THE

HISTORIES

OF

CAIUS CORNELIUS TACITUS:

WITH

NOTES FOR COLLEGES,

BY

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Auguror, nec me fallit augurium, historias tuas immortales futuras.
Plin. ad Tac. Epist. 7, 33.
Respondit Cornelius Tacitus eloquentissime et, quod eximium orationi ejus
inest, σεμνὸς.

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THE text of this edition follows, for the most part, Orelli's, Zurich, 1848, which, being based on a new and most faithful recension of the Medicean MS. by his friend Baiter, may justly be considered as marking a new era in the history of the text of Tacitus. In several passages, however, where he has needlessly departed from the MS., I have not hesitated to adhere to it in company with other editors, believing, that not unfrequently "the most corrected copies are the least correct." The various readings have been carefully compared throughout, and, if important, are referred to in the notes.

The editions which have been most consulted, whether in the criticism of the text or in the preparation of the notes, are, besides Orelli's, those of Walther, Halle, 1831; Ruperti, Hanover, 1839; and Döderlein, Halle, 1847. The notes of Orelli are judicious and tasteful. Walther is sagacious, shrewd and independent, sometimes to a fault. Ruperti's edition is chiefly valuable as a repository of facts and opinions, selected with no great care and put together with little skill. Döderlein is concise and discriminating, but is excessively fond of originality and bold conjecture. His Essay on the Style of Tacitus, besides this fault in the matter, is also wanting in ease and elegance of language; yet it has been esteemed worthy to be translated for this edition, as on the whole one of the best treatises on that subject. Bötticher's Lexicon Taciteum, Berlin, 1830, is marked by a felicitous expression, as well as a just appreciation, of our author's merits as a his-
torian and of his peculiarities as a writer; and its most valuable results have been freely incorporated with the notes. Freund's Wörterbuch der Lateinischen Sprache, and Smith's Dictionaries, of Greek and Roman Antiquities, and of Biography and Mythology, the former republished in this country under the supervision of Dr. Anthon, and the latter still issuing in numbers from a London press, have been found very useful, and are often referred to. References are also made to Becker's Gallus, and to the Roman Histories of Niebuhr, Arnold and Schmitz.

It will be seen, that there are not unfrequent references to my edition of the Germania and Agricola. These are not of such a nature, as to render this incomplete without that, or essentially dependent upon it. Still, if both editions are used, it will be found advantageous to read the Germania and Agricola first. The Treatises were written in that order, and in that order they best illustrate the history of the author's mind. The editor has found in his experience as a teacher, that students generally read them in that way with more facility and pleasure, and he has constructed his notes accordingly.

The notes on the Histories have been prepared with the same general views and principles, as those on the Germania and Agricola. In accordance with suggestions in some of the public journals, they have been made somewhat more grammatical. Their value in this respect has been enhanced by more copious references to the excellent grammar of Zumpt in addition to that of Andrews and Stoddard. It is chiefly by way of such references, that the general principles of grammar have been illustrated. Sometimes, however, a concise statement of the principle referred to has been added; and in regard to such idioms and constructions as are more or less peculiar to Tacitus, it has been found necessary to enter into more extended comments. It is hoped, that the notes will be found to contain not only the grammatical, but
likewise all the geographical, archæological and historical illustrations, that are necessary to render the author intelligible. The editor has at least endeavored to avoid the fault, which Lord Bacon says "is over usual in annotations and commentaries, viz. to blanch the obscure places, and discourse upon the plain." But it has been his constant, not to say his chief aim, to carry students beyond the dry details of grammar and lexicography, and introduce them into a familiar acquaintance and lively sympathy with the author and his times, and with that great empire, of whose degeneracy and decline, in its beginnings, he has bequeathed to us so profound and instructive a history. It was for this end, that the Preliminary Remarks were composed; and if they accomplish this result in any considerable degree, though long, they will hardly be thought too long, and they will not have been written in vain.

The Indexes have been prepared with much labor and care, and, it is believed, will add materially to the value of the work.

The editor takes this opportunity to express his grateful sense of the kind reception which has been given to his edition of the Germania and Agricola, and his thanks especially for such notices, whether by letter or in the public journals, as, while they fully appreciate its merits, point out its faults for correction. If this edition is in any degree more meritorious or less faulty, the superiority will be owing, in no small measure, to such acts of kindness. Besides his obligations to those who have thus favored him, he acknowledges his particular indebtedness to Professor B. B. Edwards of Andover, and Professor H. B. Hackett of Newton, for the aid and encouragement, which they have in various ways extended to him. He has been aided in the correction of the press by Mr. Marshall Henshaw, whose accurate and patient scholarship well fit him to render such and still higher services to classical learning.
With these explanations, the editor takes leave of a work, on which he has bestowed much time and toil, and which, he would fain hope, may contribute in some humble measure to the better understanding and appreciation by his youthful countrymen of an author, a language and a people, formed by nature beyond most, if not beyond all others, to be severally the writer, the vehicle and the subject of history.

Amherst, 1848.

PREFACE TO THE REVISED EDITION.

In this Revised Edition, the text and the notes have been carefully collated with those of Ritter in his new edition (Bonn and Cambridge, 1848), and such corrections and additions, as were deemed just and important, have been adopted from this source. I cannot, however, by any means, accept the many gratuitous emendations and dogmatic assertions which disfigure and depreciate this otherwise excellent commentary. Other corrections and improvements have also been made, which have been suggested by use of the book in classes, or to which my attention has been called, whether by private correspondence, or by notices and reviews in the public journals. I have been especially indebted to the critical acumen and accurate scholarship of my friend, Mr. Charles Short, of Roxbury, writing in the Bibliotheca Sacra, for not a few valuable suggestions and amendments.

Amherst, July, 1851.
ESSAY

ON THE STYLE OF TACITUS.*

1. Tacitus was the inventor of an entirely new style of historic composition; or rather he did not himself designedly form it, but, while he applied himself to writing history with a different design and spirit from other authors, a new style of expression was the natural and necessary result. For formerly it had been a prevalent custom among writers of history, not only to defer writing till they had arrived at a mature age, but also to compose with calm and tranquil feelings; differing in this respect from orators, who were wont to believe that the effect of their speaking would correspond with the degree of energy and emotion with which they spoke. Hence the calm, smooth and flowing style of the ancient historians, even of those who desired to be distinguished from the others by a sort of peculiar dignity.

Now Tacitus was the first to depart from the rules of these writers. For it was the natural bent of his genius, not so much to narrate the mere facts and events of history, which are often fortuitous, but he labored especially to exhibit the character and spirit of the actors in his scenes. Hence his chief merit, his great power, is seen in the delineation of character: whether he labors by description to place before us the image of some distinguished man; or so relates his deeds, that the reader, by his own discernment, forms an opinion of his secret motives and principles of action.

But since constant reflection upon virtue or vice has a very great influence over the passions, he came to write in an excited rather than a tranquil state of mind, so that he seems to possess more of the ardor of youth than of the maturity of age. Now of such a state of mind, a rapid and energetic style is the natural expression and the necessary result. In a word, his style is impetuous, always hastening on to the issue, impatient of delay. And this arose not merely

from his own natural disposition, but he adapted the style of his narrative to the taste of his age. For, as is usually the case in a time of great moral declension, not only lassitude and listlessness, but also, at the same time, a sort of morbid desire for haste, had taken possession of the spirits of men; while those qualities which are a proper mean between them—calmness of spirit and a healthy activity—are the characteristic of but few. Hence what was formerly considered simplicity and dignified repose, then began to appear dull, spiritless and insipid. Tacitus was therefore impelled at the same time by his own genius, and by the taste of his age, to a hurried style of expression.

But rapidity is opposed to dignity,—a grace which cannot be separated from equability and moderation. And since dignity, in ancient times, was the peculiar characteristic and requisite of a good history, so skill was necessary in the later historians to temper rapidity with dignity. To accomplish this purpose, Tacitus employed the utmost diligence in producing an ornamented diction.

Now since I must briefly treat of the style of Tacitus, I will first show by what arts, nay, even by what artifices, he attained to that brevity which we admire as appropriate and peculiar to this writer; secondly, by what means he made his style at the same time dignified and beautiful.*

2. The conciseness of Tacitus is proverbial. But an incorrect notion has prevailed among some, viz. that this consists mostly in the brevity of single expressions, such as resemble the responses of oracles. And this style of writing does indeed prevail in the treatise on Germany, inasmuch as it is best adapted to description; and while John Mueller and others, who seek a reputation for the same, imitate it, they think they are rivalling Tacitus. But, on the contrary, the acute judgment and the consummate skill of this writer are seen in this very thing, that he adopted this style, so rare, only in treating those subjects, the nature of which demanded it, while in other connections he is scarcely less fond of full and rounded periods, not being inferior, in this respect, to Cicero and Livy. At the commencement of the Annals, he hastens, in a series of very brief propositions, to premise whatever was important, from which he passes to a very full and brilliant period, and thus introduces the history itself, as if he would show the difference between the preface and the real history, by a sudden change of diction. The orations, inserted in the narrative, consist, according to the character of the speaker, sometimes of con-

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* I have been assisted much in this Essay by the Prolegomena of G. Boetticher to the Lexicon on Tacitus, Berlin, 1830; and by the Excursus ad Tac. Agricolam of C. L. Roth, Norimb. 1833.
cise sentences, sometimes of rounded periods. And in the narration of heroic deeds, battles and debates, he varies his style, according as he himself hastens on to more important matters, or desires to urge and hurry forward the minds of his readers, or to delay them and persuade them to a calmer examination of the subject. Therefore he never weary us by a series of concise sentences, continued beyond proper limits, which is a fault of Seneca.

Tacitus has omitted nothing which would contribute to brevity of style. In this he chose to imitate, not so much the oracles, as the ancient Roman writers. For as the language of the Greeks was naturally adapted to express grace (χάρις), so that of the Romans contained in it the elements of dignity, and, as it were, imperial brevity. In its own nature it was fitted to illustrate that common saying: quot verba, tot pondera. I might mention the want of the article—a thing to be regretted in other respects—as among the chief reasons and sources of this merit, although this is not the place for examining this subject more fully. Now Cicero, and the writers of his time, disregarded, in a manner, this natural character of the Latin tongue, while they attempted to soften the rough power and strength of the Roman language by the polish and refinement of the Greek. But those writers who adorned the age of the Caesars after the time of Tiberius—Seneca and Tacitus—again departed from this elegance of style. For they carefully and intelligently cherished that style of expression, which the ancient Romans, almost without cultivation and under the impulse of their nature, had employed. Besides other advantages, they labored to preserve the power of the ancient style, in such a way as both to avoid the antique rudeness of an uncultivated age, and drop the effeminate verbosity of a subsequent period.

While therefore Tacitus strove to speak so that every word might have its weight, he made use of many, or rather of all kinds of ingenious contrivances, not neglecting even the most minute. Nor, while I am pursuing this subject, do I entertain any fear of seeming to depreciate the ability of Tacitus, as if it were the mark of a weak and narrow mind, in so earnest a narration of the most important events, to choose his words with a sort of scholarlike care and anxiety. The foundation and source of so rich a diction was the sublime genius of Tacitus, the greatness of his mind, and the strength and fervor of his emotions. At the same time, it is well known with what almost religious scrupulosity the ancients elaborated, each one for himself, their style and language; and, in so doing, attributed less to a sort of divine power and inspiration, (as if words would flow from a subject spontaneously,) than to industry and care. Remarkable sto
ries are told even about Thucydides, of such a careful choice respecting substantives and infinitives; but Tacitus lived at an age which was much richer in the rules of grammar and rhetoric, and, as was natural for a Roman, he strove more earnestly than the Greeks to render his style as effective as possible. Wherefore to that hurried breviloquence, to which he was led by the impulses of his nature, he superadded all the ornaments of learning, art and taste, not fearing the appearance or the reproach of a labored brevity, but freely rejecting the merit of a plain, pure and natural style. Now this brevity is seen in choosing the shortest words which will express the thoughts, in omitting as many words as possible, and finally in condensing the sentences themselves within the smallest possible compass.

3. To commence with the smallest matters, he generally prefers the shorter forms of words to the longer, sometimes contrary to common usage. Few, I think, use simple ut for velut, as if, as he does in Ann. II., 34; III., 9; or for prout, Ann. I., 61; Hist. II., 46: qua for quatenus, since, even at the hazard of obscurity, Ann. VI., 10; XI., 8; XV., 72; Hist. II., 31: super for insuper, Hist. II., 34. For the same reason he often used ne, where the common rule required ut non, e.g., Ann. II., 29. Ila moderans ne lenire neve asperare crimina videretur, Add. XI., 15, 29; XII., 47; XVI., 4; Hist. III., 11. If we can put confidence in the MSS. he also often used que for quoque. See in Ann. IV., 74; VI., 33; XII., 35.

Tacitus often manifests a sort of dislike for substantives ending in tio; for besides their length they are somewhat barren of meaning. He therefore prefers aemulatus, dispositus, advocatus, and such like words, to aemulatio, and those of a similar form. Hence I have defended diversus in Ann. XIII., 9; and pulsus in Hist. IV., 18, as the true reading. Elsewhere he is wont also to employ the primitive noun in place of the derivative, as in Ann. VI., 5, Dial. 3, fabulae for confabulationes; G. 26, fenus for feneratio; Hist. II., 2, audentioribus spatiiis for spationibus. And since the use of deponent verbs had long prevailed, by which means the language was virtually robbed of an equal number of passive verbs and thereby impoverished, Tacitus did not hesitate to return to the ancient signification of such words, and to use passives that were obsolete in his age, gaining the advantage of brevity, and, at the same time, the appearance of antiquity. Hence adipisci is used passively in Ann. XV., 12; opperiri, Ann. XI., 26; uleisci, Ann. I., 9; and palari, Hist. III., 80; perhaps also fateri, Dial. 25.

4. The use of simple words instead of compound is very extensive, in which Tacitus vies with poets. The principle of this license is no other than to substitute the genus for the species; for instance,
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quaerere instead of acquirere, Ann. I., 35; instead of conquirere, Ann. VI., 1; instead of exquirere, Ann. II., 53; instead of require = desiderare, Hist. IV., 6. Hence this exchange is usually made with a loss of definiteness, but with advantage in regard to brevity. I will mention a few examples, unique indeed, but yet allowed by all. Hist. I., 84, congestu lapidum stare = constare.—Ann. XIV., 21, struere = destruere.—Ann. XV., 14, cernerent = decernerent.—G., 2, tristem cultu = ad incolendum.—Ann. XIV., 4, pectori haerens = inhaerens.—Hist. III., 57, miscebant = immiscebant.—Hist. III., 25, pulsos = impulsos.—Hist. I., 35, sistens = obsistens.—Ann. XV., 50, cepisse = suscepisse. In many other places I have restored this usage from the MSS., where other editors have not ventured to do so: e. g., Agr. 4, Sublime et rectum ingenium, i. e., erectum.—Hist. IV., 20, Omnibus portis rumpunt, where the common editions have crumpunt.—Hist. IV., 81, Postremo aestimari a medicis jubet, where Ernesti has preferred existimari.—Hist. IV., 48, Si pauca supra petiero ab initio, Edd. repetiero. Perhaps also cursaturus should be preferred to incursaturus in A. 1.

5. The dignity of the Latin language is impaired by nothing more than by a frequent use of particles, pronouns, or auxiliary verbs; on the other hand it is increased when nouns follow nouns or verbs directly, so that the sentence seems to consist of mere solid and weighty matter. Thus originate those sentences which strike our ears, and those of the Greeks, as too cumbrous and heavy, since there is no pause allowed after the separate parts and words. But the same expressions had a very pleasing sound to the Romans, and especially to Tacitus, as the following: Agrippina aequi impatiens, dominandi avida, virilibus curis feminarum vitia exuerat, Ann. VI., 25. In this example, whatever is heavy was produced spontaneously without any design or study. But weight and stateliness may be promoted by an intentional effort of the writer. With this view Tacitus omits the more unimportant words oftener, and with more studious design, than any other writer. And first he refrains from the use of prepositions, satisfied with the power of the case alone. Hence ab or ex is omitted contrary to common usage. Hist. V., 23, Commeatus Gallia adventantes, cf. III., 15.—Agr. 18, Cujus possessione revocatum.—G. 14, Exigunt principis sui liberalitate illum bellatorem equum.—Hist. I., 55, Non tamen quisquam in modum concionis aut suggerestu locutus.—III., 29, Cum superjecta tela testudine laberentur.

Hence I have restored the shorter reading of the manuscripts in Agr. 19: Ut civitates proximis hibernis in remota et avia deferrent, and Hist. III., 74: Clamore proximis orto. In both places the editions have a proximis.
In the same way the dative is very often used for the ablative with *ab*, e. g., Hist. III., 70: *Ne militibus interficeretur*. Moreover, *in* is omitted, e. g., Hist. V., 5: *Vitisque aurea templo reperta*. Hist. I., 13: *Hi discordes et rebus minoribus sibi quisque tendentes*.

Hence I have erased *in* of the common editions as often as it is wanting in the MSS. Hist. II., 33: *Imperia ducem incerto reliquerat*. Hist. I., 68: *Ipsi (in) medio vagi, as Ann. II., 52. Hist. II., 59: *Appulsu litoris trucidatus*.

Moreover, *ad* or *in* is used or omitted promiscuously before the accusative. I pass by those examples in which a preposition enters into the composition of the verb, as, *advolvi genua*; although even such have given offence, as Hist. III., 43, *Stoechadas insulas affertur*; and e. 50, *Omniaque quae agenda forent . . . aderat*; for in both these places the old editions inserted *ad*. Very often the early editors silyently inserted a preposition, which, upon the authority of the manuscripts, I have either erased, or advised to erase, or ought myself to have erased. Hist. III., 7: (in) *majus accipitur*. Agr. 10: (in) *universum aessimanti*. The following are more peculiar to Tacitus:

Hist. I., 45: *Marium Ceilsum . . . (ad) supplicium expostulabant*. Hist. II., 36: *Macer (ad) exitium poscebaturs*.

I suspect that I shall hardly persuade many that Tacitus makes use of this license; but, at all events, it was worth while to set forth a number of examples, and the unanimity of the MSS. And surely it would be wonderful harmony between books, if the same error were so often repeated. Each one, according to his own taste, will concede to Tacitus more or less of this liberty of accomplishing, by the power of the cases alone, most purposes for which other writers think prepositions necessary. I only add, Hist. II., 63: *Ne periculo principis famam clementiae affectaret*; cf. IV., 69. Hist. II., 70: *Vulgus clamore et gaudio deflectere via*.

6. The use of the *genitive* is likewise somewhat more extensive with Tacitus than with other Latin authors, since, by its assistance, he could dispense with prepositions. What other writer has used *jus libertorum*, Hist. II., 92, or *jus militum*, Ann. XI., 33, for *in libertos, in milites*?

Tacitus seeks the same brevity in the use of the *dative*, which he is wont to substitute, with far greater freedom than other writers, for the preposition *ad*, with the accusative. He says, in the same sense, Ann. II., 58, *Neu procerces . . . ad discordias traheret*, and Agr. 12, *Per principes factionibus et studiis trahuntur*; or, Hist. II., 45, *In lacrimas effusus, and I., 69, lacrimis effusus*; or, Hist. IV., 5, *Ut firmior adversus fortuita*, and, A. 35, *firmus adversis*. With characteristic love of variety he has brought together both constructions in
Ann. XIV., 38, *Adversa pravitati ipsius, prospera ad fortunam referebat.*

I will add some instances in which the more unwonted use of the dative has, from its unfrequency, escaped the notice of commentators, or may, from its resemblance to the ablative, escape the notice of the reader; *Hist.* I., 89, *Pacis adversa reipublicae pertinuere*; G., 38, *Propriis nationibus discreti*; as, *Hist.* IV., 16, *Propriis curis componit*; *Hist.* I., 77, *Sacerdotis recoluit, i. e., in sacerdotia restituit*; *Hist.* I., 55, 76, *Sacramento adigere.* Moreover, he uses the dative for *adversus*, with the accusative; A. 30, *famae defendit, i. e., adversus famam.* On the contrary, he sometimes prefers a preposition to the ordinary dative, when it will serve his purpose; Ann. II., 39, *Forma haud dissimili in dominum erat*; and he substitutes in *vulgus* for the dative *vulgo*, see in *Hist.* I., 71.

7. He is no less sparing in the use of conjunctions, and is peculiarly fond of *asynclita*. The style of the Latins differs very much in the use of asynclita from that of the Greeks. For since the Greeks make use of very many exceedingly small conjunctions, and such as often do not even form a syllable, as in elision *é* and *t*, they were not accustomed, merely for the sake of brevity or convenience, to omit conjunctions, but they omit them as often as it will subserve the purposes of rhetoric. It is different with the Latins; since their conjunctions have a fuller sound, and, in their length, equal many nouns and verbs, as *autem, quidem, igitur*, it was worth while, for the sake of rapidity and conciseness, to be sparing in the use of them. Thence the books of the Latins abound in asynclita, even where they have no peculiar significance or rhetorical power. Owing to the unprecedented frequency with which he uses this liberty, the style of Tacitus is considered, for the most part, concise, and similar to that which the French call *style coupé*. For its character is seen, not only in its refraining from the longer forms of propositions, but also in its generally omitting connectives between the separate propositions.

The peculiarity of Tacitus is seen in his frequent omission of the two conjunctions *et* and *sed*. Most Latin writers omit the copulative *et* as often as, by the rhetorical figure asyndeton, three or more separate parts of a sentence are connected together, since they dislike to use many conjunctions in the same sentence. But Tacitus joins two members in the same way, in accordance with a custom of the ancient Romans, which Niebuhr has noticed.* Examples are too numerous to require specification. Moreover, it is customary with Tacitus to omit *sed*, especially after negative propositions. *Ann.* IV.,

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35, Non modo libertas, etiam libido impunita; Add. III., 19; XVI., 29; Hist. II., 27. Hence, without reason, Lipsius has urged the insertion of sed in Dial. 8. Nec hoc illis alterius ter mille sestertium praestat; ipsa eloquentia, evidently like Agr. 37. Some MSS. also omit sed in G. 10, Non solum apud plebeem sed apud proceres, apud sacerdotes.

Of relative conjunctions ut is sometimes omitted by asyndeton, and not by ellipsis. For, in Ann. III., 10, Petitum est, cognitionem recipieret, is not properly an ellipsis. And the same construction is found in many other passages.

8. At this day, indeed, when the science of grammar has begun to be so much improved, no one will call such examples ellipses. I now pass to ellipses proper.

Tacitus omits auxiliary verbs almost without any distinction of tense or mode. A. 16, Ac velut pacti; ibid. 1, ni incursaturus, scil. essem. Add. Hist. II., 42; Hist. II., 76, quod inchoaturi, scil. sunt, where the editions have inchoatur. The following may justly be considered somewhat harsh; Hist. IV., 7, Satis Marcellio (sit) quod Neronem in exitium tot innocentium impulerit. Hist. IV., 55, Socius (esse) jactabat.

He is also accustomed to omit many other words, and the more general the signification of each, the more frequently it is omitted, as words of doing. Hist. I., 36, Omnia serviliter pro dominatione. Thus must be explained without correction, Agr. 27, At Britannii non virtute sed occasione et arte ducis (factum esse) rati; coll. Hist. II., 19. Numberless ellipses of this kind might be mentioned of words of speaking, thinking, fearing, and going, not entirely peculiar to Tacitus, since Cicero also has a similar usage, e. g., N. D. II., 4, Augures rem ad senatum, (tulerunt); senatus ut abdicarent consules (decrevit); abdicarent. There are many more in his letters to Atticus which exhibit even some appearance of haste. Wherefore, I do not understand why any one should wish to change, A. 9, Nullam ultra potestatis personam, scil. agebat. Much less has Ernesti rightly forced agere into c. 19, Nihil per libertos servosque publicae rei.

I pass by other common ellipses, as, of causa and potius. One that is rare has escaped the notice of commentators, in Hist. III., 10, Et ut proditionis (scil. reum) ira militum in Flavianum incubuit.

9. Brachylogy (βραχυλογία) resembles ellipsis very closely. In ellipsis, words must be supplied evidently from some external source; these which are omitted through brachylogy are implied in the adjoining words, and must be supplied from what either precedes or follows. Of this figure there are three kinds. The first is when the
same word, that has been once expressed, must be understood again; as, Hist. III., 70, *Simulationem prorsus et imaginem deponendi imperii* (scil. imaginem, speciem) *fuisset*; G. 19, *Ne* (scil. maritum) *tanquam maritum, sed tanquam matrimonium ament*. See in Hist. IV., 5; Agr. 20. Also words must often be understood again after a longer distance, though the obvious meaning of the sentence requires the repetition. Hist. II., 21, *Moles perfringendis* (scil. pluteis et vineis,) *obruendisque hostibus expedientur,* unless for the sake of concinnity, *operibus* must be supplied. Hist. V., 6, *Praecipuum montium Libanon erigit,* scil. Judaea; A. 10, *D.specta est et Thule,* quam haec tenus, scil. *invenit domuitque.*

Another kind of brachylogy is when, in some word, a similar word, springing from the same root, is implied, so that one case must be supplied from another, one mode from another, a verb from a noun, and *vice versa,* and in fine, homogeneous words from homogeneous, for the purpose of completing the sense. Hist. III., 9, *In Vitellium ut inimici* (scil. inimica) *praesumpserere*; G. 20, *Pares* (paribus) *validaeque* (validis) *miscentur*; Hist. I., 37, *Plus rapuit Icelus quam quod Polycilii . . .* (scil. rapientes or praedati) *perierunt*; Hist. I., 32, *Tradito more quemcumque principem adulandi licentia acclamationem,* scil. *adulabantur*; Hist. IV., 24, *Flaccus lectos . . . legato tradit ut quam maximis per ripam itineribus celeraret, ipse navibus* (sc. celeraturs,) *invalidus corpore, invisis militibus.*

Also simple words are supplied from compound, and one compound word from another. Ann. I., 17, *Hinc . . . tentoria* (scil. emi) *hinc-vacationes munerum redimis*; Hist. I., 8, *Cluvius Rufus,* *vir facundus et pacis artibus,* (scil. expertus,) *bellis inexpertus.* To the same head must be referred the following: Hist. III., 46, *Castra legionum excindere parabant,* (scil. et exscidissent,) *ni Mucianus sextam legionem opposuisset*; A. 13, *Agitasse Caium Cesarem de intranda Britannia, satis constat,* (et intraturum fuisset) *ni velox ingenio . . . et ingentes adversus Germaniam conatus frustra fuisse*; Hist. II., 68; A. 4, *Se studium philosophiae acerius . . . hausisse,* (et porro hauristem fuisset,) *ni prudentia matris coercuisse*; *set.* Those who would translate such expressions briefly and clearly into the English, should substitute for the hypothetical clauses but with the indicative. Finally, in the third kind of brachylogy, a word conveying an idea in contrast with some adjoining word must be supplied. Hist. II., 30, *Hinc aemulatio ducibus: Caecina* (Valentem) *ut foedum et maculosum; ille,* (Caecinam) *ut tumidum et vanum irridebant*; Hist. II., 74, *Esse privatis cogitationibus progressum* (et regressum) *et prout velint plus minusve sumi ex fortuna.* See Ann. I., 55; Hist. II., 87; IV., 80.
10. Zeugma approaches quite nearly to brachylogy. The following are examples: Hist. II., 80, Caesarem (vocare) et omnia princi- patus vocabula cumulare. See C. Roth, in Agr. Exc. XXXII.

There is a species of the same zeugma in that custom, surprising to our ears, and scarcely imitable in our language, of uniting the same verb or word in one sense with one, and in another sense with another part of the sentence. Pindar took the lead in this: ἐλευθέρον ἰν ὅπου ἀκρατίαν τι σόνεννον, he slew Enomans and (married) the virgin; and in like manner Soph. Trach., 353. Like this is Hist. I. 67, ἔλεος ὕποπτοι ἐν πρεσβυτερίᾳ Caecina hausit; Hist. II., 32, Britan- nicum militem hoste et mari distinguere; Agr. 25, Silvarum et montium profunda; Agr. 45, Nos Maurici Rusticique visus, nos inno- centi sanguine Senecio perfudit.

11. Another means of conciseness is that grammatical figure which we, at this day, are beginning to call praegnania—a word quite recently formed and a barbarous substantive—but yet appro- priate, and withal necessary, which the more strict, if they choose, may call structura praegnans. Very often a secondary idea lies concealed in some noun or verb, unseen indeed, but breathing like the foetus in the womb, and frequently also very forcible. I could wish that some one of the great grammarians had defined, in an ap- propriate treatise, the compass and limits of this figure, that I might have some authority to follow; but now each, according to his own humor, is accustomed to use a vague and undefined word; a privi- lege which I shall claim for myself. Both nouns and verbs, and likewise adverbs, are employed praegnenter. Thus he says cupidus for pecuniae cupidus, in Ann. XII., 57; Hist. I., 66; and on the other hand pecunia in the same sense, Hist. III., 41. The following come under the same class, Hist. I., 85, Occulta habito, scil. animi; for it ought not to be understood of the assumption of a false dress; Hist. 3., 19, Cumulos, scil. corporum; Hist. IV., 86, Modestiae imagine in altitudinem (silentii) conditus; Hist. IV., 72, Stare integram sedem, scil. belli; Dial. 6, Publico, scil. judicio; Ingenium = commentum ingenii, in Hist. III., 28; Gaudio fungii = gaudii significatione or gratulatione, Hist. II., 55; Reposcentibus prospera, i. e., prosperorum rationem, Hist. III., 13; Qui naves, qui classem, qui mare expecta- bant, Agr. 18, i. e., aggregationem per mare apertum ac non per fretum. In like manner with these words: Hist. I., 76, mansit, scil. in fide; Agr. 45, perfudit, scil. horrore; Agr. 25, complecti, scil. bello, as, Hist. I., 36, Agr. 18, prae-supsero, scil. spe.

Frequently also adverbs or ablatives, datives or accusatives used like adverbs, bear some attributive, either adjective or participle, as it were, concealed in them. This is evidently contrary to Cicero's
STYLE OF TACITUS.

17.


A few of these examples have escaped the notice of commentators; others, through a forgetfulness of this license, have been incorrectly understood: Agr. 5, *Electus quem contubernio* (dignum) *existimaret*; Hist. III., 33, *Defossa eruere, facies in manibus* (gerentes), like the English “torch in hand.” Nor ought the following to be thought harsh, Hist. I., 31, *Alexandriam praemissos atque inde rursus* (revocatos) *refovebat*.

Frequent also is that kind of *pragnum* to which I may venture to give the name *structura contracta*, of which the most familiar examples are *Olympia vincere*, or *pontem jungere*. In *Tacitus* I find *navare bellum*, i. e., *operam navare bello*; Hist. IV., 37, *ad liberandum obsidium*; Hist. II., 60, *Fidem absolvit*; Hist. V., 11, *Proelia serebant*, i. e., *manus conserebant proeliis*; Hist. II., 34, *Ne miles segne otium tereret*, i. e., *segni otio tempus*. Sometimes he has the same, even when he gains nothing in brevity. Hist. III., 56, *Ut nube alter diem obtenderent*, which differs not more from the common *ut nubem atram diei obtenderent*, than *urbum muris circumdare* differs from *urbis muris*. See Hist. II., 2, *Formam deae paucis disserere*. Editors ought to have recognised the same usage in Hist. III., 3, *Huc illuc tracturus interpretat...* i. e., *res interpretatone*. To the same head I refer, Hist. I., 42, *In utrumque latus transverberatus*.

12. By *attraction* not brevity indeed, but rapidity is favored; the number of *words* is not diminished, but of *pauses*, and the members of the sentences are more closely connected together. Nouns are attracted from their state of apposition, and are forced into the relation of adjectives. Hist. I., 65, *Uno amne discretis*, i. e., *una re, amne*; Hist. IV., 56, *Ceterum vulgus*, i. e., *ceteri, vulgus*; Hist. III. 41, *Aderant vis et pecunia et ruentis fortunae novissima libido.*
To the same class belong, Agr. 17, Cum Cerialis quidem alterius successoris curam . . . obruisset, and, G. 25, Cetera domus officio uxor ac liberi exsequuntur. To destroy the attraction by inserting a comma here, may adapt the construction to our ears, but would not exhibit the thought in the light in which it was viewed by the ancients. In the same way I read, Hist. II., 27, Quam altiore ab initio repetam, i.e., altius, ab initio.

To a similar attraction belong nominatives with infinitives, after the example of the Greek and Latin poets: Hist. IV., 55, Socius (esse) jactabat; Hist. IV., 40, Cognitus est confugisse; Hist. II., 74, Legiones secutorae sperabantur; Hist. IV., 23, Vis et arma satis placebant, i.e., vim et arma satis fore placebat; and, II., 76, Ipsa qui suadet considerandus est adjiciatne, etc. Agr. 43, has been correctly restored, Momenta ipsa deficientis . . . nunciata constabant; Hist. I., 84, Muta ista et inanima intercidere ac reparari promiscua sunt.

Of the same class the following is a very common specimen: Hist. II., 82, Sufficere videbatur . . . pars copiarum et dux Mucianus et Vespasiani nomen et nihil arduum fatis, i.e., et quod nihil arduum esset fatis; Hist. V., 21, Obstitit formido et remiges per alia militiae munia dispersi.

13. Thus far I have examined those sources of brevity which may be referred to the established rules of grammar. There are other examples which cannot be explained under a grammatical term. For example, sometimes the narrative hastens forward so rapidly that it includes two different events in the same expression: Hist. I., 46, Laco praefectus tanquam in insulam seponeretur ab evocato quem ad caedem ejus Otho praemiserat confossus; Ann. XVI., 13, Quid dum assident, dum deflentis saepe eodem rogo cremabantur. In the latter, the state of disease, and in the former, the act of going forth, which were intermediate, are passed by in silence. Add Hist. III., 29. Also Hist. II., 68, is obscure for the same reason: Ludicro initio, ni numerus caesorum invidiam Vitellio (MS. bello) auxisset. For the primary idea, ni numerus caesorum magnus fuisset, lurks concealed as it were in a single word. And Tacitus quite often did not condescend to relate those things the knowledge of which was necessary for clearly understanding the order of events, provided that readers, sufficiently attentive and discerning, could follow him by their own judgment or sagacity. Thus in Hist. I., 77, it is said that when Otho assigned the consulship to Vopiscus, plerique Viennensium honoris datum interpretabantur, where the reason for such a construction cannot be clearly seen, unless we decide that Vopiscus was an inhabitant of Vienna. Yet that fact is nowhere
stated. I have noticed a similar example in Hist. II., 71. But I know of no more remarkable instance than Agr. 24, where the words *nave prima transgressus* were obscure, until it was discovered that Agricola had gone over (the previous autumn) from Britain to the continent, or even to Rome, a fact which Tacitus does not mention.

14. Since now such a studied brevity seems to involve a departure from usage, and to favor a copiousness of matter rather than to subserve the beauties of style, Tacitus makes a compensation by laboring intently to adorn his language, in order that he may not lose the praise of eloquence.

Of the ancient authors of history, Caesar wrote in a style, pure, graceful and devoid of all ornament, not departing from the ordinary modes of expression on the one part, and yet on the other avoiding the vulgarity of colloquial language by a somewhat artificial composition. Sallust was fond of antiquated expressions and wrote in a style of peculiar gravity, still carefully preserving simplicity. Livy applied ornament to his diction, and sought the praise of eloquence. But Tacitus believed that a kind of magnificence and sublimity of style was peculiarly adapted to the dignity of history. And in this, indeed, he resembled Thucydides, who himself also had cultivated a style widely removed from the ordinary eloquence of other writers; not for want of genius, or through ignorance of letters, as some suppose, but intentionally and understandingly, that he might not seem to have furnished the lovers of pleasure with a mere *ἀγώνισμα ἕν τῷ παραχρήμα.* In other respects there is almost a greater difference between these writers, than resemblance.† For the Grecian writer, in discussions and orations, is especially and peculiarly condensed and bold, though in his boldness approaching nearer to the austerity of philosophers than to the ornament of poets; while in narration his style is very clear and flowing. Tacitus, on the contrary, shaped his narrative to the cast of his own mind, therein rivaling the vigor and boldness of poets; but as often as he interwove orations, he contented himself with obeying the ordinary rules of eloquence. In fine, there is no essential difference between his style and that of poetry; and strangely inconsistent are they, who refuse to Tacitus the use of any word or construction, while they freely grant the same to poets. And rarely indeed does he, while laboring to be brief, become obscure, as is usually the case in a

* I. e., “a mere prize essay for temporary applause.” The expression is quoted from the Introduction of Thucydides’ History, in which, as he says, he gives to the public κτήμα ἵσταται μαλλον, ἡ δείγματα ἐπ τὸ παραχρήμα. Ed.
† Fried. Roth has written an excellent essay upon these writers, Vergleichende Betrachtungen über Thucydides und Tacitus, Munchen, 1812.
matter so difficult and hazardous, (and when he seems to be so, it happens oftener through the fault of transcribers than through his own): though not unfrequently when he strives to be sublime, he becomes, not bombastic indeed, but he is thought to depart too far from a proper simplicity.

15. And first, the style of Tacitus is terse, polished and elaborate. Rarely, in comparison with his frequent use of other idioms, do we find in his works those anacolutha, the use of which with other writers presents the appearance, sometimes of a pleasing negligence, sometimes of a disagreeable carelessness. I have noticed a few, e.g., in Ann. XII., 52; Hist. III., 60; IV., 12, etc.

If he sometimes so arranged his words as to appear to have mingled different constructions, it ought not to be supposed that he did this without a design: Ann. III., 5, Perferre non toleravit, as Dial. 3, Maturare editionem festino, or, G. 30, Initium inchoare. This appeared to him somewhat stronger than that common accumulation of words, pertulit ac toleravit, which Cicero would prefer, as if this latter would add to the number of words, while his own arrangement would increase their power.

The concurrence of genitives, which is so annoying wherever it is found, he carefully avoided, by employing the figure Hendiadys. Of the nature and advantage of this figure C. Roth has treated in a learned and critical manner.

16. Moreover he paid a tribute of regard to ornament, in that he did not use special or trite words, particularly those which are called technical terms. He avoided these even when he thus lost something in brevity. Hence, by a sort of circumlocution, he preferred to write, Hist. III., 62, ludicum juvenum rather than Juvenalia. In Dial. 32, he says, almost obscurely, jus civilis for jure civili; whence has arisen confidence in the conjecture of Bach, which proposes as a correction, in Hist. IV., 4, de bello civium for the corrupt civilium, and the common correction civili. Perhaps the Medicean MS. reads correctly, in Hist. II., 89, ponte Mulvi, where the editions have Mulvio; since in Ann. I., 8; III., 4., he says campus Martis.

Hence in the distinction of Latin synonyms, the authority of Tacitus is more suspicious than that of poets. For he disregards (particularly in antitheses) and spurns set and trite words.

Kindred to this peculiarity is his rejection of foreign words, particularly from the Greek, even though they had been naturalized by the Latins. Nowhere, except in the Dialogue, does he use the term philosophi: he says, sapientes, although the ideas are unlike. He rarely uses the term poeta: he generally says ratus. Rejecting asylum, he says subsidium. There is a remarkable example of this kind in
Ann. XV., 71, Milichus praemiiis dicitus, Conservatoris nomen Graeco ejus rei vocabulo assumpsit. Yet he does not maintain so rigid and offensive an observance of this peculiarity as to avoid the use of whatever has a foreign sound; he admits some such words, as tropaea, asylum, chlamys, catapulta, acinaces.

17. He hesitated not to revive ancient words, and forms of words, which had been condemned by the refinement of the Ciceronian and the Augustan age, believing that there is more brilliancy in that which savors of antiquity. Editors have retained the datives senatu, nuru, luxu, as also in Ann. IV., 55, Persi for Persei; but at the same time they have rejected many ancient forms, lest Tacitus should appear too unlike Cicero. In Ann. IV., 32, the Medicean MS. has composuere, and not composuere; and Ann. XIII., 40; Hist. III., 22, cornum not curnu. It is easy indeed to correct such expressions according to the usage of Cicero, and to ridicule and charge with superstition those who rest their judgment upon the authority of a single MS. But if it is right carefully to pursue truth even in the smallest matters, if it is right to reverence even with pious feeling not only the sentiments but the literary tastes and little preferences of great geniuses, there is nothing—in matters which cannot be settled by any laws of human reason nor decided by any acuteness of judgment—there is nothing which I will trust sooner than even a single MS. It should, therefore, be well considered, whether, as in Germ. 24, juvenior is retained without any other example; so in Ann. VI., 17, venditio et emitio ought not to be retained, for which emptio is now read; and in Ann. IV., 66, I have preferred to change the corrupt telerant into tetulerant rather than into tulerant. Editors have retained other readings also, which had long since gone out of date, as Hist. I., 31, needum for nondum; and Ann. III., 2, munera fungi. Nay, even the genitive vis has succeeded in maintaining its place, Dial. 26. And yet Ann. XIV., 7, expergens; Ann. I., 1, false; Ann. II., 14, the singular sacri for hostiae; Hist. I., 53, decori juventa, which are in no respect more unusual, have not obtained the same indulgence. It is surely a questionable scrupulosity which refuses such words to a writer who desired to be unique, and who did not even obtain an imitator, by a comparison with whom one can determine what he did and what he did not approve.

On the other hand, Tacitus, in my opinion, coined few new words; unless, perchance, some one may think that all those words, which are found in his writings alone, were of course originated by him. But it is extremely difficult to decide whether Tacitus was the first to use any word, or whether we read it for the first time in his writings. So long as he corresponds to all the rules for forming words,
so far at least I think we ought to grant the indulgence to a writer, who is universally acknowledged to have entertained no very great horror of the charge of novelty. *Irreverentia, improser*, do indeed savor of novelty, as the *invidientia* of Cicero does, but they are conceded to Tacitus by all. I have not hesitated to propose by way of correction, in Hist. II., 21, the strange frequentative *retortant*. In Ann. XVI., 21, *expectabilis* is sufficiently defended by the authority of Tertullian; and I do not regret having recommended *confestinantis* in Ann. XV., 3, and *exapertae* in Hist. V., 13; or having defended *indictus favor* in Hist. III., 44.

18. But as an innovator in the construction of words he was exceedingly fruitful. He delighted in the unusual, as if itself an ornament, even though he gained nothing either in brevity or grace of style; as if he remembered the precept of Horace,

Dixeris egregie, notum si callida verbum
Reddiderit junctura novum.

I know not what other Latin author would have said *utilis pro nobis*, Agr. 12. I refrain from other examples, as they are obvious in every part of his works. In the use of the *historical infinitive* also, he differs from other writers by transferring it to present circumstances and customs of long standing. I would not have believed it, had not three instances conspired to prove it, still unchanged by all the prolixious industry of editors, who, while they dispose of separate examples, have forgotten the others. These are Germ. 7, *audiri*; Agr. 34, *ruere*; and Dial. 30, *insumere*. I am inclined to think a fourth ought to be added, Ann. III., 54, *Tot a majoribus repertae leges... contemptu abolitae securiorem luxum facere*, where editors have *fecere*; not to mention those places in which I have recalled the usual infinitives from the MSS., Ann. I., 20; II., 2. 38; VI., 18; Hist. IV., 20; to which I ought to add Hist. II., 35, *Facem Augustales subdere*; and III., 17, *Quo pudore haud pluris quam centum equites resistere*; and V., 10, *Pace per Italian parta et externae curae redire*, where editions have *subdidere*, and *rreditere*, and *rediere*. For no peculiarity of the Latin language might be expected to be more pleasing to Tacitus, none can be imagined better adapted to his style, so that I do not wonder that, in using it, he sometimes dared to go beyond proper limits. He may have shown audacity, and almost violence, but it would be a mark of even greater audacity and extravagance for us, who were born so many ages after him, in opposition to so many examples, which are defended by the authority of the MSS., and which not even the genius of the language convicts of fault, to attempt forcibly to abridge this license, merely from a
comparison with other writers, to whom our author intended to be unlike.

Tacitus indulges in *Greek constructions*, such as are used only by a few, or by himself alone. For ancient writers, from the commencement of the Graeco-Latin literature, had introduced many Graecisms into the Latin language, most of which the following age dropped in order to introduce others in their stead. See Agr. 34, Ceterorum Britannorum fugacissimi, an expression which the elder Pliny had used before. Also Hist. IV., 28, *Id nomen appellantur*; and Dial. 18, the words, *pro Catone magis*, resemble the Greek.

19. Tacitus exerted himself particularly to secure concinnity, so much so that he rarely neglected it, and some portions he adorned with exquisite art by the use of this rhetorical beauty. He even added superfluous words, provided they would contribute to concinnity; as Hist. II., 72, *Quidam militum errore veri seu turbarum studio certatim aggregabantur*. He even disregarded the rules of grammar in his fondness for this ornament: e. g., Ann. IV., 3, *Ad conjugii spem, consortium regni et neeem mariti impulit*, where the idea of *consortium* ought to depend upon *spem*, and therefore would regularly be in the genitive.

He was careful to close his periods with well-chosen clausules, whence that disagreement with grammatical rules in Ann. XIV., 16, *Species carminum...non uno fluens*; and Germ. 5, *Pecorum fecunda sed plerunque improcera*. Furthermore he observed the law of variety with solicitious care, sometimes for the sake of euphony, as Ann. II., 20, *quibus—quis*; sometimes to avoid the appearance of poverty in forms of expression. In this way he has sometimes troubled the reader, Ann. XV., 71, *Verginium Rufum claritudo nominis expulit; nam Verginius studia juvenum eloquentia, Musonius praecceptis sapientiae fovebat*. In Hist. II., 87, he employs the same artifice, *Calonum numeros amplior, procacciissimis etiam inter servos lixarum ingenii*; where he puts *lixae* instead of *calones*, in the last clause, for variety, both classes (cooks and campboys) being embraced under each name. But he is particularly fond of *varying the construction* by snallage; e. g., Hist. II., 79, *Illa Syriae, hoc Judaeae caput est; Agr. 33, ut...decorum in frontem, ita fugientibus periculosissima*.

Very often he shows his love of variety in passing from the active to the passive, and *vice versa*: Hist. IV., 77; Germ. 29, *Nam nec tributis contemptuntur, nec publicanus aderit*; and Hist. III., 56, *Ignarus militiae, improvidus consiliis*, where editions have *consili*. Frequently he varies the form of construction, as if for no other purpose than to exhibit the richness of his mother tongue, and to
show that the freedom of Latin writers could be abridged by no rigid and arbitrary rules: e. g., Ann. I., 18, Plurimi detrita tegmina et nudum corpus exprobantes; Hist. IV. 77, Neque aliud excusandum habeo, quam quod vos Gallici foederis obitos praeixerim, memoriam Romani sacramenti tenere credidi. C. Roth has collected and explained many examples in Agr. Ex. XIII.

He also makes frequent use of the figures of rhetoric, in order to render his style brilliant, particularly of the antithesis: Hist. I., 36, Omnia serviliter pro dominatione; Ann. II., 52, Spec victoriae induti sunt ut vincerentur; Hist. I., 65, Uno amne discretis connexum odium. Alliterations also, to which Latin authors are somewhat tempted by the very nature of their language: e. g., Ann. I., 51, si poenitentiam, quam perniciem malebat; A. I., virtus . . . victi vitium. Moreover he abounds in what we call in barbarous Latin allusiones. No one is ignorant into what absurdities the scrupulousness of commentators has fallen, who, as often as they find certain words, similar to those of some former writer, cry out at once, “imitation.” But Tacitus often does not imitate others, but rather alludes to them, especially the poets, by repeating some words, remarkable either for beauty of sentiment or felicity of expression, and thus exciting a pleasing recollection in his readers. And it is often doubtful whether he did this wittingly or unwittingly. Now none of the poets was better known, or more celebrated at that age, than Virgil, whose words, Haec ubi dixit dedit, Livy long ago had not hesitated to introduce into his narrative. Numberless expressions from the same author may be found in Tacitus, scattered here and there. More rarely will you find the words of Horace; as, Ann. XV., 37, Ex illo contaminatorum greges, coll. Carm. I., 37, 9, for I do not believe, that, in common prose, eunuchs come under the term contaminati. Nowhere, so far as I know, does he allude to Ovid, a writer entirely unlike himself in taste and style, for I am not of the opinion that the words in Agr. 44, were drawn from Ovid. Of prose writers he quoted Sallust most frequently. From a comparison with Livy, Trillerus has made a good correction in Hist. II., 80. Near the close of Agricola he manifestly refers his readers to a most beautiful passage of Cicero de Oratore. If I have rightly corrected Agr. 42, he has there quoted verbatim the language of Seneca. It were easy also to trace resemblances between Tacitus, Demosthenes, Thucydides, and Plato; and the verses of Homer are recognised in Hist. I., 80; and Agr. 34.

Thus much concerning the style of Tacitus. If I had undertaken to write a book on Tacitus, many topics would still remain to be discussed touching the genius of the writer, and his political and religious
opinions; touching his learning, his fidelity, and his skill as an historian. But now, since I have no other purpose than to write a preface to my edition, I have briefly discussed some subjects and have passed by others, particularly those which it is evidently better to omit, than to treat briefly and therefore unsatisfactorily. And it is better that those who start such questions should consult those books, (and they are not a few), in which the ideas of men of pre-eminent talent have been ably and fully unfolded. But concerning the style of our author I have treated a little more extensively, in order to compensate for the small number and briefness of my notes; and, at the same time, if I should seem to have used too great boldness in either expressing an opinion or making a correction, to defend my position by bringing together under a single view the scattered examples. For this I have chiefly labored, and not with the more ambitious aim to set forth a sort of image and picture of the style of Tacitus. Whoever shall undertake this, will find not a few who will repeat to him these lines of Goethe:

Noscituro, descripturo, quod animo et vita viget,
Hoc tibi providendum est, animum et vitam ut evites prius;
Proinde partes exanimatas faciliter tractabis manu.

* * We have copied this table from Orelli's Edition of the Historiae of Tacitus, Zurich, 1848. 


Interea fortissima gens Batavorum a Romanis defecerat, duce Julio Civile, proximosque Germanos in partes traducerat.

Kalendis Januariis absentibus consularibus senatum habet Julius Frontinus, praetor urbano, cui cum ejurasset, succedit Fl. Domitianus cum potestate consulari. Etiam Lingones ac Treveri.

Batavorum exemplum seculi, a Romanis deficient, ducibus Classicco Julioque Ture, et ipsas legiones Romanas, seditio-nibus perturbatas, ad sacramentum pro imperio Galliarum faciendum adigit.

Sed mox Petilius Cerialis, a Vespasiano missus, Treveros in potestatem redigit; etiam Civilis duobus proelis victus ad pacem petendam compellitur, Julius Sabinus, Lingonus, in monumento quodam abditus per novem annos latet.

Eodem tempore Titus Caesar cum valido exercitu haud procul Hierosolymis castra facit et sexcenta milia Judaeorum obsidet. (Urbe capta atque eversa Judaeis per totum Imp. Rom. tributum annuum binarum drachmarum imponit, ex quo templum Jovis Capitolini restitutur. Sed regnum Ituraeae Agrippae minori servatum est, cujus sororem Berenicen Titus deperit.)
C. CORNELII TACITI

HISTORIARUM

LIBER PRIMUS.

BREVIARIUM LIBRI.


XII. Deficiente superioris Germaniae milite, Galba de adoptando Caesare cogitat. XIII. Vinius Othoni favet, non ita Laco et Icelus. XIV. Galba, transactis imperii comitiis, Pisonem eligit, hominem antiqui moris et severum, cui, XV, XVI, adoptionis causas et imperii administrandi consilium aperit. XVII. Pisonis inter haec modo ratio. XVIII. Adoptio in castris nuncupata, XIX, tum in senatu. Legati ad defectores missi. XX. Neronis prodigæ donationes rescissae.

XXI. Othoni spe lapso consilium in turbido, XXII, instigantibus libertinis, servis, mathematicis; XXIII, XXIV, paratis jam ante militum studiis per blanditiias et largitiones, oscitante ad id praefecto. XXV, XXVI. Ergo jam legiones et auxilia pro Othone. XXVII. Mox consalutatus imperator, XXVIII, castris praetorianis infertur.

XXIX, XXX. Piso cohortem, quæ in palatio stationem agit, hortatur ad fidem. XXXI. Illa parat signa, reliquis copiis deficientibus. XXXII, XXXIII. Plebis adulatia et levitas. Fluctuat Galba cum amicis, an occurrentum? XXXIV. Praemittitur in castra Piso. Falsus de occiso Othone rumor. XXXV. Populus et senatus Galbae; XXXVI, castra Othoni favent. XXXVII, XXXVIII. Hic militum animos oratione sibi conciliat, Galbae et Pisoni reddit infon-


LXXI. Otho prudenter se gerit; Mario Celso ignoscit. LXXII. Tigellinus insamem vitam exitu inhonesto foedat. LXXIII. Galvia Crispinilla cum mala Othonis fama periculo exempta. LXXIV. Principes mutuo sibi conditiones offerunt; mox rixantes flagitia invicem objectant, et LXXV, insidiatores immittunt. LXXVI. Distinctis inter utrunque exercitibus ac provinciis, bello opus. LXXVII. Otho imperatorum agit; honores, LXXVIII, civitate, juris diligeritur: de celebri Neronis memoria agitur.

LXXIX. Sarmentae Roxolani Moesiam irruptentes caesi. LXXX—LXXXII. Sedito gravia, in ipsa urbe temere orata, cum magni motu atque discriminis primorum civitatis, precibus et lacrimis Othonis componitur, qui LXXXIII, LXXXIV, militres ad concordiam et modestiam hortatur. LXXXV. Istit compositus, omnia suspicionum et formidinis plena, praecipuo patrum metu. LXXXVI. Prodigia Othonis cladem praesagienti. LXXXVII. Is, iustrata urbe, Nurbonensem Galliam aggredi statuit, et LXXXVIII, cum multis nobilibus L. Vitellium aemuli fratrem secum ducit. LXXXIX. Inde varii ani-
morum motus. XC. Commendata patribus republica Otho festinat ad bellum. Trachali eloquentia usus Otho, in quem studia et voces vulgi. Gesta haec paucis mensibus,

**IMP. SERV. GALBA ET T. VINIO COSS.**


ium manibus incenso: pollutae caerimoniae; magna adul-
teria; plenum exsiliiis mare; infecti caedibus scopuli. Atro-
cius in Urbe saevitum. Nobilitas, opes, omissi gestique
honores pro crimine, et ob virtutes certissimum exitium.

5 Nec minus praemia delatorum invisa, quam scelera; cum
alii sacerdotia et consulatus ut spolia adepti, procurationes
alii et interiorem potentiam, agerent verterent cuncta odio
et terrore. Corrupti in dominos servi, in patronos liberti;
et, quibus deerrat inimicus, per amicos oppressi.

10 III. Non tamen adeo virtutum sterile saeculum, ut non
et bona exempla prodiderit. Comitatae profugos liberis
matres, secutae maritos in exsilia conjuges; propinqui au-
dentes, constantes generi; contumax etiam adversus tor-
menta servorum fides: supremae clarorum virorum neces-
sitates; ipsa necessitas fortiter tolerata, et laudatis anti-
quorum mortibus pares exitus. Praeter multiplices rerum
humanarum casus coelo terraque prodigia, et fulminum
moitus et futurorum praesagia, laeta, tristia, ambigua,
manifesta. Nec enim quanquam atrocioribus populi Romani

20 cladibus magisve justis indiciis approbatum est, non esse
curae deiis securitatem nostram, esse ultionem.

IV. Ceterum antequam destinata componam, repetendum
videtur, qualis status urbis, quae mens exercituum, quis
habitus provinciarum, quid in toto terrarum orbe validum,

25 quid aegrum fuerit; ut non modo casus eventusque rerum,
qui plerumque fortitui sunt, sed ratio etiam causaeque
noscantur. Finis Neronis ut laetus primo gaudentium
impetu fuerat, ita varios motus animorum, non modo in
urbe apud patres aut populum aut urbanum militem, sed

30 omnes legiones ducesque conciverat, evulgato imperii aera-
no posse principem alibi, quam Romae fieri. Sed patres
laeti, usurpata statim libertate licentius ut erga principem
novum et absentem; primores equitum proximi gaudio
patrum; pars populi integra et magnis domibus annexa,

35 clientes libertique damnatorum et exsulum in spem erecti:
plebs sordida et circo ac theatris sueta, simul deterrimi
servorum, aut qui, adesis bonus, per dedecus Neronis ale-
bantur, maesti et rumorum avidi,
V. Miles urbanus, longo Caesarum sacramento imbutus et ad destituendum Neronem arte magis et impulsu quam suo ingenio traductus, postquam neque dari donativum, sub nomine Galbae promissum, neque magnis meritis ac praemiis eundem in pace quem in bello locum, praeven tamque gratiam intelligit apud principem a legionibus factum, pronus ad novas res, scelere insuper. Nymphidii Sabini praefecti imperium sibi molientis agitatur. Et Nymphidii quidem in ipso conatu opprimitus: sed, quamvis capite defectionis ablato, manebat plerisque militum scientia; nec deerrant sermones, senium atque avaritiam Galbae increpantium. Laudata olim et militari fama celebrata severitas ejus angebat aspernantes veterem disciplinam, atque ita quatuordecim annis a Nerone assuefactos, ut haud minus vitia principum amarent, quam olim virtutes verebant. Accessit Galbae vox, pro republica honesta, ipsi ances, “legi a se militem, non emi.” Nec enim ad hanc formam cetera erant.


VII. Forte congruerat, ut Clodii Macri et Fonteii Capitolis caedes nuntiarentur. Macrum in Africa haud dubie turbantem, Trebonius Garutianus procurator, jussu Galbae, Capitolenum in Germania cum similia coeptaret Cornelius
Aquinas et Fabius Valens legati legionum interfecerant, antequam juberentur. Fuere qui crederent, Capitonem, ut avaritia et libidine foedum ac maculosum, ita cogitatione rerum novarum abstinuisse; sed a legatis, bellum suadenterbus, postquam impollere nequiverint, crimen ac dolum ultero compositum: at Galbam mobilitate ingenii, an ne altius scrutaretur, quoquo modo acta, quia mutari non poterant, comprobusasse. Ceterum utraque caedes sinistre accepta; et inviso semel principe, seu bene seu male facta premunt. 10 Jam afferebant venalia cuncta praepotentes liberti; servorum manus subitis avidae, et tanquam apud senem festinantes; eademque novae aulae mala, acque gravia, non aeque excusata. Ipsa aetas Galbae irrisui ac fastidio erat assuetis juventae Neronis et imperatores forma ac decore corporis, ut est mos vulgi, comparantibus.


IX. Superior exercitus legatum Hordeonium Flaccum spernebat, senecta ac debilitate pedum invalidum, sine con-stantia, sine auctoritate: ne quieto quidem milite, regimen; adeo furentes infirmitate retinentis ultro accedebantur. Inferioris Germaniae legiones diutius sine consulari fuere, donec missu Galbae A. Vitellius aderat, censoris Vitellii ac


XI. Aegyptum copiasque, quibus coeceretur, jam inde a divo Augusto, equites Romani obtinent loco regum. Ita visum expedire, provinciam aditu difficilem, annonaecexum, superstitione ac lascivia discordem ac mobilem, insiam legum, ignaram magistratum, domi retinere. Regebat tum Tiberius Alexander, ejusdem nationis. Africa ac legiones in ea, interfecto Clodio Macro, contenta qualicumque principe, post experimentum domini minoris. Duae Mauretaniae, Raetia, Noricum, Thracia, et quae aliae procuratoribus colhibentur, ut cuique exercitui vicinae, ita in favorem aut odium contactu valentiorum agebantur. In-
ermes provinciae, atque ipsa in primis Italia, cuicunque servitio exposita, in pretium belli cessurae erant. Hic fuit rerum Romanarum status, cum Ser. Galba iterum, Titus Vinius consules inchoavere annum sibi ultimum, reipub-
5 licae prope supremum.

XII. Paucis post Kalendas Januarias diebus Pompeii Propinquii procuratoris e Belgica literae afferuntur: "superioris Germaniae legiones, rupta sacramenti reverentia, imperatorem alium flagitare, et senatui ac populo Romano
10 arbitrium eligendi permettere;" quo seditio mollius acciperetur. Maturavit ea res consilium Galbae jam pridem de adoptione secum et cum proximis agitantis. Non sane cre-
brior tota civitate sermo per illos menses fuerat, primum licentia ac libidine balia loquendi, dein fessa jam actate
15 Galbae. Paucis judicium aut reipublicae amor: multi stulta spe, prout quis amicus vel cliens, hunc vel illum am-
bitionis rumoribus destinabant, etiam in T. Vinii odium, qui in dies quinto potentior, eodem actu invisor erat. Quippe hiantes in magna fortuna amicorum cupiditates ipsa Galbae
20 facilitas intendebat: cum apud infirmum et credulum mi-
nore metu et majore praemio peccaretur.

XIII. Potentia principatus divisa in T. Vinium consulem et Cornelium Laconem praetorii praefectum. Nee minor gratia Icelo Galbae liberto, quem annulis donatum equestri
25 nomine Marcianum vocitabant. Hi discordes, et rebus mi-
 noribus sibi quisque tendentes, circa consilium eligendi suc-
cessoris in duas factiones scindebantur. Vinius pro M. Othone: Laco atque Icelus consensu non tam unum ali-
quam fovebant quam alium. Neque erat Galbae ignota
30 Othonis ac T. Vinii amicitia; et rumoribus nihil silentio transmittentium, quin Vinio vidua filia, caelebs Otho, gener ac socer destinabantur. Credo et reipublicae curam sub-
isse, frustra a Nerone translatae, si apud Othonem relinque-
retur. Namque Otho pueritiam incuriose, adolescentiam
35 petulanter egerat, gratus Neroni nemulatione luxus: eoque jam Poppaeam Sabinam, principale scortum, ut apud con-
scium libidinum, deposuerat, donec Octaviam uxorem amo-
liretur; mox suspectum in eadem Poppaea in provinciam
Lusitaniam specie legationis seposuit. Otho, comiter administrata provincia, primus in partes transgressus, nec segnis, et, donec bellum fuit, inter praesentes splendidissimus, spem adoptionis statim conceptam acriter in dies rapiebat, fventibus plerisque militum, prona in eum aula 5 Neronis ut similem.

XIV. Sed Galba, post nuntios Germanicae seditionis, quamquam nihil adhuc de Vitellio certum, anxius quonam exercituam vis erumperet, ne urbano quidem militi confusis, quod remedium unicum rebatur, comitia imperii transigit; adhibitoque, super Vinium ac Laconem, Mario Celso consule designato ac Ducennio Gemino praefecto urbis, pauc a praefatus de sua seunctute, Pisonem Licinianum accessi jubet, seu propria electione, sive, ut quidam crediderunt, Lacone instante, cui apud Rubellium Plautum exercita cum 15 Pisone amicitia; sed callide ut ignotum fovebat, et prospera de Pisce fama consilio ejus fidem addiderat. Piso M. Crasso et Scribonia genitus, nobilis utrimque, vultu habituque moris antiqui, et aestimatione recta severus, dedit interpretantibus tristior habebatur: ea pars morum ejus, 20 quo suspectior sollicitis, adopta tanti planebat.

XV. Igitur Galba, apprehensa Pisonis manu, in hunc modum locutus fertur: "Si te privatus legere curiata apud pontifices, ut moris est, adoptarem, et mihi egregium erat Cn. Pompeii et M. Crassi sobol e in penates meos asciscere, 25 et tibi insigne Sulpiciae ac Lutatiae decora nobilitati tuae adjecisse. Nunc me deorum homininque consensu ad imperium vocatum praeclara in dolos tua et amor patriae impulit, ut principatum, de quo maiores nostri armis certabant, bello adeptus quiescenti offeram, exemplo divi Augusti, qui sororis filium Marcellum, dein generum Agrippam, mox nepotes suos, postremo Tiberium Neronem pri vignum, in proximo sibi fastigio collocavit. Sed Augustus in domo successorem quaesivit, ego in republica; non quia propinquos aut socios belli non habeam; sed neque ipse 35 imperium ambitione accepi, et judicii mei documentum sint non meae tantum necessitundes, quas tibi postposui, sed et tuae. Est tibi frater pari nobilitate, natu major, dignus hac

XVI. “Si immensum imperii corpus stare ac librari sine rectore posset, dignus eram a quo respublica inciperet: nunc eo necessitatis jam pridem ventum est, ut nec mea senectus conferre plus populo Romano possit quam bonum successorem, nec tua plus juventa, quam bonum principem. Sub Tiberio et Caio et Claudio, unius familiae quasi hereditas: loco libertatis erit, quod eligi coepimus. Et, finita Juliorum Claudiorumque domo, optimum quemque adoptio inveniet. Nam generari et nasci a principibus fortuitum, nec ultra aestimatur: adoptandi judicium integrum, et, si velis eligere, consensu monstratur. Sit ante oculos Nero, quem longa Caesarum serie tumentem, non Vindex cum inermi provincia aut ego cum una legione, sed sua immanitas, sua luxuria, cervicibus publicis depulere; neque erat adhuc damnati principis exemplum. Nos bello et ab aestimantibus asciti, cum invidia, quamvis egregii, crimus. Ne tamen territus fueris, si duae legiones in hoc concussi orbis motu nondum quiescunt. Ne ipse quidem ad securas res accessi: et, audita adoptione, desinam videri senex, quod nunc mihi unum objicitur. Nero a pessimo quoque semper desiderabitur: mihi ac tibi providendum est, ne etiam a bonis desideretur. Monero diutius neque temporis hujus, et implectum est omne consilium, si te bene elegi. Utilissimus idem ac brevissimus bonarum malarumque rerum delectus est cogitare, quid aut volueris sub alio
principe aut nolueris. Neque enim hic, ut gentibus quae regnantur, certa dominorum domus et ceteri servi; sed imperaturus es hominibus, qui nec totam servitutem pati possunt nec totam libertatem." Et Galba quidem haec ac talia, tanquam principem faceret; ceteri tanquam cum facto 5 loquebantur.

XVII. Pisonem ferunt statim intuentibus, et mox conjectis in eum omnium oculis, nullum turbati aut exsultantis animi motum prodidisse. Sermo erga patrem imperatoris, qui non totara servitute pati posset, nee totam libertatem. Et Galba quidem haec ac tali, tanquam principem faceret; ceteri tanquam cum facto 5 loquebantur.

XVIII. Quartum Idus Januarias, foedum imbribus diem, tonitura et fulgura et coelestes minae ultra solitum turba-20 verant. Observatum id antiquitus comitiis dirimendis non terruit Galbam, quo minus in castra pergeret, contemptorem talium ut fortuitorum, seu quae fato manent, quamvis significata, non vitantur. Apud frequentem militum concertem, imperatoria brevitate, adoptari a se Pisonem more divi Augusti et exemplo militari, quo vir virum legeret, pronuntiat. Ac ne dissimulata seditio in maus crederetur, ultro asseverat quartam et duodevicesimam legiones, paucis seditionis auctoribus, non ultra verba ac voces errasse, et brevi in officio fore. Nec ullum orationi aut lenocinium 30 addit aut pretium. Tribuni tamen centurionesque et proximi militum grata auditu respondunt: per ceteros maestitia ac silentium, tanquam usurpatam etiam in pace donativi necessitatem bello perdidissent. Constat potuisse conciliari animos quantulacumque parci senis liberalitate: nocuit antiquus rigor et nimia severitas, cui jam pares non sumus.

XIX. Inde apud senatum non comptior Galbae, non longior quam apud militem sermo: Pisonis comis oratio.
Et patrum favor aderat; multi voluntate effusius; qui noluerant medie; ac plurimi obvio obsequio, privatas spes agitantes sine publica cura. Nec aliud sequenti quatriduo, quod medium inter adoptionem et caedem fuit, dictum a 5 Pisone in publico factumve. Crebrioribus in dies Germanicae defectio nis nuntiis et facili civitate ad accipienda credendaque omnia nova, cum tristia sunt, censuerant patres mittendos ad Germanicum exercitum legatos: agitatum secreto, num et Piso proficisceretur majore praetextu; illi 10 auctoritatem senatus, hic dignationem Caesaris laturus. Placebat et Laconem praetorii praefectum simul mitti: is consilio intercessit. Legati quoque (nam senatus electionem Galbae permiserat) foeda inconstantia nominati, excusati, substituti, ambitu remanendi aut cundi, ut quemque 15 metus vel spes impulerat.


XXI. Interea Othonem, cui compositis rebus nulla spes, 30 omne in turbido consilium, multa simul exstimulabant, luxuria etiam principi onerosa, inopia vix privato toleranda, in Galbam ira, in Pisone invidia. Fingebat et metum, quo magis concupisceret. "Praegravem se Neroni fuisse,

XXII. Non erat Othonis mollis et corpori similis animus. Et intimi libertorum servorumque, corruptius quam in privata domo habiti, aulam Neronis et luxus, adulteria, matrimonia, ceterasque regnorum libidines avido talium, si auderet, ut sua ostentantes, quiescenti, ut aliena, exprobabant, urgentibus etiam mathematicis, dum novos motus, et clarum Othoni annum observatione siderum affirmant, genus hominum potentibus infidum, sperantibus fallax, quod in civitate nostra et vetabitur semper et retinebitur. Multos secreta Poppaeae mathematicos, pessimum principalis matrimonii instrumentum, habuerant; e quibus Ptolemaeus Othoni in Hispania comes, cum superfuturum eum Neroni promisisset, postquam ex eventu fides, conjectura jam et rumore senium Galbae et juventam Othonis computantium persuaserat fore, ut in imperium ascisceretur. Sed Otho tanquam peritia et monitu fatorum praedicta accipiebat, cupidine ingenii humani libentius obscura credendi.

XXIII. Nec deearat Ptolemaeus, jam et sceleris instector, ad quod facillime ab ejusmodi voto transitur. Sed sceleris cogitatio incertum an repens: studia militum jam pridem spe succesionis aut paratu facinoris affectaverat; in itinere, in agmine, in stationibus, vetustissimum quemque militum nomine vocans, ac memoria Neroniani comitatus contubernalales appellando; alios agnoscere, quosdam requirere et pecunia aut gratia juvare, inserendo saepius querelas et ambiguos de Galba sermones, quaeque alia turbamenta vulgi.
Labores itinerum, inopia commenatuum, duritia imperii atrocios accipiebantur, cum Campaniae lacus et Achaiae urbes classibus adire soliti Pyrenaecum et Alpes et immensa via rum spatia aegre sub armis eniterentur.

5 XXIV. Flagrantibus jam militum animis velut faces addiderat Maevius Pudens e proximis Tigellini. Is mobilissimum quemque ingenio aut pecuniae indigum et in novas cupiditates praecipitem alliciendo, eo paulatim progressus est, ut per speciem convivii, quotiens Galba apud Othonem epularetur, cohorti excubias agenti viritim centenos nummos divideret; quam velut publicam largitionem Otho secretioribus apud singulos praemiis intendebat, adeo animosus corruptor, ut Cocceio Proculo speculatori de parte finium cum vicino ambigenti, universum vice agrum sua pecunia empiren tum dono dederit, per socordiam praefecti, quem nota pariter et occulta fallebant.

XXV. Sed tum e libertis Onomastum futuro secleri praefecit, a quo Barbium Proculum tesserarium speculatorum et Veturium optionem corundem perductos, postquam vario 20 sermone callidos audacesque cognovit, pretio et promissis onerat, data pecunia ad pertentandos plurium animos. Suscepere duo manipulares imperium populi Romani transferendum; et transstulerunt. In conscientiam facinoris pauci asciti: suspensos ceterorum animos diversis artibus stimulant, primores militum per benefici a Nymphidii ut suspectos, vulgus et ceteros ira et desperatione dilati totiens donativi; erant, quos memoria Neronis ac desiderium prioris licentiae accenderet: in commune omnes metu mutandae militiae terrabantur.

XXVI. Infecit ea tabes legionum quoque et auxiliarum motas jam mentes, postquam vulgatum erat labare Germanici exercitus fidem: adeoque parata apud malos seditio, etiam apud integros dissimulatio fuit, ut postero idum die rum redeuntem a coena Othonem rapturi fuerint, ni incerta 35 noctis et tota urbe sparsa militum castra nec facilèm inter temulentos consensum timuissent, non reipublicae cura, quam foedare principis sui sanguine sobrii parabant, sed ne per tenebras, ut quisque Pannonici vel Germanici exercitus mili-
ibus oblatus esset, ignorantiibus plerisque, pro Othone desinaretur. Multa erumpentis seditionis indicia per consios oppressa; quaedam apud Galbae aures praefectus Laco elusit, ignarus militarium animorum, consilique quamvis egregii, quod non ipse affertet, inimicus, et adversus peritos 5 pervicax.

XXVII. Octavodecimo Kalendas Februarii, sacrificanti pro aede Apollinis Galbae haruspex Umbricius tristia exta et instantes insidias ac domesticum hostem praedicit, audiente Othone (nam proximus astiterat) idque ut lactum est contrario et suis cogitationibus prosperum interpretet. Nec multo post libertus Onomastus nuntiat exspectari eum ab architecto et redemptoribus; quae significatio coeuntium jam militum et paratae conjurationis convenerat. Otho, ausam digressus requirentibus, cum emi sui praedia vetustate suspecta eoque prius exploranda finxisset, innixus liberto per Tiberianam domum in Velabrum, inde ad milliarium aereum sub aedem Saturni pergit. Ibi tres et viginti speculatores consalutatum imperatorem ac paucitate salutantium trepidum et scellae festinanter impositum strictis mucronibus rapiunt. Totidem ferme milites in itinere aggregantur, alii conscientia, plerique miraculo, pars clamore et gaudio, pars silentio, animum ex eventu sumpturi.

XXVIII. Stationem in castris agebat Julius Martialis tribunus. Is magnitudine subiti sceleris, an corrupta latius castra et, si contra tenderet, exitium metuens, praebuit plerisque suspicionem conscientiae. Anteposuere ceteri quoque tribuni centurionesque praesentia dubii et honestis: isque habitus animorum fuit, ut pessimum facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes patenterunt.

XXIX. Ignarus interim Galba et sacris intentus fatigabat alieni jam imperii deos, cum affertur rumor rapi in castra incertum quem senatorem; mox, Othonem esse, qui rapertur: simul ex tota urbe, ut quisque obvius fuerat, alii formidine augentes, quidam minora vero, ne tum quidem obli 35 adulationis. Igitur consultantibus placuit pertentari animum cohortis, quae in palatio stationem agebat, nec per ipsum Galbam, cujus integra auctoritas majoribus remedis
servabatur. Piso pro gradibus domus vocatos in humodum allocutus est: "Sextus dies agitur, commilitones ex quo ignarus futuri et sive optandum hoc nomen sit timendum erat, Caesar ascitus sum; quo domus nostrae a reipublicae fato in vestra manu positum est: non quia nomine tristiorem casum paveam ut qui adversas res exspectatorem maxime discam ne secundum quisque minus discrimini habere; patris et senatus et ipsius imperii vicem dolorem si nobis aut perire hodie necesse est aut, quod acque apud bonos miserum est, occidere. Solatium proximi motus habebamus incruentam urbem et res sine discordia transmissas. Provisum adoptione videbatur, ut ne post Galba quidem bello locus esset.


XXXII. Universa jam plebs palatium implebat, mixtis servitiis et dissono clamore caedem Othonis et conjuratorum exitium poscentium, ut si in circo ac theatro ludicrum aliquid postularent: neque illis judicium aut veritas, quippe codem die diversa pari certamine postulaturis, sed tradito more quemcumque principem adulandi licentia acclamationum et studii animibus. Interim Galbam duae sententiae distinebant. Titus Vinius "manendum intra domum, opponenda servitia, firmandos aditus, non eundum ad iratos" censebat: "daret malorum poenitentiae, daret bonorum consensui spatio: seclera impetu, bona consilia mora valsere. Denique eundi ultro, si ratio sit, eandem mox facultatem: regressus, si poeniteat, in aliena potestate."

XXXIII. "Festinandum" ceteris videbatur, "antequam cresceret invalida adhuc conjuratio paucorum. Trepidaturo etiam Othonem, qui furtim digressus, ad ignaros illatus, cunctatione nunc et segnitia tercentium tempus imitari prin-
cipem discat. Non exspectandum, ut compositis castris forum invadat et prospectante Galba Capitolium adeatur dum egregius imperator cum fortibus amicis janua ac limen tenus domum cludit, obsidionem nimirum toleraturus. Praeclarum in servis auxilium, si consensus tanta multitudinis, et, quae plurimum valet, prima indignatio clangorosa. Proinde intuta quae indecora; vel si cadere necesse sit, occurrendum discrimini. Id Othoni invidiosius, et ipsis hominibus in exitium.” Repugnante huic sententiae Vinium Laco ministrum venit, simulante Icelo privati odio pertinacia in publicum exitium.


XXXVI. Hand dubiae jam in castris omnium mentes tantusque ardor, ut non contenti agmine et corporibus, suggestu, in quo paulo ante aurea Galbae statua fuerat.
medium inter signa Othonem vexillis circumdarent. Nec tribunis aut centurionibus adedium locus: gregarius miles caveri insuper praeapositos jubebat. Strepera cuncta clamoribus et tumultu et exhortatione mutua, non tanquam in populo ac plebe, variis segni adulatione vocibus, sed, ut quemque afluxionitum militum aspexerant, presare manibus, complecti armis, collocare juxta, praecire sacramentum, modo imperatorem militibus, modo milites imperatori commendare. Nec deerat Otho protendens manus adorare vulgum, jacere oscula, et omnia serviliter pro dominatione. Postquam universalis legio sacramentum ejus accepit, fidens viribus et quos adhuc singulos exstimulaverat, accendendos in commune ratus, pro vallo castrorum ita coept:


XXXIX. Jam exteritus Piso fremitu crebrescentis secti ditionis et vocibus in urbe usque resonantibus, egressum interim Galbam et foro appropinquantem assecutus erat: jam Marius Celsus haud laeta retulerat; cum alii in palatium redire, alii capitolum petere, plerique rostra occupanda censerent, plures tantum sententiis aliorum contradicere rent, utque evenit in consiliiis infeliciibus, optima viderentur, quorum tempus effugerat. Agitasse Laco, ignaro Galba, de occidendo T. Vinio dicitur, sive ut poena ejus animos militum mulceret, seu conscium Othonis credebat, ad postremum vel odio. Haesitationem attulit tempus ac locus, quia, initio caedis orto, difficilis modus: et turbavere consilium trepidi nuntii ac proximorum diffugia, languentibus omnium studiis qui primo alacres fidem atque animum ostentaverant.
XL. Agebatur hoc illuc Galba vario turbae fluctuantis impulsu, completis undique basilicis ac templis, lugubri prospectu: neque populi aut plebis ulla vox, sed attoniti vultus et conversae ad omnia aures: non tumultus, non quies, quale magni metus et magnae irae silentium est. Othoni tamen armari plebem nuntiabatur. Ire praecepites et occupare pericula jubet. Igitur milites Romani, quasi Vologesen aut Pacorum avito Arsacidarum solio depulsuri, ac non imperatorem suum inermem et senem trucidare pergerent, disjecta plebe, proculcato senatu, truces armis, rapidi equis forum irrupunt: nee illos capitolii aspectus et imponentium templorum religio et priorum et futuri principes terruere, quo minus fecerent scelus, cujus ulterior es quisquis successit.


XLII. Titum inde Vinium invasere; de quo et ipsio ambitur, consumeritne vocem ejus instans metus, an proclamaverit, non esse ab Othane mandatum, ut occideretur. Quod seu fixit formidine, seu conscientia conjurationis confessus est: hoc potius ejus vita famaque inclinat, ut conscient sceletis fuerit, cujus causa erat. Ante aedem divi
Julii jacuit, primo ictu in poplitem, mox ab Julio Caro legionario milite in utrumque latus transverteratus.

XLIII. Insignem illa die virum Sempronium Densum aetas nostra vidit. Centurio is praetoriae cohortis, a Galba custodiae Pisonis additus, stricto pugione occurrens armatis et scelus exprobrans, ac modo manu, modo voce, vertendo in se percussores, quamquam vulnerato Pisoni effugium dedit. Piso in aedem Vestae pervasit; exceptusque misericordia publici servi et contubernio ejus additus, non religione nec eaerimoniis, sed latebra imminens exitium differebat; cum advenere, missu Othonis, nominatim in caedem ejus ardentes, Sulpicius Florus e Britannicis cohortibus nuper a Galba civitate donatus, et Statius Murcus speculatorem: a quibus protractus Piso, in foribus templi trucidatur.

XLIV. Nullam caedem Otho majore laetitia excepisse, nullum caput tam insatiabilibus oculis perlustrasse dicitur, seu tum primum levata omni sollicitudine mens vacare gaudio coeperat, seu recordatio majestatis in Galba, amicitiae in T. Vinio, quamvis inamitem animum imagine tristi confuderat: Pisonis, ut inimici et aemuli, caede laetari, jus fasque credebat. Praefixa contis capita gestabantur inter signa cohortium juxta aquilam legionis, certatim ostentantibus cruentas manus, qui occiderant, qui interfuerant, qui vere, qui falso, ut pulchrum et memorabile facinus, jactabant. Plures quam centum et viginti libellos praecium exposcentium ob aliquam notabilem illa die operam Vitellius postea invenit: omnesque conquiri et interfici jussit, non honore Galbae, sed tradito principibus more, munimentum ad praesens, in posterum ultionem.

XLV. Alium create senatum, alium populum: ruere cunet in castra, anteire proximos, certare cum praecurrantibus, inerepare Galbam, laudare militum judicium, exosculari Othonis manum; quantoque magis falsa erant, quae fiebant, tanto plura facere. Non aspernabatur singulos Otho, avidum et minacem militum animum voce vultuque temperans. Marium Celsum consulem designatum et Galbae usque in extremas res amicum fidunque, ad supplicium expostulabat, industriae ejus innocentiaeque, quasi malis
artibus, infensi. Caedis et prædarum initium et optimo cuique perniciem quaeri apparebat: sed Othoni nondum auctoritas inerat ad prohibendum scelus; jubere jam poterat. Ita simulatione irae, vinciri jussum et majores poenas daturum affirmans, praesenti exitio subtraxit.


Quarta pars manipuli sparsa per commeatus aut in ipsis castris vaga, dum mercedem centurioni exsolveret; neque modum oneris quisquam, neque genus quaestus pensi habebat: per latrocinia et raptus aut servilibus ministri mili- tare otium redimebant. Tum locupletissimus quisque miles labore ac saevitia fatigari, donec vacationem emeret: ubi sumptibus exhaustus socordia insuper elanguerat, inops pro locuplete et iners pro strenuo in manipulum redibat: ac rursus alius atque alius, eadem egestate ac licentia corrupti, ad seditiones et discordias, et ad extremum bella civilia ruebant. Sed Otho, ne vulgi largitione centurionum animos averteret, fiscum suum vacationes annuas exsoluturum pro- misit, rem haud dubie utilem et a bonis postea principibus perpetuitate disciplinae firmatam. Laco praefectus, tanquam in insulam seponeretur, ab evocato, quem ad caudem ejus Otho praemiserat, confossus: in Marcianum Icelum, ut in libertum, palam animadversum.


XLIX. Galiae corpus diu neglectum et licentia tenebrorum plurimis ludibriis vexatum, dispensator Argius e prioribus servis, humili sepultura in privatis ejus hortis contexit. Caput, per lixas calonesque suffixum lacera tumque, ante Patrobi tumulum (libertus is Neronis punitus a Galba fuerat) postera demum die repertum et cremato jam corpori admixtum est. Hunc exitum habuit Ser. Galba, tribus et septuaginta annis quinque principes prospera fortuna emen-

L. Trepidam urbem, ac simul atrocitatem recentis sceleris, simul veteres Othonis mores paventem, novus insuper de Vitellio nuntius exterruit, ante caedem Galbae suppressus, ut tantum superioris Germaniae exercitum descivisse crederetur. Tum duos, omnium mortalium impudicitia, ignavia, luxuria deterrimos velut ad perdendum imperium fataliter electos non senatus modo et eques, quis aliqua pars et cura reipublicae, sed vulgus quoque palam maerere. Nec jam recentia sævae pacis exempla, sed repetita bellorum civilium memoria captam totiens suis exercitibus urbem, vastitatem Italiae, direptiones provinciarum, Pharsaliam, Philippos, et Perusiam ac Mutinam, nota publicarum eladium nominata, loquebantur. Prope eversum orbem, etiam eum de principatu inter bonos eertaretur: sed mansisse C. Julio, mansisse Caesarre Augusto victore imperium; mansuram suisse sub Pompeió Brutoque rempublicam. Nunc pro Othone, an pro Vitellio, in templo ituros? Utrasque impias preces, utraque detestanda vota, inter duos, quorum bello solum id seires, deteriorem fore qui vicisset. Erant, qui Vespasianum et arma Orientis augurarentur: et ut potior utroque Vespasianus, ita bellum aliud atque alias clades horrebant. Et ambiguæ de Vespasiano fama; solusque omnium ante se principum in melius mutatus est.

LI. Nunc initia causasque motus Vitelliani expediam. Caeso cum omnibus copiis Julio Vindice, ferox praeda gloriaque exercitus, ut cui sine labore ac periculo ditissimi belli
C. CORN. TACITI HISTOR. [A. U. 822.

victoria evenisset, expeditionem et aciem, praemia quam stipendia malebat. Diu infructuosam et asperam militiam toleraverant ingenio loci coelique et severitate disciplinae, quam in pace inexorabilem discordiae civium resolvunt, pa-

5 ratis utrimque corruptoribus et perfidia impunita. Viri, arma, equi, ad usum et ad decus supererant: sed ante bel-

lum centurias suas turmasque noverant; exercitus finibus provinciaum discernebantur. Tum adversus Vind-

cicem contractae legiones, seque et Gallias expertae, quae-

10 rere rursus arma novasque discordias; nec socios, ut olim, sed hostes et victos vocabant. Nec deerat pars Galliarum, quae Rhenum accolit, easdem partes secuta, ac tum acer-

rima instigatrix adversus Galbianos: hoc enim nomen, fastidito Vindice, indiderant. Igitur Sequanis Aeduisque ac

15 deinde, prout opulentia civitatis erat, insensi, expugna-

tiones urbium, populationes agrorum, raptus penatum hausent animo, super avaritiam et arrogantiam, praeclara

validiorum vitia, contumacia Gallorum irritati, qui remis-

sam sibi a Galba quartam tributorum partem et publice do-

20 natos in ignominiam exercitus jactabant. Accessit callide vulgatum, temere credidum, decumari legiones et promptissimum quemque centurionum dimitti: undique atroces nun-

tii, sinistra ex urbe fama: insensa Lugdunensis colonia, et,

pertinacii pro Nerone fide, secunda rumoribus. Sed plurima

25 ad fingendum credendumque materies in ipsis castris, odio,

metu et, ubi vires suas resperexerant, securitate.

LII. Sub ipsas superioris anni Kalendas Decembres Au-

lus Vitellius, inferiorem Germaniam ingressus, hiberna legi-

onum cum cura adierat: redditi plerisque ordines, remissa

30 ignominia, allevatae notae, plura ambitione, quaedam judi-

cio, in quibus sordem et avaritiam Fontei Capitonis adi-

mendis assignandisve militiae ordinibus integre mutaverat.

Nec consularis legati mensura, sed in majus omnia accipie-

bantur: et Vitellius apud severos humilis; ita comitatem:

35 bonitatemque faventes vocabant, quod sine modo, sine judi-

cio donaret sua, largiretur aliena; simul aviditato imperandi

ipsa vita pro virtutibus interpretabantur. Multi in utroque

exercitu sicut modesti quietique, ita mali et strenui; sed


LIV. Miserat civitas Lingonum vetere instituto dona le-gionibus, dextras, hospitii insigne. Legati eorum in squalo-rem maestitiamque compositi, per principia, per contuber-nia, modo suas injurias, modo vicinarum civitatum praemia, et, ubi pronis militum auribus accipiebantur, ipsius exercitus pericula et contumelias conquerentes, accendebant animos. Nec procul seditione aberant, cum Hordeonius Flaccus abire
le gatos, utque occultior digressus esset, nocte castris excedere jubet. Inde atrox rumor, affirmantibus plerisque interfectos, ac, nisi ipsi consulerent, fore, ut acerrimi militum, et praesentia conquesti, per tenebras et inscitiam ceterorum occiderentur. Obstringuntur inter se tacito foedere legiones. Asceiscitur auxiliarium miles, primo suspectus, tanquam circumdatis cohortibus alisque impetus in legiones pararetur, mox eadem acerrimi volvens, faciliore inter malos consensu ad bellum quam in pace ad concordiam.


LVI. Spectator flagitii Hordeonius Flaccus consularis legatus aderat, non compescere ruentes, non retinere dubios, non cohortari bonos ausus, sed segnis, pavidus et socordia innocens. Quatuor centuriones duodevicesimae legionis, Nonius Receptus, Donatius Valens, Romilius Marcellus, Calpurnius Repentinus, cum protergerent Galbae imagines, impetu militum abrepti vincitque. Nec quicquam ultra fides aut memoria prioris sacramenti, sed quod in seditionibus accidit, unde plures erant, omnes fuere. Nocte, quae
Kalendas Januarias secta est, in coloniam Agrippinensem aquilifer quartae legiones epulanti Vitello nuntiat, quartam et duodeciesimam legiones, projectis Galbae imaginibus, in senatus ac populi Romani verba jurasse. Id sacramentum inane visum: occupari nutantem fortunam, et offerri principem placuit. Missi a Vitello ad legiones legatosque, qui descivisse a Galba superiorem exercitum nuntiarent: proinde aut bellandum adversus desciscentes, aut, si concordia et pax placeat, faciendum imperatorem; et minore discrimine sumi principem, quam quaeri.


LVIII. Igitur laudata militum alacritate, Vitellius ministeria principatus per libertos agi solita in equites Romanos disponit; vacationes centurionibus ex fisco numerat; saevitiam militum plerosque ad poenam exposcentium saepius approbat, partim simulatione vinculorum frustratur. Pompeius Propinquus procurator Belgicae classis statim interfecit. Julium Burdonem Germanicae classis praefectum astu subtraxit. Exarserat in eum iracundia exercitus, quam crimen ac mox insidias Fonteio Capitoni struxisset. Grata erat memoria Capitonis; et apud saevientes occidere palam, ignoscere non nisi fallingo licebat. Ita in custodia habitus, et post victoriam demum, stratis jam militum
odiis, dimissus est. Interim, ut piaculum, objeicitur centurie Crispinus: sanguine Capitonis se cruentaverat; eoque et postulantibus manifestior et punienti vilior fuit.


LX. Ne in Britannia quidem dubitatum. Praeerat Trebellius Maximus, per avaritiam et sordes contemptus exercitui invisisusque. Accendebat odium ejus Roscius Caelius legatus vicesimae legionis, olim discors, sed occasione civilium armorum atricius proruperat. Trebellius seditionem et confusum ordinem disciplinae Caëlio, spoliatas et inopes legiones Caelius Trebellio objectabat, cum interim fœdum legatorum certaminibus modestia exercitus corrupta, eoque discordiae ventum, ut auxiliarium quoque militum conviciis proturbatus et, aggregantibus se Caelio cohortibus alisque, desertus Trebellius ad Vitellium perfugerit: quies provinciae, quanquam remo consulari, mausit: rere legati legionum, pares jure, Caelius audendo potentior.

LXI. Adjuncto Britannico exercitu, ingens viribus opibusque Vitellius duos duces, duo itinera bello destinavit. Fabius Valens allicere vel, si abnuerent, vastare Gallias, et Cottianis Alpibus Italiam irrumpere, Caecina propriore transitu, Peninis jugis degredi jussus. Valenti inferioris exercitus electi cum aquila quintae legionis et cohortibus alisque, ad quadraginta millia armatorum data: triginta millia Caecina e superiore Germania ducebat, quorum robur legio una, primaetvicesima, fuit: addita utrique Germanorum
auxilia, et quibus Vitellius suas quoque copias supplevit, tota mole belli securutus.


LXIII. Et Treveros quidem, ut socios, securi adiere. Divoduri (Mediomatricorum id oppidum est) quanquam omni comitate exceptos subitus pavor terruit, raptis derepente armis ad caedem innoxiae civitatis, non ob praedam aut spoliandii cupidinem, sed furore et rabie et causis incertis eoque difficeriibus remediis, donec precibus ducis mitigati ab excidio civitatis temperavere; caesa tamen ad quatuor millia hominum, Isque terror Gallias invasit, ut venienti mox agmini universae civitates cum magistratibus et precibus occurrerent, stratis per vias pueris feminisque, quaeque alia placamenta hostilis irae, non quidem in bello, sed pro pace tendebantur.

