa et saeva cuncta perplexus, nullo magis exterritus est quam quod Tiberium sine miseratione, sine ira, obstinatum clausumque vidit, ne quo adfectu perrumpetur. Relatus

scripsissent: there is here a gap, as Nipperdey thinks, of considerable length, containing some change in the conduct of the trial, a commerediae (adjournment), and production of new evidence. Another gap (the other side of the same torn leaf) is found 16. 3.
6. In Gemonaiae: the stairs which led from the Arx, or northern summit of the Capitolium, to the prison at its foot (cf. V. 9. 3).
divellebant ei., etc.: a condensed form of condition common in Tacitus.
repositae: i.e. in their place of honor.
16. quantum . . . liceret: i.e. by Livia, as is shown below.
2. medias: i.e. not hopeless.
4. quod: his wife's demeanor.
experiretur: a. ius: doubling whether to continue his defence.
nullo = nulla re: earlier writers use this form substantively only as masculine.
ne . . . perrumpetur: whether by feeling or influence from without.
domum, tamquam defensionem in posterum meditaretur, pausa conscrbit obsignatque et liberto tradit; tum solita curando corpori exsequitur. Dein multam post nocem, egressa cubiculo uxore, operiri fores iussit; et coepta luce perfosso iugulo, iacente humi gladio, repertus est.

16 Audire me memini ex senioribus visum saepius inter manus Pisonis libellum, quem ipse non vulgaverit; sed amicos eius dictitavisse, litteras Tiberii et mandata in Germanicum contineri, ac destinatum promere apud patres principemque arguere, ni elusus a Seiano per vana promissa foret; nec illum sponte extinctum, verum immisso percussore. Quorum neutrum asseveraverim; neque tamen occulere debui narratum ab ipsis qui nostram ad iuventam duraverunt.

3 Caesar flexo in mæstitiam ore suam invidiam tali morte quæsítam apud senatum crebrisque interrogationibus exquirit, qualem Piso diem supremum noctemque exegisset. Atque illo pleraque sapienter, quaedam inconsiderius respondente, recitat codicillos a Pisone in hunc ferme modum compositos: 'Conspirazione inimicorum et invidia falsi criminis oppressus, quætenuus veritati et innocentiae meae nusquam locus est, deos immortales testor vixisse

5 meditaretur, was composing. in posterum: sc. diem.
solita . . . corpori: i.e. bath, dinner, etc.
16. mandata in Germanicum: i.e. the commission to destroy him. It is not at all improbable that Tiberius privately gave him the commission to watch over the young man, and exercise a certain restraint over him (see II. 43. 3 n.). destinatum (sc. quibus ei: cf. I. 47. 1), he had intended. Seiano: see I. 24. 3 n.
2. duraverunt, lasted, continued in life.
3. crebris, etc.: the passage here omitted evidently contained the mention of some person—perhaps Piso's son, perhaps his freedman mentioned above—who was introduced and questioned; he is referred to by illo below.
4. recitat: sc. Tiberius. The document referred to is that which Piso is said (15. 5) to have prepared, pausa conscrbit obsignatque.
5. quatenus, since (Intr. 35.)
me, Caesar, cum fide adversum te, neque alia in matrem tuam pietate; vosque oro liberis meis consulatis, ex quibus Cn. Piso qualicunque fortunae meae non est adiunctus, cum omne hoc tempus in urbe egerit, M. Piso repetere Suriam dehortatus est,—atque utinam ego potius filio iuveni quam ille patri seni cessisset. Eo impensius precor, ne meae pravitatis poenas innox. ius luat. Per quinque et quadraginta annorum obsequium, per collegium consulatus, quondam divo Augusto parenti tuo probatus et tibi amicus nec quicquam post haec rogaturus salutem infelicis filii rogo.' De Plancina nihil addidit.

Post quae Tiberius adulescentem crimine civilis belli 17 purgavit, patris quippe iussa nec potuisse filium detrectare, simul nobilitatem domus, etiam ipsius quoquo modo meriti gravem casum miseratus. Pro Plancina cum pudore et flagitio disseruit, matris preces obtendens, in quam optimi cuiusque secreti questus magis ardescebant: id ergo fas aviae, interfectricem nepotis aspicere, alloqui, eripere senatui; quod pro omnibus civibus leges obtineant, uni Germanico non contigisse; Vitellii et Veranii voce desiderant Caesarem, ab imperatore et Augusta defensam Placinam; proinde venena et artes tam feliciter expertas vereret in Agrrippinam, in liberos eius, egregiamque aviam ac patrum sanguine miserrimae domus exsatiaret. Biduum super hac imagine cognitionis absumptum, urgente Tiberio liberos Pisonis matrem uti tuerentur. 5

Et cum accusatores ac testes certatim perorarent 7

1. dehortatus est: see II. 76. 2.
2. flagitio, *a sense of disgrace*; cf. gloria; I. 8. 2 n.
3. collegium consulatus: see II. 12. 2 n.
5. patrum: see I. 33. 3 n.
17. adulescentem: Marcus Piso.
6. imagine cognitionis, *shadow of a trial*.
7. iussa: *sc. fuisse.*
respovdente nullo, miseratio quam invidia augebatur. 8 Primus sententiam rogatus Aurelius Cotta consul (nam referente Caesare magistratus eo etiam munere fungebantur) nomen Pisonis radendum fastis censuit, partem bonorum publicandam, pars ut Cn. Pisoni filio concederetur isque praenomen mutaret; M. Piso exuta dignitate et accepero quinquagiosi sestertio in decem annos relegaretur, concessa Planclinae incolumitate ob preces Augustae.

18 Multa ex ea sententia mitigata sunt a principe: ne nomen Pisonis fastis eximereetur, quando M. Antonii, qui bellum patriae fecisset, Iuli Antonii, qui domum Augusti violasset, manerent. Et M. Pisonem ignominiae exemit concessitque ei paterna bona, satis firmus, ut saepe memoravi, adversum pecuniam et tum pudore absolutae Plancinae placabilior. Atque idem, cum Valerius Mes-
salinus signum aureum in aede Martis Ultoris, Caecina
Severus aram Ultioni statuendam censuisset, prohibuit,
ob externas ea victorias sacrari dictantis, domestica mala
tristitia operienda. Addiderat Messalinus Tiberio et
Augustae et Antoniae et Agrippinae Drusoque ob vin-
dictam Germanici grates agendas omiseratque Claudii
mentionem. Et Messalinum quidem L. Aspresen senatu
5
coram percontatus est an prudens praeterisset; ac tum
demum nomen Claudii adscriptum est. Mihi, quanto
plura recentium seu veterum revolvo, tanto magis ludi-
бриa rerum mortalium cunctis in negotiis obversantur.
Quippe fama spe veneratione potius omnes destinaban-
tur imperio quam quem futurum principem fortuna in
occulto tenebat.

Paucis post diebus Caesar auctor senatui fuit Vitellio
atque Veranio et Servaeo sacerdotia tribuendi; Fulcinio
 summons ad honores pollicitus monuit ne facundiam
violentia praecipitaret. Is finis fuit ulscenda Ger-
manici morte, non modo apud illos homines qui tum
agebant, etiam secutis temporibus vario rumore iactata.
Adeo maxima quaeque ambigua sunt, dum alii quoquo
modo audita pro obhāptētis habent, alii vera in contra-

this year (cf. 34. 8); for Caecina,
see l. 31. 2.
signum aureum: i.e. of Mars
Ultor: this and the altar to Ven-
geance were prohibited by the
emperor from a praiseworthy feeling.
ob externa, etc.: the same sen-
timent as that which forbade a tri-
umph for victory in a civil war.
4. omiserat...mentionem: on
account of his alleged imbecility.
tum demum, not until then.
5. quem: Claudius.
6. auctor fuit: i.e. he made
the nomination.
7. sacerdotta tribuendi: the pri-
esthoods were very wealthy corpo-
rations, and additional members were
often admitted to them for the sake
of the profit.
praecipitaret, ruin.
2. ulscenda...morte: we
should expect here the dative after
finia. Some editions insert in.
non modo, etc.: belongs with
iactata; sed is understood before
etiam.
agebant: see l. 68. 1 n.
dum = since, as often in Tac-
tius.
TACITUS.

4. rium vertunt, et gliscit utrumque posteritate. At
Drusus urbe egressus repetendis auspiciis, mox ovans
introit. Paucosque post dies Vipsania mater eiuς ex-
cessit, una omnium Agrippae liberorum miti obitu: nam
ceteros manifestum ferro vel creditum est veneno aut
fame extinctos.

20. Eodem anno Tacfarinas, quem priore aestate pulsum
a Camillo memoravi, bellum in Africa renovat, vagis
primum populationibus et ob pernicitatem inultis, dein
vicos excindere, trahere graves praedas; postremo haud
procul Pagyda flumine cohortem Romanam circumcedit.

9. Praeerat castello Decius impiger manu, exercitus mili-
tia et illam obsidionem flagitii ratus. Is cohortatus
milites ut copiam pugnae in aperto facerent, aciem pro
castris instruit. Primoque impetu pulsa cohorte prompt-
tus inter tela occursat fugientibus, increpat signiferos,
quod inconditis aut desertoribus miles Romanus terga
daret; simul excepta vulnera et quamquam transfosso
oculo adversum os in hostem intendit, neque proelium
21. omissit, donec desertus suis caderet. Quae postquam
L. Apronio (nam Camillo successerat) comperta, magis
dedecore suorum quam gloria hostis anxius, raro ea tem-

_utrumque_: i.e. the true and the
false.
4. repetendis auspiciis: see 11. 11
Vipsania: see I. 12. 6 n.
5. ceteros: of the children of
Agrippa by his second wife, Mar-
cella (II. 50. 1 n.), nothing is known.
By Julia he had, besides Agrippina,
whose fate is still to be narrated,
Gaius and Lucius, who were believed
to have been poisoned (I. 3. 3),
Agrippa Postumus (I. 6), and Julia,
whose death appears to have been
natural (IV. 71. 6), although in exile.

20. aestate: really three
years before (see II. 52). Probably
the meaning is _a former summer_
(cf. 11. 1).
excindere, trahere: historical
ininitive, joined inelegantly with
populationibus.

Pagyda: this river is unknown.
3. inconditis aut desertoribus: see II. 52. 2.
vulnera, os: objects of intendit;
his wounds were in front.
raro . . . faciencr: ablatius of
manner; the accusative of apposi-

At Romae Lepida, cui super Aemiliorum decus L. 22

- fusti necat: the punishment for desertion and cowardice. As in the stoning of the Jews, each soldier took a stone or club, and beat the offender until he was dead.
- vexillum veteranorum: see L. 17. 3 n.
- hastae: sc. pura; a headless spear, a gift of honor to soldiers.
- civicam coronam: of oak-leaves; the special reward for saving the life of a citizen.
- iure proconsulis: it seems he had ventured to grant an honor which he thought should more properly come from the emperor. So Suetonius says (Jul. 39), corripuit consulares exercitibus praeposita quod de tribuendis quibusdam militariis dennis ad se referrent, quasi non omnium tribuendorum ipsi suos haberent.
- aspernantibus: giving up, having been unsuccessful in this enterprise.
- spargit bellum: carries it into every part of the country.
- ubi instaretur: the subjunctive of repeated action; relates to what follows.
- illigatus: i.e. Tacfarinas. For the asyndeton, see Intr. 35 f.
- legionum: see p. 1 n.

22. cui ... erant: her father, Lucius Aemilius Lepidus, married Cornelia, daughter of Faustus Sulla.
Sulla et Cn. Pompeius proavi erant, defertur simulavisce
partum ex P. Quirinio divite atque orbo. Adiecantur
adulteria venena, quaesitumque per Chaldaeos in domum
Caesaris, defendente ream Manio Lepido fratre. Quirinio
post dictum repudium adhuc infensus quamvis
infami ac nocenti miserationem addiderat. Haud facile
quis dispeixerit illa in cognitio mentem principi: adeo
vertit ac miscuit irae et clementiae signa. Deprecatus
primo senatum ne maiestatis crimina tractarentur, mox
M. Servillium e consularibus aliosque testes illexit ad
proferenda quae velut reicere voluerat. Iademque servos
Lepidae, cum militari custodia habenterunt, transtulit ad
consules neque per tormenta interrogari passus est de
iis quae ad domum suam pertinent. Exemit etiam
Drusum consulem designatum dicendae primo loco sen-
tentiae; quod alii civile rebantur, ne ceteris assentiendi
necessitas fieret, quidam ad saevitiam trahebant: neque
23 enim cessurum nisi damnandi officio. Lepida ludorum

(son of the dictator) by Pompeia
dughter of the great Pompey).
She had been divorced from Quiri-
nia twenty years before (Suet. Vit.
49), and had afterwards married
Scaurus (23. 3). For Quirinius, see
II. 30. 4.
2. quaesitum: sc. esse; imper-
sonal.
Manio Lepido: see 11. 2.
3. Quirinius ... infensus, the
continued resentment of Quirinius
(Intr. 35 §).
dictum, pronounced.
haud facile ... signa: i.e. he
was really impartial.
velut: in this word lies the impu-
tation of hypocrisy; — he instigated
to the charge which he had just
refused to entertain. The grounds
of the charge of maritatus appear to
have been partly quaesitum ...
Caesaria (2), partly her betrothal
to Lucius Caesar (23. 1).
5. militari custodia: probably
of the pretorian cohorts. Their
transfer from the care of his own
body-guard to that of the consuls
was a guarantee of impartiality.
liis: i.e. the charges of maritatus.
6. consulem designatum: the
consul-elect was called upon for his
sententia before the consular.
officio: limita cessurum [Adu-
saes]: his withdrawal of Drusus
was regarded as an indication that
he wished the defendant condemned,
but Drusus relieved of the obloquy,
—very puerile reasoning.
23. ludorum: probably the Laudi
Romani, which were celebrated
Sept. 4–19. The occurrence of this
festival interrupted the trial.
diebus, qui cognitionem intervenerant, theatrum cum
claris feminis ingressa, lamentatione fœbili maiores suos
ciens ipsumque Pompeium, cuius ea monumenta et ad-
stantes imagines visebantur, tantum misericordiae per-
movit ut effusi in lacrimas saeva et detestanda Quirinio
clamitarent, cuius senectae atque orbitati et obscurissi-
mæ domui destinata quondam uxor L. Caesari ac divo
Augusto nurus dedueretur. Dein tormentis servorum
patefacta sunt flagitia itumque in sententiam Rubelli
Blandi, a quo aqua atque igni arcebatur. Huic Drusus
assensit, quamquam alii mitius censuisset. Mox Scou-
ro, qui filiam ex ea genuerat, datum ne bona publica-
rentur. Tum demum aperuit Tiberius compertum sibi
etiam ex P. Quirini servis veneno eum a Lepida pe-
titum.

Illustrium domuum adversa (et enim haud multum

distanti tempore Calpurnii Pisonem, Aemili Lepidam
amiserant) solacio adfectit D. Silanu familiae
redditus. Casum eius paucis repetam. Ut valida divo
Augusto in rem publicam fortuna, ita domi impospera

cognitionem: Inst. 35.
theatrum: ac Pompeii: situated
on the Campus Martius, west of the
Capitoline. It was the largest the-
atre in Rome, and the earliest con-
structed of stone. Some remains of
it still exist.
culius... imagines: cf. 23.1.
effusi: the audience.
senectae atque orbitati: Suet-
tonius (Tib. 49) gives this case as
one of the earliest proofs of Tiber-
rius' degeneracy: procedente max
temore etiam ad rapinas converti
amnum. Dio also (LVII. 19) 
places this change for the worse
after the death of Germanicus.
Tactes, however, constantly testi-
sifies that Tiberius at this period was

firma aduersum pecuniam (18.2).
See also below.

2. itumque in sententiam, it
was sued; the vote was taken by
going to one side or the other (pe-
dibus ire). This Rubellius Blandus
was father of the more distinguished
Rubellius Plautus.

3. ne bona publicarentur: this
sufficiently disproves the charge of
Suetonius, mentioned above.

4. tum demum, etc.: this sup-
pression of a part of the evidence
against her shows that Tiberius did
not seek her condemnation.

44. adversa: construed with
solacio adfectit, which is used, like
solari, with the accusative of that
for which consolation is offered.
fuit ob impudicitiam filiae ac nepis, quas urbe depulit
3 adulterosque earum morte aut fuga punivit. Nam cul-
pam inter viros ac feminas vulgarum gravem nomine laesa-
rum religionum ac violatae maiestatis appellando clemen-
tiam maiorum suasque ipse leges egregiebat. Sed
aliorum exitus, simul cetera illius aetatis memorabo, si
effectis in quae tetendi plures ad curas vitam produixer.
5 D. Silanus in nepti Augusti adulter, quamquam non ultra
foret saevitum quam ut amicitia Caesariis prohiberetur,
exsilium sibi demonstrari intellexit, nec nisi Tiberio
imperante deprecari senatum ac principem ausus est
M. Silani fratern potestia, qui per insignem nobilitatem
6 et eloquentiam praecelletbat. Sed Tiberius gratia agenti
Silano patribus coram respondit se quoque laetari, quod
frater eius e peregrinatione longinquaque revortisset; idque
iure licuit, quia non senatus consulto, non lege pulsus
7 foret; sibi tamen adversus eum integras parentis sui
offensiones, neque reeditu Silani dissoluta quae Augustus
voluissest. Fuit posthac in urbe neque honores
adepstus est.
25 Relatum deinde de moderanda Papia Poppaea, quam

2. filiae ac nepis: see I. 6, 3 n.
3. vulgarum, which had become
common.
4. suas leges: i.e. de adulteritis;
he had chosen to treat the crime of
adultery in his own household as
implying and treason.
5. egregiebat, disregarded (Intr.
35 4).
6. memorandum: Tacitus appears
to have had the plan of writing a
history of Augustus, which would
have served as an introduction to
the Anabas.
7. ut . . . prohiberetur: such
prohibition was a severe penalty, as
the right to visit the emperor and
claim his friendship appears to have
been open to all to whom it had not
been forbidden. Momms. Rom. St.
II. 781. Cf. II. 70. 3.
imperante: i.e. in his reign.
6. non senatus consulto, etc.: he
had been banished solely by the
will of the emperor.
7. quae . . . voluissest: i.e. the
renunciation of friendship (5).
28. Papa Poppaea: ac lege:
the law passed in the reign of Au-
gustus, A.D. 9, for the regulation of
marriage, and its encouragement by
offering privileges to those with fam-
ilies, and imposing penalties or dis-
abilities upon the unmarried (28. 4).
A.D. 20.] ANNALES. 219

senior Augustus post Iulias rogationes incitandis caeli-
bum poenis et augendo aerario sanzerat. Nec ideo con-
iugia et educationes liberum frequentabantur, praevalida
orbitate; ceterum multudo perlicitantium gliscebat,
cum omnis domus delatorum interpretationibus subver-
teretur, utque antehac flagitiis, ita tunc legibus labora-
batur. Ea res admonet ut de principiis iuris, et quibus
modis ad hanc multitudinem infinitam ac varietatem
legum perventum sit, altius disseram.

Vetustissimi mortalium, nulla adhuc mala libidine, sine probro scelere, coque sine poena aut coercitionibus
agebant. Neque praemiiis opus erat, cum honesta suopte
ingenio peterentur; et ubi nihil contra morem cuperent,
nihil per metum vetabantur. At postquam exui aequali-
tas et pro modestia ac pudore ambitio et vis incedebat,
provenere dominationes multoque apud populos aeter-
num mansere. Quidam statim, aut postquam regum
pertaesum, leges maluerunt. Hae primo rudibus homi-
um animis simplices erant; maximeque fama celebravit
Cretensium, quas Minos, Spartanorum, quas Lycurgus,

It made more stringent and compre-
hydro the provisions of the early
part of his reign (post Iulias ro-
gationes), B.C. 28 and 18. The
consideration of its importance in
the history of legislation suggests
the digression which follows.
augendo aerario: by the fines
and forfeitures which it prescribed.
2. praevalida, preceding in
men’s tastes and preferences. Fur-
neaux suggests that it refers to the
social power that childlessness con-
sferred (see 48. 4, praepotentem senec-
tem).
interpretationibus: the strained
constructions of these laws by which
the delators secured convictions and
forfeitures.
laborabatur, the community suf-
fered.
28. 2. honesta, virtue, in a
concrete sense; a frequent use of
the neuter plural of adjectives.
suopecta ingens, from its own
mature = on its own account.
nihil: secondary object after ve-
tabatur.
dominationes: the rule of kings;
this was permanent (aeternum
mansere) with the nations of the
East. The Greeks and Romans
(quidam) chose a republican form
of government,—a government of
law instead of irresponsible will
(leges maluerunt).
ac mox Atheniensibus quaesitiores iam et plures Solo
5 perscrisit. Nobis Romulus ut libitum imperitaverat;
6 dein Numa religionibus et divino iure populum devinit,
repertaque quaedam a Tullo et Anco; sed praecipuus
Servius Tullius sanctor legum fuit, quis etiam reges
27 obtemperarent. Pulso Tarquinio adversum patrum fac-
tiones multa populus paravit tuendae libertatis et fir-
mandae concordiae, creatique decemviri et accitis qua
usquam egregia compositae duodecim tabulae, finis aequi
a iuris. Nam secutae leges etsi aliquando in maleficos
ex delicto, saepius tamen dissociensione ordinum et api-
scendi illicitos honores aut pellendi claros viros aliquae
3 ob prava per vim latae sunt. Hinc Gracchi et Saturn-
nini turratores plebis, nec minor largitor nomine sena-

Atheniensibus: here is an ana-
colathon, arising from a change in
construction; supply in thought some
such expression as ras guas.
5. ut libitum: the institutions
of Romulus—senate, comitia, etc.—
were those of self-government; but
tradition represented him as having
created them by his sole authority.
quae dam, some enactments, going
to substitute the rule of law for that
of the individual.
6. obtemperarent: the subjunc-
tive expresses the intent of Servius,
the supposed founder of the repub-
llican constitution.
27. patrum, the senate. The
popular rights gained in the early
republic—such as the Valerian law
of appeal (pro vocatus) and the auxi-
ilium of the tribunes—were for
the protection of all, patricians as
well as plebeians, against the arbi-
trary power of the government.
tuendae libertatis: Intr. 35 n.
creati decemviri: B.C. 451, for
the purpose of codifying and amending
the laws. On this occasion an
embassy was sent to Greece to ex-
amine the laws, and a Greek named
Hermodorus accompanied the em-
bassey back to Rome, in order to
assist in the codification. This is re-
ferred to by the phrase accitis [it]
quae usquam egregia [erant].
finis aequi iuris, the last piece
of impartial legislation.
2. secutae leges: the sketch here
is very cursory, and the reference
indefinite. A period of three hun-
dred years is passed over with this
brief mention.
dissensione ordinum: this
began long before the time of the
Decemvirs, and the abuses here
spoken of were already rife. Among
the distinguished men banished were
Coriolanus, Camillus, and Metellus
Numidicus.
apiscendi: this construction
(Intr. 35 n) is rare with the gerund.
per vim latae sunt: the use of
violence in the elections and legisla-
tive assemblies began about the time
of the Gracchi (B.C. 133 and 123).
The legislation of Saturninus was
tus Drusus: corrupti spe aut illusi per intercessionem socii. Ac ne bello quidem Italicum, mox civili, omissum quin multa et diversa sciscerentur, donec L. Sulla dictator abolitis vel conversis prioribus, cum plura addidisset, otium eius rei haud in longum paravit, statim turbidis Lepidi rogationibus, neque multo post tribunis redditas licentias quoquo vellent populum agitandi. Tumque non modo in commune, sed in singulos homines latae quaestiones, et corruptissima re publica plurimae leges. Tum Cn. Pompeius, tertium consul corrigendis

B.C. 106. Drusus, B.C. 91, grandfather of the empress Livia, urged reforms in the interest of the senatorial order itself.

3. corrupti, etc.: a principal item of the proposed reforms of Marcus Livius Drusus (B.C. 91) was the admission of the Italian allies (socii) to the citizenship. Their disappointment in this was the cause of the Social or Italian War, which followed the next year; and immediately after (most) came the civil war of Marius and Sulla.

per intercessionem: i.e. of the tribunes. Each one of the ten tribunes was invested with the power of blocking the actions of the others; as a result, the hopes held out by one party were baffled by the obstructions placed in the way by the other.

4. prioribus (neuter), former. Sulla got the upper hand B.C. 52, and held unlimited power for about three years.

plura: the legislation of Sulla was very broad and radical, in the interest of the senate. Many of his reforms were permanent; a part were soon repealed (see below).

elius rei: i.e. from the violent changes of party and abrupt changes in policy.

turbidis Lepidi rogationibus: ablative absolute. Marcus Lepidus, father of the triumvir, was consul B.C. 78, and attempted to overthrow the legislation of Sulla. tribunis redditis licentias: Sulla took away from the tribunes a great part of their power, especially in regard to making laws; but it was restored to them in the first consulship of Pompey, B.C. 70.

5. In commune, with a general jurisdiction; i.e. as a permanent institution.

in singulas homines latas quaestiones: not privativa, or laws directed against individuals (like modern bills of attainder), but, rather, special courts organized to try individual offenders, as in the case of Milo, B.C. 52.

corruptissima, etc.: the greatest number of laws when society was most corrupt.

B.C. 52, tertium consul: in B.C. 52, after several months of anarchy, Pompey was made sole consul (absens et solus, quod multi alii sumptum contigerit, Liv. Epit. CVII.), and proceeded to re-establish order by the severe use of his extraordinary powers. For the last five months of the year he took his father-in-law, Metellus Scipio, as colleague.
moribus delectus; sed gravior remediis quam delicta erant, suarumque legum auctor idem ac subversor, quae armis tuebatur armis amissit. Exin continua per viginti annos discordia, non mos, non ius; deterrima quaque impune ac multa honesta exitio fuere. Sexto demum consulatu Caesar Augustus, potentiae securus, quae triumviratu iussaret abolevit deditque iura, quis pace et princepe eteremur. Acriora ex eo vincula, inditi custodes et lege Papia Popaea praemis inducti, ut, si a privilegiis parentum cessaretur, velut paren omnium populus vacantia teneret. Sed altius penetrabant urbemque et

gravior, etc.: his remedies were more dangerous than the disorders that they sought to abolish.

subversor: his consulship was in violation of the law which required an interval of ten years between two successive occupations of the same magistracy (he had been consul B.C. 55). Moreover, after procuring the passage of a law forbidding the candidacy of any person absent from the city, he inserted a clause in the law, making an exception in the case of Cesar; the clause was, of course, legally invalid. He also used his personal influence to secure the acquittal of Metellus Scipio on a charge of bribery.

quae armis tuebatur: from the year of his second consulship (B.C. 55) he held the proconsulship of Spain, which he governed by ius clietti remaining himself in the neighborhood of Rome. During his third consulship, therefore (B.C. 52), he was at once consul and proconsul, and thus armed with extraordinary military power.

armis amissit: by the civil war with Cesar.

per viginti annos: in round numbers; the civil war began B.C. 49, and was finally ended by the victory of Augustus at Actium, B.C. 31. The reign of force did not, however, cease until the formal establishment of the empire, B.C. 37, exitio: especially in the proscriptions in the Second Triumvirate (of Antony, Lepidus, and Cesar Octavianus).

sexto consulatu: B.C. 38 (see note on I. 1. 3 and 2. 1).

quae...iusserat: the violent and illegal measures of the triumvirate.

iura, the rule of law.

pace et principi: object of eteremur: the emperor was the guarantor of peace. — l'empire c'est la paix.

acriora... vincula, more severe restraints.

custodes: ex legem: referring to the informers, through whom the machinery of the laws was set in motion (see Intro. 13). The law excluded the unmarried from inheritance; the childless received only half of the property; while a large share fell to the informer. The rest went to the state (populus vacantia teneret).

vacantia: having no legal heir.

penetrabant: i.e. the informers; they began to assail all citizens, wherever they were.
Italianam et quod usquam civium corripuerant, multorumque excisi status. Et terror omnibus intentabatur, ni Tiberius statuendo remedio quinque consularium, quinque e praetorii, totidem e cetero senatu sorte duxisset, apud quos exsoluti plerique legis nexus modicum in praesens levamentum fuere.

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 irrisu auditantium postulavit. Praetendebat sibi atque fratri decreta eadem petente Augusto. Sed neque tum fuisse dubitaverim qui eius modi preces occulti illude rent: ac tamen initia fastigii Caesaribus erant magisque in oculis vetus mos, et privignis cum vitrico levior necessitudo quam avo adversum nepotem. Additur pontificatus et quo primum die forum ingressus est congiarium plebi admodum laetae, quod Germanici stirpem iam

excial status: they were ruined.  
6. quinque consularium, etc.: these formed a commission, who were to mitigate the severity of the law.  
nexus: Instr. 35 s.  
29. Neronem: the eldest child of Germanicus, now about thirteen years old. For his fate see V. 1–3.  
vigintiviratus: the name given collectively to a number of inferior magistracies, including the triumviri capite, triumviri monetales, etc. They had no connection with each other as magistracies, but were associated together in the series of honores. One of them must be held before the questorship.  
quinquennio, etc.: the legal age for the questorship in the empire was twenty-five, 
2. sibi atque fratri: for Tiberius, B.C. 24; for Drusus, B.C. 19.  
turn: ite. in the time of Augustus. The request was then excusable, because the empire was but just founded (initia fastigii), and, besides, the relation (necessitudo) was less close than in the present case. 
3. pontificatus: according to Nipperdey, this is a mistake, or a confusion with his brother Drusus, Nero's pontificate being found upon no inscription.  
forum ingressus est: the formal entering upon life as a citizen, after assuming the iuga virilis. Suetonius says (Tab. 54): Neronem et Drusum patribus conscripsit commendavit diem pro quo tesi consiarium plebi datus celebravit. plebi: see I. 8. 3 n.
4. nuptiis Neronis et Iuliæ: Nero had before been betrothed to
the daughter of Néron (II. 43. 3).
5. filio Claudii: named Drusus;
he died shortly after.
6. videbatur: se. Tiberius.
ultra, beyond measure.
80. 2. neque egressa, etc.: i.e.
none of the family before him had
held any higher office.
consulatum intulit: as consul
suffectus, R.C. 12.
censoria ... functus: the office
of censor, after being suspended for
some years, was restored by Augustus,
who, in accordance, as Mommsen
remarks, with the original consti-
tution of the republic, exercised
its functions as consul. It was abol-
ished by Domitian (Momm. Röm. St.
II. 310). That part of their duties
which consisted in an annual inspec-
tion of the turmae equitum (II.
83. 5), July 15, he intrusted to a
special triumviratus ... recogno-
sendit turmae equitum (Suet. Oct.
37), to which Volusius probably be-
longed. Tacitus, therefore, in using
the word curuling (legenda), is, as
Mommsen says, inexact (id. 368).
3. C. Sallustius ... auctor:
the historian, Sallust.
in nomen acscivit: by adoption,
the person adopted taking the name
of his adoptive father (cf. I. 8. 2).
4. Mæcenatem aemulatus:
Mæcenas never cared for political
office, but continued a member of
the equestrian order.
luxu: dative.
A.D. 21.] ANNALS. 225

quo somnum et inertiam magis ostentabat. Igitur in 6 coli
m Mæcenate proximus, mox præcipuus, cuì secretæ
imperatorum initterentur, et interficiendi Postumì Agrippa
cæ conscius, aetate provecta speciem magis in amicitia
principis quam vim tenuit. Idque et Mæcenate accide
rat, fato potentiae raro sempiterneæ, an satias capit aut
illos, cum omnia tribuerunt, aut hos, cum iam nihil
reliquum est quod cupiant.

Sequitur Tiberii quartus, Drusi secundus consulatus, 81
patri\æ atque fili\æ collegio insignis. Nam biennio ante
Germanici cum Tiberio idem honor neque patrua laetus
neque natura tam conexus fuerat. Eius anni principio 8 Tiberius quasi firmandæ valetudini in Campaniam
cessit, longam et continuum absentiam paulatim medi
tans, sitve ut amoto patre Drusus munia consulatus solus
impleret. Ac forte parva res magnum ad certamen 3
progressa praebuit iuveni materiem apiscendi favoris.
Domitius Corbulo praetura functus de L. Sulla nobili 4
iuvene questus est apud senatum, quod sibi inter spec
tacula gladiatorum loco non decessisset. Pro Corbulone 5
aetas, patrius mos, studia seniorum erant: contra Ma-

5. quo ... ostentabat: he made a pretence of indolence.
6. mox: i.e. after the death of
Mæcenas.
interficiendi ... conscius: see
I. 6. 6.
7. potentiae (genitive), personal
influence, like that of Mæcenas;
limits fato.
8. iuvene: or it may be; see I. 13. 7.
illos: the princes; hos: the
favourites.
81. Tiberii, etc.: Dio Cassius
says (LVII. 20) that many prognos
ticated misfortune to Drusus, be
due every colleague of Tiberius
had met an evil fate,—Varus, Piso,
and Germanicus; afterwards Sejanus
also.
biennio: the consulship of Tibe
rius and Germanicus, A.D. 18, was
not two years before, but with an
interval of two years.
2. longam ... absentiam: five
years later he left the city (IV. 57),
and never returned to it. On this
occasion he was absent a year.
4. Domitius Corbulo: cannot
have been the distinguished general
who died A.D. 67, in the prime of
life; probably his father.
inter ... gladiatorum: the law
of the republic assigned the sena
tors special seats in the theatre;
mercus Scaurus et L. Arruntius aliique Sullae propinqui
nitembantur. Certabantque orationibus et memorabatur
exempla maiorum, qui iuventutis irreverentiam gravibus
decretis notavissent, donec Drusus apta temperandis
animis disseruit; et satisfactum Corbuloni per Mamericum,
qui patruus simul ac vitricus Sullae et oratorum
7 ca aetate uberrimus erat. Idem Corbulo plurima per
Italian itineria fraude mancipum et incuria magistratu-
tum interrupta et impervia clamitando, executionem
eius negotii libens suscepit; quod hau d perinde publice
usu habitum quam exitiosum multis, quorum in pecu-
niam atque famam damnationibus et hasta saeviebat.
32 Neque multo post missis ad senatum litteris Tiberieu
motam rursum Africam incursu Tacfarinatis docuit, iudic-
cioque patrum deligendum pro consule gnarum militiae,
* corpore validum et bello suffecturum. Quod initium

but in the amphitheatre and circus
this was not done until the reign of
Claudia.

6. patruus, vitricus, uncle (on
the father’s side, Scaurus and the
elder Sulla being half-brothers), step-
father (Scaurus having married the
widowed mother of Sulla). He had
himself been before married to Le-
pids (33. 3). This Sulla was de-
scended from the Publius Sulla whom
Cicero defended in an extant ora-
tion.

7. magistratum: the curatores
curarum, established by Augustus.
executionem, management; i.e.
prosecution.

publice usual, advantageous to
the public.

hasta, confiscation: the hasta was
the sign of an auction sale, an exe-
cution being levied upon the insol-
vent contractors.

saeviebat: in the reign of Calig.
ula Corbulo allowed himself, by these
prosecutions, to be made an agent
of gross extortion (Dio, LIX. 15);
but the sums extorted were refunded
by Claudius (id. LIX. 17).

32. rursum: see 20. 1.

iudicio patrum: Africa, al-
though it had an army, was a sena-
torial province (see Intr. 18. A. 2),
and the governor was regularly ap-
pointed by lot; the two oldest con-
sulars being assigned to the two
wealthiest and most honorable sena-
torial provinces, Africa and Asia. On
this occasion, owing to the military
exigency, Africa was withdrawn from
the lot, and Lepidus, the oldest con-
sular, was to receive Asia in course.
This gave an opportunity to his
enemy, Pompeius, to urge that this
province too should be made an ex-
ception: the judgment of the em-
peror implying that Lepidus was
 unfit for Africa, Pompeius argued
that this proved him unfit for Asia
as well.
Sex. Pompeius agitandi adversus Marcum Lepidum odii nactus, ut socordem, inopem et maioribus suis dedecorum eoque etiam Asiae sorte depellendum incusavit, adverso senatu, qui Lepidum mitem magis quam ignavum, paternas ei angustias et nobilitatem sine probro actam honorii quam ignominiarum habendam ducerat. Igitur missus in Asiam, et de Africa decretum ut Caesar legeret cui mandanda foret.

Inter quae Severus Caecina censuit ne quem magistratuum, cui provincia obvenisset, uxorum comitaretur, multum ante repetito concordem sibi coniugem et sex partus exequram, seque quae in publicum statueret domi servavisser, cohibita intra Italiam, quamquam ipse pluris per provincias quadraginta stipendia explevisset. Haud enim frustra placitum olim ne feminas in socios aut gentes externas traherentur: inesse mulierum comitatu quae pacem luxur, bellum formidine morentur et Romannum agmen ad similitudinem barbari incessus convertant. Non imbecillum tantum et imparem laboribus.
sexum, sed si licentia adsit, saevum ambitiosum potes-
tatis avidum; incidere inter milites, habere ad manum
centuriones; praesedisse nuper feminam exercitio co-
hortium, decursu legionum. Cogitarent ipsi, quotiens
repetundarum aliqui arguerentur, plura uxoribus obiec-
tari; his statim adhaerescere deterrimum quemque pro-
vincialium, ab his negotia suscipi transigi; duorum
egressus coli, duo esse praetoria, pervicacibus magis et
impotentibus mulierum iussis, quae Oppis quondam
alisque legibus constrictae, nunc vinculis exsolutis do-

34 mos fora iam et exercitus regerent. Paucorum haec
assensu audita; plures obturabant neque relatum de
negotio, neque Caecinam dignum tantae rei censorem.

Mox Valerius Messalinus, cui parens Messalla ineratque
imago paternae facundiae, respondit multa duritiae vete-
rum melius et laetius mutata; neque enim, ut olim, ob-
sideri urbem bellis aut provincias hostilis esse. Et
paucarum necessitatibus concedi, quae ne coniu-

 praesedissae, etc.: see II. 55. 5.

4. quotiens, etc.: as often as
such charges are made, the weight
of them falls upon the women. The
charge of repetundae (i.e., rob-
bery) is that of extortion in the provinces
(demand for restitution). The court
for the trial of such offences, the
earliest of the permanent courts,
quae ex laetitia, was founded
b.c. 149.

coli: this refers to the suite or
throng of followers who accom-
ppanied the governors and their wives.
praetoria, governor's residence or
headquarters.

Oppis ... legibus: the Oppian
classic law, passed b.c. 215, regulated the
dress and ornament of women, and

84. similae: the matter
had not been formally brought
before the senate by the consuls.

2. Messalinus: the same who
is called Messalla, I. 8. 5.

paterne facundiae: his father,
the distinguished soldier and patron
of literature in the reign of Augustus,
was, as an orator, nitidus et candidus
et quodammodo praefert in dicendo
nobilitatem suam, viribus minor
(Ques. X. 1. 113).

multa duritiae, many features
of the harshness; cf. multa laudis et
artium, 55. 6; Intr. 35 d.

mellius ... mutata: i.e. it was
better that they had been changed.
Pfitzner.

obsideri urbem bellis: the Op-
pian law was passed in the time of
the war with Hannibal.

3. consilium...penates: i.e. the harmony and well-being of the household.

adeo non: much less.

promiscua cum marito: they received no more consideration than their husbands would have received by themselves.

4. plane, to be sure.

at: anticipates an objection.

7. ignaviam, neglect.

9. luxur: dative.

10. praesenti: while the husband is present.

sic: explained by ut...memnissent—on this condition: hortent is hortatory subjunctive.

alibi: in the provinces.
munium liberorum parente divelleretur. Sic Caecinae
sententia elusa est.

Proximo senatus die Tiberius per litteras, castigatis
oblique patribus quod cuncta curarum ad principem rei-
cerent, M'. Lepidum et Iunium Baeum nominavit, ex
quis pro consule Africæ legeretur. Tum audita ambo-
rum verba, intentius excusante se Lepido, cum valetudi-
num corporis, aetatem librum, nibilem filiam obtendê-
ret, intellegeturque etiam quod silebat, avunculum
esse Seiani Baeum atque eo prævalidum. Respondit
Baeusus specie recusantis, sed neque eadem assevera-
tione, et consensu adulantium haud iutus est.

Exim promptum quod multorum intimis questibus
tegobatur. Incedebat enim deterrimo cuique licentia
impune probræ et invidiam in bonos excitandi, arrepta
imagine Caesaris; libertique etiam ac servi patrono ve
domino, cum voces, cum manus intentarent, ultro metue-
bantur. Igitur C. Cestius senator disserruit principes
quidem instar deorum esse, sed neque a dis nisi iustas
supplicum precæ audiri, neque quemquam in Capitolium

85. proximo . . . die: the sen-
ate sat regularly at this period on
the Kalends and Ides.

86. quod . . . reierent: in referring
to him the selection of a governor
for Africa, 32. 3.

cuncta curarum: cf. cuncta ter-
rarum, Hor. Od. II. 1. 23; Intr.
35. 2.

M'. Lepidum, etc.: for Lepidus,
see 1. 13. 2; for Baeusus, l. 16. 2.

3. aetatem, usque.

tutatur: has for subject
the following clause.

3. haud iutus est: i.e. in his
refusal, which they believed to be
insincere.

86. promptum: sc. est, came to
tight.

deterrimo cuique: dative of ad-
vantage with incedebat, increased.
arrepta . . . Caesaris: i.e. in the
nature of an asylum (cf. IV. 67. 6).
What was intended as a protection
against abuse, was converted into a
means of covert attacks. It is re-
lated, for example, by Philostratos
(Apol. l. 15); that it was an
offence to chastise a slave who held
in his hand a coin stamped with the
image of the emperor.

patronus: relating to liberti, as
dominus to servi; the dominus of
the slave became the patronus of
the freedman.

2. neque . . . utatur: the male-
factor who made an asylum of the
temple of a god was compared to
aliave urbis templo perfugere ut eo subsidio ad flagitia utatur; abolitas leges et funditus versas, ubi in foro, 3 in limine curiae ab Annia Rufilla, quam fraudis sub iudicce damnavisset, probara sibi et minae intendatur, neque ipse audeat ius experiri ob effigiem imperatoris oppositam. Haud dissimilia alii et quidam atrociora 4 circumstrepabant, precabanturque Drusum daret ut lationis exemplum, donec accitam convictamque attineri publica custodia iussit. Et Considius Aequus et Gaius Cur. 87 sor equites Romani, quod fictis maiestatis criminibus Magium Caecilianum praetorem petivissent, auctore principe ac decreto senatus puniti. Utrumque in 9 laudem Drusi trahebatur: ab eo in urbe, inter coetus et sermones hominum obversante, secreta patris mitigari. Neque luxus in iuvene adeo displicebat: hoc 3 potius intenderet, diem aedificionibus, noctem conviviis traheret, quem solus et nullis voluptatibus avocatus maestam vigiliantiam et malas curas exerceret. Non 88 enim Tiberius, non accusatores fatiscabant. Et Anacharius Priscus Caesium Cordum pro consule Cretae postu-

the guilty slave who was protected by the image of the emperor.

3. versas: cf. II. 42. 4; Instr. 35 A.

damnavisset: i.e. had brought about her conviction; the words sub iudicce imply that it was a jury trial. oppositam: held out against him in her hand.

4. precabanturque, etc.: as the fault in suffering this abuse lay in the officers and the courts, a representative of the emperor was called upon to correct it.

accitam, etc.: sc. Anniam.

37. 2. utrumque, &c. &c.; the punishment of Annia and that of these two men.

secretas, the sullen tyranny.

3. luxus: Drusus is represented (I. 29. 4 and 76. 5) as cruel in disposition, but no charge has been made of licentiousness. His luxury seems to have consisted partly in erecting magnificent buildings (aedificationibus). solus, etc.: these words point to the alleged characteristics of his father’s rule; and yet nothing has so far appeared to throw upon him the burden of the charges. He was undoubtedly severe by nature, and disposed to let the laws have their course. In the case of Annius in the next chapter, the punishment appears to have been merited.

88, et: introduces an illustration of the general statement; cf. II. 50. 1.
laverat repetundis, addito maiestatis crimen, quod tum omnium accusationum complementum erat.

Caesar Antistium Vetrem e primoribus Macedoniae, absolutum adulterii, increpitis iudicibus ad dicendum maiestatis causam retransit, ut turbidum et Rhescuporidis consiliis permixtum, qua tempestate Cotye [fratre] interfecto bellum adversus nos volverat. Igitur aqua et igni interdictum reo, appositumque ut teneretur insula

neque Macedoniam neque Thraeciam opportuna. Nam Thraecia diviso imperio in Rhoe metalcen et liberos Cotys, quis ob infantiam tutor erat Trebellianus Rufus, insolentia nostri discors agebat neque minus Rhoe metalcen quam Trebelliunum incusans popularium iniurias

inultas sinere. Coelaletae Odrusaeque et Dii, validae nationes, arma cepere, ducibus diversis et paribus inter se per ignobilitatem; quae causa fuit ne in bellum

atrox coalescerent. Pars turbant praesentia, alii montem Haemum transgrediuntur, ut remotos populos concinerent; plurimi ac maxime compositi regem urbemque

Philippopolim, a Macedone Philippo sitam, circumsi-

*repetundia* : the usual construction is the genitive, *repetundarum* (*i.e.* crimine).

*complementum* : every charge dragged that of treason along with it.

2. *Rhescuporidis consilia* : see II. 64-67; as Cotys is there shown to have been the nephew of Rhescoporis, the word fratre is bracketed.

3. *opportuna, accrescere.*


*insolentia* : abl.; because they were not used to our rule; nostri is objective genitive.

*discors* : *i.e.* the tributes and other impositions of the Romans they regarded as *iniuriae*.

*were inflicted by Trebellianus and submitted to by Rhoe metalcen.*

* sinere* : the infinitive after *incusus* is very rare (cf. VI. 3. 3; Iust. 35 I).

5. *Odrusae* : an ancient and powerful nation of Thrace, the nucleus of the kingdom; the two other nations are insignificant.

*paribus . . . ignobilitatem* : of equally mean extraction.

6. *Haemum, the Baldwin, which separated Thrace from Moesia.*

*maxime compositi, those best organized.*

*regem* : Rhoe metalcen.

*Philippopolim* : the modern Philippopolis, in the valley of the Haemus. It was founded by the father of Alexander the Great.
dunt. Quae ubi cognita P. Vellaco (is proximum exerci-
tum praesidebat), alarios equites ac levis cohortium
mittit in eos qui praeabundii aut assumendis auxiliis
vagabantur, ipse robur peditum ad exsolvendum ob-
sidium ducit. Simulque cuncta prospere acta, caesis
populatoribis et dissensione orta apud obsidentes regis-
que opportuna eruptione et adventu legionis. Neque
aciem aut proelium dici decuerit, in quo semermi ac
palantes trucidati sunt sine nostro sanguine.

Eodem anno Galliarum civitates ob magnitudinem aeris alieni rebellionem coeptavere, cuius extimulator
acerrimus inter Treveros Iulius Florus, apud Aeduos
Iulius Saccovir. Nobilitas ambobus et maiorum bona
facta, eoque Romana civitas olim data, cum id rurum
nec nisi virtuti pretium esset. Il secretes colloquibus,
fericissimo quoque assumpto aut quibus ob egestatem

89. exercitum: after praeside-
bat (Intr. 35 b); cf. praesidius ex-
crisita, 33. 5. The army in question
is that of the province of Mons, of
which Velzus was governor, having
succeeded Pomponius Flaccus (II.
66. 3).
alaros equites, auxiliary cav-
ality (see 1. 49. 6 n.).
cohortium: Intr. 35 d.
2. populatoribus = those qui
vagabrantur. The besiegers fell out
among themselves, and were then
routed by a sally from the town and
the arrival of the relieving force.
40. eodem anno, etc.: this re-
bellion of Florus and Saccovir was
the only formidable uprising in Gaul
after that of Vercingetorix, and shows,
says Mommsen (Roman. Proem. 1. 88),
"the hatred towards the foreign rul-
ers, which still at that time prevailed
in the land and particularly among
the nobility." The armies of the
Rhine, Mommsen thinks, were as
important for keeping Gaul quiet,
as for holding the Germans in check.
aeris alieni: incurred to pay the
tributes and meet the other require-
ments of Rome,—including private
debts, which were enforced by the
government. Mommsen maintains
that the taxes and financial distress
were only the pretext for the rebel-
lion, not its real cause.
Treveros: a tribe in the province
of Belgica, represented by Treves
in Rhenish Prussia. The Abdul were
in Burgundy. These leaders, Florus
and Saccovir, as well as Indus (42. 3),
took the name of Julius, in accord-
ance with usage, from Julius or Au-
gustus Caesar, to whom they owed
their citizenship.
2. rurum: Augustus civitatem Ro-
manam parsissime dedid (Suet. Oct.
45); but from the time of Claudius
citizenship became very cheap.
ac metum ex flagitiis maxima peccandi necessitudo, componunt Florus Belgas, Sacrovir propiores Gallos concire. Ignitus per conciliabula et coetus seditionosa disserabant de continuatione tributorum, gravitate faenoris, saevitia ac superbia praesidantium; et discordare militem audito Germanici exito. Egregium resumendarum libertati tempus, si ipsi florentes, quam inops Italia, quam imbellis urbana plebes, nihil validum in exercitu bus nisi quod externum, cogitaret. Haud ferme ulla civitas intacta seminibus eius motus fuit; sed erupere primi Andecavi ac Turoni. Quorum Andecavos Acilius Aviola legatus excita cohorte, quae Lugduni praesidium agitabat, coercuit. Turonii legionario milite, quem Velleius Varro inferioris Germaniae legatus miserat, oppressi eodem Aviola duce et quibusdam Galliarum primoribus, qui tulere auxilium quo dissimularent defectionem magisque in tempore efferrent. Spectatus et Sacrovir intecto capite pugnam pro Romanis ciens, os-

3. component, make an agreement.
4. conciliabula: the conciliabula was in Italy the name of a class of villages inferior to the civitates (municipia and colonies); the word may here be used in general for villages, but is probably used, as etymologically it may be, to indicate public gatherings. In either case it designates assemblies regularly convened or of a public character, while coetus are irregular gatherings called for some special purpose.

andecav... exitio; governed by disserrabant; this afforded a favorable opportunity for revolt.
5. inops: sc. easset; depending on cingitaren. This is a significant indication of the economic decay of Italy, discussed in Tiberiu's speech, 52-54.

externum: even the Roman legions were now chiefly composed of natives of the provinces.
41. Andecavi [the Aedes of Cesar] et Turoni: represented by the modern Angers (Anjou) and Tours, upon the Loire.
2. cohorte: sc. civium Romainorum (I. 8. 3 a.).
Lugduni, Lyons: capital of Gallia Lugdunensis.
3. legionario milite: this, too, appears from 46. 3 to have been a single cohort.
Velleius Varro: he had succeeded Cecina (I. 31. 2).
primoribus: in the same construction as Aviola.
effertent, proclam, as well as dissimularent, govern defectionem. They saw that a rising at this time must fail, and therefore
tentanda, ut ferebat, virtutis; sed captivi ne inces-
sreretur telis agnoscedum se praebuisse arguebant.
Consultus super eo Tiberius asperratus est indicium
aluitque dubitatione bellum.

