THE HISTORY

OF

P. CORNELIUS TACITUS

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

WITH

AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES, CRITICAL AND EXPLANATORY.

BY

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"Exsequi sententias hanc institutum nati insignes per honestum aut notabili dedecore,
quod præcipuum munus annalium reror, ne virtutes silentur, utque pravis dictis factisque
ex posteritate et infamia metus sit."—TACITUS, Annals, iii. 63.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.,
LONDON, NEW YORK, AND BOMBAY.
HODGES, FIGGIS, AND CO. (LTD.), GRAFTON-ST., DUBLIN.

1896.

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THE PICTURES OF TACITUS.

To the crypt thro' the ruined porches,
   Where Night usurps the Day,
By the flare of the flickering torches
   The wanderer wends his way.

And the mantle of ivy waveth
   Adown the grey basalt,
In the folds of the green as it drapeth
   The pillars of the vault.

But the visions of eld entrance me;
   I gaze as in a dream:
In the mood of an old-world fancy
   I glide along the stream.

Yet the rivers are flowing backward,
   The sacred springs ascend,
For the laws of the world are wayward,
   And warring forces blend.

*   *   *   *   *   *   *   *

On his couch in the sea-girt villa,
   Beneath Campanian skies,
But as dark as the cave of Scylla,
   The dying tyrant lies.
Tho' the spirit of life is waning,
   And the tide is ebbing fast,
Yet the falsehood is never failing,
   And rises to the last.

It is drawn on the ghastly visage,
   And written large in death,
As it works thro' the mortal passage,
   And gasps in the smothering breath.

*   *   *   *   *   *   *

'Mid the flames of the burning city
   I hear the maniac's lyre,
As he chants his frantic ditty
   And raves of Troy on fire.

On his head is a wreath of roses,
   In his hand a harp of gold,
For the ruthless artist poses
   As poets sang of old.

But the plot in the dark is hidden,
   The hand that laid the train,
And the secret spies are bidden
   To fasten guilt for gain.

To the lions!—the cry—To the lions!
   They roar for Christian prey;
For the sport of Roman scions,
   To while away the day!

*   *   *   *   *   *   *

Tho' the cruel face is blushing,
   'Tis not the blush of shame,
But a mask that is ever flushing
   To hide the Devil's game.
'Twas never a boyish fashion,
    For History knows it now,
But the crimson surge of passion
    That mantled o'er his brow.

When the storm is gathering anger
    The clouds are all aglow,
And the shepherd reads the danger
    In valleys far below.

Then he folds the tender weanlings,
    As many a time before,
And he shelters all his yearlings
    Anear the cottage door.

A. W. Q.
I should deem myself very ungrateful if I did not, in the first instance, express my cordial acknowledgments of the generous criticism accorded to the first volume of this translation in the Press of the United Kingdom. Some of my reviewers have been indulgent; others, austere; all, just and encouraging, inasmuch as they were aware that my sole object was to foster the study of a great world-spirit that breathes upon and vivifies the history of mankind.

I am fully aware of the manifold imperfections apparent in the earlier volume, and for that reason I have considered it necessary to devote a far greater amount of time and laborious study to the concluding portion of the work. That is the only return I can make to those generous critics who have held before my eyes the oriflamme of hope.

This delay, however, has proved of great advantage to me in other respects likewise. Carolus Meiser has only recently concluded his recension of Orelli’s text of the History, and it would be the merest affectation
to deny the great obligations under which that distinguished critic and scholar has placed me. Moreover, Professor Mahaffy's *Empire of the Ptolemies* has thrown very considerable light on Egyptian theology; Mr. Lecky's elaborate treatise on *Democracy and Liberty* has extended the range of political philosophy, and Mr. MacKail's delightful sketch of *Latin Literature* has imparted zest to the study of antiquity.

Dr. L. C. Purser has been kind enough to revise the proofs, and, in their progress through the Press, I have derived the greatest advantage from his sanative touches and scholarly acumen. His generosity is all the more to be appreciated, in that his moments of help were snatched during brief intervals of rest from the severe study involved in the collaboration of that monumental edition of *The Correspondence of Cicero*, with which the names of Tyrrell and Purser will be imperishably associated.

The learned editor of *The Academy* has most kindly allowed me to reprint the interesting account given by that Journal of the discovery of the Serapeum at Alexandria by Dr. Botti.

A. W. Q.

1, Trevelyan-Terrace, Rathgar, Dublin, 
June, MDCCXCVI.
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INTRODUCTION.

I. THE STYLE OF TACITUS.

In the preface to the first volume of this translation I had ventured to compare the style of Tacitus with that of Carlyle, and I suggested that the aphorism of Buffon, "Le style c'est l'homme," applies with singular force to writers of original thought and of purity and sincerity of character. I was taken somewhat sharply to task by some critics for instituting the comparison, and it is therefore with a feeling of gratification as well as pleasure that I cite, in aid of my contention, the opinion of Mr. J. W. MacKail, whose brilliant and charming sketch of Latin Literature has excited so much interest, and won such merited commendation. At p. 210 the learned writer observes:—

"A comparison has often been drawn between Tacitus and Carlyle in this matter. It may easily be pressed too far, as in some rather grotesque attempts made to translate portions of the Latin author into phrases chosen or copied from the modern; but there is enough likeness to give some colour even to these attempts. Both authors began by writing in the rather mechanical and commonplace style which was the current fashion during their youth; in both the evolution of the personal and inimitable manner from these earlier essays into the full perfection of the Annals and the French Revolution is a lesson in language of immense interest."

I will now place before the reader two extracts, one from the Third Book of the History, the other from the
French Revolution, so that he may judge for himself on the question of similarity of style and thought. In describing the sack of Rome by the Flavians (iii., 83), Tacitus thus depicts the scene:

"The whole city wore a look of savagery and hideousness: here were the strife and the gashes; there, the baths and the stews; now rose a scene of blood and piles of slain; close by were the harlots and the creatures of shame; commingled were all the wantonness of the most sensual time of peace, and all the horrors of the most ruthless sack of a town, more than enough to make you feel that here was one and the same city possessed by the twofold spirit of madness and of lust."

Carlyle limns the spirit of Revolution in Paris thus (book vi., c. 7):

"And onlookers, and women, stand gazing, and the witty Dr. Moore of Glasgow among them, on the other side of the river: cannon rush rumbling past them; pause on the Pont Royal; belch out their iron entrails there against the Tuileries; and at every new belch, the women and onlookers 'shout and clap hands.' City of all the Devils! In remote streets, men are drinking breakfast-coffee; following their affairs; with a start now and then, as some dull echo reverberates a note louder. And here? Marseillaise fall wounded. . . . . Lo you, the Carrousel has burst into flame!—Paris Pandemonium!"

Considering that a chasm of nearly two thousand years separates the Roman from the Scotchman, it seems to me that the peculiarities of style and the vein of thought in these interesting writers are wonderfully similar, nor need we go far to find many analogous examples.

But here the likeness between Tacitus and Carlyle ends, as the Roman historian rises in other respects to an altitude far above the modern essayist.

A careful reader will find no difficulty in discerning throughout the works of Tacitus an intimate acquaintance with all the literature of his age. He is as familiar
THE STYLE OF TACITUS.

with the Bacchae of Euripides as with the Odes of Horace; as well versed in the History of Thucydides as in the narrative of Livy; as deeply imbued with the spirit of the Attic Muse as with the genius of his mother-tongue. But, in addition to all that, he is so steeped in the full depth of the poetry of Vergil, that it forms and inspires the very essence of his literary style. It is the very warp across which he weaves the woof of his prose epic. It is the dim religious light that relieves the gloomy pessimism of the repining Stoic, and colours with its soft tints the sad and sombre canvas of the artist. This poetic texture of his History not only distinguishes him from all other writers, but indicates likewise what Tacitus considered should be the highest aim and motive of the historian. "I deem it to be the chief function of history," he exclaims (Annals, iii. 65), "to rescue virtue from oblivion, and to check base words and deeds by the dread of posthumous infamy." Thus it will be seen that the motive of our historian is purely ethical, and in complete accord with the principles of the Stoic philosophy, of which he was an ardent votary. His History, therefore, becomes a wondrous prose epic, in which the scene of human life slowly passes before our gaze, dark and sombre, as befits the picture of decadence and decline, yet ever and anon relieved by the rosy glimpses of poetic light. The scene may be the Inferno of Dante, but the voice of Vergil falls in silvery notes upon the ear, and bids us hope even at the entrance of the grim abode. Our readers will therefore readily perceive why it is that Tacitus stands alone both in his method and in his style.

I have already discussed (Introd., vol. i.) the reasons for that unique brevity of expression cultivated by the
historian, and I have pointed out, at some length, why it is, that many of the peculiarities of Thucydides are the natural outcome of the linguistic conditions of the age in which the great Athenian flourished, while the condensation and obscurity of Tacitus have been deliberately chosen by the Roman artist. This pregnant brevity represents the intense individuality of the historian, who, in this play of light and shade, shows forth to the full his wonderful powers of antithesis and portrait-painting. Mr. MacKail has described, with accuracy as well as elegance, the gradual development of the Tacitean method and manner from its earliest promise in the *De Oratoribus* to its perfect maturity in the *History* and the *Annals*. But it is only of late that the general body of readers are beginning to appreciate the varied merits of the Tacitean style. A close study of the exact meaning of almost every word used by the artist is a condition precedent to the full enjoyment of his splendid work. With that object in view no labour has been shirked upon my part to elucidate the full meaning of the text, and, if the toil has been severe, the reward has been ample, and has more than compensated me for all that I have undergone. I must confess to a feeling of wonderment that up to a comparatively recent period the true meaning and beauty of many of the phrases of Tacitus have been quite unknown. The mine may be deep and difficult to penetrate, but the ore is rich beyond compare. It is satisfactory to note that of late a decided reaction has set in, and that at our great universities the brevity of Tacitus is quite as much in vogue as the rich efflorescence of the Ciceronian prose.
II. THE POLITICAL LESSONS OF TACITUS.

We have shown at some length in our Introduction to the earlier volume of this translation (xxix—xlii) that Tacitus, in accordance with the principles of the Stoic teaching and philosophy, was a resolute and inflexible opponent of Cæsarism. Nor will many of our readers differ from Dr. James Henry, the distinguished commentator on Vergil, who designates our historian as "the castigator of the Cæsars." In approaching the study of politics it is necessary to bear in mind the fundamental proposition, that the world is constantly passing from despotism towards democracy. In a process of countless ages it requires the mind of a philosopher to grasp this dominant principle. There may be occasional lapses and pauses in the mighty movement, but the progress is only checked, and never can be finally arrested. Mankind is gradually passing towards a better condition, for despotism, according to Aristotle (Politics, v. 10, Jowett's translation, i. 169, 170), "is a compound of oligarchy and democracy in their most extreme forms; it is, therefore, most injurious to its subjects, being made up of two evil forms of government, and having the perversions and errors of both."

It is not our intention to weary the reader by an unnecessary repetition of the arguments which we have already advanced, but the recent work of Mr. Lecky on Democracy and Liberty naturally calls for a brief dissertation on some of the broader issues raised by that eminent critic. Aristotle has clearly explained (Politics, iii. 7, Jowett's translation, i. 79) how all true
forms of government (ὀρθαὶ πολιτείαι) differ from mere 

tерversions of government (παρεκβάσεις). The true forms 

are those “in which the one, or the few, or the many, 
govern with a view to the common interest.” On the other 

hand, perversions are defined as “governments which 

rule with a view to the private interest, whether of the one, 
or of the few, or of the many.”

Therefore, when the philosopher goes on to observe 

that “democracy” is a perversion of constitutional 
government, we must be careful to note accurately the 

exact sense in which he uses the term “democracy.” If 
it is a government which “rules with a view to the 

private interest,” then, according to Aristotle, it is “a 
perversion,” and not a true form. Consequently, when 

he speaks of “democracy” as a “perversion” of con- 
stitutional government, he means by that term the 
government by the many in the private interest of the 

needy, and not the government by the many with a view 
to the common good of all. And yet President Lincoln’s 
definition of “democracy” as that of a government of 
the people, by the people, and for the people, could not be 
treated by Aristotle as “a perversion,” inasmuch as it is 
a government for the common good of all. This example 
serves to show us the necessity of accuracy, and forces 
us at once to put the question, what does Mr. Lecky 
mean by “democracy”? Does he mean the mere 
“perversion” of Aristotle, where the many rule in the 
private interest of the needy? If he narrows himself 
down to that, most people will agree with him in his 
apprehensions. On the other hand, does he extend the 
term “democracy” to the government of the people, by the 
people, and for the people? It is clear that our eminent 
historian will not venture to condemn an ideal perfection
of government, towards which the whole world must gradually tend. What then does he mean by "democracy"? This is the weak point in Mr. Lecky's elaborate work. He has not defined his leading position. We do not know what he means by "democracy." He discusses the Republic of France, and the Republic of the United States of America, but mainly to show that the Senates of France and America are both infinitely stronger than our House of Lords.

He has not attempted to maintain that either of those Republics is a mere "perversion" in the Aristotelian sense of the term "democracy." He could not fairly contend that either the Republic of France or the Republic of the United States is merely a government by the many in the private interest of the needy. Both of these Republics are something far more than that. Admitting the numerous and manifold imperfections and defects pointed out with such exhaustiveness by Mr. Lecky, still the general aim of those great Republics is undoubtedly the common good of all, and, if they have not yet attained their ideal, yet they are constantly striving towards the goal. A more careful study of Aristotle would soon convince Mr. Lecky what a very elastic term "democracy" is when dealt with in the concrete. In the Politics (iv. 4, Jowett's translation, i. 116), we find five different forms of "democracy" set forth. "Of forms of democracy," says Aristotle, "first comes that which is said to be based strictly on equality. In such a democracy the law says that it is just that the poor should have no greater powers of government than the rich; and that neither should be masters, but both equal. For if liberty and equality, as is thought by some, are chiefly to be found in democracy, they will
be best attained when all persons alike share in the
government to the utmost. And since the people are
the majority, and the opinion of the majority is decisive,
such a government must necessarily be a democracy.
There is another, in which the magistrates are elected
according to a certain property qualification, but a low
one; he who has the required amount of property has a
share in the government, but he who loses his property
loses his rights. Another kind is that in which all the
citizens who are under no disqualification share in the
government, but still the law is supreme. In another,
everybody, if he be only a citizen, is admitted to the
government, but the law is supreme as before. A fifth
form of democracy, in other respects the same, is that
in which, not the law, but the multitude have the
supreme power, and supersede the law by their decrees.”
It is this fifth form of democracy evidently that Aristotle
regards as a “perversion,” for he says of it, “this sort of
democracy being relatively to other democracies what
tyranny is to other forms of monarchy. The spirit of
both is the same, and they alike exercise a despotic rule
over the better citizens. . . . Such a democracy is
fairly open to the objection that it is not a constitution
at all; for where the laws have no authority, there is no
constitution.”