LXIV. Nuntium de caede Galbae et imperio Othonis, Fabius Valens in civitate Leucorum acceptum. Nec militum animus in gaudium aut formidinem permotus: bellum volvebat. Gallis cunctatio exempta, et in Othonem ac Vitellium odium par, ex Vitellio et metus. Proxima Lingonum civitas erat, fida partibus: benigne excepti, modestia certa-
vere; sed brevis laetitia fuit cohortium intemperie, quas a
legione quartadecima, ut supra memoravimus, digressas
ercuitui suo Fabius Valens adjunxerat. Jurgia primum,
mox rixa inter Batavos et legionarios, dum his aut illis studia
militum aggregantur, prope in proelium exarsere, ni Valens
animadversione paucorum oblitos jam Batavos imperii ad-
monuisset. Frustra adversus Aeduos quaesita belli causa.
Jussi pecuniam atque arma deferre, gratuiti insuper com-
meatus præebuere: quod Aedui formidine, Lugdunenses
gaudio fecere. Sed legio Italica et ala Taurina abductae.
Cohortem duodevicesimam Lugduni, solitis sibi hibernis,
relinqui placuit. Manlius Valens legatus Italicae legionis,
quanquam bene de partibus meritus, nullo apud Vitellium
honore fuit: secretis eum criminationibus infamaverat Fa-
bius ignarum et, quo incautior deciperetur, palam laudatum.
LXV. Veterem inter Lugdunenses Vienensesque dis-
cordiam proximum bellum accenderat: multae invicem cla-
des crebrius infestiusque, quam ut tantum propter Neronem
Galbamque pugnaretur. Et Galba reditus Lugdunensium
occasione irae in fiscum venterat; multus contra in Vien-
nenses honor: unde aemulatio et invidia et uno amne dis-
cretis connexum odium. Igitur Lugdunenses exstimulare
singulos militum et in eversionem Vienenses summum
obsessam ab illis coloniam suam, adjutos Vindicis conatus,
conscriptas nuper legiones in præsidium Galbae referendo:
et ubi causas odiorum praeterandarum, magnitudinem prae-
dae ostendebant. Neo jam secreta exhortatio, sed publicae
preces: "Irei ullores, exscindere sedem Gallici belli:
cuncta illic externa et hostilia; se coloniam Romanam et
partem exercitus et prosperarum adversarumque rerum
socios: si fortuna contra'daret, iratis ne reliquerentur."
LXVI. His et pluribus in eundem modum perpulerat,
ut ne legati quidem ac duces partium restingui posse ira-
cundiam exercitus arbitrarentur, cum haud ignari discrimi-
nis sui Vienenses, velamenta et insulas praebentes, ubi
amen incesserat, arma, genua, vestigia prensando flexere
militum animos. Addidit Valens trescentos singulis militibus
sestertios: tum vetustas dignitasque coloniae valuit, et


LXVIII. Illi ante discrimen feroce, in periculo pavid, quamquam primo tumultu Claudium Severum ducem legerant, non arma noscere, non ordines sequi, non in unum consulere: exitiosum adversus veteranos proelium, intuta obsidio dilapsis vetustate moenibus: hinc Caecina cum valido exercitu; inde Raeticae alae cohortesque et ipsorum Raetorum juventus, sueta armis et more militiae exercita: undique populatio et caedes: ipsi in medio vagi, abjectis armis, magna pars saucii aut palantes in montem Vocetium
perfugere. Ac statim immissa cohorte Thracum depulsi et, consec tantibus Germanis Raetisque, per silvas atque in ipsis latebris trucidati. Multa hom inum millia caesa, multa sub corona venundata; cumque dirutis omnibus Aventicu m

5 gentis caput justo a mine pteretur, missi qui dedere nt civitatem; et deditio accepta. In Julium Alpinum e principibus, ut concitorem belli, Caecina animadvertit: ceteros veniae vel saevitiae Vitellii reliquit.

LXIX. Haud facile dictu est, legati Helvetiorum minus placabilem imperatorem an militem invenerint: civitatis ex cidium poseunt, tela ac manus in ora legatorum intentant. Ne Vitellius quidem minis ac verbis temperabat, cum Claudius Cossus, unus ex legatis, notae facundiae, sed dicendi artem apta trepidatione occultans atque eo validior, militis animum mitigavit, ut est mos vulg us, mutabilem subitus et tam pronum in misericordiam quam immodicus saevitia fuerat: effusis lacrimis et meliora constantius postulando, impunitatem salutemque civitati impetravere.

LXX. Caecina paucos in Helvetiis moratus dies, dum sententiae Vitellii certior fieret, simul transitum Alpium pars, laetum ex Italia nutium accipit, alam Silianam circa Padum agentem sacramento Vitellii accessisse. Pro consulem Vitellium Siliani in Africa habuerant; mox a Nerone, ut in Aegyptum praemitterentur, excit et ob bel lum Vindicis revocati, ac tum in Italia manentes, instinctu decurionum, qui Othonis ignari, Vitellio obstricti robur adventantium legionum et famam Germanici exercitus attolbant, transiere in partes: et, ut donum aliquod novo principi, firmissima Transpadanae regionis municipia Mediolanum ac Novariam et Eporediam ac Vercellas adjunxere. Id Caeciniae per ipsos compertum; et quia prae sidio alae unius latissima pars Italicae defendi nequibat, praemissis Gallorum Lusitanorum Britannorumque cohortibus et Germanorum vexillis cum ala Petrina, ipse paululum cunctatus, num Raeticis jugis in Noricum fleeteret, adversus Petronium ibi procuratorem, qui concitis auxilliis et interruptis fluminum pontibus fidus Othoni putabatur. Sed metu, ne amitteret praemissas jam cohortes alasque, simul reputans plus glo-
riae retenta Italia et, ubicumque certatum foret, Noricos in cetera victoriae præmia cessuros, Penino itinere subsignatum militem, et grave legionum agmen hibernis adhuc Alpibus traduxit.


LXXII. Par inde exultatio disparibus causis consecuta, impetrato Tigellini exitio. Sophonius Tigellinus obscuris parentibus, foeda pueritia, impudica senecta, praefecturam vigilum et praetorii et alia præmia virtutum quia velocius erat vitiis adeptus, crudelitatem mox, deinde avaritiam et virilia scelera exercuit, corrupto ad omne facinus Nerone, quaedam ignarum ac postremo ejusdem desertor ac proditor. Unde non alium pertinacius ad poenam flagitaveret, diverso affectu, quibus odium Neronis inerat et quibus desiderium. Apud Galbam T. Vinii potentia defensus, praetexentis servatam ab eo filiam: et hand dubie servavesrat, nonlementia, quippe tot interfectis, sed effugium in futurum, quia impassus quisque, diffidentia præsentium mutationem pavens, adversus publicum odium privatam gratiam praeparat; unde nulla innocentiae cura, sed vices impunitatis. Eo infensor populus, addita ad vetus Tigellini odium recenti T. Vinii invidia, concurret e tota urbe in palatum ac fora, et ubi plurima vulgi licentia, in circum ac theatra effusi seditiosis vocibus obstrepere, donec Tigellinus,
accepto apud Sinussanas aquas supremae necessitatis nun-
tio, inter stupra concubinarum et oscula et deformes moras,
sectis novacula faucibus, infamem vitam foedavit etiam
exitu sero et inhonesto.

5. LXXIII. Per idem tempus expostulata ad supplicium
Galvia Crispinilla variis frustrationibus et adversa dissimu-
lantis Principis fama periculo exempta est: magistra libidi-
num Neronis, transgressa in Africanam ad instigandum in
arma Clodium Macrum, famem populo Romano haud ob-
10 scure molita, totius postea civitatis gratiam obtinuit, consu-
lari matrimonio subnixa et apud Galbam, Othonem, Vitel-
lium illaesa, mox potens pecunia et orbitate, quae bonis
malisque temporibus juxta valent.

LXXIV. Crebrae interim et muliebribus blandimentis
15 infectae ab Othone ad Vitellium epistolae offerebant pecu-
niam et gratiam et quemeumque quietis locum prodigae
vitae legisset. Paria Vitellius ostentabat, primo mollius,
stulta utrimque et indecora simulatione: mox, quasi rixan-
tes, stupra et flagitia invicem objectavere, neuter falso.
20 Otho, revocatis quos Galba miserat legatis, rursus alios ad
utrumque Germanicum exercitum et ad legionem Italicam
easque, quae Lugduni agebant, copias species senatus misit.
Legati apud Vitellium remansere, promptius quam ut re-
tenti viderentur. Praetoriani, quos per simulationem officii
25 legatis Otho adjunxerat, remissi antequam legionibus mi-
seerentur. Addidit epistolas Fabius Valens, nomine Ger-
manici exercitus, ad praetorias et urbanas cohortes, de
viribus partium magnificas et concordiam offerentes. In-
crepabat ultro, quod tanto ante traditum Vitellio imperium
30 ad Othonem vertissent. Ita promissis simul ac minis ten-
tabantur, ut bello impares, in pace nihil amissuri: neque
ideo praetorianorum fides mutata.

LXXV. Sed insidiatores ab Othone in Germaniam, a
Vitellio in urbem missi: utrisque frustra fuit, Vitellianis
35 impune, per tantam hominum multitudinem, mutua igno-
rantia fellentibus: Othoniani novitate vultus, omnibus in-
vicem gnaris, prodebantur. Vitellius literas ad Titianum
fratrem Othonis composit, exitium ipsi filioque ejus mini-
tans, ni incolumes sibi mater ac liberi servarentur. Et
stetit domus utraque, sub Othone, incertum an metu; Vi-
tellius victor clementiae gloriam tuit.

LXXVI. Primus Othoni fiduciam addidit ex Illyrico
nuntius, jurasse in eum Dalmatiae ac Pannoniae et Moesiae 5
legiones. Idem ex Hispania allatum, laudatusque per
edictum Cluvius Rufus; et statim cognitum est conversam
ad Vitellium Hispaniam. Ne Aquitania quidem, quanquam
a Julio Cordo in verba Othonis obstricta, diu mansit.
Nusquam fides aut amor; metu ac necessitate huic illuc
mutabatur. Eadem formido provinciam Narbonensem ad
Vitellium vertit, facili transitu ad proximos et validiores.
Longinquae provinciae, et quicquid armorum mari dirimitur,
penes Othonem manebant, non partium studio, sed erat
grande momento in nomine urbis ac praetexto senatus, et
occupaverat animos prior auditus. Judaicum exercitum
Vespasianus, Syriac legiones Mucianus sacramento Othonis
adegeret. Simul Aegyptus omnesque versae in Orientem
provinciae nomine ejus tenebantur. Idem Africae obse-
quium, initio a Carthagine orto. Neque exspectata Vipstani 20
Apronian proconsulis auctoritate, Crescens Neronis libertus
(nam et hi malis temporibus partem se reipublicae faciunt)
epulum plebi ob laetitiam recentis imperii obtulerat, et
populus pleraque sine modo festinavit. Carthaginem ce-
terae civitates secatae.

LXXVII. Sic distractis exercitibus ac provinciis, Vitellio
quidem ad capessendam principatus fortunam bello opus
erat. Otho, ut in multa pace, munia imperii obibat, quae-
dam ex dignitate reipublicae, pleraque contra decus ex
praeenti usu properando. Consul cum Titiano fratre in 30
Kalendas Martias ipse: proximos menses Verginio destinat
ut aliquod exercitu Germanico delenimentum. Jungitur
Verginio Pompeius Vopiseus praetexto veteris amicitiae;
plerique Vienensium honoris datum interpretabantur. Ce-
teri consulatus ex destinatione Neronis aut Galbae mansere, 35
Caelio ac Flavio Sabinis in Julias, Arrio Antonio et Mario
Celso in Septembres; quorum honoris ne Vitellius quidem
victor intercessit. Sed Otho pontificatus auguratusque

6*
honoratis jam senibus cumulum dignitatis addidit, aut recens ab exsilio reversos nobles adolescentulos avitis ac paternis sacerdotiis in solatium recoluit. Redditus Cadio Rufo, Pedio Blaeo, Sevino Pompintio senatorius locus; repetundarum criminibus sub Claudio ac Nerone ceciderant. Placuit ignoscentibus verso nomine, quod avaritia fuerat, videri majestatem, cujus tum odio etiam bonae leges peribant.

LXXVIII. Eadem largitione civitatum quoque ac pro vinciarum animos aggressus, Hispaliensibus et Emeritensi bus familiarum adjectiones, Lingonibus universis civitatem Romanam, provinciae Baeticae Maurorum civitates dono dedit; nova jura Cappadociae, nova Africae, ostenta magis quam mansura. Inter quae necessitate praesentium rerum et instantibus curis excusata, ne tum quidem immemor amorum, statuas Poppaeae per senatus consultum reposuit. Creditus est etiam de celebranda Neronis memoria agitavisse spe vulgum alliciendi: et fuere, qui imagines Neronis proponerent; atque etiam Othoni quibusdam diebus populus et miles, tanquam nobilitatem ac decus adstruerent, Neroni Othoni acclamavit. Ipse in suspenso tenuit vetandi metu vel agnoscendi pudore.

LXXIX. Conversis ad civile bellum animis, externa sine cura habebantur. Eo audentius Rhoxolani, Sarmatica gens, priore hieme caesis duabus cohortibus, magna spe ad Moesiam irruperant, novem millia equitum, ex ferocia et successu praedae magis quam pugnae intenta. Igitur vagos et incuriosos tertia legio, adjunctis auxiliis, repente invasit: apud Romanos omnia proelio apta; Sarmatae dispersi aut cupidine praedae graves onere sarcinarum, et lubrico itinerum adepta equorum pernicitate, velut vincti caedebantur. Namque mirum dictu, ut sit omnis Sarmatarum virtus velut extra ipsos: nihil ad pedestrem pugnam tam ignavum: ubi per turmas advenere, vix ulla acies obstiterit. Sed tum humido die et soluto gelu neque contineque gladii, quos praelongos utraque manu regunt, usui, lapsantibus equis et cataphractarum ponderes. Id principibus et nobilissimo cuique tegimen, ferreis laminis aut praec-
duro corio consortum, ut adversus ietus impenetrabile, ita impetu hostium provolutis inhabile ad resurgendum: simul altitudine et mollitia nivis hauriebantur. Romanus miles facilis loricæ et missili pilo aut lanceis assultans, ubi res posceret, levi gladio inermem Sarmatam (neque enim scuto 5 defendi mos est) cominus fodiebat, donec pauci, qui proelio superfueraent, paludibus abderentur. Ibi saevitia .hiemis et vi vulnerum sumul at altitudine et mollitia nivis hauriebantur. Romanus miles facilis loricæ et missili pilo aut lanceis assultans, ubi res posceret, levi gladio inermem Sarmatam (neque enim scuto 5 defendi mos est) cominus fodiebat, donec pauci, qui proelio superfueraent, paludibus abderentur. Ibi saevitia .hiemis et vi vulnerum sumul at altitudine et mollitia nivis hauriebantur. 

LXXX. Parvo interim initio, unde nihil timebatur, orta sedition prope urbi excidio fuit. Septimam decimam cohortem et coloniæ Ostiensis in urbem acciri Otho jussaret: armatae ejus cura Vario Crispino tribuno e praetorianis data. Is quo magis vacuus quietis castris jussa exsequeretur, vehicula cohortis incipiente nocte onerari, aperto armamentario, jubet. Tempus in suspicacionem, causa in crimen, affectatio quietis in tumultum evaluit; et visa inter tumultuosos arma cupidinem sui movere. Fremit miles, et tribunos centurionesque proditionis arguit, tanquam familiae senatorum ad perniciem Othonis armarentur, pars ignari et vino graves, pessimus quisque in occasionem praedarum, vulgus, ut mos est, cujuscumque motus novi cupidum; et obsequia meliorum nox abstulerat. Resistentem seditionem tribunum et severissimos centurionum obturcunt: rapta arma, nudati gladii, insidentes equis urbem ac palatium petunt.

LXXXI. Erat Othoni celebre convivium primoribus feminis virisque: qui trepidi, fortuítusne militum furor an dolus imperatoris, manere ac deprehendi an fugere et disperti periculosius foret, modo constantiam simulare, modo formidine detegi, simul Othonis vultum intueri: utque evenit inclinatis ad suspicacionem mentibus, cum timeret Otho, timebatur. Sed haud secus discrimine senatus quam suo territus, et praefectos praetorii ad mitigandas militum
iras statim miserat, et abire propere omnes e convivio jussit. Tum vero passim magistratus, projectis insignibus, vitata comitum et servorum frequentia, senes feminaeque, per tenebras diversa urbis itinera, rari domos, plurimi amicorum teeta, et, ut cuique humillimus cliens, incertas latebras petivere.


LXXXIII. Otho, quanquam turbidis rebus et diversis militum animis, cum optimus quisque remedium praesen-tis licentiae posceret, vulgus et plures seditionibus et ambi-tioso imperio laeti per turbas et raptus facilius ad civile bellum impellerentur, simul reputans non posse principa-tum seclere quaesitum subita modestia et prisca gravitate retineri, sed discrimine urbis et periculo senatus anxius, postremo ita disseruit. "Neque ut affectus vestros in amore mi accenderem, commilitones, neque ut animum ad virtutem cohortarer (utraque enim egregie supersunt), sed veni postulaturas a vobis temperamentum vestrae for-

LXXXIV. "Vos quidem istud pro me: sed in discursu ac tenebris et rerum omnium confusione patefieri occasio etiam adversus me potest. Si Vitellio et satellitibus ejus eligendi facultas detur, quem nobis animum, quas mentes imprecentur, quid alii quam seditionem et discordiam optabunt? ne miles centurioni, ne centurio tribuno obsequatur, hinc confusi pedites equitesque in exitium ruamus. Parendo potius, commilitones, quam imperia ducum scisci- tando res militares continentur; et fortissimus in ipso discrimine exercitus est, qui ante discrimen quietissimus. Vobis arma et animus sit: mihi consilium et virtutis vestrae. Paucorum culpa fuit, duorum poena erit. Ceteri abolete memoriam foedissimae noctis: nec illas adversus senatum voces ullus usquam exercitus audiat. Caput imperii et decora omnium provinciarum ad poenam vocare, non hercule illi, quos cum maxime Vitellius in nos ciet, Germani audeant. Ulline Italiae alumni et Romana vere juventus, ad sanguinem et caedem depopos- cerint ordinem, cujus splendore et gloria sordes et obscuritatem Vitellianarum partium praestringimus? Nationes aliquas occupavit Vitellius, imaginem quandam exercitus
habet: senatus nobiscum est. Sic fit, ut hinc respublica, inde hostes reipublicae constiterint. Quid? vos pulcherri-
mam hanc urbem domibus et tectis et congestu lapidum 

5 stare creditis? Muta ista et inanima intercidere ac reparari 

promiscua sunt: aeternitas rerum et pax gentium et mea 
cum vestra salus incolumitate senatus firmatur. Hunc 
auspicato a parente et conditore urbis nostrae institutum, 
et a regibus usque ad principes continuum et immortalem, 
sicut a majoribus accepimus, sic posteris tradamus. Nam, 

10 ut ex vobis senatores, ita ex senatoribus principes nascentur,"

LXXXV. Et oratio ad perstringendos mulcendosque 
militum animos, et severitatis modus (neque enim in plures 
quam in duos animadverti jussersat) grate accepta, composi-
tique ad praesens, qui coercerri non poterant. Non tamen 
quies urbis redierat: streptus telorum et facies belli, et 
militibus, ut nihil in commune turbantibus, ita sparsis per 
domos, occulto habitu, et maligna cura in omnem, quos 
nobilitas aut opes aut aliqua insignis claritudo rumoribus 

20 objecerat. Vitellianos quoque milites venisse in urbem ad 
studia partium noscenda, plerique credebant. Unde plena 
omnia suspicionum, et vix secreta domuum sine formidine. 

Sed plurimum trepidationis in publico, ut quemque num-
tium fama attulisset, animum vultumque conversis, ne 

25 diffidere dubiis ac parum gaudere prosperis viderentur. 
Coacto vero in curiam senatu, arduus rerum omnium modus, 
ne contumax silentium, ne suspecta libertas. Et privato 
Otheui nuper atque eadem dicensita nota adulatio. Igitur 
versare sentientias, et hue atque illue torquere, hostem et 

30 parricidam Vitellium vocantes, providentissimus quisque 
vulgaribus conviciis; quidam vera probrae jacere, in clamore 
tamen et ubi plurimae voces, aut tumultu verborum sibi 
ipsi obstrepentes.

LXXXVI. Prodigia insuper terrebant, diversis auctori-

35 bus vulgata. "In vestibulo capitolii omissas habenas bigne, 
cui Victoria institerat: erupisse ecella Junonis majorem 
humana speciem: statuam divi Julii in insula Tiberini 
amnis sereno et immoto die ab Occidente in Orientem con-
versam: prolocutum in Etruria bovem: insolitos animalium partus:" et plura alia, rudibus saeculis etiam in pace observata, quae nunc tantum in metu audiuntur. Sed praecipuus et cum praesenti exitio etiam futuri pavor, subita inundatione Tiberis; qui immenso auctu, proruto ponte sublicio, ac strage obstantis molis refusus, non modo recentia et plana urbis loca, sed secura hujusmodi casum implevit. Rapti e publico plerique, plures in tabernis et cubilibus intercepti. Fames in vulgus, inopia quaestus et penuria alimentorum. Corrupta stagnantibus aquis insularum fundamenta, dein remeante flumine dilapsa. Utque primum vacuus, a periculo animus fuit, id ipsum, quod paranti expeditionem Othoni campus Martius et via Flaminia iter bell' esset obstructum a fortuitis vel naturalibus causis, in prodigium et omen imminentium cladium vertebatur.


LXXXVIII. Sepositus per eos dies Cornelius Dolabella in coloniam Aquinatem neque arcta custodia neque obscura
nullum ob crimen, sed vetusto nomine et propinquitate Galbae monstratus. Multos c' magistratibus, magnam consularium partem Otho, non participes aut ministros bello, sed comitum specie secum expedire jubet; in quis et L. Vitellium, eodem quo ceteros cultu, nec ut Imperatoris fratrem, nec ut hostis. Igitur motae urbis curae: nullus ordó metu aut periculo vacuus; primores senatus actate invalidi et longa pace desides, segnis et oblita bellorum nobilitas, ignarus militiae eques, quanto magis occultare et abdere pavorem nitebantur, manifestius pavidi. Nee deerant e contrario, qui ambitione stolida conspicua arma, insignes equos, quidam luxuriosos apparatus conviviorum et irritamenta libidinum, ut instrumenta belli, mercarentur. Sapientibus quietis et reipublicae cura; levissimus quisque et futuri improvidus, spe vanas tumens; multi afflicta tide in pace ac turbatis rebus alacres et per incerta tutissimi.

LXXXIX. Sed vulgus et magnitudine nimia communium curarum expres populus sentire paulatim bellii mala, conversa in militum usum omni pecunia, intentis alimentorum pretiis; quae motu Vindicis haud perinde plebem attrivarent, secura tum urbe et provinciali bello, quod inter legiones Galliasque velut externum fuit. Nam ex quo divus Augustus res Caesarura composit, procul et in unius solitudinem aut decus populus Romanus bellaverat. Sub Tiberio et Caio, tantum pacis adversa reipublicae pertinuere. Scribonianoi contra Claudium incepta simul audita et coercita. Nero nuntiis magis et rumoribus quam armis depulsus. Tum legiones classes quo et, quod raro alias, praetorianus urbanusque miles in aciem deducti; Oriens Occidensque et quicquid utrimque virium est a tergo; si ducibus aliis bellatum foret, longo bello materia. Fuere, qui proficiscenti Othoni moras religionemque nonum conditorum ancilium afferrent. Aspernatus est omnem cunctationem ut Neroni quoque exitiosam; et Caccina jam Alpes transgressus exstimulabat.

XC. Pridio Idus Martias, commendata patribus republica, reliquias Neronianarum sectionum, nondum in fiscum conversas, revocatis ab exilio concessit. Justissimum do-
num et in speciem magnificum, sed festinata jam pridem exactione usu sterili. Mox vocata concione, majestatem urbis et consensum populi ac senatus pro se attollens, adversum Vitellianas partes modeste disseruit, inscitiam potius legionum quam audaciam increpans, nulla Vitellii mentione; sive ipsius ea moderatio, seu scriptor orationis sibi metuens contumeliis in Vitellium abstinuit, quando ut in consiliis militiae Suetonio Paulino et Mario Celso, ita in rebus urbaneis Galerii Trachali ingenio Othonem uti credebatur: et erant, qui genus ipsum orandi noscerent, crebro fori usu celebre et ad implendas aures latum et sonans. Clamor vocesque vulgi, ex more adulandi, nimiae et falsae: quasi dictatorem Caesarem, aut imperatorem Augustum prosequeruntur, ita studiis votisque certabant, nec metu aut amore, sed ex libidine servitii; ut in familias, privata quique stimulatio et vile jam decus publicum. Profectus Otho quietem urbis curasque imperii Salvio Titiano fratri permisit.
C. CORNELII TACITI

HISTORIARUM

LIBER SECUNDUS.

BREVIA R I A R I U M L I B R I .


II. His ac talibus inter spem metumque jactatum spes


montis et pervicaciam superstitionis, quam quo satis virium obsessis ad tolerandae necessitates superesset. Tres, ut supra memoravimus, ipsi Vespasiano legiones erant, exercitae bello: quattuor Mucianus obtinebat in pace; sed aemulatio et proximi exercitus gloria repulerat segnitiam, quantumque illis roboris discrimina et labor, tantumque vigoris addiderat integra quies et inexperti bello labor: auxilia utrique cohortium alarumque, et classes regesque, ac nomen dispari fama celebre.

10 V. Vespasianus acer militiae anteire agmen, locum castris capere, noctu diuque consilio ac, si res posceret, manu hostibus obniti, cibo fortuito, veste habituque vix a gregario milite discrepans; prorsus, si avaritia abesset, antiquis ducibus par. Mucianum e contrario magnificentia et opes et cuncta privatum modum supergressa extollebant: aptior sermone, dispositu provisoque civilium rerum peritus; egrigium principatus temperamentum, si, demptis utriusque vitiis, solae virtutes miscerentur. Lcterum hic Syriae, ille Judaeae praepositus, vicinis provinciarum administrationibus, invidia discordes, exitu demum Neronis positis odiis in medium consuluer, primum per amicos; dein praecipua concordiae fides Titus prava certamina communi utilitate abolverat, natura atque arte compositus alliciendis etiam Muciani moribus. Tribuni centurionesque et vulgus militum industria, licentia, per virtutes, per voluptates, ut cuique ingenium, asciscebantur.

VI. Antequam Titus adventaret, sacramentum Othonis acceperat uterque exercitus, praecipitibus, ut assolet, nuntiis, et tarda mole civilis belli, quod longa concordia quietus


VIII. Sub idem tempus Achaia atque Asia falsō exteriorae, velut Nero adventaret, vario super exitu ejus rumore eoque pluribus vivere cūm fingentibus credentibusque. Ceterorum casus conatusque in contextu operis dicemus: tunc servus e Ponto sive, ut aliī tradidere, libertinus ex Italia, citharae et cantus peritus (unde illi super similitudinem oris propriō ad fallendum fides) adjunctis desertoris quos inopia vagos ingentibus promissis corruperat, mare ingreditur: ac vi tempestatum Cythnum insulam detrusus et militum quosdam ex Oriente commeantium ascivit vel abnuentes interfici jussit, et spoliātis negotiatoribus, mancipiorum valentissimum quemque armavit; centurionemque Sisennam, dextras, concordiae insignia, Syriaci exercitus nomine ad praetorianos ferentem, variis artibus aggressus est, donec Sisenna, clam relictā insula, trepidus et vim metuens aufugeret: inde late terror, multis ad celebritatem nominis erectis, rerum novarum cupididine et odio praesentium.
IX. Gliscentem in dies famam fors discussit. Galatiam ac Pamphyliam provincias Calpurnio Asprenati regendas Galba permiserat: datae e classe Misenensi duae triremes ad prosequendum, cum quibus Cythnum insulam tenit. 

5 Nec defuere, qui trierarchos nomine Neronis accirent: is in maestitiam compositus et fidem suorum quondam militum invocans, ut eum in Syria aut Aegypto sisterent, orabat. Trierarchi nutantes, seu dolo, alloquendos sibi milites et paratis omnium animis reversuros firmaverunt. Sed Asprenati cuncta ex fide nuntiata; cujus cohortatione expugnata navis et interfectus quisquis ille erat. Corpus, insigne oculis comaque et torvitate vultus, in Asiam atque inde Romam pervectum est.

X. In civitate discordi et ob crebras principum mutatis inter libertatem ac licentiam incerta, parvae quoque res magnis motibus agebantur. Vibius Crispus pecunia, potentia, ingenio inter claros magis quam inter bonos, Anniium Faustum equestris ordinis qui temporibus Neronis delationes factitaverat, ad cognitionem senatus vocabat.

20 Nam recens Galbae principatu censuerant patres, ut accusatorum causae noscerentur. Id senatusconsultum varie jactatum et, prout potens vel inops reus inciderat, infirmum aut validum retinebatur. Ad hoc terroris et propria vi Crispus incubuerat, delatorem fratris sui pervertere; traxeratque magnam senatus partem, ut indefensum et inauditum dedi ad exitium postularent. Contra apud alios nihil aequo reo proderat quam nimia potentia accusatoris: dari tempus, edi crimina, quamvis invisos ac nocumentem more tamen audiendum censebant. Et valueri primo, dilataque in paucos dies cognitio: mox damnatus est Faustus, nequaquam eo assensu civitatis quem pessimis moribus meruerat: quippe ipsum Crispum easdem accusationes cum praemio exercuisse meminerant, nec poena criminiis sed ulter displi- cebat.

35 XI. Laeta interim Othoni principia belli, motis ad imperium ejus e Dalmatia Pannoniaeque exercitibus. Fuere quatuor legiones, e quibus bina millia praemissa; ipsae modicis intervallis sequabantur, septima a Galba conscripta,
veteranae undecima ac tertiadecima et praecipui fama quartadecumani, rebellione Britanniae compressa. Addiderat gloriam Nero, eligendo ut potissimos; unde longa illis erga Neronem fides et erecta in Othonem studia. Sed quo plus virium ac roboris, e fiducia tarditas inerat: agmen legionum alae cohortesque praeventiebant, et ex ipsa urbe haud spennanda manus, quinque praetoriae cohortes, et equitum vexilla cum legione prima, ac deformae insuper auxilium, duo millia gladiatorum, sed per civilia arma etiam severis ducibus usurpatum. His copiis rector additus Annius Gallus, cum Vestricio Spurinna ad occupandas Padi ripas praemissus, quoniam prima consiliorum frustra eciderant transgresso jam Alpes Caecina, quem sisti intra Gallias posse speraverat. Ipsum Othonem comitabantur speculatorum lecta corpora cum eeteris praetoriiis cohortibus, veterani e praetorio, classicorum ingens numerus. Nec illi segne aut corruptum luxu iter; sed lorica ferrea usus est, et ante signa pedester, horridus, incomptus famaeque dissimilis.

XIII. Irritatus eo praelio Othonis miles vertit iras in municipium Albium Intemelium: quippe in acie nihil prae-

dae; inopes agrestes et villa arma: nec capi poterant, per-
inix genus et gnari locorum: sed calamitatibus insontium

5

expleta avaritia. Auxit invidiam praeclaro exemplo fe-
nia Ligus, quae filio abdito, cum simul pecuniam occultari

miles credidissent coque per cruciatus interrogarent ubi
filium occulteret, uterum ostendens latere respondit. Nec
ullis deinde terroribus aut morte constantiam vocis egregiae

10

mutavit.

XIV. Imminere provinciae Narbonensi, in verba Vitellii

adactae, classem Othonis trepidi suntii Fabio Valenti attu-
lere. Aderant legati coloniarum, auxilium orantes. Duas

15

Treverorum alam cum Julio Classico praecepto misit; e

quibus pars in colonia Forojuliensi retenta, ne omnibus

copis in terrestre iter versis vacuo mari classis acceleraret.

Duodecim equitum turmae et lecti e cohortibus adversus

hostem iere: quibus adjuncta Ligurum cohors, vetus loci

20

auxilium, et quingenti Alpini, qui nondum sub signis. Nec

mora praelio, sed acie ita instructa, ut pars classicorum,
mixtis paganis, in colles mari propinquos exsurgeret, quan-
tum inter colles ac littus equi loci praetorianus miles ex-
pleret, in ipso mari ut annexa classis et pugnae para con-

25

versa et minac fronte praedaetur. Vitelliani, quibus

minor peditum vis, in equite robur, Alpinos proximis jugis,

cohortes densis ordinibus post equitem locant. Treverorum

turmae obtulere se hosti ineunte, cum exciperet contra

veteranus miles, simul a latere saxis urgerat apta ad jaci-

dum etiam paganorum manus, qui sparsi inter milites,

30

strenui ignavique, in victoria idem audebant. Additus per-
culsis terror inventa in terga pugnantium classe. Ita undi-
que clausi; deletaeque omnes copiae forent, ni victorem

exercitum attinuisset obscurum noctis, obtentui fugientibus.

35

XV. Nec Vitelliani, quanquam victi, quievero: accitis

auxiliis securum hostem ac successu rerum socordius agen-
tem invadunt: caes'i vigiles, perrupta castra, trepidatum

apud naves, donec sidente paulatim metu, occupato juxta


XVII. Aperuerat jam Italiam bellumque transmiserat, ut supra memoravimus, ala Siliana, nullo apud quenquam Othonis favore, nec quia Vitellium mallet; sed longa pax ad omne servitium fregerat, faciles occupantibus et melioribus incuriosos. Florentissimum Italiae latum, quantum inter Padum Alpesque camporum et urbium, armis Vitellii (nam-que et praemissae a Caequina cohortes adverterant) tenebatur.
Capta Pannoniorum cohors apud Cremonam. Intercepti centum equites ac mille classici inter Placentiam Ticinumque: quo successu Vitellianus miles non jam flumine aut ripis arcebatur. Irritabat quin etiam Batavos Transrhenanosque Padus ipse: quem repente contra Placentiam transgressi, raptis quibusdam exploratoribus, ita ceteros terruere, ut adesse omnem Caecinae exercitum trepidi ac falsi nuntierent.

XVIII. Certum erat Spurinnae (is enim Placentiam obtinebat) nec dum venisse Caecinam, et, si propinquaret, coercere intra munimenta militem nec tres praetorias cohortes et mille vexillarios cum paucis equitibus veterano exerciti objiceret. Sed indomitus miles et belli ignarus, correspis signis vexillisque, ruere et retinenti duci tela intentare, spretis centurionibus tribunisque: quin prodi Othonem, et accitum Caecinam clamitabant. Fit temeritatis alienae comes Spurinna, primo coactus, mox velle simulans, quo plus auctoritatis inesset consiliis, si seditio mitesceret.

XIX. Postquam in conspectu Padus et nox appetebat, vallari castra placuit. Is labor, urbano militi insolitus, contundit animos. Tum vetustissimus quisque castigare credulitatem suam, metum ac discrimen ostendere, si cum exercitu Caecina, patentibus campis, tam paucas cohortes circumfudisset: jamque totis castris modesti sermones et, inserentibus se centurionibus tribunisque, laudari providentia ducis, quod coloniam virium et opum validam robur ac sedem bello legisset. Ipse postremo Spurinna, non tam culpam exprobrans quam ratione ostendens, relictis exploratoribus, ceteros Placentiam reduxit, minus turbidos et imperia accipientes. Solidati muri, propugnacula addita, auctae turres, provisa parataque non arma modo, sed obsequium et parendi amor; quod solum illis partibus defuit, cum virtutis haud poeniteret.

XX. At Caecina, velut relicta post Alpes saevitia ac li centia, modesto agmine per Italianum incessit. Ornatum ipsius municipia et coloniae in superbiam trahebant, quod versicolori sagulo, braccas barbarum tegmen indutus, toga tos alloqueretur. Uxorem autem ejus Saloninam, quan-
quam in nullius injuriam insigni equo ostroque vehetur,  
tanquam laesi gravabantur, insita mortalibus natura recen-
tem aliorum felicitatem acribus oculis introspicere, modum-
que fortunae a nullis magis exigere quam quos in aequo  
viderunt. Caecina Padum transgressus, tentata Othoniano-
rum fide per colloquium et promissa, iisdem petitus, post-
quam pax et concordia speciosis et irritis nominibus jacta-
sunt, consilia curasque in oppugnationem Placentiae magno  
terrore vertit, gnarus, ut initia belli provenissent, famam  
in cetera fore.

XXI. Sed primus dies impetu magis quam veterani exer-
citus artibus transactus: aperti incautique muros subiere,  
cibo vinoque praegraves. In eo certamine pulcherrimum  
amphitheatri opus, situm extra muros, conflagravit, sive ab  
oppugnatoribus incensum, dum faces et glandes et missilem  
ignem in obsessos jaculantur, sive ab obsessis, dum retorta  
gerunt. Municipal vulgus, pronom ad suspiciones, fraude  
illata ignis alimenta credidit a quibusdam e vicinis coloniis,  
invidia et aemulatione, quod nulla in Italia moles tam capax  
foret: quocumque casu accidit, dum atrociora metuebantur,  
in levi habitum; reddita securitate, tanquam nihil gravius  
pati potuissent, maerabant. Ceterum multo suorum cruore  
pulsus Caecina, et nox parandis operibus assumpta. Vitel-
liani pluteos cratesque et vineas suffodiendis muris prote-
gendisque oppugnatoribus; Othoniani sudes et immensas  
lapidum ac plumbi aerisque moles perfringendis obruendis-
que hostibus expediunt. Uttrimque pudor, uttrimque gloria  
et diversae exhortationes, hinc legionum et Germanici exer-
citus robur; inde urbanae militiae et praetiorarum cohortium  
decus attollentium; illi ut segnem et desidem et circos ac  
theatris corruptum militem, hi peregrinum et externum in-
crepant : simul Othonem ac Vitellium celebrantes culpant-
esve uberioribus inter se probris quam laudibus stimula-
bantur.

XXII. Vix dum orto die plena propugnatoribus moenia,  
fulgentes armis virisque campi; densum legionum agmen,  
sparsa auxiliorum manus, altiora murorum sagittis aut saxis  
incessere, neglecta aut aevo fluxa cominus aggredi. Inge-
C. CORN. TACITI HISTOR.  

runt desuper Othoniani pila librato magis et certo ictu adversus temere subeuntes cohortes Germanorum cantu truci et more patrio nudis corporibus super humeros scuta quotientium. Legionarius plateis et cratibus tectus subruit 5 muros, instruit aggerem, molitur portas. Contra praetoriani dispositos ad id ipsum molaes ingenti pondere ac fragore provolvunt: pars subeuntium obruti; pars confixi et exsangues aut laceri, cum augeret stragem trepidatio coque acrius e moenibus vulnerarentur, rediere infraacta partium 10 fama. Et Caecina pudore coeptae temere oppugnationis, ne irrisus ac vanus iisdem castris assideret, trajecto rursus Pado Cremonam petere intendit. Tradidere sese abeunti Turuli Cerialis cum compluribus classicis et Julius Briganticus cum paucis equitum, hic praefectus alae, in Bata-15 vis genitus, ille primipilari et Caecinae haud alienus, quod ordinis in Germania duxerat.

turbidis vocibus, modo occultis ad Othonem litteris, qui humillimo cuique credulus, bonos metuens trepidabat, rebus prosperis incertus et inter adversa melior. Igitur Titianum fratrem accitum bello praeposuit. Interea Paulini et Celsi ductu res egregiae gestae.

XXIV. Angebant Caecinam nequicquam omnia coepta et senescens exercitus sui fama: pulsus Placentia, caesis nuper auxilis, etiam per concursum exploratorum, erebra magis quam digna memoratu proelia, inferior, propinquante Fabio Valente, ne omne belli decus illuc concederet, recuperare gloriam avidius quam consultius properabat. Ad duodecimum a Cremona (locus Castorum vocatur) feroxissimos auxiliarium imminetibus viae lucis occultos componit: equites procedere longius jussi, et irritato proelio sponte refugi festinationem sequi, donec insidiae coerams.

Proditum id Othonianis ducibus; et curam peditem Paulinus, equitum Celsus sumpsere. Tertiaedecimae legionis vexillum, quatuor auxiliarium cohortes et quinque equites in sinistro locantur; aggerem viae tres praetoriae cohortes altis ordinibus obtinuere; dextra fronte prima legio incessit cum duabus auxiliaribus cohortibus et quingentis equites. Super hos e praetorio auxilliisque mille equites, cumulus prosperis aut subsidium laborantibus, ducabantur.

XXVI. Tum Othonianus pedes erupit: protrita hostium acie, versi in fugam etiam qui subveniebant; nam Caecina non simul cohortes sed singulas acciserat: quae res in proelio trepidationem auxit, cum dispersos nec usquam validos pavor fugientium abrieret. Orta et in castris sedition, quod non universi ducentur. Vinctus praefectus castrorum Julius Gratus, tanquam fratri apud Othonem militanti proditio nem ageret, cum fratrem ejus, Julianum Frontonem tribunum, Othoniani sub eodem crimen vixissent. Ceterum ea ubique formido fuit apud fugientes, occursantes, in acie, pro vallo, ut deleri cum universo exercitu Caecinam potuisse, ni Suetonius Paulinus receptui cecinisset, utrisque in partibus percrebruerit. Timuisse se Paulinus ferebat tantum insuper laboris atque itineris, nee simul apud Caecinam, qui culpam in militem conferebat seditione magis quam proelio paratum: Fabii quoque Valentis copiae (jam enim Ticinum venerat) posito hostium contemptu, et recuperandi decoris cupidine, reverentius et aequalius duci parebant. Gravis aliquoquin seditio exarserat, quam altiore initio (neque enim rerum a Caecina gestarum ordinem interrupi oportuerat) repetam. Cohortes Batavorum, quas bello Neronis a quartadecima legione digressas, cum Britanniam penterent, audito Vitellii motu in civitate Lingonum Fabio Valenti adjunctas retulimus, superbe agebant, ut cujusque legionis tentoria accessissent, coercitos a se quartadecimanos, ablatam Neroni Italiam, atque ommem belli fortunam in ipsorum manu sitam jactantes. Contumeliom id militibus, acerbum duci; corrupta jurgiis aut rixis disciplina: ad postremum Valens et petulantia etiam per fidiam spectabat.

XXVIII. Igitur nuntio allato pulsam Treverorum alam Tungrosque a classe Othonis et Narbonensem Galliam circumiri, simul cura socios tuendi et militari astu cohortes
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turbidas ac, si una forent, praevalidas dispergendi, partem Batavorum ire in subsidium jubet. Quod ubi auditum vulgatumque, maerere socii, fremere legiones: orbari se fortissimorum virorum auxilio: veteres illos et tot bellorum victóres, postquam in conspectu sit hostis, velut ex acie abduci: si provincia urbe et salute imperii potior sit, omnes illuc sequeruntur; sin victoriae sanitas, sustentaculum, column in Italia verteretur, non abruppendos, ut corpori, validissimos artus.

XXIX. Haec ferociter jactando, postquam immissis lictoribus Valens coercere seditionem coeptabat, ipsum invadunt, saxa jaciunt, fugientem sequuntur, spolia Galliarum et Viennensium aurum et pretia laborum suorum occultare clamantes, direptis sarcinis, tabernacula ducis ipsamque humum pilis et lanceis rimabantur: nam Valens servili veste apud decurionem equitum tegebatur. Turn Alfenus Varus praefectus castrorum, deflagrante paulatim seditione, addit consilium, vetitis obire vigilia centurionibus, omisso tubae sono quo miles ad belli munia cietur. Igitur torpere cuncti, circumspectare inter se attoniti et id ipsum, quod nemo reget, paventes: silentio, patientia, postremo precibus ac lacrimis veniam quaerebant. Ut vero deformis et flens et praeter spem incolurais Valens processit, gaudium, misero, favor: versi in laetitiam, ut est vulgar usque in tribunal ferunt. Ille utili moderatione non supplicium cujusquam poposcit: ac ne dissimulans suspectior foret, paucos incusavit, gnarus civilibus bellis plus militibus quam ducibus licere.

XXX. Munientibus castra apud Ticinum de adversa Caecinae pugna allatum, et prope renovata seditio, tanquam fraude et cunctationibus Valentis proelio defuissent. Nolle requiem, non expectare ducem, anteire signa, urgere signiferos: 'rapido agmine Caecinæ junguntur. Improspera Valentis fama apud exercitum Caecinae erat: expositos se tanto pauciores integris hostium viribus querebantur, simul in suam excusationem et adventantium robur per adulatiunem attollentes, ne ut victi et ignavi despectarentur. Et 8*


bem, senatumque et populum nunquam obscura nomina, etsi aliquando obumbrentur; publicas privatiasque opes et immensam pecuniam, inter civiles discordias ferro validiore: corpora militum aut Italiae sueta aut aestius: objacere flumen Padum, tutas viris murisque urbes; e quibus nullam hosti cessuram, Placentiae defensione exploratam. Proinde duceret bellum: paucis diebus quartamdecimam legionem, magna ipsam fama, cum Moesiacis copiis affore: tum rursus deliberaturum et, si proelium plauisset, auctis viribus certaturos."

XXXIII. Accedebat sententiae Paulini Marius Celsus: idem placere Annio Gallo, paucos ante dies lapsu equi afflicto, missi qui consilium ejus sciscitarentur retulerant. Otho pronus ad decertandum; frater ejus Titianus et praefectus praetorii Proculus, imperitia properantes, fortunam et deos et numen Othonis adesse consiliis, affore conatibus testabantur: neu quis obviam ire sententiae auderet, in adulationem concesserant. Postquam pugnari placitum, interesse pugnarum Imperatorem an seponi melius foret dubitaveret. Paulino et Celso jam non adversantibus, ne principem objectare periculis viderentur, idem illi deterioris consiliis auctores perpulere ut Brixellum concederet ac dubius proeliorum exemptus summae rerum et imperii se ipsum reservaret. Is primus dies Othonianas partes afflixit: namque et cum ipso praetoriarum cohortium et speculatorum equitumque valida manus discessit, et remanentium fractus animus, quando suspecti duces, et Otho, cui uni apud militem fides, dum et ipse non nisi militibus credit, imperia ducum in incerto reliquerat.

XXXIV. Nihil eorum Vitellianos fallebat, crebris, ut in civili bello, transfugiis; et exploratores, cura diversa sciscitandi, sua non occultabant. Quieti intentique Caecina ac Valens, quando hostis imprudentia rueret, quod loco sapientiae est, alienam stultitiam opperiebantur, inchoato ponte transitum Padi simulantes adversus oppositam gladiatorum manum, ac ne ipsorum miles segne otium tereret. Naves pari inter se spatio validis utrimque trabibus connexae, adversum in flumen dirigebantur jactis super ancoris, quae
firmitatem pontis continerent. Sed ancorarum funes non extenti fluitabant, ut angescente flumine inoffensus ordo navium attolleretur. Claudebat pontem imposita turris et in extremam navem educta, unde tormentis ac machinis hostes propulsarentur. Othoniani in ripa turrim struxerant, saxaque et faces jaculabantur.

XXXV. Et erat insula amne medio, in quam gladiatores navibus molientes, Germani nando praebabebant. Ac forte plures transgressos, completis Liburnicis, per promptissimos gladiatorum Macer aggreditur. Sed neque ea constantia gladiatoribus ad proelia, quae militibus, nec perinde mutantes e navibus quam stabilis gradu e ripa vulnera dirigebant. Et cum variis trepidantium inclinationibus mixti remiges propugnatoresque turbarentur, desilire in vada ultero Germani, retentare puppes, scandere foros aut cominus mergere: quae cuncta in oculis utriusque exercitus quo laetiora Vitellianis, tanto acerius Othoniani causam autoremque cladis detestabantur.

XXXVI. Et proelium quidem, abreptis quae supererant navibus, fuga diremptum: Macer ad exitium poscebatur; jamque vulneratum eminus lancea strictis gladiis invaserant, cum intercursu tribunorum centurionumque protegitur. Nec multo post Vestricius Spurinna jussu Othonis, relictto Placentiae modo praesidio, cum cohortibus subvenit. Dein Flavium Sabinum consulem designatum Otho rectorem copiis misit, quibus Macer praefuerat, laeto militae ad mutationem ducum et ducibus ob crebras seditiones tam infestam militiam aspernantibus.

XXXVII. Invenio apud quosdam auctores, pavoro belli seu fastidio utriusque principis, quorum flagitia ac dedecus apertio in dies fama noscebantur, dubitasse exercitus, num posito certamine vel ipsi in medium consultarent, vel senatui permissione legere imperatorem; atque eo duces Othonianos spatium ac moras suasisse, praecepua spe Paulini, quod vetustissimus consularium et militiae clarus gloriam nomenque Britannicis expeditionibus meruisse. Ego ut concesserim apud paucos tacito voto quietem pro discordia, bonum et innocentem principem pro pessimis ac flagitosissimis ex-
petitum, ita neque Paulinum, qua prudentia fuit, sperasse corruptissimo saeculo tantam vulgi moderationem reor, ut, qui pacem belli amore turbaverant, bellum pacis caritate deponerent, neque aut exercitus linguis moribusque dissonos in hunc consensum potuisse coalescere, aut legatos ac duces, 5 magna ex parte luxus, egestatis, seclerum sibi conscios, nisi pollutum obstrictumque meritis suis principem passuros.


XXXIX. Profecto Brixellum Othone, honor imperii penes Titianum fratre, vis ac potestas penes Proculum praefectum. Celsus et Paulinus, cum prudentia eorum nemo uteretur, inani nomine ducum alienae culpae praetendeabant. Tribuni centurionesque ambigui, quod spreitis melioribus deterrimi valebant: miles alacer; qui tamen iussa ducum interpretari quam exsequi mallet. Promoveri ad quartum a Bedriaco castra placuit, adeo imperite, ut quanquamerno tempore anni et tot circum amnibus, penuria aquae fatigarentur. Ibi de proelio dubitatum, Othone per literas flagitante ut maturarent, militibus ut imperator pugnae adesset poscentibus; plerique copias trans Padum aegentes acciri postulabant. Nec perinde dijudicari potest, quid
optimum factu fuerit, quam pessimum fuisse, quod factum est.

XL. Non ut ad pugnam sed ad bellandum profecti, confluentes Padi et Adduae fluminum, sedeciminde millium 5 spatio distantes, petebant. Celso et Paulino abnuentibus militem itinere fessum, sarcinis gravem objiciente hosti, non admissuro quo minus expeditus et vix quatuor millia passuum progressus aut incompositos in agmine aut dispersos et vallum molientes aggredere tur. Titianus et Proculus, 10 ubi consiliis vincerentur, ad jus imperii transibant. Adérat sane citus equo Numida cum atrocibus mandatis, quibus Otho increpita ducum sequita rem in discrimen mitti jubebat, aeger mora et spei impatiens.


XLII. Attonitas subito terrore mentes falsum gaudium in languorem vertit, repertis qui descivisse a Vitellio exercitu ementiretur. Is rumor, ab exploratoribus Vitellii dispersus, an in ipsa Othonis parte seu dolo seu forte sur-
rexerit, parum compertum. Omissō pugnae arduore Othoniani ultrō salutavere, et hostili murmure exceptī, plerisque suorum ignariis quae causa salutandi, metum prodītionis fecerē. Tum incubuit hostium acies integris ordinibus, robore et numero praestantior: Othoniani, quanquam dispersi, pauciores, fessi, proelium tamen acriter sumpsērō: et per locos arboribus ac vineis impeditos non una pugnae facies: cominus eminus catervis et cuneis concurrebant: in aggere viae collato gradu corporibus et umbonis niti, omissō pilorum jactu gladiis et securibus galeas loricasque perrumpere: noscentes inter se, ceteris conspicui, in eventum totius belli certabant.

XLIII. Forte inter Padum viamque, patenti campo, duae legiones congressae sunt; pro Vitellio unaepticesima, cui cognomen Rapaci, vetere gloria insignis; e parte Othonis, prima Adjutrix, non ante in aciem deducta, sed ferox et novi decoris avida. Primani stratis unaetesimanorum principis aquilam abstulere: quo dolore accensa legio et impulit rursus primanos, interfecto Orfdio Benigno legato, et plurima signa vexillaque ex hostibus rapuit. A parte alia propulsa quintanorum impetu tertiadecima legio; circumventi plurium accursu quartadecimani. Et ducibus Othonis jam pridem profugis Caeccina ac Valens subsidiis suos firmabant. Accessit recens auxilium Varus Alfenus cum Batavis, fusa gladiatorum manu, quam navibus trans vectam oppositae cohortes in ipso flumine trucidaverant: ita victores latus hostium invecti.

XLIV. Et media acie perrupta fugere passim Othoniani, Bedriacum petentes. Immensum id spatium: obstructae strage corporum viae; quo plus caedis fuit: neque enim civilibus bellis capti in praedam vertuntur. Suetonius Paulinus et Licinius Proculus diversis itineribus castra vitaevere. Vedium Aquilam tertiaedecimae legionis legatum irae militum inconsultus pavor obtulit: multo adhuc die vallum ingressus clamore seditiosorum et fugacium circum strepitur: non probris, non manibus abstinent: desertorem proditoremque increpant, nullo proprio crimine ejus, sed more vulgi suum quisque flagitium aliis objectantes. Titia-
num et Celsum nox juvit, dispositis jam excubiis compressisque militibus, quos Annius Gallus consilio, precibus, auctoritate flexerat, ne super cladem adversae pugnae suismet ipsi caedibus saevirent: sive finis bello venisset seu resumere arma mallet, unicum victis in consensu levamentum. Ceteris fractus animus. Praetorianus miles non virtute sed prodigione victum fremebat. Ne Vitellianis quidem incruentam fuisse victoriam, pulso equite, rapta legionis aquila superesse cum ipso Othone militum quod trans Padum fuerit; venire Moesicas legiones; magnum exercitus partem Bedriaci remansisse: hos certe nondum victos, et si ita ferret, honestius in acie perituros. His cogitationibus truces aut pavidae, extrema desperacione ad iram saepius quam in formidinem simulabantur.

XLV. At Vitellianus exercitus ad quintum a Bedriaco lapidem consedit, non ausis ducibus eadem die oppugnationem castrorum; simul voluntaria deditio sperabatur. Sed expeditis et tantum ad proelium egressis munimentum fuere arma et victoria. Postera die, haud ambigua Othoniani exercitus voluntate et, qui ferociores fuerant, ad poenitentiam inclinantibus, missa legatio: nec apud duces Vitellianos dubitatum, quo minus pacem concederent. Legati paulispe retentae: ea res haesitationem attulit ignaris adhuc an impetrasset. Mox remissa legatione patuit vallum.

XLVI. Oppiebat Otho nuntium pugnae nequaquam trepidus et consilii certus: maesta primum fama, dein pro fugi e proelio perditas res patefaciunt. Non exspectavit militum ardor vocem imperatoris: bonum haberet animum jubeant: superesse adhuc novas vires, et ipsos extrema passuros ausurosque: neque erat adulatio. Ire in aciem,
excitare partium fortunam furore quodam et instinctu flagrabant: qui procul astiterant, tendere manus, et proximi presare genua, promptissimo Plotio, Firmo. Is praetorii praefectus identidem orbat, ne fidissimum exercitum, ne optimae meritos milites desereret: majore animo tolerari adversa, quam reliqui; fortcae et strenuus etiam contra fortunam insistere spei, timidos et ignavos ad desperationem formidine properare. Quas inter voces ut flexerat vultum aut induraverat Otho, clamor et gemitus. Nec praetoriani tantum, proprius Othonis miles, sed praemissi e Moesia eandem obstinationem adventantis exercitus, legiones Aquileiam ingressas nuntiabant: ut nemo dubitet potuisse renoveri bellum atrox, lugubre, incertum victis et victoribus.


XLVIII. Talia locutus, ut cuique aetas aut dignitas, comiter appellatos, irent propere neu remanendoiram victoris asperarent, juvenes auctoritate, senes precibus movebat, placidus ore, intrepidus verbis, intempestivas suorum lacrimas coercens. Dari naves ac vehicula abeuntibus ju-
bet; libellos epistolosque studio erga se aut in Vitellium contumeliis insignes aboleat; pecuniis distribuit, parce, nec ut peritus. Mox Salvium Coecelianum fratris filium, prima juventa, trepidum et maerentem ulter solus est, 5 laudando pietatem ejus, castigando formidinem: "an Vitellium tam immittis animi fore ut pro ineolum tota domo ne hanc quidem sibi gratiam redderet? mereri se festinato exitu et exitu clementiam victoris. Non enim ultima desperatione, sed poscente proelio exercitu, remissse reipublicae novisim casum. Satis sibi nominis, satis posteris suis nobilitatis quaesitum: post Julios, Claudios, Servios, se primum in familiam novam imperium intulisse: proinde creto animo capesseret vitam, neu patrue om sibi Othonem fuisse aut oblivisceretur unquam aut nium meminisset."

XLIX. Post quae, dimotis omnibus, paulum requievit: atque illum, supremas jam curas animo volutantem, repens tumultus avertit, nuntiata consternatione et licentia militum: namque abeuntibus exitium minitabantur, atrociissima in Verginium vi, quem clausa domo obsidebant. Increpitis seditionis auctoribus regressus vacavit abeuntium alloquis, donec omnes inviolati digredierunt. Vesperascente die sitim haustu gelidae aquae sedavit: tum allatis pugionibus, cum utrumque pertentasset, alterum capiti subdidit: et explorato jam profectos amicos, noctem quietam, utque affir-

matur, non insomnem egit. Luce prima in ferrumpectore incubuit. Ad gemitum morientis ingressi liberti servique et Plotius Firmus praetorii praefectus unum vulnus invenere, Funus maturatum: ambiosis id precibus petierat, ne amputaretur caput ludibrio futurum. Tulere corpus praetoriiiae cohortes, cum laudibus et lacrimis, vulnus manusque ejus exosculantes. Quidam militum juxta rogum interfecerse, non noxa neque ob metum, sed aemulatione decoris et caritate principis: ac postea promiscue Bedriaci, Placentiae aliosque in castris, celebratum id genus mortis. Othoni

sepulcrum exstructum est modicum et mansurum.

L. Hunc vitae finem habuit septimo et tricesimo actatis anno. Origo illi e municipio Ferentio. Pater consularis, avus praetorius, maternum genus impar nec tamen indeco-
Pueritia ac juventa, qualem monstravimus; duobus facinoribus, altero flagitiossiimo, altero egregio, tantundem apud posteros meruit bonae famae, quantum malae. Ut conquirere fabulosa et ficitis oblectare legentium animos pro-cul gravitate coepti operis crediderim, ita vulgatis traditis-que demere fidem non ausim. Die quo Bedriaci certabatur, avent invisitata specie apud Regium Lepidum celebri luco consedisse incolae memorant, nec deinde coetu hominum aut circumvolitantium alitum territam pulsamve, donee Otho se ipse interficeret; tum ablatam ex oculis: et tempor-10 pora reputantibus, initium finemque miraculi cum Othonis exitu competisse.

LI. In funere ejus, novata luctu ac dolore militum sedia-tio, nec erat, qui coerceret. Ad Verginium versi, modo ut recipercet imperium, nunc ut legatione apud Caecinam ac Valensem fungeretur, mimitantes orabant. Verginius, per aversam domus partem furtim degressus, irrumpentes frustratus est. Earum, quae Brixelli egerant, cohortium preces Rubrius Gallus tulit. Et venia statim impetrata, con-15 dentibus ad victorem per Flavium Sabini iis copiis, qui-bus praefuerat.

LII. Posito ubique bello, magna pars senatus extremum discrimen adiit, profecta cum Othoni ab urbe, dein Mutinae relict. Illuc adverso de proelio allatum: sed milites ut falsum rumorem aspernantes, quod infensum Othoni sena-tum arbitrabantur, custodire sermones, vultum habitumque trahere in deterius; conviciis postremo ac probris causam et initium caedis quaerabant, cum alius insuper metus sena-toribus instaret, ne, praevalidis jam Vitellii partibus, cune-tanter excepisse victoriam crederentur: ita trepidi et utrim-30 que anxii coeunt, nemo privatim expedito consilio, inter multos societate culpae tutior. Onerabat paventium curas ordo Mutinensis arma et pecuniam offeringo, appellabatque Patres Conscriptos intempestivo honore.

LIII. Notabile jurgium inde fuit, quo Licinius Caecina Marcellum Eprium ut ambigua disserentem invasit. Nec ceteri sententias aperiebant: sed invisum memoria delatio-num expositumque ad invidiam Marcelli nomen irritaverat


LVI. Ceterum Italia gravius atque atrocius quam bello afflictabatur: dispersi per municipia et colonias Vitelliani spoliare, rapere, vi et stupris polluere; in omne fas nefasque avidi aut venales non sacro, non profano abstinebant. Et fuere, qui inimicos suas specie militum interficerent. 5 Ipsique milites regionum gnari refertos agros, dites dominos in praedam aut, si repugnatum foret, ad excidium destinant, obnoxii ducibus et prohibere non ausis: minus avaritiae in Caecina, plus ambitionis: Valens ob lucra et quaestus infamis, eoque alienae etiam culpae dissimulator. 10 Jam pridem attritis Italiae rebus, tantum peditum equitumque, vis damnque et injuriae aegre tolerabantur.


LVIII. Iisdem diebus accessisse partibus utramque Mauretaniam, interfecto procuratore Albino, nuntii venere. Lucccius Albinus a Nerone Mauretaniae Caesariensi praepositus, addita per Galbam Tingitanae provinciae administratione, haud spernendis viribus agebat. Decem novem cohortes, quinque alae, ingens Maurorum numerus aderat, per latrocinia et raptus apta bello manus. Caeso Galba in Othonem pronus, nec Africa contentus, Hispaniae angusto freto diremptae imminebat. Inde Cluvio Rufo metus: et 35 decimam legi onem propinquare littori, ut transmissurus, jussit: praemissi Centuriones, qui Maurorum animos Vitellio conciliarent: neque arduum fuit, magna per provincias
Germanici exercitus fama. Spargebatur insuper, spreto Procuratoris vocabulo, Albinum insigne regis et Jubae nomen usurpare.

LIX. Ita mutatis animis, Asinius Pollio alae praefectus, e fidiissimis Albino, et Festus ac Scipio cohortium praefecti opprimuntur. Ipse Albinus, dum e Tingitana provincia Caesariensem Mauretaniam petit, appulsu littoris trucida-tus; uxor ejus, cum se percussoribus obtulisset, simul interfecta est, nihil eorum, quae fierent, Vitellio anquirente:


LX. Tum interfecti centuriones promptissimi Othoniano-

adit, pietate et ignavia excusatus. Mario Celso consulatus servatur: sed creditum fama, objectumque mox in senatu Caecilio Simplici, quod eum honorem pecunia mercari, nec sine exitio Celsi, voluisset. Restituit Vitellius, deditque
postea consulatum Simplici innoxium et inemptum. Tra-
chalam adversus criminantes Galeria uxor Vitellii protexit.

LXI. Inter magnorum virorum discrimina (pudendum
dictu) Maricceus quidam, e plebe Boiorum, inserere sese
fortunae-et provocare arma Romana simulatione numinum 5
ausus est. Jamque assertor Galliarum et deus (nam id sibi
indiderat) concitis octo millibus hominum, proximos Aeduo-
orum pagos trahebat, cum gravissima civitas, electa juven-
tute, adjectis a Vitellio cohortibus, fanaticam multitudinem
disjecit. Captus in eo proelio Maricceus ac max feris objec-
tus, quia non laniabatur stolidum vulgus inviolabilem cre-
debat, donec spectante Vitellio interfectus est.

LXII. Nec ultra in defectores aut bona eujusquam sae-
vitum: rata fuere eorum qui acie Othoniana ceederant
testamenta, aut lex intestatis: prorsus, si luxuriae tempera-
ret, avaritiam non timeres. Epularum foeda et inexplebilis
libido: ex urbe atque Italia irritamenta gulae gestabantur,
strepentibus ab utroque mari itineribus; exhausti convivi-
orum apparatibus principes civitatum; vastabantur ipsae
civitates: degenerabat a labore ac virtute miles, assuetudine
voluptatum et contemptu ducis. Praemisit in urbem edic-
tum, quo vocabulum Augusti differret, Caesaris non recipie-
ret, eum de potestate nihil detrahireret. Pulsi Italia mathe-
matici. Cautum severe, ne equites Romani ludo et arena
polluerentur. Priors id principes pecunia et saepius vi 25
perpulerant: ac pleraque municipia et coloniae aemulaban-
tur corruptissimum quemque adolescentium pretio illicere.

LXIII. Sed Vitellius adventu fratris et irrepentibus do-
minationis magistris superior et atrocior, occidi Dolabellam
jussit, quem in coloniam Aquinatem sepositum ab Othone 30
retulimus. Dolabella, auditæ morte Othonis, urbem intro-
ierat: id ei Planciui Varus, praetura functus, ex intimis
Dolabellae amicis, apud Flavium Sabinum praefectum urbis
objecit, tanquam rupta custodia ducem se victis partibus
ostentasset: addidit tentatam cohortem, quae Ostiae age-
ret: nec ullis tantorum crimini probationibus, in poeni-
tentiam versus seram, veniam post seclus quacrebat. Cunc-
tament super tanta re Flavium Sabinum, Triaria L. Vitellii
uxor ultra feminam ferox terruit, ne periculo Principis familiam elementiae affectaret. Sabinus suopte ingenio mitis, ubi formido incessisset facilis mutatu, et in alieno discrimine sibi paves, ne allevasse videretur, impulit ruentem:

5  LXIV. Igitur Vitellius, metu et odio, quod Petroniam uxorem ejus mox Dolabella in matrimonium accepiisset, vocatum per epistolam, vitata Flaminiae viae celebritate, devertere Interamnium atque ibi interfici jussit. Longum interfectori visum: in itinere ac taberna projectum humi jugulavit, magna cum invidia novi principatus, cujus hoc primum specimen noscebat. Et Triariae licentiam modestum e proximo exemplum onerabat, Galeria imperatoris uxor, non immixta tristibus, et pari probitate mater Vitelliorum Sextilia, antiqui moris. Dixisse quin etiam ad primas filii sui epistolam ferebat, non Germanicum a se, sed Vitellium genitum. Nee ullis postea fortunae illecebris aut ambitu civitatis in gaudium evicta, domus suae tantum adversa sensit.

10 LXV. Digressum a Lugduno Vitellium M. Cluvius Rufus assequitur omissa Hispania, laetitiam et gratulationem vultu feren, animo anxius et petitum se criminationibus gnarus. Hilarius Caesaris libertus detulerat, tanquam, auditus Vitellii et Othonis principatu, propriam ipse potentiam et possessionem Hispaniarum tentasset, eoque diplomaticus nullum principem praescripsisset. Interpretabatur quaedam ex orationibus ejus contumeliosa in Vitellium, et pro se ipso popularia. Auctoritas Cluvii praevaluit, ut puniri ultra libertum suum Vitellius juberet. Cluvius comitatui Principis adjec tus, non adempta Hispania, quam rexit absens exemplo L.

15 Arruntii: eum Tiberius Caesar ob metum, Vitellius Cluvium nulla formidine retinebat. Non idem Trebellio Maximo honos; proflugerat Britannia ob iraeundiam militum: missus est in locum ejus Vettius Bolanus e praesentibus.

20 LXVI. Angebat Vitellium victarum legionum haudquaquam fractus animus: sparsae per Italianam et victoribus permixtae, hostilia loquebantur, praecipua quartadecimana norum ferocia, qui se victos abnuebant: quippe Bedriacensi acie, vexillariis tantum pulsis, vires legionis non affuisse.


LXVIII. Et quidem partes modeste distrazerat: apud victores orta seditio, ludicro initio, nisi numerus caesorum invidiam bello auxisset. Discubuerat Vitellius Ticini, addibito ad epulas Verginio. Legati tribunique, ex moribus imperatorum, severitatem aemulantur vel tempestivis conviviis gaudent: perinde miles intentus aut licenter agit. Apud Vitellium omnia indisposita, temulenta, pervigiliiis ac 35 bacchanalibus quam disciplinae et castris propiora. Igitur duobus militibus, altero legionis quintae, altero e Gallis auxiliariis, per lasciviam ad certamen luctandi accensis,
postquam legionarius prociderat, insultante Gallo et iis qui ad spectandum convenerant in studia diductis, erupere legio-
narii in perniciem auxiliorum, ac duae cohortes interfectae. Remedium tumultus fuit alius tumultus: pulvis procul
et arma aspiciebantur; conclamatum repente, quartamdecimam legionem verso itinere ad proelium venire: sed erant
agminis coactores: agniti dempsere sollicitudinem. Interim
Verginii servus forte obvius ut percussor. Vitellii insulmatu-
tur: et ruebaet ad convivium miles, mortem Verginii expos-
cens. Ne Vitellius quidem, quanquam ad omnes suspic-
ciones pavidus, de innocentia ejus dubitavit: aegre tamen
cohibiti, qui exitium consularis et quondam ducis sui flagi-
tabant. Nec quenquam saepius quam Verginium, omnis
seditio infestavit: manebat admiratio viri et fama: sed ode-
rant, ut fastiditi.

LXIX. Postero die Vitellius, senatus legatione quam ibi
opperiri jusserrat audita, transgressus in castra ultro picta-
tem militum collaudavit, frementibus auxiliis tantum impu-
nitatis atque arrogantiae legioniarii accessisse. Cohortes
Batavorum, ne quid truculentius auderent, in Germaniam
remissae, principium intero simul externoque bello para-
tibus fatis. Reddita civitatibus Gallorum auxilia, ingens
numerus, et prima statim deflectione inter inania belli as-
sumptus. Ceterum ut largitionibus affectae jam imperii
opes sufficerent, amputari legionum auxiliorumque numeros
jubet, vetitis supplementis: et promiscuea missiones offere-
bantur. Exitiabile id reipublicae, ingratum militi, cui eadem
munia inter paucos, periculaque ac labor crebris re dibant:
et vires luxu corrupbantur contra veterem disciplinam
et instituta majorum, apud quos virtute quam pecunia res
Romana melius stetit.

LXX. Indo Vitellius Cremonam flexit, et, spectato mu-
nere Caecinae, insistere Bedriacensibus campis ac vestigia
recentis victoriae lustrare oculis concupivit. Foedum atque
atrox spectaculum: intra quadragesimum pugnae diem la-
cera corpora, trunci artus, putres virorum equorumque for-
mae, infecta tabo humus, protritis arboribus ac frugibus
dira vastitas: nec minus inhumana pars viae, quam Cremo-
nenses lauru rosisque constraverant, exstructis altaribus caesisque victimis regium in morem; quae, lacta in prae-
sens, mox perniciem ipsis fecere. Aderant Valens et Caecina, monstrabantque pugnae locos: hinc erupisse legationem agmen, hinc equites coortos: inde. circumfusas auxiliarum manus. Jam tribuni praefectique, sua quisque facta extol-
lentes, falsa, vera aut majora vero miscebant. Vulgus quoque militum clamore et gaudio deflectere via, spatia cer-
taminum recognoscere, aggerem armorum, strues corporum intueri, mirari. Et erant, quos varia fors rerum lacrimae-
que et misericordia subiret: at non Vitellius flexit oculos, nec tot millia insepultorum civium exhorruit: laetus uliro
et tam propinquae sortis ignarus instaurabat sacrum dis loci.

LXXI. Exin Bononiae a Fabio Valente gladiatorum spec-
taculum editur, advecto ex urbe cultu. Quantoque magis propinquabat, tanto corruptius iter, immixtis histrionibus et
spadonum gregibus et cetero Neronianae aulae ingenio; namque et Neronem ipsum Vitellius admiratione celebrabat,
sectari cantantem solitus, non necessitate, qua honestissimus quoique, sed luxu et saginae mancipatus emptusque. Ut
Valenti et Caecinae vacuos honoris menses aperiret, coarc-
tati aliorm consulatus, dissimulatus Marcii Macri, tanquam
Othonianarum partium ducis; et Valerium Marinum, desti-
natum a Galba consulem, distulit, nulla offensa, sed mitem
et injuriam segniter laturum. Pedanius Costa omittitur, in-
gratus principi, ut adversus Neronem ausus et Verginii ex-
stimulator: sed alias protulit causas: actaeque insuper Vi-
tellio gratiae, consuetudine servitii.

LXXII. Non ultra paucos dies, quanquam acerbus initii
coemptum, mendacium valuit. Exstiterat quidam, Scriboni-
anum se Camerinum ferens, Neronianorum temporum metu
in Histria occultatum, quod illic clientelae et. agri veterum
Crassorum ac nominis favor manebat. Igitur deterrimo
quoque in argumentum fabulae assumpto, vulgus credulum
et quidam militum, errore veri seu turbarum studio, certa-
tim aggregabantur, cum pertractus ad Vitellium interroga-
tusque, quisnam mortalium esset, postquam nulla dictis fides,
et a domino nosebatur, conditione fugitivus, nomine *Geta*,
sumptum de eo supplicium in servilem modum.

LXXIII. Vix credibile memoratu est, quantum superbiae
socordiaeque Vitellio adoleverit, postquam speculatores e
5 Syriæ Judaeæque, adactum in verba ejus Orientem nuntià
tvere. Nam etsi vagis adhuc et incertis auctoribus, crat
tamen in ore famaque Vespasianus, ac plerumque ad nomen
ejus Vitellius excitabatur. Tum ipse exercitusque, ut nullo
aemulo, saevitia, libidine, raptu in externos mores proruperant.

10 LXXIV. Et Vespasianus bellum armaque et procul vel
juxta sitas vires circumspectabat. Miles ipsi adeo paratus ut
praeeuntem sacramentum et fausta Vitellio omnia precan
tem per silentium audierint. Muciani animus nec Vespasiano
alienus et in Titum pronior. Praefectus Aegypti, Tiberius
15 Alexander, consilia sociaverat. Tertiam legionem, quod de
Syria in Moesiam transisset, suam numerabat: ceterae Illy-
rici legiones secturæe sperabantur. Namque omnes exer-
citus flammaverat arrogantia venientium a Vitellio militiam,
quod truces corpore, horridi sermone, ceteros ut impares
20 irridebant. Sed in tanta mole belli plerumque cunctatio:
et Vespasianus, modo in spem erectus, aliquando adversa
reputabat: "Quis ille dies foret, quo sexaginta actatis annos
et duos filios juvenes bello permitteret? Esse privatis cog-
itationibus progressum, et prout velint, plus minusve sumi
25 ex fortuna: imperium cupientibus nihil medium inter sum-
ma et praecipitia."

LXXV. Versabatur ante oculos Germanici exercitus ro-
bur, notum viro militari: "Suas legiones civili bello inex-
pertas, Vitellii victrices; et apud victos plus querimoniarum
30 quam virium: fluxam per discordias militum fidem, et peri-
culum ex singulis. Quid enim profuturas cohortes alasque, 
si unus alterque praesenti facinori paratum ex diverso praem-
ium petat? Sic Scribonianum sub Claudio interfectum:
sic percussorem ejus Volaginium e gregario ad summa
35 militae provectum. Facilius universos impelli quam singu-
los vitari."

LXXVI. His pavoribus nutantem et alii legati amicie
firmabant, et Mucianus post multos secretosque sermones

LXXVII. "Nobis nihil ultra arrogabo, quam ne post Valentem et Caecinam numeremur. Ne tamen Mucianum socium spreveris, quia aemulum non experiris: me Vitellio antepono, te mihi. Tuae domui triumphale nomen, duo juvenes, capax jam imperii alter, et primis militiae annis

10

LXXIX. Haud dubia destinatione discessere, Mucianus Antiochiam, Vespasianus Caesarem: illa Syriae, haec Judeaeae caput est. Initium ferendi ad Vespasianum imperii Alexandriae coeptum, festinante Tiberio Alexandro, qui Kalendis Juliiis sacramento ejus legiones adegit. Isque 5 primus principatus dies in posterum celebratus, quamvis Judaicus exercitus quinto Nonas Julias apud ipsum jurasset eo arDONE, ut ne Titus quidem filius exspectaretur, Syria re-means et consiliorum inter Mucianum ac patrem nuntius: cuncta impetu militum acta, non parata concione, non con- 10 jectis legionibus.


LXXXI. Ante Idus Julias Syria omnis in eodem sacra- mento fuit. Accedere cum regno Sohemus haud spernen- dis viribus, Antiochus vetustis opibus ingens et inservien-
tium regum ditissimus: mox per occultos suorum nuntios excitus ab urbe Agrippa, ignaro adhuc Vitellio, celeri navigatione properaverat: nec minore animo regina Berenice partes juvabat, florens acetate formaque, et seni quoque Vespasiano magnificentia munerum grata. Quicquid provinciarum alluitur mari Asia atque Achaia tenus, quantumque introrsus in Pontum et Armenios patescit, juravere: sed inermes legati regebant, nondum additis Cappadociae legionibus. Consilium de summa rerum Beryti habitum: illuc

10 Mucianus cum legatis tribunisque et splendidissimo quoque centurionum ac militum venit, et e Judaico exercitu lecta decora. Tantum simul peditum equitumque et aemulantium inter se regum paratus speciem fortunae principalis effecerant.

15 LXXXII. Prima belli cura agere delectus, revocare veteranos; destinantur validae civitates exercendis armorum officinis; apud Antiochenses aurum argentumque signatur: eaque cuncta per idoneos ministros, suis quaeque locis, festinabantur. Ipse Vespasianus adire, hortari, bonos laude, segnes exemplo incitare saepius quam coercere, vitia magis amicorum quam virtutes dissimulans. Multos praefecturis et procurationibus, plerosque senatorii ordinis honore percoluit, egregios viros et mox summa adeptos; quibusdam fortuna pro virtutibus fuit. Donativum militi neque Mucianus prima concione, nisi modice, ostenderat; ne Vespasianus quidem plus civili bello obtulit quam alii in pace, egregie firmus adversus militarem largitionem, eoque exercitu meliore. Missi ad Parthum Armeniumque legati, provisumque, ne, versis ad civile bellum legionibus, terga nondarentur. Titum instare Judaeeae, Vespasianum obtinere claustra Aegypti placuit. Suffiere videbantur adversus Vitellium pars copiarum et dux Mucianus et Vespasiani nomen ac nihil arduum fatis. Ad omnes exercitus legatosque scriptae epistolae, praeceptumque, ut praetorianos Vitellio infensos, recipierandae militiae praemio invitarent.

LXXXIII. Mucianus cum expedita manu, socium magis imperii quam ministrum agens, non lento itinere, ne cunctari videretur, neque tamen properans, glisseere faramam ipso spa-
tio sinebat, gnarus modicas vires sibi, et majora credi de absentibus. Sed legio sexta et tredecim vexillariorum millia ingenti agmine sequabantur. Classem e Ponto Byzantium adigi jussurat, ambiguus consiliu, num, omissa Moesia, Dyrrhachium pedite atque equite, simul longis navibus versum in Italian mare clauderet, tuta pone tergum Achaia Asiaque; quas inermes exponi Vitellio, ni praesidiis firmarentur; atque ipsum Vitellium in incerto fore, quam partem Italiae protegeret, si sibi Brundisium Tarentumque et Calabriae Lucaniaeque littora infestis classibus peterentur.

LXXXIV. Igitur navium, militum, armorum paratu strepere provinciae. Sed nihil aeque fatigabat quam pecuniarum conquisitio: eos esse belli civilis nervos dictitans Mucianus, non jus aut verum in cognitionibus, sed solam magnitudinem opum spectabat. Passim delationes; et luctuetissimus quisque in praedam correpti: quae graviora et intoleranda, sed necessitate armorum excusata, etiam in pace mansere, ipso Vespasiano inter initia imperii ad obtenendas iniquitates haud perinde obstinante, donec indulgentia fortunaet pravis magistris didicit aususque est. Propriis quoque opibus Mucianus bellum juvit, largus privatim, quod avidius de republica sumeret. Ceteri confe randarum pecuniarum exemplum secati: rarissimus quisque eandem in recipiendo licentiam habuerunt.

LXXXV. Accelerata interim Vespasiani coepta Illyrici exercitus studio transgressi in partes. Tertia legio exemplum ceteris Moesiae legionibus praebuit. Octava erat ac septima Claudiana, imbutae favore Othonis, quamvis proelio non interfuissent. Aquileiam progressae, proturbatis qui de Othone nuntiabant laceratisque vexillis nomen Vitellii praefrentibus, rapta postremo pecunia et inter se divisa, hostiliter egerant. Unde metus, et ex metu consilium: posse imputari Vespasiano, quae apud Vitellium excusanda erant. Ita tres Moesicae legiones per epistolas alliciebant Pannonicum exercitum, aut abnuenti vim parabant. In co motu Aponius Saturninus Moesiae rector pessimum facinus audet, misso centurione ad interficiendum Tertium Julianum septimae legionis legatum, ob simulitates, quibus causam
partium praetendebat. Julianus, comperto discrimine et gnaris locorum ascitis, per avia Moesiae ultra montem Hae-
mum profugit: nec deinde civili bello interfuit, per varias
moras susceptum ad Vespasianum iter trahens, et ex nuntiis
5 cunctabundus aut properans.

LXXXVI. At in Pannonia tertiadecima legio ac septima
Galbiana, dolorem iramque Bedriacensis pugnae retinentes,
haud cunctanter Vespasiano accessere, vi præcipua Primi
Antonii. Is legibus nocens et tempore Neronis falsi dam-
10 natus, inter alia belli mala, senatorium ordinem recuperave-
rat. Praepositus a Galba septimae legioni scriptitasse
Othoni eredebatur, ducem se partibus offerens; a quo ne-
gleclus in nullo Othoniani belli usu fuit: labantibus Vitellii
rebus, Vespasianum secutus grande momentum addidit,
15 strenuus manu, sermone promptus, serendae in alios invidiae
artifex, discordiis et seditionibus potens, raptor, largitor,
pace pessimus, bello non spernendus. Juncti inde Moesici
ac Pannonici exercitus Dalmaticum militem traxere, quan-
quam consularibus legatis nihil turbantibus. Titus Ampius
20 Flavianus Pannoniam, Pompeius Silvanus Dalmatiam tene-
bant, divites senes. Sed procurator aderat Corneliu Fuscus,
vigens actate, claris natalibus. Prima juventa quietis
cupidine senatorium ordinem exuerat: idem pro Galba dux
coloniae suae, eaque opera procurationem aedeps, susceptis
25 Vespasiani partibus, acerrimam bello facem practulit: non
tam praemiis periculorum quam ipsis periculis lactus, pro
certis et olim partis nova, ambigua, aecipitit malebat.
Igitur movere et quater, quicquid usquam aegrum foret,
agrediuntur. Scriptae in Britanniam ad quartadecimanos,
30 in Hispaniam ad primanos epistolae, quod utraque legio pro
Othone, adversa Vitellio fuerat. Sparguntur per Gallias
literae; momentoque temporis flagratabat ingens bellum,
Illyricis exercitibus palam descissentibus, ceteris fortunam
secuturis.

35 LXXXVII. Dum haec per provincias a Vespasiano duci-
busque partium geruntur, Vitellius contemptior in dies
segniorque, ad omnes municipiorum villarumque amoenti-
tates resistens, gravi urbem agmine petebat. Sexaginta
millia armatorum sequebantur, licentia corrupta; calonum numerus amplior, procacissimis etiam inter servos lixarum ingeniiis; tot legatorum amicorumque comitatus inhabilis ad parendum, etiam si summa modestia regeretur. Onerabant multitudinem obvii ex urbe senatores equitesque, qui dam metu, multi per adulationem, eteri ac paulatim omnes, ne, aliis proficiscentibus, ipsi remanerent. Aggregabantur e plebe, flagitiosa per obsequia Vitellio cogniti, securae, histriones, aurigae, quibus ille amicitiarum dehonestamentis mire gaudebat. Nee coloniae modo aut municipia conceru gestu copiarum, sed ipsi cultores arvaque, maturis jam frugibus, ut hostile solum vastabantur.

LXXXVIII. Multae et atroces inter se militum caedes, post seditionem Ticini ceptam manente legionum auxiliorumque discordia; ubi adversus paganos certandum foret, consensu. Sed plurima strages ad septimum ab urbe lapedem. Singulis ibi militibus Vitellius paratos cibos, ut gladiatoriam saginam, dividebat; et effusa plebes totis se castris miscuerat. Incuriosos milites (vernacula utebantur urbanitate) quidam spoliaverc, abscisis furtim balteis, an accincti forent rogitantes. Non tuli ludibrium insolens contumeliae animus: inermem populum gladiis invasere: caesus inter alios pater militis; cum filium comitaretur; deinde agnitus, et vulgata caede temperatum ab innoxiis. In urbe tamen trepidatum, praececurrentibus passim militibus. Forum maxime petebant cupidine visendi locum, in quo Galba jacuisset. Nec minus saevum spectaculum erant ipsi, tergis ferarum et ingentibus telis horrentes, cum turbam populi per inscitiam parum vitarent, aut ubi lubrico viae vel occursu alieijus procidissent, ad jurgium, mox ad manus et ferrum transirent. Quin et tribuni praefectique cum terrore et armatorum catervis volitabant.

LXXXIX. Ipse Vitellius a ponte Mulvio, insigni equo, paludatus acinctusque, senatum et populum ante se agens, quo minus, ut captam, urbem ingrederetur, amicorum consilio deterritus, sumpta practexta et composito agmine incessit. Quatuor legionum aquilae per frontem, totidemque circa e legionibus aliiis vexilla, mox duodecim

10 XC. Postera die, tanquam apud alterius civitatis senatum populumque, magnificam orationem de semetipso prompsit, industrias temperantiumque suam laudibus attollens, consciis flagitiorum ipsis qui aderant omnique Italia, per quam somno et luxu pudendus incesserat. Vulgus tamen vacuum curis, et sine falsi verique discrimine solitas adulationes edoctum, clamore et vocibus astrepbat; abnuentique nomen Augusti expressere, ut assumeret, tam frustra quam recusaverat.

20 XCI. Apud civitatem cuncta interpretantem, funesti ominis loco acceptum est, quod maximum pontificatum adeptus Vitellius de caerimoniiis publicis quintodecimo Kalendas Augusti edixisset antiquitus infausto die Cremenses Alliensique cladibus: adeo omnis humani divinique juris exprs, pari libertorum, amicorum socordia, velut inter temulentos agebat. Sed comitia consulum cum candidatis civiliter celebrans, omnem insimae plebis rumorem, in theatro ut spectator, in circo ut fautor, affectavit: quae grata sane et popularia, si a virtutibus proficiscerentur, memoria vitae prioris indecora et vilia accipiebantur. Ventitabant in senatum, etiam cum parvis de rebus patres consulerentur. Ac forte Priscus Helvidius praetor designatus contra studium ejus censuerat. Commutus primo Vitellius, non tamen ultra quam tribunos plebis in auxilium spretae poestatis advocavit. Mox mitigantibus amicis, qui altiorem iracundiam ejus verebantur, nihil novi accidisse respondit, quod duo senatores in republica dissentirent: solitum se etiam Thrasene contradicerere. Irrisere plerique impudentiarn nemulationis; ullis id ipsum placebat, quod neminem
ex praepotentibus, sed Thraseam ad exemplar verae gloriae legisset.

XCII. Prae posuerat praetorianis P. Sabinum a praefectura cohortis, Julium Priscum tum centurionem: Priscus Valentis, Sabinus Caecinae gratia pollebant. Inter discordes Vitellio nihil auctoritatis; munia imperii Caecinae ac Valens obibant, olim anxiis odiis, quae bello et castris male dissipulata, pravitas amicorum et fecunda gignendis inimiciis civitas auxerat, dum ambitu, comitatu et immensis salutantium agminibus contendunt comparanturque, variis in hunc aut illum Vitellii inclinationibus. Nec unquam satis fida potentia, ubi nimia est. Simul ipsum Vitellium, subitis offensis aut intempestivis blanditiis mutabilem, contendebant metuebantque. Nec eo segnius invaserant domos, hortos opesque imperii, cum flebilis et egens nobilium turba, quos ipsos liberosque patriae Galba reddiderat, nulla principis misericordia juvarentur. Gratum primoribus civitatis etiam plebs approbat, quod reversis ab ex silio jura libertorum concessisset, quamquam id omni modo servilia ingenia corrumpabant, abditis pecuniis per occultos aut ambitiosos sinus; et quidam in domum Caesaris transgressi, atque ipsis dominis potentiores.

XCIV. Ceterum non ita ducibus indulsit Vitellius, ut non plus militi liceret: sibi quisque militiam sumpsere; quamvis indignus, si ita maluerat, urbanae militiae ascriberebat; rursus bonis remanere inter legionarios aut alares 5 volentibus permissum: nec deerrant, qui vellent, fessi morbis et intemperiem coeli incusent. Robora tamen legionibus alisque subtraxt: convulsum castrorum decus, viginti millibus et toto exercitu permixtis magis quam eletis. Concionante Vitellio postulantur ad supplicium Asiaticus et

Flavius et Rufinus duces Galliarum, quod pro Vindice blassent. Nec coercerat ejusmodi voces Vitellius, super insitam inerti animo ignaviam, conscius sibi instare donativum et deesse pecuniam, omnia alia militi largiebatur. Liberti principum conferre pro numero mancipiorum, ut 15 tributum, jussi. Ipse sola perdendi cura stabula aurigis exstruere, circum gladiatorum ferarumque spectaculis oppler, tanquam in summa abundantia pecuniae illudere.


Ipse abunde ratus, si praesentibus frueretur, nec in longius consultans, novies millies sestertium paucissimum mensibus intervertisse creditur. Magna et miserae civitas, eodem anno Othonem Vitelliumque passa, inter Vinios, Fabios, Icelos, Asiaticos, varia et pudenda sorte agebat, donec 35 successere Mucianus et Marcellus, et magis alii homines quam alii mores.

XCVI. Prima Vitellio tertiae legionis defectio nuntiatur, missis ab Aponio Saturnino epistolis, antequam is quoque
Vespasiani partibus aggregaretur. Sed neque Aponius cuncta, ut trepidans re subita, perscriptor, et amici adulantibus mollius interpretabantur: unius legionis eam seditionem, ceteris exercitibus constare fidem. In hunc modum etiam Vitellius apud milites disseruit, praetorianos nuper exauctoratos insectatus, a quibus falsos rumores dispergi, nec ullam civilis belli metum asseverat, suppresso Vespasiani nomine et vagis per urbem militibus, qui sermones populi coercerent: id praecipuum alimentum famae erat.


XCIX. Tandem irruptione hostium, atrocibus undique nuntiis exterritus, Caecinam ac Valentem expedire ad bel-
C. Caecina complexu Vitellii multo cum honore digres-
sus, partem equitum ad occupandam Cremonam praemisit:
mox vexilla quartae, quintaedecimae et sextaedecimae le-
gionum; dein quinta et duoctvicesima securae; postremo
agmine unaetvicesima Rapax et prima Italica incessere,
cum vexillaris trium Britannicarum legionum et electis
auxiliis. Profecto Caecina, scripsit Fabius Valens exercitui,
quem ipse ductaverat, ut in itinere opperiretur; sic sibi
cum Caecina convenisse; qui praesens coque validior, im-
mutatum id consilium finxit, ut ingruenti bello tota mole
occurreretur. Ita accelerare legiones Cremonam, pars
Hostiliam petere jussae: ipse Ravennam devertit, praetexto
classem alloquendi; mox Patavii secretum componendae
proditionis quaesitum. Namque Lucilius Bassus post praec-
fecturam alae Ravennati simul ac Misenensi classibus a
Vitellio praepositus, quod non statim praefecturam praetorii
adeptus foret, iniquam iracundiam flagitiosa perfidia ulci-
sc ebatur: nee sciri potest, trixeritne Caecinam, an (quod
evenit inter malos, ut et similis sint) eadem illos pravitas
impulerit.

C. Scriptores temporum, qui potente rerum Flavia
domo monumenta belli hujsuse composuerunt, curum pacis
et amorem reipublicae, corruptas in adulationem causas,
tradidere. Nobis, super insitam levitatem, et, prodito Gal-
ba, vilem mox fidem, aemulatione etiam invidiaque, ne ab 
aliis apud Vitellium anteirentur, pervertisse ipsum videntur.
Caecina legiones assecutus, centurionum militumque animos 
obstinatos pro Vitellio variis artibus subruebat: Basso 5 
eadem molienti minor difficultas erat, lubrica ad mutandam 
fidem classe ob memoriam recentis pro Othone militiae.
C. CORNELII TACITI

HISTORIARUM

LIBER TERTIUS.

BREVIA R I U M L I B R I .


XXXVI. Vitellius luxu torpet. XXXVII. In urbem revectus Caeceanam condemnat; ei Rosium Regulum in unum diem consulern sufficit. XXXVIII, XXXIX. Junius Bacesus fraudo L. Vitellii veneno tollitur. XL, XLI. Fabius Valens libidino et cunctatione Vitellianorum res subruit et, XLII, Flavianis Italiani occupantibus, XLIII, ad Stoechudas delatus, capitur. XLIV. Hispaniae, Galliae, Britanniae, cuncta ad Vespasiani opes conversa. XLV. Turbat tamem Britanniam Venetum. Ibi varia sorte pugnatum. XLVI. Turbata queque Germania. Mota et Dacorum gens, a Muciano ex Oriente redece, repressa. XLVII, XLVIII. Anicotus Polemonis libertus, Pontum


LXXXVIII. Tarracina a L. Vitello obsessa et capta. Julianus jugulatur. Triariae immodestia. LXXIX. Flaviiani, incerti Antonii an Muciani culpa cunctantes, ossessi capitollii fama exciti, LXXX, ad urbem properant. Ibi equestre proelium, Ceriali adversum. LXXX, LXXXI. Vitellius legatos et Vestales virgines pro pace aut inducissi mittit, nec obtinet. LXXXII. Flaviani tripartito agmine urbi propinquant. Varia ibi fortuna pugnatur. LXXXIII. Foeda lascivientia urbis facies, spectatore populo et plausu diversas partes fovento. LXXXIV. Castra praetoria expugnantur. LXXXV.

Meliores fato fideque partium Flavianarum duces consilia belli tractabant. Poetovionem in hiberna tertiaedecimae legiones convenerat: illie agitavere, placeretne obstrui Pannoniae Alpes, donec a tergo vires universae consurgerent, an ire cominus et evertare pro Italia constantius foret. Quibus opperiri auxilia et trahere bellum videbatur, Germanicarum legionum vim famamque extollebant, "et advenisse max cum Vitellio Britannici exercitus robora: ipsis nec numero parem pulsarum nuper legionum; et quanquam atrociter loquerentur, minorem esse apud victos animum. Sed insessis interim Alpibus, venturum cum copiis Orientis Mucianum. Superesse Vespasiano mare, classes, studia provinciarum, per quas velut alterius belli molem cieret. Ita salubri mora novas vires affore, et praesentibus nihil periturum."

II. Ad ea Antonius Primus (is acerrimus belli concitator) festinationem ipsi utilem, Vitellio exitiosam disseruit: "plus socordiae quam fiduciae accessisse victoribus: neque enim in proinctu et castris habitos; per omnia Italicae municipia desides, tantum hospitibus metuendos, quanto ferocius ante se egerint, tanto cupidius insolitas voluptates hausisse. Circo quoque ac theatris et amoenitate urbem emollitos, aut valetudinibus fessos. Sed addito spatio, rediturum et his robur meditacione belli, nec procul Germaniam, unde vires; Britanniam freto dirimi; juxta Gallias Hispaniasque; utrimque viros, equos, tributa: ipsamque Italiam et opes Urbis: ac si inferre arma ulleo velint, duas classes vacuumque Illyricum mare. Quid tum claustra montium profutura? quid tractum in aestatem aliam bellum? unde interim pecuniam et commenatus? Quin potius eo ipso ueterentur, quod Pannonicae legiones, deceptae magis quam victae, resurgere in ultionem properent, Moesici exercitus integras vires attulerint. Si numerus militum potius quam legionum putetur, plus hinc roboris, nihil libidinum; et profuisset disciplinae ipsum pudorem. Equites vero ne tum quidem victos, sed quanquam rebus adversis disjectam Vitellii aciem.
C. CORN. TACITI HISTOR. [A. U. 822.