Interim Florus insistere destinatis, pellicere alam 43
equirit, quae conscripta e Treveris militia disciplinaque
nostra habebatur, ut caesis negotiatoribus Romanis bel-
lum inciperet; paucique equitum corrupti, plures in offi-
cio mansere. Aliud vulgus obaeratorum aut clientium 4
arma cepit; petebantque saltus, quibus nomen Arduenna,
cum legiones utroque ab exercitu, quas Visellius et C.
Silius adversis itineribus obiecerant, arcuerrunt. Prae-
missusque cum delecta manu Iulius Indus e civitate
eadem, discors Floro et ob id navandae operae avidior,
inconditam multituidinem adhuc disiecit. Florus incer-
tis latebris victores frustratus, postremo visis militibus,
qui effugia in sederant, sua manu cecidit. Isque Treve-
rici tumultus finis.

Apud Aeduos maior moles exorta, quanto civitas 48

concealed their complicity, and de-
ferred action until a more favorable
opportunity (magis in tempore); their example was followed by Sa-
crovir himself.

4. agnoscedum: i.e. his bare
head would cause him to be recog-
nized by the insurgents, with whom
he had a secret understanding.

35 n. 43. destinatis, his purpose.

42. habebatur: under the
empire the auxillary troops were
organized (militia) and disciplined
after the Roman model, and their
divisions were permanent.

negotiatoribus: not merchants,
as in later times, but bankers and
money-lenders. They were looked
upon as the instruments of the
executions.

2. obaeratorum aut clientium: Cesar (B. G. I. 4) mentions these
same classes as composing the re-
tainers of Orgetorix.

Arduenna: the great forest of
Ardennes stretched at this time from
the territory of the Remi (Reni) to
the neighborhood of the Rhine.

utroque ab exercitu: i.e. that
of Upper Germany, under Silius,
and that of Lower Germany, under
Visellius.

3. e civitate eadem: the Tre-
veri.

4. effugia: his means of escape.
opulentior et comprimendi procul praesidium. Augustodunum caput gentis armatis cohortibus Sacrovir occupaverat et nobilissimam Galliarum subolem, liberalibus studiis ibi operatam, ut eo pignore parentes propinquosque eorum adiungeret; simui arma occulte fabricata s iuventutis disperit. Quadrupinta milia fuere, quinta sui parte legionaris armis, ceteri cum venabulis et cultris 3 quaque alia venantibus tela sunt. Adduntur e servitiis gladiaturae destinati, quibus more gentico continuum ferri tegimen: cruppellarios vocant, inferendis ictibus 4 inhabiles, accipiendi impenetrabiles. Augebantur eae copiae vicinarum civitatum ut nondum aperta consensione, ita virtim promptis studiis, et certamine 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 et sexaginta Galliarum civitates descivisse, assumptos in societatem Germanos, dubias Hispanias, cuncta, ut mos famae, in maius credita. Optimus quisque rei publicae cura maerebat; multi odio praesentium et cupi-
dine mutationis suis quoque periculis laetabantur, increpabantque Tiberium quod in tanto rerum motu libellis accusatorum insumeret operam. An Sacrovirum maiestatis criminem reum in senatu fore? Exstitisse tandem viros, qui cruentas epistulas armis cohiberent. Miseram pacem vel bello bene mutari. Tanto impensius in securitatem compositus, neque loco neque vultu mutato, sed ut solitum per illos dies egit, altitudine animi, an comperaret modica esse et vulgatis leviora.

Interim Silius, cum legionibus duabus incedens, praecipue missa auxiliari manu vastat Sequanorum pagos, qui finium extem et Aeduis contemini sociique in armis erant. Mox Augustodunum petit propero agmine, certantibus inter se signiferis, fremente etiam gregario militi, ne suctam requiem, ne spatia noctium opperiretur: viderent modo adversos et aspicerentur; id satis ad victoriam. Duodecimum apud lapidem Sacrovir copiaeque patentiibus locis apparuerer. In fronte statuerat ferratos, in cornibus cohortes, a tergo semerros. Ipse inter primores equo insigni adire, memorare veteres Gallorum glorias quaeque Romanis adsensisset; quam decoris victoribus libertas, quanto intolerantior

(Longnon, Atlas historique de la France). Of these Augustus made sixty, and four had been added since.
2. libellis accusatorum: see II. 29. 2.
3. cruentas epistulas: for examples of such letters, common in the last years of Tiberius, see IV. 70. 1; VI. 9. 2: no instances have as yet appeared. Does not Tacitus here project the memories of the reign of terror into an earlier period?
4. altitudine: not softness, but dissimulation, or perhaps reticence. modica: i.e. the insurrection.

The experienced general and statesman is entitled to the benefit of this explanation, seeing that his coolness was justified by the event.

46. Sequanorum: the Sequani (of Franche Comté) bordered the Eduli to the east, and their districts adjoining the Eduli had taken part in the rebellion.
2. signiferis: of the two legions. These, as officers, are contrasted with gregario militi.
4. altitudine: in their impatience.
adversus, face to face.
3. duodecimum ad lapidem: i.e. from Augustodunum.
4. ferratos: the cruppellarii; by
servitus iterum victis. Non diu haec nec apud laetos; etenim propinquabat legionum acies, inconditique ac militiae nescii oppidani neque oculis neque auribus satis competebant. Contra Silius, etsi praesumpta spes hor-tandi causas exemerat, clamitabant tamen pudendum ipsis quod Germaniaram victores adversum Gallos tamquam in hostem ducerentur. 'Una nuper cohoris rebellem Turunum, una ala Treverum, paucae huius ipsius exercitus turmæ profugavere Sequanos. Quanto pecunia dites et voluptatibus opulentos, tanto magis imbelles

Aeduos evincite et fugientibus consulite.' In gens ad ea clamor, et circumfudit eques frontemque pedites invasere, nec cunctatum apud latera. Paulum morae attulere ferrati, restantibus laminis adversum pila et gladios; sed miles correptis securibus et dolabris, ut si murum perrumperet, caedere tegmina et corpora; quidam trudibus aut furcis inertem molem prosterne, iacentesque nullo ad resurgendum nisi quasi examines linquebantur.

Sacrovir primo Augustodunum, dein metu deditonis in villam propinquam cum fidissimis pergit. Ilic sua manu, reliqui mutuis ictibus occidere; incensa super villa omnès cremavit.

cohortes are the fully equipped soldiers; by seermosis, those cum venabulis, etc. (43: 2).
4. iterum: having once been subdued by Cæsar.
46. oppidani, towns-people (students, etc.; see below, pecuniae
dites, etc.
neque . . . competebant: they lost their senses from panic.
3. Turunum, Treverum: the singular for the plural.
4. voluptatibus opulentos, rich in pleasures: i.e. made effeminate by pleasure (Andersen). The comparison is between the Eedu and these less wealthy nations. evincite: see App. I. consultit = parcit.
6. restantibus = residentibus, nullo . . . nsu: on account of the weight of their armor.
7. villam: either a farm-house (villa rustica), or more probably a country-seat (villa urbana).
super, over their heads.
ac virtute legatos, se consiliiis superfluisse. Simul causas 1
cur non ipse, non Drusus profecti ad id bellum forest
adiuñxit, magnitudinem imperii extollens, neque deco-
rum principibus, si una alterave civitas turbet, omissa
urbe, unde in omnia regimen. Nunc, quia non metu 3
ducatur, iterum, ut praesentia spectaret componeretque.
Decrevere patres vota pro reditu eius supplicationesque
et alia decora. Solus Dolabella Cornelius, dum anteire 4
ceteros parat, absurdam in adulationem prograeus, cen-
suit ut ovans e Campania urbem introiret. Igitur secu-
tae Caesaris litterae, quibus se non tam vacuum gloria
praedicabat ut post ferocissimas gentes perdonitas, tot
receptos in iuventa aut spretos triumphos, iam senior
peregrinationis suburbanae inane praemia peteret.

Sub idem tempus, ut mors Sulpicii Quirini publicis 49
exsequis frequentaretur, petivit a senatu. Nihil ad a
veterem et patriciam Sulpiciorum familiam Quirinius
pertinuit, ortus apud municipium Lanuvium; sed impi-
ger militiae et acribus ministeriiis consultatum sub divo
Augusto, mox expugnatis per Ciliciam Homonadensium
castellis insignia triumphi adeptas, datuque rector Gaio
Caesari Armeniam obtinenti. Tiberium quoque Rhodi 3

47. superfluæae, had been on
hand—shown themselves prepared;
in contrast with the panic of the
senators and others (Phil.ner).
2. decorum principibus: an
infinitive may be supplied from pro-
fecti... forest.
unde... regimn: the source
of all authority and administration.
4. a Campania: see 31. 2; Phi-
lusner thinks that this refers to an
entrance from this direction after his
visit to Gaul; the words peregrina-
tionis suburbanae, however, show
that an immediate entrance was in-
tended.

48. Sulpicii Quirini: see 22. 1;
also II. 30. 4.
2. apud municipium: the in-
habitors of the Italian towns were
of course plebeian, while the Sulpi-
cii were an ancient patrician gens.
consultatum: B.C. 12.
insignia triumphi: I. 73. 1 re-
ctor Gaio Caesari: the same
relation in which Sejanus stood to
Drusus in his mission to the Pan-
nonian army (I. 24. 3).
agentem coluerat; quod tunc patefecit in senatu, laudatis in se officis et incusato M. Lollio, quem auctorem
4 Gaio Caesaris pravitatis et discordiarum arguebat. Sed ceteris haud laeta memoria Quirinii erat ob intenta, ut
memoravi, Lepidae pericula sordidamque et praepoten
tem senectam.

49 Fine anni Clutorium Priscum equitum Romanum, post celebre carmen quo Germanici suprema dceleverat, pe
cunia donatum a Caesare, corripuit delator, obiectans aegro Druso composuisse quod si extinctus foret maiore
praemio vulgaretur. Id Clutorius in domo P. Petronii,
socru eius Vitellia coram multisque illustribus feminis,
per vaniloquentiam legerat. Ut delator existit, ceteris
ad dicendum testimonium exterritus, sola Vitellia nihil
se audivisse asseveravit. Sed argentibus ad perniciem
plus fidei fuit, sententiaque Haterii Agrippae consulis
50 designati indicum reo ultimum supplicium. Contra
M. Lepidus in hunc modum exorsus est: ‘Si, patres
conscripti, unum id spectamus, quam nefaria voce Clu
torius Priscus mentem suam et aures hominum polluerit,
neque carcer neque laqueus, ne serviles quidem cruciatus,

3. M. Lollio: he preceded Quir
nium in this office, and appears to
have been bitterly hostile to Tibe
rius; Suetonius says (Tib. 12), pro
vignum Casum [Tiberius had mar
ried Julia, the mother of Gaius]…
aliisermi nobi sentis ex crimina
tionibus M. Lollio, committis et rectoris
eius. As Tiberius returned to Rome
the same year in which Lollius died
(A.D. 2), it seems probable that his
intercourse with Tiberius was at an
earlier date, when he was proconsul
of Asia; this explanation (suggested
by Mommsen) requires a period
after coluerat.
4. ut memoravi: 22. 3.

49. vulgaretur: he had the
poem ready to publish in case of
Drusus’ death; this was regarded
as speculating upon his death.
2. P. Petronii [Turpiliani]: see
VI. 45. 3; a friend of the emperor
Claudius, who, as governor of Syria,
opposed Caligula’s design of setting
up his own image in the temple at
Jerusalem.
4. arguentibus ad perniciem,
those who brought evidence for his
condemnation.
Agrrippae: see I. 77. 3.
Indicatum: not adjudged, but
proposed.
50. M. Lepidus: see I. 13. 2,
IV. 20. 4, and VI. 27. 4.
in eum suffecerint. Sin flagitia et facinora sine modo sunt, supplicii ac remediis principis moderatio maiorumque et vestra exempla temperant, et vana a scelentes dicta a maleficis differunt, est locus sententiae per quam neque huic delictum impune sit et nos clementiae simul ac severitatis non paeniteat. Saeepe audivi principem nostrum conquerentem si quis sumpta morte misericordiam eius praevenisset. Vita Clutorii in integro est, qui neque servatus in periculum rei publicae neque interfectus in exemplum ibit. Studia illi, ut plena vercordiae, ita inania et fluxa sunt; nec quiquam grave ac serium ex eo metuas qui suorum ipse flagitiorum proditor non virorum animis sed muliicularum adrepi. Cedat tamen urbe et bonis amissis aqua et igni arcessatur; quod perinde censeo ac si lege maiestatis teneretur. Solus Lepido Rubellius Blandus e consularibus assensit; veteri sententiam Agrrippae secuti, ductusque in carcere Priscus ac statim examinatus. Id Tiberius solitis sibi ambagibus apud senatum incusavit, cum extolleret pietatem quamvis modicas principis injuriias acriter uliscientium, deprecaretur tam praecipitis verborum poenas,

2. sin . . . differunt: this protasis describes not the case in hand, but the prevailing condition of things at the time. The apodosis begins with est locus.

3. temper, moderate; temper justice with mercy.

3. saeepe audivi: see II. 31. 4; III. 16. 3.

4. in integro: he was still alive, and they might spare the emperor this regret. To spare his life would not involve a danger, nor would his death be a warning.

6. censeo, propose: although he did not think him guilty of treason, he was willing to punish it as treason in this degree. This crime was limited to offences against the emperor and his mother (cf. IV. 34. 3). The penalty here proposed was the legal punishment for treason.

51. ductuque, etc.: this is an instructive illustration of the power of punishment still exercised by the senate, independent of the emperor. In this case no direct responsibility rests upon Tiberius; but no doubt his pedantic insistence upon the strict exercise of judicial forms (IV. 30. 4 and Intr. 15) was an incitement to severity.

2. ambagibus, obscurity of speech. pietatem, loyalty; the word sig-
TACITUS.  

§ 2  

C. Sulpicius D. Haterius consules sequuntur, inturbidus externis rebus annus, domi suspecta severitate adversum luxum, qui immensum proruperat ad cuncta quis pecunia prodigitur. Sed alia sumptuum, quamvis graviora, dissimulatis plerumque pretii occultabantur; ventris et genae paratus assiduis sermonibus vulgati fecerant curam ne princeps antiquae parsimoniae ductus adverteret. Nam incipiente C. Bibulo ceteri quoque aediles disseruerant sperni sumptuariam legem

§ 3  

nubis dutiful affection towards a father, and the prince stood towards his people as a father.

3. decrcta: this word, properly describing the action of the presiding magistrate, is used as "completely synonymous with consulatum" (Momms. Rom. 3. III. 994).  

ante diem decimum: cf. Suet. Tib. 75; see App. I.  

ad aeraarium: the senatus consultum were deposited in the treasury, in the temple of Saturn. This gave them validity. In early times they were under the care of the plebeian aediles in the temple of Ceres.  

4. non... mitigabatur: this law worked no improvement, for the Senate was not allowed to reconsider its judgment in this interval, nor did the emperors, as time went on exercise his prerogative of mercy.  

§ 3  

C. Sulpicius [Galba]: brother of the emperor Gallus.  
D. Haterius [Agrippa]: 49. 4;  

if. II. 51. 2: son of Quintus Haterius, I. 13. 4.  

inturbidus: a word peculiar to Tacitus (Intr. 35 l.).  

annus: in apposition with C. . . . consules.  

suspecta severitate: ablative of characteristic, parallel with inturbidus.  

sermonibus, in usu usu.  

antiquae parsimoniae: Suetonius (Tib. 34) says the economy of Tiberius, pridium saepe ac semesa obsobia opposuit, dumdiutumque aiprum, afferma ornamenta cedere habere, quae latum.  

adverteret: used absolutely, with the meaning, take notice, punish.  

aediles: they had the superintendence of the markets.  

sumptuaria legem: i.e. the Julian law passed by Augustus, limiting the amount of expense upon banquets. Aulus Gellius (II. 34) mentions also six laws of the republic of the same general purport.
vetitaque utensilium pretia augeri in dies, nec mediocribus remediis siti posse. Et consulti patres integrum id negotium ad principem distulerant. Sed Tiberius
saepe apud se pensitato an coerceri tam profusae cupididines possent, num coercitio plus damni in rem publicam
ferret, quam indecorum attrectare quod non obtineret
vel retentum ignominiam et infamiam virorum illustrium posceret, postremo litteras ad senatum composit
quarum sententia in hunc modum fuit:

'Ceteris forsitan in rebus, patres conscripti, magis
expedit me coram interrogari et dicere quid est re
publica censeam; in hac relatione subtrahi oculos meos
melius fuit, ne denotantibus vobis ora ac metum singu
lorum qui pudendi luxus arguerentur, ipse etiam vide
rem eos ac velut deprehenderem. Quod si mecum ante
virii strenui aediles consilium habuissent, nescio an
suasurus fuerim omittere potius praevallis et adulta
vitia quam hoc assequi, ut palam fieret quibus flagitiis
imparis essesmus. Sed illi quidem officio functi sunt, ut
ceteros quoque magistratus sua munia implere velim:
imi autem neque honestum siere neque proloqui ex
peditum, quia non aedilis aut praetoris aut consulis par
tis sustineo. Maius aliquid et excelsius a principe
postulatur; et cum recte factorum sibi quisque gratiam

4. quam: interrogative — how
unsurprising it was, etc.
non obtineret, he could not carry
through; retentum has a condi
tional sense — even if secured.
§8, relations: with its tech
nical meaning; in the matter be
fore you.
ipse, etc.: as exercising the au
thority of censor.
2. strenui, vigorous in the exer
cise of official duties.
nescio an, etc., I should probably
have advised.
omittere: the use of the infinitive
after suadeo is poetic, and found in
Tacitus only in the Annals.
palam fieret, it should be pub
lished to the world.
3. proloqui, express my opinion.
partis sustineo, hold the office.
4. a principe: the emperor, too,
was a magistrate, having certain
definite functions, one of which
5 trahant, unius invidia ab omnibus peccatur. Quid enim primum prohibere et priscum ad morem recidere aggre-
diar? villarumne infinita spatio? familiarum numerum et nationes? argenti et auri pondus? aeris tabularum-
que miracula? promiscas viris et feminis vestes atque illa feminarum propria, quis lapidum causa pecuniae
nostre ad externas aut hostilis gentes transferuntur?

54 Nec ignoror in conviviis et circulis incusari ista et mo-
dum posci; sed si quis legem sanciat, poenas indicat,
idem illi civitatem verti, splendidissimo cuique exitium
parari, neminem criminis expertem clamitabant. At-
qui ne corporis quidem morbos veteres et diu auctos
nis per dura et aspera coerceris; corruptus simul et
corruptor, aeger et flagrans animus haud levioribus
remediis restituundus est quam libidinibus ardescit.

Tot a maioribs repertae leges, tot quas divus Augustus

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was to see that the others did their
duty.
unius: i.e. the prince, who has
to endure the unpopularity of bad
acts, while good ones are placed to
the credit of others (sibi quiesque
trahant).
5. villarum infinita spatio: the
peninsula was fast being converted
into pleasure-grounds and parks.
The word villa, which originally
meant "farm-house," then a country
residence, had now come to mean
an estate, with which meaning it
came down into the middle ages.
nationes: it was the pride of rich
Romans to have slaves of different
nations assigned to different em-
ployments. See XIV. 45: nationes in
familias habemus, quibus dresnas vi-
tus, externa sacra aus nulla sunt.
pondus: i.e. plate, returning to
solid metal, not to coined money.
aeris tabularumque, articles of
brass and paintings.

promiscas . . . vestes: delicate
stuffa and bright colors, formerly
worn by women alone, were coming
into use among men.

quae, through which, relating to
illa . . . propria.
lapidum, etc., jewels, etc. (illa
tabularum propria). Pliny the
elder (N. H. XII. 84) estimated
that at least one hundred million
sterling (85,000,000) annually went
to the East for spices, pearls, and
similar luxuries.

54. in conviviis et circulis: empty
decimation against the
abuses, with unwillingness to see
them corrected.

ideem illi: i.e. the same that
make the complaints.

verum = verei: Int. 35 6.
splendidissimo, of most sum-
ptuous life—applied especially to the
equites, the wealthy class.
2. corporis . . . auctos: chronic
diseases.
tulit, illae oblivione, hae, quod flagitiosius est, contemptu abolutae securiorem luxum fecere. Nam si velis quod nondum vetitum est, timeas ne vetere; at si prohibita impune transcenderis, neque metus ultra neque pudor est. Cur ergo olim parsimonia pollebat? Quia sibi quisque moderabatur, quia unius urbis cives eramus; ne irritamenta quidem eadem intra Italiam dominabantis. Externis victoriis aliena, civilibus etiam nostra consumere didicimus. Quantum istud est, de quo aediles admonent! Quam, si cetera respicias, in levi habendum! At hercle nemo refert, quod Italia externae opis indiget, quod vita populi Romani per incerta maris et tempestatum cotidie volvitur. Ac nisi provinciarum copiae et dominis et servitii et agris subverterint, nostra nos scilicet nemora nostraeque villae tuebuntur! Hanc, patres conscripti, curam sustinet princeps; haec omissa funditus rem publicam trahet. Reliquis intra animum medendum est: nos pudor, pau
cause of decay was not to be found in the petty details of luxury censured by the seculi, but in the conversion of all Italy into pleasuregrounds and pastures (nemorae villaeque), so that its inhabitants must be supported by tribute levied on all the rest of the world.

per incerta, etc.: relates to the perils of the sea, made necessary by this dependence of Italy upon foreign countries (quod Italia externae opis indiget).

hanc cursum: the management of the annona, or supply of corn, one of the most important functions of the government at this time. Another important truth—the disease was internal, not to be healed by superficial remedies.

Tiberius here identifies him-
peres necessitas, divites satias in melius mutet. Aut si quis ex magistratibus tantam industriam ac severitatem pollicetur ut ire obviam queat, hunc ego et laudo et exonerari laborum meorum partem fatero: sin accusare vita volupt, dein, cum gloriam eius rei adepti sunt, simulatas faciunt ac mihi relinquant, credite, patres conscripti, me quoque non esse offensionum avidum; quas cum graves et plerumque iniquas pro re publica suscipiam, inanes et irritas neque mihi aut vobis usui futuras iure deprecor.'

Auditis Caesaris litteris remissa aedilibus talis cura; luxusque mensae, a fine Actiaci belli ad c. arma quis Servius Galba rerum adeptus est, per annos centum pro fuis sumptibus exerciti paulatim exolevere. Causas eius mutationis quaerere libet. Dites olim familieae nobilium aut claritutine insignes studio magnificentiae prolabebantur. Nam etiam tum plebem socios regna colere et self with the senatorial order, — the governing class, which he contrasts with both rich and poor.

11. simulantes ... relinquant: they leave him to bear the brunt.
ne quoque non: stronger than ne me quisdem.
quoae, etc.: the necessary ones he is willing to undergo, however burdensome and thankless, — unnecessary ones (inanes et irritas), he excuses himself from. This letter of Tiberius displays high statesmanship and keen insight into the condition of the state. That he favors sumptuary laws is a sentiment that he shares with his times; but he sees that they can accomplish very little in the face of moral and economic causes of decay.

56. remissa, excused; i.e. from following up this line of official action (cf. I. 8. 6). The correction of the abuses was left to time and the working of moral forces, which at last appear to have been efficacious (paulatim exolevere).

a fine . . . adeptus est: the battle of Actium was A.D. 31; Galba began to reign A.D. 68.
reum: governed by adeptus est, after the analogy of potior; VI. 45. s. dominationis apicicer.
paulatim exolevere: i.e. after the hundred years ending with the death of Nero.
olim: i.e. during the one hundred years in question.
prolabebantur, fell into ruin; their passion for splendor, finding gratification in display and number of clients, drew upon them suspicion, and caused their overthrow.
3. socios: this term (cf. I. 79. 3 n.) was now applied to all provincials (Kuhn, Stádt. Verf. II. 22).
regna: many kings had remained
coli lictum; ut quique opibus domo paratu speciosus, per nomen et clientelas illustrior habebatur. Postquam caedibus saevitum et magnitudo famae exitio erat, ceteri ad sapientiora convertere. Simul novi homines e municipis et coloniis atque etiam provincis in senatum crebro assumpti domesticam parsimoniam intule-runt, et quamquam fortuna vel industria plerique pecuniosam ad senectam pervenirent, mansit tamen prior animus. Sed praecipuus astricti moris auctor Vespasianus fuit, antiquo ipse cultu victuque. Obsequium inde in principem et aemulandi amor validior quam poena ex legibus et metus. Nisi forte rebus cunctis inest 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 tuli. Verum haec nobis in maiores certamina ex honesto maneant.

Tiberii fama moderationis parta, quod ingruentis accusatores represserat, mittit litteras ad senatum, quis nominally independent, even within the limits of the provinces (Intr. 35?):
clientelas: the rich and noble gathered about themselves as clients all of inferior rank, as well as foreign cities and princes.
caedibus saevitum: the reign of terror, ending with Nero.
sapientiora: simpler tastes and habits of life, which exposed them to less danger.
municipalis, etc.: as Rome had ceased to be a mere city and had become a world-empire; first, citizens of the municipal towns of Italy, then citizens of the provinces rose to power and distinction, and even to the first place; the emperor Vespasian was a native of Reate in Italy, Trojan of Italica in Spain.
prior animus: referring to domesticam parsimoniam.

5. astricti, frugal.
Vespasianus: emperor, A.D. 69 to 79. He set an example of simplicity and frugality in high station, and from this time a marked improvement in morals is noticeable, in contrast to the extreme corruption of the early empire. See Boissier, La Religion Romaine, II. 193.

6. temporum, the seasons.
vertantus, go round in a cycle.
multa...imitanda, many praiseworthy examples.
certamina ex honesto, rivalry in virtue.

56. mittit litteras, etc.; see I. 10. 7 n.
potestatem tribuniciam Druso petebat. Id summi fastigi vocabulum Augustus repperit, ne regis aut dictatoris nomen assumeret ac tamen appellatione aliqua cetera imperia praemineret. Marcum deine Agrippam socium eius potestatis, quo defuncto Tiberium Neronom delegit, ne successor in incerto forcit. Sic cohiberi pravas aliorum spes rebatur; simul modestiae Neronis et suae magnitudini fidebat. Quo tunc exemplo Tiberius Drusum summæ rei admovit, cum incolumi Ger manico integrum inter duos judicium tenuisset. Sed principio litterarum veneratus deos ut consilia sua rei publicae prosperarent, modica de moribus adolescentis neque in falsum aucta rettulit. Esse illi coniugem et tres liberos eamque etatem, ipse quondam a divo Augusto ad capessendum hoc munus vocatus sit. Neque nunc propere, sed per octo annos capto experimento, compressis seditionibus, compositis bellis, tri-
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umphalem et bis consulem noti laboris participem sumi. Praeceptae animis orationem patres, quo quaesitor 67
adulatio fuit. Nec tamen repertum nisi ut effigies prin-
cipum, aras deum, templae et arcus aliaque solita cen-
serent, nisi quod M. Silanus ex contumelia consulatus
honorem principibus petivit dixitque pro sententia, ut
publicis privatisse monumentis ad memoriam 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
censuisset, deridiculo fuit senex foedissimae adulationis
tantum infamia usurus.

Inter quae provincia Africa Iunio Blaeso prorogata, 58
Servius Maluginensis flamen Dialis ut Asiain sorte ha-
beret postulavit, frustra vulgatum dictitans non licere

67. quaesitio, more studied.
2. nec repertum: they had al-
ready, in their servility, exhausted
all forms of adulation.
3. senex: he was too old to gain
anything but discredit by his pro-
sposition; adulationis limits infamia,
and the participle usurus may be
rendered by a relative clause,— with
would gain, etc. (I. 13. 2 n.). Ha-
terius was now about eighty years old.
58. Iunio Blaeso: see 35.
3. frustra vulgatum, an unfounded
notion: the flamen were priests of
special deities, fifteen in number, of
which the three here mentioned,—
of Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus,—
called flamines maiores, were re-
quired to be patricians. They en-
joyed peculiar sanctity and privileges,
and were at the same time subject to
several strict regulations, which were,
however, relaxed, except in the
case of the flamen of Jupiter, who
continued subject to a multi-
tude of petty restrictions, among
them noirem nonam extra urbem

mancum nefas (Liv. V. 52. 13); also
that he could not touch or even
name a goat, or uncooked meat, or
ivy, or beans (Gell. X. 15).
Dialibus egredi Italia, neque alius ius suum quam Martialium Quirinaliumque flaminnun: porro, si hi duisserant provincias, cur Dialibus id vetitum? Nulla de eo populi scita, non in libris caerimoniarum reperi. Saepe pontifices Dialia sacra fecisse, si flamini valetudine aut munere publico impediretur. Duo et septuaginta annis post Cornelii Merulae caedem neminem suffectum, neque tamen cessavisse religiones. Quod si per tot annos positis non creari nullo sacrorum damno, quanto facilius afuturum ad unius anni proconsulare imperium? Privatis olim simulatibus effectum ut a pontificibus maximis ire in provincias prohiberentur: nunc deum munere summum pontificum etiam summum hominum esse, non aemulati, non odio aut privatis affectionibus obnoxium. Adversus quae cum augur Lentulus alique varie dissererent, eo decursum est, ut pontificis maximini sententiam opperirentur.

50 neque alius, etc.: the flamens of Mars and Quirinus might take foreign commands.
reperi: i.e. any such restrictions.
2. pontifices: the supreme priests, to whom the flamens were subject. The argument of Maluginensis, that the pontiffs might as well perform these duties in his absence, was weak, because it was not so much for their performance as on account of the special sanctity of the person, that the flamens was placed under these disqualifications.
duo et septuaginta annis: see App. 1.
3. afuturum: se flaminnem.
4. a pontificibus maximis: see for this instance, Livy, XXXVII. 51.
nominatim arguens insolentiam sententiae aureasque litteras contra patrium morem. Recitatae et Drusi epistulae quamquam ad modestiam flexae pro superbissimis accipiantur. Huc decidisse cuncta, ut ne iuvenis quidem tanto honore accepto adiret urbis deos, ingredetur senatum, auspicia saltem gentile apud solum inciperet. Bellum scilicet, aut diverso terrarum distineri litora et lacus Campaniae cum maxime peragrantem. Sic imbei rectorem generis humani, id primum e paternis consilliis discere. Sane gravaretur aspectum civium senex imperator, fessamque aetatem et actos labores praetenderet: Druso quod nisi ex arrogantia impedimentum?

Sed Tiberius, vim principatus sibi firmans, imaginem antiquitatis senatui praebet, postulata provinciarum ad dispositionem patrum mittendo. Crebrescebat enim Graecas per urbes licentia atque impunitas asyla statuendi; complebantur tempula pessimis servitiorum; eodem subsidio obaerati adversum credores suspectique capitalium criminum receptabantur. Nec ullum satis validum imperium erat coerced of seditionibus populi, flagitia hominum ut caerimonias deum protegentis. Igitur placitum ut mittent civitates iura atque legatos. Et quaedam quod falsa usurpaverant sponte omisere; multae vetustis superstitionibus aut meritis in populum Roma-
num fidebant. Magnaque eius diei species fuit, quo
senatus maiorum beneficia, sociorum pacta, regum etiam
qui ante vim Romanam valuerant decreta, ipsorumque
numinum religiones introspexit, libero, ut quondam, quid
firmaret mutaretve.

61 Primi omnium Ephesii adiere, memorantes non, ut vul-
gus crederet, Dianam atque Apollinem Delo genitos; esse
apud se Cenchreum amnem, lucum Ortygiam, ubi Lato-
nam partu gravidam et oleae, quae tum etiam maneat,
adnism edidisse ea numina, deorumque monitu sacra-
tum nemus. Atque ipsum illic Apollinem post interfec-
tos Cyclopas Iovis iram vitavisse. Mox Liberum patrem,
bello victorem, supplicibus Amazonum quae aram insi-
derant ignovisse. Auctam hinc concessu Herculis, cum
Lydia poteretur, caerimoniam templ, neque Persarum
dicione deminutum ius; post Macedonas, dein nos serva-
isse. Proximi hos Magnetes L. Scipionis et L. Sullae
constitutis nitebantur, quorum ille Antiocho, hic Mithri-
date pulsis fidem atque virtutem Magnetum decoraveru
Diæ Leucophrynae: the temple of this goddess at Magnesia ranked in splendor and beauty next to those of Artemis at Ephesus and the Didymean Apollo at Miletus, among the temples of Asia Minor; her cult was similar to that of ‘Diana of the Ephesians’.

2. Aphrodiasia and Stratonicenses: the temple of Aphrodite at Stratonicia was one of the most important in Asia Minor.

3. Veneris: the temple of Venus was situated in Phrygia.

4. Diaem: this Diana appears to have been identical with the Ephesian Artemis. Her cult is described by Pausanias (V. 37. 3) at Hierocesarea as a kind of fire worship, conducted by a magian priest, in which wood laid upon the altar took fire of itself. The city of Hierocesarea was in Lydia.


Duobus millibus passuum: i.e. in every direction from the temple. This is illustrated by an inscription found at Oropus, in which it is stated that the temple of Amphiasius at that place received from Sulla a grant of immunity from public burdens, to which was added: "duobus millibus passuum: in quaque pecunia ut hic quoque aper sacrum sit."

Mommsen in Hermes, XX. p. 108.

5. Venetia: the island of Cythera was believed to have been the birthplace of Aphrodite, and the cities of Paphos and Salamis were the prin-
post filius cius Amathus Veneri Amathusiae et Iovi Salaminio Teucer, Telamonis patris ira profugus, posuisse
sent.

68 Auditae aliarum quoque civitatum legationes. Quorum copia fessi patres, et quia studiis certabatur, con-
sulibus permisere ut, perspecto iure et si quia iniquitas
involveretur, rem integram rursum ad senatum refer-
rent. Consules, super eas civitates quas memoravi,
apud Pergamum Aesculapii compertum asylum rettle-
runt; ceteros obscuris ob vetustatem initii niti: nam
Zymracoas oraculum Apollinis, cuius imperio Straton-
cidi Veneri templum dicaverint, Tenios eiusdem carmen
referre quo sacrare Neptuni effigiem aedemque iussi
sint. Propiora Sardianos: Alexandri victoris id donum
Neque minus Milesios Dareo rege niti; sed cultus num-
6
7

minum utrisque Dianam aut Apollinem venerandi. Pe-
tere et Cretenses simulacro divi Augusti. Factaque
senatus consulta quis multo cum honore modus tamen
praescribebatur, iussisque ipsis in templis figere aera

unicipal seats of her cult—the latter
with Adonis.
post: the second and third ob-
jects of posuisse (the temples
founded by Amathus and Teucer)
are not expressed; they would cor-
respond to vetustissimum.
Salaminio: Salamis was the
chief town of Cyprus.
Teucer: see Horace, Od. I. 7. 21.
68. 2. studia, portionem soli
for one or another.
3. Aesculapii: from his statue
at Pergamum by Pyromachus (B.C.
250) is derived the familiar repre-
sentation of the god in art.
ceteros, all other claimants.
4. Stratonici: of this Venus
nothing further is known.
Tenios: Tenos was one of the
Cyclades. The temple of Poseidon
here is called Μεία Πόσειδου by Strabo
(K. p. 487).
5. propiores, more recent.
utrisque: dativus of possession.
venerandi: limits cultus numi-
num (cf. ombrin... omnibus, IV.
2. 4). Sarde had the worship of
Artemis; Miletus that of the Didym-
us Apollo (62. 1 n.).
6. petere, made a petition; ius
asylum may be understood.
7. modus: it would appear that
those cities mentioned after ceteros
(3) were denied the right of asylum;
Suetonius (Tib. 37) says, aboleunt et
ius moremque asylorum quae usquam
erant.
aera, bronze tablets inscribed with
the decree of the senate.
sacrandam ad memoriam, neu specie religionis in ambitionem delaberenetur.


Exsequi sententias haud institui nisi insignes per

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64. Iuliae Augustae: Livia, who had been adopted into the Julian gens (see I. 2. 2).
occultis odis: Intr. 26. 5.
theatro Marcelli: on the Campus Martius, built by Augustus in memory of his nephew, and still partly preserved.
supplicia: for supplicationes.
ludi magni: the great games in the Circus (Circensia) consisted chiefly of horse and chariot races. Of this class the annual games on Sept. 15 were known distinctively as Ludi Romani, the term ludi magni or socii being reserved for occasional celebrations like these.
septemviris: uc. Epulonibus; the board of seven (originally three) having charge of the public banquets; at first only of the Epulium Iovis in Capitolio, Nov. 12. It is governed by simul, which is here a preposition (Intr. 35. 4).
sodalibus Augustalibus: I. 54. 1.
fetiales: a college of twenty persons of high rank, who had charge of the formalities of declaring war and making treaties. This was not among the magna collegia, — the pontifices, augurs, quindecimviri, and epulones (neque umquam fetialibus hoc maiestatisuisse).
Augustales: neither were these one of the great colleges, but they stood in a peculiarly near relation to the imperial family.
65. exsequi . . . institui: his object is to narrate facts, not repeat opinions.
honestum aut notabili dedecore, quod praecipuum munus annalium reor, ne virtutes sileantur, utque pravis dictis factisque ex posteritate et infamia metus sit.

2. Ceterum tempora illa adeo infecta et adulatione sordida fuere ut non modo primores civitatis, quibus claritudo sua obsequiis protegenda erat, sed omnes consulares, magna pars eorum qui praetura functi, multique etiam pedarii senatores certatim exsurgerent foedaque et nimia censerent. Memoriae proditur Tiberium, quotiens curia egredieretur, Graecis verbis in hunc modum eloqui solitum: 'O homines ad servitutem paratos!' Scilicet etiam illum, qui libertatem publicam nollet, tam proiectae servientium patientiae taebebat.

66 Paulatim dehinc ab indecoris ad infesta transgrediabantur. C. Silanum pro consule Asiae, repetundarum a sociis postulatum, Mamercus Scaurus e consularibus, Iunius Otho praetor, Bruttedius Niger aedilis simul corripiunt, obiectantque violatum Augusti numen, spectam Tiberii maiestatem, Mamercus antiqua exempla iaciens, L. Cottam a Scipione Africano, Servium Gal-

ex posteritate et infamia: a bendisadya.

2. primores civitatis: men like Lepidus, Gallus, and Messalinas.

pedariorum senatores: the senators of lower rank. The term originally designated those who sat in the senate, not by virtue of patrician birth or tenure of office, but by the appointment of the consuls or (later) the censors; these had not the senatus consultum, but only the right to vote in a division, sed omnes censerent. Hence the term was applied, as here, to those who had held the inferior magistracies, by way of contrast to consulares and prae torii (Mommsen, Röm. St. III. 985).

4. nollet: a rare use of the consecutive subjunctive.

66. C. Silanum: it appears very clearly from the narration, and from the gratitude of the provincials (IV. 15. 4), that Silanus richly deserved his punishment.

Scaurus: see l. 13. 4; for Otho and Bruttedius see 4 and 5.

antiqua exempla: none of these were to the point. Cotta was accused of repetundae by the younger Africanus, and acquitted because the jury did not wish to seem influenced by the authority of the prosecutor; Galba, although guilty of gross mis-
bamat a Catone censorio, P. Rutilium a M. Scauro accusatos. Videlicet Scipio et Cato talia ulciscabantur, aut ille Scaurus, quem proavum suum opprobrium maiorum Mamercus infami opera dehonestabat. Junio Othoni litterarium ludum exercere vetus ars fuit; mox Seiani potentia senator obscura initia impudentibus ausis propolluebat. Bruttedium artibus honestis copiosum et, si rectum iter pergeret, ad clarissima quaeque iturum festinatio extimulabat, dum aequalis, dein superiores, postremo suasmet ipse spes anteire parat; quod multos etiam bonos pessim dedit, qui spretis quae tarda cum securitate, praematura vel cum exitio proerant. Auxere 67 numerum accusatorum Gellius Publicola et M. Paconius, ille quaestor Silani, hic legatus. Nec dubium habebatur saevitiae capturamque pecuniarum teneri reum; sed multa aggerebantur etiam insontibus periculosum, cum super tot senatores adversos facundissimis totius Asiae eoque ad accusandum delectis respondebant solus et orandi nescius, proprio in metu, qui exercitam quoque eloquentiam debilitat, non temperante Tiberio quin premeret voce vultu, eo quod ipse creberrime interrogabat, neque refellere aut eludere dabatur, ac saepe etiam con-

government in Spain, was acquitted by his eloquence and the spectacle of his weeping children; Rutilius, though innocent, was condemned. Not one of them was prosecuted for maestas.
3. talia ulciscabantur: ironical, proposed to punish a similar offence, —referring to the emptiness of the charge of maestas. There was no such personal spite in their case.
ille Scaurus: M. Aemilius Scaurus, the leader of the senatorial party in the period of reaction after the Gracchi. He discredited himself by tricky transactions in the war with Jugurtha. He was ancestor of Mamercus.
4. litterarium ludum: a grammar school,—he disgraced even his low origin.
5. ad clarissima quaeque, to any height of distinction.
festinatio: i.e. to rise.
67. quaestor: see l. 74. 1 n.
2. teneri reum: that he was guilty.
delectis: i.e. by the assembly of the province.
temperante: Intr. 35 p.
premeret, bear hard upon him.
66 quod, by the fact that.

UoM
fitendum erat, ne frustra quaesivisset. Servos quoque Silani, ut tormentis interrogarentur, actor publicus mancipio acceperat. Et ne quis necessariorum iuvaret periclitantem, maiestatis crima subdeabant, vinclum et necessitas silendi.


At Cornelius Dolabella dum adulationem longius sequitur, increpitis C. Silani moribus addidit, ne quis vita probosae et opertus infamia provinciam sortiretur, idque princeps diuindicaret. Nam a legibus delicta puniri: quanto fore mitius in ipsos, melius in sociis, proideri ne peccaretur?

quaesivisset: i.e. Tiberius. He would be satisfied with nothing short of confession.
3. actor publicus: see II. 30. 5. necessitas: i.e. to his kinmen.
4. invidiam, reproaches.
68. quae: relates to ea understood, subject of acciperentur.
Voleso Messalla: Seneca (de fra, II. 5) relates that in one day he had three hundred men beheaded, and incisens inter cadaverum vulnum superbo... grasse proclamavit: 'o rem regiam.'

2. L. Pisonem: brother of Quenu Piso; see II. 34.
Gyarium: one of the Cyclades. relegandum: see 17. 8 n.
3. alia parente: probably a stepmother, whose property should not be confiscated; see App. I.
66. Dolabella: for another instance of his subserviency see 47.
4. longius: further than the others.
5. delicta: i.e. after their occurrence — how much better to prevent them.
Annals.

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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; excitati quosdam ad 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 incerto sint. Sic a maioribus institutum ut, si antissent delicta, poenae sequerentur. Ne verterent sapienter reperta et semper placita; satis onerum principibus, satis etiam potentiae.

Minui iura, quotiens gliscat potestas, nec utendum imperio, ubi legibus agi possit. Quanto rario apud Tibem rium popularitas, tanto laetioribus animis accepta. Atque ille prudens moderandi, si propria ira non impeleretur, addidit insulam Gyarum immitem et sine cultu hominum esse: darent Iuniae familiae et viro quondam ordinis eiusdem, ut Cythnum potius concederet. Id sororem quoque Silani Torquatam, priscae sanctimoniae virginem, expecteret. In hanc sententiam facta discessio.

Post auditi Cyrenenses, et accusante Anchario Prisco 70 Caesius Cordus repetendarum damnatur. L. Ennius 3.

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3. non ex rumore: he was to be punished for specific offences, not on the ground of vague report.
4. ambitione, iniquitatem.
7. popularitas: not popularity, but a disposition favorable to the people,—democratic leaning.
8. prudens moderandi: Int. 35 c.

quondam ordinis eiusdem: sc. senatus; which rank he had lost.
Cythnum: a larger island, nearer Greece.

9. priscae ... virginem: two pedestals have been discovered in the newly excavated Atrium Vestae, with inscriptions showing that they supported statues of this vestal; she is there called Iunia C. Silani f., and her title reads ur. vest. maximas, the adjective showing that she was the eldest of the virgins, and therefore presided over the collegium; one of the inscriptions, sacerdotes vestali annis iussi, shows her to have been at least seventy years old. Jordan, Der Tempel der Vesta und das Haus der Vestalinnen, p. 45.

70. Cyrenenses: the inhabitants of the modern Barca.
equitem Romanum, maiestatis postulatum, quod effigiem principis promiscum ad usum argenti vertisset, recipi Caesar inter reos vetuit, palam aspernante Ateio Capitone quasi per libertatem. Non enim debeere eripi patribus vim statuendi neque tantum maleficium impune habendum. Sane lentus in suo dolore esset; rei publicae iniurias ne largiretur. Intellexit haec Tiberius ut erant magis quam ut dicebantur, perstititque intercedere. Capito insignitor infamia fuit, quod humani divinique iuris scies egregium publice locum et bonas domi artes dehonestavisset.

71 Incessit dein religio, quonam in templo locandum foret donum quod pro valetudine Augustae equites Romanis voverant equestri Fortunae; nam etsi delubra eius deae multa in urbe, nullum tamen tali cognomento erat. Repertum est aedem esse apud Antium quae sic nuncuparetur, cunctasque caerimonias Italicis in oppidis

2. promiscum . . argenti: as silver plate, etc.
vetuit: by his tribunician power; see below, intercedere. For Tiberius' good sense in such cases cf. I. 73-3.
Ateio Capitonem: on his servile spirit, see 75; 3. Suetonius (de ill. graec. 22) tells a story in illustration of this. Pomponius having corrected Tiberius upon the use of a word, Capito declared that the word was Latin, or if not, that it would now be made such, to which Pomponius answered: Monitis Capito; tu enim, Caesar, civitatem dare potes hominibus, verba non potes.
4. ut erant: as expression of a servile spirit.
egregium, etc.: referring to his professional reputation; see App. I.
bonas domi artes: his private character.

71. religio, a religious question. nullum . . erat: there had been such a temple, dedicated B.C. 173; probably it had been destroyed by fire.
2. Antium: this was a principal seat of the worship of Fortuna; see Hor. Od. I. 55.
cunctasque, etc.: the conquering city, in annexing the cities of Italy, and incorporating them in its civitas, had adopted also their religions, and incorporated them in its pantheon, even although the cult continued to be celebrated in the old locality. The formal adoption of foreign religions was under the direction of the pontifices. The present decision is regarded by Boissier (La Religion Romaine, II. 412), as the first formal enunciation of the principle, that all the religions of the empire belonged to Rome.
templaque et numinum effigies iuris atque imperii Romani esse. Ita donum apud Antium statuitur. Et quoniam de religionibus tractabatur, dilatum nuper responsum adversus Servium Maluginensem flaminem Dialem prompstit 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 princi Augusto constitueta satis ostendebant annuam absentiam et provinciarum administrationem Dialibus non concedi. Memorabaturque L. Metelli pontificis maximi exemplum, qui Aulum Postiumum flaminem attuisset. Ita sors Asiae in eum, qui consularium Maluginensi proximus erat, collata.

Isdem diebus Lepidus ab senatu petivit ut basilicam Pauli, Aemilia monumenta, propria pecunia firmaret ornaretque. Erat etiam tum in more publica munificentia; nec Augustus arcuerat Taurum, Philippum, Balbus

3. dilatum, etc.: see 59. 2.

decretum pontificum: a decision made under Augustus, as is shown below, quae principe, etc. plus... abesset: when he was in ordinary condition of health, he could not be away longer than two nights; originally not more than one night.

4. L. Metelli... exemplum: this was during the First Punic War, B.C. 242 (Val. Max. I. 1. 2).

attuisset: i.e. at Rome. Postumius was flamen Martialis, to the example of which office Maluginensis had appealed (58. 1).