Such a “perversion” as this is not to be found either
in the United States, or in France, or in Switzerland, but
we must search for it in the black Republic of San
Domingo, whither Mr. Lecky very properly never takes
us. He deals with those forms of democracy which are
constitutional and not mere “perversions,” and it seems
to us that he has not felt the full force of his own state-
ment concerning the beneficial effect of the “Referendum.”
He has shown us in the most interesting way that the result of the "Referendum" has invariably been antirevolutionary, and that the voice of the people at large is purer and truer than that of the professional politicians and agitators either in America or Switzerland. If that be so, we cannot share the apprehensions of Mr. Lecky for the future of democracy. It seems to us that his forecast is erroneously founded on a great number of existing defects, which, according to his own statements, are being gradually eliminated from the body politic of each of our young Republics. For instance, he has himself shown that the judicial corruption of the local judges in the United States, and that the evil of the "spoils" system, are being gradually healed and corrected, and it would seem to us, with all the respect due to Mr. Lecky, that the vices he condemns are not inherent in the democratic systems which he reviews, but are blemishes that may naturally be expected in all young and growing constitutions. We must remember that our democracies are young, but, young as they are, already great reforms have been accomplished by them.

"Another perpetual error," says The Spectator (March 28, 1896), "in our way of judging democracy is this. For some reason or other, possibly the high claims of its advocates, we have all got into a habit of expecting too much of it. Democracy is only a method of government at the best, and ought not to be judged by comparison with any perfect ideal, but with other methods that have been tried among the same or similar peoples. So tried, it is difficult as yet to pronounce it a failure. Supposing its object to be the permanent well-being of a people, it has, as compared with the government
INTRODUCTION.

of the Bourbons, been as yet a success in France. There is literally no comparison between the lot of a French peasant of to-day and the lot of a French peasant under Louis XIV. or Louis XV. Nor is he only better off; he is a better man, more educated, less brutal, less capable of the outburst of cruel homicidal fury with which the men bred under the Monarchy welcomed and disgraced their liberation."

Just as I had concluded this dissertation, the brilliant essay of Mr. John Morley on this subject of "Democracy and Liberty" appeared in The Nineteenth Century of last May. It was with no ordinary pleasure that I discovered how the right honourable gentleman and myself, although travelling by different roads, had arrived at the same destination. I had pursued, as my readers will have perceived, the ancient path marked out by the Politics of Aristotle. Mr. Morley, on the other hand, had taken a modern route, and, at the end of our journey, we find ourselves at the same goal. We had both hit the blot in Mr. Lecky's work. The opening passage in this charming essay will convince the reader of the justice of my observations:—"What is democracy? Sometimes it is the name for a form of government by which the ultimate control of the machinery of government is committed to a numerical majority of the community. Sometimes, and incorrectly, it is used to denote the numerical majority itself, the poor or the multitude existing in a state. Sometimes, and still more loosely, it is the name for a policy directed exclusively or mainly to the advantage of the labouring class. Finally, in its broadest, deepest, most comprehensive, and most interesting sense, democracy is the name for a certain general condition of society, having historic origins, springing from circumstances and the nature of things;
not only involving the political doctrine of popular sovereignty, but representing a great group of corresponding tendencies over the whole field of moral, social, and even of spiritual life within the democratic community. Few writers have consistently respected the frontier that divides democracy as a certain state of society from democracy as a certain form of government. Mill said of the admirable Tocqueville, for instance, that he was apt to ascribe to democracy consequences that really flowed from civilization. Mr. Lecky is constantly open to the same criticism.

But Mr. Lecky is vague only when he is criticising democracy, for nothing could be more precise or accurate than his eloquent chapter on the ruthless despotism of the Czar, and the savage persecution of the Jews in Russia. Then, indeed, Homer no longer nods, but rises to the height of his great argument. Burning indignation wields the lash with unsparing severity, and we feel that Lecky the Democrat is at his best when descanting on the savagery of the Northern Tyrant. The vast amount of useful information contained in the distinguished historian's most recent work would have been greatly enhanced, if it had been illumined by the *lucidus ordo* of philosophic method, and by clear definitions of the various phases of democracy, whether political or social. This want of philosophical discrimination has somewhat impaired the value of a work which is otherwise highly remarkable for its amazing wealth of illustration and interesting details. For an exhaustive criticism of the great merits and salient defects of this invaluable commentary of Mr. Lecky on our modern political institutions, we must refer the reader to *The Edinburgh Review* of April last.
III. THE INTERPRETATION OF TACITUS.

No classical author has been more misinterpreted than Tacitus, and, following the course adopted by us in the Introduction to the first volume of this work, we propose to discuss some of the most important passages that have challenged the attention of critics in the third, fourth, and fifth books of the History. It would be quite impossible for us here to analyse every difficulty that presents itself in the text. On many points our readers must consult the notes accompanying the translation. But there are some noteworthy problems, which are deserving of special consideration in this Introduction.

III. 2.—“Idem suasor auctorque consilii ero.” “I will be the first to carry out the plans that I have advocated.” Auctor, all through Tacitus, means “the first to act,” or “to take the initiative.” A striking example of this meaning will be found in the greatest of the Odes of Horace, iii. 5. 41, et seq.:

“Fertur pudice conjugis osculum
Parvosque natos ut capitis minor
Ab se removisse et virilem
Tolvus humi posuisse voltum,

“Donec labantis consilio patres
Firmaret auctor nunquam alias dato
Interque maerentis amicos
Egregius properaret exul.”

So in iii. 43, post, “eo gravior auctor” means “taking an initiative all the more important from the fact that.” Again, the same meaning must attach to the words in iv. 14, “compositæ seditionis auctores.” In the Agricola, xiii., we find the phrase “Divus Claudius auctor iterati...
Meiser cites Curtius, iii. 7. 7: "idem et auctor et nuntius venit"; and Livy, ii. 54. 7: "nec auctor quamvis audaci facinori deerat." I would have deemed it almost needless to discuss the passage at such length were it not for the fact that Professor Wolff (Berlin, 1888) impugns the clear text of the Medicean MS., and proposes to read "suasor actorque," relying upon Cicero, Sest., § 61: "dux, auctor, actor rerum illarum fuit," a quotation, which scarcely supports his proposition. He should have remembered Cicero, Philip., ii., § 26: "Etenim si auctores ad liberandam patriam desiderarentur illis auctoribus, Brutos ego impellerem, quorum uterque L. Bruti imaginem quotidie videret, alter etiam Ahalæ?" It is true that in the last-mentioned passage Madvig and Ernesti would read actores, but their interpolation has not been approved of.

III. 28.—"Hormine id ingenium." "Whether this was the happy thought of Hormus"—biting sarcasm. Tacitus uses the word ingenium in this ironical sense in several other well-known passages. Thus, in ii. 71, ante, the words "cetero Neronianæ aulæ ingenio" may be translated: "all the fancy of Nero's court." Again, the same meaning is found in the speech of Civilis, iv. 32. 15: "vos autem Treveri ceteræque servientium animæ, quod premium effusi totiens sanguinis expectatis nisi ingratam militiam, immortalia tributa, virgas, secures et dominorum ingenia?" There again the meaning is sarcastic, and we may translate: "O ye creatures of Trèves and other slavish spirits! what reward do ye expect for all the blood ye have so often shed save barren service, taxes without end, the rod, the axe, and all the refinements of tyranny?" Those "refinements" were "exquisite tortures." We venture to think this interpretation sounder than

operis."
that of Meiser, Heræus, Spooner, and Godley, all of whom render the meaning as "whims" or "caprices." We are glad to observe that our view is taken by Nipperdey, who, in commenting on *Annals*, xvi. 20 (where the historian, in describing the debauchery of Nero, speaks of "noctium suarum ingenia"), translates "ingenia" by "Einfälle," or "Erfindungen," and refers to the passage in the *History*. Compare Pliny, *Panegyr.*, xlix.: "Exquisita ingenia cenarum."

III. 32.—"Ceteri duces in obscuro: Antonium fortuna famaque omnium oculis exposuerat. Is balineas abluendo cruori propere petit. Excepta vox est, cum teporem in cusaret, statim futurum ut incalescerent: vernile dictum omnem invidiam in eum vertit, tamquam signum incendendae Cremonae dedisset, quæ jam flagrabat." "The other generals were completely thrown into the shade: his fortune and his fame alike had made Antonius the cynosure of every eye. He had at once betaken himself to the baths in order to efface all stains of blood; and there, while complaining of the low temperature of the water, his exclamation, 'I will soon make it hot for you,' was caught up. Thus a slang expression concentrated upon him all the odium of having given the signal to burn Cremona, which, as a matter of fact, was already in flames."

Nearly half a century ago, in the year 1848, Ritter had explained the true meaning of this passage in a note of perfect scholarship. It is strange that after the masterly explanation of that illustrious scholar other expositions should have been countenanced. We hope to show our readers that Ritter's elucidation is the only possible one, and, before pointing out the errors in subsequent criticisms, we believe it better to set forth at some length the analysis of the German critic.
“Antonius,” says Ritter, “teporem balinearum, h. e. caloris defectum aquae ad lavandum datae incusans, ad ministros Cremonenses verba fecit statim futurum ut (ipsi) incalcescerent (sogleich werde ihnen eingetheitet werden). Acumen dicti inest in contrariis, tepore aquae et calore Cremonensium: sed vernile dictum (gemeines Witzwort), h. e. dictum verna dignum, illud erat, quod in re tristi et seiva jocari ausus est. Idem omnem invidiam in eum vertit tamquam inciditur auctorem: nam talia cito vulgantur, neque temporae juste discernuntur; sed hoc Tacitus ipse non omisit et pro sua virili parte Antonium excusavit additis quae jam flagrabat.” This interpretation has been adopted by Meiser in the new edition of Orelli, where he adduces additional proofs of the soundness of this view. In the first place, vernile dictum cannot possibly mean “the words of a slave.” Such a translation is absolutely unwarranted, nor can it be supported by any such form of expression in the Latin tongue. Vernile dictum means a coarse or slang expression, an expression worthy of a slave, as is proved by ii. 88, ante, where the mob go in for horse-play and indulge in a coarse hoax (vernacula utebantur urbanitate), and, after furtively cutting off the belts of the soldiers, ask them, “Are you belted knights?” and so we find the expression in ii. 59, ante, “quamvis odium Vitellius vernilibus blanditiis velaret,” “although Vitellius sought to veil his hatred under the disguise of vulgar flattery.” Thus Ritter is fully justified in animadverting severely on an unwarrantable rendering, and observes: “Alii, ut Bur- noufius, Dübnerus, Orellius, vernile dictum accipiunt pro voce fortuita servi balneatoris, repugnante usu Latini sermonis et narrationis contextu.” Accordingly, once it is clear that vernile dictum means “a slang expression,”...
we find that the slang expression is "statim futurum ut incalescerent," "I will soon make it hot for you." In the oratio recta, or direct narration, the Latin would be:— "Statim faciam ut incalescant." Now this slang occurs three times in the Correspondence of Cicero, twice as used by Cicero himself, and once as used by Cælius. In his letter to his brother Quintus [Q. Fr. iii. 2; Tyrrell, cl., vol. ii. p. 157] we find: "Eodem die Gabinium ad populum luculente calefecerat Memmius sic, ut Calidio verbum facere pro eo non licuerit." Again, in Fam. xvi. 18, Cicero says: "Calface hominem." Then in Fam. viii. 6 (Tyrrell and Purser, ccxlii., vol. iii. p. 149), Cælius says: "Si Parthi vos nihil calfaciunt, nos hic frigore rigescimus." Meiser, after citing Plautus, Cas., 291 ("virgis calefactabere"), thus paraphrases the text: "Nisi balneum calfeceritis, vos calfi eri statim jubebo." On the other hand, if we were to take vernile dictum to mean "the exclamation of a slave," the double entendre of the passage would be quite lost, as it is only from the lips of Antony that the slang, "I will soon make it hot for you," brings out the full force of the double meaning. It is strange therefore that such scholars as Orelli, Dübner, and Burnouf, followed by Heræus, Wolff, Spooner, and Godley, should have so misinterpreted this fine passage that it loses all the subtle meaning of Tacitus. Meiser, in his new edition of Orelli, has most lucidly explained the difficulty, and has fully corroborated the original view of Ritter. Let us hope, therefore, that this exposition will be finally accepted, and that full justice will be done to the Latin text.

III. 33.—"Faces in manibus." Although I have followed Heræus in supplying erant here, still I am inclined to think that there is a lacuna in the text.
quotation by Heræus from Verg., Aen. v. 136: "Con-
sidunt transtris, intentaque brachia remis"—is inapposite,
as there the participle intenta supplies the verb erant,
whereas in our text there is neither participle nor verb.
In the same way Wolff's quotation from Annals, ii. 45,
13—"tela Romanis derepta in manibus multorum osten-
tabat"—has no application, as derepta supplies the verb,
and I venture to think our readers will agree that his
citation from the Dialogue, xxii. 9, is meaningless. For
these reasons I am inclined to suspect a lacuna. How-
ever, if a verb must be supplied, then erant would be the
word and not, as Wolff contends, gerentes. On this
Ritter observes: "erant supplendum, non gerentes, cujus
suppressi nullum apud Tacitum exemplum."