Sido atque Italicus reges Suevorum, quis vetus obsequium erga Romanos, et gens fidei commissae patientior: posita in latus auxilia, infesta Raetia, cui Portius Septimius procurator erat, incorruptae erga Vitellium fidei. Igitur Sextilius Felix cum ala Auriana et octo cohortibus ac Noricorum juventute ad occupandam ripam Aeni fluminis, quod Rhaetos Noricosque interfluit, missus: nec his aut illis proelium tentantibus, fortuna partium alibi transacta.


VII. Vulgata victoria, post principia belli secundum Flavianos, duae legiones, septima Galbiana, tertia decima Gemina, cum Vedio Aquila legato Patavium alacres venunt: ibi pauci dies ad requiem sumpti, et Minucius Justus praefectus castrorum legionis septimae, quia adductius quam civili bello imperitabat, subtractus militum irae ad Vespasianum missus est. Desiderata diu res, interpretatione gloriamque in majus accipitur, postquam Galbae imaginis discordia temporum subversas in omnibus municipiis recoli jussit Antonius, decorum pro causa ratus, si placere Galbae principatus et partes revirescere cederentur.

VIII. Quaesitum inde, quae sedes bello legereur. Ve-

IX. Igitur repentino incursu Antonius stationes hostium irrumpit, tentatisque levi proelio animis, ex aequo discessment. Mox Caecina inter Hostiliam, vicum Veronensium, et paludes Tartari fluminis, castra permuniit, tutus loco, cum terga flumine, latera objectu paludis tegentur: quod si affusisset fides, aut opprimi universis Vitellianorum viribus dua legiones, nondum conjuncto Moesico exercitu, potuere, aut retro actae, deserta Italia, turpem fugam conscivissent. Sed Caecina per varias moras prima hostibus proditit tempora belli, dum quos armis pellere promptum erat, epistolis increpat, donec per nuntios pacta perfidia firmae. Interim Aponius Saturninus cum legione septima Claudiana advenit: legioni tribunus Vipstannus Messalla praecerat, claris majoribus, egregius ipse, et qui solus ad id bellam artes bonas attulisset. Has ad copias nequaquam Vitellianis pares (quippe tres adhuc legiones erant) misit epistolas Caecina, temeritatem victa arma tractantium incusans: simul virtus Germanici exercitus laudibus attollebatur, Vittelli modica et vulgari mentione, nulla in Vespasianum con-
tumelia: nihil prorsus, quod aut corrumpet hostem aut terreret. Flavianarum partium duces, omissa prioris fortunae defensione, pro Vespasiano magnifice, pro causa fiden-ter, de exercitu securi, in Vitellium ut inimici praesumpsere, 5 facta tribunis centurionibusque retinendi, quae Vitellius indulsiisset, spe: atque ipsum Caecinam non obscure ad transitionem hortabantur. Recitatae pro concione epistolae addidere fiduciam, quod submisse Caecina, velit offedere Vespasianum timens, ipsorum duces contemptim, tanquam 10 insultantes Vitellio, scripsissent.

berentur. Profectus eadem nocte Flavianus, obviis Vespasiani literis, discrimini exemptus est.

XI. Legiones, velut tabe infectae, Aponium Saturninum Moesici exercitus legatum eo atrocius aggradiantur, quod non ut prius labore et opere sessae, sed medio diei exarant, vulgatis epistolis, quas Saturninus ad Vitellium scriptisse credebatur. Ut olim virtutis modestiaeque, tunc proelio et petulantiae certamen erat, ne minus violenter Aponium quam Flavianum ad supplicium deposerent. Quippe Moesicae legiones adjutam a se Pannonicorum ultionem referentes, et Pannonici, velut absolverent aliorum seditione, iterare culpam gaudebant. In hortos, in quibus devertebatur Saturninus, pergunt, nec tam Primus et Aponianus et Messalla, quanquam omni modo nisi, eripuere Saturninum, quam obscuritas latebrarum quibus occulebatur, vacantium forte balnearum fornacibus abditus: mox, omissis lictoribus, Patavium concessit. Digressu consularium uni Antonio vis ae potestas in utrumque exercitum fuit, cedentibus collegis et obversis militum studis: nec deerant, qui crederent, utramque seditionem fraude Antonii coeptam, ut solus bello frueretur.

XIII. At Caecina, defectione classis vulgata, primores centurionum et paucos militum, ceteris per militiae munera dispersis, secretum castrorum affectans in principia vocat. Ibi Vespasiani virtutem viresque partium extollit: transfigure classem; in arcto commematum, adversas Gallias Hispaniasque, nihil in urbe fidum; atque omnia de Vitellio in deterius. Mox incipientibus qui consciiaderant, ceteros re nova attonitos in verba Vespasiani adigit: simul Vitellii imagines deruptae, et missi qui Antonio nuntiarent. Sed ubi totis castris in fama proditio, recurrens in principia miles praescriptum Vespasiani nomen, projectas Vitellii effigies aspexit, vastum primo silentium, mox cuncta simul erumpunt: "Huc cecidisse Germanici exercitus gloriam, ut sine proelio, sine vulnere, vinctas manus et capta traderent arma?"

Quas enim ex diverso legiones? Nempe victas; et abesse unicum Othoniani exercitus robur, primanos quartadecimanosque; quos tamen iisdem illis campis fuderint strave-rintque, ut armatorum millia, velut grex venalium, exsuli Antonio donum darentur; octo nimium legiones unionis classis accessionem fore. Id Basso, id Caecinæ visum: postquam domos, hortos, opes principi abstulerint, etiam militibus principem auferre. Integros incruentosque, Flavianis quoque partibus viles, quid dicturos reposcentibus aut prospera aut adversa?"


XV. Ubi haec comperta Antonio, discordes animis, discretos viribus hostium exercitus aggredi statuit, antequam ducibus auctoritas, militi obsequium et junctis legionibus fiducia rediret: namque Fabium Valentem profectum ab
urbe acceleraturumque cognita Caecinae priditione conjectabat; et vidus Vitellio Fabius, nec militiae ignarus. Simul ingens Germanorum vis per Raetiam timebatur: et Britannia Galliaque et Hispania auxilia Vitellius acceverat, immensam belli luem, ni Antonius, id ipsum metuens, festinato proelio victoriam praceepisset. Universo cum exercitu, secundis a Verona castris, Bedriacum venit: postero die, legionibus ad muniendum retentis, auxiliares cohortes in Cremonensem agrum missae, ut specie parandarum copiarum civili praeda miles imbuaret. Ipse cum quatuor millibus equitum ad octavum a Bedriaco progressus, quo licentius popularentur: exploratores (ut mos est) longius curabant.


XVII. Nullum in illa trepidatione Antonius constantis ducis aut fortissimi militis officium omisit: occursare paven tribus; retinere cedentes: ubi plurimus labor, unde aliqua spes, consilio, manu, voce insignis hosti, conspicuus suis: eo postremo ardoris provectus est, ut vexillarium fugientem hasta transverberaret: mox raptum vexillum in hostem vertit: quo pudore haud plures quam centum equites restitero. Juvit locus, arctiore illic via et fracto interfluentis rivi ponte, qui incerto alveo et praecipitibus ripis fugam impediebat: ea necessitas seu fortuna lapsas jam partes resti-
tuit. Firmati inter se densis ordinibus excipiant Vitellianos
temere effusos; atque illi consternantur. Antonius instare
perculsis, sternere obvios. Simul ceteri, ut cuique ingenii-
um, spoliare, capere, arma equosque abripere: et exciti
prospero clamore, qui modo per agros fuga palabantur,
victoriae se miscabant.

XVIII. Ad quartum a Cremona lapidem fulsere legion-
um signa Rapacis atque Italicae, laeto inter initia equitum
suorum proelio illuc usque provecta. Sed ubi fortuna con-
tra fuit, non laxare ordines, non recipere turbatos, non ob-
viam ire ulterque aggregi hostem, tantum per spatium
cursu et pugnando fessum. Forte victi haud perinde rebus
prosperis ducem desideraverant, atque in adversis deesse
intelligebant. Nutantem aciem victor equitatus incursat;
et Vipstanus Messalla tribunus cum Moesicis auxiliaribus
assequitur, quos militiae legionariis, quamquam raptim duc-
tos, aequabant. Ita mixtus eques pedesque rupere legio-
um agmen. Et propinquaque Cremonensium moenia, quanto
plus spei ad effugium, minorem ad resistendum animum
dabant.

XIX. Nec Antonius ultra institit, memor laboris ac vul-
nerum, quibus tam aniceps proelii fortuna, quamvis prospero
fine, equites equosque afflictaverat. Inumbrante vespertu
universum Flaviani exercitus robur advenit: utque cumulos
super et recentia caede vestigia incessere, quasi debellatum
foret, pergere Cremonam et victos in deditione accipere
aut expugnare posseunt. Haec in medio, pulchra dictu.
Illa sibi quosque: "Posse coloniam plano sitam impetu
capi. Idem audacie per tenebras irruptentibus, et majo-
rem rapiendi licentiam: quod si lucem opperiantur, jam
pace, jam preces et pro labore ac vulneribus clementiam
et gloriam, inania laturos: sed opes Cremonensium in sinu
praefectorum legatorumque fore. Expugnatae urbis praec-
dum ad militem, deditae ad duces pertinere." Spernuntur
centuriones tribunique, ac ne vox cujusquam audiatur, qua-
tiunt arma, rupturi imperium, ni ducantur.

XX. Tum Antonius inserens se manipulis, ubi aspectu et
auctoritate silentium fererat: "Non se decus, neque preti-

XXI. Id vero aegre tolerante milite prope seditionem ventum, cum progressi equites sub ipsa moenia vagos ex Cremonensibus corripiunt: quorum indicio noscitur sex Vitellianas legiones omnesque exeritum, qui Hostiliae egerat, eo ipso die triginta millia passuum emensum, comperta suorum clade in proelium accingi ac jam affore. Is terror obstructas mentes consiliis ducis aperuit. Sistere tertiam decimam legionem in ipso viae Postumiae aggere jubet, cui 30 juneta a laevo septima Galbiana patenti campo stetit, dein septima Claudiana agresti militi (ita locus erat) praemunita; dextro octava per apertum limitem, mox tertia densis arbustis intersepta: hie aquilarum signorumque ordo: milites mixti per tenebras, ut fors tulerat: praetorianum vexillum 35 proximum tertianis, cohortes auxiliorum in cornibus, latera ac terga equite circumdata: Sido atque Italici Suevi cum delectis popularium primori in acie versabantur.
XXII. At Vitellianus exercitus, cui acquiescere Cremoneae et recuperatis cibo somnoque viribus conferret algore atque inedia hostem postera die profligare ac proruere ratio fuit, indigus rectoris, inops consili, tertia ferme noctis hora paratis jam dispositisque Flavianis impingitur. Ordinem agminis disjecti per iram ac tenebras asseverare non ausim, quanquam alii tradiderint quartam Macedonicam dextra suorum cornu, quintam et quintamdecimam cum vexillis nonae secundaeque et vicesimae Britannicarum legionum mediam aciem, sextadecimanos duoetvicesimenanosque et primanos laevum cornu complessse. Rapaces atque Italici omnibus se manipulis miscuerant. Eques auxiliaque sibi ipsi locum legere. Proelium tota nocte varium, anceps, atrox, his, rursus illis exitabile. Nihil animus aut manus, ne oculi quidem provisu juvabant: eadem utraque acie arma; crebris interrogationibus notum pugnae signum; permixta vexilla, ut quisque globus capta ex hostibus huc vel illuc raptabat. Urgebatur maxime septima legio, nuper a Galba conscripta. Occisi sex primorum ordinarum centuriones; abrepta quaedam signa: ipsam aquilam Atilius Verus primipili centurio multa cum hostium strage et ad extremum muniens servaverat.


affines, fratres trucidatos spoliant; factum esse scelus lo-
quintur faciuntque.

XXVI. Ut Cremonam venere, novum immensumque opus
occurrît. Othoniano bello Germanicus miles moenibus Cre-
monensium castra sua, castris vallum circumjecerat, eaque
munimenta rursus auxerat: quorum aspectu haesere vic-
tores, incertis ducibus quid juberent. Incipere oppugna-
tionem, fesso per diem noctemque exercitu, arduum, et
nullo juxta subsidio aneptis: sin Bedriacum redirent, in-
terim tam longi itineris labor, et victoria ad irritum
revolvebatur: munire castra, id quoque, propinquis hosti-
bus, formidolosum, ne dispersos et opus molientes subita
eruptione turbarent. Quae super cuncta terrebat ipsorum
miles periculi quam morae patientior: quippe ingrata quae
tuta, ex temeritate spe; omnisque caedes et vulnera et
sanguis aviditate praedae pensabantur.

XXVII. Huc inclinavit Antonius, cingique vallum coro-
na jussit: primo sagittis saxisque eminus certabant, majore
Flavianorum pernicie, in quos tela desuper librabantur:
mox vallum portasque legionibus attribuit, ut discretus
labor fortes ignavosque distingueret, atque ipsa contentione
decoris accenderentur. Proxima Bedriacensi viae tertiani
septimanique sumpsero, dextiora valli octava ac septima
Claudiana; tertiaecimanos ad Brixianam portam impetus
tulit. Paulum inde morae, dum ex proximis agris ligones,
dolabras, et alii falces scalasque convectant: tum elatis
super capita scutis, densa testudine succedunt. Romanae
utrinque artes: pondera saxorum Vitelliani provolvunt,
disjectam fluitantemque testudinem lanceis contisque scru-
tantur, donec, soluta compago scutorum, exsangues aut
laceros prosternerent multa cum strage.

XXVIII. Incesserat cunctatio, ni duces fesso militi et
velut irritas exhortationes abnuenter Cremonam monstras-
sent. Hormine ingenium, ut Messalla tradit, an potior
nuctor sit C. Plinius qui Antonium incusat, haud facile dis-
crererim, nisi quod neque Antonius neque Hormus a fama
vitaque sua, quamvis pessimo flagitio, degeneraveret. Non
jam sanguis neque vulnera morabantur, quin subruerent
vallum quaterentque portas, innixi humeris et super iteratam testudinem scandentes preserant hostium tela bra-chiaque: integri cum sauciis, semineces cum exspirantibus volvuntur, varia pereuntium forma et omni imagine mortium.

XXIX. Acerrimum septimae tertiaeque legionum certamen; et dux Antonius cum delectis auxiliaribus eodem incubuerat. Obstinatos inter se cum sustinere Vitelliani nequirent et superjecta tela testudine laberentur, ipsam postremo balistam in subeuntes pepulere, quae ut ad prae-sens disjecit obruitque quos inciderat, ita pinnas ac summa valli ruina sua traxit: simul juncta turris ictibus saxorum cessit; qua septimani dum nituntur cuneis, tertianus securibus gladiusque portam perfregit. Primum irrupisse C. Volus- sium tertiae legionis militem inter omnes auctores constat: is in vallum egressus, deturbatis qui restiterant, conspicuus manu ac voce capta castra conclamavit. Ceteri, trepidis jam Vitellianis seque e vallo praecipitantibus, perrupere: completur caede quantum inter castra murosque vacui fuit.

XXX. Ac rursus nova laborum facies; ardua urbis moenia, saxaeae turres, ferrati portarum obices, vibrans tela miles, frequent obsstrictusque Vitellianis partibus Cremonensis populus, magna pars Italiae stato in eosdem dies mercatu congregata; quod defensoribus auxilium ob multitudinem, oppugnantibus incitamentum ob praedam erat. Rapi ignes Antonius inferrique amoenissimis extra urbem aedificis jubet, si damno rerum suarum Cremonenses ad mutandam fidem traherentur: propinqua muris tecta et altitudinem moenium egressa fortissimo quoque militum complet: illi trabibus tegulisque et facibus propugnatores deturbant.

XXXI. Jam legiones in testudinem glomerabantur et ali tela saxaque incutiebant, cum languescere paulatim Vitellianorum animi. Ut quis ordine anteibat, cedere fortunae, ne Cremona quoque excisa, nulla ultra venia, omnisque ira victoris non in vulgus inops, sed in tribunos centurionesque, ubi pretium caedis erat, reverteretur. Gregarious miles, futuri socors et ignobilitate tutor, perstabit: vagi per vias, in domibus abditi, pacem ne tum quidem ora-
bant, cum bellum posuissent. Primores castrorum nomen
atque imagines Vitellii amoluntur: catenas Caecinae (nam
etiam tum vinctus erat) exsolvunt orantque, ut causae suae
deprecator assistat: aspernantem tumentemque lacrimis fa-
tigant, extremum malorum, tot fortissimi viri proditoris
opem invocantes: mox velamenta et insulas pro muris
ostentant. Cum Antonius inhiberi tela jussisset, signa
aquilasque extulere: maestum inermium agmen, dejectis
in terram oculis, sequebatur. Circumstiterant victores, et
primo ingerebant probra, intentabant ictus: mox, ut praeb-
eri ora contumeliis et, posita omni feroxia, cuncta victi
patiebantur, subit recordatio illos esse qui nuper Bedriaci
victoriae temperassent. Sed ubi Caecina, praetexta lictori-
busque insignis, dimota turba, consul incessit, exarsere vic-
tores: superbiam saevitiamque, (adeo invisa scelera sunt)
etiam perfidiam objectabant. Obstitit Antonius, datisque
defensoribus ad Vespasianum dimisit.

XXXII. Plebs interim Cremonensium inter armatos con-
flictabatur: nce procul caedeaberant, cum precibus ducum
mitigatus est miles. Et vocatos ad concionem Antonius
alloquitur, magnifice victores, victos clementer, de Cremona
in neutrum. Exercitus praeter insitam praedandi cupidin-
em vetere odio ad excidium Cremonensium incubuit: ju-
visse partes Vitellianas Othonis quoque bello eredebantur:
moxtertiadecimanosadexstrieundumamphiteatrum relic-
tos, ut sunt procacia urbanae plebis ingenia, petulantibus
jurgiis illuserant. Auxit invidiam editum illie a Caecina
gladiatorum spectaculum, cademque rursus belli sedes; et
praebitiinacieVitellianiscibi,caesaequaedominae
studio partium ad proelium progressae: tempus quoque
mercatus ditem alloqui coloniam majorum opum specie
complebat. Ceteri duces in obscuro: Antonium fortuna
famaque omnium oculis exposuerat: is balneas abluendo
cruori propere petit: excepta vox est, cum teporem incu-
saret, statim futurum, ut incalescerent. Vernile dictum
omnem invidiam in eum vertit, tanquam signum incen-
dendae Cremonae dedisset, quae jam flagrabit.

XXXIII. Quadraginta armatorum millia irrupere, calo-
num lixarumque amplior numeros et in libidinem ac saeviam corruptior. Non dignitas, non aetas protegebatur, quo minus supra caedibus, caedes stupratis miserentur. Grandaevos senes, exacta aetate feminas, viles ad praedam, in ludibrium trahebant. Ubi adulta virgo aut quis forma conspicuus incidisset, vi manibusque rapientium divulsus ipsos postremo direptores in mutuam perniciem agebat: dum pecuniam vel gravia auro templorum dona sibi quisque trahunt, majore aliorum vi truncabantur. Quidam obvia aspernati, vereribus tormentisque dominorum abdita scru- tari, defossa erucere, faces in manibus, quas, ubi praedam egesserant, in vacuas domos et inania templar per lasciviam jaculabantur: utque exercitu vario linguis, moribus, cui cives, socii, externi interessent, diversae cupidines et aliu cuique fas, nec quicquam illicitum. Per quatriduum Cre- mona suffecit. Cum omnia sacra profanaque in igne considerent, solum Mefitis templum stetit ante moenia, loco seu numine defensum.


XXXV. Ceterum assidere sepultae urbis ruinis noxia tabo humus haud diu permisit; ad tertium lapidem pro- gressi, vagos paventesque Vitellianos, sua quemque apud signa, componunt. Et victae legiones, ne manente adhuc civili bello ambigue agerent, per Illyricum dispersae. In

XXXVI. At Vitellius, profecto Caecina, cum Fabium Valentem paucis post diebus ad bellum impulisset, curis luxum obtendebat: non parare arma, non alloquio exercitoque militem firmare, non in ore vulgi agere; sed umbra culis hortorum abditus, ut ignava animalia, quibus si cibum suggestas, jacent torpentque, practerita, instantia, futura pari oblivione dimiserat. Atque illum in nemore Aricino desidem et marement prodictio Lucilii Bassi ac defectio classis Ravennatis perculit. Nee multo post de Caecina affertur mixtus gaudio dolor, et descivisse, et ab exercitu vinctum. Plus apud socordem animum laetitia quam cura valuit: multa cum exsultatione in urbem revectus, frequenti concione pietatem militum laudibus cumulat. P. Sabinum praetorii praefectum ob amicitiam Caecinae vinciri jubet, substituto in locum ejus Alfeno Varo.

XXXVII. Mox senatum composita in magnificentiam oratione allocutus, exquisitis patrum adulationibus attollitur. Initium atrocis in Caecinam sententiae a L. Vitellio factum; dein ceteri, composita indignatione, quod consul rempublicam, dux imperatorem, tantis opibus, tot honoribus cumulatus amicum prodidisset, velut pro Vitellio conquerentes, suum dolorem proferebant. Nulla in oratione enjusquam erga Flavianos duces obtrectatio: errorem imprudentiamque exercituum culpantes, Vespasiani nomen suspensi et vita bundi circumibant. Nec defuit, qui unum consulatus diem (is enim in locum Caeceinac supererat) magno cum irrisu tribuentis accipientisque ebladiretur. Pridie Kalendas Novembris Rosius Regulus inii ejuravitque. Annotabant periti nunquam antea, non abrogato magistratu neque lege luta, alium suctectum: nam consul uno die et ante fuerat Caeocius Rebilus, C. Caesare dictatore, cum belli civilis praemia festinarentur.
XXXVIII. Nota per eos dies Junii Blaesi mors et famosa fuit; de qua sic accepirimus. Gravi corporis morbo aeger Vitellius Servilianis hortis turrim vicino sitam collucere per noctem crebris luminibus animadvertit. Sciscitanti causam, apud Caecinam Tuscum epulari multos, praeicipium honore 5 Junium Blaesum nuntiatur: cetera in majus de apparatu et solutis in lasciviam animis: nec defuere, qui ipsum Tus- eum et alios, sed criminiosius Blaesum incursorent, quod, aegro princepe, laetos dies aegeret. Ubi asperatum Vitellium et posse Blaesum perverti satis patuit iis, qui principum 10 offensas aerer spectulantur, datae L. Vitellio delationis partes. Ille infensus Blaeo aemulatione prava, quod eum omni dedecore maculosum egregia fama anteibat, cubiculum imperatoris reserat, filium ejus sinu complexus et genibus accidens: causam confusionis quaerenti, "non se proprio 15 metu nec sui anxium, sed pro fratre, pro liberis fratis preces laerimasque attulisse. Frustra Vespasianum timeri, quem tot Germanicae legiones, tot provinciae virtute ac fide, tantum denique terrarum ac maris immensis spatiiis arceat. In urbe ac sinu cavendum hostem, Junios Anto- niosque avos jactantem, qui se stirpe imperatoria, comem ac magnificum militibus ostentet. Versas illuc omnium mentes, dum Vitellius amicorum inimicorumque negligens fovet aemulum principis labores e convivio prospectantem. Reddendam pro intempestiva laetitia maestam et funebrem 25 noctem, qua sciat et sentiat vivere Vitellium et imperare et, si quid fato accidat, filium habere."

XL. Fabius interim Valens, multo ac molli conœubinarum spadonumque agmine segnius quam ad bellum inœdens, proditam a Lucilio Basso Ravennatem classem perniciibus nuntiis accepit. Et si coeptum iter properasset, nutantem Caecinam praevenire aut ante discrimen pugnae assequi legiones potuisset. Nec deerant, qui monerent, ut cum fidissimis per occultos tramites, vitata Ravenna, Hostiliam Cremonamve pergeret. Aliis placebat accitis ex urbe praetoriis cohortibus valida manu perrumpere. Ipse, inutili cunctatione, agendi tempora consultando consumpsit: mox utrumque consilium aspernatus, quod inter ancipitia deterrimum est, dum media sequitur, nec ausus est satis nec providit.

XLI. Missis ad Vitellium literis, auxilium postulat. Venere tres cohortes cum ala Britannica, neque ad fallendum aptus numerus neque ad penetrandum. Sed Valens ne in tanto quidem discrimine infamia caruit, quo minus rapere illicitas voluptates, adulteriisque et stupris polluerunt domus: aderant vis et pecunia et ruentis fortunae novissima libido. Adventu demum peditum equitumque pravitas consilii patuit, quia nec vadere per hostes tam parva manu poterat etiam si fidissima foret, nec integrum fidem attulerant. Pudor tamen et praesentis ducis reverentia morabatur, haud diuturna vincula apud avidos periculorum et dedecoris securos. Eo metu et paucis, quos adversa non mutaverant, comitantibus, cohortes Ariminum praemittit, alam tueri terga jubet: ipse flexit in Umbriam atque inde Etruriam, ubi cognito pugnae Cremonensis eventu non ignavum et, si provenisset, atrox consilium iniit, ut arreptis navibus in quacumque partem Narbonensis provinciae egressus, Gallias et exercitus et Germaniae gentes novumque bellum ciceret.

XLII. Digressu Valente trepidos, qui Ariminum tenebant, Cornelius Fuscus, admoto exercitu et missis per proxima littorum Liburnicis, terra marique circumvenit. Occupantur plana Umbriae et qua Picenus ager Adria alluitur; omnisque Italia, inter Vespasianum ac Vitellium, Apennini jugis dividebatur. Fabius Valens e sinu Pisano, sequitia

XLIII. Concitisque omnibus, qui exauctorati a Vitellio bellum sponte sument, Forojuliensem coloniam, claustra maris, praesidio tuebatur, eo gravior auctor, quod Paulino patria Forum Julii et honos apud praetorianos, quorum quondam tribunus fuerat. Ipsique pagani favore municipali et futurae potentiae spe juvare partes annitebantur: quae ubi paratu firma et aucta rumore apud varios Vitellianorum animos increbruere, Fabius Valens cum quatuor speculatoribus et tribus amicis, totidem centurionibus ad naves regreditur; Maturo ceterisque remanere et in verba Vespasiani adigi volentibus fuit. Ceterum ut mare tutius Valenti quam litora aut urbes, ita futuri ambiguus et magis quid vitaret quam cui fideret certus, adversa tempestate Stoechadas Massiliensium insulas affertur: ibi eum missae a Paulino Liburnicae oppressere.

XLIV. Capto Valente cuncta ad victoris opes conversa, initio per Hispanicam a prima Adjutrice legione orto, quae memoria Othonis insensa Vitellio decimam quoque ac sextam traxit. Nec Galliae cunctabantur. Et Britanniam inditus erga Vespasianum favor, quod illic secundae legioni a Claudio praepositus et bello clarus egerat, non sine motu adunxit ceterarum, in quibus plerique centuriones ac milites a Vitello proiecti expertum jam principem anxi mutabant.

XLV. Ea discordia et crebris belli civilis rumoribus Britannii sustulere animos auctore Venuto, qui super insitam ferociam et Romani nominis odium propriis in Cartismandua reginam stimulis accendebatur. Cartismandua Brigantium imperitabat, pollens nobilitate; et auxerat potentiam, postquam capto per dolum rege Caractaco, instruxisse tri-
umphum Claudii Caesaris videbatur. Inde opes et rerum secundarum luxus: spreto Venutio (is fuit maritus) armigerum ejus Vellocatum, in matrimonium regnumque accepit. Concussa statim flagitio domus. Pro marito studia 5 civitatis; pro adultero libido reginae et saevitia. Igitur Venutius accitis auxiliis, simul ipsorum Brigantum defec- tione, in extremum discrimen Cartismanduam adduxit. Tum petita a Romanis praesidia: et cohortes alaeque nostrae, variis procellis, exemere tamen periculo reginam. Reg-

10 num Venutio, bellum nobis relictum.

XLVI. Turbata per eosdem dies Germania et socordia ducum et seditione legionum. Externa vi, perfidia sociali prope afflicta Romana res. Id bellum cum causis et eventibus (et enim longius provectum est) mox memorabimus. 15 Mota et Dacorum gens nunquam fida, tunc sine metu abducto e Moesia exercitu. Sed prima rerum quieti speculabatur: ubi flagrare Italianum bello, cuncta invicem hostilia accepere, expugnatis cohortium alarumque hibernis utraque Danubii ripa potiebant. Jamque castra legionum exciscen-

dere parabant, ni Mucianus sextam legionem opposuisset, Cremonensis victoriae gnarus, ac ne externa moles utrimque ingrueret, si Dacus Germanusque diversi irrupissent. Affuit, ut saepe alias, fortuna populi Romani, quae Mucianum viresque Orientis illuc tulit, et quod Cremonae interim transe-

20 gimus. Fonteius Agrippa ex Asia (pro consule eam provinciam annuo imperio tenuerat) Moesiae praepositus est, additis copiis e Vitelliano exercitu, quem spargi per provincias et externo bello illigari pars consilii pacisque erat.

XLVII. Nec ceterae nationes silebant. Subita per Pontum arma barbarum mancipium, regiae quondam classis praefectus, moverat: is fuit Anicetus Polemonis libertus, praepotens olim, et postquam regnum in formam provinciae verterat, mutationis impatiens. Igitur Vitelli nomine asci-

35 tis gentibus quae Pontum acolluit, corrupto in spem rapi- narum egentissimo quoque, haud temnendae manus ductor, Trapezuntem, vetusta fama civitatem a Graecis in extre- mo Ponticae orae conditam, subitus irrupit. Caesa ibi cohors,
regium auxilium olim, mox donati civitate Romana, signa armaque in nostrum modum, desidiam licentiamque Graecorum retinebant. Classi quoque faces intulit, vacuo mari eludens, quia lectissimas Liburnicarum omnemque militem Mucianus Byzantium adegerat. Quin et barbari contemptim vagabuntur, fabricatis repente navibus; camaras vocant, arctis lateribus latam alvum sine vinculo aeris aut ferri con- nexam; et tumido mari, prout fluctus attollitur, summa navium tabulis augent, donec in modum tecti claudantur. Sic inter undas volvuntur, pari utrimque prora et mutabili remigio, quando hinc vel illinc appellere indiscretum et innoxium est.


XLIX. Dum hac totius orbis nutatione fortuna imperii transit, Primus Antonius nequaquam pari innocentia post Cremonam agebat, satisfactum bello ratus et cetera ex facili, seu felicitas in tali ingenio avaritiam, superbiam ceteraque occulta mala patefecit: ut captam, Italiam persultare; ut suas, legiones colere; omnibus dictis factisque viam sibi ad potentiam struere; utque licentia militem imbueret, interfectorum centurionum ordines legionibus offerebat: eo suffragio turbidissimus quisque delecti; nec miles in arbitrio
ducum, sed duces militari violentia trahebantur. Quae seditiosa et corrumpendae disciplinae mox in praedam vertebat, nihil adventantem Mucianum veritus, quod exitiosius erat quam Vespasianum spervisse.


LI. Celeberrimos auctores habeo tantam victoribus adversus fas nefasque irreverentiam fuisses, ut gregarius eques occisum a se proxima acie fratrem professus, praemium a ducibus petierit. Nec illis aut honorare eam caedem jus hominum aut ulisci ratio belli permettebat. Distulerant tanquam majora meritum quam quae statim exsolverentur; nec quicquam ultra traditur. Ceterum et prioribus civium bellis par seclus incidenter; nam proelio, quo apud Janicu- lum adversus Cinnam pugnatum est, Pompeianus miles fratrem suum, dein cognito facinore seipsum interfecit, ut Sisenna memorat: tanto acrior apud majores, sicut virtutibus gloria, ita flagitiis poenitentia fuit. Sed haece aliaque
ex veteri memoria petita, quotiens res locusque exempla recti aut solatia mali poscet, haud absurde memorabimus.


LIII. Aegre id pati Antonius, et culpam in Mucianum conferre, cujus criminationibus eviliussent pericula sua: nec sermonibus temperabat, immodicus linguæ et obsequii insolens: literas ad Vespasianum compositus jactantius quam ad principem, nec sine occulto in Mucianum insectatione: "se Pannonicas legiones in arma egisse; suis stimulis excitatos Moesiae duces, sua constantia perruptas Alpes, occupatam Italianam, intercepta Germanorum Raetorumque auxilia. Quod discordes dispersasque Vitellii legiones equestri procella, mox peditum vi per diem noctemque fudisset, id pulcherrimum et sui operis. Casum Cremonae bello imputandum: majore damno, plurium urbium excidiis veteres civium discordias reipublicae stetisse. Non se nuntius neque epistolis, sed manu et armis imperatoris suo militare: neque officere gloriae eorum, qui Asiæ interim composuerint: illis Moesiae paece, sibi salutem securitatemque Italiæ eordi fuisset. Suis exhortationibus Gallias Hispaniasque, validissimam terrarum partem, ad Vespasianum conversas. Sed eccidisse in irritum labores, si praemia periculorum soli
assequantur, qui periculis non affuerint." Nee fessellere ea Mucianum: inde graves simultates, quas Antonius simplierius, Mucianus callide eoque implacabilius nutriebat.

LIV. At Vitellius, fractis apud Cremonam rebus, nun-tios cladis occultans, stulta dissimulatione remedia potius malorum quam mala differebat. Quippe confidenti consultaquantique supererat spes viresque: cum e contrario laeta omnia fingeret, falsis ingravescebat. Mirum apud ipsum de bello silentium: prohibiti per civitatem sermones eoque plures, ac, si liceret, vere narraturi, quia vetabantur, atrociora vulgarant: Nec duces hostium augendae famae deinant, captos Vitellii exploratores circumductosque, ut robora victoris exercitus noscerent, remittendo; quos omnes Vitellius secreto percunctatus interi jussit. Notabili con-
15 stantia centurio Julius Agrestis, post multos sermones qui-bus Vitellium ad virtutem frustra accendebat, perpulit, ut ad vires hostium spectandas quaeque apud Cremonam acta forent ipse mitteretur. Nec exploratione occulta fallere Antonium tentavit, sed mandata imperatoris suumque ani-
20 mum professus, ut cuncta viseret, postulat. Missi, qui locum proelii, Cremonae vestigia, captas legiones ostende-rent. Agrestis ad Vitellium remeavit, abn Gentque vera esse quae afferret, atque ulter corrumpit arguenti, "quando-
quidem," inquit, "magni documento opus est, nec alius jam tibi aut vitae aut mortis meae usus, dabo que credas:" atque
25 ita digressus voluntaria morte dicta firmavit. Quidam jus-su Vitellii interfectum; de fide constantiaque eadem tradi-
dere.

LV. Vitellius, ut e somno excitus, Julium Priscum et 30 Alsenum Varum cum quatuordecim praetoriiis cohortibus et omnibus equitum alis obsidere Apenninum jubet. Secuta e classicis legio. Tot millia armatorum lecta equis virisque, si dux alius foret, inferendo quoque bello satis pollebant. Ceterae cohortes ad tuendam urbem L. Vitellio fratric datae. 35 Ipse nihil e solito luxu remittens et diffidentia properus festinare comitia, quibus consules in multos annos destinan-bat; foedera sociis, Latium externis dilargiri; his tributa dimittere, alios immunitatibus juvare; denique nulla in
posterum cura lacerare imperium. Sed vulgus ad magnitudinem beneficiorum aderat; stultissimus quisque pecuniis mercabatur; apud sapientes cassa habebantur, quae neque dari neque accipi salva república poterant. Tandem flagitante exercitu qui Mevaniam insederat, magno senātorum agmine, quorum multos ambitione, plures formidine trahebat, in castra venit, incertus animi et infidis consiliis obnoxius.

LVI. Concionanti (prodigiosum dictu) tantum foedarum volucrum supervolitavit, ut nube atra diem obtenderent. Accessit dirum omen, profugus altaribus taurus, disjecto sacrificii apparatu, longe nec ubi feriri hostias mos est confessus. Sed praecipuum ipse Vitellius ostentum erat, ignarus militiae, imprudens consili, quis ordo agminis, quae cura explorandi, quantus urgendo trahendove bello modus, alios rogitans, et ad omnes nuntios, vultu quoque et inessu trepidus, dein temulentus. Postremo taedio castrorum, et audita defectione Misenensis classis, Romam revertit, recentissimum quoque vulnus pavens, summi discriminis incuriosus. Nam eum transgredi Apenninum integro exercitus sui robore et fessos hieme atque inopia hostes aggredi in aperto foret, dum dispersit vires, acerrimum militem et usque in extrema obstinatum trucidandum capiendumque tradidit, peritissimis centurionum dissentientibus et, si consulenter, vera dicturis. Arcuere eos intimi amicorum Vitellii, ita formatis principis auribus, ut aspera quae utilia, nec quicquam nisi jucundum et laesurum acciperet.

LVII. Sed classem Misenensem (tantum civilibus discordiis etiam singulorum audacia valet) Claudius Faven·minus centurio per ignominiam a Galba dimissus ad defec·tionem traxit, fictis Vespasiani epistolis pretium prodicionis ostentans. Praecerat classi Claudius Apollinaris, neque fidei constans neque strenuus in perfidia: et Apinius Tiro praetura functus ac tum forte Minturnis agens ducem se defectoribus obtulit: a quibus municipia coloniaeque impulsae, praecipuo Puteolanorum in Vespasianum studio, contra Capua Vitellio fida, municipalem aemulationem bellis civilibus misc ebant. Vitellius Claudium Julianum (is nuper
classem Misenensem molli imperio rexerat) permulcendis militum animis delectit: data in auxilium urbana cohors et gladiatores, quibus Julianus praecerat. Ut collata utrimque castra, haud magna cunctatione Juliano in partes Vespasiani transgresso Tarracinam occupavere, moenibus situo magis quam ipsorum ingeniis dum.


LIX. Ut terrorem Italiam possessa Mevania ac velut rematum ex integro bellum intulerat, ita haud dubium erga Flavianas partes studium tam pavidus Vitellii discessus addidit. Erectus Samnis Pelignusque et Marsi nemulatione, quod Campania praevenisset, ut in novo obsequio, ad cuncta belli munia acres erant. Sed foeda hieme per transitum Apennini conflictatus exercitus, et vix quieto agmine nives...


X. C. Is. 69.]

LIBER III. CAP. LXIV, LXV, LXVI. 153

cianus composuit epistolas; quibus plerumque fidere Vitellius ac de numero servorum, electione litorum loqui. Tanta torpedo invaserat animum, ut, si principem eum fuisse ceteri non meminissent, ipse obliviscetur.

LXIV. At primores civitatis Flavium Sabinum praefectum urbis secretis sermonibus incitabant, "victoriae famaeque partem capesseret: esse illi proprium militem cohortium urbanarum, nec defuturas vigilum cohortes, servitia ipsorum, fortunam partium et omnia prona victoribus. Ne Antonio Varoque de gloria concederet. Paucas Vitellio cohortes, et maestis undique nuntiis trepidas: populi mobilem animum: et si ducem se praebuisset, easdem illas adulationes pro Vespasiano fore. Ipsum Vitellium ne prosperis quidem parem: adeo ruentibus debilitatum. Gratiam patrati belli penes eum, qui urbem occupasset. Id Sabino convenire, ut imperium fratri reservaret; id Vespasiano, ut ceteri post Sabinum haberentur."


LXVI. Quod si tam facile suorum mentes flexisset Vitellius quam ipse cesserat, ineruentam Urbem Vespasiani exereitus intrasset. Ceterum ut quisque Vitellio fidus, ita pacem et conditiones abnuebant, discrimen ac dedecus ostentantes, "et fidem in libidine victoris. Nec tantam Ves-
5 pecuniam et familiam et beatos Campaniae sinus promittii: sed ubi imperium Vespasianus invaserit, non ipsi, non amicis ejus, non denique exercitibus securitatem, nisi extinctor aemulatore, retitum. Fabium illis Valentinem, captivum et casibus dubiiis reservatum, praeegravemuisse: nenum
10 Primus ac Fuscus et speciem partium Mucianus ullam in Vitellium nisi occidendi licentiam habeant. Non a Caesare Pompeium, non ab Augusto Antonium incolumes relictos: nisi forte Vespasianus altiores spiritus gerat, Vitellii cliens, cum Vitellius collega Claudio foret. Quin ut censuram
15 patris, ut tres consulatus, ut tot egregiae domus honores decreet, desperatione saltem in audaciam acceingetur: perstare militem, superesse studia populi. Denique nihil atrócius eventurum quam in quod sponte ruant: moriendum victis, moriendum deditis: id solum referre, novissimum spiritum per ludibrium et contumeliis effundant an per virtutem."

LXVII. Surdæ ad fortia consilia Vitellio aures. Obruebatur animus miseratione curaque, ne pertinacibus armis minus placabilem victorem relinqueret conjugi ac liberis.
25 Erat illi et fessa aerate parens, quae tamen paucis ante diebus opportuna morte excidium domus praevenit, nihil principatu illii assequita nisi luctum et bonam famam. Quinto decimo Kalendas Januarii audita defectio legiones cohorfiumque, quae se Narniae dediderat, pullo amictu

LXVIII. Nec quisquam adeo rerum humanarum immemor, quem non commoveret illa facies, Romanum principem
35 et generis humani paulo ante dominum, relicta fortunae suae sede, per populum, per urbem exire de imperio. Nihil tale viderant, nihil audierant. Repentina vis dictatorem Caesarem oppresserat, occultae Caiium insidiae; nox et ig-

LXIX. Igitur, tanquam omnis respublica in Vespasiani sinum cessisset, primores senatus et plerique equestris ordinis omnisque miles urbanus et vigiles domum Flavii Sabini complevero: illue de studiis vulgi et minis Germanicarum cohortium affertur. Longius jam progressus erat quam ut regredi posset; et suo quisque metu, ne disjectos eoque minus validos Vitelliani consectarentur, cunctantem in arma impellebant. Sed quod in ejusmodi rebus accidit, consilium ab omnibus datum est, periculum pauci sumpsere. Circa lacum Fundani descendebantibus, qui Sabinum comitantur, armatis occurrunt promptissimi Vitellianorum. Modicum ibi proelium improviso tumultu, sed prosperum Vitellianis fuit. Sabinus re trepida, quod tutissimum e praesentibus, arcem capitollii insedit milite mixto et quibusdam senatorum equitumque, quorum nomina tradere haud promptum est, quoniam, victore Vespasiano, multi id meritum erga partes simulavere. Subierunt obsidium etiam feminae, inter quas maxime insignis Verulana Gratilla, neque liberos neque propinquos, sed bellum secreta. Vitellianus miles socii custodia clausos circumedit; eoque concubia nocte
suos liberos Sabinus et Domitianum fratris filium in capitolium accivit, misso per neglecta ad Flavianos duces nuntio, qui circumsideri ipsos et, ni subveniretur, arctas res nuntiaret. Noctem adeo quietam eget, ut digredi sine noxa puterit: quippe miles Vitellii adversus pericula ferox, labores et vigillii parum intentus erat, et hibernus imber repente fusus oculos auresque impediebat.

LXX. Luce prima Sabinus, antequam invicem hostilia coeptarent, Cornelium Martiale e primipilaribus ad Vitellium misit cum mandatis et questu quod pacta turbarentur. "Simulationem prorsus et imaginem deponendi imperii fuisse, ad decipiendos tot illustres viros. Cur enim e rostris fratris domum, imminentem foro et irritandis hominum oculis, quam Aventinum et penates uxoris petisset? Ita privato et omnem principatus speciem vitanti convenisse. Contra Vitellium in palatium, in ipsam imperii arcem regressum; inde armatum agmen emissum; stratam innocentium caedibus celeberrimam urbis partem; ne capitolio quidem abstineri. Togatum nempe se et unum e senatoribus, dum inter Vespasianum ac Vitellium proelii legionum, captivitatis urbium, dedsionibus cohortium judicatur; jam Hispaniis Germaniisque et Britannia descissentibus fratrem Vespasiani mansisse in fide, donec ultro ad conditiones vocaretur. Pacem et concordiam victis utilia, victoribus tantum pulchra esse. Si conventionis poeniteat, non se, quem perfidia deceperit, ferro peteret, non filium Vespasiani vix pubere. Quantum occasio uno sene et uno juveme profici? iret obviam legionibus, et de summa rerum illic certaret: cetera secundum eventum proeli jcessura."

30 Trepidus ad haec Vitellius paucæ purgandi sui causa respondit, culpam in militem conferens, cujus nimio ardori imparem esse modestiam suam. Et monuit Martiale ut per secretam aedium partem occulte abiret, ne a miliiibus internuntius invasae pacis interificeretur: ipso neque jubeundi neque vetandi potens, non jam imperator, sed tantum belli causa erant.

LXXI. Vix dum regresso in Capitolium Martiale, fures miles aderat, nullo duce, sibi quisque auctor: cito agmine

LXXII. Id facinus post conditam urbem luctuosissimum foedissimumque reipublicæ populi Romani accidit nullo externo hoste, propitiis, si per mores nostros liceret, deis, sedem Jovis Optimi Maximi auspicato a majoribus pignus imperii conditam, quam non Porsena dedita urbe, neque Galli capit, témere potuissent, fureo principum exscindi! Arserat et ante Capitolium civili bello, sed fraude privata; nunc palam obsessum, palam incensum: quibus armorum causis? quo tantæ cladis pretio stetit? pro patria bellavi mus? Voverat Tarquinius Priscus rex bello Sabino, jecerratque fundamenta spe magis futurae magnitudinis, quam quo modicae adhuc populi Romani res sufficerent. Mox Servius Tullius sociorum studio, dein Tarquinius Superbus capta Suessa Pometia hostium spoliis exstruxere. Sed gloria operis libertati reservata: pulsis regibus, Horatius Pulvillus iterum consul dedicavit, ea magnificentia, quam immensae postea populi Romani opes ornarent potius, quam
augerent. Isdem rursus vestigiis situm est, postquam in
terjecto quadringerentorum viginti quinque annorum spatio
L. Scipione, C. Norbano consulibus, flagraverat. Curam
victor Sulla suscepit, neque tamen dedicavit: hoc solum
5 felicitati ejus negatum. Lutatii Catuli nomen inter to
Caesarum opera usque ad Vitellium mansit. Ea tune aede
cremabatur.

LXXIII. Sed plus pavoris obsessis quam obsessoribui
intulit. Quippe Vitellianus miles neque astu neque con
10 stantia inter dubia indigebat. Ex diverso trepidi milites
dux segnis et velut captus animi, non lingua, non auribus
competere; neque alienis consiliis regi, neque sua expedite
huc illuc clamoribus hostium circumagi; quae jussaret ve
tare, quae vetuerat jubere. Mox, quod in perditis rebu
15 accidit, omnes praeceperc, nemo exsequi: postremo abjecti
armis, fugam et fallendi artes circumspectabant. Irrume
punt Vitelliani et cuncta sanguine, ferro flammisque mis
cent. Pauci militarium virorum, inter quos maxime insigne
Cornelius Martialis, Aemilius Pacensis, Casperius Niger
20 Didius Scaeva, pugnam ausi obtuncantur. Flaviun Sabi
num inermem neque fugam coeptantem circumisstunt, et
Quintium Atticum consulem, umbra honoris et suamet vultuq
nate monstratum, quod edicta in populum pro Vespasianu
magnifica, probrosa adversus Vitellium jecerat. Ceteri pe
25 varios casus elapsi, quidam servili habitu, alii fide cliuentiu
contecti et inter sarcinas abditi. Fuere qui excepto Vite
llianorum signo, quo inter se noseebantur, ultro rogitante
respondentesve audaciam pro latebra habuerent.

LXXIV. Domitianus prima irruptione apud aeditum
30 occultatus, sollertia liberti lineo amictu turbae sacricolarum
immixtus ignoratusque, apud Cornelium Primum paternum
clientem juxta Velabrum delituit. Ac potestate rerum
patre, disjecto aeditui contubernio, modicum sacellum jovi
conservatorius aramque posuit casus suos in marmore ex
35 pressam. Mox imperium adeptus jovi custodi templum
ingens sequens in sinu dei sacravit. Sabinus et Atticus
onerati catenis et ad Vitellium ducti, nequaquam infestu
sermone vultuque excipiuntur, frementibus qui jus caedis e
praemia enavatae operae petebant. Clamore a proximis orto sordida pars plebis supplicium Sabini exposcit, minas adulationesque miscet. Stantem pro gradibus palatii Vitellium et preces parantem pervicere, ut absisteret. Tum confossum collaceratumque, et abscisso capite, truncum corpus Sabini in Gemonias trahunt.

LXXV. Hic exitus viri haud sane spernendi. Quinque et triginta stipendia in republica fecerat, domi militiaeque clarus: innocentiam justitiamque ejus non argueres; sermonis nimius erat: id unum septem annis quibus Moesiam, duodecem quibus praefecturam urbis obtinuit, calumniatus est rumor. In fine vitae alii segnem, multi moderatum et civium sanguinis parcum credidere. Quod inter omnes constiterit, ante principatum Vespasiani decus domus penes Sabinum erat. Caedem ejus laetam fuisse Muciano accepimus. Ferebant plerique etiam paci consultum, dirempta aemulatione inter duos, quorum alter se fratrem imperatoris, alter consortem imperii cogitaret. Sed Vitellius consulis supplicium poscenti populo restitit, placatus ac velut vicem reddens, quod interrogantibus quis Capitolium incendisset, se reum Atticus obtulerat: eaque confessione, sive aptum temporae mendacium fuit, invidiam crimenque agnovisse et a partibus Vitellii amolitus videbat.

LXXVI. Iisdem diebus L. Vitellius positis apud Fe- roniam castris excidio Tarracinae imminebat, clausis illic gladiatoribus remigibusque, qui non egredi moenia neque periculum in aperto audebant. Praecerat, ut supra memoravimus, Julianus gladiatoribus, Apollinaris remigibus, lascivia socordiaque gladiatorum magis quam ducum similes; non vigiliae agere, non intuta moenium firmare, noctu dieque fluxi et amoena littorum personantes, in ministerium luxus dispersis militibus, de bello tantum inter convivia loquebantur. Paucos ante dies discesserat Apinius Tiro, donisque ac pecuniis acerbe per municipia conquendis plus invidiae quam virium partibus addebat.

LXXVII. Interim ad L. Vitellium servus Verginii Capitonis perfugit, pollucitusque, si praesidium acciperet, vacuam arcem tradi futurum, multa nocte cohortes expeditas sum-
mis montium jugis super caput hostium sistit: inde miles ad caedem magis quam ad pugnam decurrit: sternunt inermos aut arma capientes, et quosdam somno excitos, cùm tenebris, pavore, sonitu tubarum, clamore hostilì turbaren.


10 Ipse lauream gestae prospere rei ad fratrem misit, percunctatus, statim regredi se an perdomandae Campaniae insistere juberet. Quod salutare non modo partibus Vespasiani, sed reipublicae fuit: nam si recens victoria miles et super insitam pervicaciam secundis ferox Romam contenteret.

15 dissed, haud parva mole certatum nec sine exitio urbis fuerit: quippe L. Vitellio quamvis infami inerat industria; nec virtutibus, ut boni, sed, quo modo pessimus quisque, vitius valebat.


30 Sed cuncta festinatione, deinde ignavia Sabini corrupta, qui sumptis temere armis munitissimam Capitolii arcem et ne magnis quidem exercitibus expugnabilem adversus tres cohortes tueri nequivisset. Haud facile quis uni assignaverit
culpam, quae omnium fuit: nam et Mucianus ambiguis epistolis victores morabatur, et Antonius praepostero obseqvio, vel dum regerit invidiam, crimen meruit; ceterique duces, dum peractum bellum putant, finem ejus insignivere. Ne Petilius quidem Cerialis cum mille equitibus praemissus, ut transversis itineribus per agrum Sabinum Salaria via urbem introiret, satis maturaverat, donec obsessi capitolii firma cunctos simul exciret.


14*
C. CORN. TACITI HISTOR. [A. U. 822.

LXXXI. Miscuerat se legatis Musonius Rufus equestris ordinis, studium philosophiae et placita Stoicorum acuula-
tus; coeptabatque, permixtus manipulis, bona pacis ac belli
discrimina disserens, armatos monere. Id plerisque ludi-
brio, pluribus taedio: nec deerant, qui propellerent procul-
carentque, ni admonitori modestissimi cujusque et aliiis mini-
tantibus omisisset intempestivam sapientiam. Obviae fuere
eae Vestales cum epistolis Vitellii ad Antonium script-
tis: eximi supremo certamin unum diei postulabat: si
moram interjicissent, facilius omnia conventura. Virgines
cum honore dimissae: Vitellio rescriptum Sabini caede et
incendio Capitolii dirempta belli commercia.

LXXXII. Tentavit tamen Antonius vocatas ad concionem
legiones mitigare, ut castris juxta pontem Mulvium positis,
postera die urbem ingredierunt. Ratio cunctandi, ne as-
peratus proelio miles non populo, non senatu, ne templis
quidem ac delubris deorum consuleret. Sed omnem prola-
tionem ut inimicam victoriae suspicabant. Simul fulgentia
per colles vexilla, quamquam imbellis populus sequeretur,
speciem hostilis exercitus fecerant. Tripartito agmine pars,
ut adstiterat, Flaminia via, pars juxta ripam Tiberis incessit;
tertium agmen per Salaria Collinae portae propinquabat.
Plebs invectis equitibus fusa: miles Vitellianus trinis et ipse
praesidii occurrat. Proelia ante urbem multa et varia, sed
Flavianis consilio ducum praestantibus saepius prospera. li
tantum conflictati sunt, qui in partem sinistram urbis ad
Sallustianos hortos per angusta et lubrica viarum flexerant.
Superstantes maceriis hortorum Vitelliani ad serum usque
diem saxis pilisque subeuntes arcebant, donec ab equitibus,
qui porta Collina irruperant, circumvenirentur. Concurrere
et in campo Martio infestae acies. Pro Flavianis fortuna et
parta totiens victoria; Vitelliani desperatione sola ruebant:
et quam pulsi, rursus in urbe congregabantur.

LXXXIII. Aderat pugnantibus spectator populus, utque
in ludiero certamine, hos, rursus illos clamore et plausu
fovebat: quotiens pars altera inclinasset, abditos in tabernis
aut si quam in domum perfugerant, erui jugularique expos-
tulantes parte majore praedae potiebantur. Nam milite ad
sanguinem et caedes obverso, spolia in vulgus cedebant. Saeva ac deformis urbe tota facies: alibi proelia et vulnera, alibi balinæae popinæaque; simul cruor et strues corporum, juxta scorta et sortis similis; quantum in luxurioso otio libidinum, quicquid in acerbissima captivitate secelerum, prorsus ut eandem civitatem et furere crederes et lascivire. Conflixerant ante armati exercitus in urbe, bis L. Sulla, semel Cinna victoribus; nee tunc minus crudelitatis: nunc inhumana securitas, et ne minimum quidem temporis voluptates intermissae: velut festis diebus id quoque gaudium accederet, exsultabant, fruebantur, nulla partium cura, malis publicis laeti.


LXXXV. Vitellius capta urbe per aversam palatii partem Aventinum in domum uxoris sellula defertur, ut si diem latebra vitavisset, Tarracianam ad cohortes fratremque perfugeret. Dein mobilitate ingenii, et quæ natura pavoris est, cum omnia metuenti praesentia maxime displicerent, in palatium regreditur vastum desertumque, dilapsis etiam infimis servitiorum aut occurrum ejus declinantibus. Terret solitudo et tacentes loci; tentat clausa, inhorrescit vacuis; fessusque misero errore et pudenda latebra semet occultans, ab Julio Placido tribuno cohortis protrahitur. Vinctae

15 LXXXVI. Patria illi Luceria: septimum et quinquagesimum aetatis annum explebat. Consulatum, sacerdotia, nomen locumque inter primores nulla sua industria, sed cuncta patris claritudine adeptus. Principatum ei detulere, qui ipsum non overant. Studia exercitus raro cuiquam, bonis artibus quaesita, perinde affueret, quam huie per ignaviam. Inerat tamen simplicitas ac liberalitas; quae, ni adsit modus, in exitium vertuntur. Amicitias, dum magnitudine munerum, non constantia morum continere putat, meruit magis quam habuit. Reipublicae haud dubie int- rerat Vitellium vinci: sed imputare perfidiam non possunt, qui Vitellium Vespasiano prodidere, cum a Galba descivisent. Praecipiti in occasum die, ob pavorem magistratum senatorumque, qui dilapsi ex urbe aut per domos clientium semet occultabant, vocari senatus non potuit. Domitiai, postquam nihil hostile metuebatur, ad duces partium progressum et Caesarem consulatum, miles frequens, utquo erat in armis, in paternos penites deduxit.
C. CORNELII TACITI

HISTORIARUM

LIBER QUARTUS.

BREVIAIRIUM LIBRI.


XXXI. Nuntiato Cremonensi praelio, auxilia Gallorum a Vitellio desciscunt. Suos quoque Hordeonius in Vespasiani verba adigit haestiantes. XXXII. Ad Civilem missus Montanus, ut a bello absistere jubeat, ab ipso tentatur. XXXIII, XXXIV. Cum Vocula confligit


LXIII—LV. Colonia Agrippinensis, Traverhenanis gentibus invisa, in summum discrimen adducta, cum Civile societatem init, Veledae Numen donis placat. LXVI. Civilis Betasios, Tungros, Nervios in fidel accipit. LXVII. Fusi Lingones a Sequanis; J. Sabinus victus latet. LXVIII. Mucianus cum Domitian ad bellum accingitur. LIX. Romi Galliae in fide Romana conservant, exceptis Treveris atque Lingonibus. LXX. Sed nee ille nec reliquis civitatibus, nec ipsis ducibus, satis consilii ac concordia. Tutor ad Bugium victus. LXXI. Petilius Cerialis Magontiacum venit, spes Romanorum erigit, Valentinum duece magna strage aecupit. LXXII. Treveros intrat. Miltibus, exitium urbis persecutibus, resistit. Victas legiones in castra recepit. LXXIII, LXXIV. Trove-
ros et Lingonas officii admonet. LXXV. Civilis et Classicus ad Cerialem literas mittunt, ad quas ille nihil. LXXVI. Civilis cunctandum, Tutor et Classicus statim pugnandum, statuunt. LXXVII, LXXVIII. Atrox praelium, quo Cerialis, initio victus, mox victor castra hostium exscindit. LXXIX. Agrippinenses a Germanis desicuunt. LXXX. Mucianus Vitellii filium interficit. Antonius Primus, ad Vespasianum praefectus non pro pro epi excipitur. LXXXI. Multus miracus coelestis in Vespasianum favor ostensus. Ipse oculorum tabe notum, alium manu aegrum, sanitati restituit. LXXXII. Confirmatur omine in templo Serapidis, cujus LXXXIII, LXXXIV, origo Sinopensis, templum Alexandriae magnificum, nomen. LXXXV. Valentinus supplicio affectus. LXXXVI. Domitianus, frustra tentato Ceriali, an sibi exercitum imperiumque traditurus foret, literarum studium et amorem carminum simulat.

Gesta haec partim eodem anno, partim IMP. VESPASIANO ITERUM, TITO FIL. CESS.


II. Nomen sedemque Caesari Domitianus acceperat, nondum ad curas intentus, sed stupris et adulteriiis filium principis agebat. Praefectura praetorii penes Arrium Varum, summa potentiae, in Primo Antonio: is pecuniam


V. Res poscere videtur, quia iterum in mentionem inciduntus virtae sapientes memorandi, ut vitam studiaque ejus, et qui fortuna sit usus, paucis repetam. Helvidius Priscus Tarracinae municipio, Cluvio patre qui ordinem primipili duxisset, ingenium illustre altioribus studiis juvenis admodum dedit, non ut plerique, ut nomine magnifico segne otium velaret, sed quo firmior adversus fortuita rempublicam capesseret: doctores sapientiae secutus est, qui sola bona, quae honesta, malà tantum, quae turpia; potentiam, nobilitatem ceteraque extra animum neque bonis neque malis annumerant. Quaestorius adhuc a Paeto Thrasea gener delectus, e moribus soceri nihil acque ac libertatem hausit: civis, senator, maritus, gener, amicus, cunctis vitae officiis aequabilis, opum contemptor, recti pervicax, constantis adversus metus.

VI. Erant, quibus appetentior famae videretur, quando etiam sapientibus cupidó gloriae novissima exuitur. Ruina socieri in exsilium pulsus, ut Galbae principatu rediit, Mar-

VII. Sed Marcelli studium proprius rubor excitabat, ne aliis electis, posthabitus crederetur. Paulatimque per altercationem ad continuas et infestas orationes provecti sunt quaerente Helvidio, “quid ita Marcellus judicium magistratu pavesceret? esse illi pecuniam et eloquentiam, qui multos anteiret, ni memoria flagitiorum urgeretur. Sorte et urna mores non discerni: suffragia et existimationen senatus reperta, ut in cjuisque vitam famamque penetra rent: pertinere ad utilitatem reipublicae, pertinere ad Ves pasiani honorem, occurrere illi, quos innocentissimos senatu habeat, qui honestis serenibus aures Imperatoris imbuant.

20 Fuisse Vespasiano amicitiam cum Thrasea, Sorano, Sentio quorum accusatores, etiamsi puniri non oporteat, ostetan non debere: hoc senatus judicio velut admonerii Principem quos probet, quos reformidet: nullum majus boni imperi instrumentum quam bonos amicos esse: satis Marcello quod Neronem in exitium tot innocentium impulerit. Frue retur praemiis et impunitate; Vespasianum melioribus re linqueret.”

VIII. Marcellus, “non suam sententiam impugnari, sed consulem designatum censuisse” dicebat, “secundum vetera exempla, quae sortem legationibus posuissent, ne ambition aut inimicitii locas foret. Nihil evenisse, cur antiquitatis instituta exolescerent, aut Principis honor in cjuisquam contumeliam verteretur: sufficere omnes obsequio: id ma-
gis vitandum, ne pervicacia quorundam irritaretur animus novo principatu suspensus et vultus quoque ac sermones omnium circumstances. Se meminisse temporum quibus natus sit, quam civitatis formam patres avique instituerint; ulteriora mirari, praesentia sequi; bonos imperatores voto expetere, qualescumque tolerare. Non magis sua oratione Thraseam quam judicio senatus afflictum. Saevitiam Ne- ronis per ejusmodi imagines illusisse, nec minus sibi anxiam talem amicitiam quam aliis exsillium. Denique constantia, fortitudine Catonibus et Brutis aequaretur Helvidius; se unum esse ex illo senatu, qui simul servierit. Suadere etiam Prisco, ne supra Principem scanderet, ne Vespasia- num senem triumphalem, juvem liberorum patrem praecptis coerceret. Quomodo pessimis imperatoribus sine fine dominationem, ita quamvis egregiis modum libertatis placere.” Haec magnis utrimque contentionibus jactata, diversis studiis accipiebantur. Vicit pars, quae sortiri legatos malebat, etiam mediis patrum annitentibus retinere morem. Et splendidissimus quisque eodem inclinabat metu invidiae, si ipsi eligenterunt.


X. Tum inventus est Musonius Rufus in Publum Cele- rem, a quo Baream Soranum falso testimonio circumventum arguebat. Ea cognitione renovari odio accusationum vide- bantur: sed vilis et nocens reus protegi non poterat. Quippe Sorani sancta memoria; Celer professus sapientiam, dein testis in Baream, proditor corruptorque amicitiae cujus se


25 XII. Iisdem diebus crebrescentem eladis Germaniae famam, nequaquam maesta civitas excipiebat: caesos exercitus, capta legionum hiberna, descivisse Gallias, non ut mala loquebantur. Id bellum quibus causis ortum, quanto exte- narum sociarumque gentium motu flagraverit, altius expe- 30 diam. Batavi, donec trans Rhenum agebant, pars Catto- rum: seditio domestica pulsi, extrema Gallica orae vacua cultoribus, simulque insulam inter vada sitam occupavere, quam mare Oceanum a fronte, Rhenus annis tergum ac latera circumluit; nec opibus Romanis, societate validio- 35 rum, attriti, viros tantum armaque imperio ministrant; diu Germanicis bellis exerciti; mox aucta per Britanniam gloria, transmissis illuc cohortibus, quas vetere instituto nobilissimi popularium regebant. Erat et domi delectus eq' es, prae-
cipuo nandi studio arma equosque retinens integris turmis Rhenum perrumpere.


XIV. Igitur Civilis desciscendi certus, occultato interim altiore consilio, cetera ex eventu judicaturus, novare res hoc modo coepit. Jussu Vitellii, Batavorum juventus ad delectum vocabatur; quem, suapte natura gravem, onerabant ministri avaritia ac luxu, senes aut invalidos conquirendo, quos pretio dimitterent; rursus impubes sed formae conspicui (et est plerisque procera pueritia) ad stuprum trahbantur. Hinc invidia; et compositae seditionis auctores perpulere, ut delectum abnuerent. Civilis primores gentis et promptissimos vulgi, specie epularum sacrum in nemus vocatos, ubi nocte ac laetitia incaluisse videt, a laude gloriae gentis orsus, injustias et raptus et cetera servitii mala enumerat. "Neque enim societatem, ut olim, sed tanquam mancipia haber: quando legatum, gravi quidem comitatu et superbco cum imperio, venire? tradi se praefectis centurionibusque; quos ubi spoliiis et sanguine expleverint, mutari, exquirique novos sinus et varia praedandi vocabula.

Instare delectum, quo liberi a parentibus, fratres a fratribus velut supremum dividantur. Nunquam magis afflictem rem Romanam, nec aliud in hibernis quam praeda et senes:
attollerent tantum oculos et inania legionum nomina ne pavescerent. At sibi robur peditum equitumque, consanguineos Germanos, Gallias idem cupientes: ne Romanis quidem ingratum id bellum, cujus ambiguum fortunam Vespasianu

5 pasiano imputaturos: victoriae rationem non reddi.”


10 Igitur ipso rebellis familiae nomine placuit, impositusque scuto more gentis, et sustinentium humeris vibratus, dux deligitur. Statimque accitis Frisiis (transrhenana gens est) duarum cohortium hiberna proxima occupatu, Oceano irrupit. Nec praeviderant impetum hostium milites; nec si praevidentissent, satis virium ad arcendum erat. Capta igitur ac direpta castra: dein vagos et pacis modo effusos lixas negotiatoresque Romanos invadunt. Simul excidiis castellorum imminebat; quae a praefectis cohortium incensant, quia defendi nequibant. Signa vexillaque et quoc

15 militum in superiorem insulae partem congregantur, duce Aquilio primipilari, nomen magis exercitus quam robur. Quippe, viribus cohortium abductis, Vitellius e proximis Nerviorum Germanorumque pagis segnum numerum armis oneraverat.

20 XVI. Civilis dolo grassandum ratus, incusavit ultimo praefectos, quod castella deseruissent. “Sese cum cohorte, cum praerat, Canninefatem tumultum compressurum; illi suum quisque hiberna repetere.” Subesse fraudem consilio, et dispersas cohortes facilius opprimi, nec Brinnonem ducem ejus belli sed Civilem esse patuit, erumpentibus paulatim indiciis, quae Germani, laeta bello gens, non diu occultaverant. Ubi insidiae parum cessere, ad vim transgressus Canninefates, Frisios, Batavos propriis cuncis componit: direct
ex diverso acies haud procul a flumine Rheno, et obversis in hostem navibus, quas, incensis castellis, illue appulerant: nec diu certato, Tungrorum cohors signa ad Civilem trans-tulit; percusisse milites improvisa proditione a sociis hos-tibusque caedebantur. Eadem etiam navibus perfidia. Pars remigum e Batavis, tanquam imprudentia, officia nautarum pro-pugnatorumque impediebant: mox contra tendere, et puppes hostili ripae objicere: ad postremum gubernatores centu- rionesque, nisi eadem volentis, trucidant, donec universa quatuor et viginti navium classis transfugeret aut cape-retur.

fessos: dum alii Vespasianum, alii Vitellium foveant, patere locum adversus utrumque."

XVIII. Sic in Gallias Germaniasque intentus, si destinata provenisset, validissimarum ditissimarumque nationum regno imminebat. At Flaccus Hordeoiius primos Civilis conatus per dissimulationem aluit. Ubi expugnata castra, deletas cohortes, pulsum Batavorum insula Romanum nomen trepidi nutii afferebant, Munium. Lupercum legatum (is duarum legionum hibernis pracerat) egredi adversus hostem jubet. Lupercus legionarios e praesentibus, Ubios e proximis, Treverorum equites haud longe agentis raptim transmisit, addita Batavorum ala, quae jam pridem corrupta fidem simulabat, ut proditis in ipsa acie Romanis, majore pretio fugeret. Civilis captarum cohortium signis circumdatus, ut suo militi recens gloria ante oculos, et hostes memoria cladis terrerentur, matrem suam sororesque, simul omnium conjuges parvosque consistere a tergo jubet, hortamenta victoriae vel pulsis pudorem. Ut virorum cantu, feminarum ululatu sonuit acies, nequaquam par a legionibus cohortibusque redditur clamor. Nudaverat sinistrum cornu Batavorum ala transfugiens statimque in nos versa: sed legionarius miles, quamquam rebus trepidis, arma ordinesque retinebat. Ubiorum Treverorumque auxilia, foeda fuga dispersa, totis campis palantur. Illuc incubuere Germani; et fuit interim effugium legionibus in castra, quibus Vete-

rum nomen est. Praefectus alae Batavorum Claudius La-beo, oppidano certamine aemulius Civili, ne interfecus invidi
diam apud popularcs vel, si retineretur, semina discordiae praebaret, in Frisios avehitur.

XIX. Iisdem diebus Batavorum et Canninefatium cohortes, cum jussu Vitellii in urbem pergerent, missus a Civile nuntius ussequitur. Intumure statim superbia fero西亚que, et pretium itineris donativum, duplex stipendium, augeri equi-
tum numerum, promissa sano a Vitellio, postulabant, non ut assequerentur, sed causam seditioni. Et Flaccus multa concedendo nihil uliud essecerat, quam ut acrius exposecerent, quae sciebant negaturum. Spreto Flacco inferioriem Ger-
maniam petivere, ut Civili jungerentur. Hordeoiius, adhi-
bitis tribunis centurionibusque, consultavit, num obsequium abnuentes vi coerceret. Mox insita ignavia et trepidis ministris, quos ambiguus auxiliorum animus et subito delectu suppletae legiones angebant, statuit continere intra castra militem. Dein poenitentia, et arguentibus ipsis, qui suasertant, tanquam secuturus, scripsit Herennio Gallo legionis primae legato, qui Bonnam obtinebat, ut arceretur transitu Batavos: se cum exercitu tergis eorum haesurum. Et opprimit poterant, si hinc Hordeo(nius, inde Gallus, motis utrimque copiis, medios clausissent. Flaccus omisit inceptum, allisque aliisque Uteris Galium monuit, ne terreret abeuntes. Unde suspicio sponte legatorum excita bellum, cunctaque quae acciderant aut metuebantur, non inertia militis neque hostium vi sed fraude ducum evenire.


XXI. Civilis adventu veteranarum cohortium, justi jam exercitus ductor sed consilii ambiguus et vim Romanam reputans, cunctos qui aderant in verba Vespasiani adigit, mittitque legatos ad duas legiones, quae priore acie pulsae

10 XXII. Adversus has concurrentis bellis minas, legati legionum Munius Lupercus et Numisius Rufus vallum murosque firmabant. Subversa longae pacis opera, haud procul castris in modum municipii exstructa, ne hostibus usui forent. Sed parum provisum, ut copiae in castra convenirent: rapi permiserit; ita paucis diebus per licentiam absunt, quae adversus necessitates in longum suffecissent. Civilis medium agmen cum robore Batavorum obtinens, utramque Rheni ripam, quo truculentior visu foret, Germanorum catervis complet, assultante per campos equite.

20 Simul naves in adversum amnem agebantur. Hinc veterinarum cohortium signa, inde depromptae silvis lucisque ferarum imagines, ut eique genti inire proelium mos est, mixta belli civilis externae facie obstupefecerat obsessos: et spem oppugnantium augebat amplitudo valli, quod duas legionibus situm vix quinque millia armatorum Romanorum tuebantur; sed lixarum multitudo turbata pace illuc congregata et bello ministra aderat.

30 Germanias Augustus crediderat, neque unquam id malorum, ut oppugnatum ultrò legiones nostras venirent. Inde non loco neque munimentis labor additus: vis et arma satis placebant. Batavi Transrhenanique, quo discreta virtus manifestius spectaretur, sibi quaeque gens consistunt, eminus lacessentes. Post, ubi pleraque telorum turribus pinonisque monium irrita haerabant et desuper saxis vulnerabant, clamore atque impetu invasere vallum, appositis plerique scalis, alii per testudinem suorum: seandebantque

XXIV. Flaccus interim, cognito castrorum obsidio, et missis per Gallias qui auxilia concirent, lectos e legionibus Dillio Voculae duodevicesimae legionis legato tradit, ut quam maximis per ripam itineribus celeraret, ipse navibus, invalidus corpore, invisus militibus: neque enim ambigue fremebant, emissas a Magontiaco Batavorum cohortes, simulatos Civilis conatus, asciri in societatem Germanos: non Primi Antonii neque Muciani ope Vespasianum magis adolevisse: aperta odia armaque palam depelli: fraudem et dolum obscura, eoque inevitabilia. Civilem stare contra, struere aciem: Hordeonium e cubiculo et lectulo jubere, quicquid hosti conducat. Tot armatas fortissimorum virorum manus unius senis valetudine regi. Quin potius, interfecto traditore, fortunam virtutemque suam malo omne exsolverent. His inter se vocibus instinctos flammavere insuper allatae a Vespasiano literae, quas Flaccus, quia occultari nequiban, pro concione recitavit, vinctosque, qui attulerant, ad Vitellium misit.

XXV. Sic mitigatis animis Bonnam, hiberna primae legionis, ventum. Infensior illic miles culpam cladis in Hordeonium vertebat: "ejus jussu directam adversus Batavos aciem, tanquam a Magontiaco legiones sequerentur; ejusdem proditione caesos, nullis supervenientibus auxiliis. Ignota haec ceteris exercitibus, neque imperatori suo nun-

XXVI. Sed discordes animos multa efferabant, inopio stipendii frumentique, et simul delectum tributaque Galliae asperrantes, Rhenus incognita illi coelo siccitate vix navium patiens, arcti commeatus, dispositae per omnem ripam stationes quae Germanos vado arcerent, eademque de causa minus frugum, et plures qui consumerent. Apud imperitos prodigii loco accipiebatur ipsa aquarum penuria, tanquam nos annes quoque et vetera imperii munimenta desererent: quod in pace fors seu natura, tunc fatum et ira dei vocabatur. Ingressis Novesium sextadecima legio conjungitur. Additus Voculae in partem curarum Herennius Gallus legatus; nec ausi ad hostem pergere, loco cui Gel-duba nomen est castra fecere. Ibi struenda acie, munendo vallandoque et ceteris belli meditamentis militem fir-mabant; utque praeda ad virtutem accenderetur, in proximos Gugernorum pagos, qui societatem Civilis aceperant, ductus a Vocula exercitus. Pars cum Herennio Gallo permaniit.


XXIX. Congestis circum lignis accensisque, simul epu- lantes, ut quisque vino incaluerat, ad pugnam temeritate


XXXI. Hae in Germania ante Cremonense proelium gesta, cujus eventum literae Primi Antonii docuere, addito Caecinac edicto. Et praefectus cohortis e victis Alpinus Montanus, fortunam partium praesens fatebatur. Diversi hinc motus animorum. Auxilia e Gallia, quis nec amor neque odium in partes, militia sine affectu, hortantibus praefectis statim a Vitellio desciscunt: vetus miles cunctabatur. Sed adigente Hordeonio Flacco, instantibus tribunis, dixit sacramentum, non vultu neque animo satis affirmans; et cum cetera jurisjurandi verba conciperent, Vespasiani nomen haesitantes aut levi murmure et plerumque silentio transmittebant.

XXXII. Lectae deinde pro concione epistolae Antonii ad

XXXIII. Civilis, parte copiarum retenta, veteranas cohortes et quod e Germanis maxime promptum, adversus Volum exercitumque ejus mittit, Julio Maximo et Claudio Victore, sororis suae filio, ducibus. Rapiunt in transitu hiberna alae Asciburgii sita; adeoque improvisa castra involavere, ut non alloqui, non pandere aciem Voca potuerit. Id solum, ut in tumultu, monuit, subsignano milite media firmare: auxilia passim circumfusa sunt. Eques prorupit, exceptaque compositis hostium ordibus terga in suos vertit. Caedes inde, non proelium. Et Nerviorum cohortes, metu seu perfidia, latera nostrorum nudavere. Sic ad legiones perventum: quae, amissis signis, intra vallum sternebantur, cum repente novo auxilio fortuna pugnae mutatur. Vasconum lectae a Galba cohortes ac tum accitae, dum castris propinquant, audito proeliantium clamore, intentos hostes a tergo invadunt, latioremque quam pro numero
terrorem faciunt, aliis a Novesio, aliis a Magontiaco universas copias advenisse credentibus. Is error Romanis addit animos, et, dum alienis viribus confidunt, suas receperis. Fortissimus quisque e Batavis, quantum peditum erat, fundit: eque evasi cum signis captivisque, quos prima acie corripuerant. Caesorum eo die in partibus nostris major numerus et immellior; et Germanis ipsa robora.


XXXV. Sed Vocula, omissis fugientium tergis, vallum

petu, metus reedit, centuriones cum epistolis ad civitates Galliarum misere, auxilia ac stipendia oraturos.

XXXVII. Ipsi, ut est vulgi sine rectore praeceps, pavidum, socors, adventante Civile, raptis temere armis ac 5 statim omissis, in fugam vertuntur. Res adversae discordiam peperere, iis, qui e superiore exercitu erant, causam suam dissociantibus. Vitellii tamen imagines in castris et per proximas Belgarum civitates repositea, cum jam Vitellius occidisset. Dein mutati in poenitetiam primani quadrantique et duodevicesimani Vocolam sequuntur; apud quem, resumpto Vespasiani sacramento, ad liberandum Magontiaci obsidium ducebantur. Discesserant obsessores, mixtus ex Cattis, Usipiis, Mattiacis exercitus, satietate praeda nec incruenti. In via dispersos et nescios miles 15 noster invaserat. Quin et loricam vallumque per fines suos Treveri struxere, magnisque invicem cladibus cum Germanis certabant, donee egregia erga populum Romanum merita mox rebelles foedarent.

XXXVIII. Interea Vespasianus iterum ac Titus consula-20 tum absentes inierunt, maesta et multiplexi metu suspensa civitate, quae super instantia mala falsos pavores induerat, descivisse Africam, res novas moliente L. Pisone. Is prae-erat provinciae, nequaquam turbidus ingenio: sed quia naves saevitia hiemis prohibebantur, vulgus alimenta in 25 dies mercari solitum, cui una ex republica annonae cura, clausum littus, retineri commeatus, dum timet, credebat, augentibus famam Vitellianis, qui studium partium nondum posuerant, nec victoribus quidem ingrato rumore, quorum cupiditates, externis quoque bellis inexplimiles, nulla un-30 quam civilis victoria satiavit.

periculis neque oratio suppededitavit. Signo ultionis in accusatores dato, petit a Caesare Junius Mauricus, ut commentariorum principalium potestatem senatui faceret, per quos nosceret, quem quisque accusandum poposcisset. 5

Consulendum tali super re Principem respondit.


XLII. Magnam eo die pietatis eloquentiaeque famam Vipstamus Messala adeptus est, nondum senatoria aetate, ausus pro fratre Aquilio Regulo deprecari. Regulum subversa Crassorum et Orfiti domus in summum odium extulerat. Sponte ex senatus consulto accusationem subisse juvenis admodum, nec depellendi periculi, sed in spem potentiae videbatur. Et Sulpicia Praetextata Crassi uxor quatuorquae liberi, si cognosceret senatus, ulores aderant. Igitur Messala non causam neque reum tueri, sed periculis fratris semet opponens, flexerat quosdam. Occurrre truci oratione Curtius Montanus, eo usque progressus, ut post caedem Galbæ, datam interfectori Pisonis pecuniam a Regulo, appetitumque morsu Pisonis caput objectaret. “Hoc certe,” inquit, “Nero non coegit, nec dignitatem aut salu-


XLV. Reconciliavit paulisper studia patrum habita in senatu cognitio secundum veterem morem. Manlius Patru-


XLVI. Inter quae militaris seditio prope exsart. Prae-

30 torianam militiam repetebant a Vitellio dimissi, pro Vespasiano congregati; et lectus in eandem spem e legionibus miles promissa stipendia flagitabat: ne Vitelliani quidem sine multa caede pelli poterant; sed immensa pecunia ferebatur, qua tanta vis hominum retinenda erat. Ingressus castra Mucianus, quo rectius stipendia singulorum spectaret, suis cum insignibus armisque victores constituit, modicis inter se santis discretos. Tum Vitelliani, quos apud Bovillas in deditiorem acceptos memoravimus, ceterique
per urbem et urbi vicina conquisiti producuntur prope in-
tecto corpore. Eos Mucianus diduci, et Germanicum Brit-
annicumque militem, ac si qui aliorum exercituum, separatim
assistere jubet. Illos primus statim aspectus obstupefecerat,
cum ex diverso velut aciem telis et armis trucem, semet 5
clausos nudosque et illuvie deformes aspicerent. Ut vero
huc illuc distrahi coeppere, metus per omnes et praeceps
Germanici militis formido, tanquam ea separatione ad cae-
dem destinarentur: prensare commanipularium pectora,
cervicibus innecit, supraea oscula petere, ne deserentur 10
soli, neu pari causa disparum fortunam paterentur: modo
Mucianum, modo absentem Principem, postremum coelum
ac deos obtestari, donec Mucianus cunctos ejusdem sacra-
menti, ejusdem Imperatoris milites appellans, falsa timori
obviam iret. Namque et victor exercitus clamore lacrimas
15
eorum juvabat. Isque finis illa die. Paucis post diebus,
alloquentem Domitianum firmati jam exceperunt. Spernunt
oblatos agros, militiam et stipendia orant. Preces erant,
sed quibus contradici non posset: igitur in praetorium ac-
cepti. Dein quibus actas et justa stipendia, dimissi cum 20
honore, alii ob culpam, sed carptim ac singuli; quo tutissi-
mo remedy consensus multitudinis extenuatur.

XLVII. Ceterum verane pauperie an uti videretur, ac-
tum in senatu, ut sexcenties sestertium a privatis mutuum
acciperetur; praepositusque ei curae Pompeius Silvanus: 25
nec multo post necessitas abiiit, sive omissa simulatio. Ab-
rogati inde, legem ferente Domitianus, consulatus, quos Vi-
tellius deedaret, funusque censorium Flavio Sabino ductum,
magna documenta instabilis fortunae summaque et ima
miscentis.

XLVIII. Sub idem tempus L. Piso proconsul interficitur.
Ea de caede quam verissime expediam, si paucha supra re-
petiero, ab initio causisque talium facinorum non absurda.
Legio in Africa auxiliaque tutandis imperii finibus, sub divo
Augusto Tiberioque principibus, proconsuli parebant. Mox 35
Caius Caesar turbidus animi, ac M. Silanum obtinentem
Africam metuens, ablatam proconsuli legionem misso in
eam rem legato tradidit. Aequatus inter duos beneficiorum
numerus, et mixtis utriusque mandatis discordia quaesita auctaque pravo certamine. Legatorum vis adolevit diuturnitate officii vel quia minoribus major aemulandi cura; proconsulum splendidissimus quisque securitati magis quam 5 potentiae consulebant.


LII. Titum, antequam digredieretur, multo apud patrem sermone orasse dicebatur, ne criminantium nuntiis temerarii accenderetur, integrumque se ac placabilem filio praestare. Non legiones, non classes perinde firma imperii munimentum
5 quam numerum liberorum. Nam amicos tempore, fortunam cupidinibus aliquando aut erroribus imminui, transferri, de sinere: suum cuique sanguinem indiscretum, sed maximis principibus, quorum prosperis et aliis fruantur, adversa ad junctissimos pertineant: ne fratribus quidem mansura concordiam, ni parens exemplum praebuisset. Vespasiani haud aeque Domitiano mitigatus quam Titi pietae gauden
ces. Nam amicos tempore, fortunam cupidinibus aliquando aut erroribus imminui, transferri, de sinere: suum cuique sanguinem indiscretum, sed maximis principibus, quorum prosperis et aliis fruantur, adversa ad junctissimos pertineant: ne fratribus quidem mansura
10 concordiam, ni parens exemplum praebuisset. Vespasiani haud aeque Domitiano mitigatus quam Titi pietae gauden
ces. Nam amicos tempore, fortunam cupidinibus aliquando aut erroribus imminui, transferri, de sinere: suum cuique sanguinem indiscretum, sed maximis principibus, quorum prosperis et aliis fruantur, adversa ad junctissimos pertineant: ne fratribus quidem mansura
15 Quippe tanto discrimine Urbs nutabat, ut decem haud amplius dierum frumentum in horreis fuerit, cum a Vespasian commeatus subvenere.

LIII. Curam restituendi Capitolii in L. Vestinum conferens, equestris ordinis virum, sed auctoritate famaque inter pr
ceres. Ab eo contracti haruspices monuere, ut reliquis prioris delubri in paludes achearentur, templum iisdem vet
tigiis sisteretur: nolle deos mutari veterem formam. Usu decimo Kalendas Julias serena luce spatium omne, quod templum dicebatur, evinctum vittis coronisque. Ingressi mi
20 tes, quis fausta nomina, felicibus ramis: dein virgines Vetales, cum pucris puellisque patrimis matrimisque, aqua viv
e e fontibus amnibusque hausta perluere. Tum Helvidius Priscus praetor, praecunete Plautio Aelianio pontifice, iustra
25 suovetaurilibus area et super cespitem redditis extis, Jo

30 Junonem, Minervam praesidesque imperii deos precatus, ut coepta prosperarent, sedesque suas pietatem honum incu
atas divina ope attollerent, vittas, quis ligatus lapis innexus que funes erant, contigit. Simul ceteri magistratus et sac
cerdotes et senatus et eques et magna pars populi, studi
35 laetitiaque connixi, saxum ingens traxere: passimque in jectae fundamentis argenti aurique stipes et metallorum primitiae, nullis fornacibus victae, sed ut gignuntur. Prae
dixere haruspices, no temeraretur opus saxo aurove in alius
destinato. Altitudo aedibus adjecta. Id solum religio annuere, et prioris templi magnificentiae defuisse creditum.


C. CORN. TACITI HISTOR.  [A. U. 82]

quamque bellis distineri: si Alpes praesidiis firmentur, con\ntita libertate dispecturas Gallias, quem virium suarum terminum velint.

LVI. Hae dicta pariter probataque: de reliquis Vitel\n5 ani exercitus dubitavere. Plerique interficiendos censeb\nturbidos, infidos, sanguine ducum pollutos. Vicit ratio pa\ncendi, ne sublata spe veniae pertinaciam accenderent: al\nliciendo potius in societatem; legatis tantum legionum in\nterfectis, ceterum vulgus conscientia secelerat et spe imple\n10 nitatis facile accessurum. Ea primi consilii forma: missiqu\nper Gallias concitores belli. Simulatam ipsis obsequiur quo inc\nVoculae nuntiarent. Sed vires ad coercendum deereant, in\nfrequentibus infidisque legionibus. Inter ambiguos milit\n15 et occultos hostes, optimum et praesentibus ratus mutu\ndissimulatione et iisdem quibus petebatur grassari, in co\nniam Agrippinensem descendit. Illuc Claudius Laberiet\n quem captum et extra conventum amandatum in Frison\ndiximus, corruptis eustodibus perfugit; pollicitusque, si pra\n20 sidium daretur, iturum in Batavos et potiorem civitatis pa\nten ad societatem Romanam retracturum, accepta petita\nequitumque modica-manu, nihil apud Batavos ausus, quo\ndam Nerviorum Betasiorumque in arma traxit. Et fure\n25 LVII. Vocula Gallorum fraude illectus, ad hostem con\ntendit. Nec procul Veteribus aberat, cum Classicus et\nTutor per speciem explorandi praegressi, cum ducibus Ge\nmanorum pacta finuavisse. Tumque primum discreti a legi\ngionibus proprio vallo castra sua circumdant, obtestante\n30 Vocula "non adeo turbatam civilibus armis rem Romanam\nut Treveris etiam Lingonibusque despectui sit. Superess\nfidas provincias, victores exercitus, fortunam imperii, et ut\ntores deos. Sic olim Sacrovirum et Aeduos, nuper Vind\cem Galliasque singulis proeliiis concidisse. Eadem rursu\n35 numina, eadem fata ruptores foederum exspectarent. Mo\nlius divo Julio divoque Augusto notos eorum animos. Gal\nbam et infracta tributa hostiles spiritus induisse. Null\nhostes, quia molle servitium; cum spoliati exutique fuerin
amicos fore." Haec fercuter locutus, postquam perstare in perfidia Classicum Tutoremque videt, verso itinere Novesi-
um concedit. Galli duum millium spatio distantibus camp-
wis considere. Illuc commeantium centurionum militumque
mebantur animi, ut (flagitium incognitum) Romanus exer-
citus in externa verba jurarent, pignusque tanti sceleris
nee aut vinculis legatorum daretur. Vocula, quanquam
plerique fugam suadebant, audendum ratus, vocata con-
none in hunc modum disseruit.

LVIII. "Nunquam apud vos verba feci aut pro vobis 10
sollicitior aut pro me securior. Nam mihi exitium parari
libens audio, mortemque in tot malis hostium, ut finem
miseriarum, exspecto. Vestri me pudet et adversus
quos non proelium et acies parantur, id enim fas armorum
et jus. hostium: bellum cum populo Romano vestris se 15
manibus gesturum Classicus sperat, imperiumque et sacra-
mentum Galliarum ostentat. Adeo nos, si fortuna in praes-
sens virtutque deserit, etiam vetera exempla deficiunt,
quotiens Romanae legiones perire praecipuaverint, ne loco
cellerentur? socii saepe nostri exscendi urbes suas, seque 20
cum conjugibus ac libris cremari pertulerunt; neque aliud
preetium exitus quam fides famaque. Tolerant cum maxime
opiam obsidiumque apud Vetera legiones, nec terrore aut
promissis demoventur. Nobis, super arma et viros et eger-
gia castrorum munimenta, frumentum et commeatus quam-
is longo bello pares. Pecunia nuper etiam donativo suffec-
it, quod sive a Vespasiano sive a Vitellio datum interpret-
ari mavultis, ab imperatore certe Romano accepistis. Tot
sselurum victores apud Geldubam, apud Vetera, fuso totiens
oste, si paves aciem, indignum id quidem: sed est val-
um murique et trahendi artes, donee e proximis provinciis
uxilia exercitusque concurrant. Sane ego displicam:
ant alii legati, tribuni, centurio denique aut miles. Ne
oc prodigium toto terrarum orbe vulgetur, vobis satelliti-
bus Civilem et Classicum Italian invasuros. An, si ad 35
nocia urbis Germani Gallique duxerint, arma patriae in-
cretis? Horret animus tanti flagitii imagine. Tutorin
' revero agentur excubiae? Signum belli Batavus dabit?
et Germanorum catervas supplebitis? quis deinde sceler.
exitus? cum Romanae legiones contra direxerint, transfugiae e transfugis et proditores e proditoribus inter recens et vetus sacramentum invisi dei errabitis? Te, Juppiter Optimus
5 time Maxime, quem per oettingentos viginti annos tot trium
phis coluimus, te, Quirine Romanae parens urbis, precor.
venerorque, ut si vobis non fuit cordi me duce haec castra
incorrupta et intemerata servari, at certe pollui foedarium
a Tutore et Classicum ne sinatis. Militibus Romanis aut
10 innocentiam detis, aut maturam et sine noxa poenitentiam.

LIX. Varie excepta oratio, inter spem metumque ac pi
dorem. Digressum Voculam et de supremis agitante
liberti servique prohibuere foedissimam mortem sponte
praevenire. Et Classicum, misso Aemilio Longino desertor
15 primae legionis, caedem ejus maturavit. Herennium et
Numisium legatos vinciri satis visum. Dein sumptis Ro
mani imperii insignibus, in castra venit. Nec illi, quanquam
ad omne facinus durato, verba ultra suppeditavere quam
ut sacramentum recitaret. Juravere, qui aderant, pro
20 perio Galliarum. Interfectorem Voculae altis ordinibus
ceteros, ut quique flagitium navaverat, praemis attollere
Divisae inde inter Tutorem et Classicum curae. Tutor va
lida manu circumdatos Agrippinenses, quantumque militum
apud superiorem Rheni ripam, in cadem verba adigit, occ
25 sis Magontiaci tribunis, pulso castrorum praefecto, qui de
tractaverant. Classicus corruptissimum quemque e dedita
pergere ad obsessos jubet, veniam ostentantes, si praesenti
sequestur: alter nihil spei; famem ferrumque et e:
trema passuros. Adjecere, qui missi erant, exemplum suum
30 LX. Obsessos hinc fides, inde egestas inter decus ac flagi
tium distrahebant. Cunctantibus solita insolitaque alimenta
dearant, absumptis jumentis equisque et ceteris an
malibus, quae profana foedaque in usum necessitatis verti
Virgulta postremo et stirpes et internatas saxis herbas ve
35 lentes, miseriaeaeque documentum fuere, donec
egregiam laudem fine turpi macularent, missis ad Civiler
legatis vitam orantes. Neque ante preces admissae quan
in verba Galliarum jurarent. Tum pactus praedam cas
trorum dat custodes, qui pecuniam, calones, sarcinas reten-
tarent, ac qui ipsos leves abuentes prosequerentur. Ad
quintum fere lapidem coorti Germani incautum agmen
aggrediuntur. Pugnacissimus quisque in vestigio, multi
palantes occubuere: ceteri retro in castra perfugiunt, que-
rente sane Civile et increpante Germanos, tanquam fidem
per seclus abrumperent. Simulata ea fuerint an retinere
saevientes nequiverit, parum affirmatur. Direptis castris,
faces injiciunt, cunctosque, qui proelio superfuerant, incen-
dium hausit.

LXI. Civilis barbaro voto, post coepta adversus Romanos
arma, propexum rutilatumque crinem, patrata demum caede
legionum, deposuit. Et ferebatur parvulo filio quosdam
captivorum sagittis jaculisque puerilibus obtulisse.
Ceterum neque se neque quenquam Batavum in verba Gal-
liarum adegit, fisus Germanorum opibus et, si certandum
adversus Gallos de possessione rerum foret, inclitus fama
et potior. Munius Lupercus legatus legionis inter dona
missus Veledae. Ea virgo nationis Bructerae late imperita-
bat, vetere apud Germanos more, quo plerasque feminarum
fatidicas et, augescente superstitione, arbitrantur deas.
Tuncque Veledae auctoritas adolevit: nam prosperous Ger-
manis res et excidium legionum praedixerat. Sed Lupercus
in itinere interfactus; pauci centurionum tribunorumque
in Gallia geniti reservatur pignus societatis. Cohortium,
alarum, legionum hiberna subversa cremataque, iis tantum
relictis quae Magontiaci ac Vindonissae sita sunt.