79. Lepidus: Marcus Lepidus (32. 2).

basilicam: an oblong building, divided lengthwise by two parallel rows of columns; the form adopted for the earliest Christian churches, and now to be seen in the basilicas of Santa Maria Maggiore and St. John Lateran. The earliest building of this class was the Basilica Foro, built B.C. 184, upon the Comitium west of the Curia, and named from Marcus Forcius Catu; it was used for courts of justice, the Forum having become too crowded. The Basilica Aemilia, or Pauli, here mentioned, was east of the Curia.

2. etiam tum: i.e. it has now gone out of fashion.

nec Augustus, etc.: he might have forbidden it from a fear that the popularity gained would be menacing to his own power. Taurus built an amphitheatrum, and Balbus
hostiles exuvias aut exundantis opes ornatum ad urbis
et posterum gloriam conferre. Quo tum exemplo Lepi-
dus, quamquam pecuniae modicus, avitum decus recoluit.
At Pompei theatrum igne fortuito haustum Caesar ex-
structurum polliciust est, eo quod nemo e familia restaur-
rando sufficeret, manente tamen nomine Pompei. Simul
laudibus Seianum extulit, tamquam labore vigilantiique
eius tanta vis unum intra damnun stetisset. Et cen-
suere patres effigiem Seiano, quae apud theatrum Pomp-
pei locaretur. Neque multo post Caesar, cum Iunium
Blaesium pro consule Africae triumphi insignibus attol-
leret, dare id se dixit honorl Seiani, cuius ille avunculus
erat. Ac tamen res Blaesii dignae decorre tali fuere.
Nam Tacfarinas, quamquam sacpius depulslus, repa-
ratis per intima Africae auxiliis huc arrogantiae vene-
rat ut legatos ad Tiberium mitteret sedemque ultro sibi
atque exercitui suo postularet, aut bellum inexplicabile
minitaretur. Non alias magis sua populique Romani
contumelia indoluisse Caesarem ferunt quam quod des-
sertor et praedo hostium more ageret. Ne Spartaco
quidem post tot consularium exercituum clades inultam

a theatre, while Philippus restored a
temple of Hercules (Suet. Oct. 29).
posternum: genitive plural.
3. pecuniae modicus: cf. in-
scr innumera
vitum decus: cf. Aemilia
monumenta above; the basilica
was built by his grandfather, Lucius
Aemilius Lepidus, brother of the
triumvir.
sufficeret, hunc sufficientem means.
tamquam: intr. 35 f.
eius: i.e. as praetorian prefect.
unum... stetisset, confused to
this damage. In fact, only the stage
(scene) appears to have been de-
stroyed (VI. 45. 2), so that the word
venatum used by Seneca (5 n.),seems
too strong.
5. effigiem Seiano: the remark
of Cremutius Cordus at this: tunc
vera theatrum prover (Sen. Cons.
ad Marc. 22. 4) was no doubt one
cause of his prosecution three years
later (IV. 34. 1).
78. sedem: he would retire to
some territory set apart for him.
aut: as an alternative.
inexplicable, interminable.
2. hostium more ageret: should
assume the character and rights of
a belligerent.
3. Spartaco: his insurrection
Italiam urenti, quamquam Sertorii atque Mithridatis ingenti bus bellis labaret res publica, datum ut pacto in fidem accip eretur; nedum pulcherrimo populi Romani fastigio latro Tacfarinas pace et concessione agrorum redimeretur. Dat negotium Blaeso, ceteros quidem ad spem proliferet arma sine noxa ponendi, ipsius autem ducis quoquo modo poteretur. Et recep it ea venia plerique. Mox adversum artes Tacfarinatis haud dissimili modo belligeratum. Nam quia ille robore exercitus impar, furandi melior, plures per globos incursaret eluderetque et insidias simul temptaret, tres incessus, totidem agmina parantur. Ex quis Cornelius Scipio legatus praefuit qua praedatio in Leptitanos et suffugia Garamantum; alio latere, ne Cirtensium pagi impune tra harentur, propriam manum Blaesus filius duxit. Medio cum delectis, castella et munitiones idoneis locis im ponens, dux ipse arsa et infensa hostibus cuncta fecerat, quia, quoquo inclinarent, pars aliquid militis Romani in ore in latere et saepe a tergo erat; multique eo modo caesi aut circumventi. Tunc tripertitum exercitum pluris in manus dispergit, praeposuquie centuriones virtutis expertae. Nec, ut mos fuerat, acta aestate

was B.C. 73, suppressed by Crassus two years later; the wars with Sertorius (in Spain) and Mithridates (in Asia Minor) were going on at the same time.

pulcherrimo . . . fastigio: the empire was now at its height of power.

4. sine noxa: under a promise of safety.

5. haud dissimili: i.e. to his own.

74. furandi, guerilla warfare; the genitive with melior is found only here and in Silius. (Intr. 35 c.)

tres incessu, etc.: an advance by the Romans in three columns.

2. praedatio . . . Garamantum: this was the movement furthest east, near the Syrtes, where Tacfarinas had plundered Leptis (Minor, on the coast, south of Carthage), and then taken refuge among the Gar mantes, who occupied Fezma, south of Tripoli, but whose wanderings, no doubt, extended further west. The movement against Cirta (Constantine), the capital of Numidia, was furthest west.

traherentur, be ravaged.
retrahit copias aut in hibernaculis veteris provinciae componit, sed ut in limine belli dispositis castellis per expeditos et solitudinem gnaros mutantem mapalia Tacc
farinatem proturbat, donec fratre eius capto regressus est, properantius tamen quam ex utilitate sociorum, 6 relictis per quos resurgeret bellum. Sed Tiberius pro
confecto 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 impe-
7 ratores nec super ceterorum aequalitatem. Concessit
quibusdam et Augustus id vocabulum, ac tunc Tiberius
Blaeso postremum.

75 Obiure co anno viri illustres Asinius Saloninus, M. Agrippa et Pollione Asino avis, fratre Druso insignis
Caesarique progenere destinatus, et Capito Atius, de
quo memoravi, principem in civitate locum studii ci-
vilibus assecutus, sed avo centurione Sullano, patre
s praetorio. Consulatum ei acceleraverat Augustus, ut

5. veteris provinciae: the old province of Africa (Tunis), estab-
lished B.c. 146, and enlarged by
Augustus (B.c. 25) by the addition
of Numidia (Algiers); see II. 52.
2 n.
mutantem, whenever he changed.
mapalia: thatched huts instead
of tents, used by the Numidians.
See Sallust, Jug. 18.
properantius, etc.: the provin-
cials were left unprotected.
6. ut imperator, etc.: the title
of imperator, given to victorious
generals in the time of the repub-
lic, and continued until this time
(I. 58. 9 n.), was now discontinued,
and after this occasion there was
no imperator except the princeps
himself.

plures imperatores: imperator
being a title of honor, not, as now,
an office.
75. Asinius Saloninus: son
of Asinius Gallus (I. 12. 13) and
Vipsania, daughter of Agrippa;
she had been married to Tiberius
(I. 12. 6), and Drusus was thus his
half-brother; Saloninus had been
betrothed to a daughter of Ger-
mancus, hence Caesar progenere.
The aponomen Saloninus was de-
rivered from the city of Salona in
Dalmatia, captured by Pollio.
Capito Atius: see 70. 2.

studii civilibus: this term is
used especially to designate legal
studies.
2 consulatum: A.D. 5, as con-
sul suffectus.

duo pacis decora: Capito and Labeo were the founders of rival schools of jurisprudence, called respectively 
Societas and Pracuti-was, which divided Roman jurisprudence for about two centuries. The Digest says of them (1. 2, 2, 47): 
\textit{Alisius Capite in eis quas ei traditia fuisse, perseveraret; Labeo ... plura ius innumerarum institut—}\textit{that is, in the words of Hadley (Intr. to Roman Law, p. 64), the ground of difference was in \textit{the recognition of reason or of authority as supreme guide.}} Saetiones (Oct. 54) relates an instance of Labeo's independent spirit: that, in the filling up of the senate, depleted by the Civil Wars, he nominated Marcus Lepidus, the triumvir, an enemy of Augustus, then in exile; \textit{interrogare aliquod ex eo esse ait dignissimum.} \textit{Sumque quern \textit{quidem judicium habere} respondit.}

He appears, also, from an allusion in Horace (Sat. I. 3. 82), to have been of a passionate temper.

\textit{commendatio ex iniuria, popularity from the wrong done to him.}

\textit{Caetaneo avunculo: her mother, Servilia, was sister of Cato and (by a second marriage) mother of Brutus.}

\textit{Cæsarem omisit: as was worthy of the sister of Brutus; and the spirit of Tiberius seems to have been equally honorable (civiliter acceptum).}

\textit{Manili, Quinctii: these were among the oldest patrician genres.}

\textit{non visebantur: cf. IV. 35.}

\textit{also Flavi, Ep. I. 17: \textit{mirum est quos religione, quos studio imaginem Brutorum, Cassiorum, Catonisum domi, ubi postis, habeat.}
ARGUMENT OF BOOK IV.

A.D. 23; C. ASINIUS POLLO, C. ANTISTIUS VETUS, COLL.


A.D. 24; SER. CORNELIUS CATHECUS, L. VITELLIUS VARRO, COLL.


A.D. 25; COSSUS CORNELIUS LENTULUS, M. ASINIUS AGRIPPA, COLL.


A.D. 26; CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS GETULICUS, C. CALVISIUS SABINUS, COLL.


A.D. 27; M. LICINIUS CRASUS FRUGI, L. CALPURNIUS PISO, COLL.

62, 63. Fall of amphitheatre at Pidens. 64, 65. Fire on Mona Callius. 66. Accusation of Varus. 67. Retirement of Tiberius to Capri.

A.D. 28; APP. JUNIUS SISANUS, P. SILIUS NERVA, COLL.

LIBER IV.

C. Asinio C. Antistio consulibus nonus Tiberio annus erat compositae rei publicae, florentis domus (nam Germanici mortem inter prospera ducebat), cum repente turbare fortuna coepit, saevire ipse aut saeuentibus vires praebere. Initium et causa penes Aelium Seianum cohortibus praetorii praefectum, cuius de potentia supra memoravisti; nunc originem, mores, et quo facinore dominationem raptum iverit, expediam. Genitus Vulsiniis patre Seio Strabone equite Romano, et prima iuventa Gaium Caesarem divi Augusti nepotem sectatus, non sine rumore Apicius diviti et prodigo stuprum veno dedisse, mox Tiberium variiis artibus devinxit, adeo ut obscurum adversum alios sibi uni incautum intectumque efficeret, non tam sollertia (quippe isdem artibus victus est) quam deum ira in rem Romanam, cuius pari exitio

1. C. Asinio: son of Asinius Gallus;—his cognomen was Pollio; see i. 12. 6. Antistius belonged to a family of considerable influence.

2. cum repente: in this Tacitus differs from Suetonius and Dio, who date the deterioration in Tiberius' character from the death of Germanicus (see III. 22. 1 n.); but the facts as related by Tacitus bear out his view; from the time of Drusus' death we note a steady change for the worse.

turbare: absolute; cf. III. 47. 2. supra memoravi: see I. 24. 3. 69. 7; III. 20. 6, 35. 2, 72. 4. He was colleague of his father, Seius Strabo, in this office, until the appointment of his father to the prefecture of Egypt, A.D. 18.

3. Vulsiniis: Baetone, a town in the southeastern part of Etruria, the metropolis of the old Etruscan confederacy.

4. Seio: the name 'Sienus' was a derivative from this, the son having been adopted into the Ælian gens. Apicio: Apicius was a man in the time of the republic notorious for luxury and debauchery; the person here alluded to was one Marcus Gavius, who was called Apicius, from his resemblance to the other.

5. iret: see App. I.

6. Vulsiniis: Baetone, a town in the southeastern part of Etruria, the metropolis of the old Etruscan confederacy.

7. Seio: the name 'Sienus' was a derivative from this, the son having been adopted into the Ælian gens. Apicio: Apicius was a man in the time of the republic notorious for luxury and debauchery; the person here alluded to was one Marcus Gavius, who was called Apicius, from his resemblance to the other.

8. iret: see App. I.

9. Vulsiniis: Baetone, a town in the southeastern part of Etruria, the metropolis of the old Etruscan confederacy.

10. Seio: the name 'Sienus' was a derivative from this, the son having been adopted into the Ælian gens. Apicio: Apicius was a man in the time of the republic notorious for luxury and debauchery; the person here alluded to was one Marcus Gavius, who was called Apicius, from his resemblance to the other.

11. iret: see App. I.
4 viguit ceciditque. Corpus illi laborum tolerans, animus audax; sui obtegens, in alios criminato; iuxta adulatio et superbia; palam compositus pudor, intus summa apisciendi libido, eiusque causa modo largito et luxus, saepe industria ac vigilantia, haud minus noxie quotiens

2 parando regno finguntur. Vim praefecturae modicum antea intendit, dispersas per urbem cohortes una in castra conducendo, ut simul imperia acciperent, numeroque et robore et visu inter se siducia ipsis, in ceteros metus oreretur. Praetendebat lascivire militem diductum; si quid subitum ingruat, maiore auxilio pariter subveniri; et severius acturos, si vallum statuatur procul urbis illecebris. Ut perfecta sunt castra, irreperer paulatim militares animos adeundo appellando; simul centuriones ac tribunos ipse deligere. Neque senatorio ambitu abstinebat clientes suos honoribus aut provinciis ornandi, facili Tiberio atque ita prono ut socium laborum non modo in sermonibus, sed apud patres et populi

atrocities than those of his lifetime.

4. compositus, artificial. summa: usually taken as the object of apisciendi, but perhaps better as qualifying libido.
elius: relates to apisciendi.

parando regno: Instr. 35 f.

finguntur, are directed.

2. praefecturae: the praefectus praetorio was at first inferior in dignity to the praefectus urbi, but, as is well known, he came in later time into possession of a power hardly less than that of the emperor himself; the beginning of this advance was made by Sejanus.
dispersa per urbem: Sextus (Oct. 40) says: neque unquam plures quam tres cohortes in urbe esse possit est, easque sine castra, relictas in hiberna et aestivis circa

funtima oppida dissimulata asinuabat.

una in castra: this camp lay outside of the city (procul) to the northeast, but when the larger circuit of walls was built by Aurelian, they were made to embrace the camp. The ruins of it still remain. The construction of this fortress, like that of the Tower of London by William the Conqueror, was the commencement of an authority founded upon military power.

visu inter se, by seeing one another, and thus becoming conscious of their strength.

2. diductum, scattered.
4. senatorio ambitu: i.e., gaining supporters among the senators by appointing such of them as chose to be his clients to honorable positions; ornandi limits ambitu.
lum celebraret colique per theatra et fora effigies eius interque principia legionum sineret.

Ceterum plena Caesarum domus juvenis filius ne- potes adulti moram cupitis adferabat; et quia vi tot simul corripere intutum, dolus intervalla scelerum poscebat. Placuit tamen occultior via et a Druso incipere, in quem recenti ira ferebatur. Nam Drusus impatiens aemuli et animo commotor orto forte iurgio intenderat Seiano manus et contra tendentis os verberaverat. Igitur cuncta temptanti promptissimum visum ad uxorem eius Liviam convertere, quae soror Germanici, formae initi aetatis indecorae, mox pulchritudine praecellebat. Hanc ut amore incensus adulterio pellexit, et postquam primi flagiitii potitus est (neque femina amissa pudicitia alia abnuerit), ad coniugii spem, consortium regni, et necem mariti impulit. Atque illa, cui avunculus Augustus, socer Tiberius, ex Druso liberi, seque ac maiores et posteros municipali adultero foedabat, ut pro honestis et praesentibus flagitiosa et incerta exspectaret. Su̇ni-

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*per theatra*: cf. III. 72. 5.
*principia*: see I. 61. 3 n.
*Sextonius* (†lib. 48) says that, after the fall of Sejanus, Tiberius rewarded the Syrian legions *quod solae mulleam Seiani imaginem inter signa colissem*.

3. ceterum: introduces the obstacles that were in the way of his ambition.

9. nepotes adulti: Nero and Drusus, sons of Germanicus (4. 1).

11. occultior: contrasted with *vl.*

2. contra tendentia: *sc. Seiani manna.*

3. indecorae, *plain or ungraceful; i.e.* until she reached maturity.

*adulterio*: dative. Merivale well remarks, that “the wife of Drusus was already nearer to the throne than the paramour of Sejanus” (V. 176). Sejanus, however, it is clear was a man of peculiar personal fascination, and the story has in itself no improbability.

abnuerit: perfect subjunctive of softened assertion, a favorite tense with Tacitus, especially in statements of general truths.

4. avunculus: *i.e.* great-uncle; her mother Antonia was daughter of Octavia, sister of Augustus.

*munipallii, of low birth.*—his paramour being a native of the municipium of Volatii. The provincial origin of Sejanus was an aggravation of Livia’s disgrace.

*praesentibus*: Drusus was the
turm in conscientiam Eudemus, amicus ac medicus Liviae, specie artis frequens secretis. Pellit domo Seianus uxorem Apicatam, ex qua tres liberos genuerat, ne paelici suspectaretur. Sed magnitudo facinoris metum prolataiones, diversa interdum consilia adferebat.

Interim anni principio Drusus ex Germanici liberis togam virilem sumpsit, quaeque fratri eius Neroni decreverat senatus repetita. Addidit orationem Caesar, multa cum laude filii sui quod patria benevolentia in fratri liberos forct. Nam Drusus, quamquam arduum sit eodem loci potentiam et concordiam esse, aequivocatus adulescentibus aut certe non adversus habebatur.

Exin vetus et saepe simulatum proficiscendi in provincias consilium refertur. Multitudinem veteranorum praetebat imperator et dilectibus suppseudos exercitus; nam voluntarium militem deesse, ac si suppeditet, non eadem virtute ac modestia agere, quia plerumque inopes ac vagi sponte militiae sumant. Percussitique cursim numerum legionum et quas provincias tutarentur. Quod mihi quoque essequandum reor, quae tunc Romana copia in armis, qui socii reges, quanto sit angustius imperaturn. Italiam utroque mari duae classes, Misenum apud et Ravennam, proximumque

3. loci: limits eodem.
4. vetus ... consilium: see I. 47. 5; III. 47. 3.
5. veteranorum: i.e. who demanded discharge; see I. 17. 8; 31. 4.
6. socii reges: see III. 55. 3 n.
7. angustius: sc. quam minus; this was written after the conquests of Trajan. Moreover several provinces were added in the interval, as Britain, Mauretania, Lycia, Thrace.
8. utroque mari: Ravenna upon the Adriatic, Misenum upon the Tyrrhenian Sea.
Froioiliense, *Frisia*, founded by Julius Caesar, and in the time of the empire an important naval station of the western Mediterranean.

2. *octo legiones*: see I. 3. 5. These occupied the region along the Rhine, organized by *Tiberius* into the two provinces of Germany.

3. *recens perdomitae*: B.C. 19, after a war of seven years against the Cantabrians and Asturians.

Juba rex: Juba, king of Numidia, fought against Caesar, and killed himself after the battle of Thapsus. Numidia was annexed by Augustus to the province of Africa, and Juba, son of the former king, received Mauretania in recompense, B.C. 25. At his death, A.D. 23, his son Ptolemeus succeeded (23. 1). His kingdom was made into two provinces by Caligula, A.D. 40.

4. *duas legiones*: see III. 9. 1. In *initio ab Suriae*: such anastrophe, not found in earlier prose writers, is rare in Tacitus, except in the case of disyllabic prepositions, where it is frequent even without an adjective or genitive following.

ingenti...sinu: stretching up to the Alamanian and Iberian frontier.

accolla, etc.: an ablative absolute.

Hispero Albanoque: for these nations; see VI. 32 and 33.

5. *Rhoeometalces*: see III. 38. 4. Thrace, like Mauretania, was still independent.

duae in Pannonia: regularly three (I. 16. 2), but one had been despatched to Africa.

Moesia: this province, on the lower course of the Danube, was organized by Augustus, B.C. 29.

apud Delmatiam: the province formerly known as Illyricum, which term now embraced a group of provinces; see I. 5. 5 a.

ills: i.e. those in Pannonia and Moesia.
haud procul accinctur, quamquam insideret urbem proprius miles, tres urbaneae, novem praetoriae cohortes, Etruria ferme Umbriae delectae aut veteres Latii et coloniis antiquitatis Romanis. At apud idonea provinciarum sociae triremes alaquae et auxilia cohortium, neque multo secus in is virium: sed persequi incertum fuit, cum ex usu temporis huc illuc mearent, gliscerent numero et aliquando minuerunt.

1 Congruens crediderim recensere ceteras quoque rei publicae partes, quibus modis ad eam diem habita sint, quoniam Tiberio mutati in dexteris principatus initium ille annus attulit. Iam primum publica negotia et privatis maxima apud patres tractabantur, dabaturque primiuris disserere, et in adulationem lapsos cohaebat ipse; mandabatque honores, nobilitatem maiorum, claritudinem militiae, illustres domi artes spectando, ut satis constaret non alos potiores fuisse. Sua consilribus, sua praetoribus species; minorum quoque magistratum exercita potestas; legesque, si maiestatis quae ost eximia

propius miles: see I. 8. 3 n.
veteres Latii: those towns which had the ius Latium before the Social War.
colonii antiquitatis Romanis: this term is used to designate the old Roman colonies, situated in Italy, as distinguished from the military colonies of the empire. Heisterberck, *Italium*, p. 169.
apud idonea, at suitable points.
neque multo secus: the number of auxiliaries about equaled that of the legions, which was twenty-five legions; in is relates to alaque et auxilia cohortium, the auxiliary cavalry and infantry.
persequi: i.e. in detail, as has been done with the legions.
ex usus, according to need.

6. quoniam, etc.: the praise here bestowed upon the administration of Tiberius during the first eight years of his reign is a sufficient reply to the insinuations of cruelty and hypocrisy that have been made in the earlier books. From this point the question is a new and more difficult one.
2. primum, in the first place.
publica negotia, etc.: Sestinius says (Tib. 30): neque tam parvum quaecumque, neque tam magnum publici privataque negotii fuit, de quo non ad patres conscripserit referrebat. cohaebat: for illustrations, see I. 72. 1; III. 47. 5; IV. 37. 2.
potiores, preferable.
3. species, honor, dignity; their powers, on the other hand, had been reduced.
retur, bono in usu. At frumenta et pecuniae vectigales, cetera publicorum fructuum societatebus equitum Romanorum agitabantur. Res suas Caesar spectatissimo cuique, quibusdam ignotis ex fama mandabant, semelque assumpti tenebantur prorsus sine modo, cum plerique isdem negotiis insenescerent. Plebes acri quidem annonat fatigabatur, sed nulla in eo culpa ex principe: quin infecunditate terrarum aut asperibus maris obviam iit, quantum impendio diligentiaque poterat. Et ne pro vincliae novis oneribus turbarentur utque vetera sine avaritia aut crudelitate magistratuum tolerarentprovidetab; corporum verbera, ademptiones bonorum auberant. Rari per Italam Caesaris agri, modesta servitia, intra paucos libertos domus; ac si quando cum privatis disceptaret, forum et ius. Quae cuncta non quidem comi via, sed horridus ac plerumque formidatus, retinabant tamen, donec morte Drusi verterentur: nam dum superfuit, mansere, quia Seianus incipiente adhuc poten-

4. frumenta: the tribes of agricultural produce levied in certain provinces; pecuniae vectigales: the indirect taxes paid by citizens; see l. 11. 6 no.

societatebus equitum Romanorum: companies of capitalis, of the equestrian order, called publicani, who framed the revenues and collected them through agents, — a common custom to this day in the East, but one that gave great opportunity for extortion and fraud.

5. res suae: the affairs of the fiscus, or privy purse; these were administered by special agents of the emperor, called procuratores. Tenebantur: cf. l. 80. 2; VI. 27. 3.

cum plerique, etc.: a contrast to the changeable administration of the Republic.

6. acri annonae: i.e. the exorbitant price of grain.

obviam iit, attempted to remedy; III. 54. 8; VI. 13. 2.

7. providebat: according to Suetonius (Th. 39): praetextus [i.e. the governors of provinces] onerandae tributae provinciarum sundenibus rescriptis boni passoris esse tendere possit, non defluere. Rari, few and scattered; not concentrated in enormous plantations, latifundia.

modesta, under good discipline. Intra paucos libertos: in contrast with the excessive power and insolence of this class under Claudius and Nero.

forum et ius: the regular tribunals.

7. horridus, etc., forbidding in manner; see l. 75. 6. Suetonius
tia bonis consilio notescere volebat, et ultor metuebatur
non occultus odii, sed crebro querens incolumi filio adiu-
torem imperii alium vocari: et quantum superesse, ut
collega dicatur? primas dominandi spes in arduo; ubi
sis ingressus, adesse studia et ministros: exstructa iam
sponte praefecti castra, datos in manum milites; cerni
effigiem eius in monumentis Cn. Pompei; communis illi
cum familia Drusorum fore nepotes: precandum post
haec modestiam, ut contentus esset. Neque raro neque
apud paucos tala iaciebat, et secreta quoque eius cor-
puta uxore prodeabantur.

Igitur Seianus maturandum ratus deliget venenum,
quo paulatim irepente fortuitus morbus assimularetur.
Id Druso datum per Lygdum spadonem, ut octo post
annos cognitum est. Ceterum Tiberius per omnes vale-
tudinis eius dies, nullo metu an ut firmitudinem animi
ostentaret, etiam defuncto necdum sepulto, curiam in-
gressus est. Consulesque sede vulgari per speciem

(Tac, 68) says: *omnia ingrata atque arrogantiae plena.*

2. ultor: i.e. Drusus.

occultus: used with the genitive
only here and VI. 36. 3.

aduotorem imperii: not a for-
mal title, but expressing his intimate
participation in the counsels of the
emperor; cf. *ducum laborum, 2. 4.*

collega dicatur: this would be
an official recognition of his share
in the government; cf. I. 3. 3.

3. studia et ministros: i.e. per-
sonal adherents and (among these)
agents to carry out his schemes; cf.
*crimen et inuasio, I. 55. 3.* The
fears of Drusus illustrate the wis-
dom of Augustus in designating a
successor, — sic cohierit pravus ali-
orum est, III. 56. 4.

sponta, *at the behest of;* cf. 31. 4.
For the genitive, see II. 59. 3 n.

effigiem: see III. 72. 5.

4. communis, etc.: referring to
the betrothal of a daughter of Se-
janus to a son of Claudius (III. 29. 5).

8. Lygdum: a favorite slave of
Drusus (10. 2), and probably praec-
gestutor, like the eunuch Habitus,
who administered poison to Clau-
dius (XII. 66. 5; cf. Suet. Claud. 44).

octo post annos: A.D. 31, after
the fall of Sejanus, when the crime
was divulged by Apicata, the di-
vorced wife of Sejanus. Plutarch
(*L. Aelius Sejanus, p. 49*) raises
some plausible doubts as to the
probability that Apicata could have
known of the crime, but the testi-
mony of the ancients appears quite
unanimous on the subject.

3. sede vulgari: i.e. on the sa-
tellia, or benches, with the other
senators. They regularly sat on
maestitiae sedentes honoris locique admonuit, et effusum in lacrimas senatum victo gemitu simul oratione continua erexit: non quidem sibi ignarum posse argui, quod tam recenti dolore subierit oculos senatus; vix propinquorum alloquia tolerari, vix diem aspici a plerisque lugentium. Neque illos imbecillitatis dammandos; se tamen fortiora solacia et complexu rei publicae petivisse. Miseratusque Augustae extremam senectam, rudem adhuc nepotum et vergentem aetatem suam, ut Germanici liberi, unica praesentium malorum levamenta, inducerentur petivit. Egressi consules firmatos alloquio adulcescentulos deductosque ante Caesarem statuunt. Quibus apprensitis: 'Patres conscripti, hos inquit 'orbatos parente tradidi patruo ipsorum precatusque sum, quamquam esset illi propria suboles, ne secus quam suum sanguinem foeret, attolleret, sibique et posteris conformaret. Erepto Druso precex ad vos converto discute et patria coram obtestor: Augusti pronepotes, clarissimis maioribus genitos, suscipite, regite, vestram meamque vicem explet. Hi vobis, Nero et Druse, parentum loco. Ita nati estis ut bona malaque vestra ad rem publicam pertineant.' Magno ea fletu et mox precationibus faustis audita; ac si modum orationis posuissest, misericordia sui gloriaque animos audientium curule chairs, but now took the lower seat as an indication of sorrow.

ignarum = ignotum; cf. ignarum, I. 5. 4 n.

4. e complexu rei publicae: figurative, as if the republic were a near friend.

5. nepotum: there were three sons of Germanicus (Nero, Drusus, and Gaius), and two of Drusus (Tiberius and Germanicus).

vergentem aetatem, declining years.

6. quibus apprensis, taking their hands.

patruo: i.e. Drusus.

8. Nero et Druse: the younger son Gaius (afterwards the emperor Caligula) was now only eleven years of age.

9. gloria: i.e. resting upon his personal dignity, and proceeding from sympathy (misericordia).
impleverat: ad vana et totiens irissa revolutus, de reddenda re publica utque consules seu quis alius regimen suscipèrent, vero quoque et honesto fidem dempsit.

Memoriae Drusi eadem quae in Germanicum decernuntur, plerisque additis, ut ferme amat posterior adulatio.

Funus imaginum pompa maxime illustré fuit, cum origo Iuliae gentis Aeneas omnesque Albanorum reges et conditor urbis Romulus, post Sabina nobilitas, Attus Clausus ceteraque Claudiorum effigies longo ordine spectarentur.

10 In tradenda morte Drusi quae plurimis maximaque fidei auctoribus memorata sunt retuli; sed non omiserim eorundem temporum rumorem, validum adeo ut nondum exolescat. Corrupta ad scelus Livia Seianum Lygdi quoque spadonis animum stupro vinixisse, quod is Lygduis aetate atque forma carus domino interque primores ministros erat; deinde inter conscios ubi locus venefici tempusque composita sint, eo audaciae provectum ut verteret et occulto indicio Drusum veneni in patrem arguens moneret Tiberium, vitandam potionem quae prima ei apud filium epulanti offerretur. Ea fraude captum senem, postquam convivium inierat, exceptum polum Druso tradidisse; atque illo ignaro et iuveniliter hauriente auctam suspicacionem, tamquam metu et
puodore sibimet irrogaret mortem quam patri struxerat. 

Ceterum laudante filium pro rostris Tiberio senatus populusque habitum ac voces dolentum simulatione

11. nullo auctore certo, _no trustworthy authority,_ not necessarily no written account, but the use of the word scriptor below (4) shows that it could have been handed down only in oral tradition, or informal and irresponsible writings, like letters.
2. ad paenitendum: _i.e._ for himself.
3. ministrum veneni: the cupbearer, while auctorem was the contriver of the crime.
4. alioqui, moreover.
5. _falsas auditiones, reports._
6. _cur a nostra: i.e._ this book.
18. _Tibero: Seneca (ad Marc. de Cons. 15) relates the same story, adding, in conspectu postis corporis, interiecto
magis quam libens induebat, domunque Germanici 
revirescere occulti laetabatur. Quod principium favo-
ris et mater Agrippina spem male tegens perniciem 
accelerare. Nam Seianus ubi videt mortem Drusi 
inultam interfectoribus, sine maerore publico esse, ferox 
sclerus, et quia prima provenerant, volutare secum 
quonam modo Germanici liberos perverteret, quorum 
non dubia successio. Neque spargi venenum in tres 
poterat, egregia custodum fide et pudicitia Agrippinae 
impenetrabili. Igitur contumaciam eius insectari, vetus 
Augustae odium, recentem Liviae conscientiam exagi-
tare, ut superbam fecunditate, subnixam popularibus 
studii inihiare dominationi apud Caesarem arguerent.

6 Atque haec calidis criminataribus, inter quos delegerat 
tantummodo velaminae, quod pontifex eum plausor a fami-
num aescula a fama arcet equo, — the emperor being pontifex maximus.
2. favoris: i.e. with the people, — popularity.
mater . . . tegens: Intr. 35 9; the present and future participles 
are very rare in this idiom; cf. I. 
36. 2; IV. 34. 2; connected by et 
to principium.
perniciem: for the young men, 
Nero and Drusus.
3. non dubia successio: as the 
children of Drusus were still very 
young, those of Germancus would 
be preferred in the succession.
5. exagitare, excite: used with 
both persons and feelings — excite 
the hatred of Augusta and Livia by 
the consciousness of crime; cf. Sall. 
Cat. 38; Cic. Att. III. 7. 2.
inihiare . . . argument: it is hard 
to believe that Agrippina actually 
engaged in plots against the emperor, 
—for this there could be no induc-
ment, considering his great age, the 
maturity of her sons, and the infancy 
of those of Drusus; the succession 
would seem to have been secured 
to Nero, and this was confirmed by 
the acts of the emperor himself. 
Nevertheless, with her restless and 
ambitious temper, and his suspi-
cious disposition, it would be easy 
for misunderstanding and hard feel-
ing to arise between them.
6. atque haec, etc.: this pas-
sage is variously interpreted, and is 
probably corrupt. Furneaux makes 
haec relate to Livia (the younger), 
which is hardly possible, seeing that 
the last person mentioned is Agrippi-
na; it is clear, too, that Livia was 
a mere tool, and that it was Seianus, 
not she, who made use of the called 
criminare. Madvig corrects to 
altius; Orelli, more probably, con-
strues haec as a neuter plural, gov-
ered by some such word as qni. 
Both take Priscus as subject of 
efficiebat; but it is the agency of 
Postumus, not of Priscus, that is in 
question, and quia . . . valida is a 
good explanation of per doneum, 
while quia . . . efficiebat is not. It 
seems best to insert a comma after
Iulium Postumum, per adulterium Mutiliae Priscæ inter intimos aviae et consiliis suis peridoneum, quia Prisca in animo Augustæ valida, anum suapte naturæ potentiae anxiæ insociabilem nurui efficiebat. Agrippinae quoque proximi illiciebantur pravis sermonibus tumidis spiritus perstimulare.

At Tiberius nihil intermissa rerum cura, negotia pro solaciis accipiens, ius civium, preces sociorum tractabat; factaque auctore eo senatus consulta ut civitati Cibyratisca apud Asiam, Aegiensi apud Achaiam, motu terrae labefactis, subveniretur remissione tributi in triennium. Et Vibius Serenus pro consule ulterioris Hispaniae, de vi publica damnatus, ob atrocitatem morum in insulam Amorgum deportatur. Carsidius Sacerdos, reus tamquam frumento hostem Tacfarinatem iuvisset, absolvitur, eiusdemque criminis C. Gracchus. Hunc comitem exsili admodum infantem pater Sempronius in insulam validam (with which erat is to be understood), and to regard the sentence as an anacoluthon,—the subject of efficiebat being the same as that of erat understood (i.e. Sejanus), but the two verbs having no grammatical connection with one another. Nipperdey brackets the words inter...et, on the ground that Livia could not properly be called the grandmother of Agrippina, and that Postumus, as inter intimos of the empress, would not need to make Priscus his tool. This is a very probable hypothesis,—indeed, it is quite impossible to explain the phrase satisfactorily, while without it the sentence is reasonably clear,—but it is hard to conceive of any way in which these words could have crept into the text.

inter intimos, intimates with, referring to Postumus.

anxiæ, solicitous for.

timidus spiritus: i.e. of Agrippina.
perstimulare: depends upon Illiciebantur. Intr. 33. 2.
18. Cibyratisca, etc.: Cibyra was a town of Phrygia, which carried on an extensive trade; cf. Horace (Ep. 1. 6. 32).—ne Cibyratica, ne Buthyn negotia ãerdas.
Aegiensi: Aegium was a city of Achaia, the meeting place of the Achaean League.
2. Vibius Serenus: see II. 30. 1; 28. 1.
di vi publica: inflicting death, scourging, torture or imprisonment upon a Roman citizen after an appeal to Caesar.
Amorgum: a small island in the Ægean, near Naxos.
deportatur: see 31. 5 n.
4. Sempronius: see 31. 5.
Cernam tulerat. Illic adultus inter exordes et libera-
litum artium nescios, mox per Africam ac Siciliam mu-
tando sordidas merces sustentabatur; neque tamen
effugit magnae fortunae pericula. Ac ni Aelius Lamia
et L. Apronius, qui Africam obtinuerant, insontem pro-
 texissent, claritutine inausti generis et paternis adver-
sis foret abstractus. Is quoque annus legationes
Graecarum civitatum habuit, Samii Iunonis, Cois
Aesculapii delubro vetustum asylī ius ut firmaretur pe-
tentibus. Samii decreto Amphictyonum nitebantur,
quis praecipuum fuit rerum omnium iudicium, qua
tempestate Graeci conditīs per Asiam urbibus ora maris
potiebantur. Neque dispar apud Coos antiquitas, et ac-
cedebat merito ex loco; nam cives Romanos templō
Aesculapii inducerant, cum russu regis Mithridatis apud
cunctas Asiae insulas et urbes trucidarentur.

Variis dehinc et saepius irritis praetorum questibus,

mutando... merces: petty traffic was, by the ancients, regarded
as unworthy a freeman, and Plato excluded horsemen from his ideal
republic. Of commerce on a large scale Cicero says (de Off. I. 42),
non est admodum vetustandum.
neque tamen, etc.: he came near being swept into destruction
(abstractus), through the memory
of his illustrious ancestors and guilty
father: his low estate should have
saved him from the perils of rank.
5. Aelius Lamia: sēr antiquissimi
mors et priscam gravitatem
semper humanitate temperbones (Vell.
6) speaks of Lamiae pietae; he
also addresses to him Odes I. 26
and III. 17. For his death, see VI.
27. 2. For Apronius, see III. 21. 1.
14. Is quoque annus: as well
as the last; see III. 61-63.

Samia, etc.: Samos and Cos
were islands off the western coast
of Asia Minor. Samos was a chief
seat of the worship of Hera (Junô);
the worship of Aesculapius at Cos
was connected with a medical
school.
2. quae tempestate, etc.: the
early period of the colonization
of the Greek cities of Asia Minor,
at which time the Amphictyonic
League had great sanctity and in-
fluence.
3. inducerant: i.e. to give them
the protection of the asylum.
Russu regis Mithridatis: this
event, a.c. 83, was the cause of the
first Mithridatic war, conducted by
Sulla against Mithridates, king of
Fontus.
4. variis... retulit: the pre-
tors had failed to curb this licen-
tiousness.
postremo Caesar de immodestia histrionum rettulit: multa ab iis in publicum seditiose, foeda per domos temptari; Oscum quondam ludicum, levissimae apud vulgum oblectionis, eo flagitiorum et virium venisse ut auctoritate patrum coercendum sit. Pulsi tum histriones Italia.

Idem annus alio quoque luctu Caesarem adicit, alte 15 rum ex geminis Drusi liberis exstinguendo, neque minus morte amici. Is fuit Lucilius Longus, omnium illi tristium laetorurnque socius unusque e senatoribus Rhodii secessus comes. Ita quamquam novo homini censorium funus, effigiem apud forum Augusti publica pecunia patres decrevere, apud quos etiam tum cuncta tractabantur, adeo ut procurator Asiae Lucilius Capito

histrionum: see I. 54. 3 n.

per domos, in private homes.

Oscum ludicum: a kind of low farce, in the Oscean dialect, the speech of Campania and central Italy, sufficiently like the Latin to be understood by the Romans—just as the Scotch dialect is understood upon our stage. By levissimae oblectionis is meant the frivolous amusement of the populace; once (quondam) this was the worst that could be said of it.

pulsi, etc.: they were allowed to return by Calligula (Dio, LIX. 2).

15. aliusrum: his name was Germanicus, and his age four.

2. Rhodii secessus: see I. 4. 4 n.

3. novo hominibus: i.e. none of his ancestors had held curule office.

censorium funus: a magnificent public funeral. The term is explained by some as being such a funeral as was given to censors, whose office was the first in dignity and honor; by others, as being under the direction of the censors, —the magistrates who had the charge of public contracts. The first explanation seems the most reasonable.

forum Augusti: a public square opened by Augustus to the northeast of the Forum Romanum, and adorned with the statues of distinguished generals; portions of its heavy walls, and the portico of the Temple of Mars Ultor, situated in it, are still to be seen; other fora were made by other emperors to the north and south of it.

procurator: the procurator was the special agent of the emperor, especially in matters which related to the fiscus, or public purse (I. 80. 2). There was one in every province; and in the smallest provinces, like Judea and Alpes Maritimes, he was the sole governor. Standing in a specially close relation to the emperor, it might have been expected that he would be, like the slaves of the emperor, subject to his private jurisdiction.
accusante provincia causam dixerit, magna cum as-
severatione principis, non se ius nisi in servitia et
pecunias familiares dedisse; quod si vim praetoris
usurpasset manibusque militum usus foret, spreta in eo
mandata sua: audirent socios. Ita reus cognito negotio
damnatur. Ob quam ultionem, et quia priore anno in
C. Silanum vindicatum erat, decrevere Asiae urbes
templum Tiberio matrique eius ac senatui. Et per-
missum statuere; egitque Nero grates ea causa patri-
bus atque avo, laetas inter audientium adfectiones, qui
recenti memoria Germanici illum aspici, illum audiri
reabant. Aderantque iuveni modestia ac forma prin-
cipe viro digna, notis in eum Seiani odiis ob periculum
gratiaria.

16 Sub idem tempus de flamine Diali in locum Servi
Maluginensis defuncti legendo, simul roganda nova lege
disseruit Caesar: nam patricios conferreatis parentibus
genitos tres simul nominari, ex quis unus legeretur,
vetusto more; neque adesse, ut olim, eam copiam,
omissa conferreundi assuetudine aut inter paucos re-

causam dixerit: i.e. before the
senate.
dedisse: sc. el.
vm praetoris: i.e. of the provin-
cial governor (1. 74. 1 n.); if the pro-
curator had usurped the functions of
governor, it was by no authority; for his powers extended only to mat-
ters touching the emperor’s private property (pecunias familiares).
socios: see III. 55. 3 n.
templum: see III. 66-69.
5. Nero: the cities of Asia were
his clients, as those of Sicily were
the clients of Cicero in the action
against Verres.
16. Maluginensis: see III. 58.
1 and 71. 3.

nova lege: i.e. in regard to fill-
ing this priesthood. The flamen
dialis must be a patrician whose
parents had been married by the
peculiarly patrician rite of confor-
rectio; he must himself have been
married by the same rite to a woman
of the same qualifications, and his
wife, the flaminica, had also certain
official duties. As the patrician
body had now become much re-
duced in numbers, and the antique
ceremony of conferrectio had al-
most gone out of use, it was very
difficult to find qualified candidates.
The selection was made by the pontif-
ifex maximus, who had authority
to take (capere) a qualified person
even against his will.
tentata (pluresque eius rei causas adferebat, potissimam penes incuriam viorum feminarumque; accedere ipsius caerimoniae difficultates, quae consulta vitarentur), et quod exiret e iure patrio qui id flaminium apisceretur quaque in manum flaminis conveniret; ita medendum senatus decreto aut lege, sicut Augustus quaedam ex horrida illa antiquitate ad praesentem usum flexisset. Igitur tractatis religionibus placitum institute flaminum nihil demutari; sed lata lex qua flaminica Dialis sacr-
rum causa in potestate viri, cetera promisco feminarum
iure ageret. Et filius Maluginensis patri suffectus.
Utque gliseret dignatio sacerdotum atque ipsis promp-
tior animus foret ad capessendas caerimonias, decretum
Corneliae Virgini, quae in locum Scantiae capiebatur,
sestertium viciens, et quotiens Augusta theatrum intro-
isset, ut sedes inter Vestalium consideret.

17 Cornelio Cethego Visellio Varrone consulibus pon-
tifices eorumque exemplo ceteri sacerdotes, cum pro in-
columitate principis vota susciperent, Neronem quoque
et Drusum idem dis commendavere, non tam caritate
iuvenum quam adulatione, quae moribus corruptis per-
inde anceps, si nulla et ubi nimia est. Nam Tiberius
haud umquam domui Germanici mitis, tum vero aequari
adulescentes senectae suae impatienter indoluit; accitos-
que pontifices percontatus est num id precibus Agrip-
pinae aut minis tribuisset. Et illi quidem, quamquam
abuerent, modice perstricti; etenim pars magna e
propinquis ipsius aut primores civitatis erant; ceterum

_Laws, p. 150_. By the law in ques-
tion, this freedom of status on the
part of the _hannatica_ was preserved
in all the common relations of life
(cetera), while in sacred matters
alone she passed under the full
authority of her husband. This law
confirmed a _senatus consultum_ of
B.C. 11_ of the same purport (_Casus,
I. 136_). See Mommsen, _Rom. St.
III._ 1, p. 35.
6. capiebatur: see II. 86. 1 n.

sedes inter: see 5. 4 n.
17. Visellio Varrone: he was
curator eparum _et abei_ Tiberis
(_C.L._ VI. 1. 1237); for his father,
see III. 41. 3.

vota susciperent: this took
place regularly on the 3d of January.

perinde anceps: cf. II. 87. 2,
augusta et lubrica orato, etc.
2. nam Tiberius: there has
been no indication thus far of any
unfriendly feeling towards the sons
of Germanicus, and on the present
occasion the remarks of Tiberius to
the senate were wise and sagacious.
We see here, however, the begin-
nings of that jealous suspicion of
Agrippina which may have been
well founded, and which, at any
rate, poisoned the aged emperor's
mind during the last years of her
life. As to the immediate occasion,
see II. 60. 3 n.; such vows were
freely permitted in behalf of women
(III. 64. 1).
3. perstricti, reprimanded.
in senatu oratione monuit in posterum ne quis mobiles
adulescentium animos praematuris honoribus ad super-
biam extolleret. Instabat quippe Seianus incusabatque
diductam civitatem ut civili bello: esse qui se partium
Agrippinae vocent, ac ni resistatur, fore pluris; neque
aliud gliscentis discordiae remedium quam si unus al-
terve maxime prompti subverterentur.

Qua causa C. Silium et Titium Sabinum aggreditur. 18
Amicitia Germanici perniciosa utrique, Silio et quod
ingentis exercitus septem per annos moderator partis-
que apud Germaniam triumphalibus Sacroviriani belli
victor, quanto maiore mole procideret, plus formidinis
in alios dispergebatur. Credebat plerique auctam of-
fensionem ipsius intemperantia, immodice iactantis suum
militem in obsequio duravisse, cum alii ad sditiones
prolaberentur; neque mansurum Tiberio imperium, si
iis quoque legionibus cupido novandi fuisse. Destrui
per haec fortunam suam Caesar imparemque tanto
merito rebatur. Nam beneficia eo usque laeta sunt, 3
dum videntur exsolvi posse: ubi multum antevenere,
pro gratia odium redditur. Erat uxor Silio Sosia Galla, 19
caritate Agrippinae invisa principi. Hos corripi dilato
ad tempus Sabino placitum, immissusque Varro consul,
qui paternas inimicitias obtendens odiiis Seiani per de-
decus suum gratificabatur. Precante reo brevem mo-
ram, dum accusator consulatu abiret, adversatus est

4. instabat ... Seianus: he is always represented as the instigator
of these suspicions.
diductam, divided into factions.
unus alterve: i.e. of the adher-
ants of Agrippina.
18. C. Silius: commander of
Upper Germany in book 1; see
also iii. 42. 2. His army had taken
no part in the mutiny.

5. triumphantalibus: I. 72. 1.
Silio et (eliam): sc. pernici-
sum crat.
2. mansurum: sc. fuisse.
imparem, etc.: such a service
could never be requited (exsolvi).
19. paternas inimicitias: see
iii. 43. 4.
2. dum ... abiret: as the Ro-
mans had no official prosecutors
Caesar: solitum quippe magistratibus diem privatis dicere; nec infringendum consulis ius, cuius vigiliis nitetur ne quod res publica detrimentum caperet. Proprium id Tiberio fuit sclera nuper reperta priscis verbis obtegere. Igitur multa asseveratione, quasi aut legibus cum Silio agetur aut Varro consul aut illud res publica esset, coguntur patres. Silente reo, vel si defensionem coeptaret, non occultante cuius ira premeretur, conscientia bellii Sacrovir diu dissimulatus, victoria per avaritiam foedata et uxor Sosia arguebantur. Nec dubie repetundarum criminibus haerebant, sed cuncta quaestione maiestatis exercita, et Silius imminentem damnationem voluntario fine praeventit. Saevitum tamen in bona, non ut stipendiariis pecuniae reddenterunt, quorum nemo repetebat, sed liberalitas Augusti avulsa, computatis singillatim quae fisco petebantur. Ea prima Tiberio erga pecuniam alienam diligentia fuit.

Sosia in exsiliium pellitur Asinii Galli sententia, qui

(Intr. 16), the prosecution by a high magistrate would carry more weight than by a private citizen. *diem dicere*: the technical expression for bringing a prosecution.

3. *priscis verbis*: language borrowed from the usages of the republic. The phrase quoted by Tiberius had reference to the proclamation of martial law, not to ordinary criminal prosecutions.

4. *cuius ira*: *i.e.* it was on the ground of his friendship for Agrippina.

*conscientia...foedata*: Intr. 35 *uxor Sosia*: *i.e.* her offences, *arguebantur*: were charged against him.