III. 47.—"Classis quoque faciem intulit." "He was,
moreover, able to launch the semblance of a fleet" : Meiser's
fine emendation of the meaningless classi quoque faces
intulit of the MSS. There was no fleet there but that of
Anicetus himself, and he would scarcely set fire to his
own fleet. Meiser well compares i. 84, ante: "imaginem
quandam exercitus habet," "he has the mere shadow of an
army." Compare, also, i. 85, ante: "non tamen quies
urbi redierat: strepitus telorum et facies beli"; and
Livy, xxii. 54. 6: "jam aliqua species consularis exercitus
erat."

III. 53.—"Neque officere gloræ eorum, qui Mæsium
interim composuerint: illis Mæsiae pacem, sibi salutem
securitatemque Italæ cordi fusisse." "Nor do I seek to
intercept the glory of those who have meanwhile restored
Mæsia to law and order: the peace of Mæsia is dear to
their hearts; to mine, the safety and happiness of
Italy": the brilliant emendation of Dr. L. C. Purser for
the Asiam—composuerint of the MSS. Sirker's Daciam—
composuerint cannot be defended, as the word *componere* could only apply to a province or a country subject to Roman government, which Dacia was not, whereas Moesia was. Thus, in iv. 3, post, we find *ad componendam Campaniam*, which is strictly correct. Again, the repetition of the word *Moesia* adds a sting to the sarcasm of Antonius, who ironically contrasts the peace of Moesia with the safety and happiness of Italy.

III. 55.—“Sed volgus ad magnitudinem beneficiorum *hians aderat.*” “But the common herd *gaped greedily* for these extraordinary exemptions”: Meiser’s brilliant emendation of the senseless *haberat* of the Medicean MS. The inferior MSS. read *aderat*, but Tacitus could not have written so jejune a passage as “volgus ad magnitudinem beneficiorum *aderat.*” J. F. Gronovius felt this, and read *hiabat*, which would be quite Tacitean, but would scarcely account for the corruption of the *haberat* in the Med. MS. However, the suggestion of Gronovius gave Meiser the clue, and that critic, by his emendation *hians aderat*, not only supplies a phrase well worthy of Tacitus, but in the same stroke fully accounts for the corruption *haberat*.

III. 70.—“*Culpam in militem conferens, cujus nimius ardor: imparem esse modestiam suam.*” “By laying all the blame upon his soldiers, who, he said, had been too zealous: he himself had been quite unable to keep them within bounds.” This is the reading of the Medicean MS. and is, I believe, thoroughly correct and sound. Puteolanus did not fully understand the Tacitean use of *modestia* in an *objective* sense, and accordingly he substituted a reading of his own, which is bad Latin and contrary to the rules of grammar. He read: “*cujus nimio ardori imparem esse modestiam suam.*” This is bad
Latin, as the oblique narration would require "cujus nimio ardori impar esset modestia sua." All the authorities cited to the contrary by Heraeus are not in point, as the passages referred to by him are all simple and not relative clauses, such as here. Meiser observes: "Puteolanus scripsit cujus nimio ardori imparem esse modestiam suam contra auctoritatem Medecei et contra legem grammaticam, quae cujus nimio ardori impar esset modestia sua flagitat."

III. 72.—"Quibus armorum causis, quo tantae cladis pretio? Pro patria bellavinus?" "What reason warranted the affray? What was to be the recompense for so great a loss? Were we fighting for Fatherland?" This is the reading of the inferior MSS. which omit the monstrous stetit of the Medicean MS. Tacitus, when describing the fall of the Capitol could never have written quo tantae cladis pretio stetit? Ritter justly observes: "inanis quam maxime quæstio, quibus armorum causis steterit Capitolium: immo quibus armorum causis incensum sit, indignando quærere debuit narrator. Non minus falso quæritur, quo tantae cladis pretio id steterit, quod non stetit sed deflagravit." In my opinion the scribe or copyist of the Medicean MS., as so often happens, ignoring the scope and meaning of the whole context, followed the common formula, and wrote in stetit after pretio, which would have suited the meaning in any other context but one dealing with the fall of the Capitol. We must therefore reject Meiser's stetit nimio, ni pro patria bellavinus, and Pichena's quo tanta cladis pretio stetit? However erroneous these proposed emendations may be, they pale their ineffectual fires before the monstrosity of Fr. Walter and Heraeus: "Quo tantae cladis pretio sedit?" The
fulling Capitol could scarcely stand, but these learned critics are of opinion that it might sit down. Was there ever deeper Bathos? It seems to us that the text of the inferior MSS. which we have given above, and followed in our translation, is sound and correct, especially as we have explained how it was that the mechanical copyist of the Medicean MS. introduced stetit.

iii. 76.—“Isdem diebus L. Vitellius positis apud Feroniam castris excidio Tarracinae imminebat.” “About this very time Lucius Vitellius had pitched his camp at Feronia and was bent on the destruction of Terracina.” Imminere is used in this sense of being bent upon a thing in two subsequent passages, and also in the Annals. In iv. 15, post, we find: “Simul excidiis castellorum imminebant,” “they were also bent on destroying the forts”: and in iv. 18, post, we have: “Regno imminebat,” “he was bent on making himself king.” Again, in Annals, xvi. 14, we read: “quippe Anteium et Ostorium imminere rebus et sua Cæsarisque fata scrutari,” where Nipperdey correctly translates: “hatten ihre Gedanken auf die Weltherrschaft zerichtet,” and he cites Hist., iv. 18, supra. This meaning of imminere comes out clearly in Ovid, Metamorph., i. 146 et seq.:

“Imminet exitio vir conjugis, illa mariti;
Lurida terribiles miscent aconita novercae;
Filius ante diem patrios inquirit in annos.”

Compare Cicero, In Ver., ii. 2. 54, § 134: “Nam ipsum Verrem tantum avaritia semper hiante atque imminente fuisses.” See also Ibid., Philip., v. 7. 20: “Hic pecunias vestras æstimabat; possessiones notabant et urbanas et rusticas; hujus mendicitas aviditate conjuncta in fortunas nostras imminebat; dividebat agros quibus et quos volebat.” Burnouf’s rendering of imminere rebus in
Annals, xvi. 14, is accurate. He translates: "qu'ils avaient des vues sur l'empire." Compare Suetonius, August., xxiv. This use of *imminere* in Tacitus would therefore appear to be clearly established, and we have dwelt upon it at some length, inasmuch as some editions of Tacitus have rendered it in other ways. We are satisfied that the interpretation we have given is correct.

iii. 86.—"Amicitias dum magnitudine munerum, non constantia morum contineri putat, meruit magis quam habuit." "In his vain belief that friendships can be preserved by extravagant bribes, and not by thoroughness of character, he hired rather than held them as his own." The true interpretation of this splendid passage depends on the exact meaning of, and the antithesis between, the words *meruit* and *habuit*. *Merere* means in this context "to hire" as in Plautus, Most., i. 3, 124, et seq.:

"Ut perdocte cuncta callet; nihil hac docta doctius.
Verum illud esse maxuma adeo pars vostrorum intellegit,
Quibus anus domi sunt uxorès, quam vos dote meruerunt."

Compare Cicero, In Ver., ii. 4. 60, § 135 : "Quid arbitramini Reginos, qui jam cives Romani sunt, merere velle, ut ab iis Marmorea Venus illa auferatur?" On the other hand *habere* meant *possession and property as well*, and is often used absolutely in this sense. See Cicero, In Ver., ii. 3. 86, § 199 : "Habet idem in nummis, habet in urbanis prædiis. See also Ibid., ii. 5. 18, § 45 ; Ibid., Ad Att., viii. 10 (Tyrrell and Purser, ccccxli., vol. iv., p. 263). Compare Terence, Adelph., iv. 7. 10:

"Virgo nihil habet."
"Audi vi. " "Et ducenda indotata est?" "Scilicet."
Thus it will be seen that the antithesis between *merere* and *habere* brings out the full meaning of this Tacitean phrase. The same kind of antithesis appears in the noble lines of Lucretius, iii. 970:

"Sic alid ex alio numquam desistet oriri
Vitaque mancipio nulli datur, omnibus usu."

The passage under comment is a strong example of the necessity of examining the exact meaning of words in our author.

iv. 4.—"Ubi ad Helvidium Priscum prætorem designatum ventum, prompsit sententiam ut honorificam in *novum* principem, *ita* falsa aberant, et studiis senatus attollebatur." "When it came to the turn of Helvidius Priscus, prætor-elect, he delivered a speech as complimentary to the new Sovereign as it was free from any tinge of insincerity, and he was enthusiastically applauded by the Senate." It will be seen that we have followed Halm in changing the *bonum* of the Medicean MS. into *novum*, and agree with Agricola in prefixing *ita* before *falsa aberant*. The sentence in the Medicean MS. is defective and runs thus: "Prompsit sententiam ut honorificam in *bonum* principem, falsa aberant," k. t. l. Dr. L. C. Purser has pointed out to me that probably the word *ut* got misplaced, and he would read: "Prompsit sententiam *honorificam ut in bonum principem*. *Falsa aberant*, et studiis senatus attollebatur." "He delivered a speech complimentary to the prince, *inasmuch as he was a good ruler*. It was free from any tinge of insincerity, and he was enthusiastically applauded by the Senate." There are few critics who will not admit that the suggestion of Dr. Purser is brilliant and admirable. If we follow Agricola's emendation, we do so simply because,
the insertion of *ita* is possibly not so great a change as 
the transmutation of the word *ut*, but we feel sure that 
many will prefer the reading of Dr. Purser. In our note 
on the passage in the translation at p. 134, we have, by 
an oversight, given the *novum* of Halm as the reading of 
the Medicean MS. likewise, whereas we should have given 
*bonum* as the reading of the MS. It is only fair to point 
out that Dr. Purser's reading is consistent with *bonum*, 
while Agricola's *ita* necessitated Halm's change of *bonum* 
into *novum*.

iv. 5.—"Helvidius Priscus origine Caracina, e municipio 
Cluviano, patre, qui ordinem primi pili duxisset." "Helvi-
dius Priscus was of Caraciniian extraction, was born in 
the town of Cluvia, and his father had, I believe, held 
the rank of senior centurion." Such is the emendation 
of Herseus (followed by Professor Edward Wolff, Berlin, 
1888) for the corrupt version of the Medicean MS., 
"Helvidius Priscus regione Italica Carecinæ municipio 
Cluvios" (*s del. 1 m*). We have shown, at some length in 
our note on the passage, that *regione* is a corruption of 
*origine*, and that *Italica* was a natural gloss on *Caracina*, 
inasmuch as the *Caracini* were an obscure Samnite tribe. 
So Ritter observes: "Glossam esse *regione* *Italica* cum 
Ernestio mihi certum est." Dr. L. C. Purser has, how-
ever, suggested a *via media* well deserving of attention. 
He would read—"Helvidius Priscus origine Italica, Carac-
cinus, e municipio Cluvio sed patre, qui ordinem primi pili 
duxisset," κ. τ. λ. It will be remembered that the *s* of 
*Cluvios* in the Medicean MS. is corrected by the first 
hand. Accordingly, it may be reasonably contended 
that *Cluvios patre* was a natural corruption of *Cluvio sed 
patre*, and all the more so in that this reading brings 
out the antithesis between the humble citizen of Cluvia
and the distinguished military position of his father in the Roman army. It must be admitted that this solution is closer to the Medicean MS. than the emendation of Heraeus, which we have adopted in the text and in our translation, possibly because the great authority of Ritter and Ernesti has compelled us to follow in the old groove.

iv. 12.—"Erat et domi delectus eques, præcipuo nandi studio, arma equosque retinens integris turmis Rhenum perrumpere." "They had at home, as well, a picked troop of cavalry of such special skill in swimming that they were able, while holding their arms and horses, to force their way across the Rhine in unbroken ranks." In my note to the text of the translation I have followed Harl. Reg. in reading erat for the erant of the Medicean MS., and I have sought to justify the Greek construction præcipuo nandi studio—perrumpere by such examples as Horace, Odes, iii. 12. 10, et seq.:

"Catus idem per apertum fugientes agitato
Grege cervos jacari et celer arto latitantem
Fruticeto excipere aprum."

And Ibid., i. 15. 5, et seq.:

"Mala ducis avī domum,
Quam multo repetet Græcia milite,
Conjurala tuas rumpere nuptias
Et regnum Priami vetus."

We find a similar construction in Sallust, Cat., lii.:
"Conjuravere nobilissumi cives patrium incendere." However, it must be admitted that the construction in Tacitus is strained and forced to the last degree. Still we can scarcely adopt the perrumpere solitus of Pichena, which Meiser has admitted into his text, nor can we follow
Meiser’s own suggestion: “præcipuo nandi studio, ut arma equosque retinens integris turmis Rhenum perrumpert.” Again, the suerant of Heraeus, or the adsuerat or insuerat of Heinisch, scarcely satisfies either the ear or taste. The suggestion of Dr. L. C. Purser that poterat should be read instead of erat is certainly attractive, as it decidedly smacks of good Latinity.

iv. 24.—“Ipse navi vectus.” “While he himself sailed down on shipboard”—Ritter’s certain emendation of the ipse navibus of the Medicean MS. Compare Plautus, Mil. Glor., ii. 1. 41:

“Capiunt prædones navem illam, ubi vectus fui.”