LXII. Legio sextadecima cum auxiliis simul deditis a
Novesio in coloniam Treverorum transgressi jubetur, praefi-
mita die intra quam castris excederet. Medium omne
tempus per varias curas egere, ignavissimus quisque caeso-
rum apud Vetera exemplo paventes, melior pars rubore et
infamia: "quale illud iter? quis dux viae? et omnia in
arbitrio eorum, quos vitae necisque dominos fecissent."
Alii, nulla dedecoris cura, pecuniam aut carissima sibimet
ipsi circumdare. Quidam expedire arma telisque tanquam
in aciem accingi. Haec mediantibus advenit proficiscendi
hora, expectatione tristior. Quippe intra vallum deformitas

LXIII. Civilis et Classicus rebus secundis sublati, an coloniam Agrippinensem diripiendam exercitibus suis permitterent, dubitavere. Saevitia ingenii et cupidine praedae ad excidium civitatis trahebantur: obstabat ratio belli, et novum imperium inchoantibus utilis elementiae fama. Civi-

LXIV. Igitur Tencteri, Rheno discreta gens, missis legatis mandata apud concilium Agrippinensium edi jubent: quae feroceans e legatis in hunc modum protulit: "Re-
disse vos in corpus nomenque Germaniae, communis deis et praecipuo deorum Marti grates agimus; vobisque gratu-

30 lamur, quod tandem liberi inter liberos eritis. Nam ad hunc diem flumina ac terras et coelum quodammodo ipsum cluserant Romani, ut colloquia congressusque nostros arce-

35 rent, vel, quod contumeliosius est viris ad arma natis, iner-

mes ac prope nudi sub custode et pretio coiremus. Sed ut amicitia societasque nostra in æternum rata sit, postulamus a vobis, muros coloniae, munimenta servitii, detrahatis; etiam fera animalia, si clausa teneas, virtutis obliviscuntur;
Romanos omnes in finibus vestris trucidetis; haud facile libertas et domini miscentur: bona interfectorum in medium cedant, ne quis oceulere quicquam aut segregare causam suam possit. Liceat nobis vobisque utramque ripam colere, ut olim majoribus nostris; quomodo lucem diemque omnis hominibus, ita omnes terras fortibus viris natura aperuit. Instituta cultumque patrium resumite, abruptis voluptatibus, quibus Romani plus adversus subjectos quam armis valent: sincerus et integer et servitutis oblitus populus aut ex aequo agetis aut alis imperitabitis."


LXVI. Civilis societate Agrippinensium auctus, proximas civitates affectare aut adversantibus bellum inferre statuit: occupatisque Sunicis et juventute eorum per cohortes composita, quo minus ultra pergeret, Claudius Labeo Betasio- rum Tungrorumque et Nerviorum tumultuaria manu restitit,
fretus loco, quia pontem Mosae fluminis anteciperat: pugnabaturque in angustiis ambigüe, donec Germani transnantes terga Labeonis invasere. Simul Civilis, ausus an ex composito, intulit se agmini Tungrorum, et clara voce:


LXVIII. At Romae cuncta in deterior audita Mucianum angebant, ne quamquam egregii duces (jam enim Gallum Annum et Petilium Cerialem delegerat) summam belli parum tolerarent. Nec relinquenda urbs sine rectore. Et Domitiani indomita libidines timebantur, suspectis, uti diximus, Primo Antonio Varoque Arrio. Varus praetoriam praepositus vim atque arma retinebat. Eum Mucianus pulsum loco, ne sine solatio ageret, annonaee praefecti; utque Domitiani minum Varo haud alienum deleniret, Arretinum Clementem, domui Vespasiani per affinitatem innex-

LXX. Igitur non Treveri neque Lingones eeteraeeve re-
bellium civitates pro magnitudine suscepi discriniinis agere.
Ne duces quidem in unum consulere, sed Civilis avia
Belgarum circumibat, dum Claudium Labeonem capere
aul exturbare nititur: Classicus, segne plerumque otium
trahens, velut parto imperio fruebatur. Ne Tutor quidem
maturavit superiorem Germâniae ripam et ardua Alpium
praesidiis claudere. Atque interim unaetvicesima legio
Vindonissa, Sextilius Felix cum auxiliaris cohortibus per
10 Raetiam irrupere. Accessit ala Singularium, excita olim
a Vitellio, deinde in partes Vespasiani transgressa. Prae-
erat Julius Briganticus soror:e. Civilis genus, ut ferme
accerrima proximorum odia sunt, invisus avunculo insensus-
que. Tutor Treverorum copias, recenti Vangionum, Cara-
catium, Tribocorum delectu auctas, veteran0 pedite atque
equite firmavit, corruptis spe aut metu subactis legionariis;
qui primo cohortem praemissam a Sextilio Felice inter-
ficiunt, mox ubi duces exercitusque Romanus propinquar-
bant, honesto transfugio rediere, secutis Tribocis Vangioni-
busque et Caracatibus. Tutor, Treveris comitantibus,
vitato Magontiaci, Bingium concessit, fidens loc0 quia pon-
tem Navae fluminis abruperat, sed incursu cohortium, quas
Sextilius duebat, et reperto vado, proditus fustusque. Ea
clade perculsi Treveri, et plebes, omissis armis, per agros
25 palatur: quidam principum, ut primi posuisse bellum vide-
rentur, in civitatis, quae societatem Romanam non exuerant,
perfugere. Legiones a Novesio Bonnacre in Treveros, ut
supra memoravimus, traductae, se ipsae in verba Vespasiani
adigunt. Hace Valentino absente gesta; qui ubi adventa-
30 bat furens eunctaque rursus in turbas et exitium conversu-
rus, legiones in Mediomaticos, sociam civitatem, absces-
sere. Valentinus ac Tutor in arma Treveros retrahunt,
oecisis Herennio ac Numisio legatis, quo minore spe veniae
cresceret vinculum sceleris.
35 LXXI. Hie bellâ status erat, cum Petilius Cerialis Ma-
gontiacum venit: ejus adventu erectae spes. Ipse pugnac
avidus et contemnendis quam cavendis hostibus melior,
erocia verborum militem incendebat, ubi primum congregi
licuisset, nullam proelio moram facturus: delectus per Galliam habitos in civitates remittit, ac nuntiare jubet suffice imperio legiones: socii ad munia pacis redirent, securi velut confecto bello, quod Romanae manus excepissent. Auxit ea res Gallorum obsequium. Nam, recepta juventute, facilius tributa toleravere, proniores ad officia, quod spernebantur. At Civilis et Classicus, ubi pulsum Tutorem, caesos Treveros, euncta hostibus prospera acepere, trepidi ac properantes, dum dispersas suorum copias conducunt, crebris interim nuntiius Valentinum munere, ne summae rei periculum faceret. Eo rapidius Cerialis, missis in Mediomatricos qui breviore itinere legiones in hostem verterent, contracto quod erat militum Magontiaci quantumque secum transvexerat, tertius castris Rigodulum venit; quem locum magna Treverorum manu Valentinus insederat montibus aut Mosella amne septum; et addiderat fossas obicesque saxorum. Nee deterruerit ea munimenta Romanum ducem, quo minus peditem perrumpere juberet, equitum aciem in collem erigeret, spreto hoste, quem temere collectum haud ita loco juvari, ut non plus suis in virtute foret. Paulum morae in ascensu, dum missilia hostium praevahuntur: ut ventum in manus, deturbati ruinae modo praecipitatur. Et pars equitum, aerioribus jugis circumvecta, nobilissimos Belgarum, in quis ducem Valentinum, cepit.

LXXII. Cerialis postero die coloniam Treverorum ingressus est, avido milite eruendae civitatis: "hanc esse Classici, hanc Tutoris patriam; horum scelere clausas caesasque legiones. Quid tantum Cremonam meruisse, quam e gremio Italieae raptam, quia unius noctis moram victoribus attulerit? Stare in confinio Germaniae integram sedem spoliis exercituum et ducum caedibus ovantem. Redigeretur praeda in fiscum: ipsis succedere ignes et rebelliis coloniae ruinas, quibus tot castrorum excidia pensarentur." Cerialis a metu infamiae, si licentia saevitiaque imbruere militem crederetur, pressit iras: et paruere, posito civium bello ad externa modestiores. Convertit inde animos accitarum et Mediomatricis legionum miserabilis aspect-
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Stabat conscientia flagitii maestae, fixis in terram oculis. Nulla inter coeuntes exercitus consalutatio; neque solantibus hortantibusve responsa dabant, abditi per tentoria et lucem ipsam vitantes; nec perinde periculum aut metus, quam pudor ac dedecus, obstupefecerat, attonitis etiam victoribus, qui vocem precesque adhibere non ausi lacrimis ac silentio veniam poscebant, donec Cerialis mulcet animos, fato acta dictitans, quae militum ducumque discordia vel fraude hostium evenissent. Primum illum stipendiorum et sacramenti diem haberent: priorum facinorum neque Imperatorem neque se meminisse. Tunc recepti in eadem castra, et edictum per manipulos, ne quis in certamine jurgiove seditionem aut cladem commilitoni objectaret.


temere antea intutis consederat. Apud Germanos diversis sententiis certabatur.

LXXVI. Civilis, "opperiendas Transrhenanorum gentes quarum terrore fractae populi Romani vires obtererentur. 5 Gallos quid aliud quam praedam victoribus? et tamen, quod roboris sit, Belgas, secum palam aut voto stare." Tutor cunctatione crescere rem Romanam affirmabat, cœuntibus undique exercitibus. "Transvectam e Britannia legionem, accitas ex Hispania, adventare ex Italia; nec subitum 10 militem, sed veterem expertumque belli. Nam Germanos, qui ab ipsis sperentur, non juberi, non regi, sed cuncta ex libidine agere; pecuniamque ac dona, quis solis corrumpantur, majora apud Romanos, et neminem adeo in arma pronum, ut non idem pretium quietis quam periculi malit. 15 Quod si statim congrédiatantur, nullas esse Ceriali nisi ex reliquis Germanici exercitus legiones, foederibus Galliarum obstrictas. Idque ipsum, quod inconditam nuper Valentini manum contra spem suam fuderint, alimentum illis ducique temeritatis. Ausuros rursus venturosque in manus non imperiti adolescentuli, verba et conciones quam ferrum et arma meditantis, sed Civilis et Classici; quos ubi aspexerint, reditaram in animos formidinem, fugam famemque ac totiens captis precariam vitam: neque Treveros aut Lingonas benevolentia contineri; resumpturos arma, ubi metus absessserit." Diremit consiliorum diversitatem approbata Tutoris sententia Classicus; statimquo exsequuntur.

LXXVII. Media acies Ubiis Lingonibusque data; dextro cornu cohortes Batavorum; sinistro Bructeri Tencterique. Pars montibus, illi viam inter Mosellamque flumen, tam im- 30 provisi assiluere, ut in cubiculo ac lectulo Cerialis (neque enim noctem in castris egerat) pugnari simul vincique suos auderit, increpans pavorem nuntiantium, donec universa clades in oculis fuit, perrupta legionum castra, fusi equites, medius Mosellae pons, qui ulteriora coloniae annectit, ab hostibus insessus. Cerialis turbidis rebus intrepidus et fugientes manu retrahens, intacto corpore promptus inter tela, felici temeritate et fortissimi cujusque accursu recipertatum pontem electa manu firmavit. Mox in castra reversus, pa-
lantes captarum apud Novesium Bonnamque legionum man-
ipulos et rarum apud signa militem ac prope circumventas
aquilas videt. Incensus ira, "non Flaccum," inquit, "non
Voculam deseritis. Nulla hic proditio; neque aliud excus-
sandum habeo quam quod vos, Gallici foederis oblitos, re-
disse in memoriam Romani sacramenti temere credidi. An-
umerabor Numisiis et Herenniis, ut omnes legati vestri aut
militum manibus aut hostium ecciderint. Ite, nuntiate Vespasiano vel, quod propius est, Civili et Classico, relictum a
vobis in acie ducem: venient legiones, quae neque me inul-
tum neque vos impunitos patiantur."

LXXVIII. Vera erant, et a tribunis praefectisque eadem
ingerebant. Consistunt per cohortes et manipulos: neque
enim poterat patescere acies, effuso hoste et impedientibus
tentoriis sarcingisque, cum intra vallum pugnaretur. Tutor
et Classicus et Civiliis suis quisque locis pugnabat, Gallos pro libertate, Batavos pro gloria, Germanos ad prae-
dam instigantes. Et cuncta pro hostibus erant, donec legio
unaetvicesima, patentiore quam ceterae spatio conglobata,
sustinuit ruentes, mox impuls. Nee sine ope divina, muta-
tis repente animis, terga victores vertere. Ipsi territos se
cohortium aspectu ferabant, quae primo impetu disjectae
summis rursus jugis congregabantur ac speciem novi auxilii
fecerant. Sed obstitit vincentibus pravum inter ipsos cer-
tamen, omissa hoste, spolia consecandai. Cerialis, ut incu-
ria prope rem afflixit, ita constantia restituit; secutusque
fortunam castra hostium codem die capiit exscinditque.

LXXIX. Nec in longum quies militi data. Orabant aux-
illium Agrippinenses, offerebantque uxorem ac sororem Civ-
ilis et filiam Classici, relictà sibi pignora societatis. Atque
interim dispersos in domibus Germanos trucidaverant; unde
metus et justae preces invocantium, antequam hostes repara-
ritis viribus ad spem vel ad ulterior accingerentur. Nam-
que et Civiliis illuc intenderat, non invalidus, flagrantissima
cohortium suarum integra, quae e Chaucis Frisisisque com-
posita Tolbiaci in finibus Agrippinensiag EBat. Sed tris-
tis nuntius avertit, deletam cohortem dolo Agrippinensi;
qui largis epulis vinoque sopitos Germanos, clausis foribus,

Et Nerviorum multitudinem, sponte commotam ut pro Romanis bellum capesseret, iidem Canninefates fudere. Clas sicus quoque adversus equites Novesium a Ceriale praemissos secundum proelium fecit: quae modica sed crebra damna famam victoriae nuper partae lacerabant.


LXXXI. Per eos menses, quibus Vespasianus Alexandriae statos aestivis flatibus dies et certa maris opperiebatur, multa miracula evenere, quis coelestis favor et quaedam in Ves pasianum inclinatio numinum ostenderet. Eplebe Alexandrina quidam oculorum tabe notus genua ejus advolvitur, remedium caecitatis exposecens gemitu, monitu Serapidis dei, quem dedita superstitionibus gens ante alios colit; preebaturque Principem, ut genas et oculorum orbes dignaretur respergere oris excremento. Alius manum aeger, codem deo auctore, ut pede ac vestigio Caesaris calcaretur, orabat. Vespasianus primo irridere, aspersari; atque, illis instantibus, modo famam vanitatis metuere, modo obsecretione


LXXXIII. Origo dei nondum nostris auctoribus celebrata. Aegyptiorum antistites sic memorant: "Ptolemaeo regi, qui Macedonum primus Aegypti opes firmavit, cum Alexandriac recens conditae moenia templaque et religiones adderet, oblatum per quietem decore eximio et majore quam humana specie juvenem, qui moneret, ut sidissimis amicorum in Pontum missis effigiem suam acciret: laetum id regno, magnamque et inclitam sedem fore, quae excepisset: simul visum eundem juvenem in coelum igne plurimo attolli." Ptolemaeus omne et miraculo excitus, sacerdotibus Aegyptiorum, quibus mos talia intelligere, nocturnos visus aperit. Atque illis Ponti et externorum parum gnaris, Timotheum Atheniensem e gente Eumolpidarum, quem ut antistitem
caerimoniaria Eleusine exciverat, quaeam illum superstitionem, quod numen, interrogat. Timotheus, quaesitis qui in Pontum meassent, cognoscit urbem illic Sinopen, nec procul templum, vetere inter acolas fama, Jovis Ditis; namque et muliebrem effigiem assistere, quam plerique Proserpinam vocent. Sed Ptolemaeus, ut sunt ingenia regum, pronus ad formidinem, ubi securitas reedit voluptatum quam religionum appetens, negligere paulatim et aliasque ad curas animum vertere, donee eadem species terribilior jam et instantior exitium ipsi regnoque denuntiaret, ni jussa patra rentur. Tum legatos et dona Seydrothemidi regi (is tunc Sinopensibus imperitatbat) expediri jubet; praeceptique navigaturis, ut Pythium Apollinem adeant. Illis mare secundum, sors oraculi haud ambigua: "Irent, simulacrumque patris sui reveherent, sororis relinquerent."

aegris corporibus; quidam Osirin, antiquissimum illis gentibus numen; plerique Jovem, ut rerum omnium potentem; plurimi Ditem patrem, insignibus quae in ipso manifesta, aut per ambages conjectant.


LXXXVI. Intelligebantur artes; sed pars obsequii in eo, ne deprehenderit: ita Lugdunum ventum. Unde creditur Domitianus occultis ad Cerialem nuntiis fidem ejus tentavisse, an præsenti sibi exercitum imperiumque traditurum foret: qua cogitatione bellum adversus patrem agitaverit, an opes viresque adversus fratrem in incerto fuit: nam Cerialis salubri temperamento elusit ut vana pueriliter cupientem. Domitianus sperni a senioribus juventam suam cernens, modica quoque et usurpata antea munia imperii omittebat, simplicitatis ac modestiae imagine in altitudinem conditus, studiumque literarum et amorem carminum simulans, quo velaret animum et fratris aculationi subduseetur, cujus disparem mitioremque naturam contra interpretabatur.
C. CORNELII TACITI

HISTORIARUM

LIBER QUINTUS.

BREVIARIUM LIBRI.


XIV. Interea Civilis, reparato per Germaniam exercitu, bellum renovat. XV. Mauum consert cum Ceriali, satis prospere. Uterque ad maturandum summae rei discrimen erectus, XVI, XVII, aciem instruit, suos alloquitur. XVIII. Fit atrox pugna, qua, priditione cujusdam Batavi, Germani vincuntur. XIX, XX. Civilis, in Batavorum insulum transgressus, praesidia Romanae invadit, Verace, Classico, Tutore suffultus. XXI. Ambignum proelium. Subvenit Cerialis fortunamque vertit; XXII, at parum providus fermo opprimitur. XXIII. Civilis navalem aciem ostentat, sed a Cerialo trans Rhenum pellitur. Hic insulum Batavorum populator, superfuso anno, novum discrimen adit. XXIV, XXV. Turn hostium animos occultis nuntiis labefactat. XXVI. Civilis, petito colloquo, ad ditionem, so pronum profitetur.

Ejusdem anni principio Caesar Titus perdomandae Judaeae delectus a patre et privatis utriusque rebus militia clarus, majore tum vi famaque agebat, certantibus provinciarum et exercitu studiis. Atque ipse, ut super fortunam crederetur, decorum so promptumque in armis osten-


III. Plurimi auctores consentiunt, orta per Aegyptum tabe quae corpora foedaret, regem Bocchorim adito Harmonis oraculo remedium petentem, purgare regnum et id genus hominum ut invisum deis alias in terras avehere jussum. Sic conquitus collectumque vulgus, postquam vastis locis relictum sit, ceteris per lacrimas torpentes, Moysen unum exsulum monuisse, ne quam deorum homineopem exspectarent utrisque deserti, sed sibimet, duci coelestis, crederent, primo cujus auxilio praesentes merias

IV. Moyses, quo sibi in posterum gentem firmaret, novos ritus contrariosque ceteris mortalibus indidit. Profana illic omnia, quae apud nos sacra; rursum concessa apud illos, quae nobis inest. Effigiem animalis, quo monstrante errorem sitimque depulerant, penetrati sacravere, caeso ariete velut in contumeliam Hammonis. Bos quoque immolatur, quia Aegyptii Apin colunt. Sue abstinent merito cladis, qua ipsos seabies quondam turpaverat, cui id animal obnoxium. Longam olim famem crebre adhuc jejuniis fatentur; et rapturam frugum argumentum panis Judaicus nullo fermento detinetur. Septimo die otium placuisse ferunt, quia is finem laborum tulerit; dein blandiente inertia septimum quoque annum ignavie datum. Alii honorem eum Saturno haberi, seu principia religionis tradentibus Idaeis, quos eum Saturno pulsos et conditores gentis accepiraus, seu quod de septem sideribus quis mortales reguntur, al-tissimo orbe et praecipua potentia stella Saturni feratur, ac pleraque coelestium vim suam et cursum septimos per numeros conficiant.

V. Hi ritus, quoquo modo inducti, antiquitate defenduntur: cetera instituta sinistra, foeda, pravitate valuerat. Nam pessimus quisque, spretis religionibus patriis, tributa et stipes illuc gerebant; unde auctae Judaeorum res, et quia apud ipsos fides obstinata, misericordia in promptu, sed adversus omnes alios hostile odium. Separati epulis, discreti cubilibus, projectissima ad libidinem gens, alienaru-m concubitu abstinent; inter se nihil illicitum. Circumcidere genitalia instituerunt, ut diversitate noscantur. Transgressi in morem eorum idem usurpant, nee quicquam prius imbuddunt quam contemnere deos, exuere patriam, parentes,
liberos, fratres, vilia habere. Augendae tamen multitudini consulting. Nam et necare quenquam ex agnatis nefas, animosque proelio aut suppliciis peremptorum aeternos put-
tant. Hinc generandi amor et moriendi contemptus. Cor-
pora condere quam cremare, e more Aegeptio; eademque cura et de infernis persuasio: coelestium contra. Aegeptii
pleraque animalia effigiesque compositas venerantur; Judaei
mente sola unumque numen intelligunt. Profanos, qui
decum imagines mortalibus materiis in species hominum
essingant: summum illud et aeternum neque imitabile neque
interitum. Igitur nulla simulacra urbibus suis, nedum
templis sinunt. Non regibus haec adulatio, non Caesaribus
honor. Sed quia sacerdotes eorum tibia tympanisque con-
cinebant, hedera vinciebant vitisque aurea templo reperta,
Liberum Patrem coli domitorem Orientis, quidam arbitrati
sunt, nequaquam congruentibus institutis: quippe Liber
festos laetosque ritus posuit, Judaeorum mos absurdus sor-
didusque.

VI. Terra finesque, qua ad Orientem vergunt, Arabia
terminantur; a meridie Aegyptus objacet; ab occasu Phoe-
nices et mare; septentrionem a latere Syriae longe pros-
pectant. Corpora hominum salubria et ferentia laborum:
rari imbres, uber solum: fruges nostrum ad morem, prae-
terque eas balsamum et palmae. Palmetis proceritas et
decor. Balsamum modica arbor: ut quisque ramus intu-
muit, si vim ferri adhiebas, pavent venae; fragmine lapidis
aut testa aperiuntur: humor in usu medentium est. Prae-
cipuum montium Libanum erigit, mirum dictu, tantos inter
dores opacum fidumque nivibus. Idem amnem Jordanen
alit funditque. Nec Jordanes pelago accipitur, sed unum
atque alterum lacum integer perfluit, tertio retinetur. Lacus
immenso ambitu, specie maris, sapore corruptior, gravitate
odoris accolis pestifer, neque vento impellitur neque pisces
aut suetas aquis volucres patitur. Incertae undae super-
jecta, ut solido, ferunt; periti imperitiique nandi perinde
attolluntur. Certo anni bitumen egerit; cujus legendi
usum, ut ceteras artes, experientia docuit. Ater suapte
natura liquor et sparso aceto concretus innatat: hunc manu

VII. Haud procul inde campi, quos ferunt, olim ubereis magnisque urbis habitatos, fulminum jactu arsisse; et manere vestigia, terramque ipsam, specie torridam, vim frugiferam perdidisse. Nam cuncta sponte edita aut manu sata, sive herba tenus aut flore, seu solitam in speciem adolevere, atra et inania velut in cinerem vanescunt. Ego sicut inclitas quondam urbes ignae coelesti flagrasse conces serim, ita halitu lacus infici terram, corrumpi superfusum spiritum, eoque foetus segetum et autumni putrescere rerum solo coeloque juxta gravi. Et Belus amnis Judaico mar illabitur; circa cujus os collectae arenae admixto nitro in 20 vitrum excoquuntur: modicum id littus et egerentibus inexhaustum.


XI. Judaei sub ipsos muros struxere aciem, rebus secun- dis longius ausuri, et si pellerentur, parato perfugio. Missus in eos eques cum expeditis cohortibus ambigue certavit. Mox cessere hostes, et sequentibus diebus crebra pro portis
proelia serebant, donec assiduis damnis intra moenia pelle rentur. Romani ad oppugnandum versi; neque enim dig num videbatur famem hostium opperiri; poscebantque per ricula, pars virtute, multi ferocia et cupidine praemiorum

5 Ipsi Tito Roma et opes voluptatesque ante oculos; ac, ut statim Hierosolyma conciderent, morari videbantur. Sed urcem arduam situ operis molesque firmaverant, quis vera plana satis munirentur. Nam duos colles immensum ed tos claudebant muri per artem obliqui aut introrsus situata ut latera oppugnantium ad ictus patescerent. Extrem

10 rupis abrupta; et turres, ubi mons juvisset, in sexaginta pedes, inter devexa in centenos vicenosque attollebantur, mira specie, ac procull intuentibus pares. Alia intus moenia, regiae circumjecta, conspicuoque fastigio turris Antonii in honorem M. Antonii ab Herode appellata.

XII. Templum in modum arcis propriique muri, labor et opere ante alios: ipsae porticus, quis templum ambi batur, egregium propugnaculum. Fons perennis aquae cavati sub terra montes, et piscinae cisternaecque servando

20 imbribus: praedevigant conditores ex diversitate morum crebra bella: inde cuncta quamvis adversus longum obs dium: et a Pompeio expugnatis metus atque usus pleraque monstravere. Atque per avaritiam Claudianorum temp rum empto jure muniendi struxere muros in pace tanquam

25 ad bellum, magna colluvie et ceterarum urbiurn clade aut nam pervicacissimus quisque illuc perfugerat, coque sedit osius agebant. Tres duces, totidem exercitus. Extrem et latissima moenium Simo, quem et Bargioram vocabant medium urbem Joannes, templum Eleazarus firmaverat

30 Multitudine et armis Joannes ac Simo, Eleazarus loco po lebat. Sed proelia, dolus, incendia inter ipsos, et mag na vis frumenti ambusta. Mox Joannes, missis per speciei sacrificandi qui Eleazarum manumque ejus obtuncarem templo potitur: ita in duas factiones civitas discessit, de nec propinquantibus Romanis, bellum externum concordiae pareret.

XIII. Evenerant prodigia, quae neque hostiis neque voti piare fas habet gens superstitioni obnoxia, religionibus ac


XV. Igitur lacessentibus Batavis, ferocissimo cuique nostrorum coeptum certamen; deinde orta trepidatio, cum praefatis paludibus arma, equi haurirentur. Germani notis vadis persuìtabant, omissa plerumque fronte, latera ac ter-
ga circumvenientes: neque ut in pedestri acie cominus certabatur; sed tanquam navali pugna, vagi inter undas aut, si quid stabile occurrerbat, totis illic corporebus nitentes, vulnerati cum integris, periti nandi cum ignaris, in mutuam 5 perniciem implicabantur. Minor tamen quam pro tumultu caedes, quia non ausi egredi paludem Germani in castra Rediere. Ejus proeli eventus utrumque ducem diversis animi motibus ad maturandum summae rei discrimen erexit. Civilis instare fortunae; Cerialis abolere ignominiam. Germani prosperis feroques; Romanos pudor excitaverat. Nox apud barbaros cantu aut clamore, nostris per iram et minas 10 acta.


XVII. Nec Civilis silentem struxit aciem, locum pugnae 35 testem virtutis ciens: "stare Germanos Batavosque super vestigia gloriae, cineres ossaque legionum calcantes; quocumque oculos Romanus intenderet, captivitatem clademique et dira omnia obversari. No terrentur vario Trever-
A. c. 70.] LIBER V. CAP. XVIII, XIX. 223

ici proelii eventu: suam illic victoriam Germanis obstitisse, dum, omissis telis, praeda manus impeditum: sed cuncta mox prospera et hosti contraria evenisse. Quae provideri astu ducis oportuerit, provisa, campos madentes et ipsis gnaros, paludes hostibus noxias. Rhenum et Germaniae 5 deos in aspectu; quorum numine capesserent pugnam, conjugum, parentum, patriae memoros: illum diem aut gloriosissimum inter maiores aut ignominiosum apud posteros fore." Ubi sono armorum tripudiisque (ita illis mos) approbata sunt dicta, saxis glandibusque et ceteris missilibus proelium incipitur, neque nostro milite paludem ingredientes, et Germanis, ut elicerent, lacessentibus.


XIX. Postera die quartadecima legio in superiorem provinciam Gallo Annio missa; Cerialis exercitum decima ex Hispania legio supplevit. Civili Chaucorum auxilia venere. Non tamen ausus oppidum Batavorum armis tueri, raptis quae ferri poterant, ceteris injecto igni, in insulam concessit, gnarus deesse naves efficiendo ponti, neque exercitum Romanum aliter transmissurum: quin et diruit molem a Druso Germanico factam, Rhenumque prono alveo in Galliam ruentem, disjectis quae morabantur, effudit. Sic velut abacto amne, tenuis alveus insulam inter Germanos-
que continentium terrarum speciem fecerat. Transiere Rhenum Tutor quoque et Classicus et centum tredecim Treverorum senatores; in quis fuit Alpinus Montanus, quem a Primo Antonio missum in Gallias superius memoravimus. Comitabatur eum frater D. Alpinus. Simul ceteri miseratione ac donis auxilia concibant inter gentes periculorum avidas.

XX. Tantumque belli superfuit, ut praesidia cohortium, alarum, legionum uno die Civilis quadripartito invaserit, decimam legionem Arenaci, secundum Batavoduri, et Grinnes Vadamque cohortium alarumque castra, ita divisis copiis, ut ipse et Verax, sorore ejus genitus, Classicusque ac Tutor suam quisque manum traherent; nec omnia patrandi fiducia, sed multa ausis aliqua in parte fortunam affore. 15 Simul Cerialem neque satis cautum, et pluribus nuntiis huc illuc cursantem posse medio intercipi. Quibus obvenerant castra decumanorum, oppugnationem legionis arduam rati, egressum militem et caedendis materiis operatum turbavere, occiso praefecto castrorum et quinque primoribus centurio-


quanquam periculum captivitatis evasisset, infamiam non vitavit.


Civilis intactos nota arte ducum sinebat, cum interim flexu
autumni et crebris per hiemem imbribus, superfusus amnis
palustrem humilemque insulam in faciem stagni opplevit:
nec classis aut commenatus aderant, castraque in plano sita
5 vi fluminis differebantur.

XXIV. Potuisse tunc opprimi legiones, et voluisse Ger-
manos, sed dolo a se flexos imputavit Civilis. Neque ab-
horret vero, quando paucis post diebus deditio insecuta est.
Nam Cerialis per occultos nuntios Batavis pacem, Civili
10 veniam ostentans, Veledam propinquosque monebat fortu-
nam belli, tot cladibus adversam, opportuno erga populum
Romanum merito mutare. „Caesos Treveros, receptos
Ubios, ereptam Batavis patriam; neque aliud Civilis amici-
tia paratum quam vulnera, fugas, luctus: exsulem eum et
15 extorrem recipientibus oneri; et satis peccavisse, quod
totiens Rhenum transcenderint: si quid ultra moliantur,
inde injuriam et culpam, hinc ulcionem et deos fore.”

XXV. Miscebantur minis promissa. Et, concussa Trans-
rhenanorum fide, inter Batavos quoque sermones orti:
20 „non prorogandam ultra ruinam: nec posse ab una natione
totius orbis servitium depelli. Quid profectum caede et
incendiis legionum, nisi ut plures validioresque accirentur?
Si Vespasiano bellum navaverint, Vespasianum rerum
potiri; sin populum Romanum armis vocent, quotam
25 partem generis humani Batavos esse? respicerent Raetos
Noricosque et ceterorum onera sociorum: sibi non tributa,
sed virtutem et viros indici: proximum id libertati; et si
dominorum electio sit, honestius principes Romanorum
quam Germanorum feminas tolerari.” Haec vulgus. Pro-
30 ceres atrociora: „Civilis rabie semet in arma trusos: illum
domesticis malis excidium gentis opposuisse: tunc infensos
Batavis deos, cum obsiderentur legiones, intermediunt
legati, bellum uni necessarium, ferale ipsis sumeretur.
Ventum ad extrema, ni resipiscere incipient, et noxii capi-
35 tis poena poenitentiam fateantur.”

XXVI. Non feellit Civilem ea inclinatio, et praevenire
statuit, super taedium malorum, etiam spe vitae, quae ple-
rumque magnos animos infringit. Petito colloquio, scin-
ditur Nabaliae fluminis pons; in cujus abrupta progressi duces, et Civilis ita coepit: "Si apud Vitellii legatum defenderer, neque facto meo venia, neque dictis fides debeatur. Cuncta inter nos inimica, hostilia, ab illo coepta, a me aucta erant. Erga Vespasianum vetus mihi observantia; et cum privatus esset, amici vocabamur. Hoc Primo Antonio notum, cujus epistolis ad bellum actus sum, ne Germanicae legiones et Gallica juventus Alpes transcenderent. Quae Antonius epistolis, Hordeonius Flaccus praesens moverat, arma in Germania movi, quae Mucianus in Syria, 10 Aponius in Moesia, Flavianus in Pannonia." * * *
NOTES.
NOTES.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

The historical writings of Tacitus, as we now have them, consist of fragments of two distinct yet not wholly disconnected works, "the Histories" and "the Annals." The former originally comprised fourteen Books, and embraced a period of twenty-eight years, from the second consulship of Galba to the death of Domitian, of which only the first four Books and a small portion of the fifth remain, containing the history of only about one year. The latter consisted, when entire, of sixteen Books, and extended over the space of fifty-four years, from the death of Augustus to the close of the reign of Nero; but four entire Books are lost, from the seventh to the tenth inclusive, and the fifth, eleventh and sixteenth are preserved only in part. The Histories had for their subject the civil wars of Galba, Otho and Vitellius, and the re-establishment of the imperial power under the Flavian family (His. 1, 1). The subject of the Annals was the gradual corruption of morals and manners, and the consequent subversion, pari passu, of liberty and law under the Julian and Claudian families, till at length on the death of Nero the military gained the entire ascendency over the civil power, and the commander of the strongest army seated himself on the throne in place of the undisputed hereditary succession of the Caesars (Ann. 1, 1, 2). If the author's life had been spared, it was his purpose to have written the Life of Augustus, as a sort of introduction to his Annals (Ann. 3, 24), and the Biographies of Nerva and Trajan as a sequel to the Histories (His. 1, 1). But he did not live to execute either of these cherished plans.

In the MSS. and early editions, the Annals and the Histories appear as one work, and the extant Books of both, counted in the same numerical series, bear the common inscription, sometimes of Annales or Historiae or Acta Diurnalia, and sometimes only of the historian's name. They must have been so arranged and numbered, in some copies at least, as early as the age of Jerome (A. D. 331-420), for in his Commentary on Zachariah, 3, 14, that Christian Father refers to Cornelius Tacitus, as having written the Lives of the Caesars from the death of Augustus to that of Domitian in thirty Books,* thus comprehending the two works in one, which covers the whole period of time belonging to both. But Tertullian, who flourished in the latter part of

* It is chiefly from this number of Jerome, that we are able to make out the number of Books comprised in the original Histories. The Annals are known to have consisted of sixteen Books, which subtracted from thirty leave fourteen for the Histories.
the second century, cites the speculations of Tacitus touching the origin of the Jews, as occurring in the fifth Book of his Histories, and thus shows, that in his day the works were distinct and the Books were numbered separately, as they are now. And that they were intended to form separate treatises, is demonstrated by incontrovertible evidence external and internal. This is sufficiently apparent from the introductory chapters, which are manifestly prefatory in both, and which mark the limits of the two works, as entirely distinct, though chronologically successive. Tacitus expressly calls his Annals by that name (Ann. 3, 65; 4, 32; 13, 31), while he refers to the Books in which he had composed the history of Domitian, as a separate work (Ann. 11, 11). And Pliny refers with equal explicitness to the latter under the title of Historiae (Ep. 7, 33). There remains therefore no reasonable doubt, that Tacitus himself gave to his two great historical compositions the same distinguishing titles which they now bear. To the question, what distinction he thus intended to mark, different answers are returned by critics and defended with much learning and zeal.

One difference seems to lie on the face of the works, as chronologically related to the author. The Histories cover the age of the historian himself; the Annals embrace a period anterior to his appearance on the stage of active life. And this distinction accords with the original and proper signification of the word history, which in Greek implies personal inspection or investigation, and which many Greek and Latin authors carefully distinguish, not only from tradition and hearsay, but also from the authentic records of bygone days.*

Another obvious difference is suggested by the literal meaning of the word annals, which was originally applied to the yearly register of passing events kept by the Pontiffs (Annales Maximi or Annales Pontificum), and then to the chronicles of Pictor, Piso and others who were the pioneers of the Roman historians, and which in its etymology implies a strictly chronological arrangement of the events that occur year by year. This also accords with the actual difference between the Histories and the Annals of Tacitus. The Histories narrate events according to their geographical connection, or the relation of cause and effect, or they adopt, on rhetorical principles, the arrangement which will produce the most picturesque and striking impression. The Annals, on the contrary, follow strictly the chronological order, relating under each year the events of that year and no other (cf. Ann. 4, 71: sumque in annum referre), or if they depart from it, they offer such an apology, that the exception demonstrates the rule (cf. Ann. 12, 40).

Other distinctions have been drawn between annals and history, such as these—that annals are a simple detail of facts, while history further investigates the causes and consequences of the events which are recorded; and that, while annals are written in a straight-forward, unartificial and unadorned style, history is composed in a more studied, ornate and flowing diction, descriptions of countries and battles are interwoven with the narrative, fictitious speeches are introduced, such as the speaker or actor might have made whether he did make them or not—in short, history is a work of art, as much so as an oration,

* Cf. Plutarch: ιστορήσαι τήν πόλιν; Pausanias: γίγαρα ταύτα, όβχ οίᾳ ἤν λέγομεν, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖδώ και ιστορήσαις; Δείγμα: οὐκ ἀκοῦν λέγειν ἄλλα ιστορίαν; and Verrius Flaccus, as cited by Aulus Gellius, Noct. Att. 5, 18.
or an epic or tragic poem. Both these views have received the sanction of
great names (cf. Aulus Gellius, Noct. Att. 5, 18), and the latter is stamped
with the authority of Cicero (De Orat. 2, 12; De Legg. 1, 2). * These distinc-
tions doubtless hold in reference to the Roman annals in general as compared
with the standard histories, whether of the Romans or the Greeks. But they
apply only in a limited measure to the Histories and the Annals of Tacitus. His
Annals, not less than his Histories, are marked by profound reflection on the
causes and consequences of events—by deep research and penetration into the
principles of human action. And though the rigidity of structure, which be-
longs to the very nature of annals, and the extreme conciseness, which was
demanded by so vast and comprehensive a subject as that of the Annals of
Tacitus, are unfavorable to ornament, yet they abound in animated descrip-
tions, eloquent speeches and pictures of human conduct and character drawn
with great power and true to the life. The Histories have been compared to
an epic poem, of which the subject is the fortunes of the Flavian family, and
all the collateral topics, that are treated, come in by way of prelude or episode.
There is still more of the dramatic element both in the Histories and the An-
' nals, which may well be considered as a prolonged tragedy or a series of trage-
dies, whether we contemplate the more than tragic horror of most of the inci-
dents, or the consummate art and power with which they are combined and
described.

The Annals are the author’s last work. That they were written subsequent-
ly to the Histories, we learn from the incidental testimony of the historian
himself (Ann. 11, 11). That they were not completed till near the close of the
reign of Trajan, is inferred from Ann. 2, 61, where he speaks of the boundaries
of the Roman empire as already extended to the Red Sea, which was done by
Trajan in the 17th year of his reign, A. u. c. 668; A. D. 115. The Histories
also were given to the world in the same reign—in what year is not known,
though Trajan had already reigned so long and performed such achievements,
that Tacitus had formed a purpose of writing his history together with that of
the deified Nerva (His. 1, 1). The Biography of Agricola was issued near the
commencement of the same reign, as a sort of forerunner to the Histories, of
which it contains an announcement (cf. A. 1, and Notes, ibid.), and which
must therefore have been already contemplated, if not actually begun at that
time. The Treatise on Germania was published not far from the same time
with the Agricola (cf. Special Introductions to those Treatises). The Dialogue
de Claris Oratoribus, if the work of Tacitus, was doubtless a much earlier pro-
duction. Accordingly it betrays the author’s youth in its playful humor and
lively emotions, in its exuberance of fancy and the excessive ornaments of its
style. Moreover the other works, though all composed in the full strength of
manhood, exhibit a gradual progress in maturity of thought, in depth of feel-
ing and in gravity of expression, in the same order in which they were written.
The German Manners and the Life of Agricola abound in poetic fancies, 
lively conceits and artificial periods, which he afterwards learned, or chose, in
a measure to retrench. Besides the one of these was professedly a pane-
gyric, and the other in spirit, though not in form and main design, a satire.

* See on this general subject Smith’s Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiq. under
Annals; also the Prolegomena of Walther, Ruperti and others.
The former would of course admit of rhetorical flourishes, and the latter of playful sallies and sarcastic cuts, which would not become the dignity of history. In his Annals, the author has pruned off still more of the redundances of his youthful genius, though even there he shows that exuberance was natural to him, that he was endowed by nature with the rhetorical and the poetical element in little less profusion than the historical and the philosophical. It would be instructive and interesting to trace the progressive development of this master-mind, and observe the striking changes, and yet the unequivocal signs of identity, which mark the history of his intellectual life from the commencement of the Dialogue on Oratory to the conclusion of the Annals of the Roman empire. It would be difficult to find a more remarkable example of diversity in unity.

The Histories are on the whole perhaps the most perfect production of the author's genius, as they are also the most finished work of art—the work on which he laid out his strength, and on which he relied to transmit his name to posterity. They were written when he was nearer fifty than forty, in the very prime of life, free alike from the foibles of youth and the feebleness of age, possessing at once imagination in undecayed vigor and judgment in matured perfection. His resources had been accumulating, as the result of long observation and reflection. His feelings were chastened and yet deepened by suffering, and his eloquence was matured by study and practice. He had spoken at the bar and ruled in the senate. He had served, perhaps commanded in the Roman armies. Whether he writes of civil or military affairs, he seems alike at home, alike familiar with the arts of war and those of peace. At the same time, he was master of all the lore of books, and all the wisdom of the schools. The principles of philosophy were almost the atmosphere he breathed. Like Cicero, he combined the high-toned morals of the Stoics with the more liberal doctrines of the Academy, though he held to the Stoical doctrine of fate and, sometimes, particularly in his Annals, gives utterance to religious opinions bordering on those of the Skeptics and Epicureans (Ann. 3, 18; 6, 22; 16, 33). The Poets, as well as the Philosophers, were his masters. Virgil especially charmed his ear and touched his heart. The image of the Mantuan Bard is stamped on every page, particularly of the historian's earlier writings.* Nor are there wanting reflections of the style and sense and spirit of Horace. He had also caught the living images and winged words of him, "who wandered erst from Scio's rocky isle." The constitution and laws of his country were familiar to him as household words. The civil and political history of Greece and Romo had been his study and his meditation. He was a republican by choice, but by necessity, as he thought, an imperialist (His. 1, 1, 16 et passim). He admired the former state of things at Rome, but he submitted to the present. He loved liberty, but he loved order more, and hoped to find it only under the throne of the Caesars. He has canonized many a martyr of freedom and damned many a tyrant to eternal infamy. But he abhorred ultraism, censured would-be martyrs and bade the admirers of the impracticable learn from the example of such men as Agricola, that there

* Cf. Essay on the style of Tacitus, p. 24. See also Notes passim, particularly those on Agricola and Germania, which often point to examples of Virgilian diction.
may be great and good subjects under such sovereigns as Domitian (A. 42). With the public history and the private life of the period of which he writes, he was of course well acquainted, for it was the period of his own active exertions, and most of the events, which he records, either passed under his own eye at Rome, or were brought directly to his ears as they transpired in the more distant provinces. When with a mind so disciplined and so furnished as we have thus faintly described—in the full maturity of his powers and with the utmost richness of materials—he sat down to write the history of an empire which involved the history of the world—fit author on fit theme—he could say, as Aeneas did in beginning the story of his country's fall and his own wanderings:

Quaeque ipse miserrima vidi,  
Et quorum magna pars fui.

The parallel holds in more than one particular. The events of Tacitus' history, like those of Aeneas' tale, are chiefly sad, disastrous to his country, disgraceful to her rulers and of melancholy interest to himself; he had seen them with his own eyes, mourned over them in his inmost heart,* suffered them in his own person and in the person of his dearest friends; he had acted a somewhat conspicuous part as a senator and an orator in those troublous times; partly by his own prudence, partly by some miracle, as it were, which we cannot understand;† he escaped unharmed and with unsullied reputation; and no sooner has he weathered the storm and found a safe and tranquil harbor, than he gives to the world an able and faithful history of the scenes through which he and his country had passed. Well might the historian felicitate himself on the propitious change in his fortunes and the happiness of that age, in which it was once more lawful for men to think what they pleased and to speak what they thought (Hist. I, 1)! Nor have his readers less reason for self-congratulation, that this happy age was preceded by evil times, when the historian experienced bitter trials and when the state passed from the extreme of bloody anarchy to the extreme of despotic cruelty; for to these experiences we are doubtless indebted for much of his wisdom and eloquence; and though other and inferior minds may have been crushed beneath the oppressive sway of Domitian, and almost lost the power of memory together with the gift of speech (A. 2, 3), this long period of forced silence only condensed the swelling thoughts of Tacitus, compressed his glowing emotions and added intensity to the burning words, in which he spoke, as soon as the pressure was removed.‡

Much has been written on the credibility of Tacitus, as a historian. His veracity has been impugned. Provoked by the severity with which he treats the Jews and the Christians, some of the early Fathers pronounce him the most eloquent of liars.§ He has been charged with exaggerating the virtues and the victories of the Romans on the one hand, and on the other, their vices

* Witness the pathetic conclusion of the Biography of Agricola (A. 39-46).
† Witness the absence of Tacitus for four years near the close of Domitian's reign (A. 45), when his tyranny was at its height (A. 44).
§ Cf. Tertullian. Apol. adv. gent. ch. 16: loquacissimum mendacium.
and defeats. He has been censured by some as a Machiavelli or a Latin Xenophon, the author of a Tiberiopædia, whose design was to teach the art of tyranny in its perfection, and by others as the rigid, malignant and misanthropic censor of princes and of mankind. Such contradictory accusations may well be left to balance and neutralize each other. No candid reader of Tacitus can regard him as indiscriminate either in censure or in praise.* His worst characters are not without their virtues, and his best show their imperfections. He denies, or holds in suspense, crimes which the public voice unanimously charged upon the emperors, whom he treats with the most unsparing severity, and has not made either Tiberius or Domitian so bad, as some other writers of his age. In short, he manifestly intends to hold the balance of truth and justice with an even hand, and few have better carried out the intention neither to "extenuate aught or set down aught in malice." It is to be regretted that Tacitus did not take the pains to inform himself better touching the Jews and Christians. But in this he erred only in common with all the great writers and great men of his country (cf. Notes, 5, 2), who were born and bred to despise and ridicule the Jews—to hate and persecute the Christians.† Moreover, notwithstanding his national prejudices, Tacitus expressly attests the innocence of the Christians, who suffered under Nero, and commiserates their sufferings (Ann. 15, 44), while he narrates not a little that is true and commendable of the Jews, and ascribes to the whole nation a creed touching the divine nature more pure, more true, more sublime than had ever entered the thoughts of any but the wisest sages of Greece and Rome (His. 5, 5). Tacitus undertakes to write both his Histories and his Annals for the express reason, that no impartial history of that period had been written (His. 1, 1; Ann. 1, 1), but between the parasites and the bitter enemies of those in power, truth and posterity had been forgotten. For himself, he professes perfect candor. From Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, he had received neither benefits nor injuries. The Flavian dynasty was now extinct, and, though they had all conferred honors upon him, he could speak of them all, unswayed by favor and unawed by fear. And nobly, it must be confessed, nobly does he redeem his pledge. He does not spare the besetting sin of the soldier-like and truly imperial Vespasian (His. 1, 50; 2, 5, 2, 84, et al.). He does not conceal the youthful vices of Titus, "delight of the human race" (His. 2, 2; 5, 11). Still less does he withhold his severest animadversions from Domitian (Agr. 39-43), while he bears grateful testimony to the honors which he had received from him (Ann. 2, 11; His. 1, 1). He had abundant means of knowing the facts which he recorded. Besides the extensive personal knowledge of which we have already spoken, he had access to the public archives, to the records of the senate, to the Acta Diurna or public journals of the city, to the Imperial Commentaries, to the histories of Caesar, Livy, Pliny the Elder, and many other documents or writers, whom he consults as authorities, but whose statements he thoroughly sifts and seldom if ever adopts on mere trust;‡ In short, an air of sincerity, truthfulness and earnestness, a lofty appreciation of the purity and dignity of

* Compare on this subject the Life of Tacitus in Agricola and Germania, p. 11.
† In like manner, Roman writers have all done injustice to the Carthaginians who might well repeat the complaint of the lions, that the men wrote the history.
‡ See a collection of such authorities and examples of the caution with which he weighs them in Ruperti's Prolegomena, also in Boetticher and others.
history and a sacred scrupulousness to say nothing that shall in the least defile or degrade it, pervades all his historical writings. While therefore we admire them as works of art and study them as lessons of moral and political wisdom, we may also confide in them (with the necessary allowance for human infirmity) as fountains of historical truth, none the less true, but all the more convincing and persuasive, for the skill with which he arranges his facts, the earnestness with which he inculcates his sentiments and the eloquence with which they are adorned.

A glance at the principal events and leading characteristics of the period, which Tacitus has selected for his Histories, may afford an opportunity to observe somewhat more particularly the writer’s manner of treating his subject, and may at the same time prepare the reader to follow him through the details with more intelligent interest. The first three emperors reigned in all only about a year and a half, and all came to a violent death. Galba filled the throne only seven months, Otho less than four, and Vitellius about eight, after which little and brief authority, they fell victims successively to the same policy by which they had in succession risen to power—they took the sword, and they perished by the sword. Till the dethronement of Nero, the emperors had been nominally appointed by the senate, though the power of the senate really extended no farther than to confirm the nomination of their successors by those who held the supreme authority. Now this nominal power was wrested from the senate and usurped by the troops. And since one army had as good a right as another to the honor and advantage of placing their commander on the throne, there was a general rush for the city and the spoils from every quarter of the empire. Galba was the first to disclose the secret that an emperor could be nominated in a province as well as in the city, and invested with the imperial purple by the military instead of the civil power (His. 1, 4); and he was the first victim to this disastrous change in the policy of the state. He was named emperor by the legions under his own command in Spain, and when their courage began to falter in so novel and hazardous an enterprise, he was raised to the throne by the Praetorian Guards in the capital, who were inflamed with resentment at the atrocious designs of Nero and further stimulated by the hope of an immense reward which had been promised them in the name, though without the authority, of Galba. But when they saw that the douant was withheld, which could not be bestowed without a renewal of all the extortion and proscription of Nero himself—nay more, when they discovered that Galba would not indulge them in all the licentiousness and crime in which they had revelled under Nero, the same Praetorian Guards hurled him headlong from the throne, severed his head from his body, and left him weltering in his gore. Galba had some apology for his ambition. His only alternative was the scaffold or the throne. Happy for the reputation of the old soldier—happy, we might almost say, for the old soldier himself, if he had chosen the former. “He seemed too great for a private man while he was one,” says Tacitus, in one of those pregnant sentences of his which so often body forth a whole character, “as the cope of heaven is imaged in a dewdrop,” “and the suffrages of all mankind would have pronounced him worthy of empire, had he never made the experiment—omniae consensu capax imperii, nisi imperasset” (Hist. 1, 49).

Otho had no such excuse. He had been the first to espouse the cause of
Galba, and he expected to hold the first place in his counsels. But he was disappointed, and he deserved to be. The old man nominated the virtuous Piso for his successor. And Otho avenged himself in the blood both of the aged emperor and his adopted son. It was Otho's highest recommendation to the degenerate Romans, that he resembled the corrupt and licentious Nero. The rabble, who now ruled at Rome, called him Nero Otho, and were ready at all hazards to follow his fortunes and to defend his throne. Galba had fallen without a blow struck in his behalf. The cause of Otho was maintained with much spirit by followers like himself. In three considerable, though indecisive, battles, his troops were victorious over those of Vitellius. In a fourth, they were defeated with great slaughter. Still they never wavered in their attachment or faltered in hope. They urged and entreated him to summon all his forces and renew the fight. But he had resolved not to survive a defeat. He plunged a dagger to his own heart, and terminated the life of a debauchee by the death, as it seemed to the Romans, of a philosopher—as it appears to us, of a fool. The fortitude and composure, not without real or affected generosity, which he displayed in his last hours, endeared him still more to his soldiers, and many of them made a voluntary sacrifice of their lives at his funeral pile (Hist. 2, 49).

Vitellius succeeded without further opposition to the vacant throne. But like his predecessors, he had scarcely marched his armies into Rome, before he was obliged to march them out again to meet a formidable competitor. Too lazy and stupid from the first to command his own forces, he had now become yet more drunk and debauched. Leaving all his military operations to those generals whose energies alone had raised him to the throne, he gave himself up to gluttony and intoxication. But one of them, Fabius Valens, had become enervated and diseased by revelling. The other, Alienus Cæcina, marches out at the head of the troops, but proves treacherous and makes an unsuccessful attempt to bring his soldiers over to the allegiance of Vespasian. On the other side, the main force had not yet arrived at the field of action from Syria. Vespasian himself and Mucianus, his commander-in-chief, were still in the East. But the ardor and energy, the conduct and prowess of Antonius Primus, who happened to be located near the northern border of Italy, amply compensated for deficiency of numbers, as the loyalty and zeal of Vitellius' army went far to counterbalance the treachery of one, and the absence of the other, of their generals. And the conflict which ensued, was protracted, furious and sanguinary almost beyond a parallel even in the bloody annals of civil commotion. Fired not only by party passion, but by a thirst for booty and blood, the followers of Antonius fought like tigers, nay like demons, through two days and the intervening night, defeated three successive armies in three successive battles with little intermission, carried two distinct and strongly fortified walls of defence about Cremona, plundered the treasures of that city, took captive its inhabitants and burned its edifices, public and private, sacred and profane, to the ground. The cause of Vitellius was now ruined. He himself had long given up in despair. In the language of Tacitus, he would have forgotten that he had ever been emperor, had not his followers persisted in calling him such. They adhered to him with firmness and fought for him with desperation, when nothing remained to him but Rome and the drag of its population. And in this last hopeless struggle the Capitol was
burned and scenes of horror enacted, little less tragical than the sacking and conflagration of Cremona. Vitellius stalked about his palace, like a ghost, affrighted by its emptiness and desolation, till weary of wandering he took refuge under the bed in the porter's lodge. But he was soon discovered, dragged forth from his pudenda latebra, loaded with insults and put to death by repeated wounds. In narrating these scenes of strife and horror, the historian catches the inspiration of his subject, and, like the great epic poet of the Greeks, gathering strength and fervor as he proceeds, rises into unwonted and almost unrivalled eloquence. Witness the series of battles and assaults, which end in the destruction of Cremona by the troops of Antonius. No book of fiction was ever more full of marvellous incidents; and no novelist or poet ever portrayed them in livelier or stronger colors. The whole passage (His. 3, 15-34) can hardly be matched for power in historical description, while for laying bare the workings of the human heart in excited and struggling masses of men, it stands, we believe, without a parallel in history.* See first, how he exposes to the reader's view the secret motives and sordid passions of Antonius' men, when, after having defeated two distinct bodies of the enemy's troops, they came in sight of Cremona (ch. 19). Again, look at the lively and moving picture of the calamities and crimes incident to civil war, which is grouped around the lifeless body of a father slain unintentionally by the hand of his own son in the 25th chapter. It is a truly Homeric episode, full of tenderness and pathos, relieving for the moment and yet enhancing in the end the impression made by protracted scenes of indiscriminate slaughter on the battlefield. Scarcely less Homeric is the description in the 28th chapter of a renewed and desperate assault upon the city, ending in those frightfully energetic words: integri cum sauciis, seminences cum exspirantibus volvuntur, voria pereuntium forma et omni imagine mortium. Then to crown the whole, read the description of the sacking and conflagration of Cremona (ch. 33), where "in so vast a multitude, as different in their language as their manners, composed of Roman citizens, allies and foreign auxiliaries, all the fell passions of mankind were crowded together—where nothing was unlawful, nothing sacred, since each soldier had his peculiar notions of right and wrong, and what one scrupled another dared to execute." Yet even this is exceeded by the mingled scorn and pity, bitter sarcasm and tragic pathos, with which our author sets forth the shameful and shocking scenes of burning and pillage, of rioting and revelling, which attended the close of Vitellius' disgraceful reign, in the midst of the imperial city, when "whatever the libidinous passions can inspire in the hour of peace was mixed with all the slaughter and horrors of war—the whole city seemed to be inflamed with frantic rage, and at the same time intoxicated with bacchanalian pleasures—a dreadful carnage was a spectacle added to the public games—the populace enjoyed the havoc; they exulted in the midst of devastation, and without any regard for either of the contending parties, triumphed over the miseries of their country." Those, who cannot read the whole of the Histories, should by all means read the third Book. It is almost the only extant portion of the work, in which his descriptive powers have full scope. It well illustrates also the author's characteristic skill in the delineation of character. Take, for instance, Vitellius, and, while

* Vid. Life of Tacitus, p. 10.
from stage to stage of his history you are made acquainted with his conduct, notice the lights and shades by which his character is brought out more and more distinctly, till at length he stands before you, not so much a perfect picture, as a living man, with not only his entire life but his whole heart naked and open to your view. And do not fail to observe, how much of character is developed often by a word or phrase. For example, in the last quotation: "a dreadful carnage was a spectacle added to the public games—the populace enjoyed the havoc," what an emphasis of meaning there is in the words in italics, and how they probe to the bottom the depths of corruption in the hearts of the city populace! So when Vitellius was met and escorted into the city by an infamous band of pimps, of charioteers, of players and buffoons, "all well known and dear to him by their utility in vicious pleasures," Tacitus adds: "such were the disgraceful connections of the emperor, and he enjoyed them without a blush."* How much of Vitellius is exhibited in this single stroke! This is characteristic of Tacitus. No writer ever conveyed so much knowledge of things, and especially so much insight into men, in so few words. In like manner, the finishing stroke in the portraiture of Galba (already mentioned, p. 237) brings out as it were the whole nature of the man with all its greatness and all its infirmities. So of Galba's adopted son, for whom he inspires us with a just reverence and love in half a dozen words: quasi imperare posset, quam velit. In like manner, he shows us the exact condition of the Roman state in half a sentence, when he makes Galba say to Piso: "you are called to rule over men who cannot endure either entire slavery or entire freedom—qui nec totam servitutem pati possunt, nec totam libertatem."

With the accession of Vespasian to the throne, closes what is now extant of the Histories of Tacitus. We have not even the record of his arrival at Rome. While he was proceeding deliberately through Egypt towards the imperial city, and busying himself partly in providing for the necessities of the city, partly in discovering his own future fortunes by the aid of the Egyptian priests (His. 4, 81-86), Mucianus exercised all the prerogatives of sovereignty in his stead; Domitian aspiring to usurp power which did not belong to him, and failing in the attempt, gave himself up to dissipation; and Titus, succeeding to his father's command in Judæa, was advancing to the siege of Jerusalem (5, 1-13). Such is the posture of affairs, when the Histories are brought suddenly to a close. The Jewish War is left incomplete. The fragment which remains is invested with peculiar interest to the Christian, because it is so intimately connected at so many points with his holy religion. Tacitus entertained many and violent prejudices against the Jews. It is not strange that he did. They were too exclusive in their politics and too intolerant in their religion, to be appreciated by any foreigners, most of all by the liberal and polytheistic or free-thinking Romans. Accordingly they received little mercy from Roman officers, and little sympathy from Roman scholars. Despised as superstitions by the learned, and hated as seditious by the great at Rome, it is not surprising that Tacitus should denounce them as a sordid, gloomy, unsocial and misanthropic race. It is in fact but the very treatment they have practically met with from the rest of the world ever since. Not only prejudice against their singularities, but

* It will be seen that this example is near the close of the 2d Book (ch. 87).
ignoreance of their real character and history, as a distinct and isolated people, led him into many errors. Yet some rays of truth may be seen gleaming through nearly all his mistakes, and confirmation of the sacred records may be gathered from all his apparent contradictions. The true account of their origin is given in connection with several other traditionary tales (5, 2). The Exodus from Egypt, the journey through the wilderness, some of the miracles even of Moses are recorded (chap. 3), not as they were, but as they would come to the ears and appear to the eye of a foreigner and a Roman. The rite of circumcision, the abstinence from swine's flesh, the use of unleavened bread, the observance of the seventh day as the sabbath, and the seventh year as a year of rest—all these peculiar features of the Jewish religion are recognised, and referred to their supposed and sometimes their real cause (chap. 4, 5). Our author declares their belief in the immortality of the soul and a future state of rewards and punishments, and gives a sublime description of the one God of the Jews, and the purely spiritual worship which they paid to him (chap. 5), so unlike at once to the polytheism and the idolatry of all the rest of the world, and so unaccountable, except on the supposition of special divine teaching. His geography and topography of the country lead him to notice (chap. 7) the plains of Sodom, the tradition touching the destruction of the once wealthy and populous cities of the plain by fire from heaven, and the utter emptiness of the fruits of the earth in that region, so strikingly alluded to in sacred writ, and hence proverbial to this day, as the apples of Sodom and the clusters of Gomorrah.

But the Christian will regard with the greatest interest the confirmation which Tacitus unwittingly furnishes to the fulfilment of prophecy, in the expected coming of the Messiah and in the circumstances attending the destruction of Jerusalem. He informs us that the Jews cherished a lively expectation, which was derived from prophecies contained in their sacred books, and which all their calamities could not extinguish, that at this very juncture the power of the East would prevail over the nations, and a race of men would go forth from Judæa to extend their dominion over the rest of the world (5, 13). Moreover he gives a graphic picture of those signs and wonders in the heavens above and in the earth beneath, which our Lord predicted should attend the destruction of Jerusalem and its holy temple (Matt. 24, Luke 21)—swords gleaming in the air, embattled armies performing their evolutions in mid-heaven, strange sights and supernatural sounds in the temple, and the like portentous omens of the approaching ruin of the city. It is not easy to say, whether Christianity is more illustrated and confirmed by this historical notice of the general expectation of a mighty king and conqueror from the East, which had been nourished by ancient prophecies of the Messiah, or by the accompanying record of the fulfilment of predictions uttered by the Messiah himself touching the fate of his native land and its devoted metropolis. It cannot but be regarded as truly remarkable, that two celebrated histories, the one a Jew and the other a pagan, both of whom rejected Christianity and hated the Christians, should have recorded so many facts which go directly to authenticate and illustrate the Christian religion.

With the preparations for the siege of Jerusalem the thread of our Histories is broken off. The description of the assault and capture is lost. Only the
preface, as it were, is preserved—the principal part of the work, the history of the Flavian Family, has perished. We cannot but mourn over the irreparable loss.* We feel, that we cannot afford to lose any thing from so instructive and attractive a pen. Especially after wading through the chaotic and blood scenes in the reigns of Galba, Otho and Vitellius, we are unwilling to be denied the pleasure of reaching solid ground once more, and looking on the peace, order and comparative happiness that spring up under the auspices of Vespasian and Titus, as they are painted by the same master hand. The siege of Jerusalem, with its amazing feats of valor and its more amazing scenes of calamity and suffering—what a subject for the pen of Tacitus! We would fain follow the beautiful and brilliant Titus through the glories of his military triumphs to the brighter glories of his virtuous and happy, but too short reign. And we burn to see the fratricide and tyrant Domitian withering under the just vengeance of the prince at once of historians and of satirists.

Such a period—with such characteristics as our author briefly and vividly sketches in his introductory chapters (1, 2, 3)—is not the most favorable to the excitement of historical interest. The leading characters are for the most part both weak and wicked, at once odious and contemptible. And it is with extreme difficulty, that a history is made to sustain an interest, which does not attach to its leading characters. Still, as Tacitus intimates in the beginning of his third chapter, such a period is the very theatre for the display of the most heroic virtues in those private individuals who have the moral courage to breast the current of the times. And we shall find our historian's pages adorned with biographical episodes and tributes of honor to many such noble souls.

The great Halicarnassian critic would condemn Tacitus, as he did Thucydides (Dion. Halicarn. Epis. ad Cn. Pomp.), for selecting a period so fruitful in disasters and disgrace to his country. But the historian is not responsible for the events which he records, any more than the messenger is for the news he bears. He may be a truer patriot at heart and may render more important services to his country, who sets up beacons at the points of her danger, than he who rears monuments on the fields of her triumph. The patriotism of Herodotus and Livy exults in the glory of their country; that of Thucydides and Tacitus mourns over her shame. The muse of the former is full of buoyancy and hope—she advances in the animated though stately air of a triumphal march, and ever and anon is heard singing psalms. The muse of the latter is grave, thoughtful and melancholy—she sits absorbed in sorrowful meditations and gloomy forebodings—or she moves at a sad and solemn pace and utters "more heartlike harmonies than carols"—or now again, like another Cassandra, she starts up, as in a fit of prophetic phrensy, and pours forth wild and piercing cries of alarm. These warnings came too late for the salvation of their countrymen: but the histories of the commotions and civil wars, which these great masters of their art have composed, are more instructive to posterity, than all the foreign conquests and victories, whether of Greece or Rome, which Herodotus and Livy have recorded. Inferior writers

* The was found in a MS., which alone contains the first six books of the Annals, that we might still cherish the hope of recovering more or less of the lost decade of the Histories.
may thrill their readers with a spirited detail of Roman triumphs; but it required the genius of Tacitus to fathom the depths of Roman degeneracy and corruption, and bring forth instruction and even delight from the shortlived and ill-starred reigns of Galba, Otho and Vitellius. Tacitus himself felt deeply the degradation of his country, and the consequent inferiority of his subject to the more brilliant and imposing events of Rome's earlier history. "No man will think of comparing these Annals," he says (Ann. 4, 32), and the same remarks are applicable for the most part to the subject-matter of the Histories—"No man will think of comparing these Annals with the historians of the old republic. Those writers had for their subject wars of the greatest magnitude, cities taken by storm, kings overthrown and led into captivity; and when from those scenes of splendor, they turned their attention to domestic occurrences, they still had an ample field before them; they had dissensions between the consuls and the tribunes; they had agrarian laws, the price of corn, and the plebeian and patrician orders inflamed with mutual animosity. Those were objects that filled the imagination of the reader and gave free scope to the genius of the writer. The work in which I am engaged, lies in a narrow compass; the labor is great, and glory there is none. A long and settled calm, scarce lifted to a tempest; wars no sooner begun than ended; a gloomy scene at home, and a prince without ambition or even a wish to enlarge the boundaries of the empire: these are the scanty materials that lie before me. And yet materials like these are not to be undervalued; though slight in appearance they still merit attention, since they are often the secret spring of the most important events."

Such is the modest estimate which Tacitus put upon his subject and his treatment of it. Posterity has judged more favorably of both. Lord Monboddo,* the severest of all the critics on his style, has well said: "His subject, I think, is grand and noble. It is the history of the fall of a great people, greater than any that ever existed in arms and government, and in the extent and duration of their empire. Other nations may have been more glorious in their rise or in their prosperity, but none was ever so great in its fall; and the period of Tacitus's history affords more extraordinary examples of virtues and vices, sometimes mixed in the same man, than are to be found anywhere else in the history of mankind. For the Romans are great in their vices as well as their virtues, and in both almost exceed humanity. In treating this subject, Tacitus never falls below the dignity of it, nor is it, I think, without reason, that he speaks himself of the gravity of his work. He shows himself everywhere a lover of virtue and of virtuous men, and expresses in the strongest terms his detestation of cruelty and every kind of vice. He speaks with admiration of philosophy and its teachers, knowing that it was philosophy that had produced those extraordinary characters which he celebrates, such as that of Thrasea Patus and Helvidius Priscus."

"In reading his Annals and Histories,† where we see the baffled and ineffectual efforts by which individuals worthy of a better age strive to bear up against the cruelty of tyrants and the general corruption of morals, and at

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* Vid. citation in the Life of Tacitus, p. 9.
† This paragraph is translated from Boetticher's Prolegomena to his Lexicon Taciteum.
the same time perceive that there may be great and good men even under bad princes—where we behold fortune, fate and the gods themselves, in no manner wonderful and never sufficiently understood by mortals, direct the changeful vicissitudes of human life, contemplating in the Annals the singular fatality that followed the Julian family to its utter extinction, in the Histories the convulsive energies that were put forth to re-establish a vacant and tottering sovereignty, do we not seem to ourselves to be reading some tragedy of Eschylus, Sophocles or Euripides—does not the sorrowful image of Niobe stand before our eyes—are we not stricken through with a kind of horror, as if at the sight of Laocoon struggling in vain to disengage himself from the crushing folds of the serpent? Truly worthy of Tacitus, worthy also of the majesty of the Roman empire, is the design to explain with becoming wisdom and diligence by what fate or fortune or succession of events 'jam pridem praevalentis populi vires se ipsae confecerint'—what vices of the people or their rulers provoked the justice and the vengeance of the immortal gods, and precipitated the fall of so vast an empire! So, like a second Scipio, we behold Tacitus sitting not now on the ruins of Carthage, but on the soil of Rome herself, already tottering to her fall, and predicting with gushing tears the destruction of his country, and that not in words of elaborate and far-fetched study, but in such obvious and to him spontaneous forms of pathetic eloquence as to present to the very eye the perfect image of that country convulsed and trembling on the verge of dissolution."

Livy is the only Latin historian who can at all contest the palm with Tacitus. We need not attempt accurately to adjust the balance between them. It were no discredit to either of them to acknowledge the other to be his superior. Indeed their merits are so unlike that they can hardly be brought into direct comparison. There is no ratio between unlike quantities in mathematics; neither can the terms greater and less be predicated in the gross of distinguished but diverse authors. In style, the pre-eminence must be conceded to Livy. His amazing versatility, his infinito variety always pleasant and never tires. Unpretending narrative and elaborate description, concise annals and discursive eloquence, succeed and relieve each other with an inexhaustible fertility—as the critics term it, with a lactea ubertas, both in thought and language, "always fresh, always sweet, always pure." Tacitus, it must be confessed, is wanting in variety and simplicity. He does indeed vary his construction and forms of expression infinitely, as Boetticher and Doedelein; have well illustrated. But he wants that higher variety and beauty of historical composition, which results from telling a "fine story finely" and "a plain story plainly." He is always treading the stage in his high-heeled tragic buskins, and declaiming to a crowded amphitheatre at the top of his voice. Doubtless his best passages far surpass any thing that can be found in Livy, for coloring and effect. But Livy on the whole is a more pleasing book to the reader, and a safer model for the young writer. Livy is the author to be read continuously; Tacitus, to be taken up at intervals. The one furnishes a wholesome variety of food for the mind; the other serves his reader too exclusively with strong meats and stimulating condiments.

Preliminary Remarks.

For the sentiments and moral lessons which they convey, the need of praise must be divided between them. Both are fruitful in instruction. The moral taste of both is pure and elevated. And yet they are very unlike: Livy's sentiments appear to be drawn from books; Tacitus' are obviously the fruit of his own observation and meditation. Tacitus is original and just in his reflections; Livy is varied and beautiful. Livy is the more genial spirit; Tacitus, the more sagacious and profound.

In the delineation of character, Tacitus is greatly the superior. The characters of Livy want individuality. We are not made acquainted with their distinctive features. Still less do we see the very bottom of their hearts. In Tacitus every character stands out distinctly from the surrounding mass, wears his own face, and acts out his own peculiar motives and impulses. His heroes are as diverse as we know heroes are in nature; and in the whole series of tyrants and monsters, whose history he writes, the reader would no more confound their characters, than a contemporary and familiar acquaintance would have mistaken their persons. Tacitus draws characters as Shakspeare does in his dramas; Livy paints them too much like the sophist in his declamations. Livy places before us the statues of heroes and gods; Tacitus conducts us through the crowd of living men.

Livy is little more than an orator and scholar; Tacitus is also a statesman and philosopher. Livy is the greater and better writer; Tacitus the greater and better man. We admire the former: the latter we reverence. Either might inspire us with love; but Tacitus only can impress us with awe and fear. Tacitus selects his incidents with chief regard to their truth and intrinsic value; Livy, with a constant, not to say single, eye to their literary beauty and picturesque effect. Livy is wholly a Roman. To him, the Roman empire is the world. If he loved liberty, it was only Roman liberty. If he extolled the military skill and prowess of Hannibal, it was only that he might exalt Rome herself, with her armies and commanders, to so much the higher glory, as their conquerors. Tacitus is a man and reverences the manly virtues, wherever he finds them. The best speech he ever wrote is put into the mouth of a free and noble Briton. He half prefers the simple virtues of the barbarous but free and independent Germans, to the splendid vices of the cultivated but degenerate Romans. To him Arminius is none the less a hero for being a German; and he complains (Ann. 2, 88), that the Greeks embellished nothing but their own story, while the Romans, absorbed in the veneration of antiquity, did injustice alike to all contemporary achievements. In a word, Livy was born to compose the history of the rise and glory of the Roman empire; Tacitus of its decline and fall. It was the vocation of Livy to compose a great prose epic in honor of his country. It was the mission of Tacitus to write a magnificent historical tragedy for the instruction and warning of mankind.

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BOOK I.

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Chap. 1.—It has been conjectured, that this Book, as it now stands is acephalous, the words Populi Romani res enarratur, or the like, having been lost from the beginning. But the subject of the work is sufficiently brought out in what follows, and was doubtless prefixed also in a title. Initium is pred. after erunt.

Line 1. Ser. Galba...consules = annus, in quo fuere consules, i.e., the 1st of January, a. v. c. 822, a. d. 69. The reign of Galba had commenced in June of the previous year. As Galba was put to death on the 15th of January (cf. chap. 27, seq.), only half a month of his reign is directly embraced within the compass of the Histories of our author, who having for his main object to write the history of the Flavian dynasty, commences with the beginning of the civil year, which was nearly coincident with those commotions in the armies of Germany, which led to the assumption of imperial power by Vespasian. The chronology may be seen at a glance in the table on p. 26.—Consules means colleagues (those who go together, con and sul, root of salio) or joint presidents of the Roman republic. Cf. Smith's Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Ant., sub voc., and Niebuhr's History, as there cited.

2. Post conditam urbe. Observe the concrete form of expression. The Latin language is very deficient in such abstract words as foundation, constitution, &c. The people were marked for action, and their language deals in facts.—Octingentos. Al. septingentos. But the number of years here mentioned, must cover the whole period from the founding of the city to the second consulship of Galba (otherwise the clause, though beginning with nam, assigns no reason for commencing the history with that date), and that was 820 years (in round numbers, exactly 822). Cf. 4, 58: por octingentos viginti annos. Septingentos is a conjectural reading.

3. Dum...memorabuntur. So long as the history of the Roman people (i.e. the republic) was being written. For after the battle of Actium, it was res Caesarum, not res populi Romani, that were recorded. So in Ann. 1, 1, Pop. Rom. prospera vel adversa is opposed to temporiibus Augusti. Cf. also G. 37, Pop. Rom. vs. Caesar.

4. Eloquentia ac libertate. These words limit retulerunt.—Libertate: postquam. Al. libertate. Postquam. But postquam...bellatum, etc., is antithetic to dum res, etc. (the antithetic particle sed being omitted. Cf. Essay on the Style of T., p. 13); and there-
fore should not stand at the beginning of a new sentence. The whole passage thus read and pointed may be summed up as follows:—

1. He states the date with which he intends to begin his history, viz. the second consulship of Galba = A. v. c. 822. 2. He gives the reason why he does not commence at an earlier date, viz. that many have written the history of the whole period prior to that date. 3. But he subdivides that whole period into two parts, viz. the Republican and the Empire, the former of which has been treated with as much freedom as eloquence, but not so the latter. Tacitus may have already had in mind the plan, which he afterwards executed (in his Annals), of writing also the history of the latter period, because, though written by many, it had been treated without ability or impartiality. Cf. Ann. 1, 1, a passage which sheds much light on this.

5. Actium. Where Augustus defeated Antony and established himself in the sole possession of the supreme power.—Potentiam. Al. potestatem. Petestas est ζωανα, potentia δοναυε. So Wr.,* who argues, that not omnis potestas, all lawful authority, but omnis potentia, all power and might was concentrated in one man, that he might preserve peace. For this distinction, cf. His. 1, 13; Ann. 3, 69; Cic. pro domo, 30. See also Or. in loc.

6. Conferri = brought together, united in one man.

7. Simul veritas, etc. See a similar passage in Dion, 53, 19.

8. Ut alienae. Since it was the property of another, i.e. the emperor, not the people. So Wr., Or. and Död. As if it were a foreign state; for they had no more to do with it, and therefore cared and knew no more about it, than if it were a foreign republic. So Ernesti. A truly republican sentiment, according to either interpretation. The former is preferable.—Rursus. Cf. note A. 28.


10. Ambitionem. Lit., going about to solicit favor. Hence flattery to the great, explained below by adulationi.

11. Adverseris. So the MSS., Wr. and Död. Al. averseris, Rup., Or. But without good authority or reason. For the accusative after adversus, cf. Gr. 224, R. 4; Z. 356. Also Freund's Lexicon, sub voce. For the subjunctive here, cf. Gr. 260, II.; Z. 523. You may easily withstand or resist. Wr. refers it to the writer: You (any writer) may easily withstand the temptation to flatter. This is more pertinent to the connection. But scriptoris suggests rather the idea, that the reader can easily withstand, etc. So Rup. and most others.—Pronis auribus, literally, ears inclining or bending forward = willing ears.

* The Authorities most frequently cited in these Notes, are cited by their initial letters or syllables, thus: Wr. = Walther; Rup. = Ruperti; Or. = Orelli; Död. = Döderlein, &c. Gr. stands for Andrews and Stoddard's Grammar; Z. for Zumpt's do.
12. Malignitati = obtructatio et livor above.


17. Quod si. And if. From the tendency to connect sentences by relatives arose the use of quod before certain conjunctions, particularly si, merely as a copulative. Cf. Z. 807; also Freund’s Lexicon, sub voce.—Principatum, properly civil government, and hence appropriate to the peaceful reign of Nerva.—Imperium, properly military command, and hence equally appropriate to the more warlike Trajan. Cf. Död. in loc.

18. Divi Nervae. This implies that Nerva was already dead, before this paragraph was written and before the history was published. How much labor may have been bestowed on the work previous to the composition of the introduction, we cannot tell. Cf. note, A. 3, memoriam, etc.; also Preliminary Remarks, p. 233.

19. Uberiorem. The reign of Trajan was fruitful in great events, in civil and military life, as well as in literature. Cf. Life of T. , pp. 6–7.—Securiorem. Wr. renders, more pleasing, lit. more free from care (se-cura), anxiety, pain. But it may be rendered here, as usual, more safe, more secure, not indeed from personal danger, for the historian had nothing to fear for his person in treating either subject, but from the danger of giving offence to bad men or their descendants, of whom there were not so many to be spoken of in the Life of Trajan, as in that for instance of Domitian. Or. and Död. refer to the periculose plenum opus aleae of Horace (Od. 2, 1, 6), as a parallel passage.—Rara felicitate is not abl. abs. but abl. of cause or accompanying circumstance = enjoying as I do that felicity of the times which is so seldom enjoyed, when, etc. Observe that ubi, properly an adverb of place, is here and often used as an adverb of time.

Ch. II.—This chapter and the next present an outline of the leading events and prominent features of the history. The language is concise as a table of contents, yet it abounds in the disjecta membra poetae.

22. Opus. Lit. a work. But the epithets optimum, etc., apply only to the period to which the work relates. Render: I propose to write the history of a period, etc.

23. Ipsa pace instead of in ipsa pace, for the sake of conciseness. Cf. Essay on Style of Tacitus, p. 12.—Saevum. Or. and Död. read saevam, after the Medicean MS. The MSS. of Tacitus exhibit not a few examples of the old orthography of the Latin language. But they do not preserve consistency. Boetticher thinks that Tacitus resorted to different modes of writing words for the sake of variety. Cf. Prolegomena to his Lexicon Taciteum.
24. **Principes.** Galba, Otho, Vitellius and Domitian, all of whom came to a violent death.—*Trina*, poetice for *tria*. Cf. Gr. 120, 4. The three civil wars here referred to are those between Otho and Vitellius, between Vitellius and Vespasian, and of L. Antonius against Domitian, on which last vid. Sueton. Dom. 6, Dio Cass. 67, 11. Cf. Or. and Dōd. in loc. Ruperti would reckon among them that of Otho and Galba, which however hardly amounted to a *war*. Cf. note, chap. 50: *saevae pacis*.

25. **Permixta, sc. externa cum civilibus,* both being carried on at the same time, as, for instance, the war with the Jews by Titus, and with the Gauls and Germans under Civilis by Cerialis, in connection with the civil war between Vitellius and Vespasian.


28. **Mutulis, i. e. alternis, acceptis et illatis.** Rup.—*Dacus*. Cf. note, G. 1; also ibid. **Sarmatae.** Of the wars with the Sarmatians, cf. 1, 79; 3, 5. 24; 4, 54; with the Dacians, cf. His. 3, 46; 4, 54; A. 41. Of the wars with the Suevi we have no other account. The Suevi here meant, says Lipsius, are not the tribe more commonly so called, that dwelt in Germany (Germ. 38, seqq.), but another tribe located beyond the Danube by the Sarmatae, and hence often associated with them, e.g. Ann. 12, 29; Sueton. Dom. 6; Dion Cass. 67, 5. Cf. Or. in loc.

29. **Falsi . . . ludibrio.** *The farce, or game, of the pretended Nero.* T. informs us (His. 2, 8), that inasmuch as there were various reports touching the end of Nero, many pretended and believed that he was still alive. Hence he was personated by several impostors, as late even as the reigns of Titus and Domitian. Cf. Suet. Nero, 57.

30. **Jam vero.** Cf. note, G. 14.—*Cladibus. Calamities,* not slaughters, as just above.


32. **Ora.** Abl. of place without a prep. Wr. connects it with the following clause, and refers the clause to the desolation of the Campanian country by the fires of Vesuvius.—*Incendiis.* Besides that in which the capitol was burnt (3, 71–2), there was another and more dreadful conflagration of the city (Rome) in the reign of Titus, A. V. 833. Cf. Dio. 66, 24. Or.

1. **Pollutae caerimoniacae, sc. incestis Vestalium.** Suet. Dom. 8, 22; Plin. Epp. 4, 11, 6.—*Magna adulteria,* i.e. principium virorum. So *magnae domus, amicitiae, inimicitiae,* etc. = houses, &c., of the great.

2. **Plenum . . . mare.** *The sea full of exiles* (*exsilii for exsu-
libus) on their way to, or in possession of, those barren rocky islands (scopuli), particularly in the Aegean, to which they were banished, and which were afterwards stained with their blood (infecti caedibus).

3. Omissi ... honores. Honors, whether declined or accepted. Dion informs us, that Domitian put Herennius Senecio to death, because he asked no office after having held the quaestorship. Dion, 67, 13.

5. Delatorum. A post-Augustan word, found especially in Tacitus and Suetonius. Cf. Freund's Lexicon, sub voce. The thing taking a new form under the emperors, gave rise to a new word.

6. Procurationes. The office of procurator, or collector of the imperial revenues, afforded ample opportunity for amassing wealth.

7. Interiorem potentiam. Power at court, such as was exercised by the freedmen and other creatures of Nero and his successors.

—Agerent vererent. Compare agere ferre (= Greek ἀγατέω καὶ φιλέω) used by Livy to express ravaging with fire and sword; literally, leading off the captives and bearing off the spoil. The use of vererent in this formula is peculiar to Tacitus, if not also to this passage, to which it is particularly appropriate, since to the idea of rapine expressed by agere, it superadds that of violence and cruelty. The phrase may be translated (though inadequately), plundered and destroyed.—Odio et terrore. Amid hatred and terror. Wr. By reason of the hatred they cherished and the terror they inspired. ἐκράπασα.


14. Supremae ... necessitates. Illustrious men were reduced to the last necessities, such as precede and threaten death or render it unavoidable, but not (as many suppose) death itself; for they are here distinguished from exitus, and, as used elsewhere, the words denote, not death, but the prior necessity, whether imposed by popular indignation, as in the case of Tigellinus, 1, 72, or the loss of imperial favor through calumny, as in the case of Messalina, Ann. 11, 37 (where pl. as here: supremis necessitatibus), or the direct command of the emperor, as in the case of Seneca, Ann. 15, 61. Cf. also necessitate, Hist. 4, 11. This clause was probably meant to state only a general fact, introductory to the virtues specified in the next two clauses; though, as Wr. suggests, the baro existence of such necessities, when they might have been escaped by obsequious compliance with the tyrant's wishes, was no small proof of virtue. The word necessitas properly denotes, that which is unavoidable (ne-cessum, from cedo. Cf. Freund, sub v.).

15. Ipsa ... tolerata. This clause has occasioned commentators so much perplexity, that some of the ablest of them, e. g. Ritter
BOOK I.

and Ruperti, propose to expunge it at once, as a mere gloss. And they have good reason to be dissatisfied with most of the comments, for, almost without exception, they either sacrifice the force of ipsa, or make necessitas something quite different from necessitates, which, though maintained by Död., is not borne out by the usage of Tacitus, and can hardly be supposed in such a juxtaposition as this. But does not the following interpretation avoid both these objections and meet all the demands of the passage? Illustrious men were reduced to the last necessities (involving or threatening death); the necessity itself was endured with fortitude, and the deaths (which ensued) were equal to the glorious deaths of the ancients. Ipsa thus marks the antith. between necessitas and exitus; while necessitas is distinguished from exitus and identified with necessitates, as it manifestly should be.

16. Exitus. See the word used in like manner in the pl. of the deaths of Cassius and the Brutuses, Ann. 1, 10, which passage may also illustrate the kind of exitus that is meant here.

17. Prodigia = prodicia. The letters G and C were originally identical; hence the resemblance in form. See Zumpt's Lat. Gr. So negotium = nec-otium, &c.

20. Justis = luculentis, manifestis. Rup. Magis justis indicis. More conclusive proofs.—Before esse ultionem, the antith. particle sed is understood. It is often omitted by T.

Ch. IV.—22. Repetendum. Necessary to go back, and describe the existing state of things prior to the date of the history, i.e. from the death of Nero to the second consulship of Galba, cf. note 1: Galba .... consules. For a fuller account of this interval between the close of the Annals and the beginning of the Histories, the reader may consult Suetonius' Nero and Galba; Plutarch's Galba; Dio. 63, 22, seqq. &c.—Componam. For the mode and tense, cf. Gr. 263, 3; Z. 576.


26. Fortutti. Inexpectati et hand promissi, non in se, sed quod nos. So Brotier. But Tacitus probably means more than this, viz. that particular events (as for instance the rise of Otho and Vitellius, rather than any other ambitious men of their day, and the victory of the latter rather than the former), are the result of accident or fortune; but at the same time there were general principles or causes at work, which rendered certain and necessary these or similar events: and these causes, even more than those fortuitous events, it is the province of history to investigate. Cf. Wr. in loc. The wonderful sagacity and wisdom with which Tacitus has accomplished this end, constitute a chief merit of his history.

27. Ut ita. Though .... yet. Z. 726.

30. Legiones ducesque, sc. in the provinces, foris being under-
stood in antithesis to in urbe.—Evulgato . . . arcano, etc. Cf. Liv 26, 2, where the author says, it was deemed by the senate a bad precedent, imperatores legi ab exercitibus, et solenne auspicatorum comitiorum in castra et provincias, procul ab legibus magistratibusque, ad militarem temeritatem transferi. The emperors might well cherish the same as an established principle. Galba was the first instance of an emperor appointed by the army in one of the provinces, and he was the first victim to the secret thus evulgato. Evulgato arcano here denotes the principal cause of this excitement.

33. Absentem. Galba was in Spain.

34. Integra = sound, uncorrupt, literally untouched (in and tango).

35. In spem erecti, sc. of a better government, and one under which the families of the condemned and exiled might recover their lost fortunes. Erecti is predicate of pars, as well as of clientes. Pars populi, etc. is antithetic to plebs sordida, etc.


33 Ch. V.—2. Arte et Impulsu. Ars spectat ad dolum quo decipiebantur, impulsus ad vim, qua per exemplum ceterorum subito trahebantur. Wr. Roth makes it hendiaady.

5. Praeventam gratiam. They apprehended that the legions that appointed Galba would have the first place in his favor.

7. Seclere. Criminal ambition, explained by imperium sibi molientis.—Insuper. Still further, i.e. besides offering them largesses in the name of Galba, furthermore plotting to secure the empire for himself.


16. Verbebantur = reverebantur. Simple for compound.—Accessit . . . vox. Add to this the language of Galba, sc. in reply to the soldiers’ demand for the promised largess. Cf. 3, 57: accessit . . . omen.—Pro republica. As it regards the republic. Most writers would have used the dat. to correspond with ipsi in the antithesis. But Tacitus prefers variety.

17. Legi. Chosen, hence the very name legio, also delectus. Cf. Varro de Ling. Lat. lib. 4.—Nec . . . erant. The language of Galba was unsuited to the times, nothing else corresponded with it. The clause is placed by some at the beginning of the next section,
and made to express the *inconsistency* between the language of Galba and his conduct, or that of his prime ministers, Vinius and Laco. But that is not so well.


20. *Odio flagittorum,* sc. of Vinius transferred to Galba. So also *contemptu inertiae,* primarily of Laco, secondarily of his master.

21. *Galbae iter,* sc. from Hither Spain, where he had been governor eight years.

22. Clungonio *Varrone.* Cf. Ann. 14, 45; His. 1, 37; Plut. Galb. 14-16: where we learn that Varro had composed an oration for Nymphidius to address to the Praetorian Guards as a means of securing his elevation to the imperial dignity.


25: *Tanquam innocentes.* Though guilty, yet being put to death without a trial, as innocent persons are by tyrants, they had the sympathies of men, *as if innocent.*—*Trucidatis . . . militum.* Seven thousand marines slain, while pertinaciously demanding admission to the regular service. Cf. His. 1, 87; Suet. Galb. 12; Dio. 64, 3. Dion says the survivors were subsequently decimated. Cf. 37, infra.

29. *Numeri* = cohortes, manipuli, manus militiae. Rup. Cf. A. 18; His. 1, 87; 2, 69. *This* use of the word is post-Augustan. Cf. Freund. It points to the *composition* and *arrangement* of a body of troops, as it were, *by numbers.*

31. *Claustra Caspiarum.* A narrow pass in Mt. Taurus near the Caspian sea, called *claustra,* as *closing* or securing the entrance to the country. It was the only passage from the northern part of Western Asia into Persia and India.

32. *Vindicis.* Cf. note, chap. 8, infra.

Cf. VII.—35. *Congruerat.* Casu aliquo *acciderat,* ut simul *nuntiarentur.* Rup.—Cladii *Macri.* An avaricious and cruel governor of Numidia, who on the death of Nero aspired to independence and undertook 'to cut off' supplies of corn from Rome. Cf. His. 1, 11. 37. 73; 2, 97; 4, 49; also Suet. and Plut. Galb.—Fontei Capitonia. Legate (military governor) of Lower Germany. His character is described, His. 1, 52; the cause of his death, 3, 62.

36. *Nuntiarentur.* For the subj. cf. Gr. 262, R. 3.—*Haud dubie.* Antith. to *fuere qui crederent* below. *The whole* sentence is made up of studied antitheses.


NOTES.

1. Legati legionum. Commanders of a single legion each. Cf. legatus praetorius, A. 7. Capito was legatus consularis. The word legatus = any commissioned officer.


3. Avaritia, etc. Cf. 1, 52.

5. Postquam nequiverint. The subj. in a dependent clause of the oratio obliqua. Cf. Gr. 266, 2; Z. 603. Postquam is usually followed by the indic., unless the subj. is required by some specific reason. For the perf. here, cf. Gr. 258, R. 3; Z. 504, Note. The use of the perf. instead of the pluperf. after postquam, makes the connection of time closer; postquam should accordingly be rendered as soon as. Arnold's Pr. Intr. 514.

6. Compositum ultro. Fabricated gratuitously. Cf. 3, 62.—Mobilitate scrutaretur. Sub. utrum, or incertum an before mobilitate. T. leaves it uncertain which of the two was the true reason.

7. Quoquo modo acta, is the obj. of comprobasse: he approved them in whatever way done, i.e. whether right or wrong.

8. Sinistre occurs in Boetticher's list of words belonging to the poets of an earlier age.

9. Facta is subj. nom. to premunt, which has for its obj. eum understood.

10. Jam = jam vero, moreover. Now over and above all that had been previously done, the freedmen of Galba brought every thing into the market. Cf. Död. in loc.—Afferebant, according to Wr., is appropriate to those recently arrived at power: they came to Rome and the palace bringing these things in their hands, as it were, and offering them for sale to the highest bidder.—Cuncta, e.g. munera, magistratus, jurae, judicia. Ernesti.—Libertii, sc. Galba's. Icelus is specified, § 13, and others are named by Suet. Galb. 14. 15.

11. Subitis avidae. Eager to avail themselves of their unexpected good fortune; highly characteristic of slaves. Död. makes subitis abl. of cause.—Et tanquam, etc. And on account of Galba's advanced age, making haste to enrich themselves, while he afforded them the opportunity.


14. Imperatores. Imperator was originally the commander of a Roman army. Of course there might be several at a time in the republic. But at length the title was appropriated by the emperor, and thus acquired a new meaning. Cf. Ann. 3, 74. So princeps was
at this time applied only to the emperor and his sons. The names
and forms of the republic were carefully preserved under the emperors.
—\textit{Forma} = beauty of person.—\textit{Decore} = grace of manners. \textit{Wr.}

Ch. VIII.—16. \textit{Tanquam \ldots multitudine.} \textit{As might be ex-
pected in so great a multitude}, \textit{sc.} that there would be those taking
such views of the character of Galba and his friends, as have been
described in the previous chapter. This explanation of \textit{Or.} seems
preferable to that of \textit{Wr.}, who interprets the clause thus: so far as it
is possible to describe the state of mind in so great and so various a
population.