5. *haerrebant, were sought.* *maiestatis*: the correct ground, if he was guilty of complicity in the rebellion of Sacrovir; and Tacitus does not deny that he was. Stah.

20. *tamen*: this was in violation of the rule mentioned VI. 29. 3,—that, of those who escaped condemnation by suicide, mancham testamento.

*stipendiariis, the tributaries of the province, in behalf of whom the charge of repetundas had been prosecuted; but it seems they themselves took no part in the prosecution (nemo repetebat).* Liberalitas Augusti: the gifts bestowed upon him by Augustus. *singillatim*: a strict reckoning by items.

2. *ex prima, etc.: see III. 18. 2, sans firmus adversum pecuniam.*

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 praesens Tiberius civiliter habuit; sed in animo revolvente iras, etiam si impetus offensionis languerat, memoria valebat. Piso-

3. M'. Lepidus: cf. III. 80. 1. quartam: s. partem; this was the regular share of the accuser by the lex maestatia.
4. pleraque: he obtained the mitigation of many judgments which the flatterers of the emperor would have made more severe.
nequa . . . egebat: he had no need to control himself, enjoying as he did the favor of the prince. aequabilis, steady.
5. licet: i.e. by discretion (aliquid in nostris consilii). For 'Tacitus' attitude on fatalism, see VI. 22.
6. uxorum criminibus: see the proposition of CECINA, III. 33. 1; this had perhaps been occasioned by observation of the administration of Silius, who was in his neighbor-
hood.
21. ut rettuli: see II. 34. 1.
2. revolvente: as a habit.
nem Q. Granius secreti sermonis incusavit adversum maiestatem habit, adiecitque in domo eius venenum esse, eumque gladio accinctum introire curiam. Quod ut atrociss vero tramissum; ceterorum, quae multa cumulabantur, receptus est reus, neque peractus ob mortem opportunam. Relatum et de Cassio Severo exsule, qui sordidae originis, malefaciae vitae, sed orandi validus, per immodicas inimicitias ut iudicio iurati senatus Cretam amoveretur effecerat; atque illic eadem actitando recentia veteraque odia advertit, bonisque exutus, interdicto igni atque aqua, saxo Seripho consenuit.

32 Per idem tempus Plautius Silvanus praetor incertis causis Aproniam coniugem in praecipe iecit, tractusque ad Caesararem ab L. Apronio socero turbata mente respondit, tamquam ipse somno gravis atque eo ignarus, et uxor sponte mortem sumpsisset. Non cunctanter Tiberius pergit in domum, visit cubiculum, in quo relvantis et impulsae vestigia cernebantur. Refert ad senatum, datisque iudicibus Urgulania Silvani avia pugnem nepoti misit. Quod perinde creditum quasi principis monitu, ob amicitiam Augustae cum Urgulania. Reus frustra temptato ferro venas praebuit exsovendas. Mox Numantina, prior uxor eius, accusata

3. adversum maiestatem, treason.
gladio, etc.; carrying concealed weapons into the senate was strictly forbidden.
5. Cassio Severo: see I. 72. 4. orandi validus: Quintillian says of him (X. 1. 116), inexpectum iurati plurimum est in eo et acerbas mira, et urbanitas eius summa, sed plus stomacho quam consilio dedit.
iurati, on oath, a more formal procedure, contrasted with the usual discessio; cf. I. 74. 5.

advertis: sc. in se.
saxo: the barren, rocky island.
32. in praecipe: out of the window.
2. non cunctanter, etc.: a striking example of Tiberius’ earnestness in the administration of justice; cf. I. 75. 1.
3. datis iudicibus: either the regular criminal court, to which the senate referred the case, or a judicial committee of the senate itself.
amicitiam Augustae: II. 34. 3.
4. venas exsovendas: opening
iniecisse carminibus et veneficiis vecondiam marito, insons iudicatur.

Is demum annus populum Romanum longo adversum Numidam Tacfarinatem bello absolvit. Nam priores duces, ubi imperando triumphalium insigni sufficeret res suas crediderant, hostem omittebant; tamque tres lauraeatae in urbe statuae, et adhuc raptabat Africam Tacfarinam, auctus Maurorum auxiliis, qui, Ptolemaeo Iubae filio iuventa incurioso, libertos regiones et servilia imperia bello mutaverant. Erat illi praedarium recepto ac socius populandi rex Garamantum, non ut cum exercitu incederet, sed missis levibus copiis, quae ex longinquo in maius audiabantur; ipsaque e provincia, ut quis fortuna inops, moribus turbidus, promptius ruezabat, quia Caesar post res a Blaeso gestas, quasi nullis iam in Africa hostibus, reportari nonam legiones iuaserat, nec pro consule eius anni P. Dolabella retinere ausus erat, iussa principis magis quam incerta belli metuens. Igitur Tacfarinam disperso rumore rem Romanam alii quoque ab nationibus lacerari eoque paulatim Africa decedere, ac posse reliquos circumveniri, si cuncti, qui-

the arteries in a warm bath was a favorite mode of suicide.

iniecisse ... vecondiam: and that this was the cause of the murder.

22. ubi: i.e. as soon as.

triumphalium insigni: the ornamentum triumphalis; see l. 72. 1; dative after suissece.

tres ... statuae: of Camillus (II. 54. 9), Bleaus (III. 52. 6), and probably Apronius (III. 21).

Ptolemaeo: see 5. 3 n.; his Egyptian name came from his mother, who was Cleopatra Seiene, daughter of Mark Antony and Cleopatra.

juventa: ablative of cause.

libertos ... imperia: a baldass, — the servile rule of the king's freedmen, under the indolent (incurioso) prince.

2. rex Garamantium: III. 74. 2. in maius: cf. in deterius, i. 62. 3; in mebus, III. 54. 9; Intr. 35. 1, audiabantur, were reported.

ipsa provincia: the Roman province of Africa.

nonam legiones: see 5. 4.

24. paulatim: the ninth legion had gone, the other would follow soon.

reliquos; the troops who were left behind.
bus libertas servitio potior, incubuissent, auget vires positisque castris Thubuscam oppidum circumsidet.

2 At Dolabella contracto quod erat militum, terrore nominis Romani et quia Numidae peditum aciem ferre nequeunt, primo sui incessu solvit obsidium locorumque opportuna permunivit; simul principes Musulamiorum defectionem coeptantes securi percuit. Dein, quia pluribus adversum Tacfarinatem expeditionibus cognitionum non gravi nec uno incursu consectandum hostem vagum, excito cum popularibus rege Ptolemaco quattuor agmina parat, quae legatis aut tribunis data; et praedatorias manus delecti Maurorum duxere: ipse consultor adebat omnibus. Nec multo post adfertur Numidas apud castellum semiratum, ab ipsis quondam incensum, cui nomen Auzea, positis mabalibus consedisse, fisos loco, quia vastis circum saltibus clauedebatur. Tum expeditiones cohortes alaeque, quam in partem ducerentur ignaree, cito aegmine rapiuntur. Simulque coeptus dies et concentu tubarum ac truci clamore aderant semisomnos in barbaros, praepeditis Numidarium equis aut diversos pastus pererrantibus. Ab Romanis confertus pedes, dispositae turmae, cuncta proelio provisa; hosti-

Thubuscam: this is probably the same as Thubursicum, a town on the slopes of Mount Auratus, in the southern part of Numidia, in the neighborhood of the Musulamii; it is mentioned by Mommsen (Provinciarum II. 366) as having arisen from a former settlement of Numidians.

2. sal: Tacitus often uses this genitive without any special emphasis; cf. nati origine, II. 34. 3. Musulamiorum: see II. 32. 2. 3. cognitum: sc. erat; has for subject the clause non... vagum. gravi... incursu: a single movement of heavy troops; he adopted the same policy as Bocca (III. 74. 1).

daedatorias manus: in addition to the quattuor armiae.

26. Auzea: this town was further west than Thubuscam, in the eastern part of Mauretania.

praepeditis: equus, hooved, fastened by one foot, according to the custom of Orientals.

3. ab Romanis, on the part of the Romans.

confertus, in close order.
bus contra omnium nescis non arma, non ordo, non consilium, sed pecorum modo trahi occidi capi. In- fensus miles memoria laborum et adversum eludentis optatae totiens pugnae se quisque ultione et sanguine explebant. Differtur per manipulos, Tacfarinatem om- nes, notum tot proeliis, consectentur: non nisi duce interficto requiem belli fore. At ille deiectis circum 6 stipatoribus victoquite iam filio et effusis undique Ro- manis, ruendo in tela captivitatem haud inulta morte effugit isque finis armis impositus.

Dolabellae petenti abruit triumphalia Tiberius, Se- 26
iano tribunus ne Blaei avunculi eius laus obsolesceret.
Sed neque Blaesus ideo illustrior, et huic negatus honor
23
3
3
4
5
6
7
8
gloriam intendit: quippe minore exercitu insignis captivos, caedem ducis bellique confecti famam deportat.
Sequebantur et Garamantum legati, raro in urbe visi, quos Tacfarinate caeso perculsa gens et culpae nescia
ad satis faciendum populo Romano miserat. Cognitis dehinc Ptolemaei per id bellum studiis repetitus ex vestro
morte honos missusque e senatoribus, qui scipio-
nem eburnum, togam pictam, antiqua patrum munera,
daret regemque et socium atque amicum appellaret.

Eadem aestate mota per Italianum servilis belli semina 27
fors oppressit. Auctor tumultus T. Curtisius, quondam praetoriae cohortis miles, primo coetibus clandestinis
apud Brundisium et circumiecta oppida, mox positis

5. differtur, word is spread.
6. effusis, pouring in upon him.
96. avunculi: see III. 72. 6.
Of the motives of this refusal we really know nothing, but as Tiberius was already strongly under the in-
fuence of Sejanus, we may fairly admit the justice of Tacitus' suspi-
cion, and regard this, like the case in 20. 2, as an indication of the change for the worse in Tiberius.
3. culpae nescia: it was their
king, not the nation, that had sent aid to Tacfarinam (23. 2); some edit-
tors, nevertheless, change et to ad.
4. Ptolemaei: king of Maure-
tania (23. 1). His sympathy (stu-
dilis) had been with the Romans.
propalam libellis ad libertatem vocabat agrestia per longinquos saltus et ferocia servitia, cum velut munere deum tres biremes appulere ad usus commeatium illo mari. Et erat idem regionibus Cutius Lupus quaestor, cui provincia vetere ex more calles venerant: is disposta classiariorum copia coeptantem cum maxime coniurationem disiecit. Missusque a Caesare propere Staius tribunus cum valida manu ducem ipsum et proximos audacia in urbem traxit, iam trepidam ob multitudinem familiarum, quae gliscebat immensus, minore in dies plebe ingenua.

Isdem Consulibus miseriae ac saevisiae exemplum atrox, reus pater, accusator filius (nomen utrique Vibius Senenus) in senatum inducti sunt. Ab exilio retractus illuvieque ac squalore obsitus et tum catena vincutus pater oranti filio comparatur. Adulescens multis munditis, alacri vultu, structas principi insidas, missos in Galliam concitores bellii index idem et testis dicebat, adnecetabque Caecilia Cornutum praetorium ministriasse pecuniam; qui taedo curarum, et quia periculum pro exitio habebatur, mortem in se festinavit.

27. libellis, proclamations.

per longinquos saltus: this part of Italy was occupied for the most part in pasturage, the herds being tended by slaves.

2. provincia: the word is used here in its primitive sense, as a special field of duties, not a territory to be administered.

3. calles, lanes = the lanes or bypaths by which the pastures were reached, and so, by usage, the pastures themselves. The extensive pastures, which were the property of the state in these regions, appear to have been under the charge of a quaestor, whose business it was to collect the revenues and protect the pastures from highwaymen, etc.; see App. I.

classiariorum: i.e. from the three biremes.

cum maxime: qualifies coeptantem, — at its very beginning.

3. familiarum, slaves; the slaves of a household were called familia. quae gliscebat, etc.: slave labor was fast expelling the free population.

28. Vibius Senenus: see 13. 2.

2. orans, speaking, — conducting the prosecution.

comparatur, is confronted, — a figure taken from gladiators.

multis munditis, elegantly dressed.
At contra reus nihil infraocto animo obversus in filium 3 quartere vincula, vocare uliores deos ut sibi quidem red-derent exilium, ubi procul tali more ageret, filium au-tem quandoque supplicia sequeruntur. Asseverabatque innocentem Cornutum et falsa exterritum; idque facile intellectu, si proderentur alii: non enim se caedem principis et res novas uno socio cogitasse. Tum accusa-tor Cn. Lentulum et Seium Tiberonem nominat, magno pudore Caesaris, cum primores civitatis, intimi ipsius amici. Lentulus senectutiis extremae, Tubero de-fecto corpore, tumultus hostilis et turbandae rei publicae accerserentur. Sed hi quidem statim exempti; in pa-trem ex servis quasitum, et quaestio adversa accusatori fuit. Qui scelere vecors, simul vulgi rumore territus, s robur et saxum aut parricidarum poenas minitantium, cessit urbe. Ac retractus Ravenna exsequi accusa-tionem adigitur, non occultante Tiberio vetus odium adversum exsulem Serenum. Nam post damnatum Libon- nem missis ad Caesarem litteris exprobraverat suum tan-tum studium sine fructu fuisse, addideratque quaedam contumacias quam tutum apud aures superbas et offen-

balli: i.e. the war of Saccovis.
index, etc.: the index was the one who brought the crime to the knowledge of the magistrates (II. 28. 3); here the son also gave tes-timony in the trial as testia.
3. falsa exterriitum, terrified by liet; falsa is a Grecian, an adver-
bial accusative.
alii: i.e. conspirors, besides Cornutus; no man would be so rash as to conspire with one accomplice.
29. Cn. Lentulum: for his death see 44. 1.
Seium Tiberonem: brother of Sejanus.
accerserentur, were accused of.
2. minitantium: agrees with vulgi. By robur is meant the Tul-lianum or Mamertine prison, just above the Forum, described by Sal-lust (Cat. 55), and still to be seen; saxum is the Tarpeian rock, from which evil-doers were buried; par-ricides were sewed in a sack with a dog, a cock, a viper, and a monkey, and then dropped in the sea.
3. exsequi accusationem: which he had dropped when the prelimi-nary investigation (quaestio) had gone against him.
4. post damnatum Libonem: Serenus (the father) had been one of the acuser (II. 30. 1), and, it seems, had alone of the accusers re-ceived no share of Libo's property.
sioni proniore. Ea Caesar octo post annos retulit, medium tempus varie arguens, etiam si tormenta per-
80 vicacia servorum contra evenissent. Dictis dein sente-
tiis ut Serenus more maiorum puniretur, quo molliret
5 invidiam, intercessit Gallus Asinius cum Gyaro aut
Donusa claudendum censeret, id quoque aspernatus est,
egenam aquae utramque insulam referens dandosque
3 vitae usus, cui vita concederetur. Ita Serenus Amor-
gum reportatur. Et quia Cornutus sua manu ceciderat,
actum de praemiis accusatoribus abolendis, si quis ma-
iestatis postulatus ante perfectum iudicium se ipse vita
4 privavisset. Ibaturque in eam sententiam, ni durius
contraque morem suum palam pro accusatoribus Caesar
irritas leges, rem publicam in praecipiti conquestus
eset: subverterent potius iura quam custodes eorum
5 amoverent. Sic delatores, genus hominum publico
exitio repertum et ne poenis quidem umquam satis
coercitum, per praemia eliciebantur.
81 His tam assiduis tamque maestis modica laetitia in-
tericitur, quod C. Cominium equitem Romanum, pro-
brasii in se carminis convictum, Caesar precibus fratrjs,
s qui senator erat, concessit. Quo magis mirum habeba-

5. medium tempus, etc.: the man was clearly of a bad character, and the offences for which he had been banished the year before had been committed since the affair of Ibo. But although the emperor desired his conviction, it is noticeable that he took care to make the punishment as mild as possible.

contra evenissent, had failed
80. more maiorum: by scourging and beheading (see II. 32. 5).
2. Gyaro aut Donusa: two small islands among the Cyclades.
3. Amorgum: his former place of exile (13. 2).
tur gnarum meliorum, et quae fama clementiam sequetur, tristiora malle. Neque enim socordia peccabat; nec occultum est quando ex veritate, quando adumbrata laetitia facta imperatorum celebrentur. Quin ipse, compositus alias et velut eluctantium verborum, solutius promptiusque eloquebatur, quotiens subveniret. At P. Suillium, quaestorem quondam Germanici, cum Italia arceretur convictus pecuniam ob rem iudicandam cepisse, amovendum in insulam censuit, tanta contentione animi ut nure iurando obstringeret e re publica id esse. Quod asperre acceptum ad praesens mox in laudem vertit regresso Suillio; quem vidit sequens actas praepotentem, venalem et Claudii principis amicitia diu prospere, numquam bene usum. Eadem poena in Catum Firmium senatorem statuitur, tamquam falsis maiestatis criminius sororem petivisset. Catus, ut rettuli, Libonem illexerat insidiis, deinde indicio perculerat. Eius operae memori Tiberius, sed alia praetendens, exsilium deprecatus est; quo minus senatu pelleretur non obstitit.

Pluraque eorum, quae rettuli quaeque referam, parva

81. quae fama, etc.: this judgment as to the emperor's disposition is significant; he always acted with deliberation (neque socordia peccabat), and it was easy to note his gratification when he could temper justice with mercy (quotiens subveniret: sc. reo); but he was not deterred from severe measures by their unpopularity, to which the applause of his flatterers did not blind him (nec occultum est, etc.).

4. eluctantium, struggling forth; i.e. uttered slowly and with difficulty.

5. cum Italia arceretur: the penalty of relegatio (III. 17. 8 n.) was on the point of being voted, when he substituted deportatio in insulam, a punishment which took the place (with enhanced severity) of aquae et ignis interdictio. It required residence in a specified place, generally an island, and entailed loss of citizenship (Mommsen, Röm. Staatsrecht. III. 140).

contentione, earnestness.

lure iurando, etc., more (L. 14. 6).

6. asperre acceptum: the aristocracy was not fond of seeing justice exercised upon members of its own order.

7. ut rettuli: II. 27. 2.
forsitan et levia memoratu videri non nescius sum; sed nemo annales nostros cum scriptura eorum contenderit, qui veteres populi Romani res composuerunt. Ingentia illi bella, expugnationes urbiom, fusos captosque reges, aut si quando ad interna praeverterent, discordias consulum adversum tribunos, agrarias frumentariasque leges, plebis et optimatum certamina libero egressu memorabant: nobis in arto et inglorius labor; immota quippe aut modice lacesita pax, maestae urbis res et princeps proferendi imperii incuriosus erat. Non tamen sine usu fuerit introspicere illa primo aspectu levia, ex quis magnarum saepe rerum motus oriuntur. Nam cunctas nationes et urbes populus aut primores aut singuli regunt; delecta ex iis et consociata rei publicae forma laudari facilius quam evenire, vel si evenit, haud diuturna esse potest. Igitur ut olim plebe valida, vel cum patres pollerent, nescenda vulgi natura et quibus modis temperanter habetur, senatusque et optimatum ingenia qui maxime perdidicerant, callidi temporum et sapientes credebantur, sic converso statu neque

3. annales nostros: see Instr. 3. (5) n.
2. agrarias frumentariasque leges: the agrarian laws, providing for the distribution of land to poor citizens, and the corn laws, providing for the distribution of grain at less than the market price.
libero egressu, with free scope; contrasted with in arto.
3. immota ... erat: a peaceful policy did not deserve the attention of the historian. Instr. 34.
4. nations et urbes: the Greeks and Romans built their political system upon the City, in contrast to the Nations of the Orient.
populus, etc.: democracy, aristocracy, and monarchy.
delecta ex iis: the mixed form of government, praised by philosophers, of which the modern constitutional monarchy is an example.
2. plebe valida, etc.: Instr. 35. r.
nescenda: sic erat. The construction changes with the clause quibus, etc., with which is to be understood nescendum. This clause belongs to plebe valida, — under democracies the way of managing the people must be studied; the clause senatus ... credebantur belongs to cum patres pollerent, — in aristocracies those are esteemed wise statesmen who understand the senate and nobles.
converso statu, the government having been changed.
alim... strad with haec conqueror
tradique in rem fuerit, quia pauci prudential honesta ab
deterioribus, utilia ab noxiis discernunt, plures aliorum
eventis docentur. Ceterum ut profutura, ita minimum
oblactationis aderunt. Nam situs gentium, varieta
tes proeliorum, clari ducum exitus retinent ac redintegrant
legentium animum: nos saeva iussa, continuas accusa
tiones, fallaces amicitias, perniciem innocentium et eas
dem exitu causas consiungimus, obvia rerum similitudine
et satietae. Tum quod antiquis scriptoribus rarus ob
tractator, neque refert cuiusquam Punicas Romanas
acies laetius extuleris: at multorum, qui Tiberio regente
poenam vel infamias subiere, posteri manent. Utque
familiae ipsae iam extinctae sint, reperies qui ob simili
tudinem morum aliena malefacta sibi obiectari putent.
Etiam gloria ac virtus infensos habet, ut nimirum pro
pinguio diversa arguens. Sed ad inceptum redeo.

Cornelio Cosso Asinio Agrippa consulis Cremutius
Cordus postulatur, novo a tunc primum audito crimen,
quod editis annalibus laudatoque M. Bruto C. Cassium

alim... quam, other than; ablative absolute; it was a monarchy in
fact, if not in form.
haec: 32. 1.
in rem, to the purpose; predicate with fuerit.
pauci, only a few; the distinction is between the discernment of principles and the teaching of experience.
prudentia: ablative.
3. eadem exitu, always having the same issue. Some editors change exitu to exitil.
4. tum quod: for accedit quod, or the like; he goes back to 32 and gives another reason why nemo contenderit, etc.

Romanas: see App. 1.
5. ut, although.
6. ut nimirum, etc.: i.e. the nearness of the illustration in time makes the comparison distasteful.
Cremutius Cordus: he wrote a
history of the Civil Wars and one of the reign of Augustus. The work in question had been published some
years before.

nov... crimen: cf. Agricola,
2: legitimus cum Arulena Rustico
Praetos Thrasoe, Herennio Socie
zioni Priscius Hebridius laudati es
ten, capitale fuisse.
Romanorum ultimum dixisset. Accusabant Satrius Secundus et Pinarius Natta, Seiani clientes. Id perniciabile reo, et Caesar truci vultu definitionem accipiens quam Crementius, relinquendae vitae certus, in hunc modum exorsus est: 'Verba mea, patres conscripti, ar- guuntur: adeo factorum innocens sum. Sed neque haec in principem aut principis parentem, quos lex maiestatis amplexititur; Brutum et Cassium laudavisse dicor, quorum res gestas cum plurimi composuerint, nemo sine honore memoravit. Titus Livius, eloquentiae ac fidei praebens in pristis, Cn. Pompeium tantis laudibus tulit ut Pompeianum eum Augustus appellaret; neque id amisitae eorum offecit. Scipionem, Afraniun, hunc ipsum Cassium, hunc Brutum nusquam latrones et par- ricidas, quae nunc vocabula imponuntur, saepet ut insignis viros nominat. Asinii Pollionis scripta egregiam eorumdem memoriam tradunt; Messalla Corvinus imperato-
rem suum Cassium praedicabat: et uterque opibus atque honoribus perviguer e. Marci Ciceronis libro, quo Catonem caelo aequavit, quid aliud dictator Caesar quam rescripta oratione, velut apud iudices, respondit? Antonii epistulae, Bruti contiones falsa quidem in Augustum probr a, sed multa cum acerbitate habent; carmina Bibaculi et Catulli referta contumeliis Caesarum leguntur: sed ipse divus Iulius, ipse divus Augustus et tulere ista et reliquere, haud facile dixerim moderatione magis an sapientia. Namque spreta exolescunt: si irascare, agnita videntur. Non atingo Graecos, quorum non modo libertas, etiam libido impunita; aut si quis advertit, dictis dicta ultus est. Sed maxime solutum et sine obsectatore fuit prodere de iis quos mors odio aut gratiae exemisset. Num enim armatis Cassio et Bruto ac Philippenses campos obtinentibus bellii civilis causa populum per contiones incendo? an illi quidem septuagesimum ante annum perempti, quo modo imaginibus suis noscuntur, quas ne victor quidem abolevit, sic partem memoriae apud scriptores retinent? Suum cuique decus posteritas rependit; nec deerunt, si damnatio ingruit, qui non modo Cassii et Bruti, sed etiam mei meminerint.'

7. Marci Ciceronis, etc.: this book was called Lami Catonis (A. Gell. XIII. 19), or simply Cato (Cic. ad Att. XIII. 46); Caesar replied in a work called Anticato (A. Gell. IV. 16), of which Cicero says (ad Att. XII. 40), collegit vitam Catonis, sed cum maximis laudibus meis.

8. Antonii epistulae, etc.: some extracts from these letters are given by Suetonius (Oct. 7, 16, 63, 69). Of these speeches of Brutus nothing is known. Bibaculus was a poet, described by Horace (Sat. II. 5. 40) as of an inflated style. The vulgar abuse of Caesar in the poems of Catullus (11 and 26) is still extant.

spreta, if you despise them.
agnita, recognized = confessed.

85. 2. solutum, free.

3. num: when used, as here, to introduce the first member of a double question, num has the same force as in single questions; i.e. the question introduced by num is negative, that introduced by an is asserted, — is it not rather? etc.

4. etiam mei: i.e. as a champion of liberty.
5 Egressus dein senatu vitam abstinentia finivit. Libros per aediles cremandos censuere patres: sed manse-
6 runt, occultati et editi. Quo magis socordiam eorum irridere libet, qui praesenti potentia credunt existung
posse etiam sequentis aevi memoriam. Nam contra
punitis ingenii glisit auctoritas, neque aliiu externi
reges aut qui eaem saevitia usi sunt nisi dedecus sibi
86 atque illis gloriem peperere. Ceterum postulandis reis
tam continuus annus fuit ut feriarum Latinaurum diebus
praefectum urbis Drusum, ausplicandi gratia tribunal
ingressum, adierit Calpurnius Salvianus in Sextum
Marium; quod a Caesare palam increpitum causa exsilii

5. vitam abstinentia finivit:
this is described by Seneca, Consulatio ad Marciam, 22. 6 (Marcia was his daughter, whom he kept
in ignorance of his design): in
cubiculo se quasi guasterus consu-
tult et dimissus puerus quaedam per
fenestram, ut videretur edisse, proie-
cit. A cena deinde, quae sam saepe
in cubiculo edisset, abstinuit. Altero
guaque die et tertio idem factit.
Quarum ipse infirmitate corporis
faccubat indecum. Complexus in-
tegre ita: "Corssima," inquit, "falsa,
et hoc unum tota celata vita, iter
maris ingressus sum, et iam me-
dium fere teneo. Recusare me nec
debes nec poies."
Atque ipsi suscitar
lumen omne praecedens et se in tene-
bros conducit. His eis haec

6. auctoritas, influence.
86. continuus, uninterrupted; i.e. even by this solemn festival.

praefectum urbis: under the
kings and in the early republic the
chief magistrate appointed a praefec-
tum urbis to administer in his ab-
sence, whenever he was absent from
the city for more than one day.
After the establishment of the office of praetor, that of prefect was no
longer necessary, except on the oc-
casion of the Latin Festival, which
all magistrates were required to at-
tend. The office became, therefore,
a mere form, being filled by young
men below the senatorial age, and
with the understanding that no busi-
ness of importance should be brought
before them; hence the irregularity
of this prosecution. The officer was
distinguished from the regular city
 prefect by the title praefectus urbi
feriarum Latinaurum causa.

auspicandi: the duty of every
magistrate on assuming office. The
auspices were regularly taken upon
the Ara, or northern summit of the
Capitoline; the tribunal employed
on this occasion was that which he
was entitled to use by virtue of his
office.
increpitum: perhaps on the
ground of this irregularity; but Ti-

Per idem tempus Hispania ulterior missis ad senatum legatis oravit ut exemplo Asiae delubrum Tiberio matrice eius exstrueret. Qua occasione Caesar, validus aliqui spennendis honoribus et respondendum ratus iis quorum rumor arguebatur in ambitionem flexisse, huiusce modi orationem coepit: 'Scio, patres conscripti, constantiam meam a plerisque desideratam, quod Asiae civitatis nuper idem istud petentibus non sim adversatus. Ergo et prioris silentii defensionem et quid in futurum statuerim, simul aperiam. Cum divers Augustus sibi atque urbi Romae templum apud Pergamum

berius had not yet wholly lost his disposition to check the excesses of the delators.

2. Cyzicensia: they had failed to complete a chapel (hagion), which they had commenced to Augustus, and had imprisoned some Romans (Dio, LVI. 24).

3. bello Mithridatidis: this is the siege of Cyzicus mentioned by Cicero in his oration for the Manilian law (8, 20); they had forfeited their privileges once before, in the reign of Augustus, but they had been afterwards restored.

4. Vibium Serenum: of course, the son (28. 1).

5. destrictior: the figure is taken from a drawn sword, — more active or vindictive; cf. Plin. Ep. IX. 21. 4, destrucit minatum.

37. exemplo Asiae: see 15. 4; on this occasion the name of the senate was added to those of Tiberius and his mother. Furneaux suggests that the occasion was gratitude for the punishment of Serenus (30).

2. ambitionem, rosi-gloria.

3. desideratam, misere, on the earlier occasion.
sisti non prohibuisset, qui omnia facta dictaque eius vice legis observem, placitum iam exemplum promptius secutus sum, quia cultui meo veneratio senatus adiungens batur. Ceterum ut semel recepisse veniam habuerit, ita omnes per provincias effigie numinum sacrari ambitio-sum superbum; et vanes cet Augusti honor, si promiss-cis adulationibus vulgatur. Ego me, patres conscripti, mortalem esse et hominum officia fungi satisque habere, si locum principem ipleam, et vos testor et meminisse posteros volo; qui satis superque memoriae meae tribu-ent, ut maioribus meis dignum, rerum vestram providum, constantem in periculis, offensionum pro utilitate publica non pavidum credant. Haec mihi in animis vestris templum, haec pulcherrimae effigies et mansurae. Nam quae saxo struuntur, si judicium posterorum in odium vertit, pro sepulcris spurnuntur. Proinde socios cives et deos ipsos precor, hos ut mihi ad finem usque vitae quietem et intellegentem humani divinique iuris mentem duint, illos ut, quandoque concessero, cum laude et bonis recordationibus facta atque famam nomi-nis mei prosequantur. Perstititque posthac secretis etiam sermonibus asperrani talem sui cultum. Quod alii

4. qui...observem: Strabo says (VI. 288), τισίπως, ὥσον τῷ ἱερῷ τῷ ἱεροπλονίῳ ταῖς τῶν ἱεραποθησίων τοιοῦτοι [Augustus].
placitum, approved.
5. effigie numinum, a statue with divine attributes; the genitive defines the class of statues meant; cf. I. 10. 5.
6. officia: Tacitus uses fünger with the accusative only here and III. 2. 1, in each case quoting from Tiberius, who appears to have affected an archaic style; cf. App. 1. (note on III. 2. 1).
7. ut = dummodo: in this sense generally with a correlative sit. All the merits here claimed must certainly be conceded to him up to this time; later his natural severity of disposition degenerated into un-reasoning cruelty.
2. mansurae: cf. Verg. Aen. III. 86. pro sepulcris: i.e. as the abode of the dead, not of a living deity.
4. secretis, private.
alii, etc.: latr. 35 r.
modestiam, multi, quia diffideret, quidam ut degeneris animi interpretabantur. Optimos quippe mortalium altissima cupere: sic Herculem et Liberum apud Graecos, Quirinum apud nos deum numero additos; melius Augustum, qui speraverit. Cetera principibus statim adesse: unum insatiabiliter parandum, prosperam sui memoriam; nam contemptu famae contemni virtutes.

At Seianus nimia fortuna socors et muliebri insuper cupidine incensus, promissum matrimonium flagitante Livia, composit ad Caesarem codicillos: moris quippe tunc erat quamquam praesentem scripto adire. Eius talis forma fuit: benevolentia patris Augusti et mox plurimis Tiberii iudiciis ita insuevisse ut spes votaque sua non prius ad deos quam ad principum aures conferret. Neque fulgorem honorum umquam precatum: excubias ac labores, ut unum e militibus, pro incolumitate imperatoris malle. Ac tamen quod pulcherrimum adeptum, ut coniunctione Caesaris dignus crederetur: hinc initium spei. Et quoniam audiderit Augustum in collocanda filia non nihil etiam de equitibus Romanis

5. sic Herculem, etc.: see Horace, Od. III. 3. 9-16: Hac arte Felix et magus Herculem | Enim arces aliget ignus | Quos inter Augustus recumbens | Purpurae bi- bit ore nectar. | Hac oe meritorum, Baccho pater, inae | Vexera tigres, iidisti vagum | Callo trahentes, — hae Quirinus | Martis equis Ache- rensa fugit. | melius: see I. 43. 1 n.

6. statim: i.e., without effort.

89. muliebri: relating to Livia; cf. l. 33. 6.

codicillos, a memorial.

dier. . . . adire: Caesar introduced this practice (Plut. Cas. 17), and Augustus even conversed with his wife Livia on important subjects in writing, ex plus minuere logora- tor ex tempore (Suet. Oct. 84).

2. eius: related by synesis to codicillos.

4. coniunctione Caesaris: see 7. 3. and III. 39. 5.

5. de equitibus Romanis: Suetonio (Oct. 65) says, multis ac dim, etiam ex equestris ordine, circumsec- titis commendibus; probably Proculeius, mentioned in the next chapter, was one of these.
consultavisse, ita, si maritus Liviae quaereretur, haberet
in animo amicum sola necessitudinis gloria usurum.
6 Non enim exuere imposita munia: satis aemintare
firmari domum adversum iniqvas Agrippinae offen-
siones, idque liberorum causa; nam sibi multum super-
que vitae fore, quod tali cum principe explevisset.

40 Ad ea Tiberius laudata pietate Seani suisque in eum
beneficiis modice percursi, cum tempus tamquam ad
integram consultationem petivisset, adiunxit: ceteris
mortalibus in eo stare consilia, quid sibi conducere
putent; principium diversam esse sortem, quibus praec-
cipua 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 materem et aviam, propiora
consilia. Simplicius acturum, de inimicitiis primum
Agrippinae, qua longe acrius arsuras si matrimonium
Liviae velut in partes domum Caesarum distraxisset.

Sic quoque erumpere aemulationem feminarum, caque
discordia nepotes suos convelli: quid si intendatur cer-
tamen tali coniugio?  Falleris enim, Seiane, si te man-

sola: *i.e.* he would aspire to
nothing higher; cf. III. 57. 3 n.
necessitudinis, *connection* (here
by marriage).
6. munia: as praetorian prefect.
satis: *ae. esse.
domum, etc.: representing Agrippina
as his personal enemy.
liberorum causa: not on his
own account; for he was protected
by the emperor, whom he had no
wish to survive (*sibi multum, etc.)*.
Furneaux.
40. praecipua rerum: Intr.
35 d.
2. illuc, *to this answer*; *i.e.*
posse ipsam Liviam, etc.
nubendum: *ae. sibi esse.
materum, aviam: see Intr. p.
xxiv, no. 19.
3. Agrippinae: see 39. 6; it
will be noticed that fear of Agrip-
pina’s ambition is given as a leading
motive of Tiberius at this period.
The rivalry of her family (that of
Germanicus) with that of Drusus is
represented as already strong; the
marriage of Livia would give birth
to a third faction.
4. Sic quoque, *even as things
were.

nepotes suos: the children of
Germanicus and of Drusus.
intendatur, *made more intense.*
surum in eodem ordine putas, et Liviam, quae Gaio Cae-
sari, mox Druso nupta fuit, ea mente acturam ut cum
equite Romano senescat. Ego ut sinam, credisne pas-
suros qui fratrem eius, qui patrem maioresque nostros
in summis imperis videre? Vis tu quidem istum intra
locum sistere: sed illi magistratus et primores, qui te
invitum perrumpunt omnibusque de rebus consulunt,
excessisse iam pridem equestre fastigium longeque an-
tisse patris mei amicitias non occulti ferunt, perque
invidiam tui me quoque incusant. At enim Augustus
filiam suam equiti Romano tradere meditatus est: mi-
rum hercule, si cum in omnis curas distrabheretur, im-
mensumque attolli provideret quem conjunctione tali
super alios extulisset, C. Proculeium et quosdam in ser-
monibus habuit insigni tranquilitate vitae, nullis rei
publicae negotiis permixtos. Sed si dubitatione Au-
gusti movemur, quanto validius est quod Marco Agrip-
pae, mox mihi collocavit? Atque ego haec pro amicitia
non occultavi: ceterum neque tuis neque Liviae de-
stinatis adversabor. Ipse quid intra animum voluta-

5. In eodem ordine: i.e. the equestrian order, to which Sejanus belonged. Membership of this order was inconsistent with a political ca-
ereer; but Sejanus must have en-
tered the senatorial order when he held the consulship, A.D. 31.

7. Iustum locum: the equestrian order.

8. In omnis curas, etc.: Augustus, unlike Tiberius, had on his shoul-
ders all the cares of state; while his contemplated sons-in-law were,
unlike Sejanus, withdrawn from pub-
lic life, and would be elevated by their marriage.

9. Quanto validius, etc.: his final decision, after deliberation,
should weigh more than his hesita-
tion. Agrippa was, to be sure, of
low birth, but he had attained sena-
torial rank.

10. pro amicitia, as our friend-
ship demands.
verum, quibus adhuc necessitadinibus immiscere te mihi
parem, omittam ad praesens referre; id tantum aperiam,
nihil esse tam excelsum quod non virtutes istae tuusque
in me animus mereantur, datoque tempore vel in senatu
vel in contione non reticebo.'
41 Rursum Seianus, non iam de matrimonio, sed altius
metuens, tacita suspicionum, vulgi rumorem, ingumen-
tem invidiam deprecatur. Ac ne assiduos in domum
coeus arcendo infringeret potentiam aut recepando
facultatem criminaribus praebet, huc flexit, ut Tibe-
rium ad vitam procul Roma amoenis locis degendam im-
pelleret. Multa quippe providebat: sua in manu aditus
litterarumque magna ex parte se arbitrum fore, cum
per milites commereant; max Caesarem vergente iam
senecta secretoque loci mollitum munior imperii facilitus
tramissurum: et minui sibi invidiam adempta salutan-
tum turba, sublatissque inanibus veram potentiam augeri.
4 Igitur paulatim negotia urbis, populi accursus, multitu-
dinem aduentium increpat, extollens laudibus quietem
et solitudinem, quis abesse taediam et offensiones ac
praecipua rerum maxime agitari.
42 Ac forte habita per illos dies de Votieno Montano,

41. rursum, in reply, in a sec-
ond letter.
altius: i.e. the intimation that
he was looked upon as already too
powerful.
suspicionum: Int. 35 d.
2. assiduos coeust: relates to
qui... consultunt in the last
chapter: by excluding the nobles
from his house he would be guilty
of an affront, by receiving them
he would incur more and more sus-
picion.
3. aditus: sc. ad principem.
per milites: soldiarii called spec-
larii (see Suet. Calig. 41) were
employed as couriers in the army,
although the regular letter-carriers
(scmulatori) of the imperial post
were ordinarily slaves or freedmen.
Hirschiend, Untersuchungen, p. 105.
tramissurum, let slip through
his hands.
adempta... turba: the crowd
of dependents and parasites who
every morning attended the hall of
the great man.
4. praecipua... agitari: i.e.
there would be leisure to attend to
really important concerns.
42. Votieno Montano: an ora-
tor of some distinction.—rarissimi,
celebris ingenii viro, cognitio cunctantem iam Tiberium perpulit ut vitandos crederet patrum coetus vocesque, quae plerumque verae et graves coram ingerebantur. Nam postulato Votieno ob contumelias in Caesarem dicatas, testis Aemilius e militariibus viris dum studio probandi cuncta refert et quamquam inter obstrepentes magna asseveratione nititur, audivit Tiberius propra quis per occultum lacerabatur, adeoque perculsus est ut se vel statim vel in cognitione purgaturum clamitaret precibusque proximorum, adulatione omnium aegre componeret animum. Et Votienus quidem maiestatis poenis affectus est. Caesar obiectam sibi adversus reos inclementiam eo pervicacius amplexus Aquiliam adulterii delatam cum Vario Ligure, quamquam Lentulus Gaetulicus consul designatus lege Iulia damnasset, exsilii punivit Apidiumque Merulam, quod in acta divi Augusti non iuraverat, albo senatorio erasit.

Audita deinde Lacedaemoniorum et Messeniorum legationes de iure templi Dianae Limnatidis, quod suis

etiam si non encedativi ingenii (Sen. Centr. IX. 5. 15).
cunctantem iam: he had already brought the emperor to consider the project, but he still hesitated.

voces, abusive language.
coram, in his presence, contrasted with per occultum below.

2. obstrepentes: i.e. the senators, in the effort to drown his voice, which he raised above the din (magna asseveratione); cf. aborbalando, VI. 24. 4.

lacerabatur: the imperfect shows that it is not the specific assaults of Votienus that excited him, but the knowledge that he was popularly the object of attacks of this nature. See intr. 14.

cognitione, the trial; at present it was only a preliminary examination.

3. eo pervicacius amplexus: driven by these indignities to accept with insistance the character of severity which had been attributed to him.

damnasset: i.e. had given his senatus to this effect, having been called upon first, as consul designatus; so with punivit.

exsilii: this punishment entailed the loss of citizenship and property, while the Lex Iulia inflicted temporary exile, with loss of only a part of the property (II. 50. 5 n.).

in . . . iuraverat: see i. 72. 2.

42. de iure templi: i.e. the jurisdiction over it. The temple was at Limene, on the confines of
a maioribus suaque in terra dicatum Lacedaemonii
firmabant annalium memoria vatunque carminibus, sed
Macedonis Philippi, cum quo bellassent, armis ademp-
tum ac post C. Caesaris et M. Antonii sententia reddi-
tum. Contra Messenii veterem inter Herculis posteros
divisionem Peloponnesi protulere, suque regi Denthalia-
tem agrum, in quo id delubrum, cessisse; monumentaque
eius rei sculpta saxis et aere prisco manere. Quod si
vatum annalium ad testimonia vocentur, plures sibi ac
locupletiores esse; neque Philippum potentia, sed ex
vero statuisse: idem regis Antigoni, idem imperatoris
Mummii iudicium; sic Milesios permisso publice arbi-
trio, postremo Atidium Gemini praetorem Achaiae
decrevisse. Ita secundum Messenios datum. Et Se-
gestani aedem Veneris montem apud Erycum, vetustate

Messenia and Laconia. It will be
remembered that Messenia was for
several hundred years subject to the
Lacedaemonians, so that questions
of boundary and jurisdiction might
easily arise.

Macedonia Philippi: the father
of Alexander the Great.

2. divisionem Peloponnesi: at
the Dorian conquest of the Pelop-
onnesus, the so-called Return of
the Heraclids, at the traditional
date of B.C. 1104. At this time the
three great Dorian states of Argos,
Sparta, and Messene were founded.

Denthaliatem agrum: probably
the name of the district in which
the temple was situated. A late
writer, Stephanus Byzantius, speaks
of certain Διόβλαμοι, who are per-
haps the same.

3. locupletiores, *more reliable.
potentia, by an arbitrary act of
power."

4. regis Antigoni: Antigonus
Dongos; he invaded the Pelopon-
nesus, B.C. 223, and died two years later.

imperatoris Mummii: the Ro-
man commander who captured Cori-
inth, B.C. 146.

5. permisso . . . arbitrio: i.e.
they had been taken as umpires.
An inscription containing their
judgment has been discovered, from
which it appears that the vote in
favor of the Messenian claim was
524 to 16. From this Furseaux
infers "that the case was clear, and
that the subsequent counter-decision
was probably an instance in which
Antonius had traded on the memo-
randa of Caesar." The date was
probably B.C. 135.

Atidium Gemini: perhaps
B.C. 95 (Nipperley).

6. Segestani: the people of Se-
gesta, in Sicily, near Mount Eryx.
The worship of Venus on this moun-
tain was believed to have been
founded by Σικεας (Verg. Aen. V.
759) in honor of his brother Eryx,
son of Venus and Butes. The form
Eryx is found in Cicero (Ferr. 
Act. II., II. 8. 22; 47. 115).
dilapsam, restaurari postulavere, nota memorantes de origine eius et laeta Tiberio. Suscepit curam libens ut consanguineus. Tunc tractatae Massiliensem preces 7 probatumque P. Rutilii exemplum; namque eum legibus pulsum civesi Zymi nae addiderant. Quo iure s Vulciatius Moschus excusl in Massilienses receptus bona sua rei publicae eorum ut patriae reliquerat.

Obiere eo anno nobiles Cn. Lentulus et L. Domitius. Lentulo super consulatum et triumphalia de Getis gloriae fuerat bene tolerata paupertas, dein magnae opes innoventer partae et modestae habitae. Domitiun decoravit pater civili bello maris potens, donec Antonii partibus, mox Caesaris misceretur. Avus Pharsalica acie pro optimatibus ceciderat. Ipse delectus, 3 cui minor Antonia, Octavia genita, in matrimonium

_1. lasta Tiberio_: because the Julian race, to which he belonged by adoption, professed to be descended from Iulius, son of Aeneas; this made him consanguineus.

_2. preces_: explained by what follows. The will of Moschus had been contested on the ground that he could not thus expatriate himself; but it was sustained by the precedent of Rutilius (III. 66. 2), who, under similar circumstances, had become a citizen of Smyrna.

_3. Massilienses_: this rich and populous commercial city, although deprived of most of its territory by Julius Caesar, B.C. 49, still, like Rhodes (I. 4. 4 n.), retained its independence, as a civitas foederata (Plin. _N. H._ III. 4. 35), and possessed therefore the suo ius civitatis, or right of receiving exiled Roman citizens.

_4. Cn. Lentulus_: see I. 27. 1. The Getes, whom he subdued, were a Thracian people residing upon both banks of the Danube, probably identical with the Dacians.

_5. Domitius_: grandfather of the emperor Nero. His grandfather, Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, fell at Pharsalus on the side of Pompey (pro optimatisburo); he was, says Suetonius (_Nero_, 2), _a longe satis constant et ingenio truci_, and adds that he favored treating neutrals as enemies.

_6. gloriae_: dative of service.

_7. misceretur_, joined.

_pater civili bello maris potens_: this son was, whose Suetonius (_Nero_, 3) pronounces _omnis genitis suo force duro praeveritum_, commanded the republican fleet, under Brutus and Cassius, and after the downfall of his party, delivered it up to Antony, receiving therefor pardon, and retaining his property; he afterwards went over to Octavivus. He is the _Enobarbus_ of Shakespeare.

_8. minor Antonia_: Suetonius
daretur, post exercitu flumen Albim transcindit, longius penetretata Germania quam quisquam priorum, easque ob res insignia triumphi adeptus est. Obit et L. Antonius, multa claritudine generis, sed improspera. Nam patre eius Iulo Antonio ob adulterium Iuliae morte punito hunc admodum adulescentulum, sororis nepotem, sepsoit Augustus in civitatem Massiliensem, ubi specie studiorum nomen exsilii tegeteret. Habitum tamen supremis honor, ossaque tumulo Octaviorum illata per decretum senatus.

45 Isdem consulibus facinus atrox in citeriore Hispania admisserum a quodam agristi nationis Termestinae. Is praetorem provinciae L. Pisonem, pace incursorum, ex improviso in itinere adortus uno vulnere in mortem adfecit; ac perniciate equi profugus, postquam saltuosos locos attigerat, dipisso equo per 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 clamavit: asisterent socii ac spectarent; nullam vim tantam doloris fore ut veritatem eliceret. Idemque cum postero ad quaestionem retraheretur, eo nisu pro-

( Nero, 5) says it was the elder, no doubt correctly (see III. 3. 2 n.). For their son, the father of Nero, see 75. 1.

post ... adeptus est: he commanded in Germany for six years, ending B.C. 1 (see l. 63. 6).

5. Iulo Antonio: see I. 10. 3. sororis nepotem: his mother was Marcella, daughter of Octavia, the sister of Augustus.

specie studiorum: so Agricola sedem ac magistrum studiorum Massiliam habuit, locum Graecce comitate et provinciali parsimonia mistum ac bene compositum (Tac. Agr. 4).

45. Termestinae: of Termes, west of Numantia.

praeotorem, etc.: this being an imperial province, was governed by a legatus pro praetore of the emperor (see Intr. 17 and 18, B. 17).

L. Pisonem: believed to have been the elder of the two brothers to whom Horace addressed the epistle known as Ars Poetica: O maior invenum, etc.
ripuit se custodibus saxoque caput adfixit ut statim examinaretur. Sed Piso Terme" "norum dolo caesus habetur; quippe pecunias e publico interceptas acrus quam ut tolerarent barbari cogebat.