The same idiom is found in Ibid., Bacch., i. 1. 73; Am., ii. 2. 220; Merc., ii. 3. 37; Stich., iv. 1. 25. Ritter’s explanation of the corruption must commend itself to every scholar: “In antiqua scriptura qualem cogitamus (navi vectus), subsequentis vocis priore syllaba a proxima hausta, resedit nauitus, unde pronum erat facere navibus.” We cannot therefore understand why Haase and Heraeus should read navibus vectus, which does not admit of the elegant explanation of Ritter. Meiser’s defence of the MS. reading navibus will not commend itself to our readers. He spells sequitur out of the preceding verb celeraret, a construction, in my opinion, without a parallel in the whole range of Latinity. He himself is obliged to admit that such a construction is “paulo durius subaudiendum est.” We should like to know by what rule a present indicative can be spelt out of a preceding imperfect subjunctive! Again, even if we were to spell sequitur by this monstrous process of construction, still it would not be the right word, which is always vectus. Compare Catullus, lxiii.:

“Super alta vectus Attis celeri rata maria.”
It is indeed strange that so able and acute a critic as Meiser should not frankly acknowledge that Ritter's emendation is perfect, harmonising as it does both with the sense of the context and the palæographical explanations of the corruption into navibus.

iv. 41.—"Probabant religionem patres, perjurium arguebant." "The house applauded scrupulous respect for the sanctity of the oath and reproved the violation of it." It is now conceded that this is the true interpretation of this difficult passage, and Burnouf's rendering is universally accepted: "Les sénateurs applaudissaient à la bonne foi, protestaient contre le parjure." Meiser, the latest and greatest editor, in his new edition of Orelli's text, thus paraphrases: "cum singuli jurarent, patres vultu, voce, manu indicabant, quis verum, quis falsum juravisset; laudabant innocentes, noxios vituperabant." At one time a different interpretation was put upon the word "religio," which Orelli took in the sense of "scruple," a meaning which it undoubtedly sometimes bears, but not in the context, where it must be taken in its strictly technical sense of "scrupulous respect for the sanctity of the oath" as opposed to "perjurium," or the "violation of that sanctity." Compare Cicero, Font., ix. 20: "religione jurisjurandi ac metu deorum in testimoniis dicendis commoveri"; Livy, xxxix. 37: "nec Achæos religione obstringerent"; Cæsar, B. C., ii. 32: "timori magis quam religioni consulere." So we find Heræus and Wolff translate the phrase by "ehrlicher Schwur," a rendering accepted by Mr. Spooner. We cannot, therefore, accept the rendering of Mr. Godley, who understands the meaning to be: "the senate watched the embarrassment of these persons, and non sine quadam ironia gave them all praise for their well-meant but futile
attempts to make the oath fit their consciences; but they held them for perjurers all the same." The true meaning is fixed by the technical signification of "religio"—"scrupulous respect for the sanctity of an oath."

iv. 42.—"Sponte senum consularium accusationem subisse juvenis admodum, nec depellendi periculi, sed in spem potentiae videbatur." "Of his own accord, it would seem, and when quite a youth, he had engaged in the indictment of aged men of consular rank, not to avert any peril from himself, but in the hope of attaining influence." We have adopted and incorporated into our text this brilliant emendation of Meiser for the senseless and corrupt passage in the Medicean MS.: "Sponte e xscr accusatio subisse juvenis admodum, nec depellendi periculi, sed in spem potentiae videbatur." The inferior MSS. correct the corrupt accusatio into the correct accusationem, but leave untouched the major difficulty. J. Müller conjectured sponte Caesaris, an emendation which Meiser shows to be repugnant to the context: "Nam Regulus," says Meiser, "quidem dicebat a Nerone se coactum fuisse, sed sponte, non coactus accusationem subisse videbatur, augebatque iram hominum et indignationem, quod juvenis admodum senes consulares accusaverat. Sic omnia plana sunt simulque apparat, qui senum consularium in Medicei scripturam e xscr corrumpi potuerit." He refers to Annals, vi. 23: "consulari senti." It will be seen therefore that Meiser treats x as the mark of a scribe against a doubtful passage. It has been objected by some of my critical friends that in no Latin inscription or passage does s.c. stand as an abbreviation for Senes Consulares, but on the contrary is always used as a contraction for Senatus Consultum, or for Sententia Collegii (inscrip. Orelli, 2385).
There is a clear answer to this objection. The abbreviation in the MS. is not s.c., but sc, which may well have stood in the archetype for *Senum Consularium.*

iv. 55.—"Ipse e majoribus suis hostis populi Romani quam socios jactabat." "While he himself used to boast that his ancestors were the enemies rather than the allies of the Roman people." The scribe of the Medicean MS., misled by the archaic form hostis (for hostes), wrote socius jactabat as a kind of Greek construction, which Urlichs thought to improve upon by writing socius jactabatur. But Mercerus correctly perceived that the scribe had changed socios into socius, in order to make it agree with what he wrongly thought was the nominative hostis. Mr. Spooner does not appear to have studied the history of the text, as it was not Heraeus, but Mercerus, who changed the socius of the Medicean MS. into socios. Moreover, the phrase e majoribus suis is only intelligible if we take hostis as the archaic accusative of hostes, for we know of no warrant for such a translation as "from the time of," or "on account of," or "following the example of," his ancestors.

iv. 66.—"Ingens virium," the emendation of A. Ruperti for the ingens rerum of the Medicean MS. Compare Sallust, *Frag. Hist.*, iii. 10 (ed. Kr.): "ingens ipse virium atque animi." Vell. i. 12. 4: "modicus virium." The objection to the reading ingens rerum is not based on the use of the genitive of respect, which is so common in Tacitus, as, for instance, in *Annals*, i. 69: "ingens animi." The objection is founded on the unidiomatic use of rerum without an explanatory verbal substantive, as in c. 61. 7, ante: "si certandum adversus Gallos de possessione rerum foret." Our readers will therefore see why Völker proposes to read ingens rerum fiducia. In
our opinion, however, the suggestion of Ruperti—
ingens virium—is the soundest and safest emendation of
the unidiomatic ingens rerum.

iv. 77.—"Pars montibus, alii via, alii viam inter
Mosellamque flumen." “One division hurried down the
mountains, another by the high road, another, again,
by the path between the high road and the river Moselle”
—the brilliant and certain emendation of Meiser for the
corrupt pars montibus, alii. Italii viam inter Mosellamque
flumen of the Medicean MS. Meiser’s splendid correction
not only accounts for the alii. Italii of the MS., but tallies
to a nicety with the context, which shows that the
three divisions proceeded by three different routes, one
by the mountains, a second by the high road, and a
third by the path between the high road and the river.
The German critic’s note is so admirable that it is well
worth reproducing for the benefit of the reader. “Luce
clarius est,” says Meiser, “Tacitum dixisse tria hostium
agmina tribus diversis itineribus ad castra Romana ad-
volavisse. Ex voce via in Mediceo nihil restat nisi i,
quoniam u et a inter ii et a perierunt. Cur enim hostes
via abstinerent et juxta viam non in via procederent?
Nimirum via utebantur, sed ut omnes simul adessent,
uno impetu alii montibus devolabant, alii in via ruebant,
alii inter viam flumenque adsvolabant. Cf. ii. 42 : in aggere
viae, et 43, inter Padum viamque; iii. 82, tripertito agmine
pars—Flaminia via, pars juxta ripam Tiberis incessit ; tertium
agmen per Salariam—propinquabat. De anastrophe pra-
positionis cf. ii. 78, Judæam inter Syriamque: v. 19,
insula inter Germanosque : Dräger, Syntax, § 225. 3.”

iv. 86.—“Intellegebantur artes; sed pars obsequii in
eo, ne deprehenderentur.” “These wiles were understood
by Domitian, but the rôle of submissiveness precluded
their exposure.” *Pars* is here the Silver-Age equivalent for the classical *partes*. A brief examination of the primary and secondary meanings of the word may be of use. *Partes* in its primary sense meant a part or character in a play. Thus we find in Terence, *Phormio*, *Prol.*, 27:

"Quia, primas *partes* qui aget, is erit Phormio Parasitus."

And *Ibid.*, *Heautontim.*, *Prol.*, i.:

"Ne cui sit vestrum mirum, cur *partes* seni
Poeta dederit quae sunt adolescentium,
Id primum dicam."

See also Cicero, *Div. in Cæcil.*, xv. 51, and in many other passages.

In this strict sense of a *part in a play*, *partes* is always used, but *pars* never, either by classical or post-classical writers.

*Partes* soon acquired the secondary sense of a *rôle* or *part* in life generally, apart from the original histrionic meaning. Thus Juvenal, iv. 1, *et seq.*:

"Ecce iterum Crispinus, et est mihi sēpe vocandus
Ad *partes*, monstrum nulla virtute redemptum."

In his commentary, Professor Mayor cites Ovid, *Pont.*, iv. 2. 27; *Ibid.*, *Am.*, i. 8. 87; *Nux*, 67. 68:—

"At cum maturas fisso nova cortice rimas
Nux agit, ad *partes* pertica sæva venit."


In this secondary sense of a *rôle*, or part in life, *pars* is found even in Cicero himself. Thus we have the meaning brought out with great distinctness in the oration *pro Marcello*, ix.: “Hæc igitur tibi reliqua *pars*
est, hic restat actus, in hoc elaborandum est, ut rem publicam constituas, eaque tu in primis cum summa tranquilitate et otio perfruare." Again, we find in Q. Fr., i. 1. § 46 (Tyrrell, xxx., vol. i. 2nd ed., p. 269): "Illud te ad extremum et oro et hortor, ut tamquam poetae boni et actores industrii solent, sic tu in extrema parte [see Tyrrell's note, l. c., and Att., vi. 3. 3, Tyr. and Purs., vol. iii., p. 208] et conclusione muneres ac negotii tui diligentissimus sis, ut hic tertius annus imperii tui tamquam tertius actus perfectissimus atque ornatissimus fuisset videatur." But this use of pars is very common in the Latin of the Silver Age, as in Quintilian, xi. 3. 174: "Videri alia quoque hujus partis atque officii"; Ibid., v. 13. 1: "pars defensoris tota est posita in refutatione." See also iii. 46, ante, where Heræus translates pars by Aufgabe.

Obsequium is uniformly used by Tacitus in its strictly classical sense of "submissiveness" or "obedience." Thus we find in Annals, iii. 12. 4: "obsequium erga imperatorem exuit"; Ibid., vi. 37. 8: obsequium in regem"; Hist., iv. 74, sub fine: "ne contumaciam cum pernicie quam obsequium cum securitate malitis."

The meaning of the passage under comment thus becomes perfectly clear. Mucian was endeavouring to hoodwink the prince, but these wiles (artes) were understood by the latter. The rôle of submissiveness (pars obsequii), however, precluded Domitian from publicly exposing the ruse, for he was playing a waiting game of sham loyalty and obedience, as is so graphically depicted in the concluding words of the chapter.

iv. 86.—"Nam Cerialis salubi temperamento elusit ut vana pueriliter cupientem." "For Cerialis adopted the wholesome expedient of evading his proposals as the
idle whims of a mere boy.” In our note on this passage we have discussed the history of the word temperamentum, but a still further examination will not seem to be out of place. Temperamentum, in its primary signification, means a proper or correct mixture, a suitable compound, as in Horace, Odes, i. 20. 11:

"Mea nec Falernæ
Temperant vites neque Formiani
Pocula colles."

Here Orelli observes: Temperant—“producunt vinum, quod meis in poculis cum aqua temperetur, miscetur.” Hence the word temperamentum was used in the metaphorical sense of a middle or moderate course, and always bears that meaning under different forms according to the context. Thus the poet Martial, in his prose introduction to the Epigrams, i. 1, says: “Spero me secutum in libellis meis tale temperamentum, ut de illis queri non possit quisquis de se bene senserit, cum salva infimarum quoque personarum reverentia ludant.” So we find in Cicero, Leg., iii. 10. 24: “Inventum est temperamentum, quo tenuiores cum principibus æquiri se putarunt.” Again, in Pliny, Panegyr., iii. 1: “Igitur quod temperamentum omnes in illo subito pietatis coloris servamus.” Accordingly, we find in our author, i. 83, ante: “Sed veni postulaturus a vobis temperamentum vestrae fortitudinis” (to ‘temper’ your spirit); ii. 5, ante: “Egregium principatus temperamentum, si demptis utrisque vitii solae virtutes miserentur” (What a prince might be ‘blended’ from their combined unadulterated merits!). Annals, iii. 12. 1: “Die senatus Cæsar orationem habuit meditato temperamento” (with ‘studied moderation’). Ibid., iv. 20. 4: “Neque tamen temperamenti (‘moderation’ or ‘self-control’) egebat, cum
aequabilis auctoritate et gratia apud Tiberium viguerit.”
Ibid., xi. 4. 7: “Rogatus sententiam et Scipio ‘cum
idem,’ inquit ‘de admissis Poppææ sentiam quod omnes,
putate me idem dicere quod omnes,’ eleganti temperamento
(making a neat compromise) inter conjugalem amorem et
senatoriam necessitatem.” Cerialis did not refuse the
request of Domitian point blank, nor did he accede to it
without demur; but he followed a middle course, and
adopted the wholesome expedient (salubri temperamento)
of evading it, by treating it as the idle whim of a mere
boy. I venture to submit that the above explanation is
more correct than that of Meiser, who translates salubri
temperamento by durch eine heilsame Abkühlung, and relies
on iv. 68, ante: “Hic (Mucianus) moras nectens, quis
flagrantem (Domitianum) retineret, ne ferocia ætatis et
pravis impulsoribus, si exercitum invasisset, paci bello-
que male consuleret.” The history of the word, which
we have thus briefly traced, proves, we venture to think,
that in the time of Tacitus it had acquired the
well-defined meaning of “a compromise” or “an
expedient.”

v. 3.—“Moysen unum exulum monuisse, ne quam
deorum hominumve opem expectarent utrisque deserti,
sed sibimet ducem cælestem crederent, primo cujus auxilio
præsentes miseras pepulissent.” “Moses, one of the
exiles, warned them not to look for any aid from gods
or men, as they had been forsaken by both, but to
believe their only guide from Heaven was that by the
aid of which they might first be enabled to get rid of
their present woes.” We read sed sibimet ducem cælestem
crederent, the emendation of Haase for the ducem cælestis of
the Med. MS. The point of contrast is between “gods
and men” and “the wild ass,” the dux cælestis. This
contrast brings out the withering contempt, the *sæva indignatio* of Tacitus, who, in common with all the Gentile writers, was under the erroneous impression that the Jews worshipped the wild ass. In the next chapter (iv.) he says: “Effigiem animalis, quo monstrante errorem sitimque depulerant, penetrati sacravere.” Plutarch laboured under the same delusion. See Sympos., iv. 5, 2: “καὶ ἴσως ξέχει λόγον, ὡς τὸν ὃνον ἀναφήναντα ηγημ αὐτῶς ὑδατός τμῶσων.” Josephus (c. Apion, ii. 7) refutes the calumny. Meiser, in his *excursus*, traces the source of the error to the winged cherubim over the mercy-seat (*Exodus*, xxv. 18-21; *1 Kings*, vi. 23-28), especially as in *1 Kings*, vi. 27, we read: “And he set the cherubim within the inner house” (*penetrati* in Tacitus). It is clear that the Jews had got accustomed to the animal-worship of the Egyptians. Sir G. Wilkinson fixes on the sacred Egyptian bull *Mnevis* as the prototype of the golden calf (*Exodus*, xxxii. 4). In his *Ancient Egypt* (v. 197), he observes: “The offerings, dancings, and rejoicings practised on that occasion were, doubtless, in imitation of a ceremony they had witnessed in honour of *Mnevis*.” See Smith’s *Concise Dictionary of the Bible*, title “Calf,” to which I am indebted for this valuable extract. But the language of *Exodus*, xxxii., is the best commentary: “And all the people brake off the golden rings which were in their ears, and brought them unto Aaron. And he received it at their hand, and fashioned it with a graving tool, and made it a molten calf: and they said, ‘These be thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt.’ ”

It is therefore highly probable that the worship of “the golden calf” was confounded by the Gentile writers with the worship of the wild ass. But there is
a very good reason for explaining the confusion. We have seen (c. 5) that the ritual of the Jews was confounded with the worship of Bacchus. The hypothesis is condemned by Tacitus, but supported by Plutarch (Symp., iv. 6), on the ground that the feast of Tabernacles followed the vintage. Now the ass was sacred to Bacchus. See Juvenal, xi. 96, et seq.:

"Sed nudo latere et parvis frons ærea lectis
Vile coronati caput ostendabat aselli,
Ad quod lascivi ludebant ruris alumni."