17. \textit{E provinciis.} \textit{Of the provinces.} \textit{Antith. to Romae.} \textit{No-
tice the emphatic position of both at the beginning of the sentence.}

18. \textit{Cluvius Rufus.} Cf. Ann. 13, 20; His. 1, 76; 2, 65; 4, 43;
Suet. Nero, 21. He was a writer of history. Plin. Epis. 9, 19.—\textit{Pacis
artibus.} Roth, Rhenanus and others supply \textit{expertus}, as involved by
zeugma in \textit{inexpertus}, and render: \textit{experienced in the arts of peace.}
See the principle of this interpretation, Essay on the Style of Tacitus,
p. 15. But \textit{Wr.}, Rup. and Ernesti make \textit{artibus} abl. of quality (Gr.
211, R. 6), and render: \textit{endowed with the virtues of peace.} Cf.
Ann. 1, 19: \textit{Blaeus multa arte dicendi.}

19. \textit{Vindicis.} Julius Vindex, proprætor of Gaul under Nero,
himself descended from a line of Gallic kings though his father was a
Roman senator, stirred up the Gaules to revolt from Nero and incited
Galba to claim the throne. He was defeated and slain by Verginius,
1, 51; 4, 57. His memory would of course lead the Gauls to favor
Galba.

20. \textit{Dono \ldots civitatis.} Claudius had conferred the gift of
Roman citizenship upon the Gallic chiefs (Ann. 11, 23), but Galba
gave it to all who had taken part with Vindex. The wise distribution
of this favor was a source of great power and influence to the Roman
state, \textit{cum id rarum, nec nisi virtuti pretium esset.} Of its value to in-
dividuals we have a striking example in the life of Paul, Acts, 16,
37. 38; 22, 25–29. Cf. also Cic. in Ver. 5, 62: \textit{civis Romanus sum.}
It was now conferred with too unsparing a hand, and finally lost its
value when Caracalla bestowed it indiscriminately on all the inhabit-
ants of the Roman empire.

25. \textit{Recentis victoriam, sc. over Vindex under the command of
Verginius.} This victory was of course a source of pride; but it was
also a ground of vexatio (\textit{irati}), anxiety (\textit{solliciti}) and fear (\textit{metu}),
because though a real service to the state for which they deserved
reward, it was rendered to Nero, and was more likely to be punished
than rewarded by Galba.

26. \textit{Metu, tanquam, etc.} = \textit{fear, that they would be regarded
as having favored another party, sc. than Galba’s, viz. that of Ver-
ginius.} For the subj., cf. Gr. 263, 2; Z. 572.
27. **Verginius.** Verginius Rufus, legate of Upper Germany under Nero. See some account of his character and the relation of T. to him in the Life of Tacitus. Also Plin. Ep. 2, 1; 5, 3; 6, 10; and Plut. Galb.—**Imperare = esse imperator.**

28. **Volusiusset.** Subj. to denote an indirect question. Cf. Gr. 265; Z. 552. Plup. to correspond with the imperfect, on which it depends, and which is used in all this account of the state of things prior to the date of the history.—**Dubium, sc. erat: it was a matter of uncertainty to the men of that day, whether he wished to be emperor. So convenientia: it was agreed by all authorities of that day.**

30. **Abducto, sc.** by Galba, to whom he had been calumniated by Fabius Valens, 3, 62.

31. **Quem . . . reum esse.** The fact, that he was not sent back to them and was even called to an account, they construed as a charge against themselves.

Ch. IX.—33. **Superior exercitus.** The army of Upper Germany, antith to Inferioris Germaniae legiones just below. The German armies in general were the subject of the latter part of the previous section. Here the author specifies the two divisions.—Hordeonium Flaccum. Appointed legate of Upper Germany by Galba, instead of Verginius recalled. His name will occur often in the subsequent history. See also Plut. Galb.

34. **Debilitate pedum invalidum.** He was afflicted with the gout. Plut. Galb. 16.

35. **Ne . . . quidem.** Not even.—**Quieto milite = quam quieti essent milites.—Regimen.** Sub. ejus erat = eos regere poterat. Rup.

36. **Adeo = much more (lit. in addition to that).** Cf. 4, 80: aequalium quoque, adeo superiorum intolerantis. So adeo non = still less, 3, 39.

37. **Inferioris Germaniae.** It should be understood, that Upper and Lower Germany here include no part of that Germany proper of which T. treats in his De Germania, and which was not conquered by the Romans; but they are two Roman provinces into which Germania Cisrhenana was subdivided, both on the left or Gallic bank of the Rhine, Upper Germany towards its source, Lower Germany towards its mouth (now Belgium). They were peopled by German tribes.—**Consulari.** Cf. notes supra, chap. 7: Fonteii Capitonis, and Legati legionum.

38. **A. Vitellius.** Afterwards emperor. He had been consul (Ann. 11, 23), and of course was now consularis. Of Vitellius the father, see Ann. 6, 29; 14, 56; 12, 4. 5. 42. et al.

1. **Id salutis videbatur, sc.** to Galba and his advisers, who thought that the rank of Vitellius would satisfy the legions, though his gluttony and effeminacy rendered him quite unfit for such a charge. Cf. Suet. Vitel. 7: contemptu magis quam gratia electum. 'The rise of such a
man to the supreme power, is doubtless one of the fortuiti eventus of which T. speaks in chap. 4.

2. Irrarum, sc. in Galbam.

4. Hostem potius, sc. quam cives.

5. Excitae. Called out, raised. The same troops that are spoken of in § 6.

6. Legationibus adissent. Cf. legationibus coeunt, G. 39, note. The purpose of the embassy has been sufficiently intimated in 8: delatum ei imperium, etc. For the subj. after quanquam, cf. note, 5, 21.


12. Famosus. In this sense scarcely used, except by poets, before Tacitus. Cf. Boetticher’s Lex. Tac.—Juvenis, when young, antith. to mox.


15. Postea a principé. The allusion is to the almost imperial power of Mucianus under Vesp. Cf. A. 7, note, and places there cited.—Luxuria . . . mixtus = in eo mixtae erant luxuria, etc. Cf. A. 4: locum mixtum.

17. Vacaret. Subj. after cum denoting cause, as well as time.—Expedierat = in expeditionem sive ad bellum profectus erat. Ernesti. Only T. uses the word thus without an object. It properly means, to clear the way, prepare, &c. See the fuller construction, 2, 99: expedire ad bellum.

18. Laudares. Al. laudes. But laudares has the better authority and makes a better construction. You (any one, men) would praise his public life (palam acta) ; so crederes, 45; timeres, A. 22, &c. Gr. 209, R. 7; Z. 528, N. 2.

19. Collegas. Governors of neighboring provinces. The word means chosen together; hence either those chosen at the same election, or those chosen to the same office.

20. Cul = is, cui or talis, ut ei, a man of such a character, that, etc. Hence followed by the subj. The reference here is to the prominent part which Mucianus acted in conferring the supreme power on Vesp. Cf. 2, 76.

21. Flavius Vespasianus. It was the history of Vesp. and his sons, Titus and Domitian, that T. chiefly intended to write. Hence,
from the first, he relates whatever pertains to them, with special care and fulness.

25. Occulta lege sati. Or., after the Medicean MS., omits lege.
27. Credidimus = sensim credere didicimus. Rup. There were intimations (ostentis ac responsis) enough beforehand; but it was only after their fulfilment that we learned properly to understand and fully to believe them. Of these ostenta ac responsa, a fuller account is given, 2, 76; also in Suet. and Josephus.

Cn. XI.—28. Quibus coerceretur. By which it was to be kept in subjection. The subj. denoting purpose.

30. Amonae secundam. Egypt was the granary of Rome; hence the importance to the emperor of keeping it under his own control.

32. Domi retinere. To retain in his own hands, i.e. to govern himself, or by agents directly responsible to him, not to the senate, as most of the provinces were. See retinere in the sense of govern in 9: retinentis. So Ter. and Cic. use domi habeo or domi est mihi = I have it with me, I have it myself. Ad rem., cf. Ann. 2, 59. The agents of Augustus in the government of Egypt were the Romani equites mentioned above. The provinces were for the most part governed by men of higher than equestrian rank.

33. Tib. Alexander. Cf. Ann. 15, 28; Suet. Vesp. 6.—Ejusdem nationis, i.e. an Egyptian, though he was of Jewish descent.
34. Domini minoris. A master of lower rank, sc. Macor, who set up for independence and played the petty tyrant, till they were more than satisfied. See his character above, note, chap. 7.—Duae Mauretaniae, sc. Tingitana et Caesariensis, cf. 2, 58.
35. Procuratoribus. Dativus subjectivus. Rup. Cf. Gr. 225, 2. These provinces, having no army stationed in them, were led to favor or oppose the government at Rome, just as the nearest or strongest army in their vicinity took sides.
37. Cohibentur = reguntur. Used in this sense only by Tacitus. Such words (cohibere, retinere, coercere) are highly significant of the nature of the Roman dominion over the provinces.
38. Inermes provinciae. Provinces without armies, such as Achaia, Sicily, &c. So inermes legati (2, 81), the legates of such provinces.
2. In pretium, etc. Were destined to become the prize of the war, i.e. of the victorious party elsewhere. How fallen from the Italy that conquered the world!

Ch. XII.—6. Kal. Januarias. Al. Cal. The letter K has been superseded by C everywhere except in such abbreviations. See Zumpt, 5. On the reckoning of time among the Romans, see App. to Leverett's Lex. or Gr. 326. The names of the months are always adj., agreeing either with the noun which designates the part of the month (as here with Kal.), or with mensis understood, in which case they are of course always masc.


9. Flagitare. Demand urgently or imperatively, stronger than poscere or postulare.


12. Adoptione, sc. of a son and successor at his death.—Proximus His friends and advisers. Cf. 10: apud proximos.—Non sane crebrior. Indeed there was no more frequent topic of conversation, sc. than Galba's choice of a successor. Cf. non sane aliae, 9.


16. Stulta spec. Al. occulta spe. Foolish, i.e. hastily conceived and ill-founded.—Ambitiose rumoribus, i.e. reports designed to gain the favor of Galba for their respective friends and patrons, and thus indirectly to promote their own interest.


18. Eodem actu. An unusual expression for idem agendo = by this means, and of course in the same proportion. Cf. Or. in loc.


20. Intendebat. Was increasing, lit. stretching, adding intensity to.—Cum . . . peccaretur. Since crimes might be committed, etc. Cum causae followed by the subj., cf. Gr. 263, 5; Z. 577.—Credulum. Confiding, explained by amicorum libertorumque patiens, etc., chap. 49.

Ch. X11.—22. Potentia principatus. The supreme power, or the absolute control of the government. Cf. potentiam, 1. So Suet. says (Galb. 14): Regebatur trium arbitrio, etc.

24. Iceto. Cf. Suet. Nero, 49; Plut. Galb. 7.—Liberto. Freedmen ruled the state in this degenerate age, a proof that liberty was extinct, as Tacitus suggests, G. 25.—Annuilis, sc. aureis, the badge of knighthood.—Equestri nomine. "Equestre nomen est nomen no-
bilissimarum equestrinque gentium familiare, non deducendum a Marte sed fortasse a Marcus, i. e. Masculus, v. Voss. Etym." Wisso-
wa, cited by Ruperti.

to circa consilium, etc. In is omitted before the abl. hero for the

et in apud Cic," Bach.

27. Scindebantur, in this sense, is poetical (cf. Boetticher) and

28. Consensu .... allum. Agreed in supporting, not so much
any particular one (cf. unum aliquem, 6), as some other, than Otho.

Reader: influenced. The word implies a silent, secret influence.
Cf. A. 3.

33. Selecturer, sc. quasi hereditate. Rup. For the mode
and tense, cf. Gr. 261, 1; Z. 524.

and Otho.

35. Et = ideo.

36. Jam, antith. to max, denotes time = already.

37. Octaviam .... amoliretur. He divorced her on a charge
of adultery, and afterwards put her to death. * Ann. 14, 60-64. The
subj. after donec here is according to the general rule (cf. Gr. 263, 4;
Z. 575), for here it refers to a purpose or object to be attained. But
Tacitus disregards this distinction, and uses the subj. after donec refer-
ing to a mere fact, e. g. 4, 35: pugnatum, donec proelium nox dire-
meret; 1, 35: donec .... levaretur, where see note.

38. Suspectum .... Poppaeae. Cf. Ann. 13, 46, where the
character of this accomplished but depraved woman is sketched, and
a full account is given of her relation to Otho and Nero, which how-
ever cannot be reconciled with this passage in the Histories. Accord-
ing to the later and doubtless more correct account in the Annals,
Poppaea was the wife of Otho, from whom she was taken by Nero.

1. Lusitaniam. A part of Spain, now Portugal. Hence the
name which the great Portuguese poet, Camoens, gave his poem in
honor of his country, viz. the Lusiad.— Specie legationis. He ban-
ished him under pretense of conferring upon him an honorable office.
Hence Otho speaks of it, as honor exsili, 21. Cf. also Ann. 13, 46.
—Comiter. Civiliter et populariter.—Administrata. 10 years. Suet.
Otho, 3.

2. Partes, sc. Galba's.

3. Praesentates, sc. in provincia duces. Rup.

4. Rapiebat denotes the impetuosity with which he seized upon
BOOK I.


9. Exercituum, sc. Germanicarum.—Urbano militi. Whose feelings are described in chap. 5.

10. Comitia imperii. Language borrowed from the usages of the republic (cf. remarks on imperatores, 7), and properly denoting an assembly of the people for the choice of a magistrate, but here a council of a few friends and leading men convened for the nomination of a successor to Galba in the empire.

11. Adhibito. Being called in, lit. being had in. For the number of adhibito, cf. Gr. 205, Exc. to R. 2.

12. Praefecto urbs. A different office from the praefectus praetorii (13), being a kind of mayorship, to which the emperor appointed from among those who had been consuls.


15. Apud Rubellium, etc. At the house of Rubellius Plautus, of whose high rank, see Ann. 13, 19; and his death through the jealousy of Nero, Ann. 14, 15, 57. 59.

18. Vultu habituque. Abl. of quality. Gr. 211, R. 6, (1): with face and mien of the old style. Cf. habitus, G. 4. 17. Here it includes form, dress and deportment, the whole outward man except the face (vultu). Or. and Död. have vultu, after the older form.


21. Quo = by as much as; antithetic to eo magis understood before adoptandi, with the usual conciseness of Tacitus.

Cu. XV.—23. Privatus. Antithetic to ad imperium vocatum. Si also is antithetic to nunc.—Lege curiata, i. e. a law passed by the Roman people in their curiae; for such a law was originally necessary to ratify an adoption or transfer from one family or gens to another. But long before the age of Galba, the comitia curiata (assembly of the curiae) had become obsolete (cf. remarks under comitia imperii, 14), and all that was now requisite was the presence and sanction of the Pontifex, which office was held by the emperor, so that the lex curiata and the pontificate were concentrated in Galba.

24. Et militi. Et = both, correl. to et tibi. The honor would have been mutual.—Erat. Ind. for subj. Not uncommon in Lat. = our it were. Cf. Gr. 259, R. 4; Z. 519, b.

25. Cu. Pompeii. Abavus (great-great-grandfather) to Piso on
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37. his mother's (Scribonia) side. Al. Gn. for Cn., cf. note on prodigia, 3, supra.

26. Sulpiciæ ac Lutatiae, se. gentis. Galba was of the Sulpician gens, and his mother was a grand-daughter of Q. Lutatius Catulus.

30. Quiescenti. Antith. to bello adeptus = in peace. So G. 35: quiescenti, et passim.—Exemplo ... Augusti. Cf. Ann. 1, 3. A singular fatality attended the efforts of Augustus to provide an heir and successor, one after another of his adopted sons being taken away by natural death or by the arts of Livia, wife of Augustus and mother of Tiberius.


34. In domo, sc. sua, which is omitted to make in domo correspond with in republica.—Non quia ... non = non quin. This use of quia is for the most part peculiar to late Latin authors. Cf. Z. 537. Cicero uses non quia non rarely, usually non quod non. Cf. Tusc. Qm. 1, 11, and Kühner's note, ibid. All these formulae are followed by the subjunctive. Cf. Z. 537; Arnold's Prose Introd. 492.

35. Propinquis, relatives, such as the adopted sons of Aug. all were to him.—Socios belli, coadjutores in war, as Agrippa was to Aug.—Neque ipse = et ipse non, correlative to et before judicii. Cf. neque ... ac, A. 10; nec ... et, G. 2, note; also Zumpt, 338.

36. Judicil. My unbiased judgment in the choice of a successor. Antithetic to ambitione. The logical connection between the two clauses is this: I did not accept imperial power myself from ambitious motives, and in the choice of my successor, I have been governed, not by ambitious or selfish motives, but by sober and unbiased judgment (justis causis et vera aestimatione). Ernesti.

37. Necessitudoines = propinqui.

38. 1. Ea = such. Hence followed by the subj. Cf. Gr. 264; Z. 556.

2. Praeteritum is not superfluous, but prepares the way for the subsequent exhortation to lead a similar life in future.


8. Imminuent, sc. tuam fidem, libertatem, etc.—Irumpet. Sing. Gr. 209, R. 12, (2).—Pessimum ... venenum. In appos. with utilitas, Wr.; with blanditiaæ, Rup. Or. decides in favor of the latter, and argues, that if the former were the meaning, it would read pessimum-que, etc.

9. Et jam = Gr. καὶ ὅ. Wr.
10. Simplicissime. With the utmost sincerity.
11. Fortuna nostra, ut adulatores cum principibus. Rup. i. e. not caring what we are, but what they may hope to gain by us. Ad verbum ac rem, cf. Ann. 2, 71: vindicabitis vos (sc. me meanque mortem) si me potius, quam fortunam mean forebatis.—Oporteat. Subj. Cf. Gr. 266, 1; Z. 545, a.


15. Dignus ... Inciperet. Gr. 264, 9; Z. 568.
16. Nunc. Antith. to si. Cf. 14. = but now, i. e. as things are.

20. Fulimus. We the Roman people. But coepimus, we emperors.

24. Monstratur, sc. quis eligendus sit.—Consensus. So he says of himself, 15: deorum hominumque consensus ad imperium vocatum.

26. Inermi provincia. Cf. note on inermes provinciae, II.—Una legione. Formerly there were three legions in the Spanish army, Ann. 4, 5; but the spirit of the province was broken, and only one was now necessary, viz. the 6th. His. 5, 16. Cf. also Suet. Galb. 10. Yet three are mentioned again, 2, 97.

28. Adhuc, sc. ante Neronem.—Nos. Galba and Piso, raised to the rank of princeps (asciti), Galba by the sword (bello), Piso by adoption based on merit, and both by men's good opinions (aestimantibus.)

30. Ne ... fueris. Subj. perf. with ne, for the imperative. Cf. Gr. 260, R. 6; Z. 529. The periphrastic form ne territus fueris differs from ne terreare, as the aorist subj. in Greek does from the pres. subj. The former means be not terrified, and implies that he is not; while the latter would mean cease to be terrified, and would imply that he was. Dōd. Ne, like the Greek μὴ, is usually a subjective negative, followed by the imperative or the subjunctive, to express a prohibition, or an intention or wish negatively. So ne ... desideretur just below. Ut non, on the contrary, denotes only a negative result. Ne appears, however, to have been originally the absolute negative particle of the Latin language, from which non (neenum, ne-unum) and the other negatives were derived. Cf. Freund's Lexicon, sub voce. Of this original use we have a relic in the phrase ne ... quidem, which is accordingly followed by the indicative, e. g supra: ne ipse quidem accessi.

32. Et audita, etc. Et connects the two reasons, why Piso
should not be alarmed: 1. The circumstances attending Galba’s access to the supreme power; 2. The fact that the only objection against Galba is now removed.

35. Neque... et. Correlative, as in 15 To exhort you further, in the first place suits not the present occasion, and in the next place there is no need of it, the necessity being superseded by the happy choice he had made in Piso.

37. Idem ac = as well as. — Bonarum... rerum, i.e. between good and bad measures.


3. Qui nec totam, etc. T. here gives us at a stroke an exact picture of the Romans in that age. His Annals and History are from beginning to end a commentary on this text.

5. Tanquam... faceret, i.e. with deliberation and dignity—tanquam cum facto, sc. princepe: the rest talked with Piso as with one already made princeps, i.e. with eager and servile flattery.

This speech of Galba is worthy to be studied, as a manual of moral and political wisdom. Every sentence is a maxim for the world and all time. Yet it is all especially befitting the aged and experienced Galba in an address to his adopted son. See Life of T., p. 13.

Cu. XVII.—7. Statim refers to the time of the ceremony. Mox after its close.


Wr. Cf. 14, note.

11. Quasi imperare, etc. Another single stroke, that reveals a whole character, and a noble character too, whose self-respect commands our veneration and makes us mourn his misfortunes. For the subj. cf. Gr. 263, 2; Z. 572.

12. Pro rostris, i.e. in the forum, before the people; in castris, i.e. to the soldiers of the Praetorian Guard.

13. In castra, for the army had the power, not the senate or the people. Observe the difference between in castra and in castris. Gr. 235, 2; Z. 316.

14. Ut... Ita. Antithetic. Cf. 4. The infinitives in this sentence depend on a verb understood (they said, they thought), and express the motive for going to the camp. The subj. usually stands in the dependent clauses of such sentences (oratio obliqua). Cf. Gr. 266, 2; Z. 603.


Cu. XVIII.—19. Quadratum Idus. The fourth before (ante) the Ides = Jan. 10.

20. Turbaeuant. Observe the pluperf. where we with less
exactness use the imperf. Cf. Z. 505. The bad weather was prior to
the announcement of the adoption in the camp.

21. Observatum. Cf. usitatum, A. 1. The Latin is fond of
concrete words. Cf. note 1: post conditam urbem.—Comitiiis dirig-
menidis. For the use of the gerundine see Gr. 275, 2; Z. 656. Dat.
of the end; lit. observed for the dissolving of the assembly, i.e. re-
garded as a reason why an election should not proceed. Cf. Cic. de
Div. In nostris commentariis scriptum habemus: Jove tonante, ful-
gurante, comitia populi habere nefas. The power thus intrusted to
the pontiffs and the presiding officers at the elections was greatly
abused; elections were deferred or declared null and void on false
pretences by patrician officers, whenever they resulted or were likely
to result in favor of the plebeians. See Am. His. of Rome, vol. I,
passim.—Non terruit, quo minus. Did not deter him from proceed-
ing.

22. Pergeret. Proceed (from per-rego, go straight through). For
the construction see Gr. 262, R. 9; Z. 543.

25. Imperatoria brevitate, qua imperator uti solet ac debet.
Rup. Compare the Queen's Speech in Great Britain.

26. Exemplo militari. "According to a military custom es-
established at an early period of the commonwealth, every Roman sol-
dier chose his favorite comrade, and by that tie of friendship all were
mutually bound to share every danger with their fellows. The con-
sequence was, that a warlike spirit pervaded the whole army. Cf.
Liv. 9, 39." Murphy. See also Drak. ad loc. cit. in Liv.—Legeret.
Subj. Cf. Gr. 266, 1; Z. 545, a.

27. Seditio, ec. duarum legionum Germanicarum, 16.—In majus.
Cf. in melius, in deterius, in mollius, a favorite form of expression
with T. passim. Sometimes used in the same sense without the in.
Used with different verbs, e.g. cadere, accipere, credere, trahere, ha-
beri, etc. Ang.: taken for, or believed to be, greater, better, or worse,
sc. than the reality, or than it otherwise would be.

more the idea of discordant cries and murmurs. Or. See further in
note, 27: clamore et gaudiis.

30. In officio fore, lit. would shortly be in (the performance of)
their duty, i.e. would soon return to their duty.—Lenocinum. Flat-
ttering words, alluring promises.

33. Usurpatam... necessitatem. The donativum to the
soldiers, and the congiarium to the plebs, had become so common,
even in time of peace, that it was now, as it were, a fixed law or
matter of necessity, especially when it was needful to procure their
was peculiarly vexatious to lose this in time of war or revolution, when
their rulers were peculiarly dependent on their support.
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34. Perdldissent. The subj. denoting the view of the soldiers not the sentiments of the author.


36. Rigor occurs in Boetticher's list of words belonging to the poets of an earlier age. It is not found in Cicero. Cf. Freund sub voce.

Cn. XIX.—37. Inde. Thence or next, sc. they proceeded to the senate, of which there is an ellipsis. Tacitus in his conciseness has put two clauses into one. Cf. note, A. 5: prima . . . approbavit, also Essay on the Style of Tacitus, p. 18.

1. Multi . . . obsequio. Al. pointed and read thus: multi voluntato; effusius qui noluerant; medi, ac plurimi, obvio obsequio. But medii is a conjectural reading; and this punctuation destroys the proper antithesis, which is usually the best clue to the understanding of Tacitus: many out of cordial good-will expressed their approbation (favebant understood) freely and fully; those who were opposed (to the nomination), in moderate (ordinary, commonplace) terms; and a still greater number (the major part) with ready complaisance, cherishing hopes of personal advantage (from Piso's elevation) without regard to the public welfare. Medie, with the exception of this one passage in Tacitus, occurs only in the brazen or post-classical age. Cf. Or. in loco and Freund sub voce.

7. Cum tristia sunt. Highly descriptive of the morbid state of the public mind.—Censuerant, had voted, sc. prior to the discussion which follows.


13. Pecda inconstantia. With shameful inconstancy (want of firmness), on the part of Galba.

14. Ambitu. Ob ambitum, sive cupiditatem pravam gratia nixam. So it is well explained in the Bipontine edition. Render: in (or through) their solicitious desire of going or remaining.

Cn. XX.—17. Ubl . . . causa erat. Al. unde. But that is a mere interpolation, and, as Wr. says, an inappropriate one; for the cause of a want of money lay in the extravagant donations of Nero not from them.


19. Singulos, sc. a Nerone donatos. Rup.—Decum a . . . relicta
So Suet. Galb.: non plus decimis concessis. They were allowed to keep one-tenth of what they had received, and were required to refund the remaining nine-tenths.


25. Ambitu . . . onerosum. Burdensome (to the state) because of the number of the commissioners and their extensive powers. So Wr. and Or. But it accords better with prevailing usage to take ambitu in the sense of solicitation, intrigue, which would be greatly increased by the number of commissioners.—Hasta. “It was usual to set up a spear in auctions, a symbol derived, it is said, from the ancient practice of selling under a spear the booty acquired in war.”

26. Sector. “Those are called sectores, who buy property publique,” i. e. sold by public authority. Gaius, 4, 146. Cf. Smith’s Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiq. sub voce.—Actionibus. Actions, i. e. prosecutions, against those who refused to repay the sum demanded of them. So Wr., Rup. and Or., with the Medicean and other best MSS. Al. auctionibus. But that makes a mere tautology, for what do hasta and sector denote but auctions?

27. Quod . . . forent. Subj. = because in their view they were as poor, etc. Cf. Gr. 266, 3; Z. 629.—Donasset. Cf. Gr. 266, 1; Z. 547.

28. Exauctorati. Strictly, released from the military oath, dismissed. But here, in accordance with the prevailing usage of Tacitus and the later times of the empire, dismissed in disgrace, cashiered.

29. Praetorio. The praetorium was primarily the headquarters of the Roman general (Prae-itor): afterwards more especially the camp of the praetorian cohorts (imperial guards) at Rome. Here put for the praetorian guards themselves, which consisted originally of nine cohorts of a thousand men each (Ann. 4, 5), and subsequently (under Vitellius) rose to the number of 16 cohorts, or 16,000 men. His. 2, 93.—Antonius . . . Antonius. Instead of this repetition, we should have had Antonii once before both names, if they had belonged to the same family. The repetition shows that they belonged to different families.

30. Urbanis cohortibus. Three cohorts, the proprius miles urbis. Ann. 4, 5.—Vigiliis. Put for cohortibus vigilum, like praetorio for praetorianis. The vigiliae consisted of seven cohorts, each having
charge of two wards of the city, to suppress and guard against fire, and more like fire-companies than regular troops. They were instituted, as were also the praetorian guards, by Augustus. Dio Cass. 55, 26.

32. Omnibus suspectis. Ut Nymphidii sociis Neronivo addictis. Cf. 5; also Suet. Galb. 16. It is implied, that all expected to lose their places, as the cashiered tribunes were driven from (pellerentur) theirs, not however in a mass, for that the emperor was afraid to do, but in detail (singuli, one by one). For this use of pellerentur, cf. 4, 44; pulsi = banished; and 4, 46; pelli = dismissed, removed from office. It is the simple for the compound.

Ch. XXI.—36. Luxuria . . . Inopia, etc. In apposition with multa. As to Otho's inopia, cf. Suet. Oth. 5, where he says that nothing short of the imperial power could save him from utter ruin, and whether he died in battle or fell a victim to his creditors was immaterial.

41 1. Lusitaniam . . . exspectandum. He must not wait for the honor of a second banishment to Lusitania. Cf. 13.


5. Occidit. Observe the emphatic position of occidi, and the emphasis of meaning: Otho might even be put to death, not merely banished, as before.

6. Fluxa. Fluctuating, ready to be dissolved and pass away—in happy antithesis to nondum coaluisset.

7. Nondum coaluisset. Had not yet become established. The reader will observe the use of the infinitive in the principal clauses, and the subjunctive in the dependent clauses. Cf. Gr. 266, 2; Z. 603.


12. Merito. In a manner worthy of himself, i.e. in bold undertakings. The word is designedly ambiguous.

Ch. XXII.—13. Corpori similis. Compare what Piso says of Otho's person below, 30, and places cited there.

16. Matrimonia. The frequent marriages of Nero. Cf. 13 Suet. Nero, 28. 35. The same was true of Caligula and Claudius, the former of whom had had four wives and the latter six. Suet. Cal. 24; 25; Claud. 26. 27.—Regnorum libidines. Vicious pleasures attendant on the supreme power; distinct both from the adulteries and the successive marriages.—Avido agrees with Othoni.

17. Quiescenti. Antithetic to si auderet = if inactive.—Us aliena. Antithetic to ut sua = not his, but another's.


20. Sperantibus. Aspirants to power; antith. to potentibus.

BOOK I.

52. to gratify curiosity and ambition, which are stronger than law. As to the unexpected turn of expression here, cf. Monboddo on Language, 2, 4, 12.


23. Ptolemaeus. Cf. Plut. Galb. In Suet. Oth. 4. 6, called by mistake Seleucus, which was the name of Vespasian’s mathematicus.

24. Cum ... promisisset. Plup. subj. in narration. Cf. Gr. 263, R. 2; Z. 578.

25. Postquam ... fides, sc. ei erat. After confidence was reposed in him from its turning out, as he had predicted.

29. Credendu. Al. credi, which is found in all the MSS., and which, according to Wr., may depend on cupidine, as sequi does on natura in 55: insita mortalibus natura propere sequi. Yet Wr. himself reads credendi (as also Död. and Or.), and the active seems much more appropriate here than the passive.

Cn. XXIII.—30. Et sceleris. The criminal act also, i.e. as well as the criminal desire (ejus modi voto). Et for etiam is very rare in Cicero, but common in Livy and later writers. Cf. Z. 698; and Kühner ad Cic. Tusc. Quaes. 1, 17, 40.—Instinctor is found only in Tacitus and writers still later than he. Cf. Boetticher.

31. Ad ... transitur states a general principle (as Tacitus always loves to do in connection with historical facts) which Murphy thus freely translates: “The heart, that has formed the wish and conceived the project, has seldom any scruple about the means.”

32. Repens. Tacitus alone uses this word in the sense of recent. Thus in Ann. 6, 7, it stands opposed to vetustate obscurum. So here it is explained by the antithetic jampridem. Cf. Or. in loc. and Freund’s Lex. sub voce.


34. In agmine. Ernesti objects, that in agmine is identical with in itinere. But Wr. replies, that Tacitus uses the words together elsewhere, e.g. Ann. 3, 9: in agmine atque itinere; and that in general agmen denotes the troops on the march, and iter the march itself. Here, however, he says in agmine is antithetic to in stationibus, and he explains in agmine by ubi copiae essent conjunctae; and in stationibus by ubi singuli milites versarentur. Döderlein says: in itinere, dum iter faciunt; in agmine, dum ambulant, exercitu causa. Orelli has still another way of distinguishing the phrases. Render in itinere, on the march; in agmine, in the lines; in stationibus, at their quarters.

23*
Vocans, appellando, agnoscere, requirere, juvare, insen-redo, all express the means by which Otho courted the favor of the soldiers, and all stand in the same logical relation to affectaverat; yet the grammatical forms are strangely varied and intermingled by our author's fondness for enallage. Cf. notes, G. 16 and 18.—Vocans nomine. A means of popularity so much relied on at Rome, that great men had a slave called nomenator, whose business it was to know the name of everybody, and communicate it, as occasion required, to his master. Cf. Beck. Gall. Exc. 2, sc. 2.—Neroniani comitatus Nero's retinue, who shared his vicious pleasures and applauded his musical performances in the Roman theatres, and on his excursions through Italy and Greece. Cf. the Augustani instituted for this purpose. Ann. 14, 15; also Ann. 15, 33; Suet. Nero, 25.

Requirere aliquid is to inquire after or into any thing; agnoscere, to recognise an old acquaintance. Agnosce refers to persons and things previously known, cognoscere to those not previously known.

1. Atroclus accipiebantur. These words are found together only in Tacitus. So also aspera accipere. Ann. 4, 31. Cf. Boetticher.

3. Soliti, sc. sub Nerone (see note above).

4. Eniterentur, sc. duce Galba ex Hispania Romam redeunte. Rup. To justify this contrast, we must suppose, what T. nowhere asserts in his extant works, that some of Nero's pretorians went to meet and escort Galba from Spain. Eniterentur is followed by the acc.

Cf. Gr. 233, R. 1. It is subj. because cum = since, denoting a causal connection. Cf. Gr. 263, 5; Z. 577.


6. Proximus = amicus.

7. Novas cupiditates = novarum rerum cupiditatem.


13. Speculatori. A soldier of the body-guard. The word (derived from specula) properly denotes a watchman, hence used by Tacitus for the emperor's lifeguards, who were chosen from the praetorian bands. The word, in this sense, is post-Augustan. Cf. Boetticher.

15. Dederit. Compare the perf. subj. here with the imperf. subj.
divideret just above. Divideret denotes repeated and customary action: he was in the habit of dividing as often as Galba feasted at the house of Otho. Dederet denotes a single, specific act. The distinction is the same which always prevails between the imperf. and the perf. in the indic.; but which is not usually observed in the subj., where the tenses are less distinctly marked in all languages, and where in Latin the perf. is generally used only as a perf. definite, and the imperf. is used indiscriminately for completed and incomplete actions. The rule for the succession of the tenses would require the imperf. subj. in both places here. Cf. Gr. 258; Z. 516. But certain historical writers, particularly Nepos, Livy and Tacitus, seem to have felt a necessity for the same distinction of time in the subj. as in the indicative. Cf. Z. 504, Note. This distinction, it is believed, will be found applicable to all the examples in Tacitus. Thus in 5, 20, the two tenses are brought together in the same sentence, both after ut denoting a consequence. The perf. invaserit is first used to denote the simple historical fact of an attack (like the perf. indefinite of the indic.). But when he proceeds to speak of the progressive execution of the assault, he uses the imperfect (traherent). Comparo also admonerit, 1, 66, with occurrerent, 1, 63; peticerit, 3, 51, with aestimarentur, 3, 52, &c., &c.—Praefecti. Cornelius Laco, ignavissimus mortalium. Cf. chap. 6.—Nota, sc. publicae larginiones.

16. Occulta, sc. secretiora praemia.

Ch. XXV.—18. Tesserarium. Bearer of the watchword, which in early times was inscribed on a tessera or square block (from τίσαγες), and thus passed through the ranks on the eve of battle, as a word by which the soldiers might distinguish friends from foes. Thus Silius Italicus: Tacitum dat tessera signum. Cf. also Virg. Aen. 7, 637. Tesserarius, in the military sense, is post-Augustan.

19. Optionem. The optiones were the lieutenants of the centurions (the suc-centuriones of Livy), so called from the time, when (and from the fact that) quem velint, permissum est centurionibus optare—previously called accensi, according to Festus sub voce Optio. Cf. Smith's Dict. of Antiq. under Centurio. Render adjutant, or retain the Latin word both here and in tesserarium.—Perductos. Brought over, sc. to himself (Otho); in partem deteriorem dictum turpi de causa, ut feminas a lenonibus perduci dicuntur. Ernesti. Cf. Horace: perduci poterit pudica.—Postquam connects cognovit and onerat.

22. Manipulares. Common soldiers, for such the tesserarius and the optio must be called, rather than officers. The word is derived from manus and pleo, since a handful of hay on the top of a pole was the original ensign of a Roman maniple.

25. Primores militum, sc. who had been promoted by Nymphi- dius, when he was praefect of the praetorians, cf. 5; and whom Galba
would therefore naturally suspect of cherishing resentment towards himself for putting to death their benefactor. Cf. 6.

26. Vulgus. Antithetic to primores militum; hence common soldiers.

27. Quos . . . . accenderet. Subj. in a relative clause after an indefinite general expression.

28. Mutandae militiae. A change of military service, i. e. a transfer from the prætorian guards to some less desirable service. The metus here is the exact opposite of the spes honoratioris in posterior militiae, 37; and is well explained by the language of Suetonius on the same subject. Galb. 16.

Cu. XXVI.—30. Tabes. The spreading spirit of revolt is here likened to a wasting and contagious disease.—Quoque. Also, i. e. of the legions, &c., as well as the prætorians.

33. Integros. Antithetic to malos = the good, lit. entire. So our word holy from whole.—Dissimulatio. Concealment, neutrality. Well explained by paterentur in 28. It will be observed that parata must be taken in a little different sense with dissimulatio and with seditio, since the latter had been got ready, while the former was found ready, opportunely existing. Cf. Essay on the Style of Tacitus, p. 16.—Postero iduum dierum. The day after the Ides days, sc. of Jan., i. e. Jan. 14. (Gr. 326.) The expression is singular. It seems to be like the Greek ὑπέρ πειρατῆς. There can scarcely be a doubt as to the day meant. Cf. 27, where the author proceeds to the events of Jan. 15. Al. die, a conjectural amendment. Dierum is found in the Medicean and all the best MSS., but is included in brackets by Or., and entirely omitted by Död.

34. Rapturi fuerint. They would have carried him off, sc. to the prætorian camp, to make him emperor. Observe the use of the periphrastic form to denote intention. For the subj. perf., cf. note on chap. 24: dederit.—Incerta and castra are both objects of timuisent.

36. Cura is abl., denoting the cause why they did not proceed immediately to action.

38. Ut quisque . . . . oblatus esset. Any one, who might chance to have fallen in with the soldiers of the Pannonian or the German army. The plup. is used, because the action expressed by oblatus esset is prior to that expressed by destinaretur. The subjunctive denotes contingency: might perchance have fallen in.

1. Ignorantibus pierisque. Since most of them were not acquainted with Otho. Abl. of cause limiting destinaretur.—Destinaretur = designaretur salutareturque princeps. Rup.

3. Apud . . . . aures. In the hearing of Galba.

4. Etulit. Made sport of.—Consilii. Governed by inimicus, which is connected by que to ignorat.
5. Affertet. Subj. after quod in place of dummodo id. Cf. Gr. 264, 2; Z. 555, = provided he did not himself propose it.

Ch. XXVII.—8. Pro aede. Before the temple of Apollo. Aedes = a sacred edifice consecrated by the act of man; templum = a temple (or other holy place) sanctioned by the appointment of the gods, who made known their will through the augurs. —Cf. Smith's Dict., word Templum. The temple of Apollo was on the Palatine Mount. Cf. Horace: Palatinus Apollo.—Haruspex. The haruspices were introduced from Etruria, and were different both from the augures and the sacerdotes. They were regarded by the educated in the age of Cic. as a sort of jugglers (Dio. 2, 24). Claudius attempted to revive their credit. Cf. Ann. 11, 15, where Tacitus speaks of a collegium haruspicum.


15. Requirentibus. Dat. after finxisset, which is connected by cum to innixus . . . . pergit.—Præedia signifies an estate, whether in the city or the country, and usually implies buildings in the city style. Here the idea of the buildings is prominent. Hence vetustate specta, of questionable value on account of their age. Hence also exploranda, sc. by the architect and the contractors. Suet. (Oth. 6) expresses the same thus: quasi venalem domum inspecturus.

17. Tiberianam domum: A Tiberio domui Augusti additam in occidentali montis Palatini parte. Broter.—Velabrum. Planities inter forum Romanum, et Palatinum, Capitolinum Aventinumque montes. Rup. Varro (Ling. Lat. 5, 5) derives the name from vechre; but Doderlein refers it to ἀλείφαρ, for it was the locality of the oil merchants. —Milliarium aureum. Columna aurea ab Augusto in capite fori facta, in quam militares viae omnes ex Italia desinebant. Rup. The milestones along the Roman roads were called milliaria. But the miles were not reckoned from the milliarium aureum, but from the gates of the city. Cf. Smith's Dict.; and Kingsley in loco: also Fiske's Man. P. 1, 52.

18. Aedem. Al. Aede. But sub here denotes tendency to a place near the temple, and requires the acc. Cf. Gr. 235, (2).—Pergit. He proceeds (per and rego). It properly belongs only to the last stage of Otho's progress. Cf. pergeret, in chap. 18, and note ibid. It applies only by zeugma (Gr. 323, 1, (2); Z. 775) to the first stage, sc. in Velabrum. Pergit is historical present, and hence, like the perf. for which it stands, is followed by the pluperf. subj. (finxisset). Cf. Gr. 258, R. 1; Z. 501.

20. Sellae. The sella gestatoria was a sedan, usually covered (adoperta, cf. Suet. Aug. 53); it was different from the lectica, which was a litter or portable bed, and in which the person carried lay in a recumbent posture. Cf. Becker's Gallus and Smith's Dict. of Antiq. Suetonius (Oth. 6) calls this of Otho a sella muliebris.
21. Rapiunt. They seize and bear him away in haste, sc. to the camp. Cf. 29: rapi in castra; and note, 26: rapturi.

22. Gaudiiis. Plural to denote the various kinds and sources of joy. Al. gladiis. But clamore et gaudiiis is a much more natural association of ideas, and accords especially with our author's remarkable fondness for pairs of words of kindred signification. Cf. notes, 1, 64; 3, 20. See also clamore et gaudio in 2, 70.—Miracula. 1, 23.

23. Animum . . . sumpturi. Intending to make up their minds (take sides) according to the result.

Cn. XXVIII.—24. Stationem . . . agebat. A cohort of infantry and a company of horse kept guard at each gate of a Roman camp. Julius Martialis was commander of this guard at the camp of the praetorians. Rup.

25. Tribunus. This word originally denoted the head of a tribus (from tres, three, the original number of tribes at Rome). Cf. Schmitz's MS. Rom. p. 60. It was afterwards applied to several classes of officers, such as tribunes of the commons and tribunes of the soldiers with consular power. Here it denotes one of the Tribuni Militares, of whom there were at this time six in each legion, whose duty it was to maintain order, keep guard, inspect outposts, &c. Cf. Smith's Dict. Tribunus.—Is. Such, correlative to ut, which is accordingly followed by the subj. denoting result.—Magnitudine = propter magnitudinem. It is assigned as one of two possible reasons for the conduct of Martialis, and limits rather the following sentiment than any particular word = owing to the greatness of the unexpected crime. So Wr. and Rup. Orelli and Döderlein supply percutus or some such idea from metuens byzeugma = distracted by the greatness, etc., or fearing, etc. Metuens assigns the other reason and governs castra as well as exitium.

28. Dubius et honestis. To measures of doubtful issue, though in themselves virtuous and honorable. The author's analysis of the habitus animorum of the masses hero cannot but be admired; and it is capable of a wide application.

Cn. XXIX.—31. Sacris Intentus. Cf. 27.—Fatigabat, sc. pro-cibus votisque = was importuning.

32. Alieni jam. Already another's, i. e. Otho's.

33. Incertum jam is neuter gender agreeing with a clause.—Quem agrees with senatorem: a senator, it was uncertain what one.—Percurtat. Borne away hastily. Cf. note, 5, 22: prono . . . rapti.

Subj. in oratio obliqua.

34. Ex . . . urbe, sc. concurrunt ad Galbam.—Ut . . . fuerat. All those who had fallen in with Otho on his way to the camp. Cf ut quiue, 26.—Formidine augentes. Through fear exaggerating (sc. verum) the real danger. Al. formidinem. But formidine in the Medicean MS., Död., Or., &c. Cf. also 42: finxit formidine.
35. Quidam minora. Sub. dicentes implied in augentes. Zeug- 
ma.—Ne tum quidem. Not even in such a crisis. Z. 801.

36. Igitur. Rarely placed first in Cic. Cf. Z. 357; and Kühner's 
Cic. Tusc. Qu. 1, 6, 11. Usually first in T., but sometimes in the 

38. Majoribus remedis, i.e. temporibus, quae majus remedium 
potestaret. Ernesti.

1. Pro gradibus. From the steps. So pro tribunal, from the 
tribunal; pro rostris, from the rostrum; pro muris, from the walls; 
pro vallo, from the rampart, &c. Cf. Z. 311.—Domus = palatii. Cf. 
27: Tiberianam domum.

2. Sextus dies. Counting the day of his adoption as the first (as 
the Romans and also the Greeks and Hebrews always reckoned), and 
the present as the sixth. Leaving out both, there were but four 
days intervening. Cf. 19: quatriduo. On the same principle we may 
reconcile the 8 days of Luke, 9, 28, with the 6 days of Mat. 17, 1, 
and Mark, 9, 2. In the same way also we make out the 3 days of 
our Lord's sepulture.

4. Quo .... fato. Al. quo .... fatum, which is the reading of 
most of the MSS. The Medicean has fata. I have chosen fato with 
Död. and Or., because it makes the sense so much more spirited: with 
what fortune to our family or the state depends on your decision 
(literally, has been placed in your hands).

Doleo is to be supplied before quia .... paveam from the antithesis. 
—Meo nomine. On my own account = for myself. Antithetic to 

6. Ut qui .... discam. Since I am such a person .... that I 
may learn. Cf. Gr. 264, 8; Z. 565, N. 1; 726.—Adversas .... expertus. 
Cf. note on fortunam adversam, 15, supra.

7. Cum maxime = ut cum maxime (cf. G. 10, note): may learn, 
as when men learn most, i.e. may learn most effectually. The cum 
adds emphasis to maxime. Cf. Freund sub quum.

8. Patris. Sub. sed before it, often omitted by T. Cf. Essay on 
the Style of Tacitus, p. 13.

10. Proximi motus. When Galba was made emperor.

11. Incruntam urbem. The only sense in which this is true, 
is, that no blood of citizens was shed in the city. Thousands of soldiers 
were slain as he was entering the city. Cf. chap. 6.

12. Ut ne .... esset. That not even after Galba (i.e. at the 
close of his reign) there should be room for (civil) war. Ne quidem 
marks the antith. between post Galbam and proximi motus. Cf. Gr. 
279, 3: quidem and quoque; Z. 801.

Cf. XXX.—15. Relatu. A word now found only in Tacitus. Or.

17. Imperatoris, sc. Nero. Cf. 13.—Ageret. When he was
acting the part, by which it is implied, that his friendship for Nero was a mere pretense. Cf. Ann. 1, 4: specie secessus, exsulem egerit, said of the false Tiberius.—Habitu ... imperium. Suetonius (Oth. 12) describes Otho as a man of small stature, ill-set on his feet, with crooked legs, but of almost feminine neatness. Habitu here means person, as in 14 and 17, where see notes.

18. Illo denotes notoriety. Gr. 207, R. 24; Z. 701.—Mereretur est optativus Graecorum = should he gain? Wr. Such questions asked by the subj. imply a negative answer. Cf. Z. 530.


22. Sit. May be = though it may be, yet the shame, etc.

26. Vestra. For the case and construction of this word, see Gr. 219, R. 2; also Z. 449.

29. Nero ... destituit. Nero fled from his palace before he was deserted by his palace-guard. The same cohort was now on duty.


33. Commune ... facitis, i.e. become partakers in the guilt.

34. Ad nos ... pertinebunt. Though the fatal issue of this criminal rebellion will fall upon us, yet to you will remain the calamitous consequences of the civil wars that must ensue.

37. Perlude. Al. prindae. But prindae, therefore, has no force; and though it rests on rather better MS. authority, yet the two words are perpetually confounded in the MSS. Perinde is correl. to quam = as much as.—Donativum. Al. donativo plus, for which reading it is argued, that Piso must offer more than Otho, or the offer would be manifestly unavailing. So Wr. and Rup. But Bach replies with great truth and force, that a mind like Piso's could not conceive that the soldiers would not prefer a reward pro fide to an equal reward pro facinore. Död. and Or. read donativum. This entire speech is admirably suited to the character of Piso, as the speech of Galba is to his. Review the character of Piso, as briefly sketched in 14 and 15, and acted out in 17. Then look at the calm dignity, the modesty and yet the conscious worth, the scorn of vice and the contempt for all the low arts of gaining favor with the rabble, which pervade this speech, and you cannot but discern and admire its fitness.

Ch. XXXI.—1. Dittapsis. Having stolen away, one by one. They were bribed by Otho. Cf. 27.—Cetera. The rest, sc. praeter speculatores.

2. Collectanem. The speaker, sc. Piso. Concio = 1. An assembly. 2. An address before it.—Ut ... evenit is to be taken with fortes et nullo ... consilio—it is common in times of commotion for
men to act as chance directs and without plan. Quam is omitted in the MSS., and the reading is doubtful in forte et nullo. Observe the conciseness of adhuc: no plan as yet, sc. matured.


6. Primipilaribus, sc. centurionibus. A post-Augustan word. The first centurion of the first maniple of the triarii was called at different times, primipil or primipilus, or primi pili centurio. Cf. Liv. 2, 27. He was intrusted with the care of the eagle, and had the right to attend the councils of the general.

7. Libertatis atria. Where they were quartered, as the Illyrians were in the Vipsanian portico. The word atrium denotes, 1. The open area, surrounded by a colonnade, in the private houses of the Romans. 2. A class of public buildings so called from their general resemblance in construction to the atrium of a private house, sometimes standing by themselves, but more frequently attached to the front of a temple or some other edifice. The atrium Libertatis here meant, was attached to the Aedes Libertatis on the Aventine. Cf. Smith’s Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiq., word Atrium.


11. Si ... flecteretur. Ang. to see if it might be turned aside. It denotes both purpose and contingency; and of course requires the subj. So the Greek εἰ, εἰς. This use of si is more frequent in T. than in other Latin authors.


14. Non ordine militiae. The common explanation of this passage supplies tribunus factus fuerat: “Because he had been irregularly promoted to the tribuneship of the praetorian guards.” So Brotier, Kingsley and many others. But Wr. thinks such an ellipsis inadmissible, and supplies suspectus from the ant. clause: Because he was not merely suspected, like Subrius and Cetris, on account of his rank and title as tribune (ordine = ob ordinem), but as a friend of Galba, he was loyal to his prince and thus still more an object of suspicion.

17. Ingestis pilis. Al. infestis. By pouring in their lances upon him, they drive him away, compel him to retire.

18. Germanica vexilla. The word vexillum, whose meaning,
NOTES.

45 as also that of the corresponding word vexillarii, has been much dis-puted, seems to have denoted, 1. The standard of the cavalry (as signum was the standard of the smaller divisions of the infantry, and aquila of the whole legion). 2. The standard of a detachment of troops, drafted and dispatched for a specific purpose. 3. The standard of a body of 600 veterans, attached (but not belonging) to each legion, released from the military oath and free from ordinary duty, but retained sub vexillo to render their assistance in the more severe battles, hence technically called vexillarii. In each of these three senses, the vexillum often stands for the troops that served under it. Here the word is used in the second sense = the German vexillarii. Cf. 6, where these same troops are called numeri e Germania, and are said to have been electos praemissosque ad bellum in Albanos. For a full discussion of this subject, see Ruperti’s note on vexilla. A. 18. See also Smith’s Dict. of Antiq., on Roman Army.

19. Quod . . . refovebat. Quod here gives a reason for a state of mind; quia, just above, for an outward act. The reason in both cases is an objective fact. Cf. note, 2, 19: quod . . . legisset. Quando, quandoquidem and siquidem, introduce only subjective reasons; and quoniam a motive. Cf. Z. 346. Quia and quoniam are usually followed by the indic. in Tacitus; quod and quando by the indic. or the subj., according to the design of the author. Quandoquidem and siquidem seldom occur, the simple conjunctions being preferred by the author.

20. Inde rursus, sc. revocatos, which is implied in rursus according to the figure praegnantia. Cf. Essay, pp. 16. 17.

Cf. XXXII.—22. Universa = all united, all without exception. Cf. Ramshorn and Leverett on the difference between universus, omnis, totus and cunctus.

24. Ut sì. Between these words there is an ellipsis of poscerent. So there is an ellipsis in our as if.

25. Judicium . . . veritas. Not synonyms, as Ernesti supposed them to be. Judicium = sober reason, veritas = sincerity.—Quippe . . . postulaturis. There is more or less of irony and sarcasm in quippe (= quia-pe) here; forsooth (= for-true) they were about to demand at a later hour of the same day the opposite with equal earn-estness. A graphic picture of the corrupt rabble under the Roman emperors.

26. Tradito more limits adulabantur or some such verb implied in adulandi, or a simple verb of doing may be supplied. Cf. Essay, p. 14.


31. Daret, sc. Galba. It is the subj. of the oratio obliqua, and would have been expressed by the imperative in the direct address to Galba. Cf. Z. 603, (c); Arnold’s Pr. Intr. 460. It depends, like mo-nendum, opponenda, etc., on censebat.
32. Valescere is present to denote a general principle. The word is poetical. Cf. Boetticher.

33. Ultro. Wr. renders: moreover; Or.: at pleasure.

34. Regressus is genitive after facultatem repeated from the foregoing clause.—Si poeniteat. Subj. of the dependent clause in oratio obliqua. Gr. 266, 2; Z. 603. Observe the use of the present here, where we must use the imperf., and where the general rule would require the imperf. (as depending on censebat). The Latin admits of either in the same sentence and in the same sense. Cf. Arnold's Pr. Intr. 455. 468. We must render it by the imperf.: if he regretted, or should regret. We can use the present only with the second person: if you regret. So si ratio sit: if there was or should be occasion.

Cf. XXXIII.—35. Ceterls. The rest, i.e. all but T. Vinius.


38. Cunctatione = hesitation, lit. waiting to collect every thing (from cunctus); or perhaps trying to do something (conor).—Segnitia = sloth.—Terentium agrees with nostrum, sc. Galbianorum, understood.—Imitari principem, i.e. to act his part as princeps.

1. Discat. Subj. because a dependent clause in the oratio obliqua.

2. Capitolium adeat, sc. de more, ut auspicaturas imperium et gratas diis actuas sacrificet. Ernesti. Cf. 47: in capitolium vectus. For the pres. subj. cf. note, 32: si poeniteat. So also elonguescat and necesse sit just below.

3. Dum . . . cludit. The ind., contrary to the rule, to represent the shutting up more as a matter of fact and less as a contingency. Cf. Gr. 266, R. 5; Z. 575.—Egregius . . . fortibus. Spoken ironically.

4. Tenus. Properly a noun in the acc. of limit or measure, meaning as to extent. Hence it follows (not is followed by) the gen. and the abl. Cf. Freund sub voce. Here it seems to be used pretty much as in the phrases verbo tenus, nomine tenus, hactenus, etc., in the sense of merely: by the gate and threshold merely, not by arms, as truly brave men would do. Cf. Död. in loc. Observe the repetition of kindred words (janua and limine) for emphasis. Cf. note, 27: gaudius, and places there cited.—Nimirum also denotes irony.—Toleraturus. Al. toleraturos.

5. Praecitarum, etc. Said in derision of Vinius' proposal: opponenda servititia, 33.

6. Quae . . . valet. The indic. here, contrary to the rule (Gr. 266, 2; Z. 603), affirms the sentiment absolutely and independently of the mere opinion of the speaker.

7. Vel si. Even if.


13. Castra, sc. praetoriana.—Juvenis. Död. places a comma after juvenis, thus making his youth a separate reason for Piso’s being sent before Galba, who, if not too old to meet the danger, was thought less likely to win favor.

14. Nomine and favore are abl. of quality.—Recenti favore refers to his late adoption, i.e. elevation to imperial favor.

15. Irati. The enemies of Vinius, particularly Laco and Icelus, who had now gained the ascendancy in Galba’s counsels. Vinius had advised not to go to the camp; Galba not only went, but was preceded by one who was thought or hoped to be the personal enemy of Vinius.—Facilius ... creditur. And the more credible account of the two is, that he was really insensus Vinio.

17. Ut ... mendacis, sc. fieri solet, i.e. great lies are apt to gain strength, till at length men are ready to swear to their personal knowledge of their truth.

18. Credula fama. Credula is usually taken in a passive sense, here = readily believed, easily credited. So Ernesti, Boetticher, Död. and others; though Ernesti suggests also the explanation adopted by Roth, Wr., Rup. and Or., viz. that fama is put poetically for the men who spread and believed the report. Then credula may be taken in its ordinary sense, as in 12: credulum senem. Fama is not uncommonly personified by T. Cf. A. 9; Ann. 4, 11. Reader: Rumor being credulous where men delight in reports and are indifferent about their truth.

21. Vulgaverint. Al. vulgaverant. The reading we have given follows the Medicean MS. and accords with the general rule for dependent clauses in the oratio obliqua. Cf. Gr. 266, 2; Z. 603.

Cn. XXXV.—23. In plausus, sc. ruere, or prorumpere implied in ruere by zeugma: break forth into shouts of applause. Cf. Essay on the Style of Tacitus, p. 15.—Equitum ... senatorum. Who from their rank might have been expected to be more cautious. Equites means, 1. Horsemen, or cavalry. 2. Knights, or men of the equestrian order; for in the early history of Romo men of rank only served in the cavalry, while the plebs made up the infantry. So in Hor. de Ar. Poet.: quibus est equus = equestres.

25. Intus. Only the equites and senatores rushed in; the populus and plebs applauded immoderately without. For the distinction between populus and plebs, cf. note, A. 43: vulgus et populus.

27. Linguae ferocis. Al. linguae feroces, linguis feroces. All the MSS. but one have linguae ferocis, which is gen. of quality, and is the more likely to be the true reading, because it is of different construction from nimii verbis. Cf. note, G. 16, 18, and Essay, p. 23.

28. Inopia veri = inopia certorum multorum. So veri is explained by the antithetic errantium. Inopia is not, therefore, as Rup. and others say, = ignorantia. Galba was overcome by the entire
want of true accounts and the agreement of those who brought false reports.

29. Neque aetate neque corpore. For he was καὶ γενὸς καὶ ἀδειον τὰ νεῖρα. Xiphil. 64, 3. (The reference is to the abridgment of Dion Cassius by Xiphilinus, which alone is preserved in most of this period.)

30. Sistens = resistens, obsistens, as in Virg. Aen. 11, 240. — Cf. Essay, p. 10. Vid. Dōd. in loc. Render: since he was neither of suitable age nor bodily strength to withstand the now in-rushing multitude.—Sella. Cf. note, 27. The sella here, however, appears to have been uncovered (cf. 41), perhaps to suit the military character and taste of Galba.—Levaretur. The subj. after donec, where a fact and not a mere conception or purpose is expressed. This is contrary to the rule. Cf. note, 13: donec . . . amoliretur. But it is frequent with Tacitus, who comparatively seldom uses the indic. after donec, until, and then without any apparent difference of meaning. Cf. Gr. 263, 4; Z. 575. It is worthy of remark, however, that Tacitus uses the subj. after donec where he has occasion for the imperfect. Where the sense requires the perfect, he uses the indic. The only exception to this usage, so far as I have observed, is in 1, 9: donec . . . aderat. Donec, so long as, is always followed by the indicative, in oratio recla. Cf. 37: donec . . . dubitabitur.


38. Suggestu = tribunali, i.e. at the headquarters of the commander, where the statue of the emperor was always placed. Manual, P. 3, 296. (The reference is to Eschenburg’s Manual of Classical Literature: Fiske’s Edition.)

1. Signa . . . vexillis. The distinction intended between these words in this place is not clear. It may be that of their original application, viz. signa referring to the infantry, and vexilla to the cavalry. More probably, however, vexillis is used in the same sense as in 31, where see note. Then signa would denote the standards of the cohorts which made up the legions (Hispana and Classica), and vexilla those of the electi Germanici, Britannici et Illyrici exercitus. Cf. 6.

3. Caverli. Observe the passive form: should be watched with a jealous eye.—Insuper. Furthermore, i.e. besides precluding the near approach of the tribunes and centurions, they bade each other beware furthermore of all their officers.
4. Tanquam in ... plebe, i.e. the formal and heartless adulation of the multitude (cf. 32) was discordant (variiis) and spiritless (segni = se-igni) in comparison with the unanimous and impassioned zeal of the soldiers, which expressed itself not more in words than in actions. Död. supplies, with this clause, adulabantur from the noun adulatione by brachylogy. Cf. Essay, p. 15.


7. Complecti armis denotes a military embrace with shield and sword in hand, armis being = armatis brachis. Cf. Virg. Aen. 12, 433.—Juxta, sc. Othonem.—Praeire sacramentum. Administer the oath, lit. go over it before them, as they pour in successively. The officer pronounced the words of the military oath, and the soldier repeated the words after him. Hence the former was said praire sacramentum, and the latter jurare in verba ejus. In a regular administration of the oath, only one of the soldiers repeated the words, and the others swore to the same that he had done before them. In the present instance, the soldiers expressed their zeal by volunteering to administer it to each other. Observe the asyndeton and the series of infinitives, indicative of rapidity. Cf. note, A. 37: grande ... spectaculum.

9. Protendens manus. Properly the attitude of supplication, here of respect and reverence.—Vulgum. Al. vulgus, one MS. The rest vulgum, which T. probably used after the example of Virgil. So Wr. and Or.—Jacere oscula. Throw kisses, i.e. kiss his hand with an accompanying motion of the hand towards him for whom the kiss was intended. The expression is poetical.


17. Vestrum ... nomen. Your title also, as well as in quo: for if I am emperor, you are loyal soldiers; if I am an enemy, you are rebels. An exordium fit for the prince of demagogues: and so is the whole speech.—Donec dubitatitur. Cf. note, 35, supra.


19. Auditisne. Do you not hear, sc. from the forum, in the dissono clamore caedem Othonis poscentium, chap. 32, which could be heard in the praetorian camp, though situated without the walls of the city. So in chap. 32, we read, vice versa, of cries reaching the city from the camp. Vid. Or. in loc.—Poea is properly a pecuniary penalty (Gr. ποινα), supplicium, capital punishment (sub and plica, bending under the axe of the executioner). The words are well chosen and well applied here; Othon means to imply, with the falsehood as well as the tact of a demagogue, that a severer punishment awaits
them than him. He exasperates them by arraying before their imagination the terrors of a public execution.—Postulentur. Subj. implying the fact, instead of directly asserting it. Render by the ind.: are demanded.

22. Promisit. Given promise, furnished an example. The reader will notice the train of bloody and dismal words that follow: trucidaverit, horror, feralen, etc. Feralis is a poetical word. Cf. Boetticher's Lex. Tac.—Ut qui . . . trucidaverit. Cf. note, 29: ut qui . . . discam. Ut qui is not used by Cic., but utpote qui. Cf. Z. 565.


25. Decumari. The practice of decimation, i.e. punishing every tenth man of an offending body of soldiers, unfrequent in the early history of Rome, became not uncommon in the civil wars and under the empire. The victims were drawn by lot. Ann. 3, 21. For the fact here referred to, cf. Suet. Galb. 12; and note, 6: trucidatis . . . militum.

26. In fidem acciperat. Venire in fidem alicujus, is to surrender to his discretion, to submit to his will, and accipere in fidem is to receive such submission. See a parallel passage, Ann. 12, 27.

37. Polyclitii . . . Aegiali. Polyclitus and Vatinius were favorite freedmen of Nero, who rose to wealth and honor during his reign, and whose very names were ever after synonymous with rapacity and oppression, as T. says, 2, 95: vetera odiorum nomin. Polyclitus is mentioned, Ann. 14, 39; Vatinius, 15, 34. The name of Aegialus does not occur elsewhere, for which reason, as well as from the obscurity of the Medicean MS., much dispute has arisen as to the reading. The text is that of Or. and Död. Al. Helii, and Helii et Haloti.

38. Paraverunt. As if they had enriched themselves by their industry and economy, but Icelus by robbery (rapuit). Al. perierunt: rapientes being supplied by brachylogy from rapuit. Cf. Essay, p. 15.

1. Si ipse imperasset. If he had been emperor himself, instead of being prime-minister. In that case, Otho means to imply, Vinius would have felt some interest in us as his subjects. But now he has us in his power as completely as if we had been his own property, and yet holds us in no estimation as the property of another.

2. Una illa domus. The single family, i.e. property of Vinius. As to the wealth of Vinius, vid. again chap. 48.


8. Adversantes. Al. aversantes. Cf. note, 1: adverseris.—Idem, sc. the same with the gods, i.e. they too are opposed to it. Accordingly he adds: vestra virtus, etc., your valor alone is further required, lit. waited for.
13. Nec ... togata. And the single, unarmed cohort does not, etc. The cohort on guard was not fully armed, and wore the toga or dress of citizens, not the sagum of the regular military service. Lipsius.

15. Quis ... imputct, i.e. quis pro me acrius contendendo efficiat, ut ei plus debeam. Ernesti. Cf. note, G. 21. Used in this sense by poets and later Latin authors. Render: who can lay me under the greatest obligation. Subj. in the indirect question. Cf. Gr. 265; Z. 552.


17. Aperié. Al. aperiiri, which is a needless conjecture. He then ordered them to open the arsenal. Many of these troops, like the cohort at the palace-gate, were not fully armed, i.e. had no defensive armor, galeis scutisque, which were allowed to the praetorian cohorts only at the command of the praefect or tribune. Lipsius. Cf note on cohors togata.

18. Ut ... distingueretur. This clause depends on more et ordine, and denotes the nature or the object of that military custom. The legionary troops were armed with pila, the praetorians with lanceae, etc. Ritter.

20. Miscentur ... scutisque. Praetorian and legionary troops seize indiscriminately on shields and helmets that belong to auxiliaries. Auxiliaribus agrees with galeis scutisque. Galea and scutum are among the few military terms which have a common etymology in the Greek and the Latin; whereas the names of common things in agriculture and the arts of peace almost all have a common origin in the two languages, the Pelasgi, who contributed the common element, being an agricultural and pacific people. Cf. Niebuhr's Hist. of Rome: also Arnold, chap. 2; Keightley, chap. 1; and Schmitz, chap. 1.

Cf. XXXIX.—24. Exterritus. Frightened out of his purpose of entering the camp.

25. In urbe usque. The praetorian camp was without the city, at the Viminal gate. Rup. Cf. note, 37; auditisse.—Egressum interim. Who had gone forth from the palace (cf. 35) in the mean time, i.e. the interval between Piso's egress (34) and the events here described.

26. Assecutus crat. Had come up to, fallen in with.


28. Redièr, sc. Galbam et Fisonem.—Plerique. Many, very many; not most, for it includes less than plures. Cf. 4, 84.


33. Ad postremum vel odio. A conjectural reading, suggested by Rhenanus and adopted by most editors, not because it satisfies, but
because they can think of nothing better. Render: or finally out of personal enmity at least.

36. Diffugia. Vocabulum a Tacito effictum, ut alia. Rup. The word, though new, is highly expressive of the rapid dispersion of Galba's nearest followers.

37. Primo alacres. Cf. 35: in periculo non ausurus, etc.

Cf. XL—2. Basilicis. Strictly an adj., aula or porticus being understood. The name was derived from the σταθμός βασιλείας of Athens, where the second archon, ἄρχων βασιλείας, administered justice. The Roman basilica served both as a court of justice and an exchange. There were many of them built around the forum, some of great extent and splendor. The earlier ones were surrounded only by an open peristyle of columns. The later were enclosed by a wall, and the columns were confined to the interior. These were, in many instances, converted at length into Christian churches; and other churches built after the same model were called basilicae. Cf. Smith's Dict. of Antiq., Basilica; also note on Libertatis atrio, 31.

5. Quale . . . . silentium est. Nam magna ira silet et ardet, levis clamat et tumultuatur. Brotier. Burnouf refers to a very similar passage in Xenophon's Agesilaus, 2, which, he thinks, Tacitus may have had in mind.


12. Imminentium. Overhanging the forum where these scenes were enacted, and which was in a great measure surrounded by temples and porticoes. Cf. 3, 71: imminentia foro templarum.—Priors. The example of former emperors, who had punished such crimes.—Futuri. The fear of future emperors, who would be sure to follow the precedent.

14. Quisquis successit. For no sovereign could trust subjects who had proved so unfaithful. Cf. chap. 44, at the close.


17. Dereptam. Torn off from his standard.


25. Agerent ac ferirent = age, feri, a formula of Latin speech. The imperatives of the oratio recta become the subjunctives in the
Evocatum. A veteran soldier. The evocati derived their name from their being called out into the field again by the special invitation of the general, after they had served out their time.

Hauslisse. This word properly denotes the drawing out of the blood, but here the piercing of the jugulum, impresso gladio, with the point of his sword. Render: cut his throat.

Tegebatur, sc. thorace. Cf. chap. 35.

Feritate et saevitia. Synonyms brought together for emphasis = brutal cruelty (feritate from ferus. Gr. θηρός).

Adjecta. Superadded, after the mortal wound.

Quo et ipsa. Et = also, i.e. as well as Galba.


Ut occideretur. Cf. Gr. 273, 2; Z. 615.

Conscientia. Al. conscientiam, which is the easier reading. But the MSS. have conscientia.

Confessus est has quod for its object, thus: This he either asserted falsely through fear of losing his life, or stated truly by virtue of his participation in the conspiracy. So Wr. and Dōd.—Huc. To the latter.—Ut . . . . fuerit. That he may have been. A softened form of the ind., he was.

Causa erat. Cf. 6: senem . . . . desterebant.

1. Mox. Antithetic to primo ictu; hence = alio ictu.

2. In utrumque latus. In is omitted in some editions, but found in the MSS. Well explained by Dōd. as an example of constructio prægnans, or contracta = pierced in (into) both sides, and so pierced through. Cf. Essay, p. 17.

Actas nostra vidit. The author means to designate this, as a rare instance of courage and disinterestedness in an age marked by prevailing cowardice and selfishness.

Custodiæ Plonis, sc. when Piso was sent forward into the camp. Or. Plut. (Galb. 27) and Xiph. (64, 6) represent this centurion as slain in defence of Galba.

Exprobraus . . . . vertendo. Cf. note on vocans, appellando, etc., chap. 23.


Publici servi erant stipatores et ministri sacerdotum, magistratum, et publicis sumptibus alebantur. Rup.—Contubernio. The dwelling or apartment of the slave, occupied by himself and his fellow-servant (contubernali). Only Tacitus uses the word in this sense. Cf. Boetticher and Freund sub voce. The word means hutting to-
gather (con and taberna from tabula), tenting together, especially in military life.

11. Nominatim. By name, i. e. expressly for that purpose.

13. Nuper...donatus. And therefore under obligations to Galba. So also it was the special duty of the speculator to defend Galba and Piso.

Ct. XLIV.—15. Nullam caedem, etc. Plutarch says (Galb. 44), that on seeing the head of Galba, Otho cried out: "This is nothing, fellow-soldiers; bring me the head of Piso."

17. Mens (from Gr. µυς) is properly the intellect; animus (from Gr. ἄνενθως), the spirit, the feelings. The words are used appropriately here, the former referring more to anxious thoughts, the latter to a spirit of sadness. See a lively picture of the dismal images that disturbed even the sleep of Otho, in Xiph. 64, 7.


19. Confederat. Our word confuse. Often used, as here, to denote mental disturbance and agitation.


21. Fas. Right in the sight of the gods and according to the laws of nature.

22. Signa cohortum...aquilam legionis. Mark the distinction between signa and aquila. Cf. also note on vexilla, 31. The legion here meant is the classica, or that which Nero had enrolled from the fleet, chap. 6. The Spanish legion there mentioned had now returned to Spain. Or.


Ct. XLV.—30. Allum crederes, etc. Their conduct was so changed that you could not have believed it the same body. Cf. note, 10: laudares; 57: scires. Gr. 209, R. 7; Z. 528, N. 2. In all such examples, there is a protasis understood, e.g. you would have thought, if you had been present; men might have known, if they had considered, etc.—Ruere, anteire, etc. Notice the series of infinitives. Cf. 36.

31. In castra, sc. praetoriana, where Otho still was.


3. Juberě, sc. scelus. He could not forbid crime, but he could command it, because such a command fell in with the disposition of the soldiers and the spirit of the age. It is one of those many passages
in T., in which a single stroke shows us the very age and body of the times.

4. Jussum, sc. esse, depending on affirmans.—Poenas daturum, lit. give satisfaction, cf. note on poena, 37; by usage, suffer punishment.

Ct. XLVI.—7. Ipsi legere. The power of choosing such officers belonged to the senate and people; but was usurped by the emperors, and now conceded by Otho to the soldiers themselves.—E manipulæribus. A common soldier. Cfs. 25.

8. Vigilibus praepositorum. This would not make him a regular officer in the army. Cf. note on vigiliiis, 20. It was, therefore, a sudden elevation to place such a man at the head of the praetorians.

9. Adjungitur . . . Proculus, i.e. the praetorians choose Proculus as colleague with Firmus in the prefectship. We should expect Proculum in the acc., and connected with Firmus as the object of legere. Anaclathon. Cft. Gr. 323, 3, (5).


13. Flagitatum. Cf. note on flagitare, 12. It is followed by ut, with the subj., like other verbs of demanding.

14. Vacationes = pretia vacationum (Ann. 1, 17), i.e. fees for exemption from military duty, or rather camp duty, for those who had the vacatio were expected to fight, if present in time of battle, but were not required to share in the watch, the labor of fortifying, etc. Such exemption had been conferred as an honor in better times; it was now bought with money. The use of vacatio, in this sense, is peculiar to Tacitus. Cf. Boetticher.


16. Manipull. This word denotes properly a handful or bunch of hay, then by metonymy a detachment of soldiers serving under the same as an ensign. Cf. note, chap. 25. Under the emperors there were three maniples in each cohort and ten cohorts in each legion, so that the maniple was one-thirtieth of a legion.

17. Dum . . . exsolveret. Provided only, that they would pay, etc. Dum, in this sense, takes the subj. Cft. Gr. 263, 2; and Freund sub voce.

18. Penet is gen. after habebat. Gr. 214, (2); Z. 444, note: no one cared for the measure of the burden or the kind of gain, i.e. the source from which he derived his means to pay the fee. Orelli remarks, that penet habere aliquid is a favorite formula with Sallust, whom Monboddo charges Tacitus with imitating, and whom he certainly resembles in style.

20. Tum. Furthermore = our and then.—Locupletissimus. Properly, rich in real estate (locus . . . plenus). Cf. Freund sub voce,
—Quisque, after a superlative, = omnes with the positive with a little more of the distributive idea. Constructed in Cicero with singular verb; in Tacitus with singular or plural. Z. 367 and 710, b.


25. Bella civilia is governed by ad before seditiones. Some editors insert in; but it is not necessary to depart from the MSS. See a similar construction in legiones ducesque, 4; also Essay, p. 12.

26. Vulgi. Common soldiers. In its etymology, vulgus is our word folk, German, volk.—Largitio ine. e. remissione vacationum. Vulgi is objective genitive = in vulgus.

29. Tanquam ... seponecurtur. Under color of banishment. Seponere is not used in this sense in the Augustan age. Otho gave out that Laco was banished, but sent a man to put him to death. Palam in the next clause is opposed to this clandestine procedure.

31. Confossus. He was stabbed on his way from Rome towards his place of banishment. His having left Rome is not stated, but implied in the pregnant style of the author. Cf. Essay, p. 18.

32. Libertum. Ernesti insists on libertinum. But in the age of Tacitus, the distinction between these words (for which see note, G. 25) was not observed.

Cn. XLVII.—33. Novissimum. Like our word last, which = latest, or newest, and also farthest, last in a series. Cf. note, G. 24.

34. Vocat ... urbanus. The consuls, Galba and Vinius, were slain; the consul elect also, Marius Celsus, was in irons. The Praetor Urbanus was the first in rank of the prætors (of whom there were some twelve or fifteen under the emperors), and the chief magistrate for the administration of justice. His duties confined him to the city. In the absence or death of the consuls, he, as in this instance, discharged the functions of a consul. Cf. 4, 39; Cic. Ep. ad Div. 10, 12. Praetor was in early times the name for any magistrate or leader (praë-îtor). Manual, P. 3, 243. The consuls were originally called prætors. Cic. Leg. 3, 3. Cf. Nieb. and Arn. Rom. Hist.


4. Permisit and concedi are not tautology. He gave permission to his officers that the bodies should be yielded to the friends.


Cn. XLVIII.—8. Explebat. Was filling out, i.e. had nearly completed, though Ernesti and Wr. make it = expleverat.

11. Ad hoc. To this end = ad râvo.
14. Praetoria familia. Al. e praetoria familia. But cf. eques-
tri familia, 52. The abl. here denotes rank and quality, not source
—E proscriptis, sc. by the triumvirate, Octavius, Antony and Lepidus.

263, 5, R. 2; Z. 578.—Temperasset. Al. temerasset, temptasset and
tentasset. Tentasset is found in the margin of one MS. All the rest,
including the Medicean, have temperasset, which when it governs the
acc. means rule, regulate (Z. 414), as in Suet. Oct. 63: Viden', ut ci-
nacu dor orbem digitO temperet. She went the rounds with the officer of
the watch (the circitor, cf. Smith's Dict., Castra), and directed the
sentinels and others, who were on duty, in the performance of their
exercises. Such is almost the language of Dion in describing the same
occurrence, 59, 18.—In ipsis principis. The principia was a large
public place in the camp where were the tents of the general (praeto-
rium) and of the other principal officers; where also stood the stan-
dards, the images of the emperors and the altars of the gods. The
emphatic ipsis refers to the peculiar boldness of such an act in such a
place, sacred by the presence, not only of the officers, but of the gods.
—Stuprum ausa. Usually said only of males, but peculiarly appro-
priate to such a female. Orelli explains it thus: eo usque impia tem-
meritatis, ut se stuprari sinceret a Vinio.

27. In abruptum. Upon the brink of a precipice, i. e. to a
dangerous elevation. Cf. per abrupta, A. 42.

the Greek σοφότατος.

Ch. XLIX.—31. Galbae. Emphatic; hence placed first, as also
Pisonis at the close of the last section.—Licentia tenebrarum. Under
cover of the darkness; lit. in the unrestrained freedom of the darkness.

32. E prioribus servis. Priores sunt veteres, i. e. qui ante
principatum servi Galbae fuerer. Wr.

Suet. Galb. 20.

34. Ante . . . tumulum. Ante shows the relation between tu-
mulum and repertum. It had been thrown there in revenge for the
death of Patrobius, according to Suetonius (Galb. 20), by a freedman
of Patrobius, who purchased it of the marketmen and camp-boys
(lixas calonesque) for a hundred aurei. Of Patrobius, see 2, 95; Plin.
35, 13, et al.

36. Cremato. The Romans burned the bodies of the dead in
this age. Cf. note, 5, 5: corpora.

37. Hunc exitum. Such was the death, etc.

38. Quinque principes cemens, i. e. spatium imperii quinque

2. Ipsi medium ingenium. He himself had middling talents.

3. Venditator, A vain boaster. Properly, a crier up of wares
for sale, from vendo. The word is found only in T. Incuriousus also is peculiar to his age.

5. Avarus, avaricious; parcus, saving. Avarus is the stronger word.—Ubi... incidisset. Plup. subj., to denote a repeated action. Cf. Gr. 264, 12; Z. 569.

6. Sine reprehensione = excusably. Ant. to usque ad culpam, which implies the contrary. As to this culpa in Galba, cf. 7 and 12.

8. Quod sequitio... vocaretur. He was thought to have prudently concealed his abilities and repressed his activity, because of the dangers which attended men of high birth in those perilous times, somewhat as Brutus did under Tarquin. Cf. A. 6: gnarus sub Nerone temporum, quibus inertia pro sapientia fuit. See Döderlein's note in loc.

9. Pro consul. At. proconsul. The sense is the same with either reading. A proconsul is one who acts in the place of a consul, without holding the consular office. It was usual in the later periods of the Roman state, for the consuls, on the expiration of their office, to take the government of a province with consular power. The proconsulship was, therefore, a continuation, though a modified one, of the consulsipship. Cf. Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiq.

11. Continuit, sc. in fide et officio = rexit. Cf. retinere, 11.—Major... imperasset. A principle often verified by facts; and here expressed in language which the reader will not soon forget, but which Monboddo censures as affected.


21. Saevac pacis. Galba fell without a blow struck in his defence. It could not, therefore, be called civil war; but it was a cruel and bloody peace. Cf. 2: ipsa etiam pace saeacum.—Exempla is the obj. of loquebantur, and memoria is abl. abs. with repetita, though improperly followed by a colon in the common editions.

23. Pharsallam. Where Pompey was conquered by Julius Caesar, A. v. 706.—Philippos. Where Brutus and Cassius were defeated and slain by Octavius and Antony, A. v. 712.

24. Perusiam. Where Antony was reduced to submission by Octavius, A. v. 713.—Mutinam (now Modena), where the consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, the last who enjoyed with full power the dignity of chief magistrates of Rome, were slain in a battle with the murderers of Julius Caesar, A. v. 711.

25. Loquebantur = they talked of.
NOTES.

26. C. Julio, sc. victore. When Julius Caesar was victorious

29. Ituros. Direct questions, unless addressed to the second per-
sen, are expressed by the acc. with the inf. in the oratio obliqua. C. Z. 603, c.

34. Ambigua ... fama. There were contradictory accounts of
the character of Vesp.

35. In melius mutatus est, i.e. became a better emperor than
he had been private man. Galba disappointed expectation. Cf. 41.
Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius and Nero had each given promise of better
things in the early part of those reigns, which have now become the
very synonyms of tyranny and cruelty.

Cn. LI.—37. Caeso ... Vindice. Cf. note, 8.

38. Ut cui ... evenisset. Cf. note, 37: ut qui ... trucidavit.

54. 1. Expeditionem et aciem. Al. quam otium, which is a con-
jecture of Lipsius. The MSS. and earlier editions have et aciem, and
in this reading, the more recent editors have returned. Render thus:
the army (sc. the Germans) now preferred campaigns and battles to
their attending rewards (viz. booty and imperial largesses), to the
regular pay and ordinary service. Observe the causative sense of


5. Utrinque. In both parties.

6. Ad decus. For ornament, or display, as ad usum denotes for
useful purposes. Al. ad dedecus = for disgraceful and criminal use.
The sense is equally good, and the authority nearly equal for either
reading. The viri, arma, equi, here spoken of, are the prizes of the
late victory over Vindex and the Gauls.—Bellum, sc. against Vindex.

7. Centurias. Each maniple (cf. note, 46) was divided into two
centuries, of which there were, therefore, sixty in each legion, and in
course the same number of centuriones. Cf. Ann. 1, 32. The number
of men in a century varied from 50 to 100, as the legion varied from
3000 to 6000. Niebuhr supposes the century to have consisted original-
ly of thirty footmen, as the turma did of thirty horsemen.—Noverant
Had been acquainted with.

9. Sc ... expertae, i.e. having found themselves superior to the
Gauls, they were now eager for another conflict with them.


13. Instigatrix. Only in Tacitus.—Hoc ... indiderant. For
they had given the Gauls this name (Galbiana), having become weary
disgusted) with calling them after Vindex.

14. Sequani. Dat. after infensi. The Sequani were a people
of Belgic Gaul, and derived their name from the Sequana (Seine),
about the sources of which they dwelt. Their capital was Vesontio.
Bk. I.  

298. Accessit. A people of Gallia Lugdunensis, bordering on the Sequani. Their capital was Augustodunum, now Autun.—Ac deinde ... erat = ac deinde aliis civitatibus, prout opulentia iis erat.

17. Hauserunt animo. They greedily coveted, more literally, they already devoured in imagination.—Super avaritiam, is to be connected with irritati.

18. Remissam ... donatos, sc. with Roman citizenship and the hands of their neighbors. Cf. chap. 8. Instead of et donatos, the editions which follow Oberlin and the Bipontines have eos damnatos, a mere conjecture.

20. In ignominiam exercitus, sc. Germanici. This clause should be connected with jactabant. The Gauls boasted, to the disgrace of the German army, that a fourth part, etc. Cf. Orelli’s note in loc.—Accessit. Cf. note, 5: accessit vox.

21. Decumari = decumatum iri. So dimitti = were to be dismissed, sc. by Galba.—Legiones, sc. of Lower Germany.

23. Sinistra. Left hand; hence inauspicious, unfavorable; a poetical sense of the word.—Lugdunensis colonia. Now Lyons.


Ch. LII.—27. Sub. About, i. e. shortly before. Sometimes, though rarely, shortly after.—Superioris = prioris, i. e. the preceding year, l. v. 821.—Aulus Vitellius ... ingressus. Cf. 9.

29. Cum cura = cum imperio, ut curaret (i. e. regeret). Rup. and Död. Curta (from quaero) not unfrequently denotes an office of trust and authority, particularly in the later Latin authors. See examples in the Lexicon.

30. Notae. Marks of disgrace, especially those imposed by the censor.

31. In quibus ... mutaverat. In which (course of proceedings) he had entirely changed the state of things which the sordid avarice (sordem et avaritiam, hendiadys) of Fontcius Capito had produced, by taking away military offices (from those to whom he had given them), or restoring them (to those from whom he had taken them), as the case might require. Ve is distributive. Cf. G. 4: solevo.

33. In majus, i. e. quasi Vitellius non consularis legatus, sed ipse imperator esset. Rup. Cf. note on in majus, 18.

34. Et Vitellius. Et = nam, introduces particular examples of the general fact stated in the foregoing clause. Hence it should not be preceded by a period, as it is in the common editions.—Ita = itaque. Cf. 45, where ita is used in the same way. Render the whole passage thus: For in the estimation of strictly impartial judges, Vitellius was abject and mean; so his friends called it condescension: and because without measure and without reason he gave

25*
away his own (private) property and lavished that which was not his (sc. the public), they called it goodness (kindness). At the same time, i.e. still further, in their eagerness for power, the friends of Vitellius construed his very vices (viz. gluttony and debauchery) as virtues. Such is Wr.'s reading and interpretation of this difficult passage. Rup., Död. and Or. insert ut between et and Vitellius, without MS. authority.

36. Donaret. Subj. to express the views of others, not of the author = because, as they said, he gave, etc. Cf. Gr. 266, 3; Z. 571.

37. Multl is made the subj. of interpretabantur in the previous sentence in the common editions. But such a view of things could hardly be predicated of the modesti quietique and the mali et strenui in common. Besides that reading destroys the force of sed in the next clause. T. has given the character of Vitellius above. He now passed to give a sketch of the army and its officers. He says, there were in both armies (sc. of Upper and of Lower Germany) many peaceable (quieti) and unambitious (modesti) characters; there were also many turbulent (mali, ill-disposed, cf. apud malos seditio, 26) and restless (strenui) spirits: but Caecina and Valens excelled in, etc.

3. Tanquam. Because in his opinion. Hence followed by the subj. Cf. note, G. 20: tanquam.—Cunctationem. Hesitation. Cf. note, 33. Indecision in such a case (sc. when the empire was offered to him, cf. 8 and 9) would be construed as a crime against Galba, which would expect of Verginius a prompt and decided negative.

4. Ingrate tulisset. Had received without due gratitude. Död. makes tulisset = retulisset: had made an ungrateful return for. 

5. Ipsum. Vitellius himself.


8. Panderet. A nautical metaphor, non a sinu togae, sed potius a nautis, qui pandunt sinum velorum. So Rup. But Död. and O refer it to the toga: only let him open his bosom.

10. Equestri familia, etc. Abl. of quality. Cf. note, 44.

12. Collegium Caesaris. L. Vitellius, the father of the emperor, had been colleague with Claudius Caesar twice in the consulship and once in the censorship. Cf. Suet. Vitel. chap. 2.

Cf. LIII.—16. Decora juventa, corpore ingens, etc. Notice the enallage. These phrases all express the quality of Caecina, and at the same time they indirectly denote the means of illexerat. Decor in the sense of pulchra is poetical. Död. follows the Medicean MS. in retaining the antique form decori (abl.). Cf. Essay, p. 21.


20. Compertum agrees with Caecinam.

21. Flagitari = in jus vocari, accusari. Postulare is often used in the same sense.
27. Treveri. A German people between the Meuse and the Rhino, now Treves.—Lingones. A people of Gallia Lugdunensis on the Seine, now Langres. The reader will be struck with the perpetuity of the names of places. These always outlast spoken languages, and often survive a series of political revolutions. Compare the Celtic names of places in Great Britain, and the Indian names of mountains, rivers and states in America.—Quas alias civitates. By attraction for aliae civitates, quas. Civitates = states, not cities in our sense of the word. Ad rem. cf. 8.
28. Hibernis...miscentur. Lie contiguous to, and have frequent intercourse with, the legions of Upper Germany in their winter-quarters. Expressed with extreme conciseness.
29. Inter...corruption, sc. quam in castris. Our word pagan comes from paganus. The earliest Christian churches were in the cities, while yet the inhabitants of the country villages were unconverted. Compare heathen from heath.
30. Cuicumque alii, sc. quam Virgini, qui imperium sibi delatum respuebat. Cf. 8 and 52. Rup.
32. Legionibus, sc. of Upper Germany.
36. Per tenebras, etc. = in tenebris, ceterisque insciis, ignar. Wr.
7. Circumdatis...alisque is the manner or means of pararetur, i.e. by throwing their cohorts and squadrons around them, sc. the legions. Ala = 1. The wing of a bird; 2. The wing of an army; 3. Any body of cavalry, because the cavalry were usually stationed on the wings of the Roman armies. Ala, though indefinite, is usually a larger body than turma. Cf. note, chap. 51.
8. Eadem, sc. seditiosa consilia cum legionibus.
9. Circumdatis...adactae. Död. considers sacramento to be dative here, as just below: sacramento advocabant. Cf. Essay, p. 13. The acc., or acc. with ad, is the prevailing construction after adigere in Cæsar, Livy and the earlier writers; the abl. in Tacitus, Suetonius and the later authors. Cf. Freund, sub voce.


23. Duodevicesima. Al. duovicesima. The 18th hesitating at first, but afterwards falling in with the measure.

24. Imperii, sc. Romani. The Roman empire or government. —Senatus ... nomina. The old republican usage of swearing fidelity to the senate and people of Rome had been superseded by the oath of allegiance to the emperor. It was now in form revived, and those obsolete names were again called or appealed to in the oath (sacramento advocabant). Instead of sacramento, some copies have sacra menta here.

26. Legatorum. The commander of a legion was called legatus (cf. note, 7), also the commander of an entire army, and governor of the province where it was stationed. Cf. A. 7.—Tribunorum. Cf. note on tribunus, 28.


32. Socordia innocens, i.e. he took no part in the flagitii, but it was only because he was too inactive.

35. Cum protegerent. When and because they were protecting. A combination of time and cause expressed by the subj. Z. 578.


1. In ... nuntlat. Brings word into or to the Agrippinan colony (now Cologne, cf. G. 28).

4. In ... verba jurasse. Cf. notes on senatus ... nomina, 55, and praecire sacramentum, 36.

5. Inane. Unmeaning.—Occupari. Anticipated (cf. 40), i.e. seized before it turned against him, while it was yet nutantem.


7. Quil ... nuntiant. Qui with the subj. denoting the object of the mission. Cf. Gr. 264, 5; Z. 556.

10. Sumi. Accepted on the nomination of the superior exercitus.


18. Illum, sc. exercitum. "The men, it now was plain, were never the soldiers of a republic." Murphy.—Priore biduo. During the two days previous, while they had been making such a show of patriotism. Cf. 55.
21. Ingenio validus. Ingenio is taken in very different senses by different commentators, e. g. eloquence in enlisting others, by Pichena; skill in fabricating arms and implements of war, by Wr.; practical tact in general, by Bach and Rup. Observe throughout this sentence the constant omission of connectives. It is somewhat striking, though by no means rare specimen of the author's fondness for the asyndeton. Cf. Essay, p. 13.
22. Quibus . . . spec. Who had present resources in abundance, and who, if victorious, cherished high hopes of better things in future.—Ex affluenti = affluentia, adverbial phrase for adj.
25. Instinctu, sc. aliorum. Cf. instinctu decurionum, 70; impetu, sc. proprio, cf. A. 15; avaritia,—hoping to receive in return more than they gave.
36. Occidere palam, etc. See a similar passage in 45, and note on jubere, ibid.
38. Post victoriam, sc. Vitelli ad Bediacum, 2, 40-49.—Stratis = compositis, sedatis; lit. smoothed, like waves. No other prose writer uses the word so. Cf. Freund, sub voce.
1. Obijetur, sc. militum furori, vel his tanquam feris bestias. Rup.
Cn. LIX.—5. Ne . . . alienaretur depends on exemptus, with which supply est. It is implied here that the army demanded the punishment of Civilis.—Et erant adds a fact which shows the importance of the friendship of Civilis to Vitellius.
6. Tum. At this time. So T. uses it passim, e. g. A. 39. 40; His, 1, 70.
14. Ala Taurina. So named from a people, whose capital was Augusta Taurinorum, 2, 66, now Turin, and from whom the squadron was enlisted.
NOTES.

19. Odium ejus, i.e. the hatred of the army towards him. Ejus, obj. gen. Gr. 211, R. 2.

21. Proruperat, sc. Caelius. A less concise writer would have said: qui olim discors fuerat, sed qui, etc.


25. Auxiliarium quoque. The auxiliaries also, i.e. as well as the legion of Caelius. Cf. Gr. 279, 3: quidem and quoque.


28. Consulari, i.e. the governor.—Legati legionum, i.e. the commanders of the separate legions. Cf. notes at chapters 7 and 55.