Lentulo Gaetulico C. Calvisio consulibus decreta tri- umphi insignia Poppeao Sabino contusis Thracicum gentibus, qui montium editis inculto atque eo ferciu agitabant. Causa motus super hominum ingenium, quod patri dilectus et validissimum quenque militiae nostrae dare aspernabantur, ne regibus quidem parere nisi ex libidine soliti, aut si mitterent auxilia, suos du" "ctores praeficere nec nisi adversum accolas belligerare. Ac tum rumor incesserat fore ut disiecti alisque nationi" "bus permixti diversas in terras traherentur. Sed ante- quem arma inciperent, misere legatos amicitiam observi- quumque memoratos, et mansura haec, si nullo novo onere temporentur: sin ut victis servitium indiceretur, esse sibi ferrum et iuventutem et promptum libertati

4. custodibus: dativ after pro- ripuit, with the construction of epi- pera.
5. pecunias e publico: i.e. due from the town of Termea.
   interceptas, withhold: he, as governors, exacted the tribute with excessive rigor.
46. Lentulo Gaetulico: he afterwards conspired against Caligula, and was put to death by him.
   Poppeao Sabino: see I. 80. 1.
   montium editis: cf. subjecta villium, I. 65. 1; these were in the Hellenic range, north of the cultivated parts of Thrace.
2. pati dilectus, etc.: the change from their native license to the strictness of the Roman administration was too great.
ne regibus quidem, etc.: cf. Tac. Germ. 7; nec regibus infinita aut libera potes, et duces exemplo poletas quam imperio... praeum.
   suos ductores: so as not to form a part of the Roman army, like the auxiliaries, who served under Roman praefecti, but, like the later foederati, as an independent, national force.
3. disiecti, etc.: this was the Roman policy, to prevent local or national sympathies in the several armies; but it had not been enforced in this turbulent region.
   diversae, distant: cf. the complaints of the Pannonian legions (I. 17. 5), trahi diversas in terras.
4. memoratos: this form, since Livy, often expresses purpose.
   haec: their present condition of order and obedience.
aut ad mortem animum. Simul castella rupibus indita
collatosque illuc parentes et coniuges ostentabant bel-
lumque impeditum arduum cruentum minitabantur. At
Sabinus, donec exercitus in unum conducaret, datis
mitibus responsis, postquam Pomponius Labeo e Moesia
cum legione, rex Rheometalces cum auxiliis popularium,
qui fidem non mutaverant, venere, addita praesenti copia
ad hostem pergit compositum iam per angustias sal-
tuum. Quidam audentius apertis in collibus visebantur,
quos dux Romanus acie suggessurus haud aegre pepulit,
sanguine barbarorum modico ob propinquaque suffugia.

Mox castris in loco communis valida manu montem
occupat, angustum et acquali dorso continuo usque ad
proximum castellum, quod magna vis armata aut incon-
dita tuebatur. Simul in feroxissimos, qui ante vallum
more gentis cum carminibus et tripudiis persultabant,
mittit delectos sagittariorum. Ii dum eminus grassa-
bantur, crebra et inulta vulnera fecere: propius ince-
dentes eruptione subita turbati sunt receptique subsidio
Sugarambris cohortis, quam Romanus promptam ad peri-
cula nec minus cantuum et armorum tumultu trucem
haud procul instruxerat. Translata dehinc castra hos-
tem propter, relictis apud priora munimenta Thraceibus,
quos nobis aduisse memoravi. Iisque permissum vas-

47. Pomponius Labeo: govern-

Rheometalces: king of a part
of Thrace (II. 67. 4); he was re-
quired to furnish auxiliaries (5. 5).
compositum, gathered together.
2. visebantur, showed themselves.
suffugia: in the mountain re-
treats.
s. acquali dorso continuum,
stretching in a continuous ridge.

incondita: only in part armed
and disciplined (cf. III. 43. 2).
4. tripudias, a war dance.
5. recepti, received.
nec minus: i.e., than the Thra-
cians. The Sugarambrics were a
German tribe who had been removed
to the west bank of the Rhine (see
II. 26. 3), and who were afterwards
merged in the Franks.
cantuum et armorum tumultu:
it is well known what terror is in-
spired by the Indian war-whoop;
tare, trahere praedas, dum populatio lucem intra sistere-
tur noctemque in castris tutam et vigilem capessent.
Id primo servatum: mox versi in luxum et raptis opu-
3 lentis omittere stationes, lascivia epularum aut somno et
vino procumbere.

Igitur hostes incuria eorum comperta duo agmina 4
parant, quorum altero popolares invaderunt, alii cas-
tra Romana appugnarent, non spe capiendi, sed ut cla-
more telis suo quisque periculo intentus sonorem alterius
proelii non acciperet. Tenebrae insuper delectae augen-
dam ad formidinem. Sed qui vallum legionum tempta-
bant, facile pelluntur; Thraecum auxilia repentino in-
cursu territa, cum pars munitionibus adiacerent, plures
extra palarentur, tanto insensius caesi, quanto perfugae
et proditores ferre arma ad suum patriaque servitium
incusabantur. Postera die Sabinus exercitum aquo 40
loco ostendit, si barbari successu noctis alacres proelium
auderent. Et postquam castello aut coniunctis tumulis
non degrediebantur, obsidium coepit per praesidia, quae
opportune iam muniebat; dein fossam loricamque con-
texens quattuor millia passuum ambitu amplexus est;
tum paulatim, ut aquam pabulumque eriperet, contra-
here claustra artaque circumdare; et struebatur agger,
unde saxa hastae ignes propinquum iam in hostem

Tacitus describes the war-songs of
the Germans, Germ. 3.
48. 3. id, these directions.
somno et vino: a hendiadys,—
a drunken sleep: cf. Verg. Aen. IX.
189.
4. munitionibus adiacerent: explaining the carelessness of their
watch,—lying around instead of
standing guard; cf. I. 5§. 1.
5. quarto, in proportion as; they
were more incensed against their
traitorous countrymen than against
the Romans.
49. 2. castello: 47. 3.
praesidia, redoubts.
loricam: properly the work con-
structed to strengthen the palisade
(vallum), here used for the whole
breastwork. This was constructed
from redoubt to redoubt, making a
continuous circumvallation enclos-
ing the fortress.
claustra: the fortified line de-
iacerentur. Sed nihil aequum quam sitis fatigabat, cum ingens multitudo bellatorum imbellium uno reliquo fonte uterentur; simul equi armenta, ut mos barbaris, iuxta clausa, egestate pabuli examinari; adiagere corpora hominum, quos vulnera, quos sitis peremerat; pollui cuncta sanie odore contactu.

Rebusque turbatis malum extremum discordia aecessit, his deditio nem, aliis mortem et mutuos inter se ictus parantibus; et erant qui non inultum exitium, sed erup tione suaderent. Neque ignobiles tantum his diversi sententia, verum e ducibus Dinis, provectus senecta et longo usu vim atque clementiam Romanam edoctus, nonenda arma, unum afflictis id remedium disserebat, primumque se cum coniuge et libris victori permisit; secuti aetate aut sexu imbecilli et quibus maior vitae quam gloriae cupido. At iuventus Tarsam inter et Turesim distrabeatur. Utrique destinatum cum libertate occidere, sed Tarsa properum finem, abrupendas pariter spes ac metus clamitans, dedit exemplum demisso in pectus ferro; nec defuere qui eodem modo opperentur.

Turesis sua cum manu noctem opperitur, haud nescio duce nostro; igitur firmatae stationes densioribus globis. Et ingruebatnox nimbo atrox, hostisque clamore turbido, modo per vastum silentium, incertos obsessores effecerat, cum Sabinus circumire, hortari ne ad ambigua

scribed above; by advancing this (contra hanc), the enclosed space became arca.

3. imbellium: the non-combatants—women, children, etc.; cf. 50. 2; 51. 2.

4. iuxta clausa, shut up along with them.

50. 2. neque ignobiles tantum: see App. 1.; it was not only the commonly who were thus divided in opinion, but even one of the leaders favored surrender, while those opposed to him were divided between the two parties headed by Tarsa and Turesis (3).

6. modo: answers to modo understood before clamore turbido.

vastum: cf. III. 4. 1, dies per silentium vastum.

ad: i.e. in reference to, by giving heed to, etc.
sonitus aut simulationem quietis casum insidiantibus aperi Brent, sed sua quisque munia servarent immoti telisque non in falsum iactis. Interea barbari catervis de currentes nunc in vallum manuia saxa, praestas sudes, decisa robora iacere, nunc virgultis et cratibus et corporibus examinis complere fossas, quidam pontis et scalas ante fabricati inferre propugnaculis eaque pressare, detrhere et adversum resistentis comminus niti. Miles contra deturbare telis, pellere umberibus, muralia pilu, congestas lapidum moles provolvere. His partae victoriae spes et, si cedant, insignitius flagitium, illis extrema iam salus et assistentes plerisque matres et coniuges earumque lamenta addunt animos. Nox alii in audaciam, alii ad formidinem opportuna; incerti ictus, vulnera improvisa; suorum atque hostium ignorio et montis anfractu repercussae velut a tergo voces adeo cuncta miscuerant ut quaedam munimenta Romani quasi perturpta omiserint. Neque tamen pervasere hostes nisi admodum pauci: ceteros, delecto promptissimo quoque aut saucio, appetente iam luce trusere in summis castelli, ubi tandem coacta deditio. Et proxima 5 sponte incalarum recepta; reliquis, quo minus vi aut obsidio subigerentur, praematura montis Haemi et saeva hiems subvenit.

casum = occasionem. in falsum: i.e. into empty space. 5. catervis: cf. Hist. II. 42 4. catervis et cannis concurrebant. manuia: capable of being grasped with the hand. iacere . . . provolvere: Intr. 35 b. 2. muralia, to be thrown from the walls: larger javelins than those used in battle. his: the Roman; illis: the barbarians.

partae: the victory was just in their hands; but their confidence became only a hope by the obstinacy of their antagonists. 3. alii . . . alii: the barbarians . . . the Romans. omiserint, neglected to guard; cf. I. 36 2 n.; 47 1. 5. proxima: the country round about. sponte, by the voluntary submission; cf. 7 3 n.; II. 59 3.

53. sobrina, second cousin. Her mother, Marcella, was daughter of Octavia; see table, Inst. p. xxix.


2. recens praetura: a new con- struction; cf. recens dolere, L. 41. 4. devo- tionem: see II. 69. 5.

3. atrox, harsh.

4. quo initio invidiae, taking this act as an occasion for her re- proaches.

effigies: referring to the image of Augustus, before which they stood.

divinum spiritum: i.e. of Augustus.

suscipere sordes, put on mourning.

5. praescribi, given as a pretext.

Sosiae: see 19. 1.

6. occulti pectoris vocem, betrayal of his hidden feelings.

correptamque: Suetonius (Tib. 53) says, numem Agrippinam ... manum apprehendit Graeco versus, "Si non dominaris, inquit, fidelo, inursum te accipere casutum tuum? nec uile max sermone dignatus est. The original Greek is not known.

7. primoribus, the first rank.

ingenio: i.e. the fame of his genius.

suo iure, with full right.
pellavit. Mox capessendis accusationibus aut reos tus
tando prosperiore eloquentiae quam morum fama fuit,
nisi quod actas extrema multum etiam eloquentiae demp-
sit, dum fessa mente retinet silentii impatientiam.

At Agrippina pervicax irae et morbo corporis im-
pligata, cum viseret eam Caesar, profusi diu ac per
silentium lacrimis, mox invidiam et preces orditur: sub-
veniret solitudini, daret maritum; habilem adhuc iuven-
tam sibi, neque aliud probis quam ex matrimonio
solaciun; esse in civitate "Germanici coniugem
ac liberos eius recipere dignarentur. Sed Caesar non
ignarus quantum ex re publica peteretur, ne tamen
offensionis aut metus manifestus foret, sine responso
quamquam instantem reliquit. Id ego, a scriptoribus
annalium non traditum, repperi in commentariis Agripp-
inae filiae, quae Neronis principis mater vitam suam et
casus suorum posteris memoravit. Ceterum Seianus
maerentem et impromptum altius perculit, immissis qui
per speciem amicitiae monerent paratum ei venenum,
vitandas soceri epulas. Atque illa simulationum nescia,
cum propter discumberet, non vultu aut sermoni flecti,
nullo attingere cibos, donec advertit Tiberius, forte an
quia audiverat; idque quo acrius experiretur, poma, ut
erant apposita, laudans nurui sua manu tradidit. Aucta

silentii impatientiam: Quintilian (XII. i. 3) adds that it was
said of him, nullum sum dicere quam desiner.

58. invidiam et precas: mingled entreaties and reproaches.
habilem, "marriageable.
Germanici: there is before this
word a gap of about fourteen letters,
probably to be filled by something in
the sense of qui in memoriam.

2. quantum ex republica: i.e.
her sons being the only surviving
heirs to the throne, her husband
would occupy a public position.

3. Agrippinae filiae: the younger
Agrippina, infamous for her
debaucheries.

58. 2. non...flecti: her coun-
tenance and voice showed unfriend-
liness, and this she did not change
during the interview.

ut erant apposita, just as they
were placed upon the table, not tast-
ing them first himself.
ex eo suspicio Agrippinae, et intacta ore servis tramsit. Nec tamen Tiberii vox coram secuta, sed, obversus ad matrem, non mirum ait si quid severius in eam statuisset, a qua veneficii insinularetur. Inde rumor parari exitium, neque id imperatorem palam audere, secretum ad perpetrandum quae.

56 Sed Caesar quo famam averteret, adesse frequens senatui legatosque Asiae, ambigentes quanam in civitate templum statueretur, pluris per dies audivit. Undecim urbes certabant, pari ambitione, viribus diversae. Neque multum distantia inter se memorabant de vetustate generis, studio in populum Romanum per bella Persi et Aristonici aliorumque regum. Verum Hypaepei Trallianique Laodicenae ac Magnetibus simul tramsi ut parum validi; ne Ilienses quidem, cum parentem urbis Romae Troiam referrent, nisi antiquitatis gloria pollebant. Paulum addubitatum, quod Halicarnasii mille et ducentos per annos nullo motu terrae nutavisse sedes

3. coram, addressed to her. statuisset, should determine, representing the future perfect of direct address.
4. secretum, a secret opportunity. Templum: see 15. 4. audivit: joined by a peculiar combination with the historical infinitive adesse.
2. Persi: this form of this genitive (as if from Persae) is found also in Sallust. Perseus, King of Macedonia, was subdued by the Romans in the battle of Pydna, B.C. 168.
3. Aristonici: Aristonicus, natural son of Eumenes II, king of Pergamus, revolted after the death of Attalus III, and attempted to set aside the provisions of his will, which bequeathed his dominions to the Roman people. He was captured and sent to Rome, where he was beheaded, B.C. 139.
3. Hypaepei, etc.: Hypaea was a town on the southern slope of Mt. Tmolus; Tralles, Laodicea, and Magnesia had all been considerable towns, but had suffered from earthquakes (Strabo, XII. 159); the Magnesia mentioned by Strabo is the one Μαγνησία, from which it is probable that that is the one here referred to. simul: used here as a preposition, governing the ablative (Intr. 35 1); cf. III. 64. 3. transmitted, passed over.
4. Ilienses: see II. 54. 3 n.
5. Halicarnassii: Halicarnassus, in Caria, was the most important of the Dorian cities of Asia Minor.
suas vivoque in saxo fundamenta templi asseveraverant. Pergamenos (eo ipso nitebantur) aede Augusto ibi sita 6 satis adeptos creditum. Ephesii Miletique, hi Apollinis, illi Dianae caerimonia occupavisse civitates visi.

Ita Sardianos inter Zmyrneosque deliberatum. Sardianae decretum Etruriae recitavere ut consanguinei: nam Tyrrhenum Lydumque Atyce rege genitos ob multitudinem divississe gentem; Lydum patria in terris resedisse, Tyrrheno datum novas ut conderet sedes; et ducum et nominibus indita vocabula illis per Asiam, his in Italia; auctamque adhuc Lydorum opulentiam missis in Graeciam populis, cui mox a Pelope nomen. Simul litteras imperatorum et icta nobiscum foedera bello Macedonum ubertatemque fluminum suorum, tempestrum caeli ac dites circum terras memoriabant. At 56 Zmyrneaei repetita vetustate, seu Tantalus Iove ortus illos, sive Theseus divina et ipse stirpe, sive una Ama-

6. Pergamenos: see 37. 4, and III. 63. 3.
   eo ipso, etc.: what they gave as the ground of their claim was in reality decisive against it.
   Ephesii Miletique: see III. 61. 1, and 63. 5.
   civitates: ac suas: i.e. these cities had occupation of the cities, so that they would obscure any new one.
7. Sardianos: they too had suffered from an earthquake (II. 47. 3), but had probably been restored. Zmyrneos: see III. 63. 4.
   Etruriae: in the old days of its power.
   Atyce rege: Atys, a traditional king of Lydia, son of Hercules and Omphale.
   novam...sedes: Herodotus also tells this story (I. 94): ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίως ἐκ Ὀμφάλου, ἐπὶ φάλας ἐπὶ δικαιοῦσαι θέλει καὶ οὐκ ἔσται τὸ πέρα.

... The story, however, has little historical value; the Etruscans probably entered Italy from the north.
   auctam adhuc, further increased. cui: properly only a part of Greece.
   Pelope: Pelops, from whom the Peloponnese was named, was believed to have been son of Tantalus, a king of Lydia.
8. litteras imperatorum: i.e. Roman generals of the republic.
   bello Macedonum: the war with Perseus (see 55. 2 n.).
   ubertatem fluminum: the gold sands of the River Pactolus are proverbial, although it yielded no gold at this time.
   circum: an adverb, but with adjectival force; cf. supra, II. 30. 3 n. 56. et ipse: i.e. as well as Tantalus.
   Theseus: he was asserted to
zonom condidisset, transcendere ad ea, quis maxime fidebant, in populum Romanum officis, 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 Romani rebus, nondum tamen ad summum elatis, stante adhuc Punica urbe et validis per Asiam regibus. Simul L. Sullam testem adferabant, gravissimo in discrimine exercitus ob asperitatem hiemis et penuriam vestis, cum id Zmyrnam in continentem nuntiatur foret, omnes qui astabant detraxisse corpori tegmina nostrisque legionibus misisse. Ita rogati sententiam patres 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 abnuebat, Valerius Naso e praetoriiis sorte missus est.

57 Inter quae diu meditato prolatoque saepius consilio tandem Caesar in Campaniam abscessit, specie dedicandi templam apud Capuam Iovi, apud Nolam Augusto, sed have been son, not of Agens, but of Poseidon.

officis: attracted to the case of quis.

qua in Italia tolerabantur: i.e. the Social War, B.C. 90.

M. Porcio: Marcus Porcius Cato was consul, B.C. 195, five years before Antiochus the Great, who ruled over all Western Asia (validissim per Asiam regibus), was defeated at Magnesia. Carthage was not destroyed until 146. The designation of a year by the name of one consul alone is unusual; probably it is done because of Cato's fame. This mode of recognizing the growing greatness of Rome is an interesting illustration of the religious thought of the ancients.

2. gravissimo in discrimine: R.C. 84, during the war against Mithridates.

3. ea provincia: Lepidus is shown also by an inscription to have been proconsul of Asia.

super numerum, etc.: i.e. an additional lexum, to take charge of the temple; the regular number of legati for the proconsul of a senatorial province of the highest grade, was three, selected by himself, usually from men of consular dignity.

57. Nolam: the place of Augustus' death; see I. 9. 1.
certus procul urbe degere. Causam abscessus quamquam secutus plurimos auctorum ad Seiani artes rettuli, quia tamen caede eius patrata sex postea annos pari secreto coniunxit, plerumque permovere num ad ipsum referri verius sit, saevitiam ac libidinem cum factis promeret, locis occultantem. Erant qui crederent in senectute corporis quoque habitum pudori fuisse: quippe illi praegracilis et incurva proceritas, nudus capillo vertex, ulcersa facies ac plerumque medicaminibus interstincta; et Rhodi secreto vitare coetus, recondere voluptates insuerat. Traditur etiam matris impotentia extrusum, quam dominationis sociam aspernabantur neque depellere poterat, cum dominationem ipsam donum eius accepisset. Nam dubitaverat Augustus Germanicum, sororis nepotem et cunctis laudatum, rei Romanae impone, sed precibus uxoris evictus Tiberio Germanicum, sibi Tiberium asciavit. Idque Augusta exprobrabat, reposcubat. Profectio arto comitatu fuit: unus senator 58

2. causaem abscessus: Statiner (L. Aelius Sejanus, Landshut 1880) points out the great advantage which the ruler of the empire would have in being removed from the necessity of attending in person to wearisome details, long-continued sessions of the senate, etc.
3. eius: Sejanus was overthrown. A.D. 31. Tiberius died 37. The reasoning is not valid, as a life of seclusion begun by the influence of Sejanus might have been kept up by inertia or an acquired liking.
4. permovere num: in the sense of nascio an, I am inclined to think. saevitiam...occultantem: concealing by silence [locus] the cruelty and debauchery of which he was guilty in act; the unusual order emphasizes the bad qualities.
5. corporis habitum: etc.: this description of the old man is in painful contrast with the manly beauty displayed in the statues of Tiberius. Rhodi: genitive, not locative. There is very little ground for accepting the stories of a debauched life at Rhodes, when he was in the prime of an honorable manhood, however it may have been at Capri, in his debased old age.
4. impotentia, arrogance. Suetonius (Th. 50 and 51) also gives this as a cause of his retirement.
5. dubitaverat, had considered with hesitation, inclined; a rare use of dubit, but found also in the classical age (cf. Cic. Att. XII. 49. 1). asciavit: i.e. caused his adoption (see L. 3. 5). reposcubat: i.e. recognition, as of a debt or obligation.
58. arto, scanty.
consulatu functus, Cocceius Nerva, cui legum peritia,
eques Romanus praetert Seianum ex illustribus Curtius
Atticus, ceteri liberalibus studiis praediti, ferme Graeci,
quorum sermonibus levaretur.

Ferebant periti caelestium iis motibus siderum exces-
sisse Roma Tiberium, ut reeditus illi negaretur. Unde
exitii causa multis fuit propterum finem vitae coniectan-
tibus vulgantibusque; neque enim tam incredibilem
casum providebant ut undecim per annos libens patria
careret. Mox patuit breve confinium artis et falsi, vera-
que quam obscuris tegerentur. Nam in urbe non re-
gressurum haud forte dictum: ceterorum nescii egere,
cum propinquum rure aut litore et saepe moenia urbis
asidens extremam senectam compleverit.

Ac forte illis diebus oblatum Caesari anceps pericu-

lum auxit vana rumoris, praebuitque ipsi materiem cur
amicitiae constantiaeque Seiani magis fideret. Vesce-
bantur in villa, cui vocabulum Speluncae, mare Amun-
clanum inter et Fundanones montes, nativo in specu.

Cocceius Nerva: a distinguished juris, belonging to the school of
Labbeo (see III. 72. 2 n.), grandfather
of the emperor Nerva; his death is
related VI. 26. 1. The selection by
Tiberius of a man of his unblem-
ished character and free principles
as his chief companion, goes a great
way to show that his object in se-
ccluding himself was not to indulge
in private debauchery. The com-
pany of those liberalibus studiis
praediti indicates that it was his
intention to spend the rest of his
life in the cultivation of literature.
ex illustribus: see II. 59. 4;
this class included also the younger
members of senatorial families, who
had not yet been admitted to the
senate.

2. periti caelestium, astrologers.
3. artis, genuinae artis; the
prediction that he would never re-
turn was true (artis); that he was
soon to die was guess-work (falsi).
quum: interrogative.
4. forte, ut hapi-kawed.
ceterorum: neuter.
egere, they were.
asidens, that to.
59. 2. Speluncae: the name is
preserved in the modern village of
Sperlonga.
mare Amuncanum, etc.: the
town of Fundi lay at the foot of the
mountains, at some distance from
the coast; Amuncle or Amycle was
on the sea at the nearest point to
Fundi. This whole region abounds
in natural caverns.
Eius os lapsis repente saxis obruit quosdam ministros; hinc metus in omnes et fuga eorum qui convivium celebrabant. Seianus genu vultuque et manibus super Caesaris suspensus opposuit se non incidentibus, atque habitu tali repertus est a militibus qui subsidio venerant.

Maior ex eo et, quamquam exitiosa suaderet, ut non sui anxius, cum fide audiebatur. Assimulabatque iudiciis partes adversum Germanici stirpem, subditis qui accusatorum nomina sustinerent maximeque insectarentur Neronem proximum successioni et, quamquam modesta iuventa, plerumque tamen quid imprestantiarum conduceret oblitum, dum a libertis et clientibus, apiscendae potentiae properis, extimulatur ut erectum et fidentem animi ostenderet: velle id populum Romanum, cupere exercitus, neque ausurum contra Seianum, qui nunc patientiam sensis et seignitiam iuvenis iuxta insultet.

Hae atque tali audienti nihil quidem pravae cogitationis, sed interdum voces procedebant contumaces et inconsultae, quas appositi custodes exceptas auctasque cum deferrent neque Neroni defendere daretur, diversae insuper sollicitudinum formae oriebantur. Nam alius occurrus eius vitare, quidam salutatione reddita statim averti, plerique inceptum sermonem abrumpere, insi-
stentibus contra iridentibusque qui Seiano fautores aderant. Enimvero Tiberius torvus aut falsum renidens vultu; seu loqueretur 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 et iam labefactum demovisset. Atrox Drusi ingenium super cupidinem potentiae et solita fratibus odia accedebatur invidia, quod mater Agrippina promptior Neroni erat. Neque tamen Seianus ita Drusum fovebat ut non in eum quoque semina futuri exitii meditaretur, gnarus praefecerem et insidiis magis opportunum.

61 Fine anni exessere insignes viri Asinius Agrippa, claris maioribus quam vetustis vitaque non degener, et Q. Haterius, familia senatoria, eloquentiae, quoad xvit, celebratae; monumenta ingenii eius haud perinde retinentur. Scilicet impetu magis quam cura vigebat; utque aliorum meditatio et labor in posterum valescit, sic Haterii canorum illud et profluens cum ipso simul extinctum est.

62 M. Licinio L. Calpurnio consulibus ingentiibum bello- rum cladem aequavit malum improvisum: eius initium

iridentibus: i.e. at the occurrence just noted.
3. falsum renidens, assuming a smiling counenance.
4. uxor: Julia, daughter of Drusus (see III. 29, 4). She does not appear to have been in the conspiracy, but betrayed her husband unintentionally.
5. solita... odia: which, when it exists, is very bitter.
prompter, more favorable.
61. Agrippa: one of the eponymous consuls of the year (see 34. 1).

claris quam vetustis, distinguished, but not ancient (intra. 35 m). His grandfathers, Pollio and Agrippa, were among the most eminent men of Augustus’ reign, but were both of low birth.
Haterius: see I. 13. 4.
hand perinde retinentur: i.e. as standard works.
2. illud, that well-known style; cf. Cic. de Or. III. 7, 28; profluens quidem habuit Carbo et canorum.
62. M. Licinio, etc.: Licinius is supposed to have been the younger
simul et finis exstitit. Nam coepto apud Fidenam amphitheatro Atilius quidam libertini generis, quo spectaculum gladiatorum celebraret, neque fundamenta per solidum subdedit neque firmis nexibus ligneam compagem superstruxit, ut qui non abundantia pecuniae nec municipali ambitione, sed in sordidam mercedem id negotium quaesivisset. Adfluxere aفيدي talium, imperiante Tiberio procul voluptatibus habiti, virile ac muliebre seclus, omnis etas, ob propinquitatem loci effusius; unde gravior pestis fuit, conferta mole, dein convulsis, dum ruit intus aut in exteriora effunditur immensamque vim mortalium, spectaculo intentos aut qui circum astabant, praeceptra trahit atque operat. Et illi quidem, quos principium stragis in mortem adfixerat, ut tali sorte, cruciatum effugere: miserandi magis quos abrupta parte corporis nondum vita deseruerat; qui per diem visu, per noctem ululatibus et gemitu coniuges aut liberos noscebant. Iam ceteri fama exciti, hic fratrem, propinquum ille, alius parentes lamentari. Etiam quorum diversa de causa amici aut necessarii aberant, pavere tamen; nequendum comperto quos illa vis perculisset, latior ex incerto metus. Ut coepere dimoveri 68

of the two sons addressed by Horace in his Ars Poetica (cf. 45. 1 n.). He was adopted into the Licinian gens, and was father of the Piso Liciannus who was adopted by Galba, and lost his life directly after. Calpurnius was son of that Piso who was accused of having poisoned Germanicus; he bore at first his father’s name, Gnaeus (see III. 17. 8).

2. Fidenam: the name is usually plural, Fidenae. It is an ancient Etruscan city upon the Tiber, about five miles northeast of Rome.

per solidum, on solid ground.
municipal ambitious: with the object of recommending himself to office. It was purely a money-making affair.

3. imperiante ... habiti: see I. 54. 4. Such shows were rare in Rome during this economical and unostentatious reign.

secus, sex: usually construed as an adverbial accusative.
effunditur, falls apart.

4. ut tali sorte: considering the sadness of their fate.


7. nequendum, for not yet.
comperto: Int. 35. 6.
obrata, concursus ad examinos compectentium, osculan-
tium; et saepe certamen, si confusion facies sed par
forma aut actas errorem agnoscentibus fecerat. Quin-
quaginta hominum milia eo casu debilitata vel obrita
sunt; cautumque in posterum senatus consulto, ne quis
gladiatorium munus ederet, cui minor quadringentorum
milium res, neve amphitheatrum imponeretur nisi solo
firmitatis spectatae. Attilius in exsilium actus est. Cete-
rum sub recentem cladem patuere procerum domus,
fomenta et medici passim praebiti, fuique urbs per illos
dies quamquam maesta facie veterum institutis similis,
qui magna post proelia saucios largitione et cura sus-
tentabant.

64 Nondum ea clades exolverat, cum ignis violentia ur-
bum ultra solium adfectis, deusto Monte Caelio; ferale-
que annum ferebant et omnibus adversis susceptum
principi consilium absentiae, qui mos vulgo, fortuita ad
culpam trahentes, ni Caesar obviam isset tribuendo pe-
cunias ex modo detrimenti. Actaeque ei grates apud
senatum ab illustribus, famaque apud populum, quia
sine ambitione aut proximorum precibus ignotos etiam

63. obrata, the ruins.
confusion: disfigured and unrec-
ognizable.
2. quinquaginta ... milia: Sae-
tonius (Th. 46) says that upwards
of 20,000 perished.
quadringentorum milium: an
extension to adjectives of the fami-
liar rule of plus, minus, and am-
plus; cf. Plin. Ep. X. 79. 3, minor
triginta annorum. This sum (ca
$20,000) was the equestrian census.
3. medici: generally slaves or
freemen in the households of nobles.
veternum institutis: cf. Liv. II.
47. 12, consul saucios militis curan-
dos diviti patribus.

64. deusto: cf. VI. 45. 1.
Monte Caelio: the Caelim-
tium was the second of the fourteen
regions or wards into which Augus-
tus divided the city.
principi: dating of agency,
qui mos, as is the custom.
ni Caesar, etc.: the apoedias is
ferebant, etc. — they would have
laid the blame of the casualty on him.
2. ab illustribus: the senators,
whose formal thanks are contrasted
with the popularity gained with the
names (fama apud populum).
sine ambitione: with entire im-
partiality, with no effort to gain favor
or applause.
et ultero accitos munificentia iuverat. Adduntur sententiae ut mons Caelius in posterum Augustus appellaretur, quando cunctis circum flagrantibus sola Tiberii effigies, sita in domo Iunii senatoris, inviolata mansisset. Evenisse id olim Claudiae Quintae, eiusque statuam vim ignium bis elapsam maiores apud aedem matris deum consecravisse. Sanctos acceptosque numinibus Claudios et augendam caerimoniam loco in quo tantum in principem honorem di ostenderint.

Haud fuerit absurdum tradere montem eum antiquissimus Querquetulanum cognomento fuisse, quod talis silvae frequens fecundusque erat, mox Caelium appellatum a Caele Vibenna, qui dux gentis Etruscae cum auxilio portavisset, sedem eam accepserat a Tarquinio Prisco, seu quis alius regum dedit; nam scriptores in eo dissentient. Cetera non ambigua sunt, magnas eas copias per plana etiam ac foro propinqua habitavisse, unde Tuscum vicum e vocabulo advenarum dictum.

Sed ut studia procerum et largitio principis adversum casus solacium tulerant, ita accusatorum maior in dies et infestior vis sine levamento grassabatur. Corripuerat

3. ut mons Caelius, etc.: according to Suetonius (Jul. 48) it was Tiberius himself who ordered the change of name. But the change does not appear to have been made.
4. Claudiae Quintae: a lady (according to some, a vestal virgin) who with her own hand drew the ship containing the sacred stone of Cybele, the mother of the gods, when this cult was introduced into Rome, B.C. 204; the story was that this marvel was a testimony to her chastity, which had been suspected. Tiberius, too, belonged to this distinguished Claudian gens.
5. augendam caerimoniam: by changing the name; cf. III. 61. 3.
6. talis silvae: of oak.
Caele Vibenna: this half-mythical personage is placed at various epochs and in various connections. The only certainty we can extract from the story is the fact of an Etruscan immigration at some time, which settled in the vicus Tuscus, west of the Forum, and possibly on the Celian mount; also the rule of an Etruscan dynasty of kings.
2. plana, the low ground; the vicus Tuscus ran from the Forum to the
Varum Quintilium, divitem et Caesari propinquum, Domitianus Afer, Claudiae Pulchrae matris eius condemnator, nullo mirante quod diu egens et parto nuper praemio male usus plura ad flagitia accingeretur. P. Dolabellam socium delationis exstitisse miraculo erat, quia claris maioribus et Varo conexus suam ipse nobilitatem, suum sanguinem perditum ibat. Restituit tamen senatus et opperiendum imperatorem censuit, quod unum urgenteriam malorum suffugium in tempus erat.

67 At Caesar dedicatis per Campaniam templis, quamquam edicto monuisset ne quis quietem eius irrumperet, concursusque oppidanorum disposito milite prohiberentur, perosus tamen municipia et colonias omnimque in continenti sita, Capreas se in insulam addidit, trium milium freto ab extremis Surrentini promunturii diiunctam. Solitudinem eius placuisse maxime crediderim, quoniam importuosum circa mare et vix modicis navigatis paqua subsidia; neque appulerit quisquam nisi gnaro custode. Caeli temperies hieme mitis obiectu montis, river, on ground originally swampy, and drained by the chaces maxima.

66. Varum Quintilium: son of the general defeated by Arminius, A.D. 9; his kinship to the emperor was through his mother Claudia Pulchra (see 52. 1).

praemio: for the condemnation of Claudia and her paramour.

2. P. Dolabellam: see 23. 2 and following.

3. quod unum, etc.: proof that the abuses of delation were still the work rather of the laws and the senate than of the emperor.

67. templis: 57. 1.

monuisset, etc.: Suetonius says (Th. 40), utque cedentem, ne quis se interpellaret clausaret, ac tatis itinere adnuntixit summum erat.

tamen: i.e. as if that were not enough seclusion.

Capreas: the island of Capri. It had been bought by Augustus from the Neapolitans.

2. subsidia, places of refuge — ports.

custode: the guards stationed on the island.

3. caeli temperies, etc.: a mountain in the north to protect from the winter gales; a slope in the west, open to the summer breezes. Probably Tacitus had never visited the island, as the mountain is at its western extremity, and the mountains back of Flavia and Cumae, which are to the north, are too distant to be very efficient protection. The climate is, however, mild and equable.
quo saevas ventorum arcentur; aestas in Favonium ob-
versa et aperto circumpelago peramoenae; prospectabat-
que pulcherrimum sinum antequam Vesuvius mons
ardescens faciem loci vereret. Graecos ea tenuisse
Capreasque Telebois habitatas fama tradit. Sed tum
Tiberius duodecim villarum nominibus et molibus in-
sederat, quanto intentus olim publicas ad curas, tanto
occultior in luxus et malum otium resolutus. Manebat
quippe suspicionum et credendi temeritas, quam Seianus
augere etiam in urbe suetus acius turbabat, non iam oc-
cultis adversum Agrippinam et Neronem insidiis. Quis
additus miles nuntios introitus, aperta secreta velut in
annales referebat, ulterque struebantur qui monerent
perfugere ad Germaniae exercitus vel celeberrimo fori
effigiem divi Augusti amplexi populumque ac senatum
auxilio vocare. Eaque spreta ab illis, velut pararent,
obiciabantur.

Junio Silano et Silio Nerva consulibus foedum anni 68 L
principium incessit tracto in carcerem illustri eique
Romano, Titio Sabino, ob amicitiam Germanici: neque

Vesuvius, etc.: the great eruption of 79, which buried Pompeii
and Herculaneum, converting all the
surrounding country into a desert.
From this time it has continued to
be an active volcano.
5. nominibus ac molibus: these
words appear to refer to the splen-
did structures and special titles which
distinguished these country seats.
One of them is known to have been
called Pallas Louis, and it has been
thought that the twelve were named
for the twelve Olympian deities.
tanto: the words compared are
intentus and resolutus, while oc-
cultor merely adds a subsidiary
thought. Pfitzer. Most editors read
either occultores or occultus.
temeritas, readiness.
quam: object of augere; tur-
babat governs eum understood.
6. additus: i.e. a guard, acting
as a spy.
ultra, more than this: he passed
from espionage to attempts to com-
mit them to disloyal acts.
celeberrimo fori: at the time of
day when the forum was most
crowded.
68: this treacherous advice.
obiciabatur: i.e. to the emperor.
68, Titio Sabino: see 18.1. Pliny
(N. H. VIII. 145) and Dio Cassius
(LVIII. 1) relate a touching story

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enim omiserat coniugem liberosque eius percolere, sector domi, comes in publico, post tot clientes unus eoque apud bonos laudatus et gravis iniquis. Hunc Latinius Latiaris, Porcius Cato, Petilius Rufus, M. Op-sius praetura functi aggregiuntur, cupidine consulatus, ad quem non nisi per Seianum aditus; neque Seiani voluntas nisi scelere quaerentur. Compositum inter ipsos ut Latiaris, qui modico usu Sabinum contingebat, strueret dolum, ceteri testes adessent, deinde accusa-tionem inciperent. Igitur Latiaris iacere fortuitos primum sermones, mox laudare constantiam, quod non, ut ceteri, florentis domus amicus adictam deseruisset; simul honora de Germanico, Agrippinam miserans, dis-serebat; et postquam Sabinus, ut sunt molles in calamitate mortalium animi, effudit lacrimas, iunxit questus, audientius iam onerat Seianum, saevitiam superbiam espes eius. Ne in Tiberium quidem convicio abstinet; iique sermones, tamquam vetita miscuissent, speciem artae amicitiae fecere. Ac iam ulleo Sabinus quaerere Latiarem, ventitare domum, dolores suos quasi ad fidis-simum deferre. Consultant quos memoravi quonam modo ea plurium auditi acciperentur. Nam loco, in quem coibatur, servanda solitudinis facies; et si pone fores assisterent, metus visus, sonitus, aut forte ortae suspicionis erant. Tectum inter et laquearia tres sena-
of the attachment of his dog to him, refusing to leave his dead body, even after it had been cast into the Tiber. clienses: the application of this term, which properly implied dependence and inferior rank to an 'illustrious' knight, is a significant indication of the growth of the monarchical principle; he was follower of a member of the imperial family. unna: the only one remaining. 3. modico usu contingebat, had a slight acquaintance with. 5. onerat: i.e. with reproaches; the word is nowhere else used absolutely in this sense. 6. tamquam vetita miscue-sent: as if they had been partners in prohibited acts. 69. 3. laquearia: the perforated panes of the ceiling, there
tores, haud minus turpi latebra quam detestanda fraude, sese abstrudunt, foraminibus et rimis aurem admovent. Interena Latiiis repertum in publico Sabinum, velut 4 recens cognita narraturus, domum et in cubiculum trans-hit; praeteritaque et instantia, quorum adfatim copia, ac novos teriores cumulat. Eadem ille et diutius, quanto maesta, ubi semel prorupere, difficilius reticen-tur. Properata inde accusatio, missisque ad Caesaratem litteris ordinem fraudis suumque ipsi dedecus narravere. Non alias magis anxii et pavens civitas, tegens adversum proximos; congressus, colloquia, notae ignotaque aures vitari; etiam muta atque inanima, tectum et parietes circumspectabantur.

Sed Caesar sollemnia incipientis anni kalendis Ianua-70 riis epistula precatus, vertit in Sabinum, corruptos quos-dam libertorum et petitum se arguens, ulteriorumque haud obscure poscebat. Nec mora quin decemmeretur; 8 et trahebatur damnatus, quantum obducta veste et

was a space between these and the roof.

tres senatores: Cato, Rufus, and Opimius; as, having held magistracies, they were members of the senate.

4. instantia, the present.

ille: Sabinus.

diutius: qualifies dissersit understood.

quanto, in proportion as—seeing that.

6. tegens: sc. se; see App. I.

70. sollemnia ... precatus: the New Year solemnities. As it was a matter of religion that no evil omen should taint the commence-ment of the year (verbis etiam profanis abstinere mos erat), the arrest of Sabinus (inter sacra et vota) was a peculiarly heinous act. libertorum: i.e. of Tiberius. There was, therefore, some more specific and serious charge than the mere talk described in the previous chapters.

2. obducta veste, etc.: his toga being thrown over his head, and the rope drawn around his neck with which he was to be strangled in prison. The account here given, as well as that in Dio Cassius, would imply a condemnation by the senate without trial (like a bill of atta-mder); but the words of Pliny, cum animadvertentur ex causa Neronis Germaniae fili in Titum Sabinum et servitio eius, imply more formal deliberation and definite proof. It appears that the emperor, panic-stricken on account of some real or fancied dangers (trepidam sibi vitam) allowed himself to depart from his habitual slow and cautious methods. Sabinus was perhaps
astrictis faucibus niti poterat clamitans sic incohari annum, has Seiano victimas cadere. Quo intendisset oculos, quo verba acciderent, fuga vastitas, deseri itinera fora. Et quidam regrediebantur ostentabantque se rursum, id ipsum paventes quod timuisset. Quem enim diem vacuum poena, ubi inter sacra et vota, quo tempore verbis etiam profanis abstineri mos esset, vincla et laqueus inducantur? Non imprudentem Tiberium tantam invidiam adisse, sed quaesitum meditatumque, ne quid impedire credatur quo minus novi magistratus, quo modo delubra et altaria, sic carcerem recludant. Secutae insuper litterae grates agentis, quod hominem infensum rei publicae punivissent, adiecto trepidam sibi vitam, suspectas inimicorum insidias, nullo nominatim compellato; neque tamen dubitabatur in Neronem et Agrippinam intendi.

71 Ni mihi destinatum foret suum quaque in annum referre, avebat animus antire statimque memorare exitus, quos Latinus atque Opsius ceterique flagiti eius reperiores habuere, non modo postquam Gaius Caesar rerum potitus est, sed incolumi Tiberio, qui scelerum ministros ut perverti ab aliis nolebat, ita plerumque satiatus et oblatis in candem operam recentibus veteres et prae-

7. adiecto: Intr. 35 9; this participle is here only used in this way. in Neronem: see the words of Pliny in the note above. intendi: see II. 36 2 n.
71. perverti ab aliis: for Tiberius' use of the delators as a class necessary for the security of justice, see 30 4, and Instr. 16. recentibus: sc. ministriis; when he had found new instruments, he threw away the old.
praegrades: on account of the sense of obligation.

Per idem tempus Iulia mortem obiit, quam neptem Augustus convictam adulterii damnaverat proicecerataque in insulam Trimerum, haud procul Apulis litoribus. Illic viginti annis exsilium toleravit Augustae ope sustentata, quae florentes privignos cum per occultum subvertisset, misericordiam erga adfectos palam ostentabat.

Eodem anno Friissi, transrhennanus populus, pacem exuere, nostra magis avaríta quam obsequi impatientes. Tributum iis Drusus iussurat modicum pro angustia rerum, ut in usus militares coria bœm pendercnt, non intenta cuiusquam cura quac firmitudo, quac mensura,

2. tradémus: for the overthrow of Lutarius (see VI. 4; that of the others must belong to the lost portions of the Annals.)
3. matertera: Asinius Gallus married Vipsania after her divorce from Tiberius (see I. 12. 6); Agrippina was her half-sister, and therefore aunt to her children.
4. ut rebatur, as he considered them, dissimulation being a virtue in his eyes.
5. aperi rentur: used reflexively — might be left to disclose themselves.
7. quae, etc.: a general statement, only partly applicable to Julia, who, as has just been said, was banished for crime.
8. Friissi: they occupied the coast of the North Sea, in the modern Friesland, and further south.
2. Drusus: the elder Drusus, who conquered this part of Germany (I. 33. 3 n.).
3. non intenta cuiusquam cura, no one giving any attention.
donec Olennius e primipilaribus regendis Frisis impositus terga urorum delegit, quorum ad formam acciperen-
3 tur. Id aliis quoque nationibus arduum apud Germanos
difficultius tolerabatur, quis ingentiun beluarum feraces
saltus, modica domi armenta sunt. Ac primo boves
ipso, mox agros, postremo corpora coniugum aut libe-
rorum servitio tradebant. Hinc ira et questus, et post-
5 quam non subveniebatur, remedium ex bello. Rapti
6 qui tributo aderant milites et patibulo adfixi: Olennius
infensos fuga praeventit, receptus castello, cui nomen
Flevum; et haud spernenda illic civium sociorumque
78 manus litora Oceani praesidebat. Quod ubi L. Apronio
inferioris Germaniae pro praetore cognitum, vexilla le-
gionum e superiore provincia peditumque et equitum
auxiliarium defectos accivit ac simul utrumque exerci-
tum Rheno deiectum Frisis intulit, soluto iam castelli
obsidio et ad sua tutanda degressis rebellibus.

Igitur proxima aestuaria aggeribus et pontibus tra-
ducendo graviori agmini firmat. Atque interim reper-
tis vadis alam Canninefatem et quod peditum Germano-

primipiliribus: see II. 11.
3 n.
terga urorum: the hides of those wild buffaloes were taken as a
standard (ad formam) instead of the small domestic cattle of the Ger-
manis (see s. and Germa, s).
3. id: this standard, which would have been a difficult one anywhere.
patibulo: see I. 61. 6 n.
6. Flevum (see I. 43. 1 n.): a fort at the mouth of the Iuta Drun-
siana (II. 8. 1), where it flows into the Iuta Flavo (Zuyder Zee).

78. pro praetore: ut. legatus; not a praefectus, but a legatus of
the emperor, with praetorian powers.
vexilla: see I. 20. 1 n.
superior provincia: see intr.
18. B. 16.

utrumque exercitum: ut. his
own army, and the detachments (vexilla) from the upper army.
2. igitur, etc.: he constructs a
road with bridges and causeways along this coast, which is here in-
errupted by numerous estuaries.
graviori: the large and heavily
armed force, with its baggage-trains,
would require a more solid roadway.
Canninefatem: the Canninefates
inhabited the eastern portion of the
insula Rhetorum, and were, like
the Batavians, subject to Rome.

quod peditum: the peditum
... defectos above.
rum inter nostros merebat circumgredi terga hostium iubet, qui iam acie compositi pellunt turmas sociales equitesque legionum subsidio missos. Tum tres leves 3 cohortes ac rursum duae, dein tempore interiecto alarius eques inmissus: satis validi, si simul incubuisissent, per intervallum adventantes neque constantiam addiderant turbatis et pavore fugientium auferebantur. Cethego 4 Labeoni legato quintae legionis quod reliquum auxiliorum tradit. Atque ille dubia suorum re in aniceps tractus missis nuntiis vim legionum implorabat. Pro rumpunt quintani ante alios et acri pugna hoste pulso recipiunt cohortis alisque fessas vulneribus. Neque 6 dux Romanus ultum iti aut corpora humavit, quamquam multi tribunorum praefectorumque et insignes centuriones cecidissent. Mox compertum a transfugis non gentos Romanorum apud lucum, quem Baduhennae vocant, pugna in posterum extracta confectos, et aliam quadingentorum manum occupata Cruptorigis quondam stipendiarii villa, postquam prodition metuebatur, mutuis ictibus proculuisse.

turmas: the subdivisions of the *ala* of auxiliary cavalry (sociales); this refers to the Canninefas.

*equites legionum*: the cavalry, 120 in number, attached to each legion. They were auxiliaries, differently armed from the *alae equitatae*, or regular auxiliary cavalry.

3. *leves cohortes*: these were auxiliary infantry.

*satis validi*: refers to the whole force sent, which would have been enough had it been sent in a body (si simul incubuisissent); coming a few at a time, — first the *ala Canninefas*, then the *equites legionum*, then the *leves cohortes*, then duae, and, finally, the whole alarius eques, — they did not succeed in rallying those who had been routed, but were themselves carried away by the panic.

4. *quintae legionis*: this was a legion of Lower Germany (I. 31. 3).

*vim legionum*: so far only auxiliary troops had been sent.

6. *dux Romanus*: Aponius, *insignes, of the higher ranks* (see I. 61. 5).

7. *Baduhennae*: a genitive — almost the name of some goddess to whom the grove was sacred, like Tamana (I. 51. 2).

In posterum: *sc. diem.*

stipendiarii: as a mercenary in the Roman army.

villa: Cruptorix was probably one of those chief described in the Ger-
Clarum inde inter Germanos Frisium nomen, dissimulante Tiberio damna, ne cui bellum permitteret.