In his learned commentary Mr. Mayor observes:

"The head was crowned with vine-leaves, the ass being sacred to Bacchus."

v. 4.—"Seu quod de septem sidcribus, quis mortales res reguntur, altissimo orbe et præcipua potentia stella Saturni feratur ac pleraque cælestium viam suam et cursus septenos per numeros commeent."

"Or because out of the seven planets, by which the fates of men are ruled, the star of Saturn moves in the vastest orbit and with the most sovran virtue, and many of the heavenly bodies pass through the course of their revolutions in cycles of seven years." I follow Wurm in reading mortales res for the mortales of the Med. MS. Mortales reguntur is scarcely classical, and res may have easily slipt out after mortales. Nipperdey evidently perceived that Tacitus could not have written mortales reguntur, and he read mortalia reguntur, which, however, does not account for the corruption in the same way as Wurm's mortales res reguntur.

I follow Bezzenberger in substituting viam for the vim of the Med. MS.

Thus we find in Cicero, De nat. deorum, ii. 22. § 57:

"Atque hac quidem omnis natura artificiosa est, quod
habet quasi *viam* quandam et sectam, quam sequatur.” Moreover, *viam* was corrupted into *vim* in the same way in iii. 49. 6, *ante*, where Lipsius made the correction. I adopt the *septenos* of Halm for the *septimos* of the MS., as in such a context as this our author invariably uses the distributive form. Compare v. 23, *post*: “Adjecta ingens lintrium vis (*tricenos quadragesnosque vexere*)”; and *passim*. Few will hesitate to follow Wölfflin in reading *conmeent* or *conmeent* for the defective *êmearent* of the Med. MS. *Conmeare* is the correct word to describe the movements of the heavenly bodies. Compare Cicero, *De nat. deorum*, ii. 19, § 49: “Nam cum duo sint genera siderum, quorum alterum spatiis immutabilibus ab ortu ad occasum *comeans* nullum umquam *cursus* sui vestigium inflectat, alterum autem continuas conversiones duas isdem spatiis cursibusque conficiat, ex utraque re et mundi volubilitas, quae nisi in globosa forma esse non posset, et stellarum rotundi ambitus cognoscuntur.”

Cicero, as well as Tacitus, describes the planet Saturn as *Saturni stella*, which he tells us (*De nat. deorum*, ii. 20, § 52) was called *Φαῖνων* by the Greeks.

v. 5.—“Corpora *condire* quam cremare e more *Egyptio cura, eademque est de infernis persuasio, cælestium contra.” So I read with Triller and Heræus for the “*corpora condere* quam cremare e more *Egyptio, eademque cura et de infernis persuasio, cælestium contra*” of the Med. MS. As the Egyptians *embalmed* their dead (see Herodotus, ii.), *condere* was rightly changed by Triller into *condire*. See Cicero, *Tusc.*, i. 45. § 108: “*Condiunt Egyptii mortuos*”; *Annals*, xvi. 6. 2: “*Corpus (Poppææ) non igni abolitum, ut Romanus mos, sed regum externorum consuetudine differtum odoribus conditur tumuloque Juliorum infertur.*” The transposi-
tion of cura by Heræus will commend itself to every scholar.

v. 7.—"Nam cuncta sponte edita aut manu sata, sive herba tenus aut flore, seu solidam in speciem adolevere, atra et inania velut in cinerem vanescunt." "For all natural growths, as well as what is sown by the hand, whether they have reached the stage of leaf or blossom, or semblance of fruit, become black and hollow, and moulder, as it were, into ashes."

We are indebted to Rhenanus for his certain emendation of herba tenus aut flore for the corrupt herbas tennes aut flores of the Med. MS., and to Salmasius for his admirable correction of the solitam in speciem of the MSS. into solidam in speciem, "semblance of fruit." Meiser erroneously objects to the correction of Salmasius, on the ground that fruit, which are termed inania, cannot be properly described as solida. But the German critic misses the whole force of the words in speciem, "in appearance," which qualify the word solidam. The apples are only solid "in appearance" (in speciem). Indeed Meiser's quotation from Dr. Robinson, B. R., ii. 472, proves the full meaning of the emendation, for the learned doctor tells us that the fruit seemed beautiful and attractive to the eye (in speciem), and it was only when he plucked the apple that it mouldered away under his touch. So Josephus, Bel. Jud., iv. 8. 4: "οὐ χροιαν μὲν ἐξουσὶ τῶν ἐδωδίμων ὅμοιαν, δρεφαμένων δὲ χερσίν εἰς κατινὸν διαλύονται καὶ τέφραν."

v. 11.—"Nam duos colles in inmensum editos claudebant muri per artem obliqui aut introrsus sinuati, ut latera obpugnantium ad ictus patescerent." The two hills here alluded to are undoubtedly Acra and Zion, inasmuch as they constituted the fortifications of the city as
contradistinguished from Mount *Moriah*, on which the *Temple* was built, and which is separately dealt with in the subsequent chapter. In our note we refer to Ferlet (cited by Meiser), who says: “L’auteur parle d’abord des *deux premières collines* seulement—les regardant comme le corps de la place dont le Temple était la citadelle.”

v. 23.—“Et simul *aptæ* lintres sagulis versicoloribus haud indecore pro velis juvabantur.” “And at the same time the pinnaces were helped along by a rig of party-coloured plaids, which proved a picturesque substitute for sails.” *Aptæ* is the brilliant and certain emendation of the Bipontine (Zweibrücken) editors for the corrupt *captæ* of the Med. MS. Compare Ovid, *Metamorph.*, xi. 456:

“Aptarieque suis pinum jubet armamentis.”

Meiser cites Livy, xxi. 22. 4: “*Aptæ* instructæque *remigio* triginta et duæ quinquiremes erant.” Ibid., xxi. 27. 8: “Paratas *aptatasque* habebat lintres.” Ibid., xxx. 10. 3: “Agili et nautico instrumento *aptæ* et armatæ classi.” He also cites Cæsar, *B. C.*, iii. 111: “Quinquiremes *aptæ* instructæque omnibus rebus ad navigandum.” Heraeus reads *actæ* = *actuariae*.

**IV. The Loss of the Remainder of the History.**

The rhyming Dutch chronicle of Nicolas Colinus is now generally conceded to have been written in the twelfth century. Thus Meiser, in his *Excursus*, observes: “Ad Cap. 26, in Henrici Cannegieteri Dissertatton de Brittenburgo cet. Hagæ-Comitum, 1734, p. 3, repperi certiora quædam de Colino: ‘Nicolaus Colinus in Chronicco rythmico, quod *sæculo duodecimo scriptum* haud ita pridem edidit Gerhardus Dumbar.’”
Now this chronicle of Colinus suddenly breaks off at the very point where the narrative of Tacitus so abruptly terminates, thus showing that Colinus founded his chronicle on the History, and that the remainder of the History had been lost as far back as the twelfth century. Both Ritter and Orelli give the concluding passage in the old Dutch chronicle, and, in taking leave of my readers, I do not think I can do better than subjoin the quaint original:

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"Zo dat te male
Op die brugge van die Nau-Wale
Wurt gedainget van den peyse;
Waer hy sturf en op wat weyze
Adel Greve Glaude Schevelen
Vint ix ni in geene delen."
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I. With fairer fortune and a finer sense of honour the leaders of the Flavian Party were deliberating on their plans of action. They had gathered at Petau, the winter-quarters of the Thirteenth Legion, and there the question at issue was, whether they should close up the passes of the Pannonian Alps until all their forces had mustered in their rear, or whether their more spirited course would be to come to close quarters with the enemy and fight for the possession of Italy itself. Those who were in favour of awaiting reinforcements, and protracting the war, exaggerated the power and prestige of the legions of Germany, which had, they said, been subsequently strengthened by the flower of the army of Britain under Vitellius. "We," they cried, "are no match in

1 *Pietovio*, now Petau, on the river Drave, in Styria.
2 The Legion XIII. Gemina had, as described in ii. 67 (vol. i. p. 123), been punished for their devotion to Otho by Vitellius, who had put them to the degrading work of building amphitheatres at Cremona and Bologna. The legion had treasured up this insult; and, when they returned to Pannonia, they espoused the cause of Vespasian with alacrity. See ii. 86 (vol. i. p. 146), ante.
3 *Pannonia Alpes*. Also called the Julian Alps.
4 *Mox*, "subsequently," is the reading of the Medicean MS. *Mox* in Tacitus, frequently means, "next in order of time," or "subsequently," as in i. 1: "mox libidine adsentandi"; also, c. 6, *post*: "laeta ad praesens male parta mox in perniciem vertere." The emendation of Wolfflin—*modo*—adopted by Hermeus, is therefore quite unnecessary.
5 Consisting of a *corps d'élite* of 8000 men, ii. 57 (vol. i. p. 113). See also ii. 100 (vol. i. p. 163), and c. 22, *post.*
point of numbers even for the legions just routed by Vitellius, and, boast as wildly as they may, the spirit of the vanquished is ever on the wane. But, if we meanwhile blockade the Alpine passes, Mucian will soon be at hand with the armies of the East. Vespasian holds in reserve the empire of the sea, his fleets, and the enthusiasm of the provinces, wherewith to rouse the main forces of, so to speak, a second war. This delay means safety, the accession of fresh strength, and the preservation of existing resources."

II. In reply to this, Antonius Primus, fiercest of firebrands for kindling war, maintained that haste meant advantage for them and ruin for Vitellius. "Indolence," he cried, "rather than confidence, has gained a hold upon the victors, kept as they are neither in fighting trim nor within their camp. Scattered in idleness throughout the towns of Italy, a

1 The legions that fought for Otho at Bedriacum were VII. Galbiana, XI. Claudia, XIII. Gemina, I. Adjutrix Classicorum, and a detachment of XIV. Gemina Martia Victoria. See ii. 11, ii. 66 (vol. i. pp. 75 and 121). Of these legions Vitellius sent the XIV. back to Britain (ii. 76, vol. i. p. 122); the I. Adjutrix, to Spain (ii. 77, vol. i. p. 123); the XI. Claudia, to their usual winter-quarters in Dalmatia (ii. 77, vol. i. p. 123); the VII. Galbiana, to their usual winter-quarters in Pannonia (ii. 77, vol. i. p. 123); and, as we have already seen, the XIII. Gemina had, after completing the amphitheatres at Cremona and Bologna, finally returned to Pannonia.

2 Classes. The fleets at Pontus, Syria, and Egypt. See ii. 4, ii. 86 (vol. i. pp. 70 and 134), ante.

3 Cicero. Tacitus follows Vergil, En., vi. 165:

"Aere ciere viros Martemque accendere cantu."

4 Belli molem, "the main forces of the war." This is the accurate translation by Mr. Furneaux of the same words in Annals, xv. 2. See also Hist., i. 61, ii. 6 (vol. i. pp. 40 and 71). See also Heraeus to the same effect.

5 Alterius, used, as frequently elsewhere, by Tacitus for the unusual genitive alius. See vol. i. p. 151, note 8.

6 For the sketch of the life and character of Antonius Primus, see ii. 86, ante, vol. i. pp. 146-147.

7 Concitor. Restored by Orelli for the corrupt conciator of the MSS. Concitor is the form invariably used by Tacitus, as in Annals, iv. 28; Hist., i. 68; iv. 56 and 68 (all cited by Heraeus). Others erroneously read conciator.

terror only to their billets,\(^1\) they have drained the novelties of vice in a spirit of passionate reaction from the wild simplicity of their former lives. They are now either enervated by the allurements of the circus, the theatre, and the pleasures of city life, or worn out by divers diseases. But if we give them time, even they will recover their vigour by training for war.\(^2\) Germany too, a source of fresh strength to them, is not afar; Britain is severed only by a strait; Gaul and Spain are close at hand; on both sides of them are supplies of men, horses and tribute; they have Italy herself and the wealth of Rome to support them; nay, should they choose actually to assume the offensive, they have two fleets,\(^3\) and there is nothing to stop them on the Adriatic. Of what avail then would be the keys of the mountain passes,\(^4\) and the procrastination of war into another summer? Whence, meanwhile, are we to obtain money and supplies? Nay, why not rather turn to our advantage the haste of the legions of Pannonia, duped as they were rather than conquered, to rise again for vengeance, and the unscathed forces of the armies of Mœsia? If we count the number of soldiers rather than of legions, we are the stronger, and we are quite free from demoralizing influences; for the very shame of defeat has strengthened the spirit of discipline. Nay, our cavalry remained unconquered even at Bedriacum, and scattered the lines of Vitellius despite the evil fortune of that hour. Two squadrons of Pannonian and Mœsian horse cut their way through the enemy even then. Now the serried standards of sixteen squadrons, with the tramp\(^5\) and

\(^1\) *Hospes,* “a billet,” as in ii. 66 (vol. i. p. 121), *ante*; c. 41, *post*; Livy, ii. 14. 8; Suetonius, Nero, xlvii.