Cu. LXI.—34. Cottianis Alpibus. "The Alps are distinguished in different parts by different names: as the Maritime Alps, near Genoa; the Cottian Alps, separating Dauphiné from Piedmont; the Graian Alps, beginning from Mount Cenis, where the Cottian end, and extending to Great St. Bernard; the Pennine Alps, extending from west to east to the Rätian Alps, the Alpes Noricae, and the Pannonian Alps, as far as the springs of the Kulpe. They are called Alps from alpen, a Celtic term for high mountains." Murphy.

35. Aquila . . . alisque, i.e. the entire fifth legion. Of the other legions of Lower Germany, there went only electi. Bach.

36. Data agrees with millia, as if there were no ad in the sentence; ad with numerals being often used adverbially, like our about. Cf. Z. 296.

2. Tota mole bellii. With his entire military strength and resources. Cf. tota mole regui, Ann. 6, 36.

Cu. LXII.—3. Diversitas is not found in the writers of the Augustan age.

4. Dum ... trepidident. The subj. here conveys the sentiments of the army, not of the author. Gr. 266, 3; Z. 549. Otherwise the indic. would follow dum.

5. Neque . . . moras. Observe the brachylogy: nor would they endure the delays of an inactive peace.

7. Facto . . . consulto. Notice the concrete form of these words. Cf. note, chap. I: conditam. They are much more lively and forcible than our words action and consultation. See the same in Sall. Cat. 1.

10. Medlo . . . temulentus. So Nero. Ann. 14, 2. Peter argues on the supposition, that it is wellnigh impossible, at least quite incredible, that a man should be drunken at an early hour of the day. Acts, 2, 15.


15. Lactum augurium is nom. in appos. with aquila.
18. Is is correlative to ut = such . . . . that, and accordingly followed by the subj. (Gr. 262, R. 1; Z. 556), which we however must render by the ind. For the imperf. after ut, cf. note, chap. 24: dederit.
24. Ob praedam . . . . cupidine. Not tautology. Ob praedam is objective; spolianti cupidinde subjective: not because there was booty to be had in the town, nor because they were fired with a passion for plunder. Cf. Döderlein's note in loc.
25. Furore, fury; rabie, madness. Rabies implies the privation of consciousness. Ramshorn.
31. Placamenta, e. g. infusae et velamenta. Cf. 66: velamenta et infusae praeserentes. The word is post-Augustan.—Non quidem . . . pace, i.e. though they were not at war with the Romans, they used all the appropriate means of procuring peace. Acute dictum atque acerbe. Wr.
32. Teudebantur = protendebantur. Compare protendens manus, 36, with tendere manus, 2, 46. Simple for compound.
Cf. LXIV.—35. Volvebat has animus militum for its subject.
1. Intemperie = propter intemperiantam, immodestiam. Rup.
2. Supra, sc. 59.
5. Exarsere, ni. Sup. the ellipsis by et exarsissent. Cf. hau-sisse, ni, A. 4, note; and Essay, p. 15. Render ni by but.
6. Animadversione. Cf. note on animadvertere, G. 7.—Imperii belongs both to obitos and animadvertisse. Wr.
10. Abductae. Were withdrawn from their quarters at Lyons (cf. 59), and joined the army of Vitellius.
NOTES.


Ch. LXV.—16. Vienenses. The people of Vienna, now Vienne in Dauphiné. This vetus discordia goes back to the origin of Lyons, which was founded by exiles from Vienna.

17. Proximum bellum, sc. the war excited by Vindex, in which the Lugdunenses sided with Nero, the Vienenses with Vindex and Galba.—Invicem. Adv. for adj. The ellipsis may be supplied by illatue. Cf. note, G. 18: extra; also A. 6: longe; 8: ultra.

18. Quam ut . . . . pugnaretur. Ut = velut (cf. Essay, p. 0), or quasi; hence followed by the subj. So ut is used after ita by Cicero in the sense of quasi. Cf. Kühner’s note, Tusc. Quaes. 5, 28, 81. Or with Död. pugnaretur may be taken as equivalent to pugnari crederes, in which case ut = sicut. The sentiment of the clause has reference to the peculiar bitterness of local animosities exceeding even the fury of civil war.

20. Occasione irae. Taking advantage of the civil discord. Cf. irae civiles, Ann. 1, 43. Wr. But iea is doubtless Galba’s resentment, of which he took occasion to enrich himself.


22. Connexum = ut inter connexas, i.e. finitimas gentes. Cf. solitum inter accolas odium, 5, 1.

25. Referendo = memorando, reminding.

29. Cuncta . . . . Romanam. Vienna was an old town of the Allobrogés, built before the Roman conquest. Lyons was a recent colony, established by authority of the Roman senate. Cf. Dio. 46, 50. Both were in fact Roman colonies. Cf. infra: vetustas . . . . coloniae. The Lugdunenses, in the bitterness of their hostility, exaggerated the difference between the two towns.

31. Ne rellinquerentur depends on preces.

Ch. LXVI.—36. Arma . . . . prensando. Acts expressive of humble and earnest supplication. Notice the climactic order beginning with the armor, then embracing the knees (the Homeric attitude), then the feet (vestigia, literally, tracks, soles of the feet), of course prostrate on the ground, and following up, as it were, the averted and departing footsteps of the soldiers.

38. Tum, sc. after money had been given them, then the soldiers began to think of the antiquity and dignity of the colony. The language is somewhat sarcastic. Compare Döderlein’s notes both on vestigia and tum.

1. Salutem refers to the continued existence, incolunmitatem to the uninjured state of the people. Salva incolunmisque = our safe and sound. Roth, Rup. and Wr. call them synonyms.

3. Muctati = priavi.—Promiscuis copiis. Fragmento vel commenatu communiter ac sine discrimine ordinum ab omnibus dato.
BOOK I.  

7. Inopii juventa is the cause of prodigus.

8. Ipsa itinerum, etc., i. e. induced by bribes not to encamp at certain towns or country places, but to march farther, or stop short, or take another direction.


12. Admoverit. Compare the completed action expressed by admoverit with the prolonged anxiety and suspense denoted by arbitrarentur at the beginning of the section, or with the continued series of acts denoted by occurrerent in chap. 63. Cf. note, 24: dederit.—Donec . . . mitigaretur. Cf. note, 35: levaretur.

13. Quotiens . . . decesset. The subj. denoting a repeated action. Gr. 264, 12; Z. 569.—Materia, i. e. facultas dandae. Ernesti.

Cn. LXVII.—15. Plus praeda. More than Valens. The position of plus gives it emphasis, = still more.—Hausit must be taken in a somewhat different sense with these two objects respectively: he took more booty and shed more blood. Dód. Cf. Essay, 16.

16. Helvetii. The territory of the Helvetii was a part of Celtic Gaul, more extensive than what is now called Switzerland. The people are celebrated by Julius Caesar for their military virtue and constant warfare with the Germans. Caes. B. G. 1, 1. Murphy.


27. Locus . . . frequens. Called castellum above. Known to the ancients under the name of Aquao Helveticæ, or Vicus Aquensis, now Baden (Baths).

28. Ut . . . aggrederentur. To attack.—Versos in legionem. While engaged with the legion (the twenty-first) in front.

Cn. LXVIII.—32. Non arma noscere = non usum armorum seire. So Wr., Dód. and Or. But Rup. prefers another explanation: non arma noscere quisque sua, sed promiscue rapere; which accords better with the context and the prevailing usage of Tacitus, who employs noscere in the sense of recognise, distinguish, cf. 3, 24: noscere suas noscique; 1, 90: genus ipsum orandi noscerent; or else he employs it in the sense of being or becoming acquainted with persons, e. g. 1, 51: centurias . . . suas . . . noverant. The former of these uses is hardly found in Cicero. Cf. Freund sub voce.

35. Ipsorum Raetorum juvenus, i. e. volunteers, in distinction from those who had enlisted in the Roman army (alae cohortesque).


1. Depulsi. They were dislodged, driven down. Supply sunt.

4. Sub corona. The origin of this expression is explained in two
NOTES.

62 ways: 1. That captives wore coronae when sold as slaves; 2. That they were surrounded by a body of armed men, called a corona. Gellius (N. A. 7, 4) mentions both explanations and prefers the former. See Rup. in loco.—Aventivm. Now Avenches, near Friburg. Or.

5. Caput. The chief city. Urbs is properly the capital; civitas, the whole body of citizens, the state. Cf. Rams. 206.—Peteretur. Subj. Cf. Gr. 263, 5, R. 2; Z. 578. Rendler by the ind.

Cn. LXIX.—9. Legati. Sent to Vitellius to propitiate his favor.


12. Minis ac verbis. Threatening words, by hendiadys. Roth and Wr. More probably, however, as Död. suggests, minis refers to threatening looks and actions. They are dat. after temperare, which with the dat. means to refrain from, lit. to restrain himself in respect to. In 63, it is followed by the abl. with ab in the same sense; in 48, with ace. in the sense of to regulate. Cf. note, 48.

15. Mutabilem agrees with animum. Al. mutabile, referring to vulgar, and about equal in MS. authority with mutabilem.

16. Immodicus. This is the reading of Gronovius, Wr., Or., etc. The MSS. have immodicum, which does not correspond with mutabilem, and cannot agree with animus in the nom.


Cn. LXX.—19. Dum . . . fieret. Till he should become, i.e., with that object in view. Hence the subj. Cf. Gr. 263, 4; Z. 575.

21. Alam Sillianam. Al. Sullanam and Syllanam. The squadron is supposed to have derived its name from C. Silius, legate of Upper Germany under Tiberius. Ann. 1, 31. 72, etc. Cf. Ala Petrina, below in this chapter.

22. Padum. Now the Po.—Proconsulem . . . habuerant. Cf. 2, 97, where Vitellius' proconsular government of Africa is commended as integrum ac favorabiliem. See also Suet. Vitel. 5.

23. A Nerone . . . exculti, etc. Cf. 6, where the same thing is mentioned.


26. Decurionum. The leader of a decury, i.e., a body of ten men, was called decurio, as the commander of a century was a centurio. Cf. Smith's Dict. Antiq., word Army.

28. In partes. To the party of Vitellius.

29. Municipia. "Municipium is a free provincial city in Italy with its own laws and magistrates, generally also with Roman citizenship; colonia, a Roman colonial city, which was granted to Roman
citizens for colonization." Rams. 206. Compare both with urbe, caput and civitas, 63, note. The coloniae were also afterwards called mun-
cicipia, from which they differed only in origin. Cf. Smith's Dict.,
under Colonia.—Mediolanum. Now Milan.

34. Vexillis. Cf. 31, note.—Ala Petrina. Supposed to have
derived its name from two illustrious Roman knights, who bore the
cognomen of Petra and were put to death by Claudius. Cf. Ann. II,
4. It had been stationed in Cumberland, as appears by a lapidary in-
scription set forth in Camden's Britannia.—Cunctatus. Supply est.

35. Ibl. This conjectural reading of Lipsius and Brotier is so well
supported by the analogy of 2, 16: trierarchum liburnicarum ibi navium,
that I have ventured to receive it into the text. Rup. and Or. have
urbi, Wr. and Död. urbis, which are the readings of the MSS. But
they include the word in brackets and pronounce it a manifest corrup-
tion. A procurator of a city is an office unknown in Roman history.

36. Concitis . . . pontibus. Abl. abs. denoting the cause of
putabatur. Reader: because he had called together auxiliaries, etc.

1. Certatum foret. Subj. in a subordinate clause of the oratio
obliqua. Cf. Gr. 266, 2; Z. 603, c.

2. Peninsa litere, i.e. super vol per jugum Alpium Peninarum.
Cf. note, 61.—Subsignatum militem = militem sub signis, or vexill-
alis, alias vexillarios, for which see note, 31. They are here distin-
guished from the legions, which served sub aquila, and seem to be
治ed with special indulgence in being allowed to take the easier
route. The meaning of the word, which is post-Augustin, has been
much disputed, but it probably designates the veterans described under
No. 3, in the note on vexilla at chap. 31. It occurs in only one other
passage in Tacitus, 4, 33.

3. Hibernus = hiemantibus, nixe couspsoris. Rup.
Cf. LXXI.—7. Composita implies something made up, assumed.
Cf. 54, and places there cited.

11. Titulus = praetextus. Bach. But Rup. and Or. make it
law, gloria.

13. Ultro imputavit. He even (cf. note, G. 20: ulptro) reckoned
it as a ground of obligation, or confidence on the part of Otho—in a
word, he claimed credit for it as an example of good influence on
others, and illustrating the steadfastness of his own loyalty. "When
an author so expresses himself, we can but guess at his meaning." So
Monboddo. But the obscurity results entirely from his lordship's ig-
norance of the usus loquendi of T., as his criticism on the passage
plainly shows.—Nec Otho, etc. Nor did Otho proceed as if he were
pardoning an enemy, but lest the opposite party should excite in
Celsius a fear as to the sincerity of the reconciliation, he treated him at once as a most intimate friend, i.e. as if there were no need of reconciliation. This is substantially Ritter's view of this much disputed passage. Död. follows the same reading and gives essentially the same interpretation, but thinks the text requires some amendment. Other readings and other interpretations have been suggested too numerous to mention. But none of them give so good a sense as this, and none rest on much, if any, better authority of MSS. The reading of Wr., Rup. and Or., with several of the best MSS., is this: sed, no hostes metueret, conciliaiones adhibens.


17. Integra et infelix. Unwavering yet unfortunate, sc. because those to whom he attached himself, were speedily ruined. Observe the alliteration.

18. In vulgus instead of vulgo for variety.


31. Clementia is abl. of cause; effugium, acc. in apposition with eum servaverat. See a similar cauallage in G. 16: remedium ... inscitia. Compare also munimentum, chap. 44.

37. Fora. Market-places. Besides the Forum emphatically so called, i.e. the Forum Romanum between the Palatine and Capitoline hills, there were several large fora in which public business was transacted, such as the Forum Julii, Forum Augusti, Forum Trajani, etc.; besides which there were smaller market-places set apart each for some particular trade and named accordingly, e.g. forum boarium, olitorium, piscarium, etc. The word forum is allied to foras, and signifies properly an open place, whether before some building or surrounded by temples, porticoes and other edifices. Cf. Smith's Dict. of Antiq., Forum.—Ubi refers to circuum ac theatra.

38. Donec ... foedavit. Here we have donec, until, with the ind. according to the rule, but contrary to the prevailing usage of T. Cf. notes, 1, 13. 35; 4, 35. 37.

1. Sinnessanae aquas. The baths of Sinnessa. Sinnessa, a town of Latium, on the confines of Campania, was much frequented for the salubrity of its waters. Cf. Ann. 12, 66; Plin. 31, 4; Mart
11, 8. — Supremae necessitatis. Cf. note on these words, chap. 3, also exitus, ibid.


9. Famem molita, sc. by cutting off the usual supplies from Africa, which furnished Rome with corn for the larger part of every year. Cf. 3, 48, and note ibid.

11. Apud Galbam, i. e. in the reigns of Galba, etc.


Ch. LXXIV. — 15. Offerebant. Otho even offered to share the throne with Vitellius and become his son-in-law. Cf. Suet. Oth. 8; Xiph. 64, 10.

17. Legisset. Subj. Cf. note, 70: certatum foret. — Primo is antith. to mox. — Mollius. In milder terms, said of both parties in contrast with the reproaches they afterwards heaped upon each other.

18. Quasi rixantes. Döderlein remarks, that the quasi is properly prefixed to rixantes, because rixari strictly implies an oral and personal quarrel.


22. Specie Senatus. In the name of the senate, and with a specious show of its authority.


24. Per simulationem officii. Under pretence of honoring them, sc. with a retinue, but really to watch over their fidelity.

26. Addidit, sc. to these praetorians.

29. Tanto, sc. tempore. It was in fact only thirteen days before, Vitellius having been nominated on the 2d of Jan. and Otho on the 15th, but this is enough for soldiers to magnify into a long time.

30. Vertissent. The subj. sets forth the sentiments of Fabius Valens: because, as he alleged, etc.

32. Idco. By that means; a sense peculiar to the later Latin. Ideo is also more frequently followed by a correlative particle, quod, quia, quoniam, ut, or the like.

Ch. LXXV. — 34. Frustra, impune. Adv. for adj. Cf. 65: invicem; and A. passim.

37. Gnarlis, Al. ignaris, which is the reading of the MSS. But
the antithesis, mutua ignorantia, and the force of invicem certainly
require gnaris: strange faces, where all knew each other, would of
course betray the Othonian spies. But not so with the Vitellians at
Rome, where almost all were mutually strangers.

2. Domus utraque, sc. Vitellii sub Othone, Othonis sub Vitellio.
It so happened, that the family connexions of Vitellius were at Rome,
and at the mercy of Otho; while those of Otho were in like manner
at the disposal of Vitellius.

Cu. LXXVI.—1. Primus . . . . addidit. First gave. The
Latins use the adj. where we use the adv. of time. The news from
Illyricum was the first thing that imparted confidence to Otho.


9. Diu mansit, sc. in sde. Cited by Döderlein as an example


13. Armorum = exercitum.—Dirimitur, sc. ab Italia. The
reference is to the troops in Egypt, Asia, Africa, &c.

The specious name, the pretended authority of the senate. Prae-
textum is not found before the age of Tacitus. Cf. Boetticher.

16. Auditus also is a post-Augustan substantive, and is employed
here in the unusual sense of auditio, report. The distant provinces
and armies had heard of Otho's nomination, and acquiesced in it, be-
fore they knew of Vitellius', though actually prior in order of time.

20. Neque = et non, et connecting the clause, and non qualify-
ing exspectata.


24. Pleraque. Intellige ea, quae fieri solent sub initium novi

Cu. LXXVII.—26. Distractis, sc. in contrarias partes.

27. Quidem gives emphasis to the comparison between Vitellius
and Otho, and it shows the impropriety of attaching this clause to the
previous section, as in the old editions. The antith. particle sed is

28. Quae dam is the obj. of obibat, pleraque of properando,
which is used instead of properans.

30. In . . . Martias. Till the 1st of March, sc. from the com-
 mencement of his reign with the death of Galba, on the 15th of Jan-
 uary. Cf. 27. For the construction of Martius, cf. 12, note. The
consulship was originally annual, and elective by the people; but in
the reign of Tiberius, the office becoming merely an honor conferred
by the emperors (nominally by the senate, Ann. 1, 15), was held for
only two months, there being of course 6 pairs (consules = col-
 leagues, cf. note, 1) during the year, those who held it for the first two
months being called the ordinary consuls, and giving their name to the year. Cf. Dict. Ant., Consul. The ordinary consuls for this year were Galba and Vinius. Cf. 1. But they being slain on the 15th of January, Otho and his brother were substituted (suffecti) to fill up their time to the 1st of March.

33. Praetexto exhibits the reason alleged by Otho. Cf. 76, note.

34. Viennensium, to whom, therefore, we infer that Vopiscus belonged, though the author nowhere states the fact. Cf. Essay, p. 18.

36. Sabinus attaches to both Caelio and Flavius, who had the same cognomen (cf. note, A. 4), and together with them is dat. after man-sere. Flavius Sabinus, consul elect, is a different man from Flavius Sabinus, brother of Vespasian, who was prefect of the city. Cf. 47, and 2, 55, with which compare 2, 36. Or.—Julias and Septembres agree with kalendas understood. Cf. 12.—Arrio Antonino. Mentioned by Pliny as a writer of verses in Greek and Latin. Cf. Epis. 4, 3. 18. 5, 10. He was grandfather of Antoninus Pius the emperor. Or. For a synoptical view of the consulships for this year, see the table, p. 26.

38. Pontificatus auguratusque. Acc. pl. in apposition with cumulum dignitatis. In the age of the emperors, the number of augurs and pontifices was indefinite, and the offices were conferred by the emperors on whom they pleased, but particularly on those who had already borne the highest civil honors. Though they had lost much of their pristine sanctity and power, still both the pontificate and the augurship were highly esteemed. The emperor himself was always pontifex maximus. For the etymology of the word, and further details, see Dict. Gr. and Rom. Antiqu., sub voce.

1. Honoratis . . . senibus. Any aged man who had already been honored with the consulship and the like civil offices, but had not received the sacred offices of pontifex and augur. Wr. restricts it needlessly to those just mentioned, Caelins, Flavius, &c.—Aut distinguishes between the treatment of the senibus on the one hand, and the adolescentulos on the other. Cf. note on aut, A. 17. The common editions have et.

3. Recoluit. Iterum honoravit, vel iisdem, quibus avi ac patres fuerant ornati. Rup. Dōd makes sacerdotinis datīve after recoluit, which he renders, restored to. And this construction seems to be justified by such passages as 3, 7: recoli imagines Galbae jussit. Sacerdotium includes both the pontificate and the augurship.—Cadio Rufus. Cf. Ann. 12, 22.

5. Repetundarum. Repetundae, or in full pecuniae repetundae, denotes—1. Such sums of money as provinces or individuals might recover from Roman magistrates, who had improperly received the money in the discharge of any official function: 2. The illegal act for which compensation was claimed. Here render: extortion, which is implied in avaritia, in the next clause. Cf. Fiske's Man. P. 3. 263
6. Ignotentibus. Otho and the senate, or Otho and his advisers.
7. Majestatem, sc. laesam. Majestas laesa or minuta was, under the republic, any offence against the majesty of the people or the state; under the emperors, it was especially an offence against the imperial dignity. Anglice: treason, though majestas is more comprehensive than treason. Cf. Smith’s Dic. of Antiq.; also Man. as above. To pardon the crime of majestas was now popular; to pardon repetundae was unpopular. Hence the senators who were now restored to their seats were falsely alleged to have been condemned for the former and not the latter offence.

Ch. LXXVIII.—9. Civitatum quoque, etc. Cities and provinces also, i.e. as well as Rome, to which the previous section relates.

10. Hispallensibus et Emeritensibus. Hispalis and Emerita were Roman colonies in Spain, now Seville and Merida. The latter was so called from a colony of veteran soldiers (emeriti) led thither by command of Augustus. Cf. Dio. 53, 26.

12. Baeticae. A province in the south of Spain.—Maurorum civitates. In Mauritania, on the adjacent coast of Africa. These towns of the Mauri were placed under the jurisdiction of the Baetian province, and thus contributed to its revenues.

13. Ostenta. Al. ostentui. These new rights were presented rather than permanent gifts, because, in the political changes which soon followed, they became null and void.

15. Excusata. Al. excusatus. Cf. same word used in the same way, 7, note.

16. Statuas.... repositae. They had been thrown down by the populace, and replaced by Nero. Ann. 14, 61. On the death of Nero they were again removed, and now replaced a second time by Otho. On Poppaea, cf. note, 13, and places there cited.


19. Quibusdam diebus. On certain days, i.e. on public occasions.


22. Metu, pudore. Al. metum, pudorem. But the obj. of tenet is understood, sc. the recognition of the title.

25. Ad denotes the place, quo tenderunt irrumpendo. Wr.
26. Irrupserunt. Taken absolutely, i.e. without a direct obj.: had made an irruption.—Ex indicat causam originemque rei. Wr.
30. Cupidine praedae shows the reason or motive of graves... sarcinarum, and explains the sarcinae to be not soldiers' packs, but loads of booty. The common reading, dispersi cupidine praedae, has no MS. authority. Dispersi denotes the scattered and disorderly manner in which the Sarmatians usually fight.
33. Extra ipsos, sc. in pernicitate equorum, non in animo et corporis robore, ut hodie sere in tormentis bellicos. Ernesti.—Nihil. A strong expression for nulla alia gens.
35. Obstiterit. Our potential (Gr. 260, II.), or a softened future. Z. 527.—36. Usul is dat. after erant understood.
37. Equils and poudere are abl. of cause.
12. Bello limits felix, with which supply fuisset, to which auxisset is connected.
13. Dcibus. Per dces would be the ordinary way of expressing the voluntary means or agency. The abl. represents human agents as mere tools. Cf. Gr. 247, R. 4; Z. 455. Note.
15. Septimam... cohortem. Cohorts, that did not belong to any legion, were numbered, like the legions themselves, and distinguished by their number.
16. Ostiens. Ostia, formerly a town of note at the mouth of the Tiber, whence its name; at this day it lies in ruins. It was founded by King Ancus. Cf. Liv. 1, 33; Dionys. 3, 44.
17. E praetorianis, sc. tribunis. One of the praetorian tribunes.
18. Vacuss. More free from disturbance of every kind.—Quietis castris denotes time, viz. when the watch was set and the rest of the soldiers were in their tents. The castra here meant was the camp of the praetorians at Rome, whence arms were to be borne in vehicles to the Tiber and thence by ship to Ostia for the 17th cohort. So the following description shows (though it has been understood differently by some), and so Plutarch (Oth. 3) describes it. Cf. the jealousy of the praetorians towards their officers, 36.
20. Tempus, sc. nox; causa, i.e. res ipsa; affectatio, i.e. sollers electio; quietis, sc. militum in castris. Rup.—Causa perhaps rather denotes the object or intention.
21. Affectatio properly denotes an aspiring to, or earnest seeking
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67 for. Cf. Ann. 2, 88: regnum affectans; His. 2, 91: plebis rumorem affectavit. The substantive is nearly confined to the post-Augustan prose.—Quietis here is explained by quietis castris above.—Fuit, rather than evaluit, is appropriate to the first two clauses. Reader: the time excited suspicion, the object aimed at was made a ground of accusation, and the special pains taken to find a quiet time became the occasion of a tumult.

22. Sui, sc. arma. Sui is the gen. pl. of the reflexive. Cf. a similar sentiment in Odys. 16, 292: abdss ydp ɛʰλɛκται ᾑνήρα σιθφρες, assigned by Ulysses to Telemachus as a reason for removing the armor of the drunken suitors out of their sight. Lipsius. Död. thinks it an allusion to Homer.—Miles, sc. praetorianus.

23. Familiar, i. e. servi. Cf. note, G. 15.

25. In occasionem, denotes the end or aim (cf. A. 8: in famam, note), as ignari and cupidum express the state of mind in which the other classes acted. To make the construction regular, supply intentus before in. Cf. Essay, p. 17. But Tacitus prefers euallage.

CII. LXXXI.—31. Celebre. Properly crowded (from cello, κῆλω), frequented; hence distinguished, celebrated. Either sense would be appropriate here. The former, however, is preferable. The latter signification is not found in Caesar and Cicero. Cf. Fremud sub voce. Observe the use of the imperf. erat for an unfinished action.

32. Fortitususne .... fortct. This whole inmember of the sentence depends on trempidus, which means trembling with uncertainty whether, etc. Supply esset with furor and dolus. Cf. Essay, p. 14.

35. Detegi, sc. as mere pretenders to firmness.

1. Statim miscarat denotes an act prior to jussit. Hence the pluperfect.—2. Passim. From the part. of pando.


CII. LXXXII.—7. Millitum .... Irrumpent. Xiphilinus (64, 9) represents this as the natural result of Otho's largesses, flattery and excessive familiarity with the soldiers.—Foribus attaches quidem to it, as being the emphatic word. The word manifestly has the same root as the Gr. ὀφα and the Eng. door. The same root is also found in German, Sanscrit, etc. Fores is properly the folds of the door; porta the aperture.

9. Martiale. When such adj. as these become proper names, they always have c in the abl.: as Juvenale, Martiale, etc. Z. 63, c.

10. Praefecto legionis. An officer who, in the absence of the legatus legionis, took his place in the command, called elsewhere legioni praefatus. 2, 86; 3, 52.

15. Toro. Couch; properly a soft cushion or pillow, then the whole sofa, couch, or bed. Rams. refers it to torqueo (632), where see it distinguished from lectus, cubile, etc.

22. Ut, with the subj. denoting result.—Quina . . . numnum. Five thousand sesterces apiece. Numnum is gen. pl. for nummorum.

23. Tum. Then at length, then only. Used just as in chap. 66, where see note.

25. Otium et salutem. Nam tribunus et centuriones a militibus obtruncati. Cf. 80. Brotier. Döderlein takes it as a request to be discharged, which derives some support from the abjectis . . . insignibus, as well as from the frequent use of otium by T. as the opposite of war. Cf. note, A. 11. But the use of salutem rather favors the interpretation of Brotier and Rup. They demanded safety for their persons, and order, tranquillity, in the camp. Otherwise (as they intimated by casting off their badges) they could not retain their offices.—Sensit invidia. Felt the odium, or reproach, thus brought upon themselves. Invidia—quod verbum ductum est a nimis intuendo fortunam alterius. Cic. Tusc. Quaest. 3, 9.

26. Compositus. Used here and in 65, nearly in the sense of our word composed, quieted, calmed. For other senses, cf. 47 and 71; also A. 42 and 45, notes.

Ch. LXXXIII.—28. Quanquam non spectat ad sequens sed, ut videtur Ernestio; consequens (apodosis) potius est inde a verbis: postremo ita disseruit. Wr. Ante postremo intelligendum tamen. Rup. Quanquam turbidis rebus = quanquam turbidae res erant, etc.


32. Non posse . . . retinerl. Cf. the same sentiment prophetically uttered in the speech of Galba, 30.

34. Sed . . . auxilus. Antithetic to simul reputans. Wr.

1. Tumultus . . . initium, sc. excitatum est, implied in the antithetic clause nimia . . . excitavit. So veni above is understood in the first clause, and expressed only in the antithesis.


11. Etiam . . . tribunosque. Even the centurions and tribunes, much more common soldiers.—Tantum juberi. Receive commands only, without reasons.

13. Et illic. Even there, i. e. under such circumstances, as have been described.

15. Neque . . . crediderim. For I cannot believe—would not willingly, i. e. will not, believe. Cf. 79: obstiterit. The subj. perf. used to soften an assertion. Gr. 260, 11, R. 4; Z. 527.
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33. Non hercule illi . . . . Germani. Not even those German barbarians, still less you. Hercule is voc.; sometimes mehercule, which is an ellipsis for ita me, Hercule, juves (cf. Z. 361, note) or, according to Freund, the me is only a demonstrative prefix for emphasis. Cf. Freund sub voce ce.—Cum maxime. Cf. note on it, 29.

35. Depoposerint. Cf. 83: crediderim; 79: obstiterit. This use of the subj. is much more frequent in the later than in the earlier Latin. “The perf. subj., when used independently, usually has the meaning of a softened future.” Z. 527. Zumpt suggests; by way of explaining this meaning, that the same form is probably used both for the subj. perf. and the subj. of the fut. perf., e.g. depoposcriram = subj. both of depoposci and depoposcrero. It does not necessarily imply doubt. Cf. Cic. Brut. 6: Hoc sine ulla dubitatione confirmaverim, etc. In such questions as this it implies a negative answer. Cf. note, 30: meretur. The use of the perf. subj. after ut and ne (as in utque sic dixerim, G. 2) is entirely peculiar to the silver age.

37. Praestringimus = obumbramus. Al. perstringimus, which is the reading of the MSS., and is retained by Rup. in the sense of hebetamus. The departure from the MSS. is justified by Wr., from the frequent and easy confounding of those two syllables.—Nationes, imaginem . . . . exercitus, senatus. Notice the position of these emphatic words in their respective clauses.


3. Domibus. Properly generic, = buildings; tectis, roofs. Accumulated here for emphasis, rather than for distinction. This speech abounds in such emphatic accumulation of words nearly synonymous, e.g. seditionem et discordiam, aanguinem et caedem, splendore et gloria, sordes et obscuritatem.


5. Promiscua sunt, agreeing with muta ista in the nom.; instead of promiscuum est agreeing with the clause. Reorder; whether these mute and inanimate objects fall or are rebuilt is a matter of indifference. It is a case of attraction, resembling the Greek. Cf. Essay, p. 18.—Aeternitas rerum. The perpetuity of the empire.

7. Ausplicato. The Romans undertook no great enterprise without first ascertaining the will of the gods by auspices. Religion, deeply seated in the breasts of the people, was the most powerful engine both of war and of state. This speech is highly characteristic, and plays
upon the passions and the prejudices of the soldiers with much of the same skill as that recorded in 37-8.

Ch. LXXXV.—12. Et oratio. *Et* is correlative to *et* before *severitatis*. Both his address and his moderation were well received. Observe *accepta* nom. pl. neuter agreeing with two subs., one masc., the other fem.

16. *Strepitus . . . militibus*. Such is the reading of the best MSS. Al. *strepitus telorum et facies belli erat militibus*, which is adopted in the common editions with a colon after *erat*. Various other emendations have been suggested. But it may be read as it is, and the conciseness and enallage of the text go to substantiate its genuineness. *Strepitus . . . belli* is one reason for *non quies redierat*; *et militibus*, etc., is another. The former is expressed in the nom., the latter is the regular abl. of cause.

18. *Occulto habitu*, i.e. in the guise of citizens or countrymen, and acting the part of spies.—Maligna cura. *Evil intentions*. Dōd. refers *occulto habitu* also to the concealment of their feelings, animi being understood by *pragnantia*. Cf. Essay, p. 16.

23. In publico. *Ant. to secreta domuum.*

24. *Attulisset*. Subj. Cf. Gr. 264, 12; Z. 569.—Conversi. Al. *conversi*. But *conversi* is found in the Medicean and nearly all the other MSS. It is abl. of cause or manner with *hominibus* understood: *But there was the greatest agitation in public, when (or since) men changed* (lit. men being changed as to) *their feelings and countenances with every report which rumor brought*, sc. from Vitellius.


27. *Ne* for the more common but less concise *ut non*. Cf. Essay, p. 10.

29. *Sententias*. Their *opinions* given in the senate-house.

Ch. LXXXVI.—34. *Auctoribus*. For *ab auctoribus*. Cf. Gr. 225, 11.

35. *Omissas*, i.e. dropped from the hands of the goddess, as if she were unable to hold them. Cf. Plut. Oth. 4. See also, touching these prodigies, Suet. Oth. 8; and Xiph. 64, 7.

36. *Cella*. Primarily a storeroom (from *celo*). Secondarily the interior of a temple. In the Capitoline temple there were three distinct *cellae* under the same roof, with common partition-walls, viz. that of Jupiter in the centre, that of Minerva on the right, and that of Juno on the left. Render: *chapel of Juno.*

38. *Immoto*. Undisturbed by earthquake, or storm, or any natural cause of such a phenomenon. Cf. Plut. in loc. cit.—*In Orientem.*
Betokening the elevation of Vespasian, in whose reign this prodigy was doubtless fabricated. Cf. Plut. as above.

7] 3. In metu. Sic in pace, in bello, de tempore. Igitur in metu = eo tempore, ubi metuitur. Wr. In time of danger. Ad rem, cf. note, 4, 26: quod . . . . vocabatur.—Audientur. The subj. here would make this clause a part of the common talk (vulgata) at Rome. The ind. is used to set forth the views of the author.

5. Proroto. Al. prorupto. But the following words show that the bridge had fallen into the river.—Ponte sublicio. A bridge of beams resting on piles, built over the Tiber by Ancus Marcus. The Romans felt a religious scruple about driving a nail in it. Plin. 36, 15; Liv. 1, 33, 37; 2, 10, 40, 51.

10. Insularum. Blocks of buildings, detached from other edifices (hence their name) and rented to several occupants. The word sometimes denotes simply hired buildings. Cf. Smith’s Dict.

13. Vla Flaminia. The great northern road (as the Appia was the southern), reaching from Rome to Ariminum on the Gulf of Venice; made by Flaminius, a. u. c. 533.

14. Esse obstructum. The subj. sets forth the view of the multitude.

Cf. LXXXVII.—17. Lustrata urbe. The city of Rome, and other towns within its dominion, always underwent a lustratio after they had been visited by some great calamity, such as civil bloodshed, awful prodigies and the like. Lustratio was originally a purification by ablution in water (from luo, Gr. λύω). But in the lustration of Roman cities, armies, fields, etc., as left on record, the chief thing was the offering of sacrifices, which were carried three times round the persons or things to be purified. Cf. Smith’s Dict. of Antiq., under Lustratio.—Expensis. Lit. weighed out, hence pondered, considered matured.

19. Narbonensem Galliam, which had revolted to Vitellius. Cf. 76, where see note.

21. Reliquos, sc. classicorum.—Caesorum. Cf. note, 6.—Ponente Mulvium. Al. Milvium. A bridge over the Tiber, two miles from Rome, on the Via Flaminia, now Ponte-Molle. It is not agreed whether the name denotes the bridge of Mulvius, or the Kites-bridge.

22. Habitios in custodiain. Observe the acc. after habitios in like our had into custody. Compare adhibita, 1, 14, and note ibid. Habeo (from ἅπω, ἅπω) strictly implies motion, and hence may be followed by in with the acc. Cf. Död. Synonyms, where he makes habere = geben, give. Boetticher makes this clause = in custodiain datos et in ea habitios by zeugma.—Numeros. Cf. note on it, 6.—Composuerat. Had enrolled.

23. Et ceteris, sc. classiciis. To the rest of the marines also.

24. Plerosque. Very many.—E praetorianis. Selected from the praetorian cohorts, perhaps the vexillarii. Cf. 31,
25. Consilium = consiliarios, abs. for conc. Consilium and custodes, like vire and robur, are in appos. with plerosque. The select praetorians were sent to advise and watch the commanders, as in the case of the ambassadors above, 74.

26. Summa expeditionis. The whole enterprise, i. e. the supreme command of both army and navy.


29. Retinebat. Continued to hold. Appointed probably to repair the fleet (curam navium). But his office, which would properly have ceased when the fleet sailed, was prolonged. Gronovius.—Comitatus. Al. immutatus, invitatus, incitatus, impositus, simul datus, etc., etc. The reading is mere guesswork. The sense is obvious with or without either of the words.

34. Maturitatem. Ripeness of judgment and experience. This accords with his subsequent history, e. g. 2, 23, 33, 44. Ut cuique erat. According to their several characters. Proculus seized upon their characteristic virtues and misrepresented them as vices.


38. Coloniam Aquinatam. Aquinum, a town of the Volsci, in Latium; now Aquino, but almost in ruins.—Neque obscura. Yet manifest.


6. Motae . . . curae. Al. mota . . . cura. The MSS. are about equally divided between the two readings. Wr. prefers motae . . . curae, as less ambiguous, and expressing definitely the thing here meant, viz. the anxieties of the citizens.

7. Metu aut periculo = metu et periculo, i. e. by hendiadys metu periculi. So Roth. But aut implies a specific difference: fear or real danger, or inverting the order, as we should, real danger on the one hand, or at least the fear of it on the other. So Wr. and Rup.


15. Afflicta fide. Abl. of quality equivalent to an adj. and used as predicate of multi: Many had lost their credit in time of peace (tranquility).

16. Per incerta. In an unsettled state of things.

Cf. LXXXIX.—17. Vulgus . . . populus. Cf. note, 82: populus, plebs.—Magnitudine nimia is the cause of expers: and the people too numerous to share in the concerns of the public.


20. Haud perinde. Not so much, as now. Haud is the Gr. oβδ'.

23. Res . . . compositum = potentiam domus Caesareae fundavit. Rup.—Unius, sc. principis.
NOTES.

25. Pacis . . . reipublicae. Pacis is objective, and reipublicae subjective gen. after adversa (cf. prodigionis ira militum, 3, 10) those evils which the republic experiences in time of peace, i.e. popular commotions and imperial cruelty. Reipublicae cannot be dat. after pertinuere, which always takes ad or in with the acc. after it. Hence some read in rempublicam; others expunge reipublicae, though found in all the MSS. Pertinuere is found instead of pertinuere in several MSS., but not the best. Pertinuere = duravere according to W. But why not take it in the more usual sense of reached, belonged to or affected, sc. the people? Tacitus' use of pertinuere may be seen in 3, 19: Expugnatae urbis praedam ad militem, deditae ad duces, pertinuere. Död. makes reipublicae dat. (for acc. with ad) after pertinuere.


30. A tergo. The East followed Otho; the West, Vitellius.

32. Nondum . . . . auctillum. The sacred shields, made in imitation of the golden ones sent down from heaven to Numa by the nymph Egeria. At different times, during the month of March, these were borne through the streets by the Salii, and finally laid up (conditorum) in the curia of the Salii, on the Palatine mount. The days set apart for this ceremony were sacred, and no public business might be transacted. Cf. Ovid, Fast. 3, 260, seq.; Plut. Numa, etc.


11. Latum. Copious. Opposed by Cic. (Brut. 31) to contractum.


BOOK II.

Ch. I.—2. Lactum, sc. under Vespasian and Titus; atroz, under Domitian; prosperum, to Vespasian; exitio, to Titus and Domitian, who both died a violent death. The dynasty of Vespasian is here meant by imperio.

5. Maturum . . . . juventam. Titus was now in his twenty-eighth year.

6. Ferebat = praeferebat, set forth, exhibited.

7. Disperserat. Only T. applies this word to the spreading of reports.


11. Majestate. Titus was brought up in the court with Britannicus, the son of Claudius. Cf. Suet. Tit. 2.

12. Praesaga responsa. Suet. ibid. Praesaga is a poetical word.

13. Corinthi . . . . urbe. Cf. Gr. 204, R. 7; Z. 399. This use of the gen. is explained by some as an old form of the dat. (Corinthoi, Gr. Κόρινθοι=Κορινθός), the original where-case. Compare the locative case in Sanscrit, which ends in i. Urbe = capital, 1, 68.

16. Adhibitis. Cf. note on adhibito, 1, 14; and on habitos, 1, 87.—Pergeret. Cf. note on pergit, 1, 27.


21. Rempublicam suscipcret, sc. under his protection and government.

Ch. II.—23. Jactatum, sc. Titum. Al. jactato, because hope prevailed not over Titus, but over fear. But in thus prevailing, it also bore sway in the breast of Titus.

1. Bereuences. The Bernice of Scripture (Acts, 25, 13, 23; 26, 30); famed for her beauty and incest (Suet. Tit. 7; Juv. 6, 156). She was daughter of Agrippa the Elder, wife of her uncle Herod, and at the time she heard Paul, was probably living in incest with her brother Agrippa the Less.

5. Igitur = Gr. ὅπερ; Under these circumstances. Cf. note on it, A. 13.

6. Ac laeva maris. Exegetical of oram Achaiae et Asiae, which lay to the left, as Titus sailed from Corinth towards Syria.—Praepectus. Coasting along. Al. praetervectus. But T. uses prae for praeter in such combinations. Cf. A. 26.—Cyprum. Copper derives its name from Cuprus, where it is found in great abundance.
NOTES.

7. Audientioribus spatiis. With bolder courses. With this poetical use of *spatiis* compare Cicero’s use of it for *turns* or *courses* in walking. Cic. de Or. 1, 7, 28. Antith. to *praevectus* . . . oram. Previous to the invention of the compass, sailors feared to lose sight of the shore. Titus was daring because he was impatient.

8. Templum . . . inclitum. Cf. Strabo, 14; and Herod. 1, 105. also Virg. Aen. 1, 415. There was also in the island another less famous temple of Venus, who took the epithet Cyprian from the extent of her worship by the pleasure-loving Cyprians.—*Paphiae Veneris.* Paphos, in the isle of Cyprus, was sacred to the worship of Venus.

9. Haud fuerit. *It will not be,* etc. Cf. note, 83: *neque cre-diderim;* and 84: *depoposcerint.*

10. Templi ritus. Al. situm, but the site of the temple T. does not describe. On the word *templum,* cf. notes, 1, 27; and G. 9: *cohibere parietibus.*

11. Habetur, sc. religio, templi ritus et forma deae. Murphy avails himself of this digression to vindicate T. from the charge of irreligion.


15. Conceptam marl. Sprung from the (foam of the) sea, hence her name *'Αφοτίτιν.*—Appulsam. Wafted.


20. Cinyrades. The descendant of Cinyras.—*Hostiae.* Slain for inspection of the entrails, not to be burned upon the altar, which was prohibited. Cf. the use made of the *compluribus hostiis* slain by Titus, 4.


23. Adolentur. Adolore proprie est olentem reddere cremando, et hinc cremare. Bach. It is also used poetically in the sense to load with offerings. The sentence does not bear a literal translation into English. Render: *Suplications and a pure flame of fire are the only offerings on the altar.* The distinction between *ara* and *altare* (for which see Lexicon) is not here observed.—*Nec ullis imbribus,* etc. Pliny makes the same statement, N. H. 2, 96.

25. Continuus orbis, etc. Stripped of its verbiage (cf. note on description of Britain, A. 10), this description imports simply: *in the shape of a rude cone.* Max. Tyr. (8, 7) likens it to a *white pyramid.* On the position of *in,* cf. Z. 324. *Continuus,* uninterrupted by arms, neck, head, etc., like most idols.

26. Ratio in obscurro. Probably there was no reason for it, but the rudeness of the early times in which it originated. Ernesti.
BOOK II.


7. Inexperti . . . . labor. Al. inexpertus, but without MS. authority. One MS. has labores. Intellige severitatem disciplinae in pace inexorabilem (1, 51). The two things contrasted are the labors and dangers of war, and the toil and discipline of an uninterrupted peace. Wr.

Ch. V.—11. Si . . . . posceret. The imperf. subj. follows the historical inf., and even the present ind., when used for the historical tense.

12. Fortuito = Gr. τῷ τυχώντα. Such as chanced to fall in his way, hence common.


17. Si . . . . miscerentur. If they had been united. Imperf. subj. used, as it often is, where we use the plup. Cf. Gr. 260, R. 2; Z. 525. The writer transports his reader into the past and represents it as present.


25. Industria . . . . per voluptates, are the various motives by which they were influenced, all characters finding something to attract them either in Vespasian or in Mucianus. Notice the pairs.

26. Asciscabantur. Were brought over, or attached to their party.

Ch. VI.—31. Civitum arma. Civil wars.

33. Trans mare. Across the Mediterranean and into the East.


37. Inconcussa is not found prior to the age of T. Cf. Boetticher and Freund.

3. Septem legiones. The four of Mucianus and the three of Vespasian. Cf. 1, 10.—Statim. On the spot (sto); inde, on that side; hinc, on this: these three words are correlative.

4. Continua = contermina.

5. Quicquid . . . . Armeniis. And all the forces, lit. camps, that stretch along the frontier of the Armenias, etc. the Greater and the Less.
NOTES.

6. Praetendere is little used in this literal and physical sense, except by the poets. Prose writers use it chiefly in the sense of to cover or cloak.

7. Nec virorum, etc. Nec = et non, and correl. to et before pecuniae. Cf. note on neque ... et, 1, 15.—Pecuniae is gen. Gr. 213. —Quantum ... cingitur. All the islands of the sea, i.e. the Mediterranean. The predicate is omitted here (as it is also in several of the foregoing clauses), viz. were on their side.

8. Interim, sc. between the present and the time of decisive action.

Ch. VII.—11. Victores, etc. The reader will perceive, that these are the considerations that influenced the Flavian leaders to delay. The motives of men’s conduct are set forth by T. with no less distinctness and fulness than their actions.


14. Etiam egregios duces. Even illustrious commanders, still more those, who, like Oth. and Vitel., were discordes, ignavi and luxuriosi.

17. Nuper. Ant. to olim, and like olim limiting mixtis consiliis. —Mixtis consiliis, amore reipublicae, dulcedo praedarum, etc., are the motives which influenced them, not to delay, but to watch an opportunity for action.—Optimus quisque, sc. stimulabantur. Cf. note on tumulus initium, 1, 83.

19. Stimulabat is to be connected logically, not with distulere, but with in occasiorem.—Ambiguae ... res need not be confined to pecuniary circumstances, it may include all private occasions of discomfort or danger.

Ch. VIII.—22. Velut, in Cic., means for example. By the later writers, it is used in the same sense as quasi, and followed by the subj. Cf. Z. 292. 572; Gr. 263, 2. The imperf. subj. here implies, that Nero was not to make his appearance. Ad rem, cf. note on falsi Neronis ludibrio, 1, 2.—Vario ... rumore. Cf. Xiph. 63, 27. 29; Suet. Ner. 48. 49. Super, in the sense of de, concerning, requires the ablative. Z. 320.

24. Ceterorum, sc. falsorum Neronum.—In contextu operis. In the course of this work, now lost.

26. Unde ... fides. For Nero valued himself more on his skill in music than in government. Cf. Ann. 14, 14; 15, 44, et al. Propior here, as often in T., denotes tendency. The credulity of the multitude was the more easily imposed upon, because this slave besides resembling Nero in his looks, was also a skilful musician.

29. Cythum. One of the Cyclades in the Ægean.

30. Et militia. Correlative to et negotiatoribus. He took measures to procure both men and money.

Ch. IX.—3. Datae. Assigned him (at his setting out for his provinces), ad prosequendum to attend him as an escort.—Misenensi.
Misenum was the principal naval station of the Romans on the west, as Ravenna was on the east.


7. Ut eum for the more common *ut se*, to avoid ambiguity. Död.

8. *Dolo*. Enallage for *dolosi*, or doloso agentes. Rup.


Ch. X.—16. *Vibius Crispus*. A celebrated orator, Dial. de Or. 8, 13; Quintil. 5, 13. 6, 2 et al.; and informer, Suet. Dom. 3; Juv. 4, 81, and at the close of this section. He accumulated immense wealth.

23. *Ad hoc terroris*. *In addition to this source of terror*, sc. the *senatus consultum*.—*Et propria vi*. With his personal influence also, i. e. pecunia, potentia, ingenio.


26. *Acque* .... *quam*. Cicero says *aeque* .... *et or ac*. In like manner T. uses *perinde* .... *quam*; Cic. *perinde* .... *et or ac*.


2. *Rebellione* .... *compressa* is the cause of *praecipui*. Al. 81 praeceipe.


8. *Legione prima*. That which Nero enlisted from the marines, 1, 6; called prima Adjutrix below, 43.


12. *Quoniam* (= *quam jam*), properly introduces a *motive*, rather than a *logical reason*. Cf. note, 1. 31: *quia*.

15. *Lecta corpora*. *Picked men*. *Corpora* used like Gr. *σώματα*. Cf. Xen. Mem. 3, 5, 2. Demosth. de Cor. 23.—*Ceteris praetorius*, i. e. four cohorts, for there were nine in all. 1, 20.—*Veterani e praetorio*. Distinguished from the praetorians, for though attached to that body, they did not belong to it; same as the vexillarii. Cf. 1, 31.

18. *Horridus* refers to the *person*; *incomptus* to the *dress*. Död. In *virium ac roboris* above, Or. refers *vires* to *number*; *robur* to *valor*.—*Famae*. Cf. 1, 22. 71.

21. Maritimarum Alpum. Cf. note, 1, 61. Maritime Alps was the name, not only of the mountains, but of a province in North-western Italy, bordering on Gallia Narbonensis, of which see notes, 1, 76. 87.

22. Tentandis. Lit. testing them, i.e. their friendship and enmity, and then treating them accordingly.

27. Adversus .... corruptus, i.e. sacrificing rigid discipline to his desire of popularity.

28. Loca sedesque. A pair of kindred words for emphasis.

31. Occursantes .... liberos. The owners, going forth together with their wives and children, to meet the invaders, etc.

36. Quibus. Dat. after esset. For the subj. cf. note, 1, 29: ut qui, etc.; also 1, 37.

82 Cn. XIII.—2. Albium Intemelium. Now Vintimiglia, south-west of the territory of Genoa, with a port on the Mediterranean. or. has Albintimilium, as approaching nearer to the reading of the Medicean MS.

5. Femina Ligus. A Ligurian woman. Intemelium was in Liguria.

6. Cum, when in narration, is followed by the subj. Observe the accurate discrimination of time in the plup. (credidissent) and the imp. (interrogarent), where we should use the imperf. in both places. The plup. denotes the original motive, and the imp. the subsequent action. Occuleret is the subj. in an indirect question.

8. Latere. Inf. of lateo. MS. Agr. hic latere. Sed illud hic inutile est juxta verba uterum ostendens. Wr. The mother of Agricola was put to death by this same party. Cf. A. 7. But our author makes no allusion to it in his history.


17. Vacuo mari. The Vitellians had no fleet; hence they must leave some of their land forces to defend their seaports from the attacks of Otho's fleet.


21. Acie .... instructa, sc. Othonianorum. This clause, together with ut .... praetenderetur, is the protasis, and Vitelliani .... locant the apodosis.

22. Quantum is the subject of esset understood, and its antecedent.
dent is the object of expleret. Observe the emphatic position of in ipso mari before ut.


26. Alpinos here includes, according to Wr. and Död., both the Pannonians and the Ligurians mentioned above.

31. Audebant. The ind. is used in this clause (though it follows the subj.), because it stands in so slight a dependence, being a mere additional remark.

34. Attinguisset. Checked.—Obtentui fugientibus. Obtentui, instead of abstentus in apposition with obscurum. Supply quod esset: had not the victorious army been checked by the darkness of the night, which afforded a cover for the retreating.


38. Sidente. Al. cedente. Metus multo exquisitus rectiusque dicitur sidere quam cedere. Wr. Sidere is found, however, in this tropical sense only in the poets, and those not till the age of Tacitus.

3. Ne . . . . quidem. Cf. note, 1, 16: ne . . . . fueris. The emphatic word always stands between these particles.—Quorum. Some of whom.

5. Hinc classis, sc. on the side of Otho; inde eques, on the side of Vitellius, quibus . . . . in equite robur, 14.


7. Albignaunum. Now Albang, to the west of the territory of Genoa. The editions for the most part read Albignaunum. But Or and Död. Albignanum, from the Medicean MS.


12. In summam. To the issue of the whole war. Cf. 1, 87: summam expeditionis. Or. reads in summam, with the MSS.


20. Inconditos. Undisciplined, unused to military service.

25. Et aversi = itaque aversi sunt. Observe the concise and elliptical structure of the whole sentence.—Aperta vi strictly limits some verb understood, and sed is omitted before aptum, as often in T.

27. Balineis. The writers of the silver age imitate the poets in a more frequent use of the abl. without a prep. to designate the place where. Z. 482.—Comites, sc. from Rome, whereas those, qui Pacarrium frequentabant, and who made their escape, were residents of the island.
34. Mallent. Would prefer, sc. if it were left to their choice. The protasis is not expressed, but implied. Cf Gr. 261, R. 4.


38. Praemissae .... cohortes. Cf. 1, 70.


2. Placentiam. Now Placenza, in the duchy of Parma.—*Ticinum.* Cf. note, 27, below. All in the valley of the Po, and important places in history.

4. Irritabat. Incitabat ad transgrediendum. Rup.—*Quin etiam.* Nay, it even, etc.

21. Vetustissimus quisque. All the veteran soldiers; probably the *mille vexillarii,* 18.

22. Metum ac discriminem = quantum discriminis metueendum esset; hence followed by the subj. plup. (*circumfudisset*).

26. *Quod .... legisissent.* The subj. here gives the sentiments of the officers, and not of the writer = *because, as they said.* *Laudo* and the like verbs, denoting the outward expression of feeling, are commonly followed by *quod* with the ind. or subj.; while those significant of the inward feeling are usually followed by the acc. with the infinitive. Cf. Z. 629. *Quia* does not properly follow either of these classes of verbs. Cf. note, 1, 31.—*Coloniam .... validam,* sc. Placentia.—*Virium.* Men.

28. Refectis exploratoribus, sc. in the camp which they had begun to fortify.

33. Haud poeniteteret. They were not deficient in bravery. Cf. A. 33: neque poenituit. Subj. after cum causalis.


37. Versicolori sagulo. Cf. note, G. 6. The particolored sagum, as well as the braccae, was characteristic of barbarians. Cf.—5, 23; G. 17; Caes. B. G. 5. 42. Gallia Narbonensis was called also Gallia Braccata.—Togatos. Men clad in the toga, which was characteristic of Romans and Italians.

38. Autem. But they were still more displeased with the pomp of his wife, as if a wrong done to themselves. Some copies read quoque.—Quanquam . . . veheretur. Cf. note, 5, 21: quanquam . . . evasisset.

1. Equo ostroque = equus ostro stratus, by heidiadys. Roth.

2. Acribus oculis. With sharp, i. e. jealous eyes. Al. aegris.

5. Viderunt. So the MSS. The early editions have videre, which form (in ere) is much more frequent in T., but not therefore necessarily universal.


23. Nox . . . assumpta, i. e. not even the night put an end to the preparation; the night was added to the labors of the day. Al. absunpta, by conjecture.


27. Gloria = gloriae cupido by praegnantia. Cf. Essay, p. 16

30. Seguem is the opposite of promptus; desidem the opposite of strenuus. Död.

33. Uberioribus . . . stimulabuntur. Two things seem to be implied in this clause: that there was more to blame than to praise in Otho and Vitellius; and that their followers were more readily excited by hatred than by love.

Ch. XXII.—36. Legionum must be taken here in the general
sense of legionary troops (cf. legionarius below), for Cæcina had but
one full legion, together with several thousand picked men from other
legions. Cf. 1, 61.

37. Murorum. Murus, as here, properly denotes the wall of
the city; moenia, the towers and bulwarks upon it.

Cf. 1, 16: librari.—2. Cantu truci, etc. Cf. A. 33; G. 3: baritum.

4. Legionarius, sc. miles Cæcinae.

5. Aggerem. A mound reared to a level with the walls, and
serving as a basis for towers and engines. Cf. Smith’s Dic. sub verbo;
also Fiske’s Man. P. 3, 299.—Contra. On the other side, sc. of the
besieged under Spurinna. In this animated description, the scene
changes several times from the walls to the plains beneath, and vice
versa.—11. Irrisus ac vanus. Mocked and baffled.

12. Intendit. Cf. animo intendit, A. 18. For its literal mean-

15. Primipilari. Cf. note, 1, 31.—Haud alienus. Not a
stranger, or, as others take it, not averte. Haud is used by later
writers, and even by Livy, without distinction from non. The authors
of the best age limit it to certain combinations, such as haud multum,
and the like. Cf. Z. 277.

Ch. XXIII.—20. Duucbat. Was leading, sc. at the time he re-
ceived the letters of Spurinna.—Paucitate. Cf. Gr. 245. II.

25. Vicus, sc. Bedriacum, which was 20 miles from Cremona,
now Caneto. Vicus from Gr. ἴκος, a villa or village.—Duabus . . .
cladibus, sc. Othonis, 39, and Vitellii, 3, 15. The defeat of Vitellius
was between Bedriacum and Cremona, and is referred sometimes to the
one, sometimes to the other.


29. Effundit. Said properly of a stream; implies here the rapid-
ity and force, and also the disorder with which the troops were

33. Certatim. They vied with each other in their abuse of their

36. Incesserant. Had assailed, sc. before Otho Titianum . . .
praeposuit. Al. incessabant.

3. Inter adversa melior refers to the firmness and fortitude of
Otho near his end. Cf. 46, seq.

Ch. XXIV.—8. Per concursum exploratorum, by enallage for
concurrentibus exploratoribus: worsted even in the engagement of
the scouts.—10. Illuc, sc. to Valens.

11. Avidius quam consultius. Cf. note, 1, 83.—Duodecimum,
sc. lapidem or milliarium.

Oth. 9. Rup.
18. Vexillum, i.e. the vexillaries of the 13th legion.
19. Assecrem viae. The high-way, the elevated road. Cf. Fiske's Man. 1, 52, where see the construction of Roman roads.
20. Dextra fronte, i.e. dextro cornu. Cf. Curt. 4, 13. Observe, that auxiliaries were placed on either wing, as the Roman allies were in the earliest wars of the republic.
Ch. XXV.—25. Prudens = providens, which has the same etymology.
26. Exsurgentes, sc. ex insidiis, i.e. lucis viae imminentibus, 24.
27. Ultro = insuper, furthermore; so Rup. But better perhaps: of their own accord, i.e. by their own act. Cf. note, G. 28.
28. Adversa frons. This is the reading of Wr., Bach, Rit., Rup., Död., Or. and the best MSS. Al. fronte. The sense is the same. Supply erat: literally, the opposing front was (composed) of legionary soldiers, for so we must take legionum here as in 22 (where see note), for there was but one entire legion under command of Paullinus, viz. the first. Cf. 24.
30. Cui . . . . placerent = talis, ut, etc. Cf. Gr. 264, 1; Z. 556.
31. Fossas. Wr. and Bach understand this of the ditches by the roadside, and refer to 41: praeruptis utrimque fossis, etc. But most editors understand it of agricultural ditches for draining, and refer in proof to 3, 21: agresti fossa. The latter accords better with aperiri campum, which denotes the clearing and levelling of the fields.
34. Vinea . . . . Impeditas. Vineyards thick with interwoven branches. Murphy. Or. remarks that even now, in that part of Italy, vines are planted between trees, and interlock their branches.
Ch. XXVI.—5. Abriperet. Observe the force of ab: bore away, i.e. along with the panic-stricken fugitives. Subj. after cum causalis.
6. Quod . . . . ducerentur. Cf. note, 19: quod . . . . legisset.—Præfectus castrorum. There was one prefect of the camp to each legion, whose duty it was to attend to the making of the camp, and its whole internal economy. (Vegetius, 2, 10). This office is first mentioned in the reign of Augustus. Cf. Smith's Sic.
7. Fratre . . . . ageret. For the more common expression: cum fratre de proditione ageret.
13. Percrebrucerit. It was a general remark. For the perf. subj. cf. note, 1, 24: dederit.
Ch. XXVII.—19. Apud Caeculam, i. e. in the army of Cæcina. Observe the omission of sed before Fabii. Cf. Essay, p. 13. It is inserted in many editions.
33. Jurigis . . . rixis. Cf. note on these words, 1, 64.
34. Ad postremum, etc. At last, Valens was suspicious that out of this quarrelsome spirit would grow something worse even open mutiny. Suspectare is not found in writers of the age of Augustus. Cf. Freund, sub voce.
7. Sanitas. Completeness.—Sustentaculum. Prop. It is a new word, invented so far as appears by T. —Columna. Allied to columna, culmen, and our word column = stay, support.
8. In . . . verteretur. Lit. turns in (we say on) Italy, i. e. the whole question is to be decided there. Vértur is appropriate to sustentaculum and columna, but not to sanitas, which properly means health. Död. takes columna in the sense of summit, and says: sanitas ad plenitatem, sustentaculum ad stabilitatem, columna ad gloriam victoriarum spectat.
Ch. XXIX.—14. Sarcinis, sc. Valentinis. The word properly denotes a pack (from sarcio, to sew); hence private baggage, camp-equipage.
17. Praefectus castrorum. Cf. note, 26.—Deflagrante. Sub-siding, lit. burning out.—Addit consilium, i. e. adopts a plan for quelling it still farther. This plan is expressed by the ablative which follow: vetitie, &c., instead of vetuit enim, &c., which would be less concise.
18. Obire vigillas. To visit the watch, go the rounds of inspection. Cf. note, 1, 48; also Fiske's Man. P. 3, 298.—Omissio . . . sono. Nam tuba initio, cornu seu buccina in fine vigiliarum cani solebat. Veget. 3, 8; Polyb. 6, 37. Rup.
Ch. XXX.—32. Nolle requelem. Observe the series of infinitives, indicative of rapidity. Cf. note, 1, 36: complecti armis, etc.
34. Improspera. This word is found only in Tacitus. Cf. Essay, p. 22.

36. Simul . . . . et. Correlatives, though, as usual in Tacitus, the clauses are of different construction; in suam excusationem being put, by enallage, for se excusantes.

38. Despectarentur is found in this sense (look down upon, despise) only in Tacitus and the later writers. Cf. Freund and Boet.

1. Duplicatus . . . . Valenti. See the original numbers, 1, 61; and the large additions to the army of Valens, 1, 64. Duplicatus = duplex.


9. Cum duces . . . . abstluereut. Thus indicating less confidence of victory than the leaders of the army of Vitellius.

Ch. XXXI.—15. Contra illi initium, etc. He was pushed on by others. Cf. 1, 53.—Vitellius . . . . inhonestus. Vitellius by his gluttony (ventre) and his drunkenness (gula) was a disgrace to himself. Al. ipse hostis.


Ch. XXXII.—25. Galliac tumeant. The Gauls are ready to break forth in rebellion.

27. Distinerl, by a species of zeugma (cf. Essay, p. 16), is used in a double sense: occupied by the enemy and separated by the sea. Döderlein.

30. Nullo maris subsidio. Want of naval succor, for the fleet was on the side of Otho.—34. Fluxis corporibus. Cf. note, 1, 21.

2. Obumbrentur. Cast into the shade. Found in this sense in no other classic.


7. Duceret. He would protract. This speech, or rather argument, suits well the character of Paullinus. Cf. 25: cunctator natura, etc.


16. Nomen Othonis. So the flatterers of Tiberius were fain to dignify his administration with the epithet of divine, while he yet lived (Ann. 1, 87). Divus was a common appellation of the emperors after their death. Cf. G. 28.


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23. Summae . . . imperii. For the general good and the supreme command. Cf. notes on summa, 1, 87; 2, 16.

29. In incerto, etc., i.e. effecerat, ut nemo militum esset certus, penes quem summum imperium esset. Wr. Död. omits in, after the Medicean MS., and according to the analogy of 1, 68: ipsi medio vagi. Cf. Essay, p. 12.


33. Quando depends on intenti.—Quod refers to alienam . . . opperiebantur.

36. Aene . . . tereret. There were two reasons for commencing the bridge: 1. To make a feint of crossing the river; 2. To keep the soldiers occupied. Otium tereret is a concise expression for otio tempus tereret. Död. gives it the name of structure contracta. Cf. Essay, p. 17.

37. Adversum . . . dirigebantur. Were set with their prows against the current.—Super for insuper (cf. Essay, p. 10): anchors moreover being cast, etc. besides the support of the timbers on either side. So Or. and Död.


4. Tornentis ac machinis. See these, as also the towers described and illustrated, in Man. P. 3, 199, 4. 5.

Cu. XXXV.—7. Gladiatores is taken by Rup. as acc. after praelabebantur. But Or. and Död., with better reason, make it the subject of a verb implied (by zeugma) in praelabebantur: into which the gladiators toiling with ships endeavored to pass, but the Germans by swimming slipped over before them.


Cu. XXXVI.—19. Abreptis = raptim abductis. Wr., Or., etc., after Gronovius. The MSS. have abruptis.


25. Flavium Sabinum. Not Vespasion's brother of the same name, who was now at Rome. Cf. note, 1, 77.

27. Infestam = periculosam. Rup. For the active sense of

Cf. XXXVII.—30. Flagitia refers to character, dedecus to reputation.

32. Vel . . . vel. Either . . . or, as they chose (from volo).—In medium. In common, for the common weal. Cf. Freund sub v.

34. Spe Paulilii, sc. se lectum iri imperatorem. Rup.

35. Gloriam nomenque. By hendiadys for nomen gloriosum, or synonymous, like spatium ac moras just above. Roth.

3. Caritate. Lit. scarcity (from careo); hence dearness, affection, as here, and at length charity.

6. Magna ex parte. Ante, contra, inter and propter, ob, post, de, ex and in are frequently placed between the adj. and subs. Z. 324. Cf. chap. 3: tenuem in ambitum.

7. Pollutum . . . meritis. Defiled and laid under obligation by their criminal favors. Meritis must be taken in this bad sense with pollutum.

Cf. XXXVIII.—10. Rebus modis. When the (Roman) republic was small.

11. Regibusve. Al. que. Cf. note, 1, 44: quive; G. 4: solove. Ve distinguist aemulos sive fuerint urbes sive reges. Wr. Rivals, whether cities (i.e. free states) or kings, having been cut off.—Securas. Safe from external violence.

12. Prima certamina must be taken in a modified sense. The strife between the orders commenced almost with the foundation of the city; but it blazed out into a fiercer flame just in proportion as the state was exempt from the assaults of foreign enemies.


17. Occultior. Magis celans potentiae cupidinem. Rup. After Pompeius, we may supply idem fecit with Död., or simply fuit.

18. Nunquam . . . quaesitum. And ever after the only question in dispute was, who should be princeps.


21. Illos refers to exercitus, which though the latter mentioned word, is the more remote idea. Cf. Gr. 207, R. 23.

The commentators remark a close resemblance between this chapter, particularly at the beginning, and Thucyd. 3, 82, and a fragment of the History of Sallust. Cf. Död. in loc.

Cf. XXXIX.—29. Uteretur. Subj. Gr. 263, 5; Z. 577.—Inani . . . praetendeabantur. With the empty name of general served only as a screen for (literally, were stretched before) the faults of others, sc. Titianus and Proculus.

30. Ambigui. Undecided, i.e. they hesitated which to obey.
32. Interpretari. Discuss.—Mallet. For the subj. cf. Gr. 264, 1; Z. 558.

33. Adeo imperite. There is an obvious ellipsis of quod factum est, or the like: which was done with so little skill. Cf. Plut. Oth. 11, of which Lipsius says: totum hunc locum verbatim Plutarchus expressit, ut pleraque alia, etsi hand multum etate Nostro inferior.


See proelium and bellum contrasted in like manner, G. 30.

4. Inde refers to the encampment ad quartum a Bedriaco.


7. Admissuro. Al. amissuro, omissuro. Literally, who would not allow but that he would attack, i.e. would not fail to attack. Non admitto is equivalent to a verb of hindering. Z. 543.

10. Adjus ... transibant. They had recourse to their authority as commanders-in-chief. Strictly, they were having recourse, sc. at the very time when Otho’s courier arrived.

11. Numida. People of wealth and fashion at this time were habitually attended by a train of Numidians, mounted on the swift horses of their country, to ride before them and announce their approach. Cf. Sen. Epist. 88 and 124; Suet. Ner. 30; Beck. Gall. Sc. 4.

13. Aeger .... Impatienst. “Hope deferred maketh the heart sick.”

14. Operi .... Intentum. Cf. 34.


18. Insidias. To lay a snare for the Vitellians: proditionem, to betray their own party.

23. A .... Othouans belongs with impingerentur, being placed before quo minus for emphasis. Or. and Död. trace the form of expression here to Virg. Aen. 5, 805: Cum Troia Achilles .... impingeret agmina muris.


38. Dispersus = utrum dispersus sit. The author leaves it uncertain whether the report was spread abroad by spies of Vitellius, or originated in the party of Otho, and, in the latter case whether it was by accident or by treachery. Suetonius (Oth. 9) de-
clare that Otho was defeated by a stratagem: his soldiers were called out to be present at a general pacification, and were suddenly attacked in the very act of saluting the Vitellian army.

2. Salutavere. Armies were wont to salute each other and join hands at a friendly meeting. Cf. 3, 25; 4, 72.

8. Cominus eminus. Notice the asyndeton and its effect. Cf. note, 1, 36.—Catervis et cuneis. In the form of a wedge (cf. note, G. 6), and in less regular masses (cf. Rams. 624). Rup. takes cuneis here as a general term = divisions, as in Ann. 1, 51. But non una... facies requires here the more distinctive sense.

9. Collato gradu. Foot to foot, as we say. It is a technic for a close engagement.—Niti, sc. hostibus, which is the object. Corporibus and umbonibus are the instrument.

11. Noscentes inter sc. Being mutually acquainted, sc. the soldiers on opposite sides. They are called frateres et propinqui, 45. Cf. γνωρίζοντες ἀπ' ἄλλων. Xiph. 65, 12.—Ceteris conspicui, i. e. those, who fought on the highway, were conspicuous in the view of their comrades.


18. Principis. Intellige προμάχοι, primam aciem. The word is used in the same sense by Livy (e. g. 2, 65; 3, 22). Cf. also Plutarch ad rem eandem: πάντας τοὺς προμάχους απατελεῖναίες.


Ct. XLIV.—29. Immensus spatium, i. e. for a flying army. The distance was sixteen miles.

30. Strage corporum. According to Xiph. (64, 10), forty thousand men fell on both sides in this battle. Cf. also Plutarch’s account of the carnage, Oth. 13.—Neque... vertuntur. Hence no quarter was given. Cf. 3, 34.


13. Truces refers to the praetoriani; pavidi to ceteri above. His cogitationibus limits truces only, not pavidi.

Ct. XLV.—17. Sed expeditis... victoria. They neglected the usual precaution of fortifying their camp, because they had not the requisite implements. But their arms and their recent victory were a sufficient defence.

21. Missa legatio, sc. by the army of Otho, asking peace of the Vitellian officers, who had no hesitation about granting it, though they
reft the ambassadors a little while, and thus occasioned an anxious suspense to the Othonians.

24. Vallum, sc. of the Othonians; patuit, sc. to receive the Vitellians.


The concluding portion of this section presents a very lively and touching picture of the evils of civil war.

Ct. XLVI.—33. Nequaquam trepidus = fearless; hence the propriety of et after it, where Rhenanus proposed sed.

34. Consilii certus. Firm of purpose, sc. to meet any result with composure.Tacitus resembles the poets in a more frequent use of the gen. after such adjectives as certus. Cf. Z. 437...


1. Excitare. Literally, to rouse it up, as it were out of sleep, quasi jaecentem ac dormientem genium. Dôd.—Furore...instinctu. By hendiadys for furore quodam instincti. Ernesti. Cf. instincti, A. 16. 35; instinctu, 1, 73. T. has a marked fondness for such pairs of kindred words, e. g. in this section: fortés et strenuos, timidos et ignavos. Cf. also note on domibus, etc., 1, 84.

2. Tendere manus. Cf. notes on pretendens manus, 1, 36; and tendebantur, 1, 63.


9. Clamor, sc. ubi flexerat; gemitus, ubi induraverat.

11. Aquileiam. A large city of the Veneti, and formerly a Roman colony.

12. Ut dubitet potuisse. Observe the tenses: so that no one can (now) doubt, that the war could (then) have been renewed.

Ct. XLVII.—14. Ipse...inquit. Compare this speech with Suet. Oth. 10; Plut. 15. Inquam is used only between the words of a quotation, while ait, aiunt, are found most frequently in the oratio obliqua. Z. 219.

18. Experti...sumus. Have made trial of each other, found each other out. Otho had found out all there was in good fortune by his elevation to the highest seat of power; and good fortune had tried him and found him moderate in the exercise and enjoyment of it.—Fortuna = felicitas.—Nec...computaveritis. And you may not have estimated aright, the short time of my reign; the shorter the time, the greater the temptation to abuse power, and therefore the severer the trial.

23. Fructur...liberis. Cf. note on domus utraque, 1, 75; also 1, 88.
30. Extremis. *My last hours, my death.* Lipsius compares the sentiments of this speech with those of Ajax when about to terminate his life. Soph. Aj. 852, seq.


36. Asperarent for exasperarent, simple for compound. Scarcely found in this sense in any other prose writer.

38. Naves. Otho was at Brixellum, i. e. at the confluence of the Po and the Nicia.

2. Nec ut periturus. *Nor yet with the profusion of a man quitting the world.* Murphy.

3. Fratris filium, sc. of Salvius Titianus, who had fled to the camp, according to T. (44); Suetonius makes him to have been present on this occasion (Oth. 10), and his son to have been slain (Dom. 10). Plutarch agrees with T. (Oth. 10).


Cn. XLIX.—15. Dimotis, i. e. jussis abire.

17. Avertit, sc. ab his curis.

19. Verginium. Cf. 1, 8. 9. Brotior suggests, that the example of Verginius in declining the imperial dignity, may have been regarded by the soldiers as a cause of Otho's undervaluing and resigning it.


23. Cum .... pertentasset. *When he had carefully (per) tried the points of both—for some time,* adds Plutarch (Oth. 17): πολυν χρήσαντον.


28. Ambitiosus. Earnest, like those of the candidate soliciting popular favor. Nero had made the same request (Suet. Ner. 49). Alike in their manner of life, in death they were not dissimilar, though Otho died with the greater dignity.

31. Exosculantae. *Ex* gives emphasis: kissing fondly, repeatedly. This compound is not found earlier than the age of T.

32. Non, noxa neque ob metum. Hendiadys according to Wr. But Oberlin and Rup. refer noxa to Otho, and metum to Vitellius as its object: not through remorse for any unfaithfulness to Otho, nor through fear of punishment from Vitellius. And so it is expressly rendered by Plutarch (Oth. 17).

35. Sepulcrum . . . mansurum, sc. ob modestiam: and therefore likely to last. So Murphy translates, and adds the following note: Plutarch tells us (Oth. 18) that he himself visited Otho's tomb at Brixellum. Those perishable monuments have long since mouldered away; but the epitaph written by Martial will never die. The poet admits that Otho led a dissolute life, but adds that in his end, he was no way inferior to Cato. Cf. Mart. 6; 31.

Ch. L.—36. Hunc finem. Cf. note on hunc exitum, 1, 49.—Septimo et tricesimo. The 38th according to Suet. (Oth. 11), who always includes in such computations both the year of birth and of death. Wr. Cf. note on sextus dies, 1, 28.

37. Origo, i.e. of his family, not his own birthplace.—Ferentio. A town of Etruria, different from the Ferentinum so often mentioned by Livy, though confounded with it by many commentators. Cf. Suet. Oth. 1.


2. Altero flagitiiosissimo, sc. the dethronement of Galba, with its accompanying crimes.—Altero egregio, sc. his voluntary death, with a view to terminate the civil war. It scarcely need be said that the Christian, while he approves the motive (if this were the motive), will condemn the means.

4. Fabulosa. T. relates few prodigies in comparison with Suetonius.


7. Invisitata = antea non visa. Al. inusitata.—Regium Lepidum. A town of Gallia Cispadana, not far from Brixellum; called Lepidum from Aemilius Lepidus (Strab. 5); now Reggio.—Celebri loco. Al. loco. But the MSS. all have loco. Celebri may be either frequented or celebrated. Cf. note, 1, 81.

12. Competisse, in the sense of agreement, is not found prior to the age of Tacitus, and the word is very rarely used by the earlier Latin authors.


17. Aversam . . . partem, sc. posticam et secretam. Rup.

18. Precess . . . tulit, sc. to Cuenca and Valens.


Cu. LII.—23. Mutinæ. Cf. 1, 50. The fact that the senators were left at Mutina, was not mentioned in its place, though we are told (1, 88) that they left Rome with Otho, comitum specie.
27. In detersius. Cf. in majus, 1, 18.
32. Tutor agrees with quisque implied in nemo, which = quisque non. In like manner quisque is implied in quisquam in 1, 1: neque amore quisquam et siue odio dicendus est.
34. Patres. Conspectus. See the origin of this double title explained, Liv. 2, 1.—Intempestivo honore. Ill-timed enough always under the emperors, but especially ill-timed now, when the senators were assembled only in part, out of the city and without their princeps.
37. Invisum . . . . nomen. Marcellus had been a notorious informer under Nero (cf. 4, 7. 43); and the inveterate enemy of the virtuous Paetus Thrasea. Ann. 16, 22, 28.
1. Novus adhuc, sc. homo, i. e. without distinction by birth. Cf. 100
Cic. passim.
5. Recentissimum. Last from the scene of action.
8. Sola . . . . cura, i. e. caring only for his reputation with posterity.
C. LIV.—11. Consilii, sc. senatus.
13. Superventu . . . . legiones. This legion was in fact hemmed in by superior numbers (cf. 43), though it is alleged by the soldiers (cf. 66), that their main body was not present. Superventus is a post-Augustan word.—15. Causa. The design, motive.
16. Diplomata. Well explained in Leverett; more fully in Smith's Dict. sub voce. Cf. Plin. Ep. 10, 14, 54. The diploma consisted of two leaves, or tablets folded together; hence the name (from Gr. διαλόγω). These writs, being given by the emperor, and sealed with his seal, were of course disregarded (negligebantur) after his death, as null and void; but would recover their force (revalescerent), if Otho were again believed to be alive.
—Partes, sc. Othonis.
22. In commune. Cf. note on it, G. 27.
C. LV.—26. Ex more. In the usual manner and at the usual time, viz. the 19th of April. Ann. 15, 53.
27. Cessisse. Cedo is followed by the dat. of the person and acc. or abl. of the thing. Cf. Z. 413. Tacitus uses it here without either, vita being understood. So concedo, Ann. 4, 38. 13, 30.


30. Vitellio plausere, sc. the multitude. Compare a similar scene of servility, 1, 32.—32. Lacum Curtii. Cf note, 1, 41.

33. Cuncta. All the honors and prerogatives.


35. Missae legationi, sc. to Vitellius. Cf. 69: senatus legationes, etc.

36. Quae ... fungeretur. To offer their congratulations. The expression implies a mere official and heartless congratulation. Cf. Or. ad loc. See also Essay, p. 16.

37. Gratior ... scripsisset. It had already become a prevailing custom, that none but the emperors should write to the consul or senate, but all others should write to the emperor. Cf. Lipsius, ad loc.


3. Vi et stupris = stupris violentis by hendiadys. Roth.—Pae nefasque, i. e. right and wrong, without distinction. Cf. note on fas, 1, 44.

4. Avidi aut venales. Either eager under the impulse of their own passions, or influenced by bribes from others.

5. Inimicos. Private enemies; hostes, public do.—Specie militum, quasi milites Othonis essent et hostes. Rup.

6. Refertos, sc. frugibus.

8. Obnoxilis ... ausis. The generals being liable to be called to account for their own crimes (ob noxam), and therefore not daring to forbid the crimes of others.

9. Plus ambitionis. Sub. sed: but more desire of popularity for which reason he was as ready to concur in the faults of the soldiers, as Valens was in order to gratify his avarice.

11. Tantum ... injuriae = tantum pedem equitumque curr vi, damisique et injuriis, quibus per illos affliciebantur. Wr.

Cu. LVII.—15. Pauci ... relictii, sc. to hear up the names of their respective legions (which had been withdrawn by Vitellius), and to serve as a nucleus about which the full number was to be gathered by hasty levies from the Gauls. This explains remanentium ... nomina: the empty names of legions which remained behind. Cf. 4, 14: inania legionum nomina.

17. Cura ... permissa, sc. ne Germani transirent. Lipsius—E Britannico ... millia. Called vexillis ... Britannicarum legionum, 3, 2.
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Ct. LVIII.—27. Utramque Mauretaniae. Cf. duae Mauretaniae, 1, 11. *Uterque* is plural in its meaning, but seldom used in a plural form, when only two persons or things are spoken of.

31. Decem novem. For *decem et novem*. Al. unde viginti (Wr.), and novemdecim (Oberlin and the common editions). But neither of these is found in the MSS. Zumpt says (115, N. 2), that such forms as *octodecim* and *novemdecim* are not supported by any authority.

34. Hispaniae. Spain had espoused the cause of Vitellius.


Ct. LIX.—7. Appulsu Hittoris. Immediately on his approach to the shore. Al. appulus.

9. Quae flerent. Which might (chance) to be done, i. e. whatever they might be.


14. Par opibus. With resources equal to his liberality.

16. Ingriatus, sc. because he outshone Vitellius—a crime which he finally expiated with his blood. Cf. 3, 39.—*Quamvis*. Although, followed by the subj. Cf. Gr. 263, 2; Z. 574; and note below, 79: *quamvis . . . jurasset*.

19. Curuli, sc. sellae. *Chair of state*, occupied originally only by the kings (Liv. 1, 20: *curuli regia sella*); under the republic by all the principal magistrates; under the emperors again more restricted, viz. to themselves, the Augustales and the prætor in the administration of justice. Cf. Smith's Dict. of Antiq., *Sella*.


23. Rebus . . . cessit. It was some solace that the child had once worn princely robes. So when Vitellius was insulted by a tribune and expected every moment to be put to death, he said: "but yet I have been your sovereign" (3, 85). The passage has been made the subject of much needless censure by the commentators.—*Rebus adversis*. The son, as well as the father, was ere long put to death. Cf. 4, 80.

Ct. LX.—26. Contactu. Under their influence, spreading from one to another like a contagious disease.


33. Fidem absolvit. *Pardoned their fidelity* to Otho, as if a crime. Cf. 1, 59: fidei crimine, gravissimo inter desciscientes. Observe the satire on Vitellius, who is represented as pardoning virtue and rewarding crime.

36. Creditum fama. *It was believed on the ground of mere rumor.*
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38. Restitut. Resisted the offer of Simplex. Others understand
denied the report.—Dedit ... consulatum. Cf. 3, 68.

1 Trachalum. The writer of Otho's speeches, 1, 90.

2. Galeria was of the same gens as Galerius Trachalus. Women
at Rome had no praenomen or cognomen; but only the nomen or gen-
tile name (cf. note on the name of Agricola, A. 4). They were fur-
ther distinguished only by the name of the father or husband, as here
uxor Vitellii.

Cu. LXI.—4. Inserere ... fortunae. To thrust himself in as
an aspirant to fortune, sc. inter magnorum virorum discrimina.

5. Simulazione numinum. Simulans se deum esse, vel a dis-
missum ad patrum liberandam. Rup. The latter is preferable.

6. Assertor. Liberator.—Nam id, etc. Al. nomen id, but with-
out MS. authority. Of course nomen is understood by a not unfrequent
ellipsis.

7. Proximos Aeduorum. In quorum sibi nobis Caesar post bellum

8. Trahebat, sc. in suas partes. Wr. Others make it = vasto-
bat—Gravissima. Most dignified, most prudent. Opposed to fan-
ticam multitudinem. So Or., Död. and Wr. According to Ernesti is
potens, valida.


Cu. LXII.—13. Defectores. The partisans of Otho, viewed
rebels against Galba. Wr. refers it to the followers of Mariccus. But
that is quite too pudendum dictu!

14. Rata is the pred. of lex as well as of testamenta.

15. Si temperaret ... timeres. If he had refrained from
etc., you would not have feared, etc. Imp. subj., where we use the
plup. both in the protasis and the apodosis. This is not unfrequent.
Cf. Z. 525. It has the effect of transferring completed past actions
into the present—Luxuriae. Al. luxurium. But then temperaret would
have a different meaning. Cf. note, 1, 69. As to the luxury of Vitel-
lii, cf. 95. 3, 36. 63; Suet. 10, 13.

18. Uteroque mari. The Upper or Adriatic and Lower or Ty-
rhenian.

22. Differret ... non recipieret. These honors were voted
him in the decree of the senate (57), to which this edict must be a re-
sponse. The subj. denotes the object or design of the edict.

23. Cum = although. Cf. Gr. 263, 5.—Pulsi ... matemathice:
Cf. 1, 22; Xiphil. (65, 1) differs from T. and Suet. (Vitel. 14) as
the time when this act was issued.

24. Ludo et arena. The stage and the gladiatorial arena.
Död. makes it = gladiatorii ludis by heindyps.

25. Priores ... perpetuerant, c. g. J. Caes. (Suet. 39), Au-
(d. 43), et in prinii Nero (d. 11. 12; His. 2, 71; 3, 62, et Ano
passim). *Perpulerant* is structura prægnans for perpellingo impetaverant. Dōd.

Ch. LXIII.—28. Pratris. Cf. 54.—*Dominationis magistris* Masters in the art of tyranny. So the courtiers of that age might well be called.—31. Retulimus. 1, 88.


35. Quae . . . ageret. Subj. in a dependent clause of the oratio obliqua. Cf. Gr. 266, 2; Z. 603, c.

36. Nec . . . probationibus. *When he could furnish no proof to substantiate such weighty charges*, he repented, etc.; but it was too late—Dolabella was ruined.—Veniam, sc. for Dolabella.


4. Impulit ruentem. *Precipitated his fall*. Allevasse is ex-actively antith. to ruentem, meaning, lit. to lift up.


8. Interamnium. Al. Interamniam, which is the more common form. Cf. 3, 61. A town of Umbria, not far from the river Liris—the supposed birthplace of Tacitus (cf. Life, p. 1), now Terni.


12. Onerabat. Rendered more odious, aggravated (ad and gravis).


14. Sextilia. Cf. Suet. Vitel. 3.—Quin etiam. Nay, she was even said, etc. Observe the position of these particles after the verb. T. is fond of anastrophe. Cf. note, G. 14: quin immo.

16. Nec . . . evicta. *Nor by any subsequent* (postea = an adj.) allurements of fortune, or flattering solicitations of the public, was she prevailed upon to join in the general rejoicings. A fine example of moderation (modestum exemptum) indeed! And how touching is the historian’s intimation of the concluding scene in the drama: do-mus suae tantum adversa sensit. Evincere is a favorite word with Tacitus and with the poets Virgil and Ovid. Cf. Or. in loco.


25. Praescripsisset. The name of the author of a diploma or decree, as also of a letter, was prefixed by the ancients, by us it is subscribed.

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27. Punirii utro. Punished even, i.e. not only not rewarded, but furthermore punished. Cf. notes on utro, 25. 1, 71.

33. E praesentibus. One of the followers of Vitellius, in distinction from one already abroad in the provinces.

8. Arisset. Al. exarisset, ex uno codice. Wr. Cf. note, 1, 5; missa; and Essay, pp. 10. 11.


17. Ferebant denotes a mere attempt or preparation to march to Vienne. Cf. Gr. 145, II. 4.


21. Lenimento is post-Augustan. Cf. Freund.—Arma ... definitreabant. They were preparing to lay down, or perhaps were gradually (one division after another) laying down their arms. Cf. note on ferebant, 66.

22. Crebrescercet. Became at length (lit. was becoming) a matter of common remark.

Ch. LXVIII.—29. Partes, sc. victae, which need not be expressed; for it is the party of which he has just been speaking, and is further defined by victores in the antithesis.—Modeste. By mild measures, such as have been described in the previous section.

31. Bello. The fight, the quarrel in question. So Wr. But may be taken of the whole civil war, which was rendered more odious by the number slain on this trivial occasion.—Discubuerat. Lit. has reclined, i.e. was banqueting.


7. Agaminis coactores. The rearguard, whose duty it was to gather up (cogere) stragglers, reclaim desertors, etc. The word is found in this sense only in this single passage. Cf. Or. and Boetticher.


17. Pletatem. Loyalty.
21. Principlium . . . fatis. The foreign war was with the Ba-
tavians under Civilis (Books 4 and 5, passim): the domestic with Ves-
pasian.
Ad verba, cf. A. 6: inania honoris, etc.
25. Amputari . . . numeros. The companies to be cut down,
i.e. so as to reduce the number of soldiers without diminishing the
number of cohorts.
30. Apud . . . stctit. In whose day the republic was in a bet-
ter condition, and that not because there was more money, but be-
cause there was more virtue. Two sentences in one. Cf. Essay, p. 18.
Ch. LXX.—32. Munere = spectaculo gladiatorum (cf. 67); called
munus, as a present to the people. Ramshorn, 944.
35. Intra . . . diem. Within forty days after the battle; of
course, before the bodies had gone wholly to decay—putrid, but still
wearing the human form.
36. Formae. The general forms. The minute and distinguish-
ing features were lost.
37. Tabo. This form (viz. after the 2d declension) is found only
38. Inhumana. Shocking to humanity. Cf. 3, 83: inhumana
securitas. The Postumian way, now strewn with roses and laurels
and lined with altars smoking with victims, as if in honor of some
despotic prince, had been obstructed with heaps of slain in the disas-
trous flight to Bedriacum (cf. 44), and must have been still thickly
strewed with their putrid corses. The contrast was truly monstros.
8. Clamore et gaudio. Shouts of joy. So lacrimae et miseri-
cordia = tears of compassion, by hendiadys. Foedum et atrox, just
above, is still another instance of the fondness of Tac. for such pairs.
Cf. note, 1, 84: domibus, etc.
10. Et erant. There were also.—Varia fors rerum. The vi-
cissitudes of life.
would have said: affected even to tears, making fors only the subject
of subiret. For the subj. cf. Gr. 264, 6; Z. 561.—Flexit. Cf. note,
46: flexerat. Observe the emphatic separation of non from the verb,
to mark the contrast between Vitellius and others.
12. Tot millia. Cf. note, 44: strage corporum.—Laetus ul-
tro. Nay, ho was joyful even. Cf. note, 65: puniri ultro. Suetonius re-
ports a remark almost too monstrous to be imputed even to Vitellius,
and too vile and vulgar to be recorded by Tacitus: optime olece occi-
sum hostem, et melius civem. Cf. Vitel. 10, where, as also in Xiph.
65, 1, see further of this visit to the field of battle.
Ch. LXXI.—17. Iter, sc. Vitellii ad Romam.
18. Cetero ... ingenio. And all the other ingenious inventions of Nero's court.

19. Admiratione celebrabat. He used to attend also upon Nero's person out of admiration for his character. Suetonius says (Vitell. 4, 12), Vitellius passed his time under Nero among buffoons, charioteers and wrestlers.

20. Necessitate, qua, etc. Cf. 62: priores ... perpulerant.

21. Luxu. Dat. in u instead of ui, used exclusively by Caesar (Gell. 4, 19), sometimes by the poets, and in several unequivocal instances by T., e. g. Ann. 3, 30: luxu propior. Cf. Gr. 89, 3; Z. 81; Essay, p. 21.—Luxu ... emptusque = sold and given up to appetite and luxury, lit. bought and handed over to it, as to a master and owner.


26. Omittitur. Nomen ejus in catalogo consulum a Galba destinatur. Rup. Caecina and Valens were designated consuls for the last two months in the year, beginning with the Kal. of Nov. Cf. 3, 37. Compare on this whole subject, note, 1, 77: In ... martias; also Table, p. 26.


33. Histria. A peninsula near the head of the Adriatic.—Quod ... manebat. Cf. note, 64: quod ... accepisset.

36. Errore veri. Veri adds more to the sound than to the sense. Död. says it is added to preserve concinnity with the antithetic clause. Cf. Essay, p. 23.

38. Quisnam ... esset. Subj. Cf. Gr. 265; Z. 552.

1. Geta. Geta and Davus were common names for slaves at Rome (cf. Ter., Plaut. and Hor. passim), both derived from the Getae or Daci, who were led captive and sold into slavery at Rome in great numbers. Cf. Anthon, Class. Dic. sub voce. So, according to some, our word slave is derived from the old Slavi of the North.