Neque senatus in eo cura an imperii extrema dehonestarentur; pavor internus occupaverat animos, cui remedium adulatione quaerebatur. Ita quamquam diversus super consulerentur, aram Clementiae, aram amicitiae, effigiesque circum Caesaris ac Seianum censueret, crebrisque precibus efflagitabant visendi sui copiam facerent. Non illi tamen in urbem aut propinqua urbi degressi sunt: satis visum omittere insulam et in proximo Campaniae aspici. Eo venire patres eques magna pars plebis, anxii erga Seianum, cujus durior congressus, atque co per ambitum et societate consiliopolum parabatur. Satis constabat auctam ei arrogantium foedum illud in propatulo servitium spectanti; quippe Romae sueti discursus, et magnitudine urbis incertum quod quisque ad negotium pergit: ibi campo aut litore iacentes nullo discrimine noctem ac diem iuxta gratiam aut fastus ianitorum perpetiebantur, donec id quoque vetitum; et revenere in urbem trepidi quos non sermo, non visu dignatus erat, quidam male alares quibus infaustae amicitiae gravis exitus imminebat.

Ceterum Tiberius neptem Agrippinam Germanico ortam cum coram Cn. Domitio tradidisset, in urbe cel...
brari nuptias iussit. In Domitio super vetustatem =
generis propinquum Caesaribus sanguinem delegerat;
nam is aviam Octaviam et per eam Augustum avuncu-
lum praeferebat.

*visae detestabilem.* The fruit of this
marriage was the emperor Nero.  2. aviam Octaviam: his mother
was the elder Antonia (see 44. 3).
ARGUMENT OF BOOK V.

A.D. 39; C. Fufius Geminus, L. Rubellius Geminus, Coss.


For the gap between Books V. and VI., containing the overthrow of Sejanus: —

A.D. 39; M. Vinicius, L. Cassius Longinus, Coss.

LIBRI V. FRAGMENTUM.

Rubellio et Fusio consulis, quorum utrique Geminus cognomen erat, Iulia Augusta mortem oblit, aetate extrema, nobilitatis per Claudiam familiaris et adoptione Liviorum Iuliorumque clarissimae. Primum ei matrimonium et liberi fuere cum Tiberio Nerone, qui, bello Perusino profugus, pace inter Sex. Pompeium ac triumviro pacta in urbem redit. Exin Caesar cupidine furtum marito, incertum an invitam, adeo prope-rus ut ne spatio quidem ad enitendum dato penatibus sua gravidam induxerit. Nullam posthac subolem edit, sed sanguini Augusti per coniunctionem Agrippinae et Germanici adnixa commones pronepotes habuit. Sanctitate domus priscum ad morem, comis ultra quam

1. Geminus cognomen: it was a tradition in the early church that the death of Christ was in the consulship of "the two Gemini"; cf. Lact. Inst. IV. 10, Aug. Civ. Dei, XVIII. 34.

2. bello Perusino: this was a brief episode in the civil wars of the second triumvirate, set on foot by Fulvia, the wife of Mark Antony, and his brother Lucius, against Octavian, B.C. 41. It was ended by the capture of Perusia (the modern Perugia), after which, according to tradition, the soldiers of Octavian exhibited great cruelty. The peace (of short duration) made by the triumvirs with Sextus Pompeius, was two years afterwards, B.C. 39.

3. gravidam: her younger son Drusus, father of Germanicus, was born after her marriage to Caesar; cf. I. 10. 4.

4. pronepotes: see genealogical table, Intr. p. xxi.

5. sanctitate, strict modesty.
comis, of easy manners.
antiquis feminis probatum, mater impotens, uxor facillis
et cum artibus mariti simulatione filii bene composita.
6 Funus eius modicum, testamentum diu irritum fuit.
Laudata est pro rostris a Gaio Caesare pronepote, qui
2 mox rerum potitus est. At Tiberius, quod supremis in
matrem officis defuisset, nihil mutata amoenitate vitae,
magnitudinem negotiorum per litteras excusavit, hono-
resque memoriae eius ab senatu large decretos quasi
per modestiam imminuit, paucis admodum recepit et
addito ne caelestis religio decernretur: sic ipsam
maluisse. Quin et parte eiusdem epistulam increpitavit
amicitas muliebres, Fufum consulem oblique perstrin-
gens. Is gratia Augustae floruerat, aptus aliicindis
fcminarum animis, dicax idem et Tiberium acerbis face-
tiis irridere solitus, quarum apud praepotentem in
longum memoria est.

3 Ceterum ex eo praerupta iam et urgens dominatio;

impotens, imperiosus.
uxor facillis: she is said to have
winked at and assisted her hus-
band’s irregularities of life.
cum artibus, etc.: her great-
grandson, Gaius (Caligula), used
to call her “Ulysses in petto stucka”
(Ulysses in petello, Suet. Cal. 53).
6. irritum: so Suetonius, Tib.
51; her legacies were paid in full
by Caligula (Suet. Cal. 16).

rerum potitus est: A.D. 37, at
the death of Tiberius.
2. defuisset: tuto quidem triennio,
quae voceat loco aetatis, semel
omenus eam, nec amplius quam
uno die, parvisimis voltibus: ac
max neque aegro ac adesse curavit,
defunctamque, et, domum adventus sus
ipsum fuit, complurum diem
mora, corrupto demum et tabulo
corpore funeratum prohibuit conse-
cravit, quasi id quo mansisset (Suet
Tib. 51). Stair excuses this neglect
on the ground of illness, advanced
age, and heavy cares: hardly an
adequate excuse.
caelestis religio, deification; so
Suetonius, prohibuit conscribit.
This honor was paid her by her
grandson, the emperor Claudius.
2. amicitiis: amices amicitias et
familiaritates, etiam quibus ex fave-
ris suis curam mortis demandaverat,
senior brevice tempus adhibite (Suet.
Tib. 51). Livia was, no doubt, ar-
rogant and exacting, and often in-
terfered injudiciously in the adminis-
tration of affairs.
muliebres, among women (cf. 1.
33. 5).

Fufum consulem: Dio (LVIII.
4; see page 345) tells us that in
A.D. 31 Tiberius put to death Floros
Pilatus Fufum, — probably a cor-
rupted form of this name.
3. acerbis facetiis: cf. IV. 42. 2.
4. ex eo, from this time.
nam incolumi Augusta erat adhuc perfugium, quia Tiberio inveteratum erga matrem obsequium, neque Seianus audebat auctoritati parentis antire: tunc velut frenis exsoluti proruperunt, missaeque in Agrippinam ac Neronem litterae, quas pridem allatas et cohibitas ab Augusta credidit vulgus; haud enim multo post mortem eius recitatae sunt. Verba inerant quaeasita asperitate; sed non arma, non rerum novarum studium, amores iuvenum et impudicitiam nepoti obiectabat. In nunquam ne id quidem constringere ausus, arrogantiam oris et contumacem animum incusavit, magno senatus pavore ac silentio, donec pauci, quis nulla ex honesto spes (et publica mala singulis in occasionem gratiae trahuntur), ut referretur postulavere, promptissimo Cotta Messalino cum atroci sententia. Sed aliis a primoribus maxime quae a magistratibus trepidabantur: quippe Tiberius est infense invectus cetera ambigua reliquerat.

Fuit in senatu Iunius Rusticus, componendis patrum actis delectus a Caesare, eoque meditationes eius introspicere creditus. Is fatali quodam motu (neque enim ante specimen constantiae dederat) seu prava sollertia, autor; for an illustration, see II. 32. 2. promptissimo . . . sententia, readiest to support the motion, and that with severe propositions. 5. cetera: i.e. the next step to take; he had brought charges, but made no proposition. 4. componendis patrum actis: to edit the journal of the senate, which was published as a sort of official bulletin (see III. 32 n.). 2. fatali . . . motu: his efforts for mercy must have been by divine instigation, for they were not in keeping with his former character. prava, auctor: his shrewdness deceived him; for, in guarding
dum imminimentium oblitus incerta pavet, inserere se
dubitantibus ac monere consules ne relationem incipe-
rent; disserebatque brevibus momentis summa verti:
posse quandoque domus Germanici exitium paenitentiae
esse seni. Simul populus effigies Agrippinae ac Neronis
gerens circumstisit curiam faustisque in Caesarem omini-
bus falsas litteras et principe invito exitium domui eius
intendi clamitat. Ita nihil triste illo die patrum.
Ferebantur etiam sub nominibus consularium fictae in
Seianum sententiae, exercentibus plerisque per occultum
atque 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 consulta: quid
reliquum nisi ut caperent ferrum et, quorum imagines
pro vexillis secuti forent, duces imperatoresque deli-
gerent?

Igitur Caesar repetitis aoversum nepotem et nurum
probris increpitaque per edictum plebe, questus apud
patres quod fraudae unius senatoris imperatoria maiestas
elusa publice foret, integra tamen sibi cuncta postulavit.

against future perils (incerta), he
forgot the immediate danger of his
action (imminimentium oblitus).
brevibus momentis, impulsa of
trifling weight. Momentum here
has its primary force (from mover),
as that which causes motion. For
the thought, cf. Cic. Phil. 5. 10. 26,
minimus momentis maxima incli-
naciones temporum sunt.
domus, etc.: see App. I.
3. fassia . . . ominibus, with
demonstrations of favor; protesting
their loyalty to the emperor (cf. I.
35: 3).
4. ferebantur, were reported, as
having been uttered in the senate.
5. audiri iam et legi: i.e., spoken
and published, and thus both heard
and read.
6. novas, nova, revolutionary.
contiones, speeches.
patrum consulta: no vote had
been taken, but these as well as the
speeches might be falsified.
7. imagines: those of Agrippina
and Nero, mentioned above.
8. fraudae, disloyalty.
unius senatoris: Junius Rusti-
cus.
9. integra . . . cuncta: i.e., that the
whole matter be put in his hands.
Nec ultra deliberatum quo minus, non quidem extrema decernerent (id enim vetitum), sed paratos ad ultionem vi principis impediiri testarentur.

2. deliberatum: taken as a verb of hindering, and thus followed by quo minus, there was no further hesitation in, etc.

extrema: i.e. punishment.
paratos, etc.: to give the impression that the senate was eager to punish, but was restrained by the emperor’s interposition.

There is at this point no gap in the manuscript, but, as the history of more than two years is omitted, it is evident that the copyist by some blunder passed over several pages. All recent editors agree that the six chapters which follow, formerly regarded as a part of Book V, really belong to Book VI. The history of the intervening period can be partly reconstructed from the account of Dio Cassius, a translation of which, together with passages of Juvenal and Suetonius bearing on the same events, is here inserted.

DIO CASSIUS, BOOK LVIII.

2. Now Sejanus was exalted more and more, and it was voted that his birthday should be celebrated as a public holiday; and it would not be possible to count the statues erected to him by the senate, the equestrian order, the tribes, and the chief men of the state; special embassies, moreover, were sent both to him and to Tiberius by the senate on its own account, and the knights on their own account, and the people, as represented both by the tribunes and the sediles; and prayers and sacrifices were offered for both alike, and oaths were sworn by the fortune of each.

A.D. 30.

2. Now Tiberius seized a favorable opportunity to attack Gallus, who had married his divorced wife, and had used too great freedom of speech about the government. He had, it is true, paid court to Sejanus, either in good faith, believing him destined to be emperor, or through fear of Tiberius, or through artifice, in order that Sejanus might by insolence lose credit with the emperor; and he had proposed numerous and great honors to him, and had taken an active part in the embassies sent to him. But now the emperor sent a missive to the senate, accusing Gallus, among other things, of envy towards Sejanus on the ground of his friendship with him.

3 Vespasia, daughter of Marcus Agrippa (see I, 12, 6). Gallus was now seventy years of age.
[Tiberius', although he himself was intimate with Syracus. And he did not disclose this to Gallus, but treated him with great honor, so that there befell him the strangest fate, such as never happened to any other person. For on the very same day that he banqueted with Tiberius and drank his health, he was condemned to death by the senate, and a praetor was sent to put him in chains and conduct him to punishment. And yet Tiberius, after he had done this, would not allow him to die, much as he wished it when he learned what had been voted; but, in order that he might suffer to the utmost, bade him be of good courage, and ordered him to be kept guarded, but without fetters, until he himself should come to the city; in order, as I have said, that he might be tormented as much as possible by shame and dread. And this is what happened: he was constantly watched by whoever were consuls for the time being (that is, except when Tiberius held the consulship, for then he was guarded by the pretors), not for fear he would escape, — no, by Zeus, but to prevent his death. He had neither friend nor slave with him, nor did he speak to any one or see any one except when he was forced to take food. And this was such, in amount and quality, as neither to give him pleasure nor strength, but just to keep him alive; for this was the most dreadful thing of all.

Tiberius did the same to many others. Having thrown one of his friends in prison, then, when the question came up of putting him to death, he said that he was not yet reconciled with him. In the case of another, whose innocence he had ascertained after having tortured him very severely, he put him to death immediately, saying that after having suffered such indignities he could not honorably continue in life. Syracus too, although he had neither committed any crime nor been accused of any, and was distinguished for culture, was executed, merely because Tiberius said that he was a friend of Gallus.

Sejanus also slandered Drusus by means of his wife. For, having intrigues with nearly all the wives of the principal men, he learned everything that was done and said by them, making the women his tools by promising to marry them. But when Tiberius only sent Drusus to Rome, Sejanus, fearing that he might change his mind, persuaded Cassius to bring charges against him.

4. Now Sejanus constantly became more powerful and formidable, so that the senate and the citizens paid court to him as if he were emperor, and even treated Tiberius with contempt. Therefore Tiberius, becoming aware of this, did not regard it with indifference, nor yet did he neglect it; for he feared that they would declare him emperor outright. He did

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1 See below.  
2 For his death see VI. 39.  
3 i.e. the son of Germanicus.
nothing, however, openly: for Sejanus had completely gained over the
body-guard, and had brought the senators over to his support, partly by
favors, partly by hopes, partly by fears, and secured the friendship of all
the attendants of Tiberius, so that everything which the emperor said and
did was immediately reported to him, while nothing that he did was made
known to Tiberius. Therefore Tiberius undertook to hunt him down in a
different way, nominating him to the consulsipship, calling him the partner
of his cares, repeatedly saying "my Sejanus," and making a display of all this in letters to the senate and the people. Therefore, deceived by
these expressions, and fully believing in them, men erected brazen statues of
both alike everywhere, and coupled their names in documents, and placed
gilded chairs for them in the theatres. And finally it was voted that they
should be declared joint consuls for five years, and that a joint public
reception should be offered to them whenever they should enter Rome.
And at last they sacrificed to his statues just as to those of Tiberius.

Thus it went with Sejanus. And many other distinguished men perished,
among them Gaius Rufus Geminius. He, being accused of impiety against
Tiberius, brought his will into the senate, and read it aloud, showing that
he had bequeathed his property in equal shares to the emperor and his
own children. And being taunted with his weakness, he went home before
the vote was taken; and when he was informed that the questor was at
his door to execute the judgment, he stabbed himself, and, showing him
the wound, said: "Carry word to the senate that this is the way a man
dies." "And his wife, Publia Priscia, being accused upon some charge,
went into the senate and there stabbed herself with a dagger which she
secretly carried with her.

Sejanus became so intolerably insolent in spirit and in sense of
power, that, to speak briefly, he seemed in good sooth to be emperor, and
Tiberius a petty islands king, by reason of his continually living at Capri.
There was a constant press and throng at his doors, since every one feared,
not merely that he would miss being seen by him, but even that he would
not be among the first to be seen by him: for he watched everything very
closely, both words and demeanor, especially in the case of prominent
men. But once on the Kalends, when a great throng was pressing
into the house of Sejanus, a bench in the hall in which he was holding a
reception broke down under the multitude of those who were sitting
upon it; and when he went out of the house a weasel ran through the
crowd. And when, after sacrificing on the Capitol, he went down to the
Forum, his servants and guards, not being able to follow him on account

1 I.e. the praetorian guards. (1. 7. 3 n.)
2 No doubt Gaius Fulus Geminius (see V. s. 8 n.).
of the crowd, turned aside through the street which led to the prison, and, as they descended the steps of which condemned criminals are wont to be hurled, stumbled and fell. And as he was taking the auspices after this, no bird of good omen made its appearance, but ravens in great numbers hovering and crawling about him flew to the prison and perched upon it.

6. These signs, however, neither Sejanus nor any one else took to heart; for even if some god had foretold clearly the change of fortune that was shortly to take place, no one would have believed it. Therefore they continued without stint to swear by his fortune, and to call him the colleague of Tiberius, having in mind not merely the consulship, but the imperial dignity. But nothing which happened to him escaped the knowledge of Tiberius; and he, consulting in his own mind how he might destroy him, and finding no way to do this openly without peril, hit upon a remarkable plan for learning accurately not only his sentiments, but also those of others. He wrote continually and at great length a variety of things about himself both to Sejanus and the senate, at one time saying that he was very ill, and could not last much longer, and at another time that he was in excellent health, and was intending shortly to come to Rome. And Sejanus himself he now praised to the skies, and again depreciated very much, and honored some of his companions and disgraced others on his account, so that Sejanus, being by turns filled with vanity and with dread, was always in a state of suspense. For it did not occur to him (being still treated with distinction) to apprehend any danger,—which might have set him to excite a rebellion,—nor on the other hand to be emboldened to take some decisive step, for he was constantly losing in consideration. And at the same time all others, hearing at short intervals first one story and then just the opposite, and feeling secure neither in admiring Sejanus nor in despising him, constantly expecting too to hear that Tiberius was dead or that he was on his way to the city, were kept in equal uncertainty.

7. Now Sejanus was disturbed by these things, and all the more because first a great cloud of smoke arose from one of his statues, and when the head was removed in order to see what was the cause, a great snake crawled out of it; and when another head had been placed upon it, he was about to offer sacrifice to himself (for he sacrificed to himself as well as to the gods), a rope was found twisted about the neck. And a statue of Fortune, which had, as men believed, belonged to Servius Tullius, who had once been king in Rome, and which now Sejanus had in his

3 The Scala Gemina (see III. 14, 6 n.). The principal street, the Cibus Capitellinus, came down by the right, about where the Via del Campidoglio now is.
house, and honored greatly, turned its back upon him as he was sacrificing to it. [There is here a short gap in the manuscript.] . . . And now others began to be suspicious; but, not knowing the purpose of Tiberius, and taking into consideration the fiery temper of Sejanus, and the uncertainty of affairs, they were in a dilemma, secretly consulting for their own safety, but in public paying court to him, especially because Tiberius conferred priestly offices upon both him and his son along with Gaits; therefore they gave him the praetorius power, and voted in addition that all who should be consul should take him as their model in governing. Therefore Tiberius, although he honored him with the priesthood, did not summon him to him, but even when he asked leave to go to Campania on the ground that his betrothed was sick, he bade him remain where he was, as he himself was intending soon to repair to Rome.

8. This depressed Sejanus still more, and especially because Tiberius, in appointing Gaits to a priesthood, commended him in high terms, and showed that he regarded him as his successor. And he would have excited a revolution, especially as the soldiers were ready to obey him in everything, if he had not seen that the people were greatly pleased at what had been said about Gaits, in consideration of his father Germanicus. He had before thought that they too were on his side, but now he was discouraged, perceiving that they were enthusiastically devoted to Gaits. And now he regretted not having seized the power during his consulship. Others were influenced moreover by the fact that Tiberius acquitted an enemy of his, who had been appointed to the government of Spain ten years before, and then accused by him upon some charges; and that he gave orders that in future those who were to govern provinces or perform any other public service, should not be prosecuted on any grounds during their office. And when he wrote to the senate concerning the death of Nero, he mentioned Sejanus merely by his name, without any of the terms of honor which he was accustomed to use, and moreover forbade sacrifices to be offered to any mortal (as had been done to Sejanus), even to himself, for many such honors had been voted to him. He had, to be sure, prohibited this before, but now he renewed it on account of Sejanus; for what he had refused for himself he could not permit to another.

9. For these reasons people began to slight him still more, and openly disregard him, avoid him and neglect him. Tiberius therefore learning this, and being confident that he should have the senate and the people

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1 Son of Germanicus, afterwards the emperor Caligula. pera Tullus is a conjecture of Bekker for per aevi, which makes no sense. For Gaits' receiving the priesthood, see chap. 8.
2 He had held the consulship with Tiberius during the first part of this year, A.D. 31.
3 ev yap xepoi rodypv means here to have this meaning.
on his side, made a direct attack upon him. Giving out that he was about
to bestow the tribunician power upon him,—in order that he might take
him unawares,—he brought accusations against him before the senate
through Nervius Sertorius Macro, whom he had secretly commissioned to
command the body-guard, and to whom he had given authority to do what-
ever should be necessary. And Macro coming by night to Rome, as if
on some other business, laid his commands before the consul Memmius
Regulus¹ (for his colleague was of the party of Sejanus), and Gracchus
Laco, commander of the night-guards; and going in the morning to the
palace² (for the session of the senate was to be held in the temple of
Apollo), he met Sejanus, who had not yet entered the hall; and seeing
that he was greatly disturbed because Tiberius had sent no message to him,
he reassured him, by telling him in private that he brought him the tri-
ubianic power. And he, recovering his spirits at this news, tripped into the
senate-house; but Macro sent the guardsmen who were about Sejanus and
the senate back to the camp, announcing to them that he was to be their
commander, and saying that he brought letters from Tiberius giving dona-
tives to them. Then, after placing the night-guards around the temple in
their stead, he entered it, and, giving the letter to the consuls, went away
before any part of it was read; then, directing Laco to command the guard
there, he hastened to the camp, for fear there might be some outbreak.

10. And now the letter was read aloud. It was long, and did not
contain any connected accusation against Sejanus, but first some other
matter, and then a slight censure of him, and after this something else,
and then again something against him; and at last it declared that two
senators who were intimate with him should be punished and he himself
put in prison. For Tiberius did not at once order him to be put to death
—not that he did not wish it, but because he feared that some disturbance
would arise from it; and, on the ground that he could not make the jour-
ney safely, he sent for one of the consuls to accompany him. This was
the purport of the letter, and thereupon many strange things were to be
seen and heard. For in the first place, before it was read, all spoke in
high praise of him [Sejanus], expecting that he was about to receive the
tribunician power, and shouted in applause—anticipating what they ex-
pected, and wishing to show him that they themselves were ready to give
it to him; but when nothing of this sort followed, but everything that they
heard was just the opposite of what they expected, they fell into great
embarrassment and dejection. Some who were sitting on the bench with

¹ Consul suffectus for this year with Fulvia the Trio (see V. 21, 1).
² In the 2nd line, seems to refer to the palace rather than the hill; the temple of
Apollo was in the palace of Augustan.
him rose up; having before been most eager to make him their friend, now they would not even sit on the same seat with him. And at this the prelates and tribunes gathered about him, in order that he might not rush out and make a disturbance, which he would certainly have done if the full weight of the accusation had fallen upon him at first. But as it was read, looking upon each separate point as trivial and isolated, and especially hoping that there would be nothing further, or if there should be that at any rate nothing fatal would be brought against him, he hesitated and remained in his place. And then Regulus summoned him, but he did not obey, not out of insolence, for he was already completely broken down, but because he was not accustomed to have orders given to him. Then after he had called him a second and a third time, the consul stretched out his hand towards him and said, "Sejanus, come hither." At this he answered in these very words, "Is it I that you are calling?" [Σέκανος, δικαίωσόμεθα;] and when he stood up, Laco came up and stood by him. And at last, when the letter had been read through, all with one voice cried out against him, and reviled him—some because they had suffered wrongs from him, and others out of fear, some trying to conceal their former friendship for him, and others rejoicing at his downfall. But Regulus did not call upon them all to speak, and indeed he did not call upon any one to speak in regard to putting him to death, for he feared that some opposition would be made, and some disturbance excited (for Sejanus had many relatives and friends); but he took the opinion of a certain senator, and, finding that he agreed with him that he should be imprisoned, he led him out of the senate, and with Laco and the other magistrates conducted him to the prison.

11. And now might one witness human weakness, and learn to abjure arrogance. He who that very morning had been attended to the senate-house by great numbers, as being raised above all, was now haled into prison, having fallen far below all; he who before had been deemed worthy of garlands was now put in chains; he who, as a ruler, had been surrounded with guards, was now watched like a runaway slave; he who had been clad in purple was now buffeted in the face; he who had been reverenced, and had received sacrifice like a god, was now led to death. . . . The people also assaulted him and upbraided him with the fate of those whom he had ruined, and taunted him with the failure of his hopes. All his statues they cast down, and broke in pieces, and dragged about as if they were tormenting him in person; and thus he became witness of what he was about to suffer in person. For then he was cast into prison; but not long after, indeed the very same day, the senate, assembling in the temple of Concord, close by the prison, when they saw these actions of the people,
and saw none of the body-guard, voted his death. After the judgment was executed, the body was thrown down the Scala Gemona, and the rabble abused it for three entire days, and then cast it into the river. 1 Also his children were put to death by vote of the senate, the girl—who had been betrothed to the son of Claudius—being first deflowered by the executioner, because it was impious to execute a virgin in prison. His wife Apicata 2 was not condemned to death, but when she had been informed that her children were dead, and had seen their bodies on the Gemona Stairs, she shut herself up in private, wrote out an accusation against Livilla in regard to the death of Drusus (which had been the cause of Apicata's estrangement from her husband, so that they no longer lived together), sent this to Tiberius, and then put herself to death. And when Tiberius had received the document and read what was written in it, he put to death Livilla and all the rest. I have heard indeed that he spared her in consideration of her mother Antonia, and that Antonia on her own account put her to death by starvation.

19. This however took place at a later time: at present there was great excitement in the city. For if the people caught sight of any one who had had influence with Sejanus, and had been made insolent by this, they slaughtered him. And the soldiers, enraged because they were suspected of devotion to Sejanus (the night-guards being regarded as more loyal to Tiberius), plundered and burned through the city, although the chief magistrates undertook to guard the city at the command of Tiberius. The senate too was disturbed, the partisans of Sejanus being greatly terrified through fear of punishment, and those who had brought accusations or given evidence against any persons, beginning to suspect that they had sacrificed them to Sejanus and not to Tiberius. Very few were there who ventured to take courage, as not having been mixed up in these things, and to hope that Tiberius would treat them with mildness. For, as usually happens, all that had occurred they laid to the account of the man who had been put to death, and the emperor they blamed very little or not at all: saying that of most things he had been kept in ignorance, and some things he had been compelled to do unwillingly. This was the way they felt in private: in public they voted, as if they were now freed from tyranny, that no one should put on mourning for Sejanus, and that a statue of Freedom should be set up in the Forum, and that a feast should be celebrated by all the magistrates and priests,—a thing that never happened before,—and that the day on which he was executed should be celebrated


2 See IV. 3. 5.
every year with horse-races, and wild-beast fights, by all the four colleges of priests, and also the Augustales (see I. 54. 1). They had pushed him on to destruction by the excess and the novelty of their adulation, and now they voted strange acts of gratitude to the gods. Indeed, it was so well understood that it was by them chiefly that his head had been turned, that they at once voted that it should be expressly forbidden to bestow excessive honors upon any one, or to take oaths by any other than the emperor. And yet they had no sooner voted this, as if by divine inspiration, than they began to flatter Macro and Laco, giving them much wealth and great honors, bestowing upon Laco questorian rank, and upon Macro praetorian, authorizing Macro to sit in the theatre with the senators, and to wear the praetexta at the votive games. They did not accept the honors, however, for the recent example made them cautious. Neither did Tiberius accept any of the many honors that were offered to him, as for instance that he should now begin to be called ‘Father of his Country,’ and that his birthday should be celebrated with ten cavalry fights and a banquet of the senate: but he forbade, as he had before, all of these things.

18. This is what happened in the city. But Tiberius was for a while in great apprehension lest Sejanus should get possession of the city and sail to attack him, and he had vessels ready in order to escape if anything of this sort should happen. And, as some say, he had ordered Macro, if there should be any disturbance, to lead down before the senate and people, and proclaim him emperor. But when he learned of the death of Sejanus, he rejoiced, as is natural, but yet he refused to receive the embassy sent to him on this account, although many from the senate and many from the knights and the people had been sent, as on a former occasion; and he did not even admit the consul Regulus to his presence, who had always been his adherent, and had now come, in accordance with his written request, to accompany him to Rome.

14. Such a downfall had Sejanus, the most powerful of all who have held this office before or after him, except Plautianus; and his kinsmen and friends, and all others who had paid court to him, and conferred honors upon him, were put upon their trial. Most of these were convicted on the ground of the very things for which they had before been especially envied, the others condemning them for things which they themselves had formerly voted. And many who had before been tried on certain charges and acquitted, were arrested again and condemned, as if their

1 The colleges of pontifices, augurs, quindecimviri, and epulones.
2 See I. 70. n. 6
3 He was praetorian prefect under Septimius Severus, and was put to death A.D. 203, after a career of extraordinary baseness.
acquittal had been for his sake. Thus, if there was no other charge against a man, this was enough for his punishment, that he had been a friend of Sejanus, just as if it had not been on account of the friendship of Tiberius that others had paid court to him. Such accusations were brought especially by those who had been most devoted to Sejanus; for since they knew accurately who were like-minded with themselves, they had no trouble in bringing accusations and proofs.

16. Of those who were accused, many appeared in person and spoke in their own defence with great freedom of spirit; but most took their own lives before being condemned. They did this especially in order to escape the disgrace and outrage (for all who were arrested on any such charge, not only knights but also senators, not only men but also women, were crowded into the prison, and after being condemned some were put to death there, and others were hurled from the Tarpeian Rock by the tribunes or consuls, and their bodies tossed into the Forum, and after this thrown into the river), and also in order that their children might inherit their property. For they confiscated only a very small proportion of the property of those who committed suicide before judgment, it being the policy of Tiberius to lead them to self-destruction by this inducement, so that it might not appear that it was he who worked their destruction — as if it were not a much more terrible thing to compel a man to slay himself than to give him over directly to the executioners.

The condemnation of Sejanus is thus described by Juvenal, 10. 56-77:

Quodam praecipitata subjecta potestas magna
Invicta: mergit longa atque insignis honos
Pallia. Descendunt stolae restanque sequuntur,
Ipse deinde rotas bigarum impacta secures
Cedet et in armis utagma crura caballis:
Iam stremnit ignes, iam solibus atque caninis
Ardeat adarum populo capst et crepat laguna
Sejanus; deinde ex facie tota orbis ascendit
Fluit uxor urbis paeus sustantia manibus.
Posse doni laurus, doc in Copiolicis magnan.
Cretastamque boves: Sejanus ducitur uno
Spectaculas: gaudent omnes. 'Quae labra, qui illi
Valores est! sumquam, si quid mili credis, amavi
Hunc hominem? sed quo oportit sub crimine? quisnam
Delator? quibus inducis, quo teste probavit?'
Nihil horum: verbaque et grandis epistula venit
A Caprea, — 'Bene habet: nil plus interrogo. — Sed quid
Turbam Remi? ' Sequitur fortunam ut semper et odit
Damnaeis: idem populus, si Nortia Tusco
Pavianum, si opposarum fortes securos sequerat
Principes, hoc quae Sejanus divotis hort
Augustum.
Suetonius gives the following account in his life of Tiberius:

65. Super veteres amicos ac familiares, vinginti sibi e numero principum civitatis depopocerat, velut consiliorios in negotiis publicis. Horum omnium vix duos aut tres incolures praetitit; ceteros, alium alia de causa, peculii, inter quos cum plurimorum clade Aelium Seianum, quem ad summan potestatem non tam benevolentiam provecerat quam ut esset cuius ministerio ac fraudibus liberis Germanici cireunveniret, nepotemque suum ex Druso filio naturalem ad successionem imperii confirmaret.

66. Seianum, res novas moliementum, quamvis iam et natalem eius publice celebrari et imagines aureas colli passim videret, vix tandem, et tamen magis ac dolo quam principali auctoritate, subvertit. Nam primo, ut a se per speciem honoris dimitteretur, collegam sibi assemplum in quisto consolatus, quem longo intervallo absens ob id ipsum susceperat. Defende spe administrati ac tribuniciae potestatis decepsum, inopinantem criminastrum est praedicae miserrandique oratone: cum inter alia patres conscriptos precaretur, "Hibernum alium esto consulibus, qui te tenet et volo in conspectum eorum cum alioque militari praefecto perdurem. Sic quvale diffidentes tumultumque metuens, Drusum nepotem, quem vinculis habeb Romae continebat, solvi, si res posceret, ducenque constituti praeceperat. Apatatis etiam navibus ad quascumque legiones meditaturus fugam, spectabundus ex altissima rupe identidem signa, quae, ne nuntii morarentur, tolli procul, ut quotidique factum foret, mandaverat. Verum et oppressa coniuratione Seiani, nihil secundum actum constantior, per novem proximos menses non egressus est villa, quae vocatur Iovis.

1 Neither Dio nor Juvencus hints at any conspiracy on the part of Seianus, but they represent his overthrow as caused by jealousy of his excessive greatness and insolence. The conspiracy is, however, mentioned by Josephus (Ant. Ind. XVIII. 6, 6), who says that it was revealed to Tiberius by Antonia, the mother of Germanicus. "She had been also the greatest benefactress to Tiberius, when there was a very dangerous plot laid against him by Seianus, a man who had been her husband's friend, and who had the greatest authority, because he was general of the army, and many members of the senate and many of the freedmen joined with him, and the soldiers were corrupted, and the plot was come to a great height. Now Seianus had certainly gained his point, had not Antonia's boldness been more wisely conducted than Seianus' malice; for, when she had discovered his designs against Tiberius, she wrote him an exact account of the whole, and gave the letter to Pollux, the most faithful of her servants, and sent him to Caeser to Tiberius, who, when he understood it, slew Seianus and his confederates."
ARGUMENT OF BOOK VI.

A.D. 31; L. fulcinius Trilo, P. Membius Rigulius, Consules Suffecti.

[V. 6–11. These chapters were formerly reckoned with Book V., but, treating of events after the fall of Sejanus, are now universally recognized as belonging to Book VI.]


A.D. 32; CN. Domitius Ahenobarbus, M. Furius Caesennius Arruntius Scribonianus, Coss.


A.D. 33; Sex. Sulpicius Galba, L. Cornelius Sulla Felix, Coss.


A.D. 34; Faullus Fabius Persicus, L. Vitellius, Coss.


A.D. 35; C. Cestius Gallus, M. Servilius Nonianus, Coss.


A.D. 36; Q. Plautius, Sex. Papinius Allenius, Coss.


A.D. 37; CN. Aelernus Priscus, C. Petronius Pontius Nigerius, Coss.

Liber VI.

... Quattuor et quadraginta orationes super ea re habita, ex quis ob metum paucae, plures assuetudine mihi pudorem aut Seiano invidiam allaturum censui. Versa est fortuna, et ille quidem, qui collegam et generum asciverat, sibi ignoscit: ceteri, quem per dedecora fovere, cum scelere insectantur. Misierius sit ob amicitiam accusari an amicum accusare, hauz discre- verim. Non crudelitatem, non elementiam ciusquam experiar, sed liber et mihi ipsi probatus antidio periculum. Vos obtestor ne memoriam nostri per maerorem quam laeti retineatis, adiciendo me quoque iis qui fine egregio publica mala effugerunt.' Tunc singulos, ut Vi. V., cuique assistere alloqui animus erat, retinens aut dimit- tens partem diei absumpsit, multoque adhuc coetu et cunctis intrepidum vultum eius spectantibus, cum superesse tempus novissimis crederent, gladio, quem sinu

The first six chapters were formerly reckoned with Book V., and still retain their former numbering, for convenience of reference.

V. 6. This chapter contains a portion of an address made to his friends by one of the adherents of Sejanus, after the overthrow and death of the latter. It appears to have been spoken in his house, when he was on the point of committing suicide.

super ea re: probably the trial of Livia (Livilla).
allaturum: the subject of this infinitive was in the lost passage.

2. illis: Tiberius.
collegam: i.e. either as consul, or, as Mommsen holds (Röm. St. II. 1051), in the proconsular power.
generum: Zonaras states that Sejanus was betrothed to Julia, daughter of Drusus, and widow of Nero (III. 29. 4; IV. 60. 4).
5. quam laeti: Intr. 35 m.
radii, etc.: this would be to cherish his memory laeti.
7. supere ex tempus: i.e. that the time had not yet come.
novissimis, the last act.
abdiderat, incubuit. Neque Caesar ullis criminiibus aut
probris defunctum insectatus est, cum in Blaesum multa
foedaque incussisset.
V. Relatum inde de P. Vitellio et Pomponio Secundo.
Illum indices arguebant claustra aerarii, cui praefectus
erat, et militarem pecuniam rebus novis obtulisse; huic
a Considio praetura functo obiectabatur Aelii Galli
amicitia, qui punito Seiano in hortos Pomponii quasi
fidissimum ad subsidiun perfugisset. Neque aliud peri-
ciliantibus auxilii quam in fratrum constantia fuit, qui
vades exsisteret. Mox crebris prolactionibus spern ac
metum iuxta gravatus Vitellius petitus per speciem stu-
diorum scalpro levem ictum venis intulit vitamque
aegritudine animi finivit. At Pomponius multa morum
elegantia et ingenio illiustri, dum adversam fortunam
v, aequus tolerat, Tiberio superstes fuit.
9 Placitum posthac ut in reliquis Seiani liberos adver-
teretur, vanescente quamquam plebis ira ac plerisque
per priora supplicia lenitis. Igitur portantur in carce-

8. P. Vitellio: see I. 70. 1 n.
Pomponio Secundo: a trage-
dian of whom Quintilian says (X.
1. 98): eorum quos viderim longe
princeps Pomponius Secundus,
quem senes quidem parum tragicum
putabant, crudibusque ac nitore praef-
tarum confidabantur.
aerarii: sc. militaria: I. 78. 2 n.
rebus novis: the conspiracy of
Sejanus.
Aelii Galli: this is supposed to
have been the eldest son of Sejanus,
who had been adopted into the
Ælian gens (IV. I. 3 n.), probably
by the knight Ælius Gallus (Dio,
LIII. 39. 3).
2. fratrum: Vitellius had three
brothers, Lucius (28. 1), Quintus
(II. 48. 3), and Aulus, who was
consul the following year as col-
league of Cn. Domitius, but appears
to have died immediately after tak-
ing office (imperio), as his name
does not stand in the Fasti: Aulus
in consulatu obit quem cum Domi-
tio Nerois Caesaris patri interat
(Suet. Vit. 2). The brother of Pom-
ponius was named Quintus (18. 2).
vades: their brothers gave surety
and kept them in custody.
9. placitum: we are not told
whether this was the act of Tibe-
rias or the senate.
religios: besides Ælius Gallus,
adverteretur: in this sense (cf.
III. 52. 2 n.) followed by in with
the accusative only here and II. 32. 5.
quamquam: following vane-
scente by anastrophe.
rem, filius imminentium intellegens, puella adeo nescia ut crebro interrogaret quod ob delictum et quo trahetur; neque facturam ultra, et posse se puerili verbere moneri. Tradunt temporis eius auctores, quia triumvirali supplicio adfici virginem inauditum habebat, a carnifice laqueum iuxta compressam; exim oblis邢 fauci-bus id aetatis corpora in Gemonias abiecta.

Per idem tempus Asia atque Achaia exterrita sunt

acri magis quam diuturno rumore, Drusum Germanici filium apud Cycladas insulas, mox in continenti visum. Et erat iuvenis haud dispari aetate, quibusdam Caesaris libertis velut agnitus; per dolumque comitantibus alli-ciebantur ignari fama nominis et promptis Graecorum animis ad nova et mira. Quippe elapsum custodiae per-gere, ad paternos exercitus, Aegyptum aut Suriam invasurum fingebat simul credebatque. Iam iuventutis concursu, iam publicis studiis frequentabatur, laetus praesentibus et inanium spe, cum auditum id Poppeaco Sabino; is Macedoniea tum intentus Achaiae quoque curabat. Igitur quo vera seu falsa antiret, Toronaeum Thermaeumque sinum praefestinana, mox Euboeam Aegaei maris insulam et Piraenum Atticici orae, dein

3. triumvirali supplicio: death by strangling. The triumviri capitales were officers who had charge of the prison and inflicted the death punishment. The incident here given is related also by Suetonius (Ti 61) and other writers (see p. 350), but is reasonably doubted by Merivale and others, as being a mere rumor. iuxta, close to; anastrophe; Ins. 35 i.

10. Drusum: he was at this time in prison, where he died of hunger the next year (23. 4).

2. velut, as was claimed. comitantibus: i.e. the freedmen; ablative absolute. ad paternos exercitus: those formerly commanded by his alleged father.

3. laetus praesentibus, rejoicing in his present success. inanium spe: a hope resting upon vain expectations. Achalm quoque curabat: see l. 80. i. n.

4. antiret, get the start of the story, whether true or false. Toronaeum Thermaeumque sinum: on the coast of Macedonia.
Corinthiense litus angustiasque Isthmi evadit; marique Ionio Nicopolim Romanam coloniam ingressus, ibi de-

5 mutum cognoscit sollertius interrogatum quisnam foret, dixisse M. Silano genitum, et multis sectatorum dilapiss

ascendisse navem tamquam Italian peteret. Scripser-

que haec Tiberio, neque nos originem finemve eius rei

ultra comparerimus.

V. 11 Exitu anni diu aucta discordia consulum erupit.

Nam Trio, faciliis capessendis inimicitiae et foro exer-

2 citus, ut sequem Regulum ad opprimendos Sciani mi-

nistros oblique perstrinxerat: ille, nisi laesseretur, modestiae reternens, non modo rettudit collegam, sed

ut noxium coniurationis ad disquisitionem trabebat.

3 Multisque patrum orantibus ponerent odia in perniciem

itura, mansere insensi ac munitantes, donec magistratu

abirent.

VI. Cn. Domitius et Camillus Scribonianus consulatum

inierant, cum Caesar tramisse quod Capreas et Surren-

tum interiuit freto Campaniam praeegebatur, ambiguis an

urbem intraret, seu, quia contra destinaverat, speciem

venturi simulans. Et saepe in propinqua degressus,

angustias Isthmi, the narrow Isthmus (latr. 35 d.); passing from
the Saronic to the Corinthian Gulf.

Nicopolim: see II. 53. 1.

Interrogatum: i.e. the pre-
tender; subject of dixisse and asc-
cendisse.

M. Silano: perhaps the one
mentioned III. 24. 5.

Multis... dilapiss: as the re-
sult of his confession.

11. consulum: Fulcinia Trio
(II. 28. 3) and Memmius Regulus,
consules suffecti.

Trio: he had been a friend and
accomplice of Sejanus, whose con-

federates he was therefore, in self-
defence, all the more zealous to

punish.

foro exercitus, skilled as an ad-
vocate.

Regulum: a “man of determined
loyalty.”

2. modestiae, self-control.

coniurationis: of Sejanus.

1. Cn. Domitius: father of
the emperor Nero, by Agrippina,
daughter of Germanicus; see IV.
75. 1.

Camillus Scribonianus: son of
the proconsul of Africa (II. 52. 3).

praeegebatur: cf. II. 79. 1.
aditis iuxta Tiberim hortis, saxa rursum et solitudinem maris repetit, pudore scelerum et libidinum, quibus adeo indomitis exarserat ut more regio pubem ingenuam stupris pollueret. Nec formam tantum et decora cor pora, sed in his modestam pueritiam, in aliis imagines maiorum incitamentum cupidinis habebat. Tuncque primum ignota antea vocabula reperta sunt sellariorum et spintriarum ex foeditate loci ac multiplici patientia; praepositique servi qui conquirerent pertraherent, dona in promptos, minas adversum abnuentes, et si retinerent propinquus aut parens, vim raptus suaque ipsi libita velut in captos exercebant.

At Romae principio anni, quasi recens cognitis Liviae flagitiis ac non pridem etiam punitis, atroces sententiae dicebantur in effigies quoque ac memoriam eius, et bona Seiani ablata aerario ut in fiscum cogerentur, tamquam referret. Scipiones haec et Silani et Cassii isdem ferme aut paulum immutatis verbis asseveratione multa censebant, cum repente Togonius Gallus, dum ignobiliatem suam magnis nominibus inserit, per deridicum auditur. Nam principem orabat deligere senatores, ex quis viginti sorte ducti et ferro accincti, quotiens curiam inisset, salutem eius defenderent. Crediderat nimirum

2. hortis: those bequeathed by Julius Caesar to the Roman people (II. 41. 1). In this neighborhood Augustus had constructed a naval amphitheatre (in quo loco nunc nuncius est Caesarum. Mon. Anc. IV. 43). Of this visit Suetonius says (71b. 72): stiremi usque ad proximas naumachiae hortos subvenit, dispuses stationes per ripas Tiberis, quae obviam procula nobis submerserat . . . sed prospehis nec aditus urbisque moenibus redit.

saxa, etc.: i.e. of Capri.

3. Liviae flagitiis: see IV. 3. 3. These had been divulged, and Livia punished, after the death of Sejanus; see p. 350. fiscum: the emperor’s privy purse; the aedarium, or public treasure, was quite as much under his control, so that it made no difference (tamquam referret) in which the funds were placed.

2. Scipiones, etc.: members of these noble families, with which the insignificance of Togonius Gallus is contrasted.
epistulæ subsidio sibi alterum ex consulibus poscentis, ut tutus a Capreis urbem pateret. Tiberius tamen ludibria seris permiscere solitus, egit gratis benevolentiae patrum: sed quos omitti posse, quos deligi? semperne eosdem an subinde alios? et honoribus perfunctoris an iuniores, privatos an e magistratibus? quam deinde speciem fore sumentium in limine curiae gladios? neque sibi vitam tanti, si armis tegenda foret. Haece, adversus Togonium verbis moderans, neque ultra abolutionem sententiae suadere. At Iunium Gallionem, qui censeverat ut praetoriani actis stipendiis ius apiscerentur in quattuordecim ordinibus sedendi, violenter increpuit, velut coram rogitans, quid illi cum militibus, quos neque dicta nisi imperatoris neque praemia nisi ab imperatore accipere par esset. Reperisse prorsus quod divus Augustus non providerit: an potius discordiam et seditionem a satellite Seiani quaesitam, qua rudes animos nomine honoris ad corrumpendum militiae morem propelleret? Hoc pretium Gallio meditatae adulationis tuuit, statim curia, deinde Italia exactus; et quia incusa-

4. epistulæ: the verbus et grandis epistula (Iuv. 10. 71), in which Tiberius had denounced Sejanus. See p. 345. poscentis: see pp. 345, 351, 353. 5. honoribus perfunctoris: those who had held magistracies, while those e magistratibus were the actual incumbents. sumentium ... gladios: to be armed in the senate was a serious offence; cf. IV. 21. 2. 8. Iunium Gallionem: a celebrated rhetorician and an intimate friend of M. Seneca, who calls him one of the four best declaimers of the time, adding: at quorum consexit, pares Latronem gloria suisset, pares Gallionem palma

(Contr. X. 13). Quintilian says: remissus et pro suo ingenio poter Gallio (IX. 2. 91). actis stipendiis: see I. 17. 3 n. quattuordecim ordinibus: the fourteen rows of benches assigned to the equites at the theatre. The proposition would have the effect of placing the past members of the pretorian guard on an equality with the equestrian order, as was the rule with centuriones primipilares (II. 11. 2 a). quos neque, etc.: it will be remembered that the emperor had, by virtue of his proconsular power, sole authority over the army (Iuv. 19); moreover, these were his special body-guard.
batur facile toleraturus exsilium delecta Lesbo, insula nobili et amoenæ, retrahitur in urbem custoditurque domibus magistratuum.

Isdem litteris Caesar Sextium Paconianum praetorium perculit magno patrum gaudio, audacem maleficum, omnium secretum immantem delectumque ab Seiano cujus ope dolus Gaio Caesari pararetur. Quod postquam patefactum, prorupere concepta pridem odia, et summum supplicium decernebat, ni professus indicium foret. Ut vero Latinium Latiarem ingressus est, accusator ac reus iuxta invisi gratissimum spectaculum praebebantur. Latiaris, ut rettuli, praecipuus olim circumveniendi Titii Sabini et tunc luendae poenae primus fuit. Inter quae Haterius Agrippa consules anni prioris invasit, cur mutua accusatione intenta nunc silerent: metum prorsus et noxae conscientiam pro foedere haberi; at non patribus reticenda quae audivissent. Regulus manere tempus ultionis, seque coram princepe executurum; Trio aemulationem inter collegas et si qua discordes iecissent melius oblitterari respondit. Urgente Agrippa Sanquinius Maximus e consularibus oravit senatum ne curas imperatoris consquisitis insuper acerbitatibus augerent: sufficeret ipsum statuendis remediis. Sic Regulo salus et Trioni dilatio exitii quaesita. Haterius invictor fuit, quia somno aut libidinosis vigilii

3. domibus magistratuum: a not uncommon form of imprisonment; see Cic. in Cat. 1. 8. 19.
5. quod, etc.: it would seem that the emperor’s letter first brought this act of treachery to the knowledge of the senators.
sumnum supplicium, etc.: he was nevertheless thrown into prison, where he was put to death three years afterwards; see 39. 1.

professus... foret: i.e. turned state’s evidence.
4. ut rettuli: see IV. 68. 2.
2. Haterius Agrippa: see II. 51. 2 n.
mutua accusatione: see V. 11. 1.
non patribus reticenda: the senate should not pass over such charges in silence.
4. dilatio exitii: Trio put himself to death, a.d. 35 (38. 2).
marcidus et ob sequitiam quamvis crudelem principem non metuens illustribus viris perniciem inter ganeam ac stupra meditabatur.