\(^3\) At Misenum and Ravenna.

\(^4\) Because the Vitellianists, sailing up the Adriatic, would land on the coast of Dalmatia, and get behind the Alps.

clatter, and very dust-cloud of their charge will bury and overwhelm these carpet-knights and their dismelted steeds. Unless my course is stayed I will be the first to carry out the plans that I have advocated. Do you, whose fortunes are uncompromised, hold back the legions; the light-armed auxiliary foot will stand me in good stead enough. Soon will you hear of Italy opened up and of Vitellius driven back. Then you will be glad to follow and press on in the footsteps of the conqueror.”

III. With eyes aflame and wild utterance, that his voice might carry farther (for the centurions and some of the soldiers had mingled with the Council), he poured forth such a flood of these and the like words as to sway even the wary and cautious, while the rank and file extolled him as the only man, the only general, and spurned the poltroonery of the rest. He had won this reputation at the very first meeting when, after Vespasian’s letter had been read, he did not, like most others, debate in nebulous phrases which he might shift hither and thither, varying his construction like an opportunist; but he seemed to have openly entered the lists for his party, and was all

1 Nube, “the dust-cloud.” The context here explains the meaning of nubes, and all the commentators are now agreed.

2 Idem suavor auctorque consilii ero, “I will be the first to carry out the plans that I have advocated.” This, the text of the Medicean MS., is defended by Meiser in the new Orelli, who cites Curtius, iii. 7. 7: “idem et auctor et munus venit”; Livy, ii. 54. 7: “nece auctor quamvis audaci facinior deearat.” The meaning (“the first to act”) is proved by iii. 43, post, n. 3; iv. 14; Agricola, xiii. Professor Wolff (Berlin, 1888) would read suavor auctorque, citing Cicero, Sest., § 61: “dux, auctor, actor rerum illarum fuit.” But see Cicero, Philip., ii. § 26: “Etenim si auctores ad librandam patriam desiderarentur illis auctoribus, Brutos ego impellere, quorum uterque L. Bruti imaginem quotidie videret, alter etiam Ahae?” There, too, Madvig and Ernesti would read auctores, but erroneously.

3 Epistulæ, “a letter,” as in ii. 54 (vol. i. p. 111), and elsewhere in Tacitus.

4 Incerta, “in nebulous phrases,” a translation suggested by Mr. Gladstone’s speech prior to the fall of the Unionist Ministry in the autumn of 1892.

5 Huc illuce tracturus interpretatione. Meiser refers to Cicero, Acad., ii. 36, § 116: “quæe disputationibus huc et illuc trapuntur.”

6 Aperte descendisse in causam videbatur, “he seemed to have openly entered the lists for his party.” The true explanation of this expression is extremely interesting, and has not been given by the critics. In Rome most of the private houses of the citizens were built on an eminence, and in lofty situations. Hence, when the Roman left his house for the pursuits of active or public life he was said descendere. This is the meaning of the phrases descendere in forum; descendere ad comitia. Consequently, even when the person in question did not live on a height but lived on low ground, he was
the more popular with the soldiers as their partner in what might prove to be either treason or victory.

IV. The influence of Cornelius Fuscus, the procurator, stood next. He too had been wont to inveigh ruthlessly against Vitellius, and had consequently left himself no room for hope in the event of disaster. Tampius Flavianus, through a wariness proceeding from natural habit as well as years, constantly provoked the soldiers to suspect him of cherishing his relationship to Vitellius. Moreover, inasmuch as he had at first fled upon the inception of the meeting of the legions, and then voluntarily returned, he was believed to have been nevertheless said descendere. Thus Cicero, in II. Philip., vi. 16, says: "Hodie non descendit Antonius," where Mr. King, in his excellent note, observes: "Not necessarily implying literal descent, since Antony's house was on the low ground of the Carinae, but as most people in Rome lived on the hills, it was usual to talk of their 'coming down' to the Forum or the Campus, or any place of public resort." Thus the words in the text, aperte descendisse, denote open, public activity—openly entering the lists for his party.

1 Gratior, the reading of the inferior manuscripts, is accepted by Meiser in preference to the gravior of the Medicean MS., on the ground that gravior, in the sense in the text, is invariably accompanied by the explanatory auctor. Otherwise there would be the intolerable ambiguity of gravior = molestior or δωράρης. We venture to agree with this argument, and the preceding note will demonstrate that Ritter's reasoning in favour of gravior is erroneous.

2 For the sketch of the Knight-errant, Cornelius Fuscus, see ii. 86, vol. i. p. 147, and Introduction, lx.-lxiii.

3 See ii. 86 ante, vol. i. p. 147.

4 Cunctator. The emendation of Lipsius for the cunctatior of the Medicean MS. Halm reads cunctantior. Both Heræus and Orelli refer to ii. 25 ante, cunctatior natura; v. 14 post, neuter ducum cunctator; Annals, xv. 1, cunctator ingenio. We naturally recall the line of Ennius:

   "Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem."

5 Tanquam in Tacitus always expresses the ground or basis of a conclusion or averment, when such conclusion or averment is not that of the historian himself, but purports to be that of another person or of other persons, whose sentiments are expounded in the oratio obliqua of Tacitus. This rule holds good throughout all the works of our author. Thus, when Tacitus speaks for himself, and does not represent the opinions of others, then tanquam has a wholly different meaning, as in i. 6 ante, where the very words of the historian himself—inauditi atque indefensi tanquam innocentes perierant—must be translated, "perished unheard and undefended like innocent men," not "because," or "on the ground that," they were innocent men, which would be the meaning of the passage if the statement purported to be made by another person, whose language was indirectly given by the historian. Mr. Spooner's quotation from Pliny, Epp., iv. 2–8 (Spooner, p. 111) makes the meaning of the above passage (i. 6) quite clear: donec ad supplicium, nescio an innocens, certe tanquam innocens, ducta est."
watching his opportunity for treachery. The fact is that, after
he had left Pannonia, entered Italy and was free from danger, a
passion for revolution had prompted Flavianus to resume the title
of legate and involve himself in civil war, egged on by Cornelius
Fuscus, not that the latter stood in need of the energy of
Flavianus, but in order that the critical moment of the Flavian
insurrection might be shrouded under the glamour of the consular
prestige.

V. Nevertheless, in order that the transport into Italy might
be both safe and effective, a despatch to Aponius
Saturninus ordered him to hasten up with the army
of Moesia; and lest the provinces, when denuded of
their garrisons, might be exposed to the inroads of
barbarian tribes, the chiefs of the Sarmatae Iazyges,
who held the reins of government, were presented with commis-
sions in the Roman army. These chiefs also tendered the

\[1\] Cum maxime, "at the very moment," has always the same meaning in Tacitus.
See i. 29 ante, vol. i. p. 19 and note.

\[2\] Honesta specie pretenderetur, "might be shrouded under the glamour," or, to
use the language of Herœus, "coated with the varnish"—"einen anständigen Anstrich
gaben."

\[3\] Transmittere in Italiam is the reading of the Medicean MS. No emendation
appears necessary. Meiser observes: "objectum—militem vel exercitum—facile per
se intelligitur." Transmittere is used absolutely in v. 19 post: "In insulam concessit
gnarus deese naves efficiendo ponti neque exercitum Romanum aliter transmiseretur";
also in Annals, xiv. 29: "equites vado secuti aut aliores inter undas adiantes equis
transierer"; also in Livy, xxi. 51: "jam forte transmiserant ad vastandam Italiam
oram." Now although Herœus cites all these passages, yet he reads transmittere in
Italiam bellum, following Halm, for a reason which will scarcely commend itself to our
readers: "Transmittere absolut gebraucht würde die Absicht nach Italien überzusetzen
zur Voraussetzung haben, wovon hier natürlich nicht die Rede sein kann." Surely
when taken with the context there is nothing nebulous in the absolute use of trans-
mittere. Acidalius reads transmittere bellum; Ritter, transmittere militem.

\[4\] Here the scribe of the Medicean MS. skipped a leaf, and jumped from Aponio
Saturnino (aponio satiū) to revirescere in c. 7, and ran on to the words ut inimici in c. 9,
then returning to the words cum exercitu (ninocū exercitū). All the other manuscripts
copy this mistake (corruptiones cumulant, says Meiser), thus showing that the Medicean
was their archetype. Pichenac corrected the error.

\[5\] The Sarmatae Iazyges are referred to in Annals, xii. 29 and 30 where the very
instructive note of Mr. Furneaux should be consulted. Mr. Furneaux identifies them
with the 'Iazyges μετάκασθαι of Ptolemy (iii. 7. 1) who had expelled the Dacians from
that portion of Hungary between the Danube and Theiss, and were consequently on
the borders of Pannonia. The Iazyges were one stem of the Sarmatians; another stem
were the Rhoxolani between the Borysthenes and Tanais, i. 79 ante, vol. i. p. 53.
services of their people, consisting of a force of cavalry,¹ their only effective arm; but their offer was declined lest, in the thick of the civil war, they might work at foreign intrigues² or, tempted by larger inducements from the other side, might cast off all sense of legal or moral obligation.³ Sido and Italicus,⁴ Kings of the Suevi⁵ loyal from of yore to the Roman people, were induced to espouse the Flavian cause; and their nation, too, was rendered able to endure the burden of loyalty by the honour of enrolment in the Roman army.⁶ Auxiliaries were stationed on the right Flavian flank⁷ in consequence of the hostility of Raetia, which was then governed by the procurator Porcius Septimius, whose devotion to Vitellius was true to the core. Accordingly Sextilius Felix was sent with Aurius’ dragoons,⁸ eight cohorts of foot, and a force of Tyrolese,⁹ to seize upon the nearer bank of the river Inn,¹⁰ which flows between Raetia and Noricum. But neither of these officers¹¹ ventured upon a battle, and so the fate of the rival parties was determined elsewhere.¹²

¹ *Et vim equitum.* These words are epexegetical, and explain the preceding plebum, like vulgus et ceteros in i. 29 ante, and iii. 3 ante.

² *Externa molirentur,* “might work at foreign intrigues.” Tacitus uses the Vergilian moliri, which is equivalent to the prose ngere. Compare Vergil, Æn., i. 563: “Res dura et regni novitas me taliac cogunt | Moliri et latefines custode tueri.”

³ *Jus fasque.* “Legal and moral obligation”—all law, human and divine.

⁴ *Vangio and Sido* are mentioned in Annals, xii. 29, where see Mr. Furneaux’s admirable note. Italicus was, most probably, Vangio’s successor.

⁵ The Suevi or Marcomanni occupied Bohemia; the Quadi, Moravia. See Furneaux on Annals, xii. 29; also, Mr. Spooner at p. 286.

⁶ *Et gens fidei commilitio patientior.* So I read with Meiser for the corrupt fidei omision of the Medicean MS. Scheffer and Heraeus read et gens fidei quam jussorum patientior, a reading wholly unwarranted by the aspect of any manuscript.

⁷ *Latus,* “the right Flavian flank.” Raetia (the Tyrol) was westward of Noricum (Styria and Carinthia), which in its turn was westward of Pannonia.

⁸ *Ala Auriana.* “Aurius’ dragoons”—mentioned in a passport or diploma of Trajan (A.D. 108), as Ala I Hispanorum Auriana.

⁹ *Raetia* corresponded to the modern Tyrol.

¹⁰ *Aenus,* now the river Inn in the Tyrol. Hence the modern Innsbruck.

¹¹ That is to say, Porcius Septimius and Sextilius Felix.

¹² At the storming and sack of Cremona.
VI. Antonius, as he hurried forward with detachments of auxiliary foot and part of the cavalry for the invasion of Italy, chose as his companion Arrius Varus, a resolute soldier who had gained his reputation by serving under Corbulo and by success in Armenia. However, it was commonly reported that Varus had, in secret interviews with Nero, blackened the high character of Corbulo. By such base influence he gained the rank of senior Centurion, but the ill-gotten triumph of the hour afterwards turned to his ruin. Well, Primus and Varus having seized on Aglar were enthusiastically received throughout the neighbourhood, and especially at Oderzo and Altino. A garrison was left at Altino to check the Ravenna fleet before its desertion from Vitellius had become known. They next gained over to Vespasian the towns of Padua and Este. There they discovered that three Vitellianist cohorts and the Sebosian dragoons had built a bridge

1 The zealous fidelity of Arrius Varus to Corbulo in the East is described in *Annals*, xiii. 9. There Arrius Varus is described as *praefectus cohortis*—commander of a cohort, a rank higher than that of senior centurion, which he is stated in the text to have subsequently acquired. This apparent inconsistency is explained by Mr. Furneaux in his able note on *Annals*, xiii. 9: “The objection,” he observes, “is met by pointing out that in C. I. L., v. 867, a person who had passed on from ‘primipilus’ of a legion to a higher military rank becomes ‘p. p. iterum,’ without attachment to a legion, apparently as honorary rank, to serve as stepping-stone to a procuratorship.”

2 The daughter of Corbulo, Domitia Longina, had been married to Aelius Lamia. The emperor, Domitian, who was enamoured of her, procured her divorce from Lamia and married her himself. Suetonius, Domitian I. and X. Hence Ryckius suspects that Domitia, when wedded to Domitian, revenged herself on Arrius Varus for his treachery to her father. Note the use of *mox* = “afterwards,” as in i. 1; and iii. 1, ante.

3 Aquileia, now Aglar or Aquileja, in Venetia.

4 *Per proxima quaeque et Opitergi et Altini latis animis accipiuntur*, “were enthusiastically received throughout the neighbourhood, and especially at Oderzo and Altino.” This is the reading of Baiter, who, by prefixing the preposition *per* before *proxima quaeque* renders the passage intelligible. This slight alteration is more justifiable than the *proxima quaeque vi obtinent* of Haase, or the *occupant Aquileiam ac proxima quaeque* of Meiser himself. Opitergium and Altinum—the modern Oderzo and Altino—are close to Venice.

5 Patavium and Ateste—the modern Padua and Este—are also close to the west of Venice.

6 Ala Sebosiana, “the Sebosian dragoons,” named after their founder and enroller, one Sebosus, otherwise unknown. The *Ala Gallorum Sebosiana* was, as proved by inscriptions, stationed in Britain in 103 A.D.
of boats across the Po and occupied Ferrara. The Flavians determined to seize on the chance of attacking them when off their guard, for of that, too, they had information. At dawn they destroyed many of them wholly unarmed. Orders had been given beforehand to slay but few and force the rest in sheer terror to transfer their allegiance. So indeed some surrendered forthwith, but the majority, by destroying the bridge, cut off the enemy's pursuit.