4. Speculatores. The speculatores, besides being the body-guard of the commander-in-chief (cf. note, 1, 25), were the official messen-
bers of the legion or army to which they belonged. Cf. Suet. Cal. 44.
Each legion had its division of speculatores. Cf. Freund sub voce.
7. Pierumque ... excitabatur. Was sometimes roused from
his lethargy. Highly descriptive of the character of Vitellius. So 1, 53: quartiebatur segne, etc.
9. In externos mores, i.e. externorum regnum, qui non legibus
sed ut libitum regnant. Wr.
Ch. LXXIV.—15. De Syria. Al. e Syria. De with the better
authority is also better suited to the place. De plus dicit quam e:
nempe indicat legiOnem illam prius stationem suam habuisse in Syria; e
simpliciter significat locum, unde discessum sit. Wr.
16. Transisset. Observe the force of the subj.: because, as he
said within himself, it had passed. Cf. note, 64: quod ... accipisset.
—Ceterae ... sperabantur. Observe the attraction, instead of cete-
18. Flammaverat. This verb is found only in poetry and post-
Augustan prose.
22. Sexaginta annos = se sexagenarium. Rup.
24. Progressum. Et regressum is implied, but not necessary to
32. Praesenti facinori. Al. facinore. Either makes a good
sense, and indeed essentially the same. Facinori is dat. after paratum,
and praesenti according to Wr. is antith. to ex diverso: if one or two
(solidary individuals) covet the reward which ever awaits a crime
easily perpetrated (lit. at hand, on the spot) from the opposite party.
33. Petat. Subj. in a dependent clause of the oratio obliqua.—
Scribonianum. Cf. 1, 89, note.—35. Singulos, sc. assassins.
Ch. LXXXVI.—1. Coram. In their presence, sc. of the legati
amicic. Cf. chap. 78. Observe the brachylogy. Wr. makes it =
palam, quasi in publico.
2. An ... sit. Subj. in an indirect question. Cf. Gr. 265; Z.
552. So adjiciam and acquiratur below.
9. Expaveris ... fuerit. Nor should you fear ... it would be,
etc. Cf. notes, 1, 84: depoposcerint.—A ... propius. Cf. note, G.
43: protinus ... ab; also 1, 10: prope ab.
12. Cali aut Claudii vel Neronis. Aut implies a greater dif-
terence than vel: Of Caligula on the one hand, or on the other of
... vel.—13. Exsurgimus, tanquam ex insidiis. Rup.
14. Galbae imaginibus = Galbae propter antiquitatem nobilita-
17. Transvectum est. Cf. A. 18. Only T. uses the word in
NOTES.

reference to time. Observe here, as in so many other places, the pairs of words nearly synonymous: abit et transvectum est, sopor et ignavia, ar doris ac ferociei, popinis et commissationibus. The sentiment of this and the following clause is: it is too late for you to hope that you will merely seem (videri is emphatic) to have coveted the throne; nobody doubts that you have, and now the throne is your only place of refuge and safety.

18. Exculcit, sc. de memoria tua. Rup. Corbulo was put to death by Nero, though, had he ventured on it, he might have dethroned the fiddling emperor. Cf. Xiph. 63, 17.


24. Ne Othonem... fecit. Two distinct thoughts are blended in this sentence: 1. Otho was not conquered by the skill of Vitellius or the power of his army, but, etc.; 2. Even Otho is now regretted and honored in comparison with Vitellius. Cf. note, chap. 69: apud... stetit.

26. Spargit... ministrat. Cf. 66 and 67. The disarmed praetorians and disbanded legions carried with them the spirit of disaffection.


38. Alter. Titus.—Capax jam imperii. He was now 27 years old.

2. Cedere imperio. Cedere, to give up, takes the dat. of the person with either the acc. or abl. of the thing. Cf. Z. 413.

8. Hos... illi. Hos here refers to the former, illi to the latter. Cf. Gr. 207, R. 23.

10. Aperlet... bellum. Almost a translation of Demos. Phil. 1, 44. Recludet is peculiar to poetry and post-Augustan prose.

12. Parsimonia. Economy, which provides the sinews of war. Cf. 84.

14. Qui deliberant, desciverunt. Cf. A. 15; Plut. Galb. 4, same sentiment. This speech well befits a politician, such as Mucianus is described to be, chap. 5.


19. Rerum dominus, i. e. emperor.—Mathematicum. Cf. note, 1, 22.


28. Judaeam Inter. The position of the prep. here is a pecu-
liarity of T. (cf. insulam inter, 4, 19; Z. 324); though the best prose writers frequently place the prep. between the adj. and subs. Cf. note, 2, 37: magna ex parte.—Carmelus. A mountain in Galilee on the Mediterranean. Two others in Palestine bore the same name, which properly denotes a garden-like fertility and beauty. Cf. Isaiah, 35, 2: "the excellency of Carmel."

29. Deumque, sc. cujus oraculum in monte fuit. Cf. Suet. Vesp. 5; Oros. 7, 9. Or. thinks it was the old Philistine god of war.

30. Sic tradidere, etc. Al. situm tradidere, etc., by conjecture. The passage, as it stands in the text and in the MSS., is elliptical and concise = sic tradidere majores, i.e. tradidere aram tantum, etc. Wr.

31. Ampliare servitia = augere numerum servitiorum. Rup. Ampliare and prolatare are both used here in a sense peculiar to poetry, or to the age of T.

35. Has ambages. These obscure prophetic intimations. Cf. 4: per ambages. Cf. Suet. Vesp. 5, 7, for a fuller and somewhat different account of these and other oracles and prodigies.

36. Et statim... et tunc. Cf. note, 1, 17: statim... et max. Cn. LXXIX.—1. Haud... destinatione, i.e. with a settled plan or purpose.

2. Antiochiam, Caesarem. Places familiar to us in sacred, even more than in profane history. Cf. Acts, passim.—Illo, the former; haec, the latter. Död. follows the Medicean MS. in reading hoc, agreeing with caput.


7. Quinto Nonas Iulias = July 3d. Suet. (Vesp. 6) says: quinto idus Jul. T. is proved to be correct.—Jurasset. Subj. after quamvis, as usual in T. and Cic., though most of the later writers construe quamvis with the ind.

10. Non parata concione. Without any formal harangue; such as it was usual for new aspirants or nominees to the throne to make, e.g. Otho, 1, 36; Galba, Suet. Galb. 18; and others.

Cn. LXXX.—13. Prima vox. The first salutation or nomination.—Spes... casus. Observe the asyndeton and the antith. pairs: hope, fear; principle, chance, i.e. the principles to be adopted and the chances to be met.

15. Assistentes, sc. cubiculo; the guards of the bedchamber.


17. Mens. Cujus mens? Vespasiani. Ernesti. Amicorum Vespasiani. Wr. and Or. Militum ceterorum praeter illos, qui salutavere. Rup. Ruperti is right; for ceteri doubtless refers to the soldiers; and the transition from them to Vespasian himself is marked by in ipso.
The whole army, having sworn allegiance to Vitellius, feared to utter the *prima vox*; but that having been uttered by a few, *they passed from fear to the enjoyment of their unexpected good fortune.*

18. *In ipso,* etc. Josephus (B. J. 4, 36), writing under the influence of the Flavian dynasty, says, that Vespasian was forced to accept the throne by the threats and violence of the soldiers. This may serve to illustrate the impartiality of T., who has been sometimes thought too partial to Vespasian and Titus.

20. *Mutationis.* Al. *multitudinis, altitudinis, vicissitudinius,* etc. Mutationis is the only reading which resembles the Medicean MS. and at the same time makes a good sense.—Militariter. *In the language of a soldier,* i. e. rough and unpolished.


25. *Graecia facundia.* He addressed them in the Greek language, which had been diffused by the conquests of Alexander over all southwestern Asia.


2. *Aburbe.* From Rome, whither he set out to go with Titus, and continued his journey when Titus turned back at Corinth. Cf. chap. 1, supra; also 1, 10.

5. *Quidquid . . . patescit.* The several maritime provinces, with Asia and Achaia and the whole inland country between Pontus and the two Armenias. Murphy. Ad verba, cf. 6: *quantum . . . cingitur;* and G. 30: *in . . . patescit.*

9. *Berytii.* An ancient and illustrious city of Phœnicia, with a port on the Mediterranean (cf. Strab. 16; Plin. N. H. 5, 20); familiar in modern history and the history of missions, as Beirut (Beyroot) in Syria.


33. *Ac . . . fatis.* And this fact, or *this consideration,* that *nothing is too hard for destiny.* By attraction for *ac quod nihil arduum esset fatis.* Cf. Essay, p. 18.

113 *Cu. LXXXIII.—1. Majora . . . absentibus.* Compare A. 30: *omne ignorantum pro magnifico est.*
3. Classem e Ponto. A fleet of forty ships (Heg. 2, 9), which guarded the coast of Pontus. Lipsius.
4. Adligl. To be conducted.—Dyrrhachium, Brundisium, Tarentum. These were the principal seaports on the Upper Sea, or Adriatic—Dyrrhachium in Illyricum, Brundisium in Calabria, and Tarentum in Lucania. Securing possession of these, the first by his land-forces, the other two by his fleets, Mucianus could protect Achaia, Asia, and all the East. Brundisium was connected with Rome by the Appian Way. Cf. Hor. Sat. 1, 5.
5. Longis navibus. Ships of war. (Greek, νῆς μάρτυραί). The proper merchant-vessel was broader and rounder (στρογγύλην).—Versum in. Cf. note on versus, G. 1; also 1, 76: versae in = lying towards, bordering on. Versum ... mare. Seas of Italy. Murphy.
19. Haud ... obstinante, &c, sc. se, or animum: not applying himself so perseveringly, sc. as he did at a later period in his reign. Avarice is mentioned by Suet. (16.22) and Xiph. (66, 14) as the only vice of Vespasian, and this is excused on the ground of his liberality in adorning Rome with grand and useful works.
21. Largus ... sumere. Liberal of his private property, because he might take (as he argued, subj.) more freely (sc. than he gave, lit. more greedily) from the public purse.
27. Erat. Gr. 209, R. 12, (2.) Reader: these (the other legions) were the eighth and seventh. Lit. it was, etc.
31. Pecunia here refers to the treasury of the army.
19. Consularibus legatis. The governors named in the next sentence.
21. Procurator, fortasse utriusque provinciae. Rup.—Adera.t.

215 2. Procacissimis ... ingenii. Of all classes of slaves even, the camp-servants being the most riotous. Lixarum seems to be used as a synonym with calonum, to avoid repetition. Cf. Essay, p. 23. Calones were properly wood-carriers (from cala, Gr. καλα, fire-wood), and lixae, water-drawers (from lixa, obs. for aqua). The former = camp-servants, the latter = cooks. The words are usually associated together, e.g. 1, 49; 3, 20; 3, 33.
11. Ipsi ... arvaque = ipsa cultorum arva, by hendiadys. Rup.
This section contains a highly graphic description, in few words, of a very ludicrous yet sad scene.

15. Ubi ... consensu. Whenever they had to contend with the country people, they (the legions and auxiliaries) acted in concert. The language is very concise. Consensu is ant. to discordia. The subj. imp. is here used to denote an action of repeated occurrence. Cf. Gr. 264, 12; Z. 569.
19. Vernacula ... urbanitata. They were practising the refinement (trickery) characteristic of homebred slaves, sc. in cutting the belts of the soldiers, &c. Vernacula more commonly means native, vernacular. But cf. Ann. 1, 31: vernacula multitudo = a multitude of slaves. Al. ut rebantur for utebantur. But the latter is found in all the MSS.
23. Caesius, non a filio, sed ab alio quodam milite, ira in omnes paganos accensa.
24. Agnitus, sc. non esse e scurris illis (paganis), sed militia pater. Wr.
26. In quo ... jacuisset. The subj. here denotes not the mere fact that Galba had fallen, but the influence it had on the minds of the soldiers.
28. Cum ... vitarent. Cum causalis = since, and followed by the subj.

34. Paludatus accentuasque. Military attire, in which Vitellius proposed to enter the city, but which, at the instance of his friends, he exchanged for the robe of state (sumpta praetexta). Suetonius makes him to have entered the city paludatus ferroque succincus (Vitel. 11).

3. Ante aquilam, i.e. before the eagle of each legion (there were four) marched the prefects, tribunes, &c. of that legion. So Wr and Död. explain the singular number.
7. Non . . . dignus, sed alio meliore principe. Rup.

8. Transisset. Can. XC.—10. Alterius civitatis. Another city, i. e. a foreign one, where his vices were unknown. Alterius = alius. Cf. A. 17.

15. Adulationes = adulationis formulae. Wr.


17. Tam frustra. To as little purpose, sc. because he enjoyed it for so short a time. The language here is very concise and elliptical, two clauses being thrown into one, thus: they forced him to accept it; he did accept it, but to as little purpose, etc. Cf. note, 76: ne . . . Othonem fecit. Död. connects frustra with expressere in the sense of false, thus: they extorted from him an acceptance with as little sincerity as he had previously declined the honor.

Ch. XCI.—19. Interpretantem. Putting a superstitious construction upon.


22. Cremerensi clade. The defeat and slaughter of the 300 Fabii at the river Cremera, A. v. c. 277.

23. Allieus. The same of the Roman army at the river Allia, A. v. c. 364, by the Gauls under Brennus.

The day on which these disasters befell the Romans, was ever after deemed unlucky; and on such days no important business might be transacted.

24. Expers. Ignorant or regardless.—Pari. Equal, sc. to that of Vitellius.

25. Comitia consulum. Cf. note, 1, 14: comitia imperii; also Smith’s Dict. Ant. sub voce. Reader: But frequenting the consular elections with his (favorite) candidates, just like a common citizen (civiliter), i. e. soliciting votes for them, &c. This was in the senate, who at this time had the nominal power, and went through the form of electing consuls. The remainder of the sentence introduces another illustration of his excessive condescension, viz. his conduct in the theatre and the circus, among the common people. In a less concise writer it would have been thrown into a distinct sentence or clause.


31. Priscus Helvidius. Cf. A. 2, note.—Praetor designatus, i. e. praetor elect, but not yet inducted into office.

32. Non . . . ultra. Ellipsis of saevit, or some other verb: did not, however, proceed further than to call—lit. no more than called.


38. Quod legisset. Cf. quod . . . dissentirent and quod . . . edixisset, just above.

Ch. XCII.—3. A . . . cohortis, i. e. from being commander of a cohort. This clause, and the corresponding one, tum centurionem,
are added to denote a sudden elevation from a low to a high post. Cf. 1, 46: e manipularibus, etc.

11. Nec . . . potentia. Nor indeed is power ever very secure when it is excessive; a general remark, suggested by the balance of power wavering between Cæcina and Valens, as Vitellius inclined to favor the one or the other.

12. Simul. At the same time (that Vitellius vacillated between them) they in turn both despised and feared Vitellius himself, who capriciously indulged in sudden bursts of displeasure or extravagant expressions of attachment, according to his humor. Död. makes offensis and blanditis datives.

16. Patriae . . . reddiderat, but not to the possession of their estates. Hence flebilis et egens.

17. Gratum is acc., agreeing with the object of approbat, viz. the clause, quod . . . concessisset.

19. Jura libertorum. Cf. Essay, p. 12. Their rights over their freedmen. Patrons were entitled to service, and if necessary, support, from their freedmen; also to inherit one-half of their estates. Lipsius.

20. Servilia ingenia = liberti, quibus servile ingeniwm est. Rup. —Abditis . . . sinus. By concealing their wealth in obscure places, or depositing it in the custody of the great. So Död. Or. understands by occultos sinus the hands (lit. bosoms) of obscure persons.

28. Infamibus. Notiorius, sc. for their unhealthy air, as the Vatican is to this day. The pontifical palace stands there; but the pontiffs seldom reside in it. Cf. Arnold’s chap. on the climate, &c. of Italy, His. Rom. vol. 1, chap. 23.

29. Germanorum . . . corpora, sc. because accustomed to a colder climate.

30. Fluminius is objective gen. = bibendi ex flumine aviditas.

32. Sedecim praetoriarum, etc. An increased number. Cf. note, 1, 20.

33. Quid . . . Incessent. In which there were to be, when the levy was complete. They were now being enrolled (scribebantur). The subj. here denotes an intention, not a fact.

35. Sane. In truth; justifying in some measure the claim of Valens. Cf. note on sane, 1, 12.


7. Convulsam . . . decess. The order and beauty of the praetorian camp was destroyed, viz. by the very same means which withdrew from the legions and squadrons abroad their main strength.

10. Quod . . . bellassent. Observe again the force of the subj. to denote the reason assigned by the soldiers.

14. Libertat principium. The freedmen of former emperors, who, as belonging to the state, passed from one imperial family to
another So Wr. Lipsius and Ernesti understand by principum the principal men.

15. Stabula ... circum, etc. Agreeably to his early life and habits. Cf. note, chap. 71.

Ch. XCV.—19. Tota urbe vicatim. Through all the streets of the city, of which there were 424. Brotier. The abl. with the adj. tota is generally used without in. Cf. Z. 482.


24. Ut ... regi. As Romulus had instituted one (not the same order, but the Titienses) in honor of King Tatius. For the Titienses and the Augustales, cf. Smith's Die. sub voce.

26. Polyclitos, etc. Cf. note, 1, 37.—Veterea ... nomina. And other odious freedmen of former emperors.

33. Vinios ... Asiaticos. Titus Vinius and Icelus. Cf. 1, 13.—Fabios, i. e. Fabius Valens.

35. Marcellius. Cf. 53, above. He was the favorite minister of Vespasian, as Vinius and Icelus of Galba, and Fabius and Asiaticus of Vitellius.


1. Neque = et non, correlative to et amici.


8. Qua ... coercent = to restrain.

9. Id ... erat. Compare the sentiment with 1, 17: male ... augebant.

Ch. XCVII.—11. Perinde ... cunctabantur. The commanders and the provinces were as tardy in their movements as Vitellius. The reasons for this follow.


22. Famosum ... egerat. Suet. (Vesp. 4) gives a more favorable account of Vespasian's government in Africa. But he felt obliged to flatter the Flavian dynasty, being one of the scriptores temporum. Cf. 100, below. Compare also note, 80: in ipso.

23. Prolude. Hence, accordingly, i. e. the Africans augured worse of the reign of Vespasian than of that of Vitellius. Al. perinde.

Ch. XCVIII.—25. Legatus, sc. legionis in Africa. Cf. 4, 49.

35. Etesiarum flatu. The trade-winds, lit. the annual winds (ητος, ηρνοια). Sufficiently explained in Leverett and Liddell and Scott.
NOTES.

Ch. XCIX.—38. Expedire. MSS. expediri. But the active is used elsewhere by T., when officers get ready for a campaign, cf. 1, 10, note, 1, 82; the passive only when troops are dispatched, Ann. 15, 10.

9. Meditato. Al. meditanti, and meditantis. But meditare is nearest to the MSS. which read meditatio; and it accords with the usage of T. who often puts the past part. of dep. verbs in an aorist sense for the present. Cf. 3, 25: placatos manes. So Wr and Död.

Ch. C.—18. Vexilla. Cf. note, 1, 31. The MSS. differ much, and are manifestly corrupt in the specification of the legions to which these vexillaries belonged. The reading given in the text is that of Bekker, Ritter, Ruperti and Duebner, and accords with the enumeration in 3, 22, where there are no various readings.

24. Immutatum. This word is sometimes used as an adj., when it means unchanged; here it is a part. and means changed. Cf. Z. 328.


28. Patavii. The birthplace of Livy; now Padua.

Ch. CI.—38. Corruptas . . . adulationem. Exhibited in false colors for the sake of flattery.—Causas, sc. proditionis illius Caecinae et Bassi.

1. Nobis = mihi.—Super = praeter.

3. Ipsum videntur, sc. Caecina and Lucilius. Ipsum is ant. to apud: that they might not be surpassed by others in the estimation of Vitellius, they appear to have ruined Vitellius himself. Al. antiretur and videtur, with Caecina alone for the subject. But why in that case should the name of Caecina be repeated at the beginning of the next sentence? The text is that of Or. and the Medicean MS.

BOOK III.

124 Ch. I.—2. Poctovionem. A town in the borders of Noricum and Pannonia, on the river Dravo; now Pettau.

3. Obstrui . . . Alpes, i. e. more fully guarded, closed up; they were already praesidii insessae (cf. 2, 98), but only so as to intercept the passage of messengers: suntius retinebant.

4. Consurgere. Rise up together, i. e. accumulate near the field of action.

7. Advenisse . . . . Vitellius. Arrived (sc. in Italy) subsequently (sc. to the arrival of the German legions) with Vitellius (i. e. under his command in person). The German legions were under command of Valens and Caecina, 1, 61; the Briton troops followed under Vitellius in person, 1, 61, cf. 2, 57. The advocates of delay are here enumerating the forces with which, at the outset, Vitellius entered upon the war with Otho, and which, of course, he still had at his disposal.

13. Velut . . . . bellii. As if for another war, than one with Vitellius, i. e. the Jewish. Cf. note, 2, 90: alterius civitatis.

Ch. II.—18. In procul tu. In readiness for battle; lit. girt up for action.

22. Et hls. Both these (already in the field) would recover their strength, and Germany was not far distant, whence they might draw fresh forces. Et correl. to neque = et non. Cf. note, 1, 15: neque ipse.


26. Si . . . . velint. Cf. note, 1, 32: si poeniteat.—Duas classes, sc. Misenensem et Ravennatem. 2, 100.

27. Illyricum mare. That part of the Adriatic which washes the shore of Illyricum.

29. Quin interrog. = qui (old abl.) ne (non): why not; used with the ind., the subj. 1st pl., and the imp. by way of exhortation, and, unlike cur non, expects no answer. Cf. Z. 542.

31. Integras. Non fractas bello. Brotier. The Moesian troops were not in the battle at Bedriacum.

33. Putetur for computetur. Cf. Essay, pp. 10, 11. It is implied here, that the legions of Vitellius were not full.

2. Pulsius, sc. armorum, sonitu equorum, nube pulveris.

4. Idem . . . . ero. I will execute, as well as propose the plan.

5. Vos . . . . est. You, whose fortune is unimpaired. That of Antonius was already ruined, so that he had nothing to lose. Cf. 2, 86.

Ch. III.—11. Permoveret is stronger than moveret; deeply, thoroughly (i. e. thoroughly) moved.


The reference is to a former meeting of the mass in Pannonia. Cf. 2, 86.

15. Huc . . . . interpretatione. Intending to put this or that construction on his language, as might be expedient. Al. interpretationem. Cf. Essay, p. 17

16. Conduxisset is plup. to correspond with commoverat. Gr. 258.—Descendisse in causam seems to be an allusion to the arena.

17. Gravior . . . . socius. And for that reason, he had more
weight with the soldiers, (since he was) a sharer with them whether of their guilt or their glory. So levior = of less weight, 4, 80. See Ritter, ad loc. Al. gravior, with this sense: And for that reason, he was more popular with the soldiers, since he shared with them their guilt or glory, as the result might be. Either makes a good sense. I have preferred gravior, as the reading of the best MSS. and the more difficult reading.

Ch. IV.—19. Cornelli Fuscet. Titus ... Flavianus. Cf. 2, 86. —Is quoque. He also, i.e. he, as well as Antonius.
22. Cunctator, sc. than Fuscus and Antonius. Al. cunctator.
23. Affinitatis. Flavianus was related to Vitellius. Cf. 10, infra.
—Coeptante ... motu. Cf. 2, 86.
24. Persidiae ... credebatur, i.e. he was believed to have returned to Pannonia with the design of betraying the cause of Vespasian, which he professed to espouse.
26. Discriminii exemptum is added to show that he was under no necessity of returning: he returned from love of change, when he was already beyond the reach of danger.

34. Iazygum. A people of Sarmatia Europæa, on this side of the Palus Mœotis. Murphy.
35. Plebem quoque, sc. as well as their own services.
37. Externa molicenatur. Build up a foreign interest, hostile to the Roman.—Ex diverso. From the opposite party, sc. the Vitellian.

1. Sido is mentioned Ann. 12, 29. 30. Italicus was perhaps the son of Sido, and called rex only by birth. Cf. note, 2, 25: rex Epiphanes.

2. Fidel ... patientior. Lit. more susceptible of confidence reposed in them, and by implication more observant of their own pledged faith. Cf. Or. ad loc.—Posita in latus. Posted on the confines, sc. of Rætia, because it was hostile (infesta Rætia).
5. Ala Auriana. So called either from Auria, a city in Spain, or from an unknown prefect (Aurius). Cf. notes on ala, 1, 59, and 1, 70.
6. Aenl. The river Inn, a branch of the Danube.
7. Nec qualifies tentantibus only; it does not limit transacta.

Ch. VI.—9. Vexillarios, etc., i.e. he took only the veteran infantry and a portion of the cavalry, leaving the legions as he proposed, 2, supra.
11. Quam gloriam, se. viri bello strenui.—Et ... Corbulo. Both his service under Corbulo, etc. Corbulo was a distinguished
commander in the reigns of Claudius and Nero, in Germany (Ann. 11, 18), in Armenia (Ann. 13, 8), Syria and Parthia (14, 24; 15, 25. et al); put to death by Nero. H. 2, 76.

12. Secretis . . . sermonibus. In private interviews with Nero. Al. rumoribus, with less authority and a less appropriate sense.

14. Primum pilum. Cf. 1, 31: primipilaribus, note: having obtained the office of first centurion through the scandalous favor (of Nero) thus gained (unde, i.e. crimando Corbulonem), his present prosperity, ill acquired, afterwards proved his ruin, perhaps under Domitian, who married the daughter of Corbulo. Ryckius.

16. Occupata . . . quaeque. Al. occupantes Aquileiae proxima quaeque. Having gained possession of Aquileia, they are received into all the neighboring places, etc. Aquileia, Altinum and Opitergium were towns at or near the head of the Adriatic, in the territory of the Veneti. The names of the last two are still preserved in Oderzo and the ruined tower of Altino.—In is not found in any MS. Baiter would supply per instead of it. Död. leaves proxima quaeque without a preposition, as acc. of place.

19. Patavium. Cf. note, 2, 100.—Ateste was near Patavium, in the territory of Venice; now Este.


22. Id quaeque, sc. that they were off their guard, as well as that they were there.


Ch. VII.—27. Vulgata victoria limits veniunt, and together with post principia . . . Flavianos assigns the reason for the coming of the two legions: When this victory was published abroad, now that (post, lit. after) the commencement of the war was favorable to the Flavian party.

28. Duae legiones. Al. datae legiones. These two legions belonged in Pannonia (2, 86), the 7th under the command of Antonius (ibid.), the 13th under that of Vedius Aquila (2, 44). Antonius had left them behind at first (cf. 2, supra: contineet legiones); but now they were glad to share with him in his victories, agreeably to his prediction: juvabit sequi, etc.


33. Desiderata . . . res, sc. the restoration of Galba to due honor; for his memory became dear after the crimes and calamities of the next two reigns. Död., Rup. and Rit. refer res more specifically to the military discipline of Galba, suggested by the same severity just mentioned of Minucius Justus.
36. Si . . . crederentur. Lit. if the reign of Galba were believed to please him (Antonius), and the party of Galba to be revived by him.—Principatus and partes are both subj. nom. of crederentur.

Ch. VIII.—38. Verona. An ancient city on the Adige, near Bedriacum (cf. 2, 23); still called Verona. It was the birthplace of Catullus.

3. In . . . videbatur. It seemed to be for their interest and their honor.—Possessa. Was taken, from possido, not possideo.


7. Pretium sult. They reaped solid advantages, not a mere name, as at Vicetia.—Exemplo, sc. influencing others to join the party.

8. Et . . . exercitus, etc. And (as an additional result of the acquisition of Verona) the army was thrown in through Rätia and the Julian Alps (cf. 5, supra: ad occupandam . . . missus), and had thus closed up the entrance against the German armies.—Interjectus. Sub. erat. Cf. Essay, p. 14.

10. Quae. All these movements subsequent to the occupation of Aquileia.

12. Consilium. His policy, his reasons for such a course.—Quando, since, like quoniam (cf. note, 2, 11), introduces a subjective reason or motive. Cf. Z. 346.


Ch. IX.—31. Aponius . . . advenit. From Mosia, 2, 85.


2. Prioris fortunae. Their defeat under Otho.

4. De exercitu. Al. de exitu, but that idea is involved in pro causa: Touching the (much vaunted German) army fearless. Cf. Or. ad loc.—Praesumpsere. Dared to speak out beforehand, before the result could be known, before the usual or proper time. See Död.'s explanation, Essay, p. 15.

5. Facta . . . spec. The hope being held out, in addition, to the tribunes and centurions, of Vitellius' party.

Ch. X.—14. In . . . fronte, i. e. on the side fronting the enemy. —Valli, sc. struendi; gen. after opus.

16. Ut . . . militum. The anger of the soldiers as if for

22. Pectus ... quattens = convulsed with sobbing. The expression is Virgilian. Cf. Aen. 5, 199. 200: \textit{creber anhelitus artus Arideaque ora quatit.}


30. Ludibrium. \textit{The artifice,} sc. to rescue Flavianus.—Tribunal. Cf. note, 1, 36: \textit{suggestu;} also Smith’s Dict., under \textit{Castra.}

35. Signa ... deos. By hendiadys for: the gods of war on the standards.


1. Obvils ... exemptus est. Not immediately, but some time after, as he journeyed slowly towards Vespasian.

Ch. XI.—5. Exarserant. The ind. after \textit{quod} gives the author’s reason.—6. Vulgatis epistolis is the \textit{cause} of \textit{exarserant.}

10. Pannonicorum ultionem, sc. on Flavianus, 10.


19. Collegis, sc. the other \textit{legati legionum,} Vedius, Aponianus, Messala, etc.

Ch. XII.—22. Ne limits \textit{quietae} only, and does not extend to \textit{turbabantur.}—24. Lucilius Bassus. Cf. 2, 100. 101.


33. Classis ... destinat. The antith. particle (\textit{but}) is understood before \textit{classis.} Lucilius was willing to place himself at their head, when the revolt had been consummated without his help. \textit{But} the fleet preferred a man of more decision and zeal in the cause of Vespasian. Cf. the account of Cornelius Fuscus, 2, 36. I can see no necessity for supposing with Wr. that there is a \textit{lacuna} between \textit{praebet} and \textit{classis.}

35. Atriam. A town on the river Tartarus near the Po, once so important as to give name to the Adriatic sea. Touching the orthography, cf. Anthon’s Class. Dict. sub \textit{voce;} Plin. 3, 16, 20.


Ch. XIII.—3. Secretum ... affectans. \textit{Eagerly courting a} military council, i.e. striving to draw the proper persons into it. On this disputed passage, see Or. ad loc. and Freund sub \textit{voce,} No. 4. Al. secreta, secretiora, etc.
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110 9. Imagines dereptae. Cf. note, 1, 41; also Xiph. 65, 10.

11. Praescriptum . . . projectas. Observe the asyndeton and its effect. Cf. note, 1, 36: praetere sacramentum, etc.

18. Ut . . . darentur. Some connect this clause back to ut . . . tradarent, as depending on hoc cecidisse; and enclose quas enim . . . straverintque in a parenthesis. Wr., Bek., Död. and Or. connect it closely with the preceding clause, on which it depends thus: whom however they had routed and overwhelmed in those very fields, only that (i.e. with no better reward than that) thousands of armed men should be given, etc.; said in bitter irony. This is certainly the most natural construction, and I see no reason for seeking any other. Rup. makes here a succession of broken and disconnected exclamations, which is preferable to the parenthesis of the common editions.—Exsuli Antonio. Cf. 2, 86, note.—19. Nimirum denotes irony.


21. Militibus . . . auferre. Al. principi auferri militem. But the reading of the text is found in all the MSS. and earliest editions, and makes even a better sense, or at least a more Tacitus-like antithesis, than the emendation.

23. Quid . . . adversa. What shall we say to those who hereafter question us touching our successes or reverses, sc. in this war, in which we shall have met with neither—with nothing worthy of mention. Prospera aut adversa breviter dictum pro rationem prosperorum aut adversorum. Död. Cf. Essay, p. 16.

Ch. XIV.—26. Iniitio . . . orto. Cf. note, 2, 79: initium coep- tum.—Quinta legione. This legion had been particularly forward in rebelling against Galba, 1, 55. Xiph.* (65, 10) gives the same account of this scene of commotion, and adds, that it was increased by an accompanying eclipse of the moon.

30. Trucidant, sc. out of resentment for the revolt of the fleet, in which however they had no concern.

32. Ut . . . juveneruntur. Before the junction was effected, Antony had defeated first the cavalry (16. 17, infra), then the two legions stationed at Cremona (18) ; and these troops came up only to share in the disaster.—33. Quas . . . praemiserat. Cf. 2, 100.


4. Immensam . . . lucem = immensam multitudinem, quae multam luem (perniciem) excite poterat. Wr.


11. Octavum, sc. lapidem, or milliarium.—A Bedriaco. From, i.e. beyond Bedriacum; of course within twelve miles of Cremona. Cf. note, 2, 23.—Quo . . . popularentur, sc. without danger from the enemy.
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12. Exploratores . . . curabant. The scouts, as usual, performed their duty (i.e. explored the country) still further.

Ch. XVI.—14. Quinta . . . hora, i.e. near eleven o'clock, A. M. Cf. Man. P. 3, 228. 1; also Lev. App. 1.—Adventare . . . praegredi . . . audiri. Observe the asyndeton.

22. Diductis . . . turmis. Drawing off his companies of horse to the flanks. Antonius had on hand only cavalry to the number of 4000. The legions were engaged in fortifying their camp, and the cohorts were sent out to forage and plunder the country. Cf. 15.

25. Qua . . . proximum limits occurreret: the signal was given (to the cohorts) over the country, that, leaving their booty, they should betake themselves by the nearest route (qua via) to the battle.

26. Turbae suorum, sc. the main body under the immediate command of Antonius.

Ch. XVII.—33. Ar dorlis is gen. after eo, which is the old dative. Cf. A. 28: eo . . . inopiae.—Vexillarium is here a standard-bearer, as the context shows.

37. Rivo. Now Dermona, about midway between Cremona and Bedriacum. Rup.—Incerto alveo. The fordable places being unknown. Murphy. Rup. compares it with certum alveo, G. 32, where see note.


Cn. XVIII.—8. Lacto . . . proelio denotes the cause of their march. It was the cavalry only that took part in the battle just described, 16, 17.

9. Pro vecta, sc. from Cremona, where they were stationed. Cf. 14.

12. Forte victi, i.e. virtually conquered by the previous misfortune of their comrades, not really defeated in a fair trial of strength.—Haud . . . desideraverant. They had not felt the want of their general (Cæcina) so much in their former prosperity as now in adversity, etc.

16. Quos . . . aequabant. Whom, though brought into the field by rapid marches, military experience was rendering equal to the legionary soldiers.—Militiae. Nom. pl. to denote the number and variety of their services. Cf. Suet. Claud. 25, et al.

19. Minorem. Al. tanto minorem. But tanto is not in the MSS. and is not necessary in T., who is fond of omitting one of two antithetic particles.


28. Iila. The following considerations, with the additional idea however of their being kept in the background, while haec denotes the arguments which were put forward to public view; thus according with the general principle, that hic refers to what is near, and ille to
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what is remote. Gr. 207, R. 23. *Haec* is far more frequently used to denote the following than *illa*. Z. 700.

30. Quod si. If then, if now. Cf. note, 1, 1.—*Jam = then* in that case.

31. *Clementiam et gloriam = clementiae gloriam* by hendiadys. So Roth. But the pl., *inania*, shows that the ideas are distinct. Better thus with Död.: an opportunity to show mercy, and the honor of showing it, alike empty of solid advantage.

133 Ch. XX.—3. Duces ... prodesse, e. g. Q. Fabius Cunctator, M. Minucius Rufus, etc. Rup.

4. Pro ... portione. Cf. note, A. 45.

5. *Armis ac manu ... ratione et consilio*. Cf. notes, 1, 84, 2, 46, 76, etc., on pairs of kindred words.

6. Neque ... occurrant. *For there can be no question as to the obstacles that await our progress.* So Pliny uses *occurrunt* of Mount Taurus, as *meeting* and *obstructing* the course of the Euphrates.


10. Quis ... forct. All this depends on *adempto ... prospecto*.

11. *Tormentis et tellis. By engines and missiles, i. e. from distance.*—*Operibus et vinis.* With *breastworks* (mounds, turret etc.) and *mantelets* (so called from resemblance to a vine arbor), i. e. by regular approaches and a nearer assault.

13. *Secures dolabrasquc. Hatchets and pickaxes.* The *dolabra* was half axe or adze (Man. P. 3, 269, 2), for cutting, and had a pick for digging. So it is pictured on the column of Trajan. Smith; Dict. (sub voce) makes it a kind of chisel, which was inserted between the stones to loosen the clay and thus destroy the wall.

16. *Aggerem, plateis, cratibus.* For these and the other terms relating to a siege in this section, cf. Man. P. 3, 299; and Smith; Dict. sub *voce*.


Ch. XXI — 23. *Prope seditionem.* *Prope* used as a prep. with *acc.* Cf. Z. 411, also 267 and 323.


27. *Millia.* Our word *mile.—Comperta ... clade* gives the reason for *accingi*, not, as Murphy strangely makes it, for *emensum*.

28. *Acclugi ... affore.* *Were arming themselves, and would be soon on the spot*.

29. *Tertiam decimam.* Al. *tertiam*. So below for *tertiam*, some read *tertiam decimam*. The text accords with the order of Antony's address to the legions (24, infra), supposing Antony to have begun a
the centre, as usual, and proceeded first through the left wing and then through the right. So Wr. and Rup.


33. Apertum limitem. Brotier, Or., and many others understand this of the cleared border of the via Postumia (cleared in opposition to the densis arbustis, a little further back); Rup. and Wr. of an open cross-road through the country.

34. Aquilarum signorumque = legionum auxiliariumque. Rup. Cf. 1, 44: signa cohortium, aquila legionis.

35. Praetorianum vexillum. The pretorians dismissed by Vitellius (2, 67. 93), but invited to resume the service under Vespasian (2, 84; 4, 46). This is the first mention we have of them as actually sub vexillis.—37. Sido . . . Italicus. Cf. 5, supra, note.

Ch. XXII.— 3. Ratio fuit. It would have been reasonable and expedient.


7. Dextro . . . cornu. Were on the right of their troops; suorum, on their side, in antith. to the Flavian army just described. We cannot suppose that this one legion formed the right wing alone. Tac. stated all that he found on the subject. Wr.

11. Laevum cornu. Al. cornum, in some of the best MSS. and editions. And grammarians are now abandoning the doctrine, that neuters in u are indeclinable. Cf. Z. 80, and Freund's pref., App. III.

13. Varium refers to the form and aspect of the battle; anceps to its results from stage to stage.

16. Pugnae signum. The tessera. Cf. note, 1, 25. The watch-word became known to both armies, and thus increased the confusion.


Ch. XXIII.—26. Vacuo atque aperto. From a place open and clear, sc. of arbusta.

27. Magnitudine eximia. Abl. of quality. Gr. 211, R. 6. The abl. (not the gen.) must be used to denote an accidental quality. Cf. Z. 471, N. The gen. expresses only the inherent.

28. Balista. See this warlike engine described by Vegetius, 4, 22; also Man. P. 3, 299; and Smith's Dict., under Tormentum.


33. Adulta nocte. At midnight. Adulta was used by the Romans to designate the second of the three parts, into which they divided the night and also the several seasons. Cf. Servius at Virg. Georg. 1, 43.

34. Falleret refers to the optical illusion, which follows.

35. Aequior. More favorable; a tergo, being behind their backs.
Page 134—Hinc majores, etc. The sense of this concise passage is very well expressed by Murphy thus: *hence the shadows of men and horses projected forward to such a length, that the Vitellians, deceived by appearances, aimed at a wrong mark. Their darts by consequence fell short of their aim. The moonbeams, in the mean time, played on the front of their lines and gave their bodies in full view to the adverse army, who fought behind their shadows as if concealed in obscurity.*

135 Cn. XXIV.—3. Cur. Interrogative particle = *cui rei?* Z. 276, 2.—Rursus, sc. after having been already defeated in that very field of Bedriacum, as he goes on to say.

8. Tolerant. Al. tolerarent, a mere conjecture of Ernesti. *If you cannot bear, as it now appears you cannot; it is not a mere supposition or conception as tolerarent would denote, but a fact.* So Wr., Rup. and Bek.


12. Infensus. So all the MSS. The common editions have in-fensus. But infensus of itself in the connection denotes peculiar violence in the manner of addressing these troops, bearing down upon them and striking against them, as it were (in-fendo). So Bach and Wr.

13. Paganii. Peasants, not soldiers, for if defeated here, who will employ such troops. Paganus, from pagus, a term of reproach, somewhat like villain from villa.

14. Illic. There, among the followers of Vitellius, to whom you resigned them, when you were dismissed. Cf. 2, 67: arma ... deferebant. *There are your standards and arms, and you may regain them or die, as you please—there is no other alternative; for you have already exhausted ignominy in all its forms, and if conquered now, it is certain death.* Such is the meaning of this singularly sententious and energetic address.

16. In Syria, where the third legion had served under Corbulo, as intimated above, before they were transferred to Maeisia.

Cn. XXV.—18. Vagus. Flying, accidental, antith. to consilio .... subditus.

21. Ut .... contraheret, etc. The subj. here assigns a reason for rariore. Gr. 264, 8; Z. 564.

22. Pulso. So all the MSS. Al. impulsos and repulsos. But cf. note, 1, 2: missa; and Essay, p. 11.


26. Ex eo is correl. to quia. *For this reason, viz. because.*


33. Placato .... manes. Al. piato. But placatos, with the
best MS. authority, gives also the most appropriate sense; for the
manes of the dead were appeased by prayers, but expiated by sacri-
This little incident, like some of Homer’s episodes, is exceedingly
touching, and conveys a more affecting sense of the evils of civil war,
than even the author’s matchless description of the blood and carnage
of the battle-field. The concluding clause (factum esse . . . factum-
que) is cited by Monboddo (On Lang. 2, 4, 12) as an example of
affected smartness in the turn of expression; but it brings out in a
very striking light a singular trait in depraved human nature: they
talk of the wicked deed that has just been done, and still go on to
do it.

Ch. XXVI.—11. Munire castra. Followed by a mark of inter-
rogation in the common editions, at the suggestion of Ernesti. But
this is unnecessary. The sentence begins just like the one above: in-
cipere, etc. The only difference between the two is, that here id
quoque is thrown in by apposition with munire to indicate deliberation.
Wr. makes munire depend on si juberent implied in quid juberent
above. Quid juberent is the subj. of the indirect question.
15. Ex terneritate. Al. et ex, etc. But cf. note, 1, 3: esse ul-
tionem.—Caedes . . . sanguis. Synonyma hoc loco poetarum more
junguntur. Rup.

22. Bedriacensi vlae. The way from Cremona to Bedriacum.
So Brixianam portam = the gate of Cremona opening towards Brixia,
now Brescia, south of the Po.
24. Impetus. Their own ardor (cf. note, 1, 57); hence our
word impetuosity.
26. Dolabras. Cf. note, 20, supra. Observe the asyndeton.—
Falces scalasque. Hooks and ladders. The latter for scaling the
walls, and the former for tearing down the upper breastwork. Cf. Man.
P. 3, 289, and Smith’s Dict. sub vocc. See also the same under tes-
tudo.
29. Disjectam fluitantemque. Both these words denote a sepa-
ration of the shields that formed the testudo; but the former a lateral
severance, the latter an opening produced by unequal elevation.
31. Multa cum strage. Cf. note, 2, 37: magna ex parte. This
clause is placed in some MSS. at the beginning of the next section.

Ch. XXVIII.—32. Incesserat . . . ni . . . monstrassent. There
is an ellipsis before ni, which may be supplied thus: hesitation had
begun to prevail (and would have prevailed still further), had not, etc.
But ni is more readily translated in such passages but: The soldiers
began to hesitate, but, etc. Cf. note, A. 4: hausisse, ni. This usage
abounds in T., but is rarely found in Cic. Cf. Z. 519, b; Essay, p. 15.

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136 It will be seen that monstrassent here implies offering the town to the

capitvity of the soldiers.

34. Hormine . . . ingenium. Whether this expedient was the

invention of Hormus (the offspring of his wit, spoken ironically), etc.

Al. ad ingenium. But what is gained by this departure from all the

MSS. I cannot perceive.—Hormi. Cf. note, 12, supra.—Messalla. Cf.

notes, 9 and 25, supra.

35. Plinius. Known as the elder Pliny, who, besides his Natural History, wrote a history of the German wars (cf. G. and A. p. 79), and also of his own times (cf. Plin. Ep. 3, 5), both of which are lost—

Haud facile. This is one of the combinations in which haud appears

with special frequency.

36. Nisi quod. Cf. note, A. 6; also Z. 637. Except that (but)
nor Antonius nor Hormus degenerated from his former life and

character in this act, criminal and flagitious as it was, i.e. it was no

worse than they had always been in the habit of doing.


137 1. Iteratam testudinem. Upon the renewed testudo. The

testudo had been completely broken up. Cf. 27: soluta compago,

scutorum.

3. Integri . . . mortium. This sentence gives the finishing

stroke to a frightful picture of blood and carnage, and is marked by a

truly Homeric brevity and energy. In the next section, after the

manner of Homer, the author enters more into detail. Omnis imagine

mortium resembles very nearly Thucyd. 3, 81, and Virg. Aen. 2, 369.

Orelli.


Laborentur. Glanced from it, without effect.

11. Quos incidereat, i.e. in quos ceciderat. Wr. But Zumpf

(386) says quos is not governed by in, but is a real ace of the object

incidere by composition having acquired a trans. meaning. No other

classic writer uses it with the ace. Cf. Boetticher, p. 15.

12. Simul juncta turris. At the same time, an adjoining

tower.—13. Tertianus, sc. miles = tertiani.

17. Conclamavit. Properly, cried out together, said of a num-

ber. Here of uno: shouted aloud, as with the voice of a multitude.


19. Compleetur caede. Josephus says (B. J. 4, 11), that above

30,000 of the Vitellians were put to the sword in this series of engage-

ments, while there fell of Vespasian's army about 4,500. Cf. also

Xiph. (65, 15), who makes the number of the slain in all 50,000.

Cn. XXX.—20. Ac. Al. at. But ac is in all the best MSS. and

need not be changed.—Nova laborum facies. The language of Virg.

Aen. 6, 103–4.
23. Stato ... mercatu. *By reason of a fair held annually at* that season.


27. Sl = our *to see, if.* So the Greeks use *ei,* especially Ho-

er. Cf. Kühner’s Gram. 344, R. 9; Matthiae, 526; and note, 1, 31,
supra.

29. Moenium. Not exactly synonymous with *muris.* Cf. note,
2, 22.—Egressa *... altitudinem.* Exceeding the height, etc. Eg-

redi acquires a transitive force by a modification of its original signifi-

cation, and hence is followed by the acc. Cf. Z. 387. So A. 33: egressi

terminos.


Cn. XXXI.—33. Ut quis *... antelbat.* *All the men of the*

first rank. Cf. note, 1, 29: ut quisque *... fuerat.* Al. quisque,
ex interpretamento. Rup.

36. Reverteretur. According to Wr. the *re* is antith. to *non:*

should not fall upon the poor common people, but fall back from them

upon, etc.

2. Nam *... vinctus.* *For he was still in bonds.* Cf. 14, supra.

5. Extremum malorum. This *last of evils* consisted in the re-

duction of *so many brave men* to the necessity of *imploring the aid of*

a traitor. Hence the impropriety of a comma after *viri,* as in the

common editions.


note, 1, 27: pro aede.

10. Ut praeberti, etc. *Constructione variata inter infin. histor. et*

tempus finitum. Orelli.

15. Adeo *... sunt* is to be connected with what follows: *nay*

more, *so odious are crimes, they even charged him with perfidy,*

though that was a crime which had conduced greatly to their interest.

Cn. XXXII.—22. In *neutrum.* He said *nothing either way,*

favorable or unfavorable. “To make the last member of the sentence

as short and abrupt as possible, he has made it obscure.” Monboddo

on Lang. 2, 4, 12.


29. Feminae *... progressae.* The extreme zeal for the cause

of Vitellius thus manifested, displeased the opposite party.

34. Excepta *... incalescerent.* *The voice* (of Antonius) was

heard, *while he complained that the baths were not sufficiently warm,*

adding, *that they would soon become warm enough.*

35. Vernile *dictum.* *This wanton speech,* lit. slave-like, wor-

thy of a slave. Some, however, interpret it as the *remark of a slave*

attending the bath, in response to Antonius’ complaint, which remark

was considered as showing that his master, Antony, was privy to the

conflagration.
NOTES.

Ch. XXXIII.—38. Calonum ... corruption. Cf. note, 2, 87.

5. Ubi. Whenever. Followed by the subj. plup. denoting a repeated occurrence. Cf. Gr. 264, 12; Z. 569.—Quis ... conspicuus, sc. puer, as the gender and the antithesis of virgo sufficiently indicate without inserting the word. So Ernesti. Gronovius would read aut puer instead of aut quis. What a state of morals is here shadowed forth!


11. Faces in manibus. Acc. after habentes understood, as the Greeks omit the part of ἔχω. Matthim, p. 588, Ed. 1. Rup. So we say in English, "torch in hand."

13. Utque exercitu, etc. Sententia: utque evenit, ubi exercitus est varius, etc. Abl. abs. Wr.


16. Suffecit, sc. incendio, ad alimenta igni praebenda. Render, continued to burn.

17. Mefitis was the goddess that was worshipped in all places that sent forth noxious exhalations. Hence we read in Virgil: Sacramque exhalat opaca Mefitim. Aen. 7, 64. Murphy.

This portion of the history furnishes a very good illustration of our author's characteristic power of description. The rapid succession of bloody battles and sieges, in which Antonius and his followers fought like tigers, nay like demons, through two days and the intervening night, defeated three separate armies in three successive encounters without intermission, and carried two distinct and strongly fortified lines of defence—walls, towers and bulwarks—around Cremona, is sketched with a rapidity and force fully adequate to the subject. The outward movements and the inward motives of the men are set before the eye of the reader with equal distinctness. And finally the burning and sacking of the city presents a picture of unrestrained passions, of unbounded crimes, of dreadful calamities and sufferings, of utter desolation and ruin, to which history and even the drama with all its wild license of imagined horrors can furnish few parallels. The student, who has failed to perceive the historian's power, has read the passage to little purpose, and will do well to read it again. In default of all other means of appreciating it, he will find the passage well represented in Murphy's translation, though not with all the conciseness, force and fire of the original. Cf. Life of T. pp. 9–10; and Preliminary Remarks, p. 238.

Ch. XXXIV.—20. Condita erat. It was established, sc. as a colony. The town existed before. Brotier.—Tiberio ... consulibus, i. e. a. u. c. 536. Cf. Liv. 21, 6.

24. Opportunitate fluminum. Padi, Adduae, Ollii, aliorumque plurium, sed minorum. Rup. See Cremona on the map.—Annexu connubiosque. Connection by marriage. Wr. and Or. It is quite as well, however, to take annexu in the wider sense of intercourse.

25. Gentium. With foreign nations. Gentium antith. to urbe, as Hor. Od. 1, 2: terruit urbem, terruit gentes. Wr.

32. Munificentia munlcipum. By the liberality of the inhabitants, sc. of Cremona. Al. magnificientia.

3. Trevir . . . Aeduus. A Trevir (native of Treves) . . . an Aeduus. These were Gallic people.

4. Ostentul. For display, as trophies of victory. 

Cn. XXXV.—34. Sepultae. Buried, sc. in ashes, incendio deletae. Ruperti.

3. Trequir . . . Aeduus. A Trevir (native of Treves) . . . an Aeduus. These were Gallic people.

4. Ostentul. For display, as trophies of victory. 

Cn. XXXVI.—7. At Vitellius. The historian now returns to 2, 101. Or. At often serves as a transition particle.

8. Curls . . . obtendebat. Concealed his anxiety under the veil of pleasure, lit. stretched luxury over against his anxieties. Leverett sub voce gives a little different sense.


21. Alfeno Varo. 2, 29. 43. In 2, 43, it is Varus Alfenus. 

Cn. XXXVII.—22. In magnificentiam. To set forth his greatness, or his grand prospects.

24. Initium . . . factum. The motion was made for, etc.

25. Composita indignatione. Affected, hypocritical seems to be the main idea of composita here, though not exclusively of the other idea, viz. studied.—Consul, dux, etc., sc. Cæcina.

28. Suum dolorem, sc. for the private and public injuries they had received from Cæcina.

32. Is . . . supererat. For so much (one day) remained for Cæcina’s substitute, sc. to fill out his time.

33. Eblandiretur. Obtained by flattery, lit. flattered it out of Vitellius. The subj. is required after the indefinite nec defuit. Cf. Gr. 264, 7; Z. 561.

35. Nunquam . . . succinctum. Never before had another been put in the place of a magistrate, till the office was first declared vacant, and a law enacted to that end.

36. Nam consul, etc. See the fine vein of humor in which Cic. indulges on this subject, Ep. ad Div. 7, 30. In that consulship, he says, no man had time to dine, and no kind of mischief happened. The consul was a man of so much vigilance, that he did not allow himself a wink of sleep!
NOTES.

2. Accepimus. Pro accepi, i. e. audivi ab aliis relata. Rup. Cf. note, G. 27, ad vocem.

3. Servillianus hortis. Abl. of place where, without a prepoc. characteristic of poets and later prose writers. Cf. note, 2, 16: balineis. These gardens were occupied by Nero and the succeeding emperors. Ann. 15, 55; Suet. Nero, 47. It is not agreed from whom they derived their name (perhaps M. Servilius, Ann. 6, 31; 14, 19), or what was their exact location in the city.—Turrim. A tower, i. e. a lofty and splendid edifice reared in a garden, or a part of a palace raised several stories above the rest of the building for the sake of the prospect, like the tower of Maecenas (Suet. Ner. 38), and the tower of Hannibal (Liv. 33, 48; Plin. N. H. 2, 71). Cf. Rup. ad loc. and Beck. Gall. Sc. 7, N. 2.

8. Quod ... ageret. Notice the difference between the subj. here and the ind. in quod ... antebat below. The latter is stated as a fact by the historian, while the former is an allegation.


20. Junios ... jactantem, etc. Blæsus was descended from Octavia the sister of Augustus (hence imperatoria stirpe) and Marc Antony the Triumvir. In like manner Nero compelled Torquatus Silanus to put an end to his own life for no other reason, than because he united to the splendor of the Junian family the honor of being great-grandson to Augustus. Ann. 15, 35.

21. Qui ... ostentet. The subj. here assigns a reason why Blæsus is to be guarded against. So also quem ... arceat above.

23. Amicorum ... negligens. Making no distinction between friends and enemies (inimicorum, always personal enemies).


Ch. XXXIX.—28. Inter ... metumque. Between horror of the crime and fear of danger.—Ne ... ferret. This clause gives the reason for veneno grassari.

30. Addidit ... fidem. He confirmed the general belief that he was accessory to the crime.

31. Nobiliss = notabilis, which some editions substitute, though found in no MS.

34. Fidel obstinatio. Inflexible fidelity to Vitellius.

35. Integrus ... rebus. Even when the reign of Vitellius was secure, without a rival.—36. Ambitus. Solicited.
37. Inturbidus. Only in T.—Adeo non = nedum, still less. Cf. note, 1, 9, ad vocem.


7. Vitata Ravenna. On account of the defection of the fleet.—Hostiliam Cremonamve, sc. to take command of the troops at those places left without a leader by the treachery of Cecina. Cf. 9. 14. 21, etc. supra.—12. Dum media, etc. Mark the sentiment.

Cf. XLII.—15. Neque . . . . aptus, etc., i. e. too large to escape notice and too small to break through by force.


25. Deducoris securos. Reckless (se-cura) of dishonor.—Eo . . . . comitantibus. Fearing this (i. e. the perfidy of his soldiers), and having but few among his immediate attendants whose fidelity was not shaken by misfortune. Two reasons for the course he pursued.


31. Excercitus, sc. in Gallia, octo legiones. Rup.

Cf. XLII.—34. Cornelius Fuscus. He was now commander of the fleet. Cf. 12. See also 4, note.


38. Segnitia maris. By a calm at sea. Al. saevitia. But that is involved in adversante vento. Aut does not leave it doubtful which (that would require an), but denotes sometimes by a calm, sometimes by a storm. Depellitur is applicable to segnitia only by zeugma. Impeditur is rather required. Cf. Wr. and Or. ad loc.


6. Infraecta. Impaired, the part. not the adj. Cf. note, 2, 100: immutatum.

7. Namque = Gr. καὶ γὰρ, and with reason, for.


11. Forojulensem. Cf. note, 2, 14.—Claustra maris. Forum Julii was as it were the key to that part of the Mediterranean, being an important naval station.

14. Ipsl . . . municipali. And the people from the country out of friendship to their townsman, and in the hope of advantage from his future power under Vespasian. Cf. Or. and Död. ad loc.

16. Paratu . . . rumore. Cf. a like ant. of paratu and foma, A. 25, with the same collocation of words, viz. the noun standing first in the first clause, but the adj. or part. in the second clause, as the emphasis requires: in reality (the real array) strong, and made still stronger by report.


22. Stocchadas. Three islands in a row, hence their name (from Gr. στοκχάδος). Now the Hieres on the coast of Provence.


Cn. XLIV.—26. Prima Adjutrice. This legion fought for Otho with great zeal in the battle Bedriacum (2, 43), and after his defeat was sent into Spain (2, 67). The 6th and 10th were also in Spain. Cf. note, 1, 16: una legione.

29. Inditus. Al. inclitus, indictus, insitus, &c. But inditus has the best MS. authority, and accords well with the reason which follows: conceived, because (occasioned by the fact that) he had, etc.


31. Ceterarum. The other three legions in Britain, sc. except the second.


38. Instruxisse . . . videbatur. Caractacus was taken prisoner some years after the triumph of Claudius (cf. Suet. Claud. 17; Ann. 12, 36); but by his capture, Cartismandua added new brilliancy to it. Cf. Wr. ad loc.

8. Petita . . . praesidia, sc. by Cartismandua.

9. Exemere tamen. Though the battles were of various issue (i.e. not decidedly successful in re-establishing Cartismandua on the throne), yet they at least rescued the queen from personal danger. There is an ellipsis of a verb and particle ant. to exemere tamen in the first clause, so that tamen really stands here, as usual, near the beginning of its own member of the sentence.

Cn. XLVI.—12. Perfidia sociali. By the treachery of the states in alliance.

14. Etenim . . . provectum est. For it was prolonged to a later period. The reference is to the war with Civilis the Batavian, for which see 4, 2, intra.—Etenim. Compare καὶ γαρ.

15. Abducto . . . exercitum is the cause of sine metu.
BOOK III.

21. Ace. Sub. metuens, connected by ac to gnarus, and expressing an additional motive for opposing the Dacians.
24. Et quod ... transegimus. This fact also was favorable (affect). For transegimus, cf. note, A. 34: transigite.

Cf. XLVII.—32. Polemonis. Polemon II. was made king of Pontus by Caligula, and after his death the kingdom was changed by Nero into a Roman province. Suet. Ner. 18.
37. Trapezuntém. Now Trebizond, an important city and seaport in Asia Minor, on the Euxine.—A Graecis ... conditam. Cf. Xen. Anab. 4, 6, 17; Strab. 12.

1. Donati ... Romana. By granting the freedom of the city, the Romans drew distant colonies into a close alliance. Cf. note, 1, 8.
2. Desidlam ... Graecorum. Notice the Roman contempt for the now degenerate Greeks.
6. Camaras ... connexam. Al. quas camaras ... lata alvo ... connexa. But the acc. of the last three words is found in all the MSS. Alum is in appos. with camaras. Gr. 230: they call by the name of camarae a broad hold with narrow sides, and bound with neither brass nor iron. A similar kind of boats is described, G. 44. Like the canoes of the American Indians, these camaras were borne on the shoulders of the natives. The word camara is found in no Latin author earlier than T. It occurs in the Greek of Strabo.
11. Indiscretum ... est. It is alike safe, and indeed a matter of indifference, etc.

26. Urbem quoque. The city (Rome) also, i. e. as well as the army. Al. urbemque. But in that case que = quoque in abbreviated form.
27. Et Africam. Africa also, as well as Egypt. These were the two principal granaries of Rome, the former supplying the city for eight months, the latter for the remaining four months of the year. Cf. notes, 8, supra, and 1, 73.
29. Facturus denotes purpose, like the fut. part. in Greek. As
NOTES.

Page 145 to the object of Vespasian’s stay in Egypt, see further Josep. B. J. 4, 37; Suet. Vesp. 7.


35. Viam .... struere. The MSS. read vim, which Wr. defends, but does not restore.

37. Ordinum .... offerebat, i. e. allowed the soldiers to choose their own centurions, instead of appointing them himself, as was usual for the commander.

38. In arbitrio. Under the sovereign command.

2. Corruppendae disciplinæ. Dat. of end, or tendency—In vertebat. Converted into a means of enriching himself by plunder.


20. Quod .... audierant. The ind. after quod here directs attention to the cause, as an historical fact stated by the author; the subj. in quod defuisset above directs the attention more to the reason, as it lay in the minds of others. Cf. note, 36: quod .... ageret.


25. Accipit. Received as a free gift. Ant. to rapiuntur = taken by force.

Ch. LII.—28. Fas nefasque. Cf. note, 2, 56.—Irreverentiam Found only in T. Essay, p. 22.

29. Praemium .... petierit. As if it were proof of great zeal for the party, to have slain a brother on the opposite side. For the perf. subj. cf. note, 1, 24: dederit.


31. Ratio bellii. The kind of the war, i. e. civil.—Distulerant. Sententia est: distulerunt et dilatus manebat. Its plup. contrahit vim imp. Wr.
32. Meritum agrees with *equitem* understood. For the subj. in *exsolv*entur, cf. Gr. 264, 4; Z. 560.

37. Sisenna. An orator and historian, whose work was continued by Sallust. Cf. Man. P. 5. 511, 2; Sal. B. Jug. 95.

Cu. LII.—8. Commeatibus, i.e. ships laden with provisions.


9. *Ni praesens . . . ratus*. Thinking, that if he were not present at the taking of the city, he should have no share in the war and its glory.

11. Media. Ambiguous expressions.—*Scriptitabat*. Observe the frequentative.—*Instandum* (sc. esse) depends on *scriptitabat*.

12. Edisserens (setting forth at length) governs only *utilitates*.

—*Compositus*. Studied, guarded in his language.


30. *Hello imputandum*, i.e. it was not his fault.


34. Aslam *composuerint*. Cf. 2, 79. For the subj. cf. Gr. 266, 2; Z. 603. For the perf. cf. Gr. 258, 1; Z. 516.

35. *Moesiae pacem*. Cf. 46, supra. It will be seen that all along here Antonius draws the contrast between his own achievements and those of Mucianus, but without mentioning his rival's name.

38. *Si . . . assequantur*. If, as is now the fact, etc. Cf. note, 24: *tolerent*.


3. Implacabilius is found only in T. Cf. Boet. and Freund.

Cu. LIV.—8. *Ingravescebat*. He grew worse (weaker, like a sick man) under these false reports. So the word is used, Cic. de Sen. 11; Plin. Ep. 2, 20; and so most of the commentators understand it here.


23. Ultro. *Furthermore*.

NOTES.

26. Voluntaria morte. In the characteristic spirit of the old Roman soldier, ever ready to die for his country or his commander.

Ch. LV.—30. Quatuordecim . . . cohortibus. There were sixteen in all. Cf. 2, 93.

32. E . . . legio. Not the same with Otho's legio classicorum (1, 6, 31, 36. et al.) that was sent into Spain (2, 67), but probably a new legion enrolled from the fleets at Ravenna and Misenum.—Tot millia. Each cohort numbered a thousand men. Cf. note, 1, 20.

33. Pollebant. Ind. for the subj. found seldom in Cic. but often in T. and late writers, especially after ni and in the plup. Cf. note, 28: incesserat . . . ni.


37. Latium, Latinitas, and jus Latii were different expressions used to denote a standing or state intermediate between citizens and foreigners. Cf. Dict. of Ant., Latinitas. Arn. Hist. Rom.

2. Aderat. Was present, eager to receive and applaud.


Ch. LVI.—11. Accessit. Cf. note, ad vocem, 1, 5.

12. Nee ubi. Al. nec ut. The reading is doubtful. Either makes the omen inauspicious.

13. Sed praecipuum, etc. A description of great power, showing a master in severe yet truthful satire. Cf. Life of Tacitus, p. 11.

14. Quis ordo, etc. These clauses depend on improvidus consili: without forethought to consider what should be the order of march, etc.

15. Quantus modus = quantopere bellum vel urgendum esset vel trahendum. Rup.


Ch. LVII.—28. Miscuensem. Cf. note, 2, 9. Misenum was near Puteoli, Cumae, Mount Vesuvius, &c., and not far from Capua, as is implied below.

33. Practura functus. Cf. note, 2, 63.

34. Minturnis. A town north of Misenum, near the mouth of the Liris; now in ruins.

3. Ut . . . castra. Julianus pitched his camp over against that of the revoltors, as if with hostile intentions, but soon went over himself to their side.

6. Ipsorum ingenio. The spirit of the people themselves, sc. of Tarracina—the people being implied in the place.

Ch. LVIII.—7. Narniac. A city of Umbria, on the river Nar (a branch of the Tiber), now Narni.

15. Tribus. The three original tribes (from tres) at Rome war.
confined to the patricians. But the number was at length increased to thirty-five, which, as the right of suffrage was extended, included all classes of Roman citizens. Cf. Nieb. and Arn. His. Rom. In the age of the Emperors the tribes were chiefly made up of the middling classes, and did not include those of senatorial and equestrian rank on the one hand, nor the lowest rabble on the other.—Dantes ... partitur. He at first summons the tribes in a body, and administers the oath to all who gave in their names (i. e. all who consented to serve in the army) indiscriminately; but finding the number too great, he afterwards assigns to the consuls the duty of drafting a portion of them by a regular levy (delectus).


20. Favorem. Attachment to Vitellius, or rather zeal for his cause, as is implied in the following clause.


25. Superstitione nominibus. As if there were a talismanic power in the mere name. The word superstition proper denotes a sentiment, rite, or usage, that has survived (from superstio) and been handed down from an earlier age.

30. Quae ... remisit, e. g. money, slaves, titles, &c.

Cf. LIX.—32. Ut ... ita. Though ... yet. Observe the difference between ita and tam, which = to such a degree.

35. Erectus. Roused up.—Samnis ... et Marsi. T. is particularly fond of interchange the singular and the plural, as here. The Samnite, the old enemy of Rome in the famous Samnite wars, dwelt near the borders of Campania. The Peligni and the Marsi were farther north.

36. Campania praevenisset, sc. in going over to Vespasian. Cf. 57, supra.—Ut ... obsequio. As is usually the case in the service of a new master.


2. Quae ... affuit. Ind. because it is a remark of the historian, and not what was evident to the Flavian army.

3. Obvium ... habuerce. They met. Compare our common idiom, they had met: So habeo dictum = dixi, etc. Z. 634.—Peltium Cerialen. Cf. A. 8, and often in the ensuing history.

7. Sabino ... Domitiano. The brother and the son of Vespasian.


22. Oppericabantur. Imp. to denote an unaccomplished effort or
152. Interamnam. Cf. note, 2, 64.


10. Induruerat. See the phrase under induresco, Lev. Lex.

Ch. LXII.—13. Urbini. Urbina was a town in the territory of the Senones, not far from the Adriatic; now Urbino, famous as the birthplace of Raphael.—In custodia. His capture is related above, 43.

18. Immanc, quantum animo. Lit. it is wonderful how much in the ardor of their feelings = with wonderful ardor, with very great confidence. Cf. Hor. Od. 1, 27, 6. So mirum, quantum; incredibile, quantum, etc. See a different explanation, Essay, p. 17.


22. Actitavit. Compare what is said of Vitellius, 2, 71. Observe the frequentative.


26. Allorum .... Illustratus. And by that only, not by his own virtues. We have here a specimen of Tacitus' manner of summing up a character, as he takes leave of it—conciso, antithetic, candid; yet, if need be, piquant and severe.

Ch. LXIII.—28. Decore. Al. dedecore. But decore in the oldest and best MSS. And with the Romans, as with us, it was an honor to march out (as we say) under arms and colors flying. Moreover, id quoque non sine decore corresponds with the previous conduct.
of the Vitellian soldiery. Cf. 62: *gregarius miles induruerat pro*

**30.** Ornatus, sc. omni instrumento militari. *Equipped.*

**36.** Secræta Campaniæ. *A retreat in Campania, deemed the richest and most beautiful part of Italy.* Cf. 66: *Sinus Campaniæ beati; also 1, 2: secundissima Campaniæ ora.*

**37.** Seque ac liberos. Poetice. So 4, 2: *seque ac cohortes;* Ann. 1, 61: *visusque ac memoria.* Al. se ac liberos.

**38.** *Permisisset.* Notice the plup. = *if (when) he should first have surrendered up.* *Permisisset* instead of *dedidisset* to avoid offence.

**4.** *Oblivisecretur.* Imp. in the apodosis, where we use the plup. Cf. note, 2, 62: *si temperaret.*

Ch. LXIV.—5. *Flavium Sabinum.* Cf. 1, 46.—*Praefectum urbis.* Cf. 1, 14, note.

**7.** Cohortiūm urbanarum. Cf. note, 1, 20.—Vigilum. Ibid.

**8.** *Servitia ipsorum.* *Their own slaves,* sc. of the speakers, primorum civitatis.

**12.** *Si ... praebuisset.* When once he had presented himself, etc. So *si ... permisisset,* 63.—14. Adeo. Cf. note, 1, 9.

Ch. LXV.—23. *Affectam ... fide.* *Impaired credit.* Cf. note, 1, 88: *afflicta fide.—Praejuvisse* is a word peculiar to T., formed after the analogy of Gr. *προσβονθείν* : helped beforehand, i.e. before Vespasian had completely failed—before it was called for.


**25.** Offensarum operta = offensae operae. A form of expression abounding in T., peculiar to poets and prose writers later than Cic. Cf. Z. 435; also note, G. 43: *paucæ campestrīorum.* Tho the idiom is Greek, as well as poetical. Ibid.—*Melior interpretatio. A more charitable construction.*


**30.** *Verba vocesque.* *The words of the contract, and the expressions used in the whole conversation.* So Dōd.—*Cluviium Ru-fum.* Cf. note, 1, 8.

**31.** *Siliium Italicum.* The poet; consul, A. u. C. 821; commended by Pliny (Ep. 3, 7) for his discreet conduct as the friend of Vitellius.

Ch. LXVI.—38. *Fidem ... victoris.* *That the fulfilment of the pledge (given by Sabinus) would depend on the sovereign will of the conqueror.*—Tantam ... superfian. *So much conscious superiority and consequent security.*

**2.** Victos, sc. themselves. They threaten that they would put Vitellius to death with their own hands, rather than see him in private life; and so danger to him would arise from their very compassion for him.
NOTES.


8. Aemulatore. Al. aemulato (Wr.), aemulatu (Lip., Ober.), aemulo (Rhen.). All with the same sense.—Captivum. And therefore less dangerous.

9. Casibus . . . . reservatum, sc. when his favor might be of service to them, if vanquished.

13. Nisi forte. There is quite an ellipsis, as there often is, before nisi. Cf. note, A. 6. Nor would Vespasian spare Vitellius, unless you can suppose that one of inferior rank will rise above jealousy of one greatly his superior.


25. Erat . . . . parens, etc. Cf. 2, 64; also Suet. ViteL 14.


31. Lecticula. Cf. note, 1, 27: sellae. On this whole scene, cf. Suet. 15; also Juv. 3, 213, who makes the mother of Vitellius also one of the melancholy train.

Ch. LXVIII.—33. Rerum humanarum. Of the instability of human affairs.

38. Caesarem. Julius Caesar, who was assassinated by Brutus and Cassius.—Caium. Caligula, who was put to death by the tribunes Chaerea and Sabinus. Cf. Suet. Cal. 56, 57.—Nox . . . . absconderant. Cf. note, 1, 2: falsi Neronis; also Suet. Ner. 48.

2. Cecldere. Observe the transition from the plup. (absconder- rant) to the perf., designed, as Wr. suggests, to mark the fact that the end of Piso and Galba is narrated in this history, whereas that of Nero preceded the date with which it begins.


10. Jus . . . . civium. Of which the sword is everywhere the symbol. Nex is always a violent death; mors is death as the common destiny of men (μόρος).


13. Obsistentium . . . privatis. Opposing his entrance to a private house.


28. Lacum Fundani. A Fundane lake, now called Lago di Fundi, is mentioned by Pliny (N. H. 3, 9). But this lake now in question was in the city of Rome, near the Mons Quirinalis. Brotier says there were at least a thousand of those lakes at Rome, which ought more properly to be called fountains. Murphy. Cf. 1, 41: Curtii lacum.

31. Re trepida. In this unexpected and critical emergency.

32. Arcem capitollii. The relative position of the arx (citadel) and the Capitolium proper (i. e. the temple of Jupiter) has given rise to much discussion, some maintaining that the Capitolium was within the arx, others that they stood on distinct summits or points of the Mons Capitolinus. Cf. Dic. Antiq. under Capitolium. Cic. and Liv. always say arx et Capitolium. Capitolium seems to be used here by T. as it often is by others, for the whole mount. In the next section he calls the citadel arx Capitolina.—Mixto milite, etc., i. e. soldiers mingled with citizens of senatorial and equestrian rank. Cf. 2, 14: pars classicorum mixtis pagenis.

35. Simulavere. Falsely claimed.

2. Neglecta, i. e. non obsessa a Vitellianis. Rup.

4. Digredi. Al. degredi, a conjecture of Ernesti. But as Wy, says, the thing intended is not so much going down from the Capitolium, as going away and escaping from the enemy.

Ch. LXX.—11. Simulationem . . . suisse. He said it was a mere pretence and show, (sc. his appearance) of abdicating the throne. Simulationem and imaginem are predicates. Cf. Essay, pp. 14, 15.

12. Cur enim . . . petisset. Else why should he have gone, etc. Compare ἐσεϊς ἔσεϊς, etc. in Greek.—E rostris, i. e. from the assembly of the people. Cf. 68: sua concione.


21. Judicatur. So the Greeks use κόλνω of deciding disputes by arms.—22. Hispaniis, etc. Spain and Germany were divided, Britain was one.

24. Utilia. Useful things, like the Greek, with χρήμα understood. The general rules of Latin construction would require utilem. Cf. Z. 376, a. But exceptions are not wanting in Cic. and Liv. (Z. 377), and are not unfrequent in T., e.g. 2, 20: pax et concordia jactata sunt.


10. Diversos . . . aditus. This implies that there were at least three approaches from the forum to the Mons Capitolinus. Cf. Dic. Antiq., Capitolium.

11. Lucum asyll. The Asylum opened by Romulus for the indiscriminate reception of foreigners, as described by Livy (1, 8) and Dion. Hal. (2, 15), was situated between two groves. Only one remained in the age of T., here called lucum asyll, which was situated between the two summits of the Capitoline Hill. Cf. note, 69: arcem Capitolii.—Tarpeia rupes. The whole Capitoline Hill was originally called Mons Tarpeius, from the virgin Tarpeia, who was killed and buried there by the Sabines. Liv. 1, 11. But the name Tarpeia was afterwards confined to the rock which was the immediate scene of her destruction, and whence criminals were thrown headlong into the Tiber. Cf. Dic. Antiq. as above.


17. Nitentes . . . depulerint. Al. quo . . . depellerent. But the reading of the text, though less obvious, gives the same sense, and rests on better authority.

18. Porticus . . . aedibus, i.e. to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, which had a triple row of columns in front, and a double row on each side (Dionys. 4, 61), and which T. calls aedibus, perhaps because it contained within one enclosure and beneath one roof, three aedes, sacred severally to Jupiter, Juno and Minerva. Brotier. Cf. Dic. Antiq. as above.—Sustinentes . . . aquilae. The ornaments and supports of the pediment (vulgarily called the gable-end). These were usually in public edifices wrought into the form of eagles with outstretched wings. Cf. Rup. ad loc.

20. Indlreptum. Josephus (B. J. 4, 11, 4) says that the Vitellians plundered the temple.


26. Porsena. Al. Porsenna. The penult. is short in Mart. 1, 22; Hor. Epod. 16, 4; Sil. Ital. 8, 391, et al.; but long in Virg. Aen. 8, 646. The best authorities are at variance touching the orthography and the prosody of the word. Cf. Macaulay’s Lays of Ancient Rome. —Dedita urbe. T. is charged by many with error here, or at least, with speaking rhetorically, rather than what was historically true. But Niebuhr and Arnold argue with great force from the circumstances and results of the war with Porsena, that the common history is falsified by Roman pride, and that T. has preserved the only true account, and Rome was really surrendered to the Etruscans.
27. Galli capta. A. u. c. 364. Cf. Liv. 5, 43; Ann. 11, 24.—Exscindi depends on accidit, or rather is in appos. with facinus; though some copies place a pause after accidit.

28. Arserat . . . . bello. A. u. c. 671, in the civil war between Sylla and Marius. Cf. Flor. 3, 21; Cic. in Cat. 3, 4. This conflagration is referred to again below.—Fraude privata. Privati hominis et auctoris ignoti. Rup.


33. Mox Servius Tullius, etc. Quod alibi haud legere memini. Rup.—34. Dein Tarquinius Superbus. Cf. Liv. 1, 53. 55. 56.

36. Libertati, i. e. temporibus liberae rei publicae.—Horatius . . . dedicavit. A. u. c. 247, about three years after the expulsion of Tarquin. Cf. Liv. 2, 8; 7, 3. Dionys. 5, 35.

37. Ea magnificentia refers rather to the grandeur of the work, than to the pomp and ceremony of the dedication, as the next clause shows.—38. Ornareunt. Subj. Cf. Gr. 264, 1; Z. 556.

2. Viginti quinque. All the MSS. have quindecim, or ccccxxv., and Wr. and Or. follow them. But Lipsius, Ruperti, and most editors think it more probable that an x may have been omitted in the MSS., than that T. could have erred or departed from the established chronology by a period of ten years.

4. Hoc . . . . negatum. Pliny (N. H. 7, 44, 137) reports this as the language of Sylla himself.

5. Lutatii . . . . nomen, i. e. Lutatius Catulus (consul with Aemilius Lepidus, A. u. c. 676, A. c. 78) had the honor of dedicating the Capitol, and so of inscribing his name upon it, where it remained visible, notwithstanding all the improvements the Capitol had received from the Caesars (inter tanta Caesaris opera), till the edifice itself was consumed by fire, in the reign of Vitellius.


11. Captus animi. Ut alibi captus animo, i. e. ejus usu privatus. Rup.—Non lingua . . . . competere. See the phrase in Lev. Lex., under competo. The same words are cited by the grammarian Nonius from Sallust's History, now lost.

19. Martialis. Cf. 70, above.—Pacensis. Cf. 1, 20. 87; 2, 12. The other two (Niger and Scaeva) are not mentioned elsewhere.

24. Jecerat, i.e. secretly scattered abroad, instead of openly posting them up according to custom. Wr.


Ch. LXXIV.—33. Disjecto = destructo.—Contubernio. Cf. note, 1, 43.—Jovi Conservatori = Διτ Ξωτήρ.

34. Aram casus . . . expressam. Dictio poetica ac Graeca, quales T. amat, pro aram marmoream in qua casus sui expressi erant. Rup. Gr. 234, II.

36. Sabinus, etc. Eutropius (7, 12) and Victor (Caes. 8) make Sabinus to have perished in the burning of the Capitol; while Suet. (Dom. 10) says he was put to death by Domitian. Xiph. (65, 17) agrees with T.

159 1. Enavatae. So the MSS. The common editions have navatae. Ritter observes a fondness in T. for the use of e in composition to denote consummation. Cf. evicta, 2, 64.

5. Abscisc is omitted in the common editions, but is found in all the MSS., and is not superfluous: his head having been cut off, they drag his mutilated body.


Ch. LXXV.—8. In republica. As we say, in the service of his country, not of a civil faction, or a military chieftain. Ernesti thought the words superfluous, or at least misplaced.


18. Consults. Quinctius Atticus, named with Sabinus, 73 and 74, supra.

19. Velut . . . reddens. Reciprocating, as it were, the favor of Atticus in assuming the responsibility of having fired the capitol.


27. Periculum is the object of audebant, which takes an acc. Cf. Gr. 229, R. 2. In the other clause, audebant is followed by an inf. (egredi). For the case of moenia, cf. Gr. 233, R, 1. It is peculiar to the age of T. to use the acc. after verbs compounded with e or ex. Sull. and Liv. use the abl.; Cic. the abl. with ex repeated. Cf. Z. 386.—Ut . . . memoravimus. Cf. 57, supra.

28. Lascivia . . . similis. The common editions connect this clause with the next sentence, to the manifest injury of the sense and spirit.
30. Intuta moenium, amoena litorum. Cf. note, 65: offen-
sarum operta.

31. Personantes. Sono vocum musicorumque instrumentorum


Cn. LXXVII.—37. Per fugit, sc. from the garrison of Tarracina.

38. Tradi futurum. Al. traditum. The slave promised
that it would come to pass that the citadel would be delivered up,
not that he himself would deliver it up. So Wr., Ober. and Bach,
after the Medicean MS.—Multo nocte. In the dead of night; more
lit. deep in the night; when the night was far advanced.


15. Laurelam. A letter bound with bay leaves. Cf. note, A.18:
laureatis. Pliny employs the word in the same unusual sense,

Ch. LXXVIII.—24. Digressus Narniae, etc. Cf. 58 and 63,
supra.

25. Festos . . . dies. The Saturnalia began on the 17th of
December. It was the Roman Thanksgiving, or Christmas, or both
combined, especially to the rustic population, who having now finished
their agricultural labors, were ready to celebrate a joyous harvest-

26. Oriculli. A town of Umbria, near the confluence of the
Nar and the Tiber, now Otricoli.

33. Quando. Cf. note, 8, supra. It is here followed, first by the
subj., to denote the motive of the generals, as reported by quidam,
and secondly by the ind., to convey an additional thought of the historian.


38. Nequivisset. Subj. after qui = talis, ut = such a man
that he could not.—Haud facile. Cf. note, 28, supra.

2. Antonius . . . meruit. Antonius, with illtimed submission,
or with the design of retorting the odium (sc. offsetting the affair at
Cremona by those of Rome and the Capitol) deserved censure.

6. Salaria via. A road leading from the salt-works at Ostia
through the country of the Sabines to Rome, which it entered through
the Colline gate.

Ch. LXXIX.—9. Flaminiam, sc. viam. Cf. note, 1, 86.—Saxa
rubra. A place on the Flaminian road in Etruria, nine miles from
Rome.—Multo noctis. Cf. note, 77: multa noce.


21. Fuga consternantur. Intelligenda consternatio cum foeda
fuga conjuncta. Wr.

Ch. LXXX.—24. Raptis . . . telis. Omnes rapiunt tela, sed
unusuquisque quod sibi obvium. Hence the sing. quod. Wr. Ernesti


2. Placita from placeo = dogmas from δοκεω.

7. Obviae fuere. Met them, sc. the Flavian troops.


virgins not unfrequently acted the part of intercessors, as for instance


Ann. 3, 69; 11, 32; Dict. Antiq., Vestales.

9. Certaminis. Al. certamine. Utrumque probum; sed illi

Tacitus usitatus. Rup.—Unum diem. Al. unam. Cf. Gr. 90; al.

Lexicon, sub dies. We should say: he earnestly requested that the


Æneas to Turnus, Aen. 10, 532: Belli commercia Turnus sustulit.


17. Delubris. This word denotes a temple, as a place of pub-

fication and atonement. Rams. 38; Freund, sub voce.


24. Praecidilis. Used for agminster, to avoid repetition.

27. Sallustianos hortos. These famous gardens were in the

suburbs of Rome near the Colline gate. They derive their name from

the historian Sallust, who constructed and adorned them with every

attraction which the plundered treasures of Numidia could purchase.

They became, after his death, a favorite residence of the emperors.

32. Desperatione sota, sc. adjutii, or pro suis partibus. Cf. Essa

p. 17.

163 Cu. LXXXIII.—4. Scorts similis, i. e. pathici. Rup.—Qua-

sum . . . libidinum. All the licentious pleasures of a luxurious

peace. It is to be borne in mind, that this was the period of the Sa-

urnalia. Cf. 78. Hence festia diebus below.

5. Prorsus. In a word.

10. Velut . . . acceleret. As if this pleasure also (sc. of seeing the fight) were added to the usual entertainments of these festive days. The punctuation of the last clause is different in different editions, some placing a semicolon after exsultabant, others after fruebantur, and others still, allowing no such pause. Exsultabant implies more outward demonstrations of pleasure; fruebantur, inward enjoyment. Imagination never portrayed a more vivid and moving picture of mingled ferocity and voluptuousness than the pen of our historian has sketched. Its credibility has been called in question. But Florus (3, 21) affirms the same of the civil war between Marius and Sylla. The last grievous calamity that befell the Romans, was a war waged by parricides within the walls of Rome, in which citizens were engaged against citizens with the rage of gladiators exhibiting a spectacle in the forum.

Ch. LXXXIV.—13. Oppugnatione castrorum. The camp of the pretorian guards, a little way out of the city, where it was first located by Sejanus in the time of Tiberius. Ann. 4, 2. Cf. Dict. Antiq. sub voce, Praetoriani, and note, 1, 39: vocibus in urbein.

21. Recipiantur, sc. castra. The veteres cohortes, i.e. the old pretorians discharged by Vitellius, might with special propriety speak of retaking their old camp.

24. Suprema . . . solatia. These words are in appos. with inquietare, morari and foedare, all which depend on amplectebantur; these acts of vengeance were the last solace of the conquered. Ernesti understands by suprema . . . solatia their wives and children!

27. Contrarils vulneribus. With wounds in front. Versi in hostem (a superfluous clause in the view of some), gives the cause of this: since they faced the enemy to the last. So Wr.

Ch. LXXXV.—30. Sellula. Dim. of sella, on which see note, 1, 27.

31. Dlem stands opposed to noctu understood, when he would have fled to Tarracina, had he escaped the peculiar dangers of the day.

37. Pudenda latebra. A dog's kennel, according to Xiph. 65, 20; according to Suet. Vitel. 16, the porter's lodge.

3. E . . . miliitisbus. Doubtless one of the emperor's body-guard.

4. Per iram, etc. T. here adverts to three distinct suppositions: 1. That the soldier aimed a hostile blow at Vitellius out of resentment; 2. That he did it out of compassion, to rescue him from further insults; 3. That the blow was intended for the tribune. According to Xiph. 65, 21, the soldier said, I will give you the best assistance in my power, and thereupon he stabbed Vitellius and dispatched himself.

11. Una vox. Al. vox una. Una vox has the authority of all the MSS. and lays the emphasis, where it belongs, on the number.
notes.

13. Concidit. Cf. Suet. Vitel. 17, where the account is more full and particular.

Cf. LXXXVI.—15. Patria .... Luceria. The various readings here are many. But this is, with a slight alteration, the reading of the best two MSS. and accords with Suet. Vitel. 1. Luceria was an ancient city of Apulia, now Lucera. Cf. Anth. Class. Dict.—Serv. 

17. Concidit. Cf. Suet. Vitel. 17, where the account is more full and particular.


21. Concidit. Cf. Suet. Vitel. 17, where the account is more full and particular.

22. Concidit. Cf. Suet. Vitel. 17, where the account is more full and particular.

23. Cuncta. Al. contineri. But it is a needless conjecture.

24. Meruit .... habuit. He earned friends, rather than bought them, as is usually the case with those who seek to buy them.


book iv.

167 Cn. I.—2. Per urbem. Notice the position of these words. They do not limit consectabantur, but armati victores: armed victors every quarter of the city.

6. Procerum .... juventa. The German soldiers were tall (cf. G. 4: magna corpora) and youthful; and under pretence of slaying them, they slew indiscriminately, soldier and citizen, all whom they could in any way contrive to confound with them.

8. Recentibus odis. When their hatred was fresh, i.e. in the heat of battle.—Dein verterat. Had soon after changed. The plus denotates the suddenness and completeness of the change. Z. 508.

11. Nec deearat .... prodere. Proedere depends on deearat. In the common editions it is separated from it by a colon. But deearat usually takes after it either an inf. or a dat. or a pred. nom. to limit its meaning. Cf. 3, 58: deearat elicere, 1, 23: deearat instincctor.

14. Fortunae. The vicissitudes, all the varied fortunes. Compare the Gr. τέχνη, συμφονα. Al. forma and fortuna. Forma is mere conjecture.

17. Turbas et discordias .... pax et quietes. Notice the pair of synonyms, or rather kindred words. Cf. note, 1, 84.

Ch. II.—20. Sedem. Residence, i.e. the imperial palace. A first he was conducted to the private house of his father.
21. Stupris et adulteriis. Cf. A. 7; Suot. Dom. 1 and 22; Xiph. 66, 3. 26, etc.


5. Aricam. An ancient town of Latium, at the foot of Mons Albanus, about 16 miles from Rome. The Aricinum Nemus (cf. note, 3, 36) was near, whence the present name of the place, Nemi.

6. Bovillas. An ancient town 10 miles from Rome. It was on the Appian Road, as was also Aricia.—Nec = et non, correl. to et miles.

16. Adversis abstractus. Ruined (lit. dragged down, swept away) by his adversity.

Ch. III.—17. Lucilius Bassus. Whose treachery is described, 3, 12.

18. Discordibus animis, as well as contumacia, is abl. of cause limiting mittitur.

21. Capuae, etc. That is, of the larger towns (opposed to minoribus coloniis), Capua was punished for its fidelity to Vitellius (3, 57); but Tarracina was not rewarded, though it favored the party of Vespasian (3, 76); which gives rise to the striking and yet just reflection which follows.

25. Quem ... diximus. Cf. 3, 77. The crucifixion of this slave was some consolation to the people of Tarracina for not being rewarded as they deserved. Observe the Latin idiom, the concrete, servus affixus, where we use the abstract, crucifixion.

27. Annulis. The badge of knighthood (cf. note, 1, 13) still on his hands was now only a mark of derision.

28. Cuncta ... decernit. So at the accession of Otho (1, 47) and of Vitellius (2, 55), where see note on cuncta.

32. Lustraverant has for its subject civilia arma.

34. Tanquam ... bello, i.e. he did not write like a conqueror dictating his own terms, but as if peace was yet to be established; such at least was the first aspect of the letter (ea ... forma), yet on closer inspection his language was that of an emperor, uttering modest sentiments (those becoming a citizen) touching himself, and excellent sentiments in regard to the republic.

37. Consulare imperium. It was usual to confer perpetual consular authority on the emperor's sons. Wr. It should be added, that his father and brother, the consuls for the year, were both absent.


Equestri. To address the senate thus (on the general interests of the state) was not in character for a private citizen. Cf. note, 2, 55: gratior ... scripsisset.—Paucos ... dies, sc. on his arrival at Rome.

—Loco sententiae, sc. in his place as a senator.

9. Triumphalia. Cf. note, A. 40.—*De bello civium,* i.e. really for his agency in dethroning Vitellius, but nominally for his defeat of the Sarmatians, or the Dacians as they are called, 3, 46, where the victory of Mucianus is narrated. The Sarmatians and Dacians often acted in concert. Cf. 54, below. A triumph was never granted for a victory over Roman citizens.

12. Mox, sc. after honoring *men,* thus reversing the proper order. Gall. 14, 7.

16. Ubi ventum, i.e. in calling on the senators to give their opinions in their order of their rank and honors. Cf. Dict. Antiq., Senatus.—*Helvidium Priscum.* Cf. note and text, 2, 91; also note, A. 2.

18. Falsa aberant = ita falsis carentem, i.e. *though respectful* to the emperor, yet devoid of false adulation. The enallage is very bold.


21. Iterum. Cf. 2, 91. Helvidius Priscus is often mentioned in the Annals. But the Annals were not composed till after the History. At the time of writing this, therefore, he could say *iterum incidimus, we have happened to mention a second time.*

23. Quali . . . . sit usus. Subj. of the indirect question.—*Repetam.* Cf. note, 1, 4: *repetendum.*


32. Libertatem, etc. Dion. (66, 12) says, it was an illimiting imitation of Thrasea's freedom of speech.

34. Pervicax is not found in Cic. or Cæs. Cf. Freund, sub voce. It is rarely used in a good sense, as it is here.


2. Major, sc. in its consequences. Cf. *nam si caderet,* etc.

5. Testatum. *Attested* to T. and his cotemporaries by the orations of both, which were still preserved. Wr.

11. Priscus . . . . juratis. Priscus demanded that they (*the*
ambassadors) should be chosen expressly for the purpose by magis-
trates under oath. Cf. note, 1, 43: nominatim. Besides the oath of
office, senators and magistrates were sometimes put under oath to be
faithful in a particular duty. Cf. Ann. 4, 21: jurati senatus; also
Dict. Antiq., Oaths.

12. Urnam. An urn was used to receive the names in drawing
lots. Cf. Hor. Od. 3, 1, 16; Virg. Aen. 6, 432. Hence urnam =
sortem. Cf. 7: sorte et urna.—Quae consulis designati, etc. It was
usual to call on the consuls elect, if present, for their opinion first. Cf.
Dict. Antiq., Senatus.

Ch. VII.—20. Suffragia. Observe the etymology of the word.
Cf. Lev. Lex.—Existimationem senatus = judicio senatus below.

23. Occurrere. Meet him and escort him with due honor to
Rome, as Vitellius, 2, 59; Agricola, A. 40; Cic. pro Mil. 35.

16, 21, seq.—Sentio. The name of an unknown person. The text is
disputed. Senecio occurs in two or three MSS. But he belonged to a
later generation. Cf. A. 2. Seneca has been suggested, but it is with-
out MS. authority.


Ch. VIII.—31. Censuisset. Had advanced the opinion, sc. which
Helvidius impugned.—Vetera exempla. Cic. Epis. ad Att. 1, 17;
Suet. Aug. 35; Dio. 59, 23.

1. Animus... suspensus. The mind of Vespasian, at the com-
 mencement of his reign, still unsettled.

3. Se meminisse, etc. He remembered the spirit of the age in
which he lived, the form of government which their fathers and grand-
sires had established, sc. the imperial, which had originated about two
generations previous.

8. Per... imaginibus, i.e. the forms of law and justice, such as
a prosecutor and a board of judges.

10. Se unum esse. He was but one member of that senate,
which, like himself, had submitted to the reigning despot. An ad-
mirable speech for a demagogue.

18. Mediis patrum. Neutri parti faveantibus, inter duas partes
medium quasi tenentibus. Rup.

Ch. IX.—21. Nam tum... aercarium. The treasury of the
Roman republic was under the care of the questors. Augustus trans-
ferred it to the praetors and those who had been praetors. Suet. Oct.
36. Claudius restored it to the questors, and Nero again transferred
it to the praetors. Ann. 13, 29; Suet. Claud. 24. Hence the propri-
ety of Tacitus' stating how it was at this time (tum).

24. Consul... reservabat. The consul elect (in the exercise
of his prerogative to give his opinion first, cf. note 6) proposed to re-
171 serve (was inclined to reserve) the treasury for the emperor. For this use of the imperf., cf. Gr. 145, II. 4.

26. Perrogant. Subj. Cf. 263, 5, R. 2; Z. 578. Observe the force of per; asked through, i.e. all round in order.

27. Intercessit. Interposed his veto.

31. Oblivio. Abl. from oblivium which in the sing. occurs only in T., though the poets use the pl. oblivia.—Meminisset. Remembered it and reported it to Vespasian to the ruin of Helvidius. Cf. note on Helvidius, A. 2. The proposal to repair the Capitol at the expense and by the authority of the commonwealth (publice) with the help of Vespasian, was deemed derogatory to the honor of the emperor. Meminisset. Subj. Cf. Gr. 264, 6; Z. 561. Plup. Gr. 183, 3, Noto; Z. 221.