6 Exim Cotta Messalinus, saevissimae cuiusque sententiae auctor eoque inveterata invidia, ubi primum facultas data, arguitur pleraque in C. Caesarem quasi incertae virilitatis, et cum die natali Augustae inter sacerdotes epularetur, novendialam eam cenam dixisse; querensque de potentia M. Lepidi ac L. Arruntii, cum quibus ob rem pecuniariam discipabant, addidisse: 'Illos quem senatus, me autem tuetur Tiberiolus meus.' Quae cuncta a primoribus civitatis revincebatur, isque instanter ad imperatorem provocavit. Nec multo post litterae adferuntur, quibus in modum defensionis, repetito inter se atque Cottam amicitiae principio crebrisque eius officis commemoratis, ne verba prave detorta ne convivialium fabularum simplicitas in crimine duceretur postulavit.

6 Insigne visum est earum Caesaris litterarum initium; nam his verbis exorsus est: 'Quid scribam vobis, patres conscripti, aut quo modo scribam aut quid omnino non scribam hoc tempore, di me deaeque peius perdant quam perire me cotidie sentio, si scio.' Adeo facinora

5. quamvis crudelem: his sluggish nature was insensible to fear.
6. Cotta Messalinus: see II. 32. 2.
   incertae: see App. I.
   die natali Augustae: Jan. 30.
   novendialam: funeral feast, celebrated on the ninth day after death. The allusion has been variously interpreted; the simplest explanation is to refer it to the glook which prevailed in this reign of terror. Nipperdey's explanation is that a banquet on the birthday of a deceased person who had not been deified was nothing but a funeral feast.
   M. Lepidi ac L. Arruntii: see I. 13. 1 and 2 n.
2. quae cuncta: construed with revincebatur.
   revincebatur: note the force of the imperfect—he was on the point of being condemned. Cf. abrant, I. 23. 3 n.
   simplicitas, freedom of speech.
6. quid scribam, etc.: these words, reported also by Suetonius
atque flagitia sua ipsi quoque in supplicium verterant. Neque frustra praestantissimus sapientiae firmare solitus est, si recludantur tyrannorum mentes, posse aspici laniatus et ictus, quando ut corpora verberibus, ita saevitia libidine malis consulti animus dilaceretur. Quippe Tiberium non fortuna, non solitudines protegerunt quin tormenta pectoris suasque ipse poenas fatere tur. Tum facta patribus potestate statuendi de C. 

Caeciliiano senatore, qui plurima adversum Cottam promptserat, placitum eandem poenam irrogari quam in Aruseium et Sanquinium, accusatores L. Arruntii: quo non aliud honorificentius Cottae event, qui nobilis quis dem, sed egens ob luxum, per flagitia infamis, sanctissimus Arruntii artibus dignitate ultionis aequabatur.

Q. Servaeus posthac et Minucius Thermus inducti, Servaeus praetura functus et quondam Germanici comes, Minucius equestri loco, modesto habita Seiani amicitia; unde illis maior miseratio. Contra Tiberius praecipuos ad sclera increpans admonuit C. Cestium patrem dicere senatui quae sibi scriptisset, suscepitque Cestius accusationem. Quod maxime exitiabile tulere illa tempora, cum primores senatus infimas etiam delationes exercerent, ali propteam, multi per occultum; neque discerneres alienos a coniunctis, amicos ab igno-
tis, quid repens aut vetustate obscurum: perinde in foro, in convivio, quaqua de re locuti incusabantur, ut quis praevenire et reum destinare properat, pars ad subsidium sui, plures infecti quasi valetudine et contactu.

Sed Minucius et Servaeus damnati indicibus accesserence. Tractique sunt in casum eundem Iulius Africanus e Santonis Gallica civitate, Seius Quadratus: originem non repperi. Neque sum ignoras a plerisque scriptoribus omissa multorum pericula et poenas, dum copia fatiscunt aut, quae ipsis nimia et maesta fuerant, ne pari taedio lecturos adficerent verentur: nobis plerique digna cognitu obvencere, quamquam ab alis incelebtrata.

Nam ea tempestate, qua Seiani amicitiam ceteri fals exuerant, ausus est eques Romanus M. Terentius, ob id reus, amplcti, ad hunc modum apud senatum oriendo:

'Fortunae quidem meae fortasse minus expedit agnosare crimen quam abnuere: sed utcumque casura res est, fatebor et fuisse me Sciano amicum, et ut essem expetisse, et postquam adeptus erat laetatum. Vide ram collegam patris regendis praetoriis cohortibus, mox urbis et militiae munia simul obseuntem. Illius propinquii et adines honoribus augebantur; ut quisque Seiano intimus, ita ad Caesari amicitiam validus: contra quibus infensus esset, metu ac sordibus conflictabantur.

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4. repens = recent. a frequent use of the word in Tacitus.
5. subsidium suis, in subdefence.
6. valetudine et contactu, consanguine; a hendiadys.
5. indicibus accessere: like Paulianus (3. 5).
7. Iulius Africanus: probably father of the distinguished orator of Nero's time (Quint. x. 1. 118).
8. nam: here used to introduce an example.
9. exuerant, had disclaimed.
10. collegam patris: see l. 24. 3. urbis... muni: not as praefectus urbis (this was Lucius Piso, 10. 5), but as the emperor's confidential advisor.

5. quemquam: i.e. by name.
   novissimi consilii: his plot against the emperor.
6. tuum, etc.: see V. 6. 2.
   tua officia capessentem: the affairs of state had been left practically in his hands.
7. coram, in public, as opposed to abditos sensus.
8. ido: i.e. by searching (exquirere).
9. assequare: indefinite subject, one would attain his object.
10. sedecim annos: from the accession of Tiberius, a.d. 14, to the fall of Sejanus, a.d. 31; somewhat more than sixteen years.
11. dabitur: i.e. to all friends of Sejanus.
tores eis, additis quae ante deliquerant, exsilium aut morte multarentur.

2. Secutae dehinc Tiberii litterae in Sex. Vistilium prae- 
torium, quem Druso fratri percarum in cohortem suam

3. transtulerat. Causa offensionis Vistilio fuit, seu com-

4. posuerat quaedam in Gaium Caesarem ut impudicum,

5. sive facta habita fides. Atque ob id convictu principis

6. prohibitum cum senili manu ferrum temptavisset, obligat

7. venas; precastusque per codicillos, inmiti rescripto venas

8. resolvit. Acervatim ex eo Annius Pollio, Appius Sila-

9. nus Scauro Mamerco simul ac Sabino Calvisio malesta-

10. tis postulantur, et Vinicianus Pollioni patri adiciebatur,

11. clari genus et quidam summis honoribus. Contremue-

12. ranque patres (nam quotus quisque adfinitas aut ami-

13. citiaeet tot illustrium virorum expers erat?), ni Celsus

14. urbaneae cohortis tribunus, tum inter indices, Appium et

15. Calvisium discrimini exemisset. Caesar Pollioni ac

16. Viniciani Scaurique causam, ut ipse cum senatu nosce-

17. ret, distulit, datis quibusdam in Scaurum tristibus notis.

2. Vistilium: perhaps father of

3. cohortem suam: i.e. of friends

4. facta: i.e. the story; dative.

5. habita fides: cf. II. 12. 2.

6. convicu prohibitus: cf. II.

7. 3; III. 12. 3.


10. simul: see IV. 55. 3 n.

11. Sabino Calvisio: consul, A.D.

12. 26 (IV. 46. 1).

13. Vinicianus: son of Annus

14. Pollio, afterwards proposed as a

15. successor to Caligula; he revolted

16. against Claudius, and put himself to

17. death, A.D. 42.

18. gens: Intr. 35 r.

19. quidam summis honoribus: all of these, with the possible ex-

20. ception of Vinicianus, were consul.

21. Pfitzer suggests that et is equiva-

22. lent to and in addition to.

23. Nipperdey suggests atque

24. idem for et quidam, which seems

25. preferable. It is probably a care-

26. lessness of expression.

27. contremuerant: cf. implever-

28. atr, IV. 9. 1 n.

29. urbaneae cohortis: see I. 8. 3 n.

30. tristibus notis: for the cause

31. of offence, see I. 13. 4; for his fate,
Ne feminae quidem exortes periculi. Quia occupanda rei publicae argui non poterant, ob lacrimas incusabantur; necataque est anus Vitia, Fufii Gemini mater, quod filii necem flevisset. Haec apud senatum: nec secus apud principem Vescularius Flaccus ac Iulius Marinus ad mortem aguntur, e vetustissimis familiarium, Rhodum seculi et apud Capreas individui, Vescularius insidiarum in Libonem internuntius; Marino particeps Seianus Curtium Atticum oppresserat. Quo laetius acceptum sua exempla in consultores recidisse.

Per idem tempus L. Piso pontifex, rarum in tanta claritutiné, fato obiit, nullius servilis sententiae sponte auctor, et quotiens necessitas ingrueret, sapienter moderans. Patrem ei censorium fuisset memoravi; aetas ad octogesimum annum processit; decus triumphale in Thraecia meruerat. Sed praecipua ex eo gloria, quod praefectus urbi recens continuam potestatem et insolentia parendo graviorem mire temperavit. Namque antea, profectis domo regibus ac mox magistratibus, ne urbe sine imperio foret, in tempus deligebatur qui ius redaret ac subitis mederetur; feruntque ab Romulo Den-
trem Romulium, post ab Tullo Hostilio Numam Marcium et ab Tarquinio Superbo Spurius Lucretium impositos. Dein consules mandabant; duratque simulacrum quotiens ob ferias Latinas praeficitur qui consulare munus usurpet. Ceterum Augustus bellis civilibus Cilinium Maecenatem equestris ordinis cunctis apud Romam atque Italiam praeposuit; mox rerum potitus ob magnitudinem populi ac tarda legum auxilia sumpsit et consularibus qui coerceret servitia et quod civium audacia turbidum nisi vim metuat. Primusque Messalla Corvinus eam potestatem et paucos intra dies finem accepit, quasi nescius exercendi; tum Taurus Statilius, quamquam proiecta aetate, egregie toleravit; dein Piso viginti per annos pariter probatus, publico funere ex decreto senatus celebratus est.

19 Relatum inde ad patres a Quintiliano tribuno plebei

Numam Marcium: son-in-law of Numa Pompilius, and father of Ancus Marcius.
Spurius Lucretium: father of the ill-fated Lucretia, and consul in the first year of the republic. The three here given are probably only the most noted of the praefecti urbi under the monarchy.
mandabant: i.e. the same functions on the same occasions.
simulacrum: see note, IV. 36. 1.
ferias Latinas: see IV. 36. 1.
Augustus ... praeposuit: this was B.C. 76; but Maccenas did not bear the title of praefectus urbis: its powers he shared with Agrippa.
equestria ordinis: see III. 30. 4 n.
atque Italiarm: the city of Rome now embraced politically the whole of Italy.
rerum potitus: after the battle of Actium, B.C. 31.
tarda legum auxilia: the slowness of procedure in the courts.
miscus: a general condition, qualifying turbidum.
Messalla Corvinus: a distinguished orator and soldier, as well as patron of literature; see III. 34. 2.
quasi nescius exercendi: according to St. Jerome's version of Eusebius' Chronicle (A.C. 25), Messala abdicated on the sixth day, declaring his office incivilem potestatem.
rum, afterwards; it was nine years later (A.C. 16), on occasion of the absence of Augustus from Rome. It was originally the essence of the office that it was only exercised on special occasions, and Mommsen (Röm. St. II. 982) assigns this as the reason why this officer is not mentioned among those taking the oath to the new emperor (1. 7. 3).
viginti: see App. 1.
of the Sibylla, quem Caninius Gallus quindecimvirum recipi inter ceteros eiusdem vatis et ea de re senatus consultum postulaverat. Quo per dissectionem facto misit litteras Caesar, modice tribunum increpans ignarum antiqui moris ob iuventam. Gallo exprobrabat quod scientiae caerimoniarumque vetus incerto auctore, ante sententiam collegii, non, ut adsolet, lecto per magistros aetimatoque Carmine, apud infrequentem senatum egisset. Simul communefecti, quia multa vana sub nomine celebri vulgabantur, sanxisse Augustum, quem intra diem ad praetorem urbanum defferrentur neque habere privatim liceret. Quod a maiobus quoque decretum erat post exustum sociali bello Capitolium, quae sitis Samo, Ilio, Erythris, per Africam etiam ac Sicilian et Italicas colonias carminibus Sibullae, una seu plures fuere, datoque sacerdotibus negotio, quantum humana


Caninius Gallus: he is known by inscriptions to have been president of the Fratres Arvalis, A.D. 36.

quindecimvirum: partitive genitive; see I. 76, 2. 8.

postulaverat: i.e. the tribune, who had the ius referendi, or power of convening the senate, had done this at the request of Gallus, in order to obtain validity for his act.

per dissectionem: i.e. by going apart into the lobbies. This was the regular way of voting; its mention appears to show that the vote was taken without discussion; cf. III. 69, 9.

2. scientiae, caerimoniarum: cf. vetus operis (I. 20, 3).

per magistros: the college of Quindecimviri had five magistrum as presiding officers. Marquart, Röm. Staatsverwaltung, III. 366.

infrequentem: there seems at this time to have been no fixed quorum of the senate: before the time of Augustus it was necessary that four hundred senators should be present (that is, about two-thirds of the whole number), in order to transact business. Augustus relaxed this rule. Dio, LIV. 35.

3. defferentur: Suetonius (Oct. 31) says of this: supra duo milia [saeclorum librarum] contracta undeque cremerit, ac soles retinuit Sibyllinas, hos quoque dicingu habitis; conduciuntque duobus forulis ururus sub Paulatn Apollinis haec.

4. sociali bello: an error; it was during the first civil war, B.C. 83.

Samo, etc.: (ablative of place whence): each of these towns claimed the glory of a Sibyl. It was from Erythrae, a town of Asia Minor, that the Sibyl came who sold the books to King Tarquin.
TACITUS.

5 ope potuissent, vera discernere. Igitur tunc quoque
notioni quindecmvirum is liber subicitur.

18 Isdem consulibus gravitate annonae iuxta seditionem
ventum, multaque et plures per dies in theatro licentius
efflagitata quam solitum adversum imperatorem. Quis
commotus incusavit magistratus patresque quod non
publica auctoritate populum coercuisissent, addiditque
quibus ex provincis et quanto maiorem quam Augustus
rei frumentariae copiam adventaret. Ita castigandae
plebi compositum senatus consultum prsca severitate,
neque segnius consules edixere. Silentium ipsum non
civilis, ut crediderat, sed in superbiam accipiebat.

1 Fine anni Geminius, Celsus, Pompeius, equites Ro-
mani, cecidere coniurationis crimine; ex quis Geminius
prodigentia opum ac mollitia vitae amicus Seiano, nihil
ad serium. Et Iulius Celsus tribunus in vinculis laxatam
catenam et circumdatam in diversum tendens suam ipse
cervicem perfregit. At Rubrio Fabato, tamquam de-
speratis rebus Romanis Parthorum ad misericordiam
fugeret, custodes additi. Sane is repertus apud fretum
Siciliae retractusque per centurionem nullas probabiles

5. liber: the book in question.
18. in theatro: the theatre in-
stead of the public assembly was
now the usual place for the expres-
sion of popular desires; cf. Hist. I. 73.
2. addidit: for Tiberius' care of
the corn supply, see III. 54. 8.
3. Augustus: Augustus bought every year from Egypt
20,000,000 modii of corn = about
1. 6).
4. segnius: senate and consuls exercised their respective
powers of ordinance (senatus con-
sultum) and proclamation (edictum).
4. silentium ipsum: i.e., that be
reproved the people through the
mouths of the senate and magis-
trates; this was ascribed to arro-
gance, rather than the observance
of constitutional forms.
14. nihil ad serium: no dan-
ger could have been feared from
such a trifler.
2. Iulius Celsus: see 9. 6; not
the Celsus mentioned above.
circumdata: sc. cervici.
3. Parthorum: to them alone
could he escape from the empire.
4. nullas probabiles causas:
he was probably a senator, as the
senators were forbidden by Augus-
causas longinquae peregrinationis adferebat: mansit
tamen incolumis, oblivione magis quam clementia.

Ser. Galba L. Sulla consulibus diui quaeisito quos 15
neptibus suis maritós destinaret Caesar, postquam insta-
bat virginum aetas, L. Cassium, M. Vinicium legit.
Vinicio oppidanum genus: Calibus ortus, patre atque
avo consularibus, cetera equestri familia erat, mitis in-
genio et comptaet facundiae. Cassius plebeii Romae 3
generis, verum antiqui honoratique, et severa patris
disciplina eductus facilitate saepius quam industria com-
mandabatur. Huic Drusillum, Vinicio Iuliam Germa-
nico genitas coniunxit superque ea re senatui scribit,
levi cum honore iuvenum. Dein redditis absentiae cau-
sis admodum vagis flexit ad graviora et offensiones ob
rem publicam coeptas, utque Macro praefectus tribuno-
rumque et centurionum pauci secum introirent, quotiens
curiam ingredieretur, petivit. Factoque large et sine 6
praescriptione generis aut numeri senatus consulto ne tecta quidem urbis, adeo publicum consilium numquam adiit, deviis plerumque itineribus ambicns patriam et declinans.

16. Interea magna vis accusatorum in eos irruptit qui pecunias faenore auctitabant adversum legem dictatoris Caesaris, qua de modo credendi possidendiique intra Italiam cavetur, omissam olim, quia privato usui bonum publicum postponitur. Sane vetus urbi faenebre malum et seditionem discordiarumque creberrima causa, eoque cohibebar antiquis quoque et minus corruptis moribus.

Nam primo duodecim tabulis sanctum ne quis unciario, faenore amplius exerceret, cum antea ex libidine locu-

adeo numquam = nescitum numquam.

publicum consilium: an old name for the senate, derived from its original functions as a counseling body. Cf. Cic. de Ref. II. 5. 14; [Remuh] in regium consilium delegat principes, qui appel- lantur proprii caritatem patres.

16. magna vis accusatorum: it appears from a passage in Dio Cassius (I. VIII. 21) that this was done at the instigation of the emperor, whose habit it was to insist upon a rigid enforcement of the laws; as he had shown himself (III. 53, 54) to have a keen appreciation of the social and economical evils of the time, we may suppose that his enforcement of this law was grounded in considerations of public policy. The result, however, was very unfortunate.

adversum legem dictatoris Caesaris: we have no knowledge of any usury laws, or laws regulating the rate of interest, of Julius Caesar. Dio, however (XL. 38), mentions a law of his forbidding any person to possess (κεπτεθειναι), more than 15,000 drachmas [= denarii] in gold or silver, and we may infer with some probability that that is the law referred to. The description is too vague to warrant us in any positive conclusions; but we may infer that if it prohibited keeping on hand more than a certain amount of cash, it may have regulated the investment of the balance. It is referred to in the other passage of Dio (LVIII. 21) as a law περί τῶν συμβολῶν, which may very well apply to such loans (de modo credendi possidendiique). omissam olim, which had long ago become obsolete.

2. vetus urbi: i.e. common in old times. Livy's history mentions many instances of distress and disturbance arising from the exaction of usury, and the harsh enforcement of the laws of debt.

3. unciario faenore: the view of Niebuhr is now generally adopted, that this was an unicia for an as; i.e. one-twelfth of the principal, or eight and one-third per cent, for the year. Niebuhr further assumes, which is not so certain, that this
pletium agitaretur; dein rogatione tribunicia ad semuncia
redactum, postremo vetita versura. Multisque 4
plebis scitis obviam itum fraudibus, quae totiens re-
pressae miras per artes rursum oriebantur. Sed tum 5
Gracchus praetor, cui ea quæstio evenerat, multitudine
periclitantium subactus retulit ad senatum, trepidique
patres (neque enim quisquam tali culpa vacuus) veniam
a principi petivere; et concedente annus in posterum
sexque mensis dati, quis secundum iussa legis rationes
familiaris quisque componenter. Hinc inopia rei num-17
mariæ, commoto simul omnium aere alieno, et quia tot
damnatis bonisque eorum divenditis signatum argentum
fisco vel aerario attinebatur. Ad hoc senatus praescrip-2
rate was for the old year of ten
months, which would be ten per
cent for the year of twelve months.
By the law presently referred to, it
was reduced to half this rate.
rogatione tribunicia: this was
B.C. 347.
vetita versura: probably by the
Genucian Law, B.C. 342, ne faene-
ratio liciet (Liv. VII. 42. 1). Ver-
sura is not equivalent to usura
(interest), but means rather the
making of a loan—borrowing from
one person to pay a debt to another.
What was prohibited therefore was
not the taking interest at all, but
the trade of money-lending (faene-
ratio). In the present case, at any
rate, it is evident that the law did
not forbid interest, for in the next
chapter it is said that the hundred
million sesterces advanced by the
emperor were as a favor loaned
without interest (aude usuriae), from
which it follows that it would have
been lawful to exact interest.
4. fraudibus: e.g. just after the
Second Punic War, loans were
made in the name of sorti, or citi-
sens of allied towns (Liv. XXXV. 7).
5. tum, on the present occasion,
na quæstio: the court which
had cognizance of this offence.
trepidi patres: in violating this
law the senators likewise offended
against the public sentiment which
forbade them to engage in trade.
concedente: Instr. 35 o.
secundum, etc.: i.e. arrange
their business so as to conform to
the law.
17. rei nummariæ, casæ—
there being no money but coin,
ummus; cf. rei frumentariae, 13.
2. commoto: i.e. being called in;
this made an enormous demand for
ready money, while the extensive
 confiscations had locked up large
sums in the treasury.
ad hoc, to meet this emergency,
—an unusual meaning of this phrase,
but supported by the expression of
Suetonius who (Tit. 48), in de-
scribing the measures now taken,
adds: nec rei expeditorem; from
which we understand that the
measure aimed to relieve from em-
barrassments, but failed, as we see
further on to have been the case.
serat duas quisque faenoris partes in agris per Italiam collocaret. Sed creditores in solidum appellabant, nec decorum appellatis minuere fidem. Ita primo concursatio et preces, dein strepere praetoris tribunal, eaque quae remedio quaesita, venditio et emptio, in contrarium mutari, quia faenaratores omnem pecuniam mercandis agris considerant; copiam vendendi secuta vilitate, quanto quis obaerator, aegrius distrahebant, multique fortunis provolvebantur. Eversio rei familiaris dignitatem ac famam praeceps dabat, donec tuit opem Caesar disippo per mensas milies sestertio factaque mutuandi

Suetonius further tells us that this measure was also initiated by the emperor; see next note. It would seem that in granting the eighteen months' respite he at the same time recommended this measure for immediate relief.

duas quisque, etc.: this measure, hard to understand as here described, is made clear by Suetonius, whose description of the transaction is as follows: cum per senatus consultum saucisset ut faenaratores duas patronumii partes in solo collocarent, debitores idem aere alieni statum solvere, nec res expediretur.

He uses the word 
idem aere alieni statum solvere, nec res expediretur.

He uses the word patronum (estate) incorrectly, where Tacitus uses fiscus (principal). His statement—that the debtors were to pay two-thirds, and the creditors to invest it in land—must be understood to mean that the creditors were to take land in payment.

Trajan likewise (Plin. Ep. VI. 19. 4) ordered candidates patronumii partem conferre in quae solo consimilis erat.

in solidum, in full.

decorum: it was no legal obligation, but to refuse to pay would impair their credit. Or possibly the adjustment described above was recommended rather than prescribed.

concursatio: i.e. to the creditors.

strepera, to resound with lawsuits.

venditio et emptio: reciprocal terms expressing the two sides of the same act—purchase and sale of property.

faenaratores . . . considerant: the capitalists did not purchase land at once, but kept the money on hand (considerant) for the purpose of buying, as favorable opportunities should offer. By this the distress of the debtors was enhanced, because the large capitalists held off in order to buy cheap.

considerant: most editions place a full stop after this word, and a semicolon after provolvebantur; but it is evident that the passage copiam . . . provolvebantur is a part of the explanation of in contrarium mutari, as following quia.

4. distrahebant, sell in small lots; because the market was glutted.

per mensas: the amount of about $5,000,000 was deposited for the purpose of loans for three years without interest, but on the security
copia sine usuris per triennium, si debitor populo in
duplum praeidis cavisset. Sic refecta fides, et paulatim
privati quoque credores reperti. Neque emptio agro-
rum exercita ad formam senatus consulti, acribus, ut
ferme talia, initii, incurioso fine.

Dein redeunt priores metus postulato maiestatis Con-18
sidio Proculo, qui nullo pave diem natalem celebrans
raptus in curiam pariterque damnatus interfestisque
est. Sorori eius Sanciae aqua atque igni interdictum
accusante Q. Pomponio. Is moribus inquies haec et
huiusce modi a se factitari praetendebat, ut parta apud
principem gratia periculis Pomponii Secundi fratris
medeterut. Etiam in Pompeiam Macrinam exsilium
statuitur, cuius maritum Argolicum, socerum Laconem
e primoribus Achaearum Caesar adfixerat. Pater quo-
que illustris eques Romanus ac frater praetorius, cum
damnatio instaret, se ipsi interfecere. Datum erat cri-

3. Argolicum . . . Laconem: these are considered to be personal
cognomina.
4. pater quoque: the name of
Pompeia Macrina shows that in all
probability her father was son of
Pompeius Macer, who was appointed
chief librarian by Augustus (cf. or-

18. Considio Proculo: see V.
8, 1.
pariter, immediately. This sum-
mary execution was contrary to the
senatus consultum given in III.
51. 3.

5. privati credores: as soon
as the panic was over, money was
as usual plentiful enough.
Incurioso fine: the slack execu-
tion of the law that often follows
vigorous beginning.

For a fuller discussion of this
affair, see paper by the editor in the
Transactions of the American Phil-
ological Association, Vol. XVIII.
(1887), p. 5.

51. 3. 

nominandas bibliothecas delegaverat,
Suet. Jul. 86), and who was him-
self son of Theophanes.

illustris eques: the term il-
lustres, applied to the knights, had
no technical meaning, but is used
by Tacitus to designate those who
by official position (cf. eques
nobiliss., Agr. 4), or birth (in a
senatorial family), or perhaps sena-
torial fortune, enjoyed a rank in-
termediate between the senators
and the common equestris (Momms.
Röm. St. III. 56. 3); cf. II. 59.
4 n.; IV. 58. 1 n.
mini, quod Theophanen Mytilenaenum proavum eorum
Cn. Magnus inter intimos habuisset, quodque defuncto
Theophani caelestes honores Graeca adulatio tribuerat.

19 Post quos Sex. Marius Hispaniarum ditissimus defer-
tur incestasse filiam et saxo Tarpeio deicitur. Ac ne
duobium haberetur magnitudinem pecuniae malo vertisse,
aurarias argentariasque eius, quamquam publicarentur,
sibimet Tiberius seposuit.

20 Irritatusque supplicii cunctos, qui carcere attinaban-
tur accusati societatis cum Seiano, necari iubet. Iacuit
immensa strages, omnis sexus, omnis aetas, illustres ige-
nobiles, dispersi aut aggerati. Neque propinquis aut
amicis assistere illacrimare ne visere quidem diutius
dabatur, sed circumiecti custodes et in maerorem cuius-
que intenti corpora putrefacta assectabantur, dum in
Tiberim traherentur, ubi fluitantia aut ripis appulsa non
cremare quisquam, non contingere. Interciderat sortis
humanae commercium vi metus, quantumque saevitia
gliseret, miserratio arcebatur.

Sub idem tempus Gaius Caesar, discedenti Capreas

Theophanen: see Cicero, pro
Archa, 10. 24: maeret hic Magnus,
qui cum virtute fortunam adacqua-
vit, nonne Theophanem Mytilena-
enum, scriptorem rerum suarum,
in contione militem creatae donavit?
Magnus, it will be remembered, was
the name given to Pompey by Sulla.
A person who thus received citi-
zenship took the gentle name of
the one who bestowed it upon him
(cf. III. 40. 1 n); hence the name
Pompeius Magnus.

proavum: this term applies of
course only to Pompeia and her
brother,—the father was grandson
of Theophranes.

19. saxo Tarpeio: see II. 32. 5 n.
vertisse: see II. 36. 2 n.

aurarias, etc.: the mines of
Spain were famed for productive-
ness. See Plin. N. H. xxxii. 4 (21).
quamquam, etc.: although made
public property, they were trans-
ferred to the privy purse (fasci).

2. irritatus, his affectus vellet.
cunctos: Stahr shows that this
is incorrect, by referring to the case
of Pacomnianus (3. 4),—thrown in
prison on this charge, but (39. 1)
not executed until three years later,
—a very meagre extenuation of the
horrors of the scene.

3. immensa strages: the num-
ber is given by Suetonius (Tit. 61)
as twenty in one day. The expres-
sion of Tacitus may be exaggerated,
but the reality was bad enough.
avo comes, Claudiam, M. Silani filiam, coniugio acceptit, immanem animum subdola modestia tegens, non damnatione matris, non exitio fratrum rupta voce; qualem diem Tiberius induisset, pari habitu, haud multum distantibus verbis. Unde mox scitum Passieni oratoris dictum percrebruit, neque meliorem unquam servum neque deteriorem dominum fuisset.

Non omiserim praesagium Tiberii de Servio Galba tumultu consule; quem acceitum et diversis sermonibus perspexit postremo Graecis verbis in hanc sententiam allocutus est: 'Et tu, Galba, quandoque degustabis imperium,' seram ac brevem potentiam significans, scientia Chaldaeorum artis, cuius apiscendae otium apud Rhodum, magistrum Thrasullum habuit, peritiam eius hoc modo expertus. Quotiens super tali negotio consulta ret, edita domus parte ac liberti unius conscientia utebatur. In litterarum ignarus, corpore valido, per avia ac derupta (nam saxis domus imminet) praebat eum cuius artem experiri Tiberius statuisset, et regredientem, si vanitatis aut fraudum suspicio incesserat, in subiectum mare praecipitabat, ne index arcani existet. Igitur Thrasullus isdem rupibus inductus postquam percontantem commoverat, imperium ipsi et futura sollerter patefaciens, interrogatur an suam quoque

90. M. Silani: see III. 24. 5; 57. 2; V. 10. 4.
91. exitio fratrum: Nero had been put to death, A.D. 69, in the island Pontia. Drusus was still confined in the Palatium (23. 4).
92. dies, mood, bearing for the day.
93. Passieni: husband of Caligula's sister Agrippina, by whom he was poisoned. Cf. Seneca, N. Q. IV. Praef. 6, Crispus Passienus, quæ regni mortem subditus in omnibus robust. His father, too, was an orator, ranking in the age of Augustus next to Pollio and Memmius.
94. quandoque: he was made emperor after the death of Nero, A.D. 68, but reigned only eight months.
95. Chaldæorum: see II. 27. 2 n. apud Rhodum: see I. 4. 4. 94.
96. imperium: the incident occurred, it will be remembered, at Rhodes, where Tiberius was living in disgrace, and with little prospect of rising to the imperial dignity.
genitalem horam comperisset, quem tum annum, qualem
diem haberet. Ille positus siderum ac spatia dimensus
haerere primo, dein pavescre, ct quantum introsperceret,
magis ac magis trepidus admirationis et metus, postremo
exclamat ambiguum sibi ac prope ultimum discrimen
instare. Tum complexus eum Tiberius praescium peri-
culorum et incolumem fore gratatur, quaque dixerat
oracli vice accipiens inter intimos amicorum tenet.

22 Sed mihi haec ac talia audienti in incerto iudicium
est, fatone res mortalium et necessitate immutabili an
forte volvantur. Quippe sapientissimos veterum quique
sectas eorum aemulantur diversos reperies, ac multis in-
sitam opinionem non initia nostri, non finem, non deni-
que homines dis curae; ideo creberrime tristia in bonos,
laeta apud deteriores esse. Contra alii fatum quidem
congruere rebus putant, sed non e vagis stellis, verum
apud principia et nexus naturalium causarum; ac tamen
electionem vitae nobis relinquent, quam ubi elegaris,
certum imminentium ordinem. Neque mala vel bona,
quae vulgus putet: multos, qui conflictari adversis
videantur, beatos, at plerosque quamquam magnas per
opes miserrimos, si illi gravem fortunam constanter to-
lerent, hi prospera inconsulite utantur. Ceterum plurim-
is mortalium non eximitur quin primo cuiusque ortu
ventura destinentur, sed quaedam secus quam dicta sint

objective genitive, as if it were the
things that begin us, or give us a
beginning.

3. alii: the Stoics.
vagia stellis, planets.

5. plurimis mortalium, etc.: i.e.
in contrast with the Epicureans and
Stoics: they are not freed from the
belief that, etc.; the infinitives ca-
dere, etc., depend upon this im-
plied idea of belief.
cadere fallaciis ignara dicentium: ita corrumpi fidem artis, cuius clara documenta et antiqua aetas et nostra tulerit. Quippe a filio eiusdem Thrasulli praedictum 6 Neronis imperium in tempore memorabitur, ne nunc incepto longis abierim.

Isdem consulibus Asinii Galli mors vulgatur, quem 22 egestate cibi peremptum haud dubium, sponte vel necessitate incertum habebatur. Consulsque Caesar an 3 sepeliri sineret, non erubuit permittere ulteroque incusare casus qui reum abstulissent antequam coram convincere retur: scilicet medio triennio desuerat tempus subuendi 3 iudicium consulari seni, tot consularium parenti.

Drusus deinde extinguuitur, cum se miserandis alimentis, mandando e cubili tomente, nonum ad diem detinuisset. Tradidere quidam praescriptum fuisse 5 Macroni, si arma ab Seiano temptarentur, extractum custodiae iuvenem (nam in Palatio attiniebat) ducem populo impone re. Mox, quia rumor incedebat fore ut 6 nuru ac nepoti conciliaretur Caesar, saevitiam quam paenitentiam maluit. Quin et inventus in defunctum 24 probra corporis, exitiabilem in suos, infensum rei publicae animum obiecit recitarique factorum dictorumque

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6. praedictum, etc.: see XIV. 9: when Agrippina (the younger) consulted as to her son Nero, respondens Chaldaei fore ut imperaret matremque accideret: aliquo illa incidente: ipsum dum imperaret.
22. Asinii Galli: l. 12. 2; he had been arrested, A.D. 30, and kept in close confinement, with only enough food to keep him alive; see pp. 343-344.
23. non erubuit: not having been convicted, Gallus had a right to burial (29. 2); the consent was therefore only a show of magnanimity.
24. tot consularium: he had had three sons of consular rank, — C. Asinius Pollio (IV. 1. 1), M. Asinius Agrippa (IV. 34. 1, 61. 1), and Sex. Asinius Celer; Asinii Salini- nus (III. 75. 1) was also his son.
3. Drusus: see IV. 60. 6.
5. praescriptum fuisse, etc.: on the occasion of the overthrow of Sejanus through Macro, when there was reason to fear that Sejanus would be too strong to be removed from power (see pp. 351, 353).
eius descripta per dies iussit, quo non alius atrocius
visum: astitisse tot per annos qui vultum gemitus
occultum etiam murmur exciperent, et potuisse avum
audire legere in publicum promere vix fides, nisi quod
Attii centurionis et Didymi liberti epistulae servorum
nomina praeferebant, ut quis egredientem cubiculo Dru-
sum pulsaverat exterruerat. Etiam sua verba centurio
saevitiae plena, tamquam egregium, vocesque deficientis
adiecerat, quis primo [alienationem mentis simulans]
quasi per dementiam funesta Tiberio, mox, ubi expes
vitae fuit, meditatas compositasque diras imprecabatur,
ut, quem ad modum nurum filiumque fratris et nepotes
domumque omnem caedibus complevisset, ita poenas
nomini generique maiorum et posteris exsolverit. Ob-
turbabant quidem patres specie detestandi; sed pene-
trabat pavor et admiratio, callidum olim et tendens
sceleribus obscuro cum confidentia vixisse ut tam-
quam dimotis parietibus ostenderet nepotem sub ver-
bere centurionis, inter servorum ictus extrema vitae
alimenta frustra orantem.

25 Nondum is dolor exoulevarit cum de Agrippina audi-
tum, quam interfecit Seiano spe sustentatam provixisse
reor, et postquam nihil de saevitia remittebatur, volun-
tate extinctam, nisi si negatis alimentis assimulatus est
finis qui videretur sponte sumptus. Enimvero Tibe-
rius foedissimis criminationibus exarsit, impudicitiam

26. descripta per dies: i.e. in
the form of a diary.
2. nisi quod: the evidence was
too strong to be doubted.
3. alienationem mentis simulans:
held by most to be a marginal
gloss; his utterances are more likely
to have been a violent passion akin
to frenzy (quasi per dementiam)
than a pretense of madness.

complevisset: a zeugma; un-
derstand interfecisse with nurum, etc.
Agrippina, however, was not yet
dead.
4. obturbabant, interrupted, in
the reading. Cf. III. 34. 1.
callidum: i.e. Tiberius.
tegmentis sceleribus: Instr. 35 f.
26. auditum: used absolutely,
— news was heard.
arguens et Asinium Gallum adulterum, eiusque morte ad taedium vitae compulsam. Sed Agrippina aque impatiens, dominandi avida, virilibus curis feminarum vitia exuerat. Eodem die defunctam quo bennio ante Seianus poenas luisset, memoriaeque id prodendum addidit Caesar iactavitque quod non laqueo strangulata neque in Gemonias proiecta foret. Actae ob id grates decre- tumque ut quintum decimum kal. Novembris, utriusque necis die, per omnis annos donum Iovi sacraretur.

Haud multo post Cocceius Nerva, continuus principis, omnis divini humanique iuris sciens, integro statu, corpore illaeso, moriendi consilium cepit. Quod ut Tiberio cognitum, assidue, causas require, aedgere preces, fateri postremo grave conscientiae, grave famae suae, si proximus amicorum nullis moriendi rationibus vitam fugeret. Aversatus sermonem Nerva abstinentiam cibi coniunxit. Ferebant gnari cogitationum eius, quanto propius mala rei publicae viseret, ira et metu, dum integer, dum intemptatus, honestum finem voluisse. Cete-


The plausible suggestion that comes should be read in place of omnis. Integro statu: there was no sign of danger or disapprobation.

continuus; as a substantive, intimate friend. Andersen makes the plausible suggestion that comes should be read in place of omnis. Integro statu: there was no sign of danger or disapprobation.

continuus; as a substantive, intimate friend. Andersen makes the plausible suggestion that comes should be read in place of omnis. Integro statu: there was no sign of danger or disapprobation.

3. aequi, equality of station.
exuerat, had kept herself free from; lit., had put off; cf. Agr. 9, tristis et arrogantiam et aversi-
tiam exuerat. The metaphor is a favorite one with Tacitus; see e.g. I. 35. 5; II. 72. 1; III. 7. 1; IV. 72. 1.
5. quintum decimum: sc. ante diem; the date of occurrence, with which phrase die is in opposition (October 18).
4. Planinae: II. 43. 5.
precibus Augustae: III. 17. 8.
et gratia desiere, ius valuit; petitaque criminibus haud ignotis sua manu sera magis quam immersa supplica persolvit.

27 Tot luctibus funesta civitate pars maeroris fuit quod Iulia Drusi filia, quondam Neronis uxor, denupsit in domum Rubellii Blandi, cuius avum Tiburtem equitem Romanum plerique meminerant. Extremo anni mors Aelii Lamiæ funere censorio celebrata, qui administrandae Suriae imagine tandem exsolutus urbi praefuerat. Genus illi decorum, vivida senectus; et non permissa provincia dignationem addiderat. Exim Flacco Pomponio Suriae pro praetore defuncto recitantur Caesaris litterae, quas incusabat egregium quemque et regendis exercitibus idoneum abnuere id munus, sequae ea necessitudine ad preces cogi, per quas consularium aliqui capessere provincias adigerentur, obitus Arruntium, ne in Hispanicam pergeret, decimum iam annum attineri.


28 Paulo Fabio L. Vitellio consulibus post longum seculorum ambitum avis phoenix in Aegyptum venit prac-
buitque materiem doctissimis indigenarum et Graecorum multa super eo miraculo disserendi. De quibus con-
gruunt, et plura ambiguа sed cognitu non absurda,
promere libet. Sacrum Soli id animal, et ore ac di-
stinctu pinnarum a ceteris avibus diversum consentiunt
qui formam eius effinxere; de numero annorum varia
traduntur. Maxime vulgatum quingentorum spatium:
unt qui asseverent mille quadrirgentos sexaginta unum
interici, prioresque alios tres Sesoside primum, post
Amaside dominantibus, dein Ptolemaeo, qui ex Mace-
donibus tertius regnavit, in civistatem, cui Heliopolis
nomen, advolavisse, multo ceterarum volucrum comitatu
novam faciem mirantium. Sed antiquitas quidem ob-
scura; inter Ptolemaeum et Tiberium minus ducenti
quinquaginta anni fuerunt. Unde nonnulli falsum hunc
phoenicem neque Arabum e terris credidere, nihilque
usurpavisse ex his quaet vetus memoria firmavit: con-
tecto quippe annorum numero, ubi mors propinquet, suis
in terris struree nidum eique vim genitalem adfundere,

Pliny (N. H. X. 2. 5) and Dio Cass.
inus (LVIII. 27), it was two years
later. Pliny says that it was brought
to Rome, A. D. 800 (A. D. 47), and
placed in the comitium, but adds,
quem falsum esse nemo dubitaret.
In the same chapter he describes
the phoenix as follows: aquilae
narrator magnitudine, auris ful-
gores circa collo, cetero purpurea,
caeruleum rarius caudam pinnis
distinguentibus, crista facies, caputque
plumae apice hominiam.

1. mille quadrirgentos sexa-
ginta unum: the Phoenix period is
described with the Sothis period,
or Great Egyptian year, in which
the sidereal year is brought into
the calendar year; the numbers, as given below,
do not at all correspond with this.

Sesoide = Sesostris: i.e. Ra-
moses II., the most famous king of
Egypt, of the 19th dynasty, about
the middle of the 14th century B.C.;
Amasis, of the 26th dynasty, reigned
B.C. 589-526; Ptolemy III. Euer-
genes, 247-223.

Heliopolis: a city of Lower
Egypt, identified with Os of the
Scriptures.

5. antiquitas obscura: the
caller examples afford no conclu-
sion de numero annorum.

minus ducenti quinquaginta
anni: from the death of Ptolemy
to the accession of Tiberius, 236
years; to the year of the appear-
ance of the phoenix, 256 years.

6. ex his: explained by conrecto,
etc., which follows.
cx qua fetum oriri; et primam adulto curam sepeliendi patris, neque id temere, sed sublato murrae pondere temptatoque per longum iter, ubi par oneri, par meatui sit, subire patrium corpus inque Solis aram perferre atque adolare. Haec incerta et fabulosissima aucta: ceterum aspici aliqando in Aegypto eam volucrem non ambigitur.

29. At Romae caede continua Pomponius Labeo, quem praefuisset Moesiae rettiuli, per abruptas venas sanguinem effudit; aemulatoque est coniunx Paxaeae. Nam promptas eius modi mortes metus carnificis faciebat, et quia damnati publicatis bonis sepultura prohibebantur, eorum qui de se statuebant humabantur corpora, manebant testamenta, pretium festinandi. Sed Caesar missis ad senatum litteris disseruit morem fuisset maioribus, quotiens dirimerent amicitias, interdicere domo eumque finem gratiae ponere: id se repetivisse in Labeone, atque illum, quia male administratae provinciae aliorumque criminum urgebatur, culpam invidia velavisse, frustra contrerrita uxor, quam etsi nocentem periculi tamen expertem fuisset. Mamercus dicit Scaurus rursum postulatum, insignis nobilitate et orandis causis, vita probro-sus. Nihil hunc amicitia Seiani, sed labeficit haud minus validum ad exitia Macronis odium, qui easdem

7. murrae pondere: i.e. of equal weight to his father's body.

In Solis aram: at Heliopolis, the phoenix being sacred to the sun.

29. caede continua: and yet no cases are mentioned except Pomponius and his wife, Scarius and his wife, Servilius, Cornelius, and Rusc; of these, two committed suicide, while three were banished.

Pomponius Labeo: IV. 47. 1.

2. eius modi: i.e. by suicide.

3. quotiens, etc.: cf. III. 24. 6.

repetivisse, revocavit: i.e. this obsolete practice.

invidia: i.e. which his death would excite against Tiberius.

periculi extempem: because he had intended to pardon her.

4. rursum: see 9. 5.

vita probrobus: see III. 66. 3.

5. easdem artes: i.e. as Sejanus.
artes occultius exercebat; detuleratque argumentum tragœdiae a Scauro scriptæ, additis versibus qui in Tiberium flectentur: verum ab Servilio et Cornelio 6 accusatoribus adulterium Liviae, magorum sacra objec-
tabantur. Scaurus, ut dignum veteribus Aemiliis, dam-
nationem anteiiit, hortante Sextia uxor, quae incitamen-
tum mortis et particeps fuit.

Ac tamen accusatores, si facultas incidet, poenis 80 adficiabantur, ut Servilius Corneliusque perdito Scauro famosi, quia pecuniam a Vario Ligure omittendae delationis ceperant, in insulis interdicti igni atque aqua demoti sunt. Et Abudius Ruso functus aedilitate, dum a Lentulo Gaetulico, sub quo legioni praefuerat, pericu-
rum facessit, quod is Seiani filium generum destinasset, ul-
tero damnatur atque urbe exigitur. Gaetulicus ea 3 tempestate superioris Germaniae legiones curabat, mi-
rumque amoremassecutus erat, effusae clementiae, modicus severitate et proximo quoque exercitu per L. Apronium socerum non ingratus. Unde fama constans 4 ausum mittere ad Caesarem litteras, adhæritatem sibi cum Seiano hau sponte, sed consilio Tiberii coeptam ; perinde se quam Tiberium falli potuisse, neque errorem eundem illi sine fraude, aliis exitio habendum. Sibi 5 fidem integram et, si nullis insidiis peteretur, mansu-

tragœdiae: the tragedy was entitled Aetna, and in it he had introduced a verse from Enipides (Pherec. 303), exhorting to endur-
ance of the folly of rulers. Ti-
berium, asserting that the poet had made of him an Aetna, said, “I will make of him an Ajax” — referring to the self-inflicted death of Ajax.

6. Liviae: Livilla, the widow of Drusus.

magorum sacra, magic rites; with the object of ascertaining when Tiberius would die.
80. Vario Ligure: IV. 42. 3.
omittendae delationis: Intr.
35 a.
in insulis...demoti: deporta-
tion; see IV. 31. 5 n.
2. Lentulo Gaetulico: consul,
A.D. 26 (IV. 46. 1).
3. L. Apronium: see IV. 73. 1.
4. illi: Tiberius.
ram; successorem non aliter quam indiciwm mortis
accepturum. Firmarent velut foedus, quo princeps
ceterarum rerum poteretur, ipse provinciam retineret.

7 Haec, mira quamquam, sidem ex eo trahebant quod
unus omnium Seani ad finium incolumis multaque gra-
tia mansit, reputante Tiberio publicum sibi odium, ex-
tremam aetatem magisque fama quam vi stare res suas.

81 C. Cestio M. Servilio consulibus nobilis Parthi in ur-
bem venire, ignaro rege Artabano. Is met Germanici
fidus Romanis, aequabilis in suos, mox superbiam in nos,
saevitiam in populares sumpsit, fretus bellis quae se-
cunda adversum circumiectas nationes exercuerat, et
senectutem Tiberii ut inermem despiciens avidusque
Armeniae, cui defuncto rege Artaxia Arsacenum liberorum
suorum veterinum imposuit, addita contumelia et mis-
sis qui gazam a Vonone relictam in Suria Ciliciaque
reposcerent; simul veteres Persarum ac Macedonum
terminos, sequi invasurum possessa primum Cyro et
post Alexandro per vaniloquentiam ac minas iaciebat.

3 Sed Parthis mittendi secretos nutrius validissimus au-
tor fuit Sinnaces, insigni familia ac perinde opibus, et

5. successorem: i.e. removal from his command.

7. incolumis ... mansit: he was put to death by Caligula five
years afterwards.

81. C. Cestio: see 7. 3. and
III. 36. 2.

M. Servilio: his surname was
Nonianus, and he was a historian of
merit. Clari vir ingenii et senten-
titis erobre, sed minus pressus quem
historias assurditas postulat; Quint.

Artabano: see II. 3. 1.

2. mox: when no longer re-
strained by this fear.

senectutem Tiberii, etc.: there
was a letter of his to Tiberius, par-
ricidea et caedes et ignaviam et
luxuriam obiicientis, meminitque
ut voluntaria morte maximo insti-
timoque civium odio quasprimum
satisficeret. (Suet. Tib. 66.)

Artaxia: see II. 56. 3.

Vonone: see II. 58 and 61.

veteres, etc.: he regarded him-
self as the successor of Cyrus and
Alexander.

per ... iaciebat, talked loudly
about; governs both terminos and
the clause as ... Alexandro.
proximus huic Abdus adeptae virilitatis. Non despectum id apud barbaros ulteraque potentiam habet. II ascitis et aliis primoribus, quia neminem gentis Arsa- cidarum summae rei imponere poterant, interfecit ab Artabano plerisque aut nondum adultis, Phraaten regis Phraatis filium Roma poscebant: nomine tantum et auctore opus, ut sponte Caesaris ut genus Arsacis ripam apud Euphratis cerneretur.