VII. When this Flavian success at the outset of the war had been bruited into the dimensions of a regular victory, then the legions, Galba's own Seventh, and the Thirteenth "Gemina," with its lieutenant-general, Vedius Aquila, hastened to Padua with enthusiasm. There a few days were spent in rest, and Minucius

1 Forum Alcini is identified by Heraeus and others with the modern Legnago on the Adige in Venetia, but it seems to us, in accordance with most of the critics, to be represented by the modern Ferrara on the river Po, in Romagna. This is the opinion of Meiser, who refers to Cellar. g. a. I. p. 559. From a strategical point of view, to-, Ferrara, north-west of Ravenna, on the north bank of the Po, would be a natural point of advance for the Vitellianists, whereas Legnago would have been entirely too far from their base of operations.

2 Vulgato in victoria principia belli secundum Flavianos data, "when this Flavian success at the outset of the war had been bruited into the dimensions of a regular victory." After prolonged reflection I have adopted this profound emendation of Meiser. The reading of the Medicean MS. is corrupt and defective. It runs as follows:—Vulgata victoria'principia belli secundum Flavianos data legiones, k.t.l. The scribe of the secondary Florentine MS. (b) tried his hand by prefixing post before principia; and Rhenanus has with universal approval altered data into data. Even with these improvements it was evident that a lacuna still remained unfilled. Nipperdey saw the defect but failed in the remedy, and does not untie the knot, or even cut it, but simply hacks it by tacking on to the preceding chapter the words Principia belli secundum Flavianos data, and then commencing the next chapter thus:—Vulgata victoria legiones Septima Galbiana, k.t.l. Heraeus follows Nipperdey, but fails to justify a transposition which makes the historian write like a schoolboy. The emendation of Meiser restores its true Tacitean individuality to the sentence, and is strongly supported by the passage which the German critic cites from Livy, iv. 34. 7: "Aliquarum navium concursum in majus, ut fit, celebrantes navalis victoriam, casum appetivere."

3 VII. Galbiana, of which Antonius Primus himself was lieutenant-general

4 XIII. Gemina. The title "Gemina" was given to a legion that had been formed originally out of two pre-existing legions, such as Julius Caesar's immortal X. Gemina.—Cesar, B. C., iii. 4. 1. The other legions bearing this title were the above-mentioned XIII. Gemina; XIV. Gemina Martia Victrix; and the VII. Galbiana, which was also entitled Gemina. See 1 Smith's Dict. Ant., new ed., pp. 787-790.
Justus, camp-prefect of the Seventh Legion, inasmuch as he held the reins of office too tightly for the conditions of civil war, was secretly withdrawn from the fury of the troops and sent on to Vespasian. An act, long wished for, received undue prominence from the construction which vainglory put upon it, when Antonius ordered the effigies of Galba, which had been thrown down during the recent civil war, to be restored for public worship in every town, considering that the Flavian cause would gain in prestige if it were believed that Galba's reign was approved of, and that Galba's party was again in the ascendant.

VIII. The next question was the choice of a base of operations. Verona seemed the most eligible from the extent of its surrounding plains, adapted for fighting with cavalry, in which the Flavians were very strong. At the same time it seemed likely to serve the interests and character of the party thus to snatch from Vitellius a colony so well equipped. The mere march through Vicenza was sufficient
to effect its capture;¹ and although the acquisition of the latter place was of trivial consequence in the abstract (for the town is of but moderate strength), yet it acquired an adventitious importance in the eyes of those who reflected that it was the birth-place of Cæcina, and that they had thus torn his native land from the leader of their enemies. The people of Verona well repaid their visit, as they advanced the Flavian cause both by the example set and the assistance given. Moreover the army thus interposed blocked the road to the Tyrol and the Julian Alps, cutting off, as it did, any approach by the German armies in that direction.² This course was either unknown to, or forbidden by, Vespasian; for his orders were that Aglar should be the base of operations, and that Mucian’s arrival should be awaited, and he supported this order on the strategical ground that when Egypt, the keys¹ of the corn supply, and the revenues of the wealthiest provinces were in Flavian hands, then the army of Vitellius could be forced to surrender by sheer want of money and supplies. Mucian urged the same policy in frequent despatches, ostensibly on the ground of victory free from blood and tears, and such like pretexts, but really because he was greedy for his own renown, and wished to centre in himself the entire credit of the campaign. But by

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¹ *Possessa*, “its capture.” *Possessa* is the participle of *possidère* and not of *possidere*. Compare Lucretius, i. 384, *et seq.*:

> Postremo duo de concursu corpora lata
> Si cita desilient, nempe aer omne necessest,
> Inter corpora quod fiat, possidat inane."

² *Et interjectus exercitus Rætiam Juliasque Alpes, ne pervium illa Germanicis exercitibus fœret, obseperat.* “Moreover the army thus interposed blocked the road to the Tyrol (Rætiam) and the Julian Alps, cutting off, as it did, any approach by the German armies in that direction.” Lipsius properly deleted the *ac* of the Medicean MS., and a glance at the map of Italy will show the full meaning of the text of Meiser which I have given above. Verona completely commands the approaches to the Julian Alps, and the passes into the Austrian Tyrol—Rætia. We are glad that Heraeus adopts this text, and is in accord with Halm. Orelli, on the other hand, by reading *et interjectus exercitus per Rætiam Juliasque Alpes*; and Ritter, by reading *et interjectus exercitus Rætiam intra Juliasque Alpes*, make arrant nonsense from a geographical point of view, for surely, in order to make sense, *obseperat*, and not *interjectus*, must govern *Rætiam Juliasque Alpes*.

³ *Claustria annona.* Alexandria and Pelusium, which are termed, ii. 82 (vol. i. p. 142), *claustria Ægypti.*
reason of the vast intervening distances\(^1\) these precepts came too late to stay events.

IX. Then Antonius made a sudden attack, dashed in upon the enemy's outposts, and tested their mettle in a skirmish with no decisive result. Soon afterwards Cæcina constructed a strongly fortified camp between Ostigilia,\(^2\) a village of Verona, and the marshes of the river Tartaro,\(^3\) a secure position, inasmuch as his rear was protected by the stream, and his flanks by the interjacent swamps. Indeed had he been loyal to boot, then the two Flavian legions,\(^4\) unsupported as yet by the junction of the legions of Mæsia, could either have been crushed by the whole weight of the Vitellianist forces, or at all events\(^5\) they would have been driven back and forced to abandon Italy in ignominious flight. But Cæcina by divers pretexts for delay betrayed to the enemy the first precious moments for action,\(^6\) and continued to upbraid on paper those whom he could easily have repulsed by the sword, until he had fixed by his intermediaries the final terms of his treachery. Meanwhile Aponius Saturninus came up with Claudius' own Seventh Legion.\(^7\) In command of that legion was the tribune Vipstanus Messalla,\(^8\) who was of illustrious lineage, distinguished personal character, and the only man who engaged in that war through purity of

\(^1\) Distantibus terrarum spatiis, "the vast intervening distances," Ländersstrecken.—Hermes.

\(^2\) Hostilia, the modern Ostiglia, on the left bank of the Po, and south-east of Mantua. See ii. 100, ante, vol. i. p. 164.

\(^3\) The river Tartarus, now Tartaro, is east of Ostiglia, and was connected by a system of canals with the Po on the right, and the river Adige or Etsch on the left. These canals were called the Fossa Philistina.

\(^4\) Dua legiones. VIII. Galbiana; XIII. Gemina. See c. 7, ante.

\(^5\) Fugam conscississent. Notice the delicate idiomatic use of different moods. First, opprimi potuere denotes the historian's own positive opinion, which is manifested by the indicative mood. Then fugam conscississent presents the more remote hypothesis of escape by flight and the abandonment of Italy, the potential mood expressing that improbable contingency.

\(^6\) Prima tempora belli, "the first precious moments for action." Meiser aptly refers to Lucian's description of Hannibal's mysterious and wholly inexplicable delay at Capua: "τον τοις πολέμων καιρον δ' θαυμάσως καθόρθυπαθών."—Dialogues of the Dead, xii. 6. See also Thucyd., i. 142. VII. Claudiana.

\(^7\) Vipstanus Messalla, the tribune, was in command because his superior officer, the lieutenant-general, Tettius Julianus, had fled, as so picturesquely described in ii. 85, ante, vol. i. p. 146. Messalla was one of the chroniclers of the civil wars, and is frequently referred to by Tacitus as such, as in c. 25, post: "Rem nominaque auctore
To these forces, wholly unequal to the Vitellianists (for as yet there were but three Flavian legions\(^1\)), Caecina despatched a letter in which he upbraided their rashness in taking up arms again after defeat. At the same time he extolled the valour of the army of Germany, while he made but slender and merely formal mention of Vitellius, and abstained from all invective against Vespasian. There was absolutely nothing in that despatch calculated either to buy over or dismay his enemies. The Flavian leaders put in no plea for the fortunes of the past, but replied\(^3\) in terms of eulogy on Vespasian, of loyalty for their cause, of confidence in the issue,\(^4\) of hostility towards Vitellius, while they held out hopes to the enemy’s tribunes and centurions of the maintenance of those privileges accorded to them by Vitellius, and in no vague terms invited Caecina himself to come over to their side. These despatches were read on parade, and inspired the Flavians with confidence, inasmuch as Caecina’s letter was couched in submissive terms, as of one afraid to offend Vespasian, while that of their own generals breathed a scorn meant for insult to Vitellius.

Then, upon the arrival of two legions\(^5\), the Third under the command of Dillius Aponianus, the Eighth under that of Numisius Lupus, they determined to display their strength and surround Verona with a line of military fortifications.\(^6\) Now it chanced that the men of Galba’s own Seventh Legion were engaged in the construction of Vipstano Messalla tradam” : and in c. 28, \textit{post} : “ut Messalla tradit.” He figures in the Dialogue on Illustrious Orators as one of the speakers in it.

\(^1\) \textit{Artes bonas}, “purity of motive,” \textit{gute Eigenschaften}—Heruers, who compares c. 86, \textit{post} : “studia exercitus raro cuquam \textit{bonis artibus} questita perinde adfuvere quam huic per ignaviam”; also, iv. 1; \textit{Annals}, iii. 70; xvi. 32.

\(^2\) Quippe tres adhuc legiones erant. VII. Galbiana; VII. Claudiana; XIII. Gemina.

\(^3\) \textit{Rescripsere}. The brilliant emendation of Freinsheim for the corrupt \textit{præsumpsero} of the manuscripts. The corruption arose in this way. As already pointed out, c. 5, \textit{ante} (note 2), the scribe of the Medicean skipped a leaf, and jumped from \textit{Aponio Saturnino} in c. 5 to \textit{revirescere} in c. 7, and then on to \textit{ut inimici} in the present chapter, and back again to c. 5. Then upon reaching the word \textit{partes}, which precedes \textit{revirescere} in c. 7, that word \textit{partes} naturally suggested the substitution of \textit{præsumpsero} for \textit{rescripsere}. Hence the error.

\(^4\) \textit{De exitu}. The certain emendation of Lipsius for the corrupt \textit{exercitu} of the manuscripts.

\(^5\) III. Gallica; VIII. Augusta. See ii. 85, \textit{ante}, vol. i. p. 145.

\(^6\) \textit{Militari vallo}, “a line of military fortifications,” in addition to the existing walls of the town.
of that portion of the entrenchments facing the enemy, and some of the allied cavalry, mistaken in the distance for the foe, created a blind panic. Arms were seized by the legionaries in their fear of betrayal,¹ and the rage of the soldiery fell upon Tampius Flavianus without any proof of his guilt, but they had long hated him, and now cried for his destruction in a very whirlwind of passion.² “Thou breed of Vitellius!”³ they shrieked, “Thou betrayer of Otho! Thou pilferer of our donative!” Nor did he get any chance of pleading his defence, although he stretched forth his hands in supplication, often grovelled in the dust and rent his garments, whilst hysterical sobs convulsed his breast and face. Nay, that whetted their fury all the more, on the ground⁴ that abject fear was proof of a guilty conscience. The voice of Aponius, when he essayed to speak, was drowned in the shouts of the soldiery, whilst everybody else was groaned and hooted down. Antonius alone caught the ear of the troops, for he had at his command eloquence, that artistic skill in soothing a mob,⁵ as well as a ruling spirit. When the mutiny waxed fiercer, and the soldiers were passing from brawls and foul words to the sword and actual force, Antonius ordered Flavianus to be put in irons. The men saw through the farce⁶ and, scattering the guard round the general’s tribunal, were ready for desperate work.

¹ Rapiuntur arma metu proditionis. The brilliant emendation of Faernus for the corrupt rapiuntar arma et ut proditionis of the Medicean MS. Nipperdey would read rapiuntur arma et metu, k.t.a.

² Turbine quodam, “in a very whirlwind of passion.” Compare Hamlet’s Address to the Players, Act iii. sc. 2: “for in the very torrent, tempest, and—as I may say—whirlwind of passion, you must acquire and beget a temperance, that may give it smoothness.”

³ The Romans did not say, as we do, “he called out, ‘Cicero!’” but Ciceronem exclamavit. So in i. 78, ante, vol. i. p. 53, we find Neroni Othoni acclamavit, which means, “hailed him ‘Nero-Otho!’” See Mr. Godley’s excellent note. Heraeus well observes: “Von Griechen und Romern werden Ausrufungen häufig mit einem Verbum Konstruiert und dann flektiert.” He cites Ovid, Metam., iii. 244, Actaona clamant; Tacitus, Annals, xi. 20: “nihil aliud prolocutus quam beatos duces Romanos.”

⁴ Tanquam, “on the ground that.” See note on tanquam, ante, c. iv.

⁵ Mulecndique vulgus artes. These words are merely explanatory of the preceding word facundia.

⁶ Ludibrium, “the farce.” Compare falsi Neronis ludibrio of i. 2, ante, vol. i. p. 4. These sham imprisonments, as a means of saving the accused from death, have been frequently noticed.
Antonius faced them sword in hand, swore that he would fall or by the soldiers' hands or by his own, and, as he espied any familiar face, or the medals on some veteran's breast, called by name for help. Then, turning to the standards and the effigies of the Gods of War, he continued to implore them to infuse this madness, this bad blood, rather into the legions of their foe, until the mutiny split up into fragments, and at the close of the day each man slunk off to his tent. That very night Flavianus left the camp, and on his way received a letter from Vespasian which secured him from all danger.

XI. The legions, as if tainted by the infectious spirit of mutiny, then attacked Aponius Saturninus, lieutenant-general of the army of Moesia, with all the greater fury, inasmuch as they were not exhausted, as hitherto, escapes in a strange hiding-place. had broken out at noontide upon the publication of a letter which Saturninus was believed to have written to Vitellius. As they once vied in valour and good conduct, so now they competed in insolence and insubordination to rival the recent violence towards Flavianus by their savage demands for vengeance upon Aponius. For the legions of Moesia calling to mind that they had aided and abetted the vengeance of their Pannonian comrades, and the men of Pannonia, regarding the mutiny of others as a kind of.

1 The effigies of the gods of war, embossed on medallions, were affixed to the shaft of every standard. These gods were: Mars, Minerva, Bellona, Virtus, Victoria, Pavor, and Pallor.

2 Discordia is the bad blood between the men themselves; sedition is mutiny against their officers.

3 Legiones velut tabe infectae. Compare i. 26, ante: "Infecit ea tabes legionum quoque et auxiliarum motas jam mentes." Meiser refers to Livy, xlii. 5: "Ex contagione, velut tabes, in Perrhebiam quoque id (seditionis) pervaserat malum."

4 Referentes, "calling to mind." Compare Ovid, Metamorph., xv. 27:

"Surgit Alemonides, tacitaque recentia mente
Visa referat, pulgnatque diu sententia secum."

Also ibid., 450-51:

"Hae Helenum cecinisse Penatigero Aenee
Mente memor refero"

Ibid., i. 165:

"Foeda Lycaonie referens convivia mense."

Ibid., xi. 563:

"Illam meminitque referisque."
acquittal of themselves, were all equally glad¹ to repeat the offence. They proceeded to the gardens where Saturninus was lodging in a hostelry.² Nor was it so much the efforts of Primus, Aponianus, and Messalla, although they strained every nerve, that saved Saturninus from his peril, as the obscurity of the hiding-place in which he was concealed, for he lay hidden³ in the furnace⁴ of some baths that chance to be disused. Soon afterwards he dispensed with his guard of lictors and retired to Padua. Upon the departure of the consular dignitaries all power and authority over both armies vested in Antonius alone, as his colleagues yielded him precedence, and the affections of the soldiery centred in him. Nay there were some who believed that both mutinies had been fraudulently concocted by Antonius in order that he alone might reap profit from the war.

XII. Neither did the Vitellianists enjoy repose, for they were perturbed by a spirit of discord all the deadlier in that it sprang not from the suspicions of the rank and file, but from the treachery of the leaders. Lucilius Bassus, admiral of the fleet at Ravenna, seeing that the feelings of the troops there⁵ were wavering, inasmuch as

¹ iterare culpam gaudebant. Note the poetic use of gaudeo with the infinitive.
² Devertebatur, "was lodging in a hostelry." Both Heraeus and Mr. Godley point out that devertebatur is here equivalent to deverticulum habebat. The word deverticulum is found in Annals, xiii. 25. 2, in conjunction with lupanarium, and Mr. Furneaux's instructive note should be consulted. Compare Plautus, Mil. Glor., ii. 1. 56:

"in proxumo devortitur
Apud paternum suum hospitem, lepidum senem."

³ Obscuritas latebrarum, quibus occultebatur, — abditus. Tacitus, who is such a master of brevity, here accumulates a pile of synonyms, for artistic effect, to rivet the attention of the reader on the real cause of the escape of Saturninus. "Nota in scriptore," says Meiser, "brevitatem dicendi adfectans miram verhorum copiam."

⁴ Vacantium forte balnearum fornacibus abditus. Meiser, in his note, confounds the fornax or furnus (where the fire was) with the hypocaustum, into which the hot air passed. The fornax was "the circular furnace (furnus, Hor. Ep., i. 11–13) over seven feet in diameter, which served to heat the water and give out streams of warm air into the hollow cells of the Hypocaustum."—Smith's Dict. Ant., new ed., vol. i. p. 279. The meaning of furnus (a baker's oven) is clear in Horace, Sat., i. 4–37, as explained in the clear notes of Professor Palmer on furnus and lacus and the words et pueros et annus; but there must be grave doubt as to what is the true interpretation of the words fumos et balnea in Horace, Epist., i. 11–13, even when aided by the line in Juvenal, vii. 4:

"Balneolum Gabii, Romae conducere furnos."

The new edition of Orelli's Horace, vol. ii., by Mewes, throws no further light upon the subject.

⁵ The historian is now writing of the troops at Ravenna under Bassus; the bulk of
the majority of them came from Dalmatia and Pannonia, provinces swayed by Vespasian, had gained them over to the Flavian cause. Night-time was chosen for the act of treason, so that the traitors alone, when everybody else was in the dark, might assemble at headquarters. Bassus, either through shame or fear of the uncertainty of the result, was awaiting the news within doors. The captains of the triremes rushed with loud shouts upon the effigies of Vitellius, and, when the few who resisted had been cut down, the body of the rank and file, in their hankering for revolution, were showing signs of favour towards Vespasian. Then Lucilius Bassus came to the front and openly displayed himself as the leader of the movement. The fleet, however, appointed Cornelius Fuscus as their admiral, and
the Vitellianist army were, as described in chapter ix., ante, stationed under Cacina in the fortified camp between Ostiglia (Hostilia) and the river Tartaro (Tartarus), some seventy or eighty miles from Ravenna.

1 Qua præmincia Vespasiano tenebantur, "provinces swayed by Vespasian." Vespasiano is the dative of the agent used without restriction by Tacitus instead of the ablative with ab, as in i. 11, ante, where we find: et qua alia procuratoribus cohibentur. There Heræus, in an admirable note, points out that in the golden age of Latin prose Cicero, for example, only used the dative of the agent when the act described was in the interest or for the advantage of the agent. Thus Cicero writes in De Off., iii. § 38: "honesta bonis viris quaeruntur": and in Verr., v. § 118: "cui ex omni gemitu doloreque certa merces comparabatur; again in ad Att., i. 19. 4: "Suspicans Pompeio novam quandam potentiam quaeri. In all these instances cited by Heræus the act done is in the interest, or for the advantage, of the agent. But Tacitus ignores the distinction, and uses the dative of the agent with the passive verb indiscriminately, as pointed out by Mr. Furneaux in his Introduction to vol. i. of the Annals, p. 36, § 18, where the learned writer observes that Tacitus uses the dative of the agent "without any notion of the interest of the agent (Madvig, 250 a) in more than thirty places."

2 Adgregaverat, "had gained over." Adgregare had long passed from its strictly pastoral meaning into the vocabulary of every-day life, and is frequently used by Cicero in this general signification.

3 Trierarchi, "the captains of the triremes." In the Roman navy the trierarchi were the captains of the triremes or men-of-war, while the nauarchi or navarchi were the commanders of the Liburnian galleys or despatch-boats. See Annals, xv. 51. 6, and Mr. Furneaux's instructive note. See also Cicero, Verr., ii. 5. 24, § 60: Vegetius, Mil., v. 2. It is scarcely necessary to add that the Athenian ὕπατος was the citizen who provided the ship at his own expense, as well as a captain.—Thucyd., vii. 70–8.

4 Paucis resistentium obtruncatis, "when the few who resisted had been cut down." Silver age Latin for the Ciceronian paucis, qui resistissent, obtruncatis, and Livy's paucis, qui resistissent, obtruncatis. Heræus, in his able note, calls this Silver Latin a "deterioration" or Ausartung, and compares c. 61, infra, "paucos repugnantium."

5 Cornelius Fuscus. See ii. 86, vol. i., ante, and iii. 4. 1; also Suetonius, Domitian, vi.; Dio, lxviii. 9.
he instantly hastened to join them. Bassus was conveyed as a prisoner of State by Liburnian galleys to Adria,¹ and there imprisoned by Vivennius Rufinus, a captain of a troop of horse on garrison duty in the district, but he was immediately released through the mediation of Hormus, an imperial freedman, for even such a person was counted as a general.²

XIII. But after the mutiny of the fleet had been noised abroad Cæcina watched for the moment the camp was empty,³ when the troops at large were scattered in the discharge of the various duties⁴ of the Service, and summoned to his head-quarters the senior centurions⁵ and a few of the private soldiers. There he descanted on the valour of Vespasian and the strength of the Flavian party, told them of the desertion of the fleet, the scarcity of supplies, the hostility of Gaul and Spain, the treacherous attitude of Rome, and put a sinister construction on everything connected with Vitellius. Then, when the conspirators set the example, he administered to the remainder of those present,⁶ dazed as they were by the startling character of the proceedings, the oath of allegiance to Vespasian. At the same moment the effigies of Vitellius were torn down, and messengers were despatched to report the intelligence to Antonius. But when news of the treachery had spread throughout the camp, and the soldiers, rushing back to head-quarters, beheld the name

¹ Atria, the modern Adria, gave its name to the Adriatic sea; situated on the Tartaro (Tartarus) between the Po and Adige or Etsch, and close to the mouths of those rivers. It was the 'Arpla of Strabo, v. 214; Pliny, iii. 120.
² Is quoque inter duces habebatur, “for even such a person was counted as a general.” Bitter sarcasm in which Tacitus vents his contempt for the degrading age in which he lived. So Dübner: “Amare hoc et cum dolore dictum.”
³ Secretum castrorum affectans, “he watched for the moment the camp was empty.” So Ryckius: “Aucupans tempus, quo solitudo esset in castris.” So Hæres: “tempus, quo solitudo in castris esset, studiose querens.” This interpretation is now generally accepted. Compare i. 10, ante: “in secretum Asia sepositus”; and ii. 100: Patavi secretum.
⁴ Munia, “the duties,” the certain emendation of Ritter for the munera of the Medicean MS.
⁵ Primores centurionum, “the senior centurions.” According to Marquardt these were the first ten centurions, or the ten priores pili, but according to Mommsen they were the three chief centurions of the first cohort. See Dr. L. C. Purser’s article on exercitus in Smith’s Dict. Ant., new ed., vol. i. at p. 799.
⁶ Ceteros, “the remainder of those present,” that is, the remainder of the primores centurionum et paucos militum.
of Vespasian inscribed upon the standards, and the effigies of Vitellius thrown down, at first there was profound silence, and then all at once their pent-up feelings burst out. "Has the glory of the army of Germany," they cried, "fallen so low that without a single battle, one drop of blood, we must yield up our hands to the gyves, and our arms to the conqueror? And what legions are opposed to us? Verily none but the conquered. The sole flower of Otho's army is not there, the First and the Fourteenth legions; and even them, upon those very plains, we routed and overwhelmed. To think that so many thousands of armed men are to be handed over, like a gang of slaves, as a present to Antonius, the exile! Eight legions forsooth are to follow in the wake of one single fleet! So the programme of Bassus, of Cæcina, is first to plunder their prince of his palaces, his gardens, his gold, and then even to rob him of his soldiers. Without a scratch, without a wound, scorned even by the Flavians, what shall we say to those who ask us for the story of victory or defeat?"

XIV. Amid such outbursts, now here and there, now all along the line, as indignation pulsed through the ranks, with the Fifth Legion as their ringleaders, they restore the effigies of Vitellius and throw Cæcina into irons; choose as their generals Fabius Fabullus, lieutenant-general of the Fifth Legion, and Cassius Longus, prefect of the camp; butcher the soldiers belonging to three Liburnian galleys whom they chanced to meet—guileless and innocent victims;

1 I. Adjutrix Classiorum, in Spain (ii. 43 and 67); XIV. Gemina Martia Victrix, in Britain (ii. 43 and 66).

3 Iadem illis campis, that is to say, at Bedriacum, which was near at hand.

3 Ut tot armatorum militia—darentur? "To think that so many thousands of armed men are to be handed over!" Both Herseus and Meiser follow the Medicean MS. here. Meiser refers to Livy, v. 24, 12: "Victamne ut quisquam vici?" Compare Cicero, Cat., i. 9, 22: "Te ut ulla res frangat? Tu ut unquam te corrigas? Tu ut ullam fugam mediteres?" Haase is, therefore, quite unjustified in transposing this sentence back to, and making it dependent on, the preceding tradet arma.

4 See ii. 89 and 100, ante (vol. i. pp. 151 and 163), and c. 22, post.

5 Octo minima legiones unius classis accessionem fore. "Eight legions forsooth are to follow in the wake of one single fleet!" This is the translation of Mr. Godley, and it cannot be improved upon. Compare Livy, xlvii. 7; Cicero, Att., xvi. 16.

6 Etiam auferre militem. Halm's correction of the absurd etiam militibus principem auferre lite of the Med. MS.
abandon their camp, and, after breaking up the viaduct, return to Ostiglia, and then direct their march towards Cremona, in order to effect a junction with the First Italian Legion and the Twenty-first Legion, called "The Rapids," which Cæcina had sent on in advance with a detachment of cavalry to occupy Cremona.

XV. When this was discovered by Antonius he determined to attack the hostile armies in the midst of their feuds, while their strength was divided, and before the generals could regain their influence, the soldiery their discipline, the legions the confidence inspired by combination; for, moreover, he conjectured that Fabius Valens had set out from Rome, and would, upon hearing of Cæcina's treachery,

1 Abrupto ponte, "after breaking up the viaduct." Pons here means a viaduct, and not a bridge. Pons bears the same meaning of viaduct in iv. 35, 9, post: "praemissis quot pontes et viarum angusta insiderent," on which passage see note. This signification is also found in Annals, i. 63, 6: "Cæcina, qui secum militem ducebat, monitus, quamquam notis itineribus regredetur, pontes longos quam maturrime superare. Angustus ist rasames vastas inter paludes et quondam a L. Domitio aggeratus." On this latter passage Nipperdey