Ch. X.—33. P. Celerem. A Stoic philosopher, the client, friend and master of Soranus, and also his betrayer.

38. Amicitiae, cujus. Such is the reading of all the MSS. The common editions have, amici et cujus, an emendation of Lipsius. But the reading of the MSS. has the same meaning. Amicitiae is the friendship between Soranus and Celer, of which Celer was the master by having trained Soranus for it, but which he afterwards betrayed and violated (proditor corruptorque). So Wr. and Or.

172 3. Exspectabantur, i.e. their participation in the cause was looked to as giving it its chief interest.

Ch. XI.—8. Dissimulata . . . iracundia is abl. of cause limiting fracta.—Quamvis . . . tegere tur. Cf. Gr. 263, 2; Z. 574.


13. Calpurni Galerian. Son of Caius Calpurnius Piso (Ann. 14, 65; 15, 48–59), and son-in-law of Lucius Piso (49, infra). His only crime was his high birth (nomen) and his personal attractions (decora juventa).

15. Ipsī. Dat. for gen. = his own, in distinction from the name which he inherited from his ancestors.

18. Ne . . . foret gives the reason for putting him to death forty miles from the city. Ibi villa monumentumque Calpurniorum erat, et adhuc reperiantur inscripti lapides, qui ad gentis hujus libertos pertinent. brotier.—20. Julius Priscus. Cf. 2, 92; 3, 55.

21. Pudore, sc. for their cowardly flight, 3, 61.


23. Asiaticus. The favorite freedman of Vitellius. Cf. 2, 57 95.—Enim refers to a suppressed clause of this purport: but not so with Asiaticus, for he, etc.—Is libertus gives the reason why Asiaticus was punished like a slave (crucified), viz. that he had been a slave.
CH. XII.—30. Batavi. See the same account of the origin of the Batavi and of their country, in different language, G. 29.

32. Inter vada sitam, i.e. interpenetrated by shallow waters. Cf. our author's description of the island, 5, 23: palustrem humilemque insulam. Al. justa sitam, Wr., Rup. and Or.; nunc Bataviam, Oberlin; and many other conjectural readings. The MSS. differ much. The Medicean here has no meaning. The only reading in which there is any agreement, is that given in the text, which is adopted by Wr. and Död.


34. Opibus Romanis. By Roman power.—Societate validiorum explains opibus Romanis: by Roman power, that is, by alliance with a more powerful nation, which usually exhausted and ruined (attributi) the weaker party. The Batavians fared better than the allies of Rome usually did.

35. Viros tantum, etc., i.e. they do not pay tribute. Cf. 17: tributorum expertes; also G. 29. On ministrant, see note G. 44.

38. Praecipue .... studio. Cf. A. 18: patrius nandi usus, etc. Perrumpere depends on studio, and denotes the result—so as to break, etc.

CH. XIII.—3. Paullus and Civilis were brothers; compare with this the words of Civilis below, 32: accem fratri et vincula mea.


10. Simili .... dehonestamento. Sertorius and Hannibal were blind of one eye. Cf. Plut. Sertor.; and Liv. 22, 2.—Ne .... iretur. Lest he should be met as an enemy.


17. Adventabat. Would have come, was already coming as it were. Cf. notes, 3, 46: coeperant, ni; A. 13: ni .... fuissent. Z. 519.

CH. XIV.—23. Avaritia ac luxu. Avaritia showed itself in drafting the aged or invalids and exacting money for their release; luxus in the scandalous abuse of the young and the beautiful, who were particularly numerous among the Batavians. Cf. note, 3, 33: quis .... conspicuus.

29. Nocte ac lactitia. Hendiadys. By the pleasures (festivities) of the night. See in G. 22, the German custom of deliberating on great questions at feasts prolonged through the day and the night.

31. Neque societatem. Nor was it an alliance, as formerly.

32. Quando .... venire. Plenius T. scripsisset: quando legatum venire? quanquam legatum molestum gravi comitatu et superbo imperio: sed ne venire quidem; tradi se, etc. Wr.

35. Novos sinus. New plunderers, lit. new laps or bosoms to
4. Cujus . . . redditi, i. e. if unsuccessful, they could claim a reward from Vespasian for their (pretended) zeal in his service; but if successful, no account need be rendered of their conduct.


11. Ut . . . retulimus, sc. 2, 69. These Batavian cohorts had long served in Britain as auxiliaries of the 14th legion. Cf. 1, 59. 64. Hence they are here called Britannica auxilia.—Magontiaci. A town of Belgic Gaul, now Mentz, situated at the confluence of the Rhine and the Maine.

12. Brinno. This word probably has the same root as Brennus, the name of the commander of the Gauls when they sacked Rome. It seems to be the official designation of a prince or leader among the Gauls, like Pharaoh in Egypt.


15. Ipso . . . placuit. The people were pleased with (lit. he pleased them by) the very name of a rebel family, i. e. with the very fact, that like his father, he had rebelled against the Romans. Orelli. Al. omne for nomine.

16. More gentis. This custom was afterwards adopted from the Gauls and Goths by the Romans. Cf. Or. in loc.

21. Quod militum, sc. erat = what few soldiers they had. Signa, vexilla and quod militia make up the subject of congregantium, and pomen is in apposition with them.


29. Oneraverat is very expressive, implying that their arms were a burden.


1. Ex diverso. On the opposite side, sc. that of the Romans, the line of battle was drawn up not far from the river Rhine, and with the ships facing the enemy. Diversus is very often used for adversus. Cf. note, A. 11: in diversa.


6. E Batavis, i. e. being Batavians.

BOOK IV.


26. Vindicis aiciem. Cf. note, 1, 8. Civilis artfully calls it a battle (aciem), not, as it really was, a defeat and slaughter (cladem). And he proceeds immediately to impute the success of the opposite army to the valor of the Batavian horse, who were now under his command: it was by the Batavian horse (under Verginius) that the Edai (under Vindex) and the Arverni (hodie, Auvergne) were trampled under foot.—27. Verginius. Cf. note, 1, 8: Vindicis.

29. Addito agrees with the following clause, which is thus put in the abl. abs.: with the addition of all the discipline, etc.

30. Esse secum ... procubuerint. Observe the present and perfect here in the oratio obliqua. We can use only the imperfect and pluperfect (if we use the present and perfect, we must say we and us, in other words adopt the oratio recta); the Latins may use either class of tenses with the same subject, se. Cf. note, 1, 32: si poeniteat.


33.—34. Caeso .... Varo. Cf. G. 37, note.

Ch. XVIII.—5. Flaccus Hordeonius. Observe the inverted order of the names Flaccus Hordeonius. Cf. 1, 9: Hordeonius Flaccus, which in early times was always the order, but often disregarded in later times. Cf. Z. 797, and note on the names of Agricola, A. 4.


24. Totis campis. The abl. with totus, denoting place, usually stands without a prep. Cf. Z. 482.

27. Oppidano certamine. In their competition, as townsmen, for the pre-eminence.—29. Avehitur, sc. by Civilis.


33. Pretium .... donativum. These words are in apposition: they demanded as the price of their march, a donative, double pay, and an increase of the number of horse (the cavalry had easier service and better pay); all which had, in fact (sane), been promised them by Vitellius.

2. Mox .... ministris. Presently influenced by his natural sluggishness (cf. 1, 9) and by the fears of his subordinates. Abl. of cause, limiting statuit.

5. Dein .... ipsis. Afterwards changing his purpose and censured by the very persons who, etc. Dein is correlative to mox.
NOTES.

177 7. Bonnam. Now Bonn. This is the earliest mention of Bonn in history. Cf. Rup. in loc.—Transitu. Crossing, sc. the Rhine at Bonn.

Ch. XX—19. Si obsisteret . . . . sin occurrant. Cf. note. 75, infra; si velit . . . . si mallet.

21. Experiretur. Al. ut . . . . experiretur. But ut is wanting in all the MSS. Of course it is to be supplied, as in so many other exhortations, e.g. 2, 46: habet; 3, 64: capesset. Aug. to try.


33. Sibimetipsi consuluissent. They had fought in self-defence.

Ch. XXI—35. Just. Suitable, sufficient. So Livy often.


Ch. XXII—10. Concurrentis may be taken either with belli = gathering, or with minas for concurrentes = simultaneous. The former is the better.

12. Subversa, etc. They (the legati) demolished the works which during a long peace had been built up in the neighborhood of the camp into something like a town. These appendages of camps were not uncommon, especially on the borders where camps were permanent. They were frequented by merchants, mechanics, and all men of business.

15. Rapt. Seized by force and in haste, instead of being procured in the regular way.

17. Medium . . . . obtinens. Commanding the centre in person at the head of the flower of the Batavians.

18. Quo . . . . forert gives the reason for placing the Germans who were peculiarly truculent, on both banks of the Rhine, viz. that he (Civilis) might appear the more formidable.

20. In . . . . agebantur. Advanced against the current.


24. Duabus . . . . situm. Built (lit. located) for two legions.

25. Armatorum Romanorum stands opposed to lizarum, who were unarmed and for the most part provincials.

Ch. XXIII—30. Neque . . . . malorum, sc. fore crediderat: nor had he anticipated that there would ever be such a depth of misfortunes.

33. Transrhenani. The Germans mentioned, 21, supra.

38. Scalis, testudinem. Cf. notes, 3, 27; and Man. and Dict. Antiq. sub voc. for these and other military terms which follow.


18. Ipse navibus, sc. celeratus: himself intending to go by ship, because he was feeble, etc. Cf. Essay, p. 15. Al. ipse pavidus.


2. Exemplares instead of exemplaria, which is the reading of the common editions, but not of the best MSS. Exemplares is found in other late writers.

7. Usurpandi Juris, sc. causa, which is not unfrequently omitted by T. before the gen. of the gerundive. Cf. Ann. 2, 59: cognoscendae antiquitatis; 3, 9: vitandae suspicionis. It is a deviation from Latin syntax, and imitation of the Greek idiom. Cf. Z. 663; Gr. 275, III. (5).

13. Quin, etc. Nay more, that very soldier even charged conscious guilt upon his general.

Cu. XXVI.—24. Commeatus is, properly, supplies brought in, by convoy or forage. These were straitened (arcti) by the circumstances mentioned in the context. Dód. takes commeatus in the sense of liberty to go and come, to avoid tautology with inopia frumenti. But cf. 3, 13: in arcto commeatum.


29. Quod ... vocabatur. The observation which T. has compressed into a maxim, is explained by Cicero in his more open style. Having mentioned a number of prodiges, he says: Atque haece in bello plura et majora videntur timentibus; cadaem non tam animadversuntur in pace. Accedit illud etiam, quod in metu et periculo, cum credentur facilius, tum finguntur impunius. Cic. de Div. 2, 27. This
may account for the many portents and prodigies recorded in the Roman historians, who are often said to be superstitious, when they are giving a true picture of the public mind. See the phenomena of this kind, 1, 86: supra. Murphy.


31. Additus . . . curarum, i. e. he was associated with Vocula in the command by Hordeonius, the governor of the province.

32. Gelduba was near Novesium, now Gelb.

34. Meditantis (preparations) is post-Augustan.

Ch. XXVII.—6. Quod . . . verterat refers, not to victi, but to culpabat.

10. Illum refers to Hordeonius at a distance; hunc to Herennius Gallus, who was on the spot.


Cn. XXVIII.—22. Alla manu. Sic MSS. et editiones omnes ante Bipontinos et Oberlinum, qui ediderunt aliam manum. Wr. It is a marked case of enallage. Civilis gives orders (to his subordinates) that the Ubii and Treveri be laid waste, each country by the troops that happened to be nearest to it, and that with another division they cross the Meuse and harass the Menapii, etc.

23. Morinos et extrema. Cf. Virg. Aen. 8, 727: extremique hominum Morini. They dwelt by the British Channel.—Utrobiique. On both sides, i.e. in both the above expeditions.


27. Qula . . . aberant. Their distance from the German frontier made them feel secure.

31. Obsidium legionum, sc. at Vetera, 22. 23, supra.

Ch. XXIX.—1. Qulppe . . . vaia gives the reason for inani.

6. Unde . . . acciderat. From whatever direction a shout happened to have proceeded, in that direction they turn their bodies and draw their bows. The propriety of arcus here has been much disputed, but with little reason.

12. Propellere . . . sequi. They thrust them back with the shield, and then follow them up (and transfix them) with the lance. For the position of umbone and pilo, cf. Gr. 279, 5; Z. 798.

sub voce; also Man. P. 3, 299, 4.—Duplici tabulato. With two
floors or stories. Towers were oftener 10, 15 or 20 stories.

16. Praetoriae portae. Every Roman camp had four gates, one
on each side, of which the front gate was called the prætorian. Cf.

21. Suspensum . . . machinamentum. Describitur hic tollen-
on, de quo vid. Veget. 4, 21; Liv. 38, 5. Wr. The old-fashioned
well-sweep is a rude illustration of the principle of the tollen-
on, though the sweep must of course have had a horizontal as well as a vertical
motion. Archimedes employed a similar machine against the Roman
fleet. Liv. 24, 34.

22. Praeter . . . rapti. One or more at a time (observe the
force of the distributive, singuli) being caught up and borne aleft in
the face of (lit. past, praetor = πραῖτορ) their comrades, etc.

Cf. XXXI.—28. Cæcinae edicto. Cæcina was consul (cf. 2, 71,
and note there), and probably issued an edict for submission to Vespasian.

34. Dixit. Said it, as a necessary form, without looks or feel-
ings to correspond (non vultu, etc.).

35. Concipere verba is a techin both
for drawing up and taking up a form of words.

Cf. XXXII.—1. Tanquam ad, etc., i. e. recognising Civilians
as a friend of Vespasian, and regarding the German legions as enemies.

5. Externa . . . velaret. And not disguise hostility to the
Roman empire under a false pretence of fighting for Vespasian. Cf.
externa in the same sense, 1, 79; 3, 5.

6. Satisfactum coeptis. His object was accomplished.


Cf. note, 3, 68: jus . . . civium.

15. Dominorum ingenia. And the like inventions of tyrants.
Cf. ingenium in the same sense, 3, 28; 2, 71. Or. renders it caprices.

19. Idem erimus. We shall be as well off as we are now.

Cf. XXXIII.—23. Parte . . . retenta, sc. to press the block-
ade of Vetera. Vocale with his army was among the villages of the

29. Subsignano milite. Cf. note, 1, 70.

30. Auxilia, etc. The auxiliaries gathered hastily (confusedly)
around the subsignani.

31. Terga . . . vertit, i. e. turn their backs to the enemy, and
retreat towards their comrades.

34. Sternebantur. Observe the force of the imperfect: were
being overthrown.

36. Vasconium. A people of Spain, at the base of the Pyrenees;
afterwards settled in Gascony in France, to which province they gave
their name. Rup.—A Galba, sc. when proconsul in Spain. Cf. 1, 49.
NOTES.


Ch. XXXIV.—11. Vocula nec ... dein = Vocula et primum non ... et dein = Vocula in the first place did not ... in the next place.
12. Simul ... victusque. Was defeated as soon as he went out to battle.—13. Castra ... movit. Marched.
21. Simul ... intelligebatur, i. e., while the besieged could not doubt the testimony of the witness, given at the price of his life, they were confirmed in the belief that the Romans were victorious, by the sight of burning villages.—23. Constituit signa. To halt.
25. Certaret depends on jubet, ut being understood.


Ch. XXXV.—2. Corrupta ... malle. Justly suspected, on account of his frequent failures to profit by his victories (lit. on account of victory so often spoiled), of preferring a protracted war.
7. Firmo, i. e., not yet having recovered from his fall, 34.
14. Maneutibus ... castris describes the state in which the cohorts found the camp at Gelduba, viz. the same state in which it had been left, as described 26, supra.
15. Non erat dubium, etc., gives the reason why Vocula strengthens his own troops by a detachment from the legions (now relieved from the siege by the retreat of Civilis), and goes to succor the cohorts and foragers.—19. Indomitum. Ungovernable.

Ch. XXXVI.—25. Circumsedit, i. e., returns to the siege. Mom- bodo complains with some reason of the rapidity and abruptness of the narrative here.

37. Nisi ... evasisset. But he made his escape, &c.


Ch. XXXVII.—3. Ipsl, i. e., the soldiers in distinction from the centurions spoken of at the close of the last section.
6. Superiore exercitu. Cf. note, 1, 9. The troops of Upper Germany seem to have favored Vespasian, and refused to act in concert with those of Lower Germany in their zeal for Vitellius. Yet (tamen, notwithstanding this refusal) the latter go forward and replace his images.
13. Satietate ... incerent. Satiated with booty, yet not without bloodshed, as described in what follows: in via, etc.
15. Quum et, etc. Commentators find it difficult to discover the connection here. May it not be this: Besides the success of the Ro-
mans in raising the siege of Magoniacum, and slaying many of the enemy on their retreat, the Treveri also (quin et) constructed a breastwork (loricam) along their border, and fought strenuously against the common enemy (the Germans) for a season.

17. Donec with subj. Cf. note, 1, 35.

Ch. XXXVIII.—19. Consulatum. For the chronology, see table, p. 26.

22. Desclivisse, etc., depends on pavores, or on something implied in pavores, e. g. it being rumored that, etc.—L. Pisone. Cf. Ann. 13, 31; 15, 18.

24. Naves. The ships that conveyed corn to Rome from Africa, the granary of the city.—Vulgus, sc. at Rome. Vulgus is subject of credebat, on which clausum, sc. esse, and retineri depend. Littus is the shore of Africa.

28. Nec .... rumore. And not even the victors (the Flavians) being averse to the rumor. Al. ne victoribus quidem, etc.

Ch. XXXIX.—32. Praetor .... vocaverat. It was his duty in the absence of the consuls. Cf. note, 1, 47.

33. Regibus. Those who had espoused the cause of Vespasian. Cf. 2, 81.

36. Ejurante. Resigning, retiring from, sc. the city-praetorship.

6. Majoribusque. T. imitates the poets in annexing que to the former of two words, connected by et. Cf. 1, 51: seque et Gallias; 3, 63, et al. Que is omitted here in some copies.

7. Fraterna imagine. The image (i. e. the rank and station) of his brother Piso, who was adopted by Galba. Cf. 1, 14.


18. Egesto has the clause quicquid turbidum for its subject, which with egesto forms an abl. abs. Cf. Z. 647; Gr. 257, R. 8.

Ch. XL—22. Crebra ... confusio. Frequent blushing. This seems at length to have become a settled redness of face, which precluded a blush. Cf. note, A. 45: rubor. This use of confusio is peculiar to T.

23. Referente Caesare. It was the office of Domitian, as city praetor (cf. 39), in the absence of the consuls, to convene the senate and propose to them business.

27. Quisque .... figerentque. And to examine and replace the brazen tablets of the laws which had fallen down through age. These tablets were affixed to the statues and the walls in the temples and the forum.

28. Fastos .... exonerarent. To disburden the calendar defiled by the adulation of the times, sc. with games and religious festivals in honor of unworthy men, voted and registered especially in the days of Nero. To erase and annul these would of course reduce the public expenses (modum ... facerent). Cf. Wr. in loc.
NOTES.


32. Honor. The honor without the office. Or as Or. explains, he remained praetor extraordinarius or honorarius.—Repeti. Resumed. Cf. 10, supra, and notes ibid.

35. Privatim, i.e. out of the senate, in private and social life. The particular fact in private life which shed lustre on the day, is mentioned in the next sentence, viz. that Musonius was honored and Demetrius disgraced, as they deserved to be.—Justum judicium. A just process or impeachment. Al. indicium.

36. Expessus. To have accomplished or carried out.—Diversa fama, sc. erat, after which Demetrio is dative. Demetrius attended Thrasea in his last moments (Ann. 16, 35). Now the same man defends the prosecutor of Soranus: such was the consistency of a philosopher by profession! Brotier.


7. Certatim is antith. to ut rogabantur. The magistrates were innocent, and hence emulously volunteered to take the oath; while the rest, some of whom were guilty, waited till called on for their assent.

12. Probabant . . . arguebant. The senate approved the religious scruples, but censured the false swearing, for after all the change of phraseology, it was perjury still. Observe the order: the emphatic word (probabant) first, the contrasted words (religionem, perjurium) near each other.

19. Scribonios fratres. Cf. Ann. 13, 48. The two Scribonii, whose names were Rufus and Proculus, were put to death by Nero at the instigation of Pactius Africanus, A. v. c. 820.


Ch. XLII.—26. Messala. Cf. note, 3, 9.—Senatoria aetate, i.e. 25, as fixed by Augustus; in earlier times, 32.

27. Aquillo Regulo. A practised informer. Cf. Plin. Epis. 1, 5; 2, 20; 4, 2; 6, 2; Mart. 2, 74.

28. Crassorum. M. Crassus Camerinus, brother of Piso (1, 48), and Scribonianus Camerinus were accused by Regulus in the reign of Nero. Plin. Epis. 1, 5.—Orfiti. Cf. Ann. 12, 41; 16, 12.

29. Sponte ex senatus consulto, i.e. the accusation having been decreed in general by the senate was voluntarily prosecuted by Regulus. The reading is generally thought to be corrupt.


37. Appetitum . . . caput, i.e. Regulus had bitten the lifeless head of Piso in malicious spite.
3. Reliquerat has for its subject all the following clauses of the sentence.—5. Hiatu, in the sense of eager desire, is peculiar to T.
7. Ex funere ... raptis. Torn from the dead body of the re public.
8. Consularibus spoliis. The spoils of consular men, sc. Cras-sus and Orfitus.—Septuagies ... saginatus. Pampered with seven millions of sesterces. Sestertio is abl. limiting saginatus, the word being constructed just as if it stood without the numeral. Cf. Dict. Antiq., Sestertius.
22. Sed ... mores. But examples last longer than characters or men. Hence let us establish a precedent for the punishment of informers, which, though not needed under such a prince as Vespasian, will live after he is dead.
30. Sub Nerone. Cluvius Rufus attended Nero in his musical itinerations (Xiph. 63, 14; Suet. Ner. 21), but made no bad use of his influence.
31. Crimine. With his own guilt, as an informer, particularly in accusing Thrasea. Cf. 6, supra.—Exemploque, and the better ex- ample of Cluvius.
34. Regna ... Caesare. Observe the tact of the court-flatterer, by which he afterwards intrenched himself in the favor of Vespasian.
Ct. XLIV.—1. Proximo senatu. At the next meeting of the senate, i.e. on the next day.
6. Postquam ... itum. As soon as they met with opposition.
Ct. XLVI.—30. Dimissi ... congregati. Cf. 2, 67, 82.
31. Lectus ... miles. Soldiers chosen out of the legions for this privilege (lit. hope, spem). Al. illectus.
32. Promissa stipendia, sc. of praetorians.—Ne ... quidem.
Not even the Vitellians, i.e. the praetorians of Vitellius, who were a third class of competitors for the same office.


37. Quos . . . . memoravimus. Cf. 2, supra.

1. Intecto is post-Augustan. So is commanipulares below.


17. Firmati jam. Non amplius trepidi, jam confirmato animo. Ruperti

20. Quibus actas. Those who were 50 years of age and had served 20 campaigns. Orelli.

Ch. XLVII.—23. Ut videretur, i.e. that the new government might have the credit of finding the treasury exhausted and so of restoring it. A policy not yet obsolete!


28. Censorium. Due to a censor.—Flavio Sabino. Brother of Vespasian, slain by the Vitellians, 3, 74.

29. Instabiles fortunae. Compare the insults heaped on his lifeless body (3, 74), with the honors now paid to it.

Ch. XLVIII.—31. L. Plso. Cf. 38, and note, ibid.—Proconsul. Al. pro consule. Cf. note, 1, 49.


33. Taliun facinorun = tali facinoris by enallage of number. Wr.—34. Flunibus. Dat. of the end after auxilia.


38. Duos, sc. the proconsul and the legate.—Beneficiorun. Offices in their gift. So Liv. 9, 30: consulum beneficia = offices in the gift (not of the people, but) of the consuls.

192 2. Diuturnitate officii. The office of proconsul was annual, like the original tenure of the consulship, while that of the legate might continue from year to year.

3. Minoribus, sc. the legates, who were of lower rank than the proconsuls.

8. Affinitate . . . auxius. His relationship to Vitellius made him the more anxious to avert the displeasure of Vespasian by such services as the death of Piso.
12. Erga in T. donates either a friendly or unfriendly relation.
15. Suspecto. Lit. and to him suspected in peace, war more safe, sc. than peace itself. Al. suspecta.
24. Continuare. Lit. prolongs all things favorable, i.e. proclaims every thing still favorable, in opposition to the adverse rumors that had gone abroad. Ritter makes it = continuo clamare.


13. Festus . . . contendit. From Adrumetum, where he had stopped to watch the issue from a place near by, Festus proceeds rapidly to the legion. Observe the force of sub in substiterat = had stood near, and of con in contendit: stretches all his energies at once towards. Al. tendit. Adrumetum was a Phoenician colony in Africa.
18. Ocsinium Leptitanorumque. The people of Oea and Leptis, two large towns between the Syrtes, now Tripoli and Lebeda.
26. Mapalium is a Punic word: huts or hamlets of the Africans.

Ch. LI.—27. Vespasiano. Vespasian was tarrying at Alexandria. Cf. 2, 82; 3, 48; 4, 81.
30. Vologesi. Cf. note, 1, 40, where the acc. occurs after the form of the third declension (one among many examples of our author's fondness for variety).
32. Ambiri. To be solicited by, to have urged upon his acceptance. Cf. note, G. 18.

15. Nutabat. Was balancing, as it were, on a pivot. Compare with this Vespasian's original plan of starving the city to submission, if necessary, by cutting off supplies from Egypt and Africa, 3, 7. 48, and notes ibid. on clastra annonae and et Africam.

Ch. LIII.—18. Restituendi. Rebuilding. The Capitol had
have been burned down in the civil war. Cf. 3, 71. The senate had voted
the rebuilding, under the direction of Vespasian, chap. 9, supra.

20. Contracti. Brought together from without, as well as within
the city, particularly perhaps from Etruria, their mother country.—
Haruspices. Cf. note, 1, 27.

23. Serena luce. On a clear day, or with an unclouded sun.

25. Fausta nomina. Such as Faustus, Salvius, Longinus, etc.
The Romans attached great importance to auspicious names on solemn
occasions (cf. Cic. de Div. 1, 45, 102), as the Greeks did to auspicious
words.

26. Patrimis matrimisque. Whose parents had been married
by the solemn religious rite of confarreatio = confarreatis parentibus
genitos, Ann. 4, 16. Dict. Antiq. sub vocc. Others understand by
it: whose parents were living.

note, 1, 36: praecere.—Lustrata . . . area, sc. by leading the victims
(a pig, a sheep and a bull) around the area and then sacrificing them.
Cf. note, 1, 87.

29. Cespiteum, i.e. an altar of turf.—Redditis. Offered.—Jovem
. . . . Minervam. These were the Capitoline divinities. Cf. note, 1,
86: cella Junonis.


37. Primitiae. The first ores taken from the mines.—Ut gig-
nuntur. In their native state.—Praedizere = praecepere. Cf. note,
3, 6: praedictum.

1. Annuere depends on credita implied in creditum. Wr. Id is
object of annuere and subject of defuisse creditum.

Caes. B. G. 6, 13; Turner's Hist. Ang. Saxons, B. 1, chap. 5.

16. Primores Galliarum. Intellige primores Galliarum in urbe
praeentes et inde ab Othone missos, ut populares suos adversus Vitel-
lium concitarent. Wr.

Ch. LV.—20. Flaccè . . . caedem. For the murder of Hordeo-
nius, cf. 36, supra. For the order of the two names, cf. note, 18, supra.

24. Illi, i.e. Classicus. Ipse also refers to the same, and intro-
duces what he himself said of himself.—Origo = stock, ancestry.

25. Hostis is pred. nom. after esse understood. It is a Greek
construction and unusual in the Latin. Cf. Hom. ll. 13, 54: ἰδὶ
18. It occurs rarely in the poets, e.g. Virg. Aen. 2, 377: sensis me-
dios delapsus in hostes. Reader, he himself boasted that, from his
ancestry (by birth), he was more (magis understood as usual with T.)
an enemy of the Roman people than an ally.

26. Miscuecre sese. Attached themselves to Civilis and Classi-
cus.—Hic . . . hic, instead of ille . . . hic. So Virg. Ecl. 4, 56; Cic.
Epis. ad Div. 9, 16. Both are thus brought near, and, as it were, into the presence of the reader. Bach.


30. Corpore atque adulterio = corpore in adulterio. Roth.

31. Attamen, i. e. notwithstanding the state was averse, still some of the people took part. Agrippinensis was the capital of the Ubii.

38. Capti ... urbem. The city was on the very eve of being taken, sc. by the Flavian army.

1. Distinueri. Were kept away. Al. detinueri.


Ch. LV.—4. Haec ... probataque. See the impetuosity of the Gallic character; so described by Cæs. B. G. 3, 10, and characteristic of the French to this day.—Pariter = at the same time, i. e. no sooner said than approved.


18. Quem ... diximus, sc. 18, supra.—Extra conventum. This may mean without the bounds of the confederacy, or without the limits of the judicial district. Cf. note, A. 9. Al. confinium, continentem, etc.

Ch. LVII.—33. Sacrovirum. Ann. 3, 40. 46. Sacrovir was a leader of the Ædæ in a rebellion.—Vindicem. Cf. note, 1, 8.

35. Melius, sc. than Galba and his successors, who had treated the Gauls too gently.

37. Infracta tributa. The reduction of their tribute. Cf. 1, 8: tributi levamento.—Induisset. Had excited, or inspired.


6. In externa verba, i. e. allegiance to a foreign or hostile nation. Boet. instances this use of externus, as peculiar to T. Cf. note, 32.


12. Hostium. So all the MSS. The common editions have honestam, a conjecture of Lip., to which Wr. objects that the very same death is called foedissimam in the next chapter. On the other hand, it is objected to hostium, that the evils arising from the enemy were not the only nor the chief evils by which Vocula was encompassed. Various other readings have been proposed, but hostium still stands in the best editions, though enclosed in brackets in several.

32. Sane ... displaceam. Sane = concedo et doleo. Ruperti. Al. sin.

34. Toto ... orbe. Hence a monstrous prodigy, for only such would be so widely proclaimed.

37. Tutorinus; i. e. Tutorine. Ne is the enclitic interrogative particle. The most recent editions do not mark the elision by the apostrophe.
This speech well illustrates the spirit of a Roman soldier, and breathes all the national pride and martial energy of the Roman people.

198 Ch. LIX.—15. Hereunium, sc. Gallum. Cf. 19. 26, etc.
16. Numistium, sc. Rufum. Cf. 22, supra.—Sumptis ... insignibus. Assuming the insignia of a Roman commander, sc. the fasces, lictors, etc.
23. Agrippinenses. The inhabitants of this colony were opposed to the rebellion. Cf. 55, supra.
24. Superior.... ripam. The (Gallic) bank of the Upper Rhine.
25. Pulso. Driven away, sc. in flight.
27. Obsessos, sc. at Vetera. Cf. 18 and 35, supra.
Ch. LIX.—35. Doucec . . . orantes. Observe the high standard of military duty, allowing no extremity of suffering to be an apology for surrender.

199 2. Leves = stripped of all but clothes and armor.
3. Germani, sc. of the party of Civilis.—Incuntum agmen, sc. of the Roman captives.
5. Perfugiunt. Fly for refuge. Al. profugiunt, which means flee away, and is less appropriate with retro in castra.
Ch. LXI.—11. Barbaro voto. Cf. G. 31.—Post coepta . . . arma limits propexum rutilatunque : his hair, which, in accordance with a vow common among barbarians, had been suffered to grow long and was stained red (rutilatum = reddened, rutilum = red) ever after the commencement of hostilities with the Romans. It was not uncommon for the Gauls and Britons, to color their hair before entering battle. The custom of letting the hair and beard grow long, till they had slain an enemy or accomplished some act of vengeance, prevailed also among the Germans (cf. G. 31) and was imitated by Caesar himself (Suet. Caes. 67).
15. Ceterum neque se, etc. A Gallic empire was a mere pretence on the part of Civilis in order to secure the co-operation of the Gauls. His real object was independence and supremacy for himself and his countrymen, the Batavians.
17. Possessione rerum. Supremaey.—Inclitus . . . potior. He had a distinguished reputation and superior power.—Fama is abl. limiting inclitus.
20. More quo, etc. Cf. G. 8, where also Veleda is specified. That passage and this taken together show, that in the opinion of T. the Germans actually deemed some of their women divine, and did
not suppose they raised mortals to the rank of goddesses: nec tanquam facerent deas.

27. Quae . . . sunt. These were still in the hands of the Romans.—Vindonissae. Now Windisch in the canton of Berne, in Switzerland.

CH. LXII.—32. Rubore et infamia. Henidiays and enallage for rubentes infamia = blushing for shame.

2. Revulsae = dereptae, I, 41, where see note.—Inhonora = squalida; opposed to the fulgentibus vexillis Gallorum. Post-Augustan.

5. Debilior. This word usually means ailed or lame. Cf. 81, infra: debilitas. More disfigured and disabled in mind, sc. than in looks.


CH. LXIV.—26. Discreta. Separated, sc. from the Ubii and Agrippinesis their capital.


34. Inermes. A special indignity to Germans, who did every thing armed. G. 13.

35. Sub custode, sc. a Roman soldier.—Pretio. On condition of paying for the privilege.

5. Lucem diemque = light of day, by hendiadys. Observe the author’s extreme fondness for pairs of synonyms: lucem diemque, amicitia societasque, colloquia congressusque.


CH. LXV.—20. Deductis olim. The original Roman colonists.

21. Provenere = e nobis nati sunt. The sense is post-Augustan.


31. Ipsa . . . turre, sc. erat, habitabat.—Edita is abl. agreeing with turre.

CH. LXVI.—3. Ausus . . . composito. Either under a sudden impulse or according to a preconcerted plan.

8. Movebatur . . . condebant. Observe the change of number, representing the emotion more as a common feeling, and the sheathing of their swords more as separate, individual acts.


CH. LXVII.—14. Projectis . . . monumentis. Casting down the monuments of their alliance with the Romans, i. e. the columns or tablets on which the treaty was inscribed. Touching such monuments, cf. Dion. Hal. 4, 26; Liv. 2, 33; 26, 24.
18. Melioribus. Rup. and Or. say = fortioribus. But rather = better, more faithful.
24. Suo loco reddemus, sc. in one of the lost books of this history. Ad rem, cf. Xiph. 63, 3; Plut. in Erot. 25. Sabinus and his wife lay concealed nine years in a subterranean tomb, where she bore him two children. They were at length discovered, brought to Rome and put to death by Vespasian.
25. Resipiscere: Began to recover their senses. An ineptive verb.
33. Libidines here refers to lust of power, rather than to his licentiousness. Cf. spe . . . properus and flagrantem, below. See also his ambition, 39 and 51, supra.

4. Utraque munia. Both of senator and commander of the praetorian guards. It was usual in this age to appoint only men of equestrian rank to this office.—Assumuntur . . . ambitionem. The men of distinction were obliged to follow in the train of Mucianus because he was jealous of leaving them behind, and others attached themselves to him voluntarily from ambitious motives.
6. Accipiebantur. Were preparing for the war, as we say were buckling on (lit. girding to, ad and cingere) their armor. Observe the middle sense. Cf. note, G. 39: evolvuntur.
8. Si . . . invasisset. If he should once enter the army and take the command.
24. Super caput. Near at hand, just ready to fall upon them.—Reverentia fideque. Respect for authority, and a sense of duty.
25. Periculo ac metu. Danger and the fear of it, 1, 88, note.
29. Quod . . . caput = quis bellii dux? Rup. Quod is neuter to agree with caput.—Unde . . . peteretur = quis imperator in Gallia. Rightful authority (jus) and religious ceremonies (auspicia) were quite inseparable in the view of the Romans. Hence, in their writers, they are often named together, e. g. Liv. 22, 1: justum imperium et auspicium. Ernestii.
BOOK IV.

Ch. LXX.—7. Superiorem ... ripam. The banks of the Upper Rhine.


10. Singularium. The meaning of this term is left wholly to conjecture. E. understands by it, troops in high rank, next to the praetorians, like extraordinarii or selecti = elite. Wr. horsemen fighting not in companies but as individuals, each for and by himself = μονομυχος.—27. Ut ... memoravimus. Cf. 62.


Ch. LXXI.—1. Delectus ... habitos, i. e. the troops levied in Gaul.

5. Recepta juventute. Having received back their young men, sc. the levies sent back by Cerialis.

6. Facilius toleravere. They were better able to pay their tribute with the help of their young and able-bodied men.

11. Ne ... faceret. Not to hazard a decisive battle.

14. Tertiis castris. After three days' march.—Rigodulum. A town of the Treveri on the Moselle, now Rigol or Réol, near Treves.

16. Insederat. Had taken possession of.—Montibus aut Mosella, i. e. partly by the mountains and partly by the river. So G. 1: metu aut montibus.


20. Quem ... Juvari, sc. putabat, or dicebat.

21. Dum ... praevehuntur. While they are passing by the missiles of the enemy, i. e. so long as they are exposed to them: Missilia, acc. after prae. So Wr. and Or. Rup. makes it nom.: while the missiles are flying past them.

22. Ut ... manus. When they came to a close engagement. Cf. in manus, 76, infra; also the Greek, άλος καρπας ελθων. Ad manus is more common.


30. E gremio Italicae. Hence particularly dear to the Romans. The colony of the Treveri, on the contrary, was on the confines of Germany.

35. A metu. From, i. e. through fear. The Latins more commonly omit the preposition.

6. Qui ... poscebant. The victors asked pardon for their comrades. Al. quis, quia, quos, etc. etc. But qui is found in all the MSS. and earliest editions, and it accords with the sympathizing spirit above ascribed to the victors (solantibus, etc.) to suppose, that they asked pardon for their erring and guilty comrades.—Vocem precesque = loud entreaties by hendiadys. So with the other pairs:
12. 
Ne . . . objectaret. That no one should reproach his fellow-soldiers with their revolt or their (subsequent) calamities.

This section, like 58 and 61 supra, show the high sense of honor and duty which marked, and in a great measure made the Roman soldier.


17. Armis affirmavi. I have demonstrated by arms, not by words. The address accordingly bespeaks the soldier, rather than the orator.

20. Profligato bello. Now the war is finished.


25. Quot proclilis, etc. On the German wars, cf. G. 37 and notes ibid.


29. Alius Arlovistus. A second Arlovistus. This is the name of a German conqueror of large portions of Gaul, who was himself defeated by Julius Cæsar. Cf. Cæs. B. G. 1, 31–52.

37. Ut non for quin or qui non. Cf. Z. 539.

207 Ch. LXXIV.—3. Id solum . . . quo. We have imposed only that tribute, by which.

6. Cetera . . . sita sunt. Every thing else (except the necessary tributes) is held in common by the Romans and the Gauls.

8. Laudatorum principum. Praiseworthy rulers. Ant. to saevi, sc. princes. In like manner procul agentibus is ant. to proximis. The design is to set forth the advantages of being governed by the Romans at a distance, rather than by their own princes at home. See the same argument used by Sulla (Sal. Jug. 102): in quo (sc. the distance of the Romans) offenses minimum, gratia par ac si prope adessemus.

12. Sed neque . . . et. Neque correl. to et, and = et non; in the first place, these are not perpetual, and in the next, they are counterbalanced by the better rulers that intervene.

17. Quid aliud quam bella, etc. So Sallust represents the Roman empire under Julius Cæsar as the universal bond of peace and safety, and Plutarch speaks of it as the anchor of a fluctuating world.

19. Compages hacc. This fabric, more exactly bond, enclosure.

26. Compositum erexitque. Allayed their fears and revived (lit. raised) their hopes.

Ch. LXXV.—27. Tenebantur . . . Treveri. The country of
the Treveri was occupied by the victorious army of Cerialis.

Cf. 72.

29. Quanquam .... occultarent. Although they (the Romans) were endeavoring to conceal the news. Al. nuntii.

32. Si velit .... si mallet. Observe the change of tense. Ernesti proposes to make the reading conform. But the difference in the tense is designed to set forth a difference in the conception. Si velit implies a direct offer of the empire with the apparent expectation of its acceptance: if he will accept, etc. Si mallet expresses a more remote and less anticipated contingency: if he should prefer, etc. Cf. Gr. 261; Z. 524. So 20, supra: si ... obsisteret = if no one should oppose them, a contingency which they could hardly anticipate; sin ... occurrant = but if arms (battle) await them, as they suppose to be the fact.

35. Ipsas epistolas. Asyndeton for ipsasque epistolas: he sent the bearer and the letters themselves. There is no force in the ipsas, if epistolas is connected with attulerat, as in the edition of Oberlin.

37. Passum jungi denotes the ground on which they censured Cerialis = for having suffered, etc.

1. Intuitus. Not fortified.

Cf. LXXVI.—3. Civillis, sc. censebat, affirmabat. The verb is expressed with Tutor below.

5. Gallos is placed before quid for emphasis: the Gauls alone, what would they be but a prey, etc.?

9. Accitas, sc. legiones.—Adventare, etc. Cf. 68.


20. Adolescens... meditantis. Such as Valentinus.—Quam. Sub. magis.


33. Perrupta ... castra. This and the following clauses are the items of the universa clades which Cerialis saw. Hence they should not be separated from it by a period, as they are in many editions.

7. Aut militum .... aut hostium. Flaccus and Vocula had fallen by the hands of their soldiers (36 and 59); Numisis and Herennius by the enemy (70).


14. Acies. A regular line of battle, ant. to cohortes et manipulos.—Effuso hoste. Since the enemy were spread out on all sides. Cf. note, G. 30: effusis.

24. Sed obstituat assigns the true reason for the defeat of the Gauls, in opposition to the reason which they alleged: ipsi ... ferebant, etc.

Cf. LXXIX.—32. Justae ... Invocantium. Reasonable entreaties of those invoking aid (lit. calling it in).

33. Ad spem, etc. To the hope of victory or the purpose of
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revenge.—Namque = Greek καὶ γὰρ. The que belongs to some clause that is to be supplied, thus: and they had reason to fear, etc., for Civilis also (et) was in motion as well as they.

34. Intenderat, sc. animum, as in 1, 48, or oculos, as in 5, 17, had directed his attention. The word means to increase in 1, 12, and to resolve (our intend) in 2, 22, at which places see notes.—Flagrantissima ... integra is abl. abs., denoting the cause (Gr. 257) and limiting invalidus: he felt himself strong, notwithstanding his recent defeat, because his bravest (lit. most ardent) cohort was still left unharmend.


37. Avertit. Turned him back, or away.

38. Germanos, sc. Chattos Frisioque.

6. Ultro est insuper. Wr. Immo, est sponte, non instincli a Civile Classicovo aut injuria. Rup. and Or.


19. Averso. Al. adverse. Although Antony was not received according to his expectations, yet neither was he met with coldness or aversion.


Ch. LXXXI.—28. Statos ... dies. The proper season (lit. set days) for the summer winds.—Certa maris. Connect this with statos ... dies by hendiadys, and render: when navigation is safe.—Multa miracula. T. relates only two with his usual cautious and incredulous spirit. See others in Suet. Vesp. 7; Xiph. 66, 8.


32. Monitu Serapidis. In case of sickness, it was the custom of the common people, by the advice of the Egyptian priests, to abstain from food and lie in the temple of Serapis, stretched on the skins of victims slain at the altar. Hence the distempered visions of crazed imaginations, which were considered as light divine and prophecy. Brotier.


35. Oris excremento. T. avoids the technical vulgar word saliva. Cf. Essay, p. 20.—Manum aeger. According to Suet. (Vesp. 7), it was a paralytic leg. The testimonies do not agree.

36. Pedo ac vestigio = the step or sole of his foot, by hendiadys. Cf. 1, 66: vestigia presando, and note, ibid.

3. Medici. The physicians, the priests and the emperor were doubtless in collusion to impose upon the superstitious people, who were equally ready to be deluded. The miracles of Christ and his apostles, on the contrary, were wrought in the face of prejudice in the popular mind, and of envy and hatred on the part of all the leading men.


10. Laeto ... vultu, erecta ... multitudine. These statements show how ready all parties were to believe the miracle.

12. Utrumque ... pretium. The dynasty of Vespasian was no longer on the throne, so that the imperial favor could not now be the motive of the witnesses. But how was it when they first told the story, and for a long time afterwards? That is the main question. The fact here stated only proves, that having once told the story, the witnesses still persisted in it. Voltaire pronounces these the best authenticated miracles that are to be found in history, sacred or profane. Hume also adduces them with great confidence, as an offset against the Christian miracles. But look at the circumstances above adverted to,—the discrepancy in the written records,—the conspiring interest of the emperor, the priests and the physicians to get up a miracle,—the readiness of the people to believe it,—and the motive of the original witnesses in the first place to tell the story, and then to persist in it. Moreover, the cases are expressly declared to have been such in their outward appearance, that a deception might easily have been practised. The language of T. (dedita superstitionibus genus, etc.) makes it more than doubtful whether he believed in any miracle, though he leaves no room to doubt some of the facts. On this subject, see Paley’s Evidence, prop. 2, chap. 2.

Cu. LXXXII.—15. Sacram sedem, sc. Serapidis.

17. Intentusque numini. Consequently with his back towards the door.—Respexit pone tergum, i.e. quum ... capturus auspicium ... tandem se convertisset. Suet. Vesp. 7.


21. Ex nomine Basilidis, i.e. as prophetic of royal dignity or imperial power (βασιλικός, king).


27. Antistites. Priests (præstites); those who stand before or preside over religious rites.

28. Qui ... primus, i.e. Ptolemy I. There were 13 Ptolemies in the Macedonian line of Egyptian kings. Ptolemy III. is mentioned in the next section ( quem tertia aetas tulit).


1. Eleusinæ. From Eleusis, a town of Attica, near the right bank of the Cephissus at its mouth, where the Eleusinian Mysteries
were celebrated, and from which they derive their name. Now a mere pile of rubbish, bearing the name of \textit{Lefsina.}


\linebreak[4]
\textit{Πλοῦτος} from \textit{Πλοῦτος}. According to others, = Gr. \textit{Δίς}, \textit{Zeus}.—Namque. And with reason is it considered the temple of Pluto, for an image of Proserpine stands by the side of the image of the god.

\textbf{13. Pythium ... adecant.} And consult the oracle.


Cf. LXXXIV.—\textbf{17. Allegant.} \textit{They send}, sc. by the servants of Scyndrothenis.—\textit{Versus animi.} Changeable in his feelings, wanting in decision of character, lit. turned, or turning himself this way and that. The genitive of \textit{animus} is used in this construction by the later much more than by the earlier prose writers.

\textbf{23. Destinata deo.} The honors destined for the god. Or it may be, as Rup. suggests, for \textit{destinata a deo} = the purposes of the god.


\textbf{28. Circumsedere} is the inf. of \textit{circumsedec}. Al. \textit{circumsidere}.—\textit{Major fama.} E. and Wr. \textit{mako major} = \textit{more wonderful}: Or. = \textit{better attested}.

\textbf{32. Rhacoctis.} A promontory and village, afterwards a part of Alexandria, overhanging the naval station.—\textit{Fuerat sacratum.} The name of Serapis was therefore previously known in Egypt, and the image brought from Sinope now began to be worshipped under the ancient name. Wr. Cf. \textit{Dic. Myth.} and \textit{Biog.}, \textit{Serupis}; also Man. P. 2, 96, 4.


\textbf{35. Quem tertia actas, etc.} Cf. note, 83: \textit{qui ... primus}.

\textbf{36. Eundem Ptolemaeum, i.e. Ptolemy III. or Energetes.—Ex qua transierit, sc. to Alexandria.} Memphis declined after the foundation of Alexandria.

\textbf{37. Memphim.} The ancient capital of Egypt, situated at the apex of the Delta, whose magnificent ruins are so often visited by travellers; now Gizeh, opposite Cairo.

\textbf{38. Columnen. Capital, our word column.}

\textbf{213. 3. Plurimi ... conjectant.} Most conjecture from evident signs in the deity himself, or by indirect inference that the god is Pluto. \textit{Plurimi} comprehends more than \textit{plerique}. Cf. 1, 39.

\textbf{4. Per ambages is ant. to insignibus ... manifesta.} Observe
the enallage. Cf. note, G. 15: venatibus, per otium. See also Essay, p. 17.


7. Fides. In appos. with Valentinus. Cf. the same, 2, 5; also fiducia, 2, 4, and note, ibid.

14. Decore is an adv. limiting interventurum.


Ch. LXXXVI.—21. Intelligebantur, sc. by Domitian. The real object of Mucianus is explained, 68, supra, viz. to keep Domitian from entering the army, where so ambitious and unprincipled a youth might do great mischief.—Pars ... deprehenderentur. It was the part of submission in him (Domitian) not to expose these arts, i.e. he chose to pursue a submissive course, and thus not appear to understand the motives of Mucianus.

22. Ita Lugdunum ventum. Silius Ital. (3, 607) and Josephus (B. J. 7, 4, 2) give Domitian the credit of bringing this war to a close. They wrote under the Flavian dynasty. Cf. notes, 2, 80.


30. In altitudinem conditus = in altitudinem animi, tanquam in latebram se condens simulando, tacendo. Bipontines. Retiring within the depths of his own spirit. See also Essay, p. 16.

31. Studiumque literarum. Domitian is highly praised for his love of literature by Quintilian (10, 1), and by Sil. Ital. (3, 616). Suetonius (Dom. 2) agrees with Tacitus in ascribing it all to affectation.

33. Contra, sc. to what it really was.

BOOK V.

Ch. I.—1. Principio limits delectus, not agebat. Titus was selected to complete the conquest of Judæa at the beginning of the year (A. D. 70), as was stated in its proper place, 4, 51.—Tum qualifies agebat, and refers to the period now reached in the history = at this time.

2. Privatis ... rebus. When both were private men. Al. praelatis. But see the same form of words in 3, 65.

3. Certantibus ... studiis. The provinces and armies emulating each other in their zeal.
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5. Decorum. Elegant in person and manners. Cf. 2, 1: decor oris cum quadam majestate; said of Titus. Wr. takes it in the more general sense of propriety of conduct, Ritter connects it with in armis.

1. Comitae et alloquiscs = affability of address, by hendiadys.

2. In opere. In the labor of the camp. Cf. 3, 10: valli opus.

—in agmine. In the fatigue of the march.—Incorrupto ... honore. Without impairing the dignity of a commander.

7. Agrippa, etc. For these kings, cf. notes, 2, 81.

9. Multi is the subject of comitabantur.

10. Occupaundo ... vacuum. These words are exactly correlative in signification: the hope of gaining a prior hold on the favor of a prince whose affections were not yet preoccupied.

Ch. 11.—16. Creta insula. We find mentioned (1 Sam. 30, 14, Ezek. 25, 16, Zeph. 2, 5) a nation, in the south of Palestine, called Crethim (Cherethites in the English version, in the Septuagint, Кppaς, Cretans), who were probably connected with the inhabitants of Crete, and who were perhaps confounded with their Jewish neighbors by the authorities from which Tacitus drew. The supposition of a Cretan origin of the Jews may also have been confirmed by a similarity of customs between the two nations, e.g. abstaining from swine's flesh.—Novissima. Remotest.

17. Qua tempestate. Poetical for quo tempore. Cicero declares, however (De Or. 3, 38), that he should not hesitate to use the expression in prose.—Saturnus ... pulsus. For the dethroning and banishment of Saturn by his son Jupiter, see Dict. Myth. and Biog., Saturnus; Man. P. 2, 15, etc. Ad verbum pulsus, cf. note, 1, 29.

20. Regnaunte Islede. Cf. Dict. Myth. and Biog.; also Man. P. 2, 96. 2.—Exundantem. Lit. overflowing, to which answers exoneratam, discharged; the figure being drawn from a stream. Exundare is a post-Augustan word.

21. Tradant. Al. tradunt. Cf. Gr. 264, 6; Z. 561.—Assyrios, etc. The tyre at the present day hardly need be informed, that this is the only tradition which accords at all with the facts, though there are circumstances giving plausibility to some of the others here recorded by T.

25. Proprias urbes. Cities of their own, ant. to parte Aegypti potitos; or cities previously their own in Canaan. Gen. 1, 31.


27. Clara is taken by Wr. and Rup. in the sense of clear, manifest, implying that this is the true origin. Others take it in the sense of illustrious.—Initia is in appos. with Solymos.—Carminibus Homer. II. 6, 184, 204; Odys. 5, 283.
28. Conditae ... fecisse. Gave to the city which they built the name Jerusalem, from their own name. Al. conditam urbem ... nomine suo.—Hierosolymam. Al. Hierosolyma, acc. pl. Both forms are used. See Lexicon. But Hierosolymam, though less common in T., stands here in nearly all the MSS. The plural form of this name, as of the names of Athens, Thebes, and many other places, seems to have originated in the incorporation of two or more adjacent towns or fortresses (in this case, Mount Moriah and Mount Zion) into one. For the true etymology of Hierosolyma, cf. Kitto's Bib. Cyclopaedia, and Rup. ad loc.

It cannot but strike us, familiar as we are with the origin and history of the Jews, as very singular that Tacitus should have contented himself with throwing together such a crude jumble of contradictory fables, instead of going to the original records, or consulting Jewish authorities, in all of which he would have found the same consistent and true story. But it is important for us to bear in mind, in reading this or any other Roman history of the Jews, that they were a solcuded and peculiar people; that their neighbors consequently knew little of them, and were prejudiced against them; and that at Rome especially, they were hated by the great for their insubordination, and despised by the learned for their superstition, bigotry and intolerance. It should also be remembered, that the same prejudice extended to the early Christians, who were regarded as a Jewish sect, and are often spoken of by Roman writers in the same terms of hatred and contempt as the Jews. See the famous passage in the Annals (15, 44), where T. calls Christianity an exitiabilis superstition. Yet on both these subjects we find traces of the truth in nearly all our author's errors, and those errors need not destroy our confidence in his veracity as a historian, on subjects about which he was better informed and less prejudiced. Similar and even worse absurdities are found in the other Latin authors respecting the Jews, e. g. Justin, 36, 2, Juv. 14, 96. seq., Martial, Diodorus, &c. Cf. Preliminary Remarks, p. 236.

Ch. III.—30. Orta . . . . tabe. Justin (36, 2) speaks of this disease and calls it scabiem et vitiliginem, i.e. the leprosy. T. as usual omits the common technical name. Cf. Essay, p. 20. We have here manifestly a corruption, and at the same time an indirect confirmation of the history of the plagues that attended the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt. Ex. 9.

31. Quae . . . . foedaret. For the subj., cf. Gr. 264; Z. 553. —Hammonis oraculo. The original oracle of Ammon was in Lybia (where his worship originated), twelve days' journey west of Memphis. Cf. Plin. 5, 9. But the oracle here referred to was probably in Thebes, which was a city sacred to Ammon, and hence called in the scriptures, No-Ammon, the abode of Ammon. Cf. Nahum, 3, 8, in the Hebrew.
35. Vastis locis, sc. the wilderness or deserts of Arabia.—*Per lacrimas* = inter lacrimas. Wr.—*Torpentibus.* Sunk in inaction.

37. *Sed sibimet . . . pepulissent.* The reading and the meaning of this difficult passage have been much disputed. It is particularly a question whether *sibimet* refers to Moses or to the exiles, and whether *duci* should be read in the dative or the ablative. *Pepulissent* is also referred by some to the past and by others to the future. Without dwelling on the reasons for it, the following is given as on the whole the most satisfactory version: *but they should trust to himself, a celestial leader, by whose aid first (the first offered them) they would soon avert their present calamities.* It will be seen, that in this version *pepulissent* is taken as the subj. of the oratio obliqua used for the future perfect of the oratio recta, and that fut. perf. used for the simple fut. for the sake of implying rapidity, i.e. in the oratio recta, it would be *pepuleritis.* Cf. Z. 511 and 496, 5.


8. *Dicata.* Al. *dicata sunt.* *Dicata* is nom. pl. neut. Cf. Gr. 205, R. 2, (2) ; Z. 376, b. The clause is a concise expression for urbs condita et templum dicatum est, with the additional implication, however, of the sacredness of the city as well as the temple.

Cf. IV.—9. *Quo sibi . . . firmaret.* Rather to preserve them from the idolatry which the rest of the world practised. Put *Deo* instead of *sibi* here (as after *crederent* in the previous section), and T will be quite correct.

12. *Effigiem animalis,* sc. asini. Cf. 3. This charge of holding sacred the image of an ass is reiterated by very many classic writers. Cf. Rup. ad loc. It gained currency perhaps for no other reason so much, as that it was a convenient topic of ridicule and satire on a despised people. T. expressly declares, in the very next section, that they allowed no images in their temple. The Bipontines explain away the contradiction by supposing that *sacrae penetrali* does not here mean to consecrate as an object of worship, but to preserve as a sacred memorial. But? It may not be amiss to observe, in this connection, that the ass was held in high esteem by the Jews, insomuch that kings and princes rode on asses and were forbidden to multiply horses. Deut. 17, 16 ; 2 Sam. 8, 4 ; Mat. 21, 5.—*Errorem sitimque,* i.e. *simit, qua crumbund cruciabantur,* by heindinds. Wr.

13. *Caeso ariete.* *While the ram is slain* (sacrificed).

14. *In contumeliam Hammonis.* *Ammon* was represented and worshipped under the image of a ram’s head (Herod. 2, 42), the original idea of the god being that of a protector and leader of the flocks. Cf. Dict. Mythol. and Biog., *Ammon.*

15. *Qula.* Al. * quem.*—*Apin.* *Apis* was a sacred bull at Memphis, which received the highest honors as a god among the Egyptians.
For the manner in which the animal was selected, served and wor-
shipped, cf. Dict. of Mythol. and Biog. sub voce.—\textit{Merito} = culpa
and causa. \textit{Dōd.} and \textit{Or.} \textit{Al.} memoria.

16. \textit{Qua} \ldots \textit{turpaverat}. \textit{T.} probably hits here upon a true
reason, though not the only one, for the prohibition of swine’s flesh to
the Israelites. The eating of it exposes to the leprosy, that dreadful
scourge of the East. The Levitical law was founded more in reason
and the nature of things than is generally supposed.

former.

18. \textit{Raptarum} \ldots \textit{detinetur}. \textit{As a proof of their seizure of
grain} (to relieve their hunger), \textit{Jewish bread} is \textit{carefully kept without
leaven}. This is true only of the bread used at the feast of the
Passover. As to the thing signified by the unleavened bread, \textit{T.} ap-
proximates the truth. Cf. Ex. 12, 15, seq.; Deut. 16, 3. \textit{Al. retine-

20. \textit{Quia} \ldots \textit{tulerit}. Cf. close of previous section. \textit{Laborum}
refers to their fatiguing journey.

24. \textit{De septem sideribus}. \textit{Of the seven planets}. \textit{Al.} \textit{e.} \textit{But
de} has the better authority and is often used for \textit{e} or \textit{ex}. Cf. Cic. \textit{pro
Flac.}: \textit{quis de nostris hominibus.—Quis} \ldots \textit{reguntur}. A doc-
trine taught by ancient philosophers, as also by modern astrologers.—\textit{Altissimo orbe feratur}. \textit{Revolves in the highest orbit.} So the Gr.
\textit{φτωπα} is used in the sense of \textit{revolve}. The day of the Jewish sabbath
was sacred to \textit{Saturn} among the Greeks and Romans, and is even
now called \textit{Saturday}.

26. \textit{Vlm.} \ldots \textit{conficiant}. \textit{Exert their influence and perform
their revolutions by the number seven}. Some recondite astrological
notion is concealed here. The number seven was a sacred number
with the Jews, as also with many other nations. The principal MSS.
instead of \textit{conficiant} read \textit{commearent}, which \textit{Wr.} retains and consid-
ers to be used like the Greek optative.

Ch. V.—30. \textit{Pessimus} \ldots \textit{gerebant}. This refers to those Jews
and proselytes who dwelt in foreign lands; for, though dispersed over
the world, the Jews still retained their nationality, and annually sent
contributions (\textit{tributa et stipes}) to support the temple worship at Je-
of course refer to their adopted countries.

31. \textit{Et quia}, etc. \textit{Sub. praeterea auctae. And} their wealth was
still further increased, \textit{because among themselves} they cherished an
inflexible fidelity and lively (in promptu = an adj.) compassion, but
towards all other nations, hatred as if they were enemies. The pas-
sage is pointed and read differently by different editors. We have
given that of \textit{Or.} and many others, which seems to make the con-
nection more natural than any other.
NOTES.

34. Alienarum = alienigenarum, the women of foreign nations. For the reason of this exclusiveness, see note, 4: quo sibi, etc.

35. Inter . . . illeitum. But compare the precepts of the dialogue, Exod. 20, 14. 17; also the severe punishment of adulterers, Deut. 22, 13-29. — Circumcidere . . . noscantur. Yet we are by no means to understand, that circumcision was entirely peculiar to the Jews. It prevailed among the Egyptians, Ethiopians, Colchians, Arabs, Armenians and other oriental nations. Cf. Herod. 2, 36. 104; Diod. 1, 28; Strab. lib. 17; Joseph. Ant. Jud. 8, 10; 12, 5. Its extensive prevalence implies a physical reason for it, which doubtless exists in those warm climates. On this subject, see a good collection of facts and authorities in Kitto's Bib. Cyclop., art. Circumcision.


37. Idem, sc. circumcision. — Quicquam . . . imbuuntur. This verb usually and properly takes an abl. after it. But it is here followed by an acc., as if a verb of teaching: nor are they taught any thing.


2. Et necare. Et = both, correl. to que, for both the clauses of this sentence stand related to the increase of population and the desire of offspring among the Jews. — Agnatis. Superfluous children, i. e. those born after there was already a sufficient number of heirs, which were put to death by the Romans. Cf. note, G. 19.

3. Animas . . . aeternos. So Medicean MS., Or. and Död. Al. animas aeternas. — Proelio . . . peremptorum. Those who fell in battle or were put to death by their Greek and Roman oppressors were especially incited by the hope of immortality, e. g. the Maccabees and their followers. Cf. 2 Mac. 7. 9. 36. But those Jews who held the doctrine in respect to any, doubtless held it in respect to all.

4. Corpora . . . Aegyptio. They bury their dead after the manner of the Egyptians, rather (magis understood) than burn them. Burning was the custom of the Romans under the emperors and in the latter ages of the republic. The earlier Romans buried their dead. Both usages prevailed among the Greeks. Cf. Dict. Antiq., Funus. The Jews embalmed (like the Egyptians, though with less care) and buried. Cf. Gen. 50, 2. 26; John, 19, 39. 40; Kit. Bib. Cyclo., Burial.

5. Eademque . . . persuasio. And they have the same anxiety and firm belief touching the lower world, sc. as the Egyptians.

6. Coelestium contra, sc. persuasio est. In respect to the gods, their belief is opposite to that of the Egyptians. For a similar use of contra, cf. 2, 97: experimentum contra fuit. Wr. joins those words to the following, and governs coelestium by pleraque.

7. Pleraque. Very many. Cf. note, 1, 39, and A. 1. — Animalia. Such as the bull of Memphis, the crocodile of Arainoe, the ibis, the ichneumon, etc. Cf. Juv. 15, 1, seq.; Herod. 2, 40. — Effigies compositas. Images made up of the parts of different animals put together. Look
at the grotesque and monstrous figures in Egyptian sculpture and painting, and you will be at no loss to understand the force of effigies compositas. Cf. note on Hammonis, 4, supra.—Judaei mente, etc. Cf. G. 9 : sola reverentia, and note ibid. We have here a sublime idea of one great, supreme and governing Mind; of one omnipotent, eternal God. It is astonishing that T. did not pause in deep reflection upon what he could so well describe. Murphy. Ad verba, cf. Essay, p. 17.

10. Imitabile. The common editions have mutabile. But that is included in interitum. Cf. Wr. in loc.


15. Liberum Patrem. Properly the old Italian god of planting, particularly of the vine, though the name is often applied by the Roman poets to the Greek Bacchus, as it is here by T. The name is probably derived from liberare. Cf. Dict. Biog. and Mythol. Others derive it from libare.

Cf. VI.—19. Terra finesque' = fines terrae. The boundaries of the country.

20. Phoenices. The people put for the country, as Gallis, etc. G. 1.

21. Septentrionem . . . prospectant, sc. terra finesque, lit. the frontiers look towards the north for a great distance alongside of Syria, i. e. the northern frontier stretches for a long distance on the confines of Syria. Cf. 3, 60: locus late prospectans. Notice the etymology of septentrionem in the lexicon.

23. Rari imbres. True of the summer. The winter is the rainy season in the East.


26. Pavent venae. A fiction of course. Till the present century, the East has always been to Europeans the land of romance.

27. Praecipuum . . . erigit, sc. terra. Libanum is acc. after erigit. Cf. G. 27: sepulcrum caespes erigit. The reader will observe the highly poetical turn of expression in this, as also in many other phrases here, e. g. pavent venae, fidumque nivibus, Jordanem alit, voluces patitur, fugit cruorem. T. is very fond of poetical descriptions. Compare that of Britain, A. 10, and notes ibid. It may be attractive, but it is one of those dulcia vitia which should not be imitated. Far preferable is the simplicity of Cæsar and the Greek historians.
29. Fidumque nivibus. Faithful to the snow, i. e. affording it a safe and permanent resting-place.—Idem, sc. Libanus.

32. Saporo corruption. In taste more offensive, sc. than the sea.

33. Neque vento impellitur. Compare with this the following from the letters of Lieut. Lynch of the recent U. S. Exploring Expedition: "The boats, heavily laden, struggled sluggishly at first, but when the wind fresheued to a gale, it seemed as if the bows, so dense was the water, were encountering the sledge-hammers of the Titans, instead of the opposing waves of an angry sea. . . . When we were near the shore, and while I was weighing the practicability of landing the boats through the surf, the wind suddenly ceased, and with it the sea rapidly fell, the ponderous quality of the water causing it to settle as soon as the agitating power had ceased. Within five minutes, there was a perfect calm, and the sea was unmoved even by undulation."

34. Suetas . . . volucres. A pure fiction.—Incetae . . . seruut. The waves, if waves they may be called, bear up things thrown upon them, as if placed on a solid structure, e. g. on a boat. Incetae, lit. of a doubtful nature, sc. because they exhibit so imperfectly the motion of waves, or the fluidity of water. The great specific gravity of the Dead Sea is well authenticated, and explains the remarkable buoyancy attributed to its waters. Cf. Robinson's Researches in Palestine, vol. ii. p. 213.

35. Periti impericrite . . . perinde. The use of perinde with que as a connective between the things compared is peculiar to T. and writers of his age. Cf. Freund and Boet. Lex. Tac.


Ch. VII.—10. Fulminum jactu. The use of jactu hero has been objected to, and ictu and tactu have been substituted for it. But jactu is justified by the example of Cic. in Cat. 3, 8; de Div. 2, 18; Liv. 28, 27, et ul. Ad rem, cf. Gen. 19, 24. 25.

11. Vestigia, sc. of ruined cities. Strabo (16, 2) and Josephus (4, 8, 4) both testify to the existence of these ruins. See the names of the five principal cities of the plain, Gen. 14, 2.

12. Nam cuncta, etc. For all the productions of the soil, whether of spontaneous growth or cultivated by the hand of man, either in the state of herbage or as blossom, or when they have grown to maturity with their usual outward appearance, etc. Al. herbae tenues aut flores.

14. Atra . . . vanescant. See a similar account in Joseph. B. J 4, 8, 4. Compare also the allusion to the vine of Sodom and the fruit of Gomorrah, Dent. 32, 32. The apples and grapes of Sodom are n
proverb among the Arabs to this day. Modern travellers find in that vicinity a plant or tree (the Solanum) whose fruit answers in many respects to the description of T. and other ancient writers, and bears the popular name of the grapes of Sodom. Cf. Robinson, ii. p. 236. 472.—Ego. Inserted for emphasis, like our for my part.

15. Sicut . . . concessoerim, ita. While (though) I might admit, etc. yet, etc. For concessoerim, cf. note, G. 2: crediderim.

16. Halitu iacus is emphatic, as its position shows, and it limits not only infici but corrumpi.—Infici. Poisoned, as it were, i. e. made unfruitful. It is by the exhalations of the lake that the soil is made unfruitful, and the surrounding (lit. poured over or lying above) atmosphere rendered unwholesome, and for that reason the crops and fruits decay.

18. Juxta = pariter.—Judaico mari. The Mediterranean. It was on this coast that the manufacture of glass was accidentally discovered by some mariners, who having a cargo of nitre used lumps of it for andirons, which being melted in connection with the sand formed glass. See the account of the discovery and a description of the country at the mouth of the Belus, corresponding with this of T., in Plin. N. H. 36, 65-67.

20. Excoquuntur is poetical.—Modicum. According to Pliny, half a mile; according to Josephus (B. J. 1, 2, 10), only a hundred cubits.—Et = et tamen.—Egerentibus, sc. arenam.—Inexhaustum. Inexhaustible. Cf. G.20: inexhausta pubertas; Virg. Aen. 10, 174: inexhausta metalli. So invictus = invincible. Z.328. A.33, note.

Ch. VIII.—22. Magna . . . dispergitur. A large part of Judæa is sprinkled over with villages. A more simple and usual mode of expression would have been: villages are scattered over a large part of Judæa.

23. Genti caput. Al. gentis. To the nation, i. e. in their estimation.—Immensae . . . templum. Touching this temple, which was built by Herod the Great, and which exceeded even Solomon’s in magnificence, cf. Joseph. Ant. J. 15, 11, 1-7; B. J. 5, 5, 2-6; Kit. Bib. Cycl., Temple; John, 2, 20: Forty and six years was this temple in building, i. e. in being completed. The principal part of the work was done in eight years.

24. Prims . . . clausum, i. e. there were three distinct walls: the first enclosing the whole city, the second the palace, and the third or inmost the temple. Cf. 11: alia intus moenia regiae circumjuncta; and 12: templum . . . propriique muri. Observe the author’s fondness for variety of expression, dein for secundis, adv. for adj.

26. Arcebantur, sc. all, Jews as well as Gentiles. At the time this history was written, the temple had been destroyed. Hence the propriety of the past tense, for which Ernesti would substitute arcen- tur. The imp. here denotes customary past action. Compare with
this passage of T., Luke’s account of the people praying without, while Zachariah went into the temple to burn incense (L. 1, 9. 10).—Assyrios penes. Observe the anastrophe, of which T. is peculiarly fond.

27. Despectissima, etc. See remarks at close of notes, 2, supra, and Preliminary Remarks, p. 236.

28. Macedones. Alexander and his successors, who reigned in Syria till its conquest by the Romans.—Praepotuere. Observe the force of the prae: before others, pre-eminently.—Rex Antiochus. Antiochus Epiphanes, the cruel enemy and persecutor of the Jews, king of Syria, A. c. 176-164.

31. Nam . . . . desciverat. This passage involves so serious a chronological difficulty, that the commentators resort to emendations of the text to effect a solution. Arsaces, the founder of the Parthian state, revolted from Antiochus H. almost a century before the war of Antiochus Epiphanes with the Jews. Wr., Or. and Död. suppose that T. confounded the two Antiochi, and thus fell into an anachronism. Ernesti regards the passage as an interpolation. Brotier and Rup. suggest emendations. The Bipontines understand by Arsaces, one of the successors of Arsaces I., for it became the family name. Cf. note, 1, 40: Arsacidarum. This will remove the difficulty, if we may also take desciverat in a sense applicable, not to the original revolt, but to the continued rebellion and war; for that Antiochus Epiphanes was engaged in a war with the Parthians appears from the first and second Books of the Maccabees, where, as in the poets, they are called Persians.

32. Macedonibus invalidis. The successors of Antiochus Epiphanes were comparatively feeble sovereigns.—Nondum. Not yet. The Parthians afterwards got possession of Judæa. Cf. 9.

33. Sibi . . . . Imposuere. The Maccabees, having thrown off the yoke of Syria, at length made the high-priesthood hereditary in the Asmonean family, and finally assumed the name of kings, and transmitted it together with the regal power (which they had long exercised) to several generations. Kingly power, however, corrupted the truly virtuous and heroic character which originally belonged to the family, and they became for the most part monsters in crime and cruelty, and reigned only amid commotions till the Romans extended their conquests over Judæa. Cf. Joseph. B. J., B. 1.

219 Ch. IX.—1. Romanorum. Placed first in emphatic opposition to the Macedonians, Parthians, etc., spoken of in the last section.—Domuit. A. u. c. 691; b. c. 63. Pompey was invited to Jerusalem by the rival claimants of the kingdom.

2. Temptum, etc. He entered not only the outer temple, but the holy of holies, abstaining however from plunder and content with imposing an annual tribute. Cf. Joseph. Ant. J. 14, 4; Flor. 3, 5; Cic. pro Flac. 28.

simulacra... templis sinunt; and note, 4: effigiem animalis.—Sc-dem, sc. dei. The seat or throne, which in Greek and Roman temples was occupied by the image of the god.—Arcana = penetralia. It suggests, however, a little more of the idea of secrecy and mystery.

5. Provinciae, sc. Orientis, Judæa and the neighboring provinces. These fell to Antony in the division of the Roman empire between the Triumviri—Octavius, Antony and Lepidus, B. c. 36.


7. Redacti is hero used in its original sense: driven back.

8. C. Soslius. Appointed to the command in Syria by Antony, B. c. 34.—Herodi. Herod the Great was raised to the throne by Antony and Octavius (then acting in concert), with the approbation of the senate, B. c. 40.

9. Victor Augustus, i. e. having gained the victory over Antony in the battle of Actium.—Auxit. Enlarged its boundaries. Herod is said to have gained the favor of Augustus by magnanimously avowing and dwelling on the warmth of his attachment to Antony, and the great services he had rendered him. He had not, however, taken an immediate part in the civil war, being happily employed during that time by Antony in a war with the king of Arabia. Cf. Dict. Biog. and Mythol., Herodes.—Nihil... Caesare. Without waiting for the sanction of Augustus.

10. Simo quidam. A servant of Herod, not the Simon Bargioras mentioned in 12, infra, though Rup. confounds the two, and thus involves T: in a contradiction with other authorities touching the ex-ecution of that chief at Rome. Simon was a very common name among the Jews.


12. Tripartito. Herod left his kingdom by will to his three sons—Archelaus, Antipas and Philip, and the will was confirmed by Augustus, though without the regal title. Joseph. Ant J. 17, 8-11.—Sub Tiberio quies. Cf. Ann. 2, 42.

13. C. Caesare. Caligula. See the full account of this by Philo (Legatio ad Caium), who was sent on an embassy to divert the tyrant from his purpose; also Joseph. Ant. J. 18, 8, 2-9.

15. Regibus. The descendants of Herod.—Ad modicum redactis. Reduced to narrow limits.

16. Judaeam provinciam. Judæa was united with Syria, as a Roman province, with Cesarea for the governor's residence. Cf. Ann. 12, 23; Acts, 23, 23-4, and 25, 1. 4. 6.—Equitus... permisit, i. e. he intrusted it to their government, with the title of Procurator. Cf.
10: *Florum procuratorem.* Among the procurators, previous to the age of Claudius, was Pontius Pilate. Ann. 15, 44; Joseph. Ant. J. 18, 3. 4; Matt. 27, etc.

17. *Per omnem . . . libidinem.* We see in the character here given of Felix, a good reason why he trembled while Paul reasoned before him of *justice, continence and a judgment to come* (Acts, 24, 25), as well as a striking illustration of the Apostle's boldness in thus indirectly arraigning his own judge.

20. *Progener.* Grandson-in-law, sc. by marriage to his granddaughter (nepte) Drusilla. The word is post-Augustan.—*Claudius nepos.* Claudius was son of Antonia, the daughter of Antony.


21. *Fato aut taedio.* *In the course of nature or from weariness of life,* i. e. by his own hand.

25. *Missu Nerouis.* Cf. 1, 10.—*Fortuna . . . ministris.* These are all the *means* of his success.

27. *Hierosolymam.* Cf. note, 2. Al. Hierosolyma. But in both these places, the best authorities have Hierosolymam.


29. *Pace . . . parta.* By the triumph of Vespasian's arms.—*Et etiam. The care of foreign affairs also,* as well as Italian.

30. *Iras,* sc. of Vespasian.—*Cessisset,* sc. to his authority.

33. *Hierosolymorum.* Here the pl. form occurs in all the MSS. T., with his usual fondness for variety, interchanges the two forms. Cf. note, 2.

Ch. XI.—35. *Rebus secundis* instead of *si res secundae forent,* to vary the expression from the ant. clause, *si pellerentur.*

37. *Ambiguo certavit.* Josephus says (B. J. 5, 2), that Titus was almost routed and the tenth legion was driven from its camp.


5. *Roma . . . voluptatesque.* Compare the character of Titus, as given, 2, 2.


9. *Obliqui . . . simulati.* Projecting outward or retiring inward. This was a common way of building walls among the Romans, for the reason which T. amigus. Cf. Veget. 4, 2.
11. Sexagluta pedes. Al. sexagenos. But the distribution is required only in the valleys: centenos vicenosque = a hundred and twenty feet in each.

13. Procul . . . pares. Appearing of equal height (whether on higher or lower ground) to those who beheld them from a distance.


Cf. XII.—16. Proprii muri, sc. templo sunt: it has walls of its own, besides those which encompass the whole city. Cf. note, 8 primis . . . clausum.—Labore ad magnitudinem murorum, opere ad eorundem qualitatem et artem referendum est. Död.

18. Fons perennis. Jerusalem has always been found to possess an inexhaustible supply of water for the most protracted siege, even when the besieging armies, as for instance that of the crusaders, have suffered intolerably from thirst. A mystery still overhangs the source of this supply. Large cisterns are known to exist. But "there is also good ground to believe, that there has also been from very ancient times an unfailing source of water derived by secret and subterranean channels from springs to the west of the town, and communicating by other subterraneous passages with the pool of Siloam and the fountain of the Virgin in the east of the town." Cf. Kitto's Cyclopædia, art. Jerusalem, Waters of; Strab. Geog. 16, 2, 40.

19. Cavati . . . montes, i.e. the mountains, on which the city was built, were scooped out into subterranean caverns. These were used for places of concealment, as well as for cisterns of water. Cf. Xiph. 66, 4; Ammian. Marcel. 19, 5, 4. Here as usual T. avoids the technical expression, specus subterranei.—Piscinae cisternaeque. Im- mense cisterns of great antiquity still exist within the area of the temple, supplied partly by rain-water and partly by an aqueduct from Solomon's pools, and which of themselves would furnish a tolerable supply in case of a siege. Cf. Bib. Cyclop., art. Cisterns. See also for many interesting and instructive details on this whole subject, Robinson's Researches, vol. i. pp. 479-516, and Olin's Travels, vol. ii. pp. 168-181.

25. Magna colluviae. A great conflux from the country, as well as from the cities already destroyed by the Romans. The siege of Titus took place at the time of the annual feast of the Passover, when all the adult male population were expected to go up to Jerusalem.


28. Quem . . . Bargioram, i.e. son of Gioras. This clause stands after Joannes in the Medicean MS. and the earliest editions. It may perhaps have been written so by T. through ignorance. But that the surname belongs to Simon is evident from Joseph. B. J. 2, 23, and 4, 7.
NOTES.

220 Ch. XIII.—37. Prodigia. Ad verbum, cf. note, 1, 3. Ad rem, compare the fuller account of these prodigies in Josephus (B. J. 6, 5, 3; 7, 31), and with both historians compare the predictions of Christ (Mat. 27, 45. 51; Luke, 23, 44. 45). The Roman and the Jewish historians both strikingly confirm the prophetic character and divine mission of the great Teacher, in whom neither of them believed.

38. Superstitioni. See the etymology of the word in note, 3, 58. It is commonly used by T. in a bad sense, as here.

221 2. Exapertae...fores. These doors or gates were of brass, and could scarcely be opened by twenty men. Cf. Joseph. B. J. 6, 5, 3. Exapertae is found in no other classic writer. It appears in Jerome’s confessions.

3. Delubri. Probably from de and luo = the place of expiation-Freund.—Excedere deos. That the gods (the guardian divinities of the temple) were departing. Compare with this the Roman custom of evoking the gods from the cities which they besieged. Plin. 28, 4.

4. In metum trahebant. Construed as a ground of fear, i. e. as ominous of evil. So Ann. 14, 32: ad metum trahebant. Trahere is used in the same sense in 3, 3.

5. Antiquis...literis, i. e. the books of the prophets, which are full of prophecies of the Messiah, and some of which, e. g. Daniel, fix with great definiteness the time of his coming (co ipso tempore). The Jews understood these to promise a temporal deliverer and conqueror. Hence the universal expectation, that at this very time the East should become powerful, and persons proceeding from Judea should become masters of the world. Language happily descriptive of the spiritual conquests of Christ and his apostles! Josephus and Suetonius use very similar language. B. J. 6, 5, 1; Suet. Vesp. 4.

7. Quae ambages...praedixerat. Which oracle was to be accomplished in Vespasian and Titus, who had command in the East, and thence marched to the sovereignty of Rome. Such an interpretation would be easily adopted by a Roman historian, especially one who had received favors from the Flavian dynasty (cf. 1, 1). It is even countenanced by Josephus, in compliment doubtless to the same princes. B. J. 6, 5, 1. Al. praedixerat. Ambages is used by other writers only in the pl. and the abl. sing. Cf. Ann. 6, 46.

10. Ne adversis...mutabatur. Nor have they been by all the calamities that have befallen them through eighteen centuries of persecution.

12. Sexcenta milia. Josephus (B. J. 6, 9, 3, 4) and Zonaras (6, 26) estimate the number who perished in and after the siege at eleven hundred thousand. Others make it still larger. Erneci remarks, that the number of the slain in battles and sieges is the most frequent subject of discrepancy in all history.
13. Plures quam pro numero, i.e. more than the fourth or fifth part, that are usually reckoned able to bear arms.

15. Hanc adversus urblem. Hanc is put first, as the emphatic word: such was the city against which, etc. T. allows himself in such liberties oftener than most Latin authors.


The foregoing thirteen sections are all that remain of our author's history of the Jewish war. The major part of his entire History is lost (cf. Preliminary Remarks, p. 231), and, with the rest, his narrative of the destruction of Jerusalem, a tragic scene which T. must have described with great power—fit theme for such a master, as he was a master fully adequate to such a theme.

Cn. XIV.—21. Malam . . . . pugnam. The unsuccessful battle, or defeat, described 4, 77. 78

23. Tutus loco. The security of the situation involves the first reason. Observe the varied grammatical construction, by which T. chooses to express the same logical relation.—Et ut . . . . animi. This clause assigns a second reason why Civiliis encamped at Vetera (which he had previously taken and plundered, 4, 60).

24. Eodem. Old dat. used adverbially = to the same place.

26. Post victoriam, sc. that gained by Cerialis and the 21st legion over Civiliis. Cf. 4, 78.


29. Addiderat, i.e. had interposed as an additional obstacle to an engagement, over and above the natural wetness of the plains (camporum suopte ingenio humentium).—Molem = a dam of wood or stone; agger, a dike of earth. Or.

30. Ea . . . . forma. Such was the nature of the country (locality).—33. Proceritas corporum. Cf. G. 4: magna corpora.


37. Arma, equi. Notice the asyndeton. The arms were first dropped by the horsemen in their trepidation, and then they sunk to the bottom (haurientur).

1. Pedestri acic. A land fight in opposition to a naval battle (navali pugna). So pedestris is often used by the best Latin authors, like πεζοί, πεζοπαξία, etc., in Greek.


Cn. XVI.—17. Propiora fluminis. The parts nearer the river. Propior and proximus may be followed by the gen. in this sense. Cf
3, 42: proxima litorum; Ann. 3, 1: proxima maris; Sall. Jug. 48: fluminis propinqua loca; Lucri. 4, 339: propior caliginis aer. So Wr. Others take propiora fluminis to mean the parts of the river nearer the bank, where the Germans could fight to advantage (cf. 14), and whence they might annoy the flank of the Romans. So Freund seems to understand it. Vid. sub voce. Cf. note, 2: propiora Syriæ.

19. Cerialis, sc. memorat.
20. Ut ... exciderent. Al. exciderent. Wr., Död. and many others place a colon after exciderent, and make it depend on a verb of entreaty or command understood. But such a verb is not appropriate to the previous clause; and in such a case the ut would be omitted. Cf. 3, 5: celeraret; 3, 10: injicerent; 3, 68: retinèrent, et passim.

23. Quod roboris fuerit. This clause is in app. with Germanos. The Germans constituted all the real strength of Civilis.

25. Proprios ... legionibus. We learn from 4, 68, that the 14th legion had been summoned from Britain; the 6th from Spain, where it seems to have taken the lead in proclaiming Galba emperor (cf. 1, 4); and the 2d was a recently enlisted legion—hence illa primum acie ... nova signa, etc.

29. Praeceptus. Passing along the lines, before (prae) the legions.—Manus tendebat. As a sign of entreaty. Cf. 1, 36.

34. Silentem ... aetem, i.e. he not only addressed his troops, as Corialis had addressed the Romans, but they responded with shouts. Or. Ita dicimus silens vel tacitum iter facere. Wr.—Locum, sc. Vetera. Cf. 14, and notes there.

Dum ... impediant. The general rule requires the subj. in such dependent clauses in the oratio obliqua. Cf. Gr. 266, 2; Z. 603. But when the dependent clause expresses a fact independent of the speaker’s opinion, it is put in the ind. Gr. 266, 2, R. 5; Z. 603.

5. Gnaros, in the passive sense (known to) is found only in T.—Rhenum ... deos. Probably Civilis means to speak of the Rhine as a divinity, and so it is represented on some ancient coins. See a similar appeal to the sun and stars, as divinities, by a German chief, in Ann. 13, 55, and Grote’s note on the same, Hist. Greece, vol. i. p. 465. The word Rhein = a stream, in Celtic or old German.


11. Neque ... et. Correl. Our soldiers on the one hand not entering the marsh (cf. 14, 15, supra), and the Germans on the other assailing them (saxis glandibusque) to draw them off; sc. into the marsh.

Ch. XVIII.—16. Quam ... retullinus. Cf. 14, supra, where and in 15, see incidents similar to and illustrative of those here narrated.

20. Terga ... promittens. Lit. promising him the rear of the
enemy, i.e. to bring the cavalry upon their rear, if sent agreeably to his suggestion. Others take terga in the sense of flight, rout.  
27. Institit, sc. fugientibus Germanis.  
32. Oppidum Batavorum. These words have greatly perplexed the commentators. Some take oppidum to be a proper name; others a common noun; but what walled town is referred to, they cannot agree. Several editors, and Ukert in his Geography, adopt the reading oppida.  
38. Abacto amne. The river was drawn off by its steeper (prono alveo) and more natural channel on the Gallic side of the island, as soon as the dam on that side was broken down.—Insulam inter. Observe the position of inter. Cf. notes, 2, 78; 4, 77.  
4. Quem.... memoravimus, sc. 3, 35. There, however, Montanus is said to have been sent into Germany, by which, if we understand Germany Cisrheana or Belgica, which was properly a part of Gaul, there will be no real contradiction. Cf. note, 1, 9: inferioris Germaniae. So Brot. and Wr.  
Cn. XX.—8. Superfuit. Remained, sc. after the defeat of Civilians, as related in the foregoing section.  
10. Arenaci, Batavoduri, etc. Walled towns of the Batavians, whose exact position is so disputed, that we shall not attempt to identify them. Cf. Rup., Or. and Ukert’s and Walckenaer’s Geog. of Gaul.  
13. Traherent. Compare with this imperf. the perf. invaserit, and note, 1, 24: dederit.  
14. Affore and posse .... intercipl depend on fiducia, or some kindred word to be supplied.  
18. Materlis. Wood for building, fortifying, etc. Wood, considered as to its nature and substance, is lignum; in reference to its uses, materia. Cf. Rams. Syn. 638. Wood intended expressly for burning, is also usually called lignum.  
21. Rumpere. So nearly all the editions. Wr., with most of the MSS. and earliest editions, reads irrumpere, which he takes in the
sense interrupt. But T. uses \textit{irrumpere} in the sense of break in or rush into (cf. 3, 9: \textit{stationes ... irrumpit}), and the \textit{ir-} may easily have attached itself to \textit{rumpere} by mistake from the last syllable of the previous word.

Ch. XXI.—27. Quem ... diximus, sc. 4, 70. Cf. also 2, 22.

29. Versa fortuna is abl. abs.

33. Ne tum quidem ... classis, etc. Not even at this time did the fleet, etc. The emphatic \textit{ne tum quidem} has reference to a like failure of the fleet to do its duty in a former battle. Cf. 18.

34. Sed. But, i. e. notwithstanding their orders.—\textit{Et remiges}, etc. Observe the attraction for \textit{et quod remiges}, etc. \textit{= and the fact that the rowers}, etc. Cf. Essay, p. 18.

35. Sane. Indeed, or the fact is.

37. Defuisset. Subj. after \textit{ubi = cum} in the sense of although. Gr. 263, 5, R. 1; Z. 577. Notice the effect of the \textit{plup.: fortune favored} even, though skill \textit{had not been} used.

38. Paucos post dies, sc. as described in the next section. For this way of designating a definite time, cf. Gr. 253, R. 1. Zumpt (477) gives eight different modes of expressing the same time.

225 1. Quanquam ... evasisset. Quanquam seldom with Cic., but usually with T., is followed by the subj. Z. 574, Note. Wr. says, that when followed by the subj. it denotes a closer causal connection, than when followed by the ind. \textit{Tamen} is omitted in the beginning of the antith. clause, as it often is by T.


7. Prono .... rapti. Borne rapidly down the current of the stream. This is a frequent sense of \textit{rapio}.—\textit{Vallum}, sc. where the troops of Cerialis had encamped for the night, with the fleet moored at the bank near by.

11. Utque ... silentio. Supply by zeugma some verb correlative to \textit{miscabant}: And as they approached in silence in order to escape observation, so when the slaughter was begun, etc.


17. Abrimplunt. They hurry it away, sc. from the fleet. Cf. notes, 2, 26, 36; 4, 27. Compare \textit{rapti} above.

20. Silere. Here, as usual, opposed to all noise. \textit{Tacere} is opposed to speech.

21. Signo et vocibus. The sound of the trumpet and the watchwords, though some take them by headiadye, as both relating to watchwords.—\textit{So ... lapsos depends on excusabunt}. 

23. Luppia. A branch of the Rhine, now the Lippe in Westphalia.—Veledae. Cf. 4, 61, and note, ibid. on more, quo, etc.


25. Complet. Furnishes with sailors and soldiers, manus. So in Greek, ἀνθρωπὸν ναῦς. Cf. Herod. 8, 43.—Quod ... agebantur. All his galleys with two banks of rowers, and those which were propelled by a single bank. This is referred to as a test passage, as to the meaning of biremes, triremes, etc. Cf. Ernesti und Rup. in loc.

26. Tricenos. Observe the distributive force = three hundred men each.

27. Armamenta. The rigging of these boats was similar to that of the Roman liburnæ. But the captured boats were fitted out in a unique manner, sagulis versicoloribus.—Captae lintres, sc. those taken from the Romans. Cf. 22: captivis navibus. Al. aptae lintres. The reading of the whole sentence is doubtful and perplexed.

28. Juvabantur, sc. in cursu. Rup.

29. Velut aequoris, i. e. a sea-like expanse at the mouth of the river Mense.

32. Gallia for ex Gallia. Cf. Essay, p. 11.—Miraculo ... metu. More in wonder than in fear, lit. from the wonderfulness, sc. of the fact that Civilis should venture on such an engagement. Cf. 1, 27: miraculo.

35. His. The latter, sc. Cerialis and his followers.—Illi. The former, sc. the partisans of Civilis.

1. Intactos. Al. intactas.—Nota arte. According to a well-known policy, with a view to excite the jealousy of Civilis’ followers, as if he must have some understanding with the Roman general. Hannibal pursued the same policy in reference to the estates of Fabius in Italy. Liv. 22, 23.—Flexu autumni. Near the close of autumn, lit. at its turning point. Cf. Cic. pro Cael.: flexu aetatis; Ann. 1, 16: flexa in vesperam die.

5. Differebantur = dirimebantur, were separated, torn asunder. This is the primary meaning of differo. See Freund, sub voce. Cf. also Hor. Epod. 5, 99: insepulta membra different lupi. Al. defererebantur.

Ch. XXIV.—6. Potulisse ... Civilis. That the legions might at this time have been destroyed, and that the Germans wished it done, but were diverted from the purpose by a fraudulent device of his own, Civilis claimed should be set down to his credit. Cf. note, 1, 71: ultra imputavit.

7. Neque abhorret vero. Nor is this irreconcilable with the truth. Observe the omission of a before vera. See the more common construction in 2, 2: neque abhorrebat a Berenice. But in Ann. 1, 54, we have abhorrebat studiis without a Poetical, Z. 468.

12. Caesos Treveros. Cf. 4, 71. 72.—Receptos Ubios. The Ubii had been received back, i. e. had submitted and returned to their former friendly relation to the Romans.

14. Exsulem...et extorrem. An exile and an outcast. These words have a similar etymology (extorris from ex-terra, exsul from ex-solum) and do not differ essentially in meaning. They are used together by T. for emphasis, and with his usual fondness for pairs of kindred words. Exsul denotes more frequently a legal banishment; extorris a forcible expulsion.

17. Inde. On their side. Hinc. On his side, sc. that of Cerialis. Observe the pairs of substantives in these two clauses. The sense may be expressed by hendiadys thus: the guilt of injustice...the revenge of the gods; though the connection in which they are placed by the author, is more lively and energetic.


29. Germanorum feminas. Such as Veleda, who were virtually their sovereigns, though not formally; for a female sovereign was for the most part deemed a disgrace by the Germans. Cf. G. 8 and 45.

30. Atrociors. Al. atrociore with rabié in the next clause. But then the comparative has no force.

227 Cf. XXVI.—1. Naballic. This name occurs nowhere else, and it seems impossible to determine what river is meant. Broter refers it to the channel made by Drusus from the Rhine to the Yssel, Walckenar to the Yssel itself, etc. Cf. Ann. 2, 8.—Abrupta. Extremities, where the bridge was broken off.

2. Defenderer. Notice the middle sense.


The concluding sentence is incomplete. The much vaunted Gallic empire soon came to an end. The subsequent fortunes of Civilis are not known. But from the offers made him (cf. chap. 24), it is inferred that he received a full pardon.
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