Cupitum id Tiberio. Ornat Phraaten accingitque pa- ternum ad fastigium, destinata retinens, consilio et astu res externas moliri, arma procul habere. Interea cog- nitis insidies Artabanus tardari metu, modo cupidine vindictae inardescere. Et barbaris cunctatio servilis, statim exsequi regium videtur; valuit tamen utilitas, ut Abdum specie amicitiae vocatum ad epulas lento veneno illigaret, Sinnacen dissimulatione ac donis, simul per negotia moraretur. Et Phraates apud Suriam dum omissa cultu Romano, cui per tot annos insueverat, instituta Parthorum insumit, patriis moribus impar morbo absumpstus est. Sed non Tiberius omisit incepta; Tiri- datem sanguinis eiusdem aemulum Artabano, recipe-

4. Arscidarum: II. 1. 1 n.
Phraaten: Phraates V., a brother of Vonones, who had been in like manner invited from Rome (II. 1 and 2). His rival Artabanus seems to have been only distantly related to the royal family (Arscidarum e sanguine, II. 3. 1).

nomine: as being an Arscid.
auctor: the authority of Rome.

ut...ut: this repetition emphasizes the authority of Cesar and that of Arsaces. App. I.

3. utilitas: the advantage of caution (cunctatio).

illigaret: i.e. the drug dulled his faculties, and rendered him inactive, probably killing him by slow degrees.

4. dum: causal; see III. 19. 3 n.

instituta Parthorum: see the reproaches against Vonones (II. 2.

5. sanguinis eiusdem: i.e. a descendant of Phraates IV.; Artabanusa was apparently a nephew of the deceased Phraates V. (Phraatis avi, 37. 6). See Rawlinson, Sixth Oriental Monarchy, p. 231.
randaeque Armeniae Hiberum Mithridaten deligit conciliatque fratri Pharasmani, qui gentile imperium obtinebat; et cunctis quae apud Orientem parabantur 6 L. Vitellium praefecit. Eo de homine haud sum ignarus sinistram in urbe famam, pleraque foeda memorari, ceterum regendis provinciis prisca virtute egit. Unde regressus et formidine Gai Caesaris, familiaritate Claudi turpe in servitium mutatus exemplar apud posteros adulatorii dedecoris habetur, cesseruntque prima postremis, et bona iuventae senectus flagitiosa oblitteravit. 8

33 At ex regulis prior Mithridates Pharasmanem perpulit dolo et vi conatus suos iuvare, repertique corruptores ministros Arsacis multo auro ad scelus cogunt; simul Hiberi magnis copiis Armeniam irrupunt et urbe Artaxata potiuntur. Quae postquam Artabano cognita, filium Oroden ultorem parat; dat Parthorum copias, mittit qui auxilia mercede facerent: contra Pharasmanes adiungere Albanos, accipere Sarmatas, quorum sceptuchi utrimque donis acceptis more gentico diversa induere. 4

Sed Hiberi locorum potentem Caspia via Sarmatam in
gentile: i.e. over the Iberians. L. Vitellium: the consul of the previous year (38. 1); his commission was similar to that of Germanicus (II. 43. 2).
7. exemplar, etc.: miri in adu@
lando ingenii, primum C. Caesarum adorare ut demum instituit, cum rever@
versus ex Syria non aliter adire avus est quos capite velato circumveni@
temus. Suet. Vit. 2.
cesserunt: i.e. were obscured by.
33. ad scelus: i.e. the murder of their master.
2. Artaxata: II. 56. 3.
Parthorum: see App. I.
facerent: in the sense of iure.
3. Albanos: see II. 68. 1; they were east of the Iberians, upon the Caspian Sea. In the military operations which follow, the Iberians commanded the passes of the Caucasus, which gave free passage to their Sarmatian allies, while those Sarmatians who came as auxiliaries to the Parthians were obliged to try the dangerous passage along the Caspian, between the sea and the Albanian Mountains.
Sarmatas: this Slavonic people was composed of numerous petty tribes, governed by patriarchal chiefs (sceptuchi), who took different sides in the contest (diversa induere).
4. Caspia via: properly portae Caucasicae, the modern pass of
Armenios raptim effundunt. At qui Parthis adven-
tabant facile arcebantur, cum alios incessus hostis
clausisset, unum reliquum mare inter et extremos
Albanorum montes aestas impediret, quia flatibus
etesiarum implentur vada; hibernus auster revolvit
fluctus pulsoque introrsus freto brevia litorum nudantur.
Interim Orodem sociorum inopem auctus auxilio Pharas-
manes vocare ad pugnam et detrectantem incessere,
adequare castris, infensare pabula; ac saepe in modum
obсидii stationibus cingebat, donec Parthi contumiliarum
insolentes circumvassere regem, poscerent proelium.
Atque illis sola in equite visa: Pharsamanes et pedite
valebat. Nam Hiberi Albanique salutosos locos inco-
lentes duritiae patientiaeque magis insuevere; feruntque
se Thessalis ortos, qua tempestate Iaso post avectam
Medeam genitosque ex ea liberos inanem mox regiam
Aeetae vacuoque Colchos repetivit. Multaque de
nomine eius et oraculum Phrixi celebrant; nec quiesquam

Dariel. The Caspio vis was properly along the shores of the Caspian
Sea (5); the confusion of the two places is mentioned by Pliny (N.
V. VI. 11. 30) as a common error.
5. hostis: the Iberians.
Flatibus etesiarum: these were periodical north winds, which blew
in July and August, driving the sea with such force upon the shore, as
to prevent the passage, or make it very difficult; in the winter, on the
other hand, the road is practicable (hibernus, etc.); cf. Q. Curtius,
VI. 4. 19, a septentrione ingens in
litus mare incumbit longique agit
fluctus.
64. auxilio: the Sarmatians.
infensare pabula, lays waste the
foraging ground.
insolentes, unaccustomed; cf. Cie.
Att. II. 21. 3, insolens infamiae.

2. sola in equite vis: the special
military force of these Eastern
nations.
3. pedite: his army being partly
recruited from the mountain regions
of the north, which were unsuited
to cavalry.
3. Thessalis ortos: a good illus-
tration of the wild popular ethnolo-
gies of ancient times; these nations,
between the Aryan Armenians on
the south, and the Turanian Scythi-
ans on the north, were of uncertain
race. Kiepert, Lehrbuch der alten
Geographie, p. 73.
vacuos, without a master; cf. Il.
3. 2.
4. de nomine eius, after his
name; i.e. named after him; cf. I.
15. 3; the legend of Jason had many
associations in this region.
Phrixi: Strabo (XL 498) men-
ariete sacrificaverit, credito vexisse Phrixum, sive id animal seu navis insigne fuit.

5 Ceterum directa utrimque acie Parthus imperium Orientis, claritudinem Arsacidarum, contraque ignobilem Hiberum mercenarii militis disserebat; Pharasmanes integros semet a Parthico dominatu, quanto maiora paterent, plus decoris victores aut, si terga darent, flagi-

6 ti atque periculi latus; simul horridam suorum aciem, picta auro Medorum agrina, hinc viros, inde praedam

85 ostendere. Enimvero apud Sarmatae non una vox ducis: se quisque stimulant ne pugnam per sagittas

a sinerent: impetu et comminus praeveniendum. Variae hinc bellantium species, cum Parthus sequi vel fugere pari arte suetus distraharet turmas, spatium icibus quaerent, Sarmatae omissa arco, quo brevius valent, contis gladiisque ruerent; modo equestris proelii more frontis et tergi vices, aliquando ut conserta acie corporis-

3 bus et pulsu armorum pellerent pellerentur. Iamque et Albani Hiberique presare detrudere ancipitem pug-

nams hostibus facere, quos super eques et proprioribus

4 vulneribus pedites adfictabant. Inter quae Pharas-

ions a temple, Φάλη τῆς Βρυγά, καὶ
parvus déserto, βρυγά ἀπό τῆς Βρυγά. 
5. mercenarii militis: the
Scythians; explains ignobilem.

6. horridam, rugged.
Medorus: there is some con-
tempt expressed in this word, the
effeminata Medes having been
brought into subjection by the rude
Parthian mountaineers. The Ro-
manae often used the terms Medi
and Pigmæ for the Parthians; cf.
Hor. Od. I. 2. 51, and elsewhere.

85. us . . . sinerent: since the
Sarmatians excelled as archers, while
the Sarmatians fought better com-
minus: see below.

2. fugere: the skill of the Par-
than bowmen in retreat is well
known; cf. Hor. Od. II. 13. 17,
Speriscum miles sagittas et cel-
lem fugam {Parthi}; Verg. Georg.
III. 31, fulfilled fugam Parthum
erisque sagittas.

86. distraharet, opened.
brevius: i.e. their bows carry
less far.
modo, aliquando: as the ad-
vantage was with the Parthians or
the Sarmatians.
frontis et tergi vices, alternate
advance and retreat.

3. super = duper; the Parthians
had been unhorsed (detrudere).
manes Orodæque, dum strenuis adsunt aut dubitantibus subveniunt, conspicui eoque gnari, clamore telis equis concurrunt, instantius Pharasmanes; nam vulnus per galeam adegit. Nec iterare valuit, prælatus equo et fur tissimis satellitum protegentibus saecum; fama tamen occisi falsa credita exterruit Parthos victoriaque concessere.

Mox Artabanus tota mole regni ultum iit. Peritia locorum ab Hiberis melius pugnatum; nec ideo abscedebat, ni contractis legionibus Vitellius et subdito rumore, tamquam Mesopotamiam invasurus, metum Romani belli fecisset. Tum omissa Armenia versaeque Artabani res, illiciente Vitellio desererent regem saevum in pace et adversi proeliorum exitiosum. Igitur Sinnaces, quem antea infensum memoravi, patrem Abdagaesen aiosque occultos consili et tunc continuus cladibus promptiores ad defectionem trahit, aduentibus paulatim qui, metu magis quam benevolentia subjici, repertis auctoribus sustulerant animum. Nec iam aliud Artabanus reliquum quam si qui externorum corpori custodes aderant, suis quisque sedibus extorres, quis neque boni intellectus neque mali cura, sed mercede aluntur ministri sceleribus. His adsumptis in longinqua et continentia Scythiae fugam maturavit, spe auxilii, quia

4. gnari, recognizing one another. 5. prælatus = præterlatus; cf. præteritum, II. 6. 5.

saecum: i.e. Orodæ.

86. mox: here probably begin the events of the year 36; see 36. 1.

tamquam invasurus: equivalent to an accusative with infinitive (Intr. 35. 1).

Mesopotamiam: south of Armenia, between the rivers Tigris and Euphrates (37. 4); its invasion was a menace to the Parthian power.

3. antea: see 31. 3.

occultus consilli: i.e. secretly conspiring; cf. IV. 7. 2 n. Intr. 35 c.

subjici, retaining their allegiance.

auctoribus, leaders, in their disaffection.

4. aluntur: present tense, describing general characteristics.

5. Scythiae: Turkestan.
Hyrcanis Carmaniisque per adfinitatem innexus erat; atque interim posse Parthos absentium aequos, praesentibus mobiles, ad paenitentiam mutari.

87 At Vitellius profugo Artabano et flexis ad novum regem popularium animis, hortatus Tiridaten parata capessere, robur legionum sociorumque ripam ad Euphratis ducit. Sacrificantibus, cum hic more Romano suovetaurilia daret, ille equum placando annis adornavit, nutriatere accolae Euphraten nulla imprima vi sponte et immensum attolli, simul albentibus spumis in modum diadematis sinuare orbis, auspicium prosperi transgressus. Quidam callidius interpretabantur, initia conatus secunda neque diurna, quia eorum quae terra caeleste portenderentur certior fides, fluminum instabilis natura simul ostenderet omina raperetque. Sed ponte navibus effecto transmissaque exercitum primus Ornospades multis equitum milibus in castra venit, exsul quondam et Tiberio, cum Delmaticum bellum conficeret, haud inglorius auxiliator eoque civitate Romana donatus, mox repetita amicitia regis multo apud eum honore, praefec-

Hyrcanis Carmaniisque: the Hyrcanians were southeast of the Caspian Sea, west of the original home of the Parthians; the Carmani were south, upon the Persian Gulf.

per adfinitatem: he had been called to the throne from this region (II. 3. 1).

sequos, favorably disposed. — The genitive after sequos and the dative after mobiles are alike irregular.

87. parata: the power which was ready for him.

siuvaetaurilia: the sacrifice of a swine, a sheep, and a bull; of old time the special offering to Mars, used especially in Iustrations.

placando annis: an adorned horse was a favorite sacrifice of the Persians.

sinuare orbis, forming circles in the shape of a diadem, which was a white ribbon passed about the head, as a symbol of sovereignty.

auspicium: cf. causum, I. 27. 1 n.

3. raperet, scratch away — render void.

4. Delmaticum bellum: A.D. 6 to 9 (I. 25. 3 n.).

regis: Artabanus.
Annals.

A.D. 35.


Quae duabus aestatibus gesta coniuxi, quo requieget animus a domesticis malis; non enim Tiberium, quamquam triennio post caedem Seiani, quae ceteros mollire solent, tempus preces satias mitigabant, quin incerta vel abolita pro gravissimis et recentibus puniret. Es metu Fulcinius Trio, ingrumentis accusatores hanc perpessus, supremis tabulis multa et atrocia in Macro- nem ac praeipuos libertorum Caesaris composit, ipsi fluxam senio mentem et continuo abscessu velut exsilium obiectando. Quae ab hereditibus occultata recitari Tiberius iussit, patientiam libertatis alienae ostentans et contemptor suae infamiae, an scelerum Seiani diu nescius mox quouque modo dicta vulgari malebat verita-

circumfluui: a poetical word, used by Tacitus only here.

6. quae, etc.: a more particular definition of Phraatis, etc., Caesaris.

utrobique, in reference to each.

88. triennio: Sejanus had been executed Oct. 18, A.D. 31 (25. 5).

quae: relates to tempus preces satias.

2. Fulcinius Trio: cf. 4. 4.

supremis tabulis: it was a custom of the time to say in the will what one had not dared to say while living. That this custom existed in the time of Augustus, is shown by Suetonius (Oct. 56): ne de subjicienda testamentorum licentia quisquam constituereetur intercessit. Tiberius, it would seem from this passage, also declined to interfere with the freedom of testamentary opinion.

libertorum: cf. IV. 6. 7 n.

fluxam senio: see Instr. 14.

absceram: ablative of cause,—it might be called exile for this reason.

3. an malebat, etc.: Instr. 35 r.
tisque, cui adulatio officit, per probra saltem gnarus fieri.

4 Isdem diebus Granius Marcianus senator, a C. Graccho maiestatis postulatus, vim vitae suae attulit, Taritique Gratianus praetura functus lege eadem extremum ad supplicium damnatus. Nec disparres Trebelliani Rufi et Sextii Paconiani exitus: nam Trebellienus sua manu cecidit, Paconianus in carcere ob carmina illic in principem factitata strangulatus est. Haec Tiberius non mari, ut olim, divisus neque per longinquos nuntios accipiebat, sed urbem iuxta, eodem ut die vel noctis interiecta litteris consulum rescriberet, quasi aspiciens undantem per domos sanguinem aut manus carnificum.

3 Fine anni Poppaeus Sabinus concessit vita, modicus originis, principum amicitia consulatum ac triumphale decus adeptus maximisque provinciis per quattuor et viginti annos impositus, nullam ob eximiam artem, sed quod par negotiis neque supra erat.

40 Q. Plautius Sex. Papinius consules sequuntur. Eo anno neque quod L. Aruseius ••• morte adfecti forent, assuetudine malorum ut atrox adverteratur, sed exter-ruit quod Vibulenus Agrippa eques Romanus, cum perorassent accusatores, in ipsa curia depromptum sinu venenum haussit, prolapsusque ac moribundus festinatis

saltam: i.e. if there was no other way.
4. C. Graccho: see IV. 13. 5.
Sext. Paconiani: 3. 4.
2. litteris: i.e. in which the consuls announced the execution of the sentences.
3. Poppaeus Sabinus: see I. 80. 1; IV. 46. 1.
artem, qualitas.
neque supra: i.e. so as to excite the suspicion and jealousy of the prince.
40. L. Aruseius: probably another clause with a second neque quod and other names have dropped out here, although the manuscript shows no gap.
assuetudine malorum: qualifies the whole negative clause.
festinatis, etc.: thus he failed to secure the advantages of suicide (39. 3).
lictorum manibus in carcerem raptus est, faucesque iam examinis laqueo vexatae. Ne Tigranes quidem, Armenia quondam potitus ac tunc reus, nomine regio supplicia civium effugit. At C. Galba consularis et duo Blæsi voluntario exitu cecidere, Galba tristibus Caesaris litteris provinciam sortiri prohibitus; Blæsis sacerdotia, integra eorum domo destinata, convulsa distulerat, tunc ut vacua contulit in alios, quod signum mortis intellexere et exsecuti sunt. Et Aemilia Lepida, quam iuveni Druso nuptam rettuli, crebris criminiis maritum insectata, quamquam instabilis, tamen impunita agebat, dum superfit pater Lepidus: post a delatoribus corruptur ob servum adulterum, nec dubitabatur de flagitia: ergo omissa defensione finem vitae sibi posuit.

Per idem tempus Clitarum natio Cappadociae Archelaus subjecta, quia nostrum in modum deferre census pati

2. Tigranes (fourth of the name): see II. 4. 2 n.; of him Josephus says (XVIII. 5. 4): Temploque in Urbes Libanas curavit simul et Papho presbyterum. His father Alexander was son of Herod, king of Judaea, and his mother was daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia (II. 42. 2).

3. C. Galba: consul A.D. 22 (III. 52. 1), brother of the emperor Galba.

duo Blæsi: cousins of Sejanus, sons of Iunius Blaesus (I. 16. 2; III. 35. 4).

provinciam sortiri: as the oldest consular; see III. 32. 1 n.; Sue- tonius (Galba, 3) says: prohibitus a Tiberio sortiri anno suo proconsularum.

convulsa: sc. domo; i.e. by the fall of Sejanus.

4. quam . . . rettuli: probably in the lost passage of the fifth book. This Drusus was the son of Germanicus (23. 4); Lepida is probably daughter of Marcus Lepidus (III. 32. 2), whose death must have occurred in this year (dum superfit, etc.). An interesting inscription refers to her: Poetae M. Lepidi libertus grammaticus. Procurator erat Lepidae morisque regem: dum vixit, manuit Caesaris ilia manus. (C. I. L. V. 2. 592.)

41. Clitarum: agrestium Cili- cum nationes, quibus Clitarum cognomen (XII. 55); they inhabited the mountainous regions of Western Cilicia—Cilicia Trachea.

Archelaus: a successor (son or grandson) of the elder Archelaus (II. 42. 2). He continued to rule this petty tribe after his ancestral kingdom of Cappadocia had been made a Roman province.

nostrum in modum: i.e. as if
tributa adigebatur, in iuga Tauri montis abscessit locorumque ingenio sese contra imbelles regis copias tutabatur, donec M. Trebellius legatus, a Vitellio praeside Suriæ cum quattuor milibus legionariorum et delectis auxiliis missus, duos collis, quos barbari insederant (minori Cadra, alteri Davara nomen est), operibus circumdedit et erumpere ausos ferro, ceteros siti ad deductionem coegit.

At Tiridates volentibus Parthis Nicephorium et Anthenusiada ceterasque urbes, quae Macedonibus sitae Graeca vocabula usurpant, Halumque et Artemitam Parthica oppida receptit, certantibus gaudio qui Artabanum Scythas inter eductum ob saevitiam exsecrati come

Tiridatis ingenium Romanas per artes sperabant. Plurimum adulationis Seleucenses induere, civitas potens, saepa muris neque in barbarum corrupta, sed conditoris Seleucii retinens. Trecenti opibus aut sapientia delecti ut senatus, sua populo vis. Et quotiens concordes agunt, spernitur Parthus: ubi dissensere, dum sibi quis-

they belonged regularly to a Roman province. The provincials were required to furnish periodical returns of their property, probably every five years. Marquardt, Röm. Staatsverw. II. 236.

praeside: this title, used here as equivalent to legatus, was applied in the fourth century to the greater part of the provincial governors; cf. praesidens, I. 16. 2.

2. Tiridates: the new king of Parthia (32-5).

Nicephorion, etc.: these Greek towns on the left bank of the Euphrates, near Edessa, would come first in his route; Artemita and probably Halus were beyond the Tigris.

sitae; founded; cf. III. 38. 6.

Scythas inter: see 36. 5; II. 3. 1.

artes, training.

42. Seleucenses: Seleucia, on the right bank of the Tigris, was built by Seleucus Nicator as his capital; the Parthians had substituted for it Ctesiphon, opposite it, on the left bank of the river. The inhabitants of the Greek city especially welcomed a ruler educated under civilizing influences.

Seleuci: i.e. of his institutions.

For the genitive, cf. II. 38. 9; V. 11. 2.

trecenti . . . vis: a Greek city by its constitution, with senate and popular assembly. The oriental cities were merely places of collective residence and trade, with no corporate or political character.

2. ubi dissensere, etc.: it seems
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que contra aemulos subsidium vocant, accitus in partem adversum omnes valescit. Id nuper acciderat Artabano 3 regnante, qui plebem primoribus tradidit ex suo usu; nam populi imperium iuxta libertatem, paucorum dominatio regiae libidini præior est. Tum adventantem 4 Tiridaten extollunt veterum regum honoribus et quos recens actas largius invenit; simul probræ in Artabanum fundebant, materna origine Arsaciden, cetera degenerem.

Tiridates rem Seleucensem populo permittit. Mox 5 consuls nonam die sollemnia regni capesseret, litteras Phraatis et Hieronis, qui validissimae praefecturas obtinebant, accipit, brevem moram precatium. Placitumque opperiri viros praepollentis, atque interim Ctesiphon sedes imperii petita; sed ubi diem ex die prolatabant, multis coram et approbantibus Surena patrio more Tiridaten insigni regio evinxit. Ac si sta-6 tim interiora ceteraque nationes petivisset, oppressa cunctantium dubitatio et omnes in unum cedebant: as-7 sidendo castellum, in quod pecuniam et paeciles Artabanus contulerat, dedit spatium exuendi pacta. Nam 8 Phraates et Hiero et si qui alii delectum capiendo dia-

that the Greeks carried with them into the East their fatal defect,—in-9 capacity for united action, and a part-10 tisanship stronger than patriotism. accitus, etc.: called in to aid one party, he is stronger than all. 3. plebem primoribus tradidit: as the Spartans did in the cities of Greece. This policy was reversed by Tiridates. ex suo usu, in accordance with 11 his advantages (or policy). iuxta, akin to.
4. cetera: i.e. on his father's side. 5. sollemnia regni: the coro-

praefecturas, satrapies, or prov-12 incial governments.
Surena: not a personal name, but the title of the hereditary office of commander-in-chief, next in dig-14 nity to that of the king. evinxit: cf. XV. a. 5, diademate capit Turidatis evinxit.
15 oppressa (ex. erat): see IV.
9. n. cedebant, were on the point of yielding.
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BOOK VI.

demati dicer haud concelebraverant, pars metu, quidam
invidia in Abdagaesen, qui tum aula et novo rege potie-
batur, ad Artabanum vertere; isque in Hyrcanis repertus
est, illuvie obsitus et alimento arcu expediens. Ac
primo tamquam dolus pararetur territus, ubi data fides
reddendae dominationi venisse, allevatur animum et
qua repentina mutatio exquirit. Tum Hiero pueritiam
Tiridatis increpat, neque penes Arsaciden imperium, sed
isane nomen apud imbellem externa mollitia, vim in
Abdagaesis domo.

44. Sensit vetus regnandi falsos in amore odia non fingere.
Nec ultra moratus quam dum Scytharum auxilia
conciret, pergit properus et praeveniens inimicorum as-
tus, amicorum paenitentiam; neque exuerat paedorem,
ut vulgum miseratone adverteret. Non fraus, non
preces, nihil omissum quo ambiguis illiceret, prompti
firmamentur. Iamque multa manu propinquae Seleuciae
adventabat, cum Tiridates simul fama atque ipso Arta-
bano percussus distrahi consiliis, iret contra an bellum

cunctatione tractaret. Quibus proelium et festinati
casus placebant, disiectos et longinquitate itineris fessos
ne animo quidem satis ad obsequium coaluisse disserunt,
prodiore nuper hostesque cius quem rursum foveant.

5. Verum Abdagaeses regrediendum in Mesopotamiam
censebat, ut amice objecto, Armeniis interim Elymaecis-

2. metu: from having incurred his displeasure.
4. vim: the substance of power.
44. vetus regnandi: cf. vetus aperitus, l. 20. 2 n.
in amore: towards himself.
odia: of Tiridates.
adverteret: see II. 17. 2 n.
3. cum distrahi: Instr. 35 2.
ipso Artabano: i.e. by his presence in person. The preposition ab

is not used, because he is not thought of as a conscious agent.
4. festinati: agrees with casus.
ad obsequium: i.e. to Artabano.
3. amne: the Tigria.
Elymaecis: the Elamites, or inhabitants of Susiana, the country
east of Chaldea, on the Persian Gulf; they and the Armenians
were rather on the flanks than the rear of the enemy.
que et ceteris a tergo excitis, aucti copiis socialibus et quas dux Romanus misisset fortunam temptarent. Ea 6 sententia valuit, quia plurima auctoritas penes Abdagae-
sen et Tiritdates ignavus ad pericula erat. Sed fugae 7 specie discoessum; ac principio a gente Arabum facto ceteri domos abeunt vel in castra Artabani, donec Tirit-
dates cum paucis in Suriarn revectus pudore priditionis omnes exsolvit.

Idem annus gravi igne urbem adfect, deusta parte 45 Circi, quae Aventino contigua, ipsoque Aventino; quod damnum Caesar ad gloriam verit exsolutis domuum et insularum pretiis. Milies sestertium in munificentia 8 a collocatum, tanto acceptius in vulgum, quanto modi-
cus privatis aedificationibus ne publice quidem nisi duo opera struxit, templum Augusto et scaenam Pompeiani theatri; eaque perfecta, contemptu ambitionis an per senectutem, haud dedicavit. Sed aestimando cuisque 3 detimento quattuor progeneri Caesaris, Cn. Domitius,

socialibus: their allies on the west,—the Arabians and others,—while those of the north and east should attack the rear.

pudore . . . exsolvit: his desec-
tion of his own cause released his followers from all obligation.
45. Circi (ae: Maximii): the XI. regio or ward, in the division of the city by Augustus. It included, be-
sides the valley of the Circus, a portion of the low ground between the Palatine and the Tiber.
Aventino: the XIII. regio, in-
cluding the hill itself (ipso Aven-
tino), and extending southwest to the river.
exsolutis, etc.: for a similar in-
stance, see IV. 64. 1.
domuum et insularum: the
former were private residences; the latter, blocks, or tenement houses rented by flasis or single apartments.
2. publica, in behalf of the state,
—as public works.
duo opera: the temple of Au-
gustus was in a certain sense a per-
sontal obligation, due to his adoptive father; for the theatre of Pompey,
see III. 72. 4.
perfecta: Suetonius (Tv. 47, 
Col. 21) says these works were com-
pleted by Caligula; but the state-
ment of Tacitus, as to one of them at least, appears to be confirmed by a coin of A.D. 34, on which the tem-
ple of Augustus is represented.

haud dedicavit: the honor of dedi-
cating a public building was highly valued; cf. Liv. II. 8. 6.
3. quattuor progeneri: the hus-
bands of his four granddaughters,
Cassius Longinus, M. Vinicius, Rubellius Blandus delecti additusque nominatione consulum P. Petronius.

4 Et pro ingenio cuiusque quaesiti decretique in principem honores; quos omiserit receperitve in incerto fuit ob propinquum vitae finem.

5 Neque enim multo post suprmi Tiberio consules, Cn. Accerronius C. Pontius, magistratum occepere, nymia iam potentia Macronis, qui gratiam Gai Caesaris numquam sibi neglectam acerius in dies fovebat impuleratque post mortem Claudiae, quam nuptam ei rettuli, uxorem suam Enniam imitando amorem iuvenem illicere pactoque matrimonii vincere, nihil abnuentem, dum dominationis apiscetur; nam etsi commotus ingenio simulationum 46 tamen falsa in sinu avi perdicerat. Gnarum hoc principi, eoque dubitavit de tradenda re publica, primum inter nepotes, quorum Druso genus sanguine et caritate propior, sed nundum pubertyatem ingressus, Germanici filio robur iuventae, vulgi studia, eaque apud avum odii causa. Etiam de Claudio agitant, quod is composita aetate bonarum artium cupiens erat, imminuta mens eius obstitit. Sin extra domum successor quaeeretur, ne

4 Agrrippina (IV. 75. 1), Drusilla and Julia (VI. 15. 1), daughters of Germanicus, and Julia, daughter of Drusus (VI. 27. 1).
4. P. Petronius: see III. 49. 2.
4. pro ingenio cuiusque: i.e. the senators, as in IV. 64. 2; this is implied in the word decreti.
3. rettuli: see 20. 1.
3. dominationis: the genitive after apiscor only here and III. 55. 1 (verum adeptus est). This intrigue would secure him the favor of Macro, and thus gain his support.
3. commotus, violent.
3. Druso genus: his name was Tiberius (surnamed Gemellus), the only survivor (see IV. 15. 1) of the twins, whose birth is related III. 84. 1. He was now eighteen years old, Gaius (Caligula) twenty-five, Claudius forty-six.
2. Claudio: see I. 54. 2 n.
2. composita, mature. bonarum artium, etc.: Claudius was amiable by disposition, and fond of literature, but of weak mind (imminuta mens). Cf. III. 18. 4-7.
3. extra domum: the office of emperor was a newly established magistracy, and there was no constitutional reason why it should not
memoria Augusti, ne nomen Caesarum in ludibria et contumelias verterent, metuebat: quippe illi non per-
inde curae gratia praesentium quam in posteros ambitio.
Mox incertus animi, fesso corpore, consilium cui impar erat fato permisit, iactis tamen vocibus per quas intel-
legeretur providus futurorum; namque Macroni non
abdita ambagie occidentem ab eo deseri, orientem spec-
tari exprobravit. Et Gaio Caesari, forte orto sermone
L. Sullam irritendi, omnia Sullae vitia et nullam eius-
dem virtutem habiturum praedixit. Simul crebris cum
lacrimis minorem ex nepotibus complexus, truci alterius
vultu: 'Occides hunc tu' inquit 'et te alius.' Sed
gravescente valetudine nihil e libidinibus omittebat, in
patientia firmitudinem simulans solitusque eludere medi-
corum artes atque eos, qui post tricesimum aetatis an-
num ad internosenda corpori suo utilia vel noxia alieni
consilii indigent.

be given to any member of the no-
bility; it never had any positive hereditary character.
4. in posteros ambitio; cf. IV.
38. 1, meminisse posteros volo, etc.
5. occidentem . . . spectari: a
similar remark is attributed by Mu-
tsch to Pompey (Pomp. 14) com-
paring himself to Sulla.
6. omnia . . . vitia, etc.: Sulla
was cruel and vindictive, but loyal
and patriotic, and possessed high
genius as a statesman.
8. minorem ex nepotibus: Ti-
berius.
alterius: Caligula; he was off-
fended at the affection shown to his
rival.
occides hunc tu, etc.; per-
haps a prophecy after the event.
Caligula did in fact put Tiberius
Gemellus to death this very year,
and was himself murdered four
years later. Josephus (Ant. Ind.
XVIII. 6, 9) tells a story how Ti-
berius undertook to foretell which
of the two boys should be his suc-
cessor, by noting which of them
should attend upon him first on a
certain morning, and how his at-
tempts to trick the fates, by contriv-
ing that it should be his favorite
Tiberius, failed. He then puts in
the mouth of the old man an earnest
and pathetic appeal to Caligula to
treat his cousin with kindness; for
he would be a support to his house
and authority, rather than a rival.
9. patientia, endurance; depend-
ing upon the will.
firmitudinem, strength of bodily
constitution.

eludere, make sport of. Sueto-
nius (Tib. 68) says that from his
thirtieth year he was sine adju-
mento consilium medecorum,—a
circumstance hardly consistent with
his alleged debauchery.

48 Igitur Domitius defensionem meditans, Marsus tamquam inediae destinaviisset, produxere vitam; Arruntius, cunctationem et moras suadentibus amicus, non eadem omnibus decora respondit: sibi satis aetatis, neque aliud paenitetendum quam quod inter ludibia et pericula anxiari senectam toleravisset, diu Seiano, nunc Macroni, semper aliqui potentium invisis, non culpa, sed ut flagitiorn impatiens. Sane paucos ad suprema pri-
cipis dies posse vitari; quem ad modum evasurum im-
minentis iuventam? An, cum Tiberius post tantam 4
rerum experientiam vi dominationis convulsa et muta-
tus sit, Gaium Caesarem vix finita pueritia, ignarum
omnium aut pessimis innutritum, meliora capessiteturum
Macrone duce, qui ut deterior ad opprimendum Seianum
delectus plura per scelera rem publicam conflictavisset?
Prospectare iam se acris servitium, eoque fugere simul 5
acta et instantia. Haec vatis in modum dictitans venas
resolvit. Documento sequentia erunt bene Arruntium
morte usum. Albucilla irrito ictu ab semet vulnerata 6
iussu senatus in carcerem fertur. Stuprorum eius mi-
nistri, Carisdius Sacerdos praetorius ut in insulam depor-
taretur, Pontius Fregellanus amitteret ordinem senato-
rium, et eaedem poenae in Laelium Balbum decernuntur,
id quidem a laestantibus, quia Balbus truci elloquentia
habebatur, promptus adversum insontes.

Isdem diebus Sex. Papinius consulari familia repen-
tinum et informem exitum delegit, lacto in praeceps
corpore. Causa ad matrem referebatur, quae pridem 9
repudiata assentationibus atque luxu perpulisset iuven-
nem ad ea quorum effugium non nisi morte inveniret.
Igitur accusata in senatu, quamquam genua patris ad-
volveretur luctumque communem et magis imbecillum
tali super casu feminarum animum aliaque in eundem

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49. Sex. Papinius: probably son of the consul of A.D. 36 (40. 1).
lacto: probably from an upper window.
in praeceps, head-foremost.
2. repudiata: i.e. by her hus-
bond.
3. patris: see App. I.
in eundem dolorem, in the same
pathetic tone; Intr. 35 i.
dolorem maesta et miseranda diu ferret, urbe tamen in
decem annos prohibita est, donec minor filius lubricum
iuventae exiret.

Iam Tiberium corpus, iam vires, nondum dissimula-
tio deserebat: idem animi rigor; sermone ac vultu in-
tentus quae sita interdum comitato quamvis manifestam
defectionem tegebat. Mutatisque saepius locis tandem
apud promunturium Miseni consedit in villa, cui L.
Lucullus quondam dominus. Illic eum appropinquare
supremis tali modo compertum. Erat medicus arte
insignis, nomine Charicles, non quidem regere valetu-
dines principis solitus, consili i tamen copiam praebere.
Is velut proprius ad negotia digrediens et per speciem
officii manum complexus pulsum venarum attigit.
Neque efe llit; nam Tiberius, incertum an offensus
tantoque magis iram premens, instaurari epulas iubet
discumbique ultra solitum, quasi honori abeuntis amici
tribuere. Charicles tamen labi spiritum nec ultra
biduum duraturum Macroni firmavit. Inde cuncta col-
loquis inter praesentes, nuntiis apud legatos et exer-
citus festinabantur. Septimum decimum kal. Aprilis
interclusa anima creditus est mortalitatem explevisse;
et multo gratatum concursu ad capienda imperii pri-
mordia Gaius Caesar egrediebatur, cum repente adfer tur

ferret: see prefert (Intr. 35 f). Lubricum iuventae, the sligyory (critical) period of youth; cf. Senn. Centr. II. 6. 4. Lubricum tempus sines inania transit.
L. Lucullus: the commander in the war against Mithridates, B.C. 74-63; he was notorious for his luxury, and his villa was equipped in the most ostentatious style. It had been built by Marius. This is the place assigned for a residence by Odoacer to the deposed emperor Romulus Augustus.
4. manum complexus: Sestonius (72 b.c.) says that Charicles, on leaving the banquet, seized his hand osculando causa, when the emperor, suspecting the trick, bade him resume his place at the table.
6. colloquis: i.e. deliberations as to the future.
redire Tiberio vocem ac visum vocarique qui recræandae defectioni cibum adferrent. Pavor hinc in omnes, et a ceteri passim dispersi, se quique maestum aut nescium fingere; Caesar in silentium fixus a summa spe novissima expectabat. Macro intrepidus opprimit senem inlectu multae vestis iubet discidique ab limine. Sic Tiberius finivit octavo et septuagesimo aetatis anno.

Pater ei Nero et utrinque origo gentis Claudiae, quamquam mater in Liviam et mox Iuliam familiaris adoptionibus transierit. Casus primum ab infantia anticipates: nam proscriptum patrem exul secutus, ubi domum Augusti privignus introit, multis aemulis conflictatus est, dum Marcellus et Agrippa, mox Gaius Luciusque Caesares viguerent; etiam frater eius Drusus prosperiore civium amore erat. Sed maxime in lubrico egit accepta in matrimonio Iulia, impudicitiam uxoris tolerans aut declinans. Dein Rhodo regressus vacuos 4

9. opprimit senem: Suetonius (73) gives several accounts of his death. Sunt qui paulum veniam ei a Caio dictum lentum atque tabiorem; aliis, in remissione fortuna fìbris cibum desideranti negabat; nemus, paludibus insitum, diem secutum ubi delectus annuim max reviviscit requiescit. Seneca eum scribit, intellecta defensione, exemptum annulam, quam aliis traditorum, parum proterritisse; dein unius apiasse digita et composita sinistra manu iacuisse diu immobilem; subito, vocatis ministriis ac nemine respondenti, conservasset, nec procul a lectulo deficientibus viribus concidisse. Cf. Dio's account (LVIII. 28), and Aurelius Victor, Ep. 9, inedita Caligulae extinctus est.


51. pater a), etc.: see for the adoption of Livia's father, V. 1. familia = gentem, a very common usage.

2. proscriptum patrem: B.C. 40. Tiberius was at this time about two years old; at the time of the marriage of his mother to Octavius, B.C. 35, he was four years old. multis aemulis: see I. 3. Drusus: see I. 33 3a. maxima . . . agit, he stood on most slippery ground.

accepta . . . Iulia: see I. 53 2. vacuos: post libert; Marcellus, Gaius, and Lucius were all dead. Agrippa Postumus was unfit to be his rival.
principis penates duodecim annis, mox rei Romanae arbitrium tribus ferme et viginti obtinuit. Morum quoque tempora illi diversa: egregium vita famaque, quoad privatus vel in imperis sub Augusto fuit; occultum ac subdolum fingendis virtutibus, donec Germanicus ac Drusus superfuere; idem inter bona malaque mixtus incolumi matre; intestabilis saevitia, sed obtectis libidini-bus, dum Seianum dilexit timuitve: postremo in scelera simul ac dedecora prorupit, postquam remoto pudore et metu suo tantum ingenio utebatur.

5. morum quoque, etc.: for a discussion of the character of Tiberius and of the attitude of Tacitus towards him, see Intr. 6-14. egregium, occultum, subdolum: sc. tempus: the epithets being applied to the successive periods or phases of character instead of to the man himself. This form of description extends to superfuere, and with idem 'Tiberius' himself becomes the subject.

in imperis: in his several military commands, also as the colleague of Augustus.

APPENDIX.

I. TEXTUAL NOTES.

BOOK I

4. 4. aliquid: this is the manuscript reading, changed by most editors to alius. There are two objections to it: from its connection we should expect quidem, and it is also somewhat irregular (but quite in the style of Tacitus) to have it followed by quae (some such word as potius being understood). But the distinction between aliquis and quae is somewhat obscured in the later writers, just as the corresponding words some and any are constantly confused by foreigners. A good example is Tac. Dial. 34: ubi nemo impune stulte aliquid aut contrarium habet, nondum non esse aliquid, see anything foolish or inconsistent. Drager (Hist. Syntax, P. 91) cites two examples from Lactantius, where the two words are used as identical: IV. 3, 8, nec tamem movet quae quaecumque; II. 8, 37, nec tamem commoverat aliquem. There are even instances of this confusion in the classical period (Cae. B. C. III. 71, sine uno vulnere: III. 73, sine aliquo vulnere). See Madvig on Cic. de Fin. II. 27, 87.

8. 3. urbania quingeniae: supplied from Suet. Oct. 101 and Dio, LVI. 32. It is more probable that the omission was due to a scribe's oversight than that Tacitus was ignorant of the fact or, knowing it, failed to state it.

4. insigniae: in the manuscript this word is followed by visi [sic. vixi], and some editors insert qui as its subject, before insigniae. The reading here given is supported by 77. 5, quae maxime insignia se, etc.

10. 4. Vedi Pollionis: this is Mommsen's reading. The manuscript reads subserique tedi et vedi pollonios; but nothing is known of any Tedius to whom this would apply, and the similarity of the names makes it easy to suspect an error.

88. 2. quae pergant: most editors change to quae, on the ground that pergo cannot govern the accusative, except one of cognate meaning, as pergere iter. Bötticher (Lex. Tac. p. 10) suggests that pergo, like porrigere, arrire, etc., from rece, may properly retain the regimen of the simple verb; or quae may depend on an implied aere; cf. Plant. Mem. 752, partier hoc alque alias res sole. At any rate the objection does not seem to justify altering the manuscript reading.
TEXTUAL NOTES.

31. 1. tractarius: the manuscript reading is *tracturus*; but if this were retained, as it must agree with Germanicus, *vi sua* would be inappropriate, as it would be by the force of the legions, not his own, that he would act.

34. 1. sequae et proximae: the manuscript reading is *sequae proxime*, for which this is the simplest emendation. Some editions read * Sequanae*; but the Sequani belonged to Belgica, and it is not likely that one Belgian state would have been specified without some special reason.

38. 3. promptus: the manuscript reads *promptus*, and some editions insert *res*; the emendation here given is simpler and more probable. Cf. IV. 59. 5 n.

58. 3. concedentur: many editors change to *concederentur*, understanding *erat* with its antepenult. But although the indirect form is dropped with suscipi, the thought in periculosum ... *res publica* is still that of Germanicus and his friends; from their point of view concedentur is correct, and the verb to be supplied with the three subjects is *erat*.

59. 6. sacerdotium hominum: some editors, following F. A. Wolf, correct hominum to *Romanum*.

70. 7. Visurgis: this, the manuscript reading, is impossible, and some editors have made the word *Usurgin*, as a probable Latin form for *Huawe*, a river in Groningen. Very likely Tacitus did not give the name of the river at all.

77. 5. spectarentur: Halm, after Wölflin, reads *sectarentur*, which reading has the advantage of not requiring a change of subject; the prohibition of private performances is a very probable one.

BOOK II.

8. 2. subvexit aut transpervit: the manuscript reading is defective, and various emendations have been proposed. Of these the insertion of *aut* appears the least violent; but it is not improbable that *subvexit* is a gloss.

4. Angrivarium: many editions change to *Angrivarium* (a nation upon the Ems — *the Elbe*), and make the same change in 22, 3 and 24, 5, on the assumption that the camp mentioned was the first after crossing that river. The interpretation here given (that of Knoke), that the camp is upon the Weser, makes a change of the text unnecessary. Knoke, however, as in many other instances, undertakes to describe the line of march with more particularity of detail than our information warrants.

9. 3. permissum: the manuscript reading is *permissum*, and Nipperdey supplies the words *imperatoris deduxit a Sestriam*. But it is easier to suppose the dropping out of a single letter *m*; moreover, the reading here given appears more in keeping with the style of Tacitus than the other.
TEXTUAL NOTES.

28. 3. tumidis: some editors change to sauidis; but the strength of the winds is not so likely to be ascribed to the moisture of the country, as to its mountainous character.

37. 4. apertis: the manuscript reading is apertis; but it is plain from what follows that the hostility was not concealed.

BOOK III.

2. 1. munera fungenterut: Tacitus regularly uses munia for functions or duties, and munera for gifts; also fungere with the ablative. Most editors, therefore, change to munia; but Pfitzer regards these words as quoted from the edict of Tiberius (addito ut), who appears to have affected an archaic style (cf. IV. 38. 1 n.).

3. 3. Augusta: some editors change to Augustae; if the ablative is retained, it must be explained as a peculiar use of the instrumental ablative, as, by the example of, etc.

5. 6. praesentiam: most editors change to praesentiam, on the ground that praesentia would describe a waxen effigy in presence of the real body, placed upon the couch to be burned: while here the body had been burned already. But we have seen that Tacitus does not keep very close to the facts in this passage; and, as this term applies to the funeral of Augustus (Dio, LVI. 34), we may suppose that the people grumbled because the same honor was not bestowed upon Germanicus, not considering that it was impossible.

48. 1. et nobilissimam: the manuscript reading is nobilissimam, omitting et. The reading here given, that of Lipsius, is much nearest the mss. of all the emendatory proposals, and satisfies the meaning sufficiently. Sacrovir got the young men into his power, in order to have a hold upon their parents. The interchange of et and ut (below) is plausible; but this would imply that his only object in seizing the town was to get possession of these hostages. By the reading here given, subodium is coupled with caput, implying that his object was twofold,—to hold the capital and to obtain the hostages.

46. 4. evincite: many editors, taking this with the meaning proce (cf. Hor. Sat. II. 3. 350), insert esse. But it is more natural to take it as used by Livy (X. 17. 10), in the sense of subuenire.

51. 3. decimum: this word, wanting in the manuscript, is supplied from Suetonius, Tit. 75: eum senatus consulto caustum esset ut poena damnaverat in dictum semper diem differretur.

58. 2. duo et septuaginta annis: this is the manuscript reading. The real interval was seventy-five full years, and most editors change to quinque, etc. Mena of was made consul on the forced abdication of Cnina, B.C. 87, and when Cnina returned in triumph the same year, put himself to death. From this time the office remained vacant until it was
revived by Augustus, B.C. 11, its duties being meanwhile performed by the pontiffs. It is possible that Tacitus carelessly confounded the death of Linna (B.C. 84) with his abdication (B.C. 87). At any rate the mistake is as likely, as Oetinger argues, to have been made by Tacitus himself as by his transcribers.

62. 1. proximi hsec Magnesites: the manuscript reading is proximo magnete.

63. 3. alia: most editors change to Athes, on the guess that the mother of Silanus may have been of the same family as that of Augustus.

70. 4. egregium publice locum: this reading is suggested by Prof. C. L. Smith (Harvard Studies, Vol. I. p. 107) for egregium publicum of the manuscript. Professor Smith argues that bonas domi aetas must refer to private character, and the other phrase of course to professional eminence; that egregium cannot be regarded as a substantive like bonum in the phrase bonum publicum; nor, if it could be taken as a substantive, could it be applied to Capito's distinction as a jurist, but must signify something belonging to the state (publicum). The word publice forms a suitable antithesis to domi, and the reading publicum would be an easy blunder of some copyist.

BOOK IV.

1. 2. iserit: the manuscript reading is peril.

26. 6. proinde: most editions read prīninde; but Nipperdey shows that there is ample authority for prōinde with a comparative particle.

27. 2. callesc evenerat: this is the manuscript reading, changed by Lipsius to Calles, etc., on the hypothesis that this ancient Campanian town may have been the headquarters of one of the four quattuor clavicae instituted by Augustus, as Ostia certainly was one; but nothing is known of any province of Calles, while it is a familiar fact that sihore callesque were the provinces assigned by the senate to Cæsar and his colleague (Suet. Jut. 19).

33. 4. Romanarum: in the manuscript the enclitic is vo, which cannot properly stand in a double question.

46. 1. inculta: this word is found in Sallust and Livy, but is changed by most editors to sine calce, on account of the harshness of the expression.

50. 2. tantum his: the manuscript reading is quamvis.

69. 6. tegens: the manuscript reading is gestis, which may be interpreted as helpless, distrustful. Other readings that have been proposed are reticere, se tegere, et tegere.

BOOK V.

4. 2. domus Germanici exultium paenitetiae esse semel: the manuscript reads germanici tēnum paenitetiae semel. The correction to Germanici exultium is easy; it seems necessary to insert esse; for domus,
It is plain that the speaker could not have had in mind the death of Germanicus, but the ruin of his family.

BOOK VI.

3. 6. suaderæ: the MS. has suaderet, which many editors retain, inserting ut after neque. suaderæ is historical infinitive.

5. 1. incertææ: the manuscript reading is incertiæ; with this change the meaning is perfectly plain; but some editors change to incertææ, or read Gaïum for Gaium, in order to make the affront more cutting.

11. 6. viginti: this is by some editors altered to quindecim, because a story told by Suetonius (Tib. 42) and Pliny (N. H. XIV. 22. 145) ascribes his appointment to Tiberius. But Mommsen points out that Tiberius was censor, and received the tribunician power, A.D. 13. At any rate this story is a very insufficient reason for altering the text.

28. 4. alloes tres Seesoside: this is Halm's reading for the MS. alioe esse sui de. Rhenanus proposed alioes.

31. 4. ut . . . ut: some editors change the first ut to et; some omit the second ut.

33. 2. Parthorum: the manuscript reads Parthorumque; some editors join que with dat; others read Medorum Parthorumque, on account of the mention of Medes (34. 6). But in this passage, Medorum is evidently used as a general expression of contempt for the effeminate Oriental troops; cf. 34. 6 a.

47. 1. exilium: this reading of Nipperdey, for the MS. exiliwm, which he rejected as inconsistent with futuris caedibus, above, has been generally adopted.

49. 3. patris: this word is by most editors emended to patriwm; but as Fitzner points out, the word communem is best explained by supposing it to be either her own father, or the father of her son—her divorced husband.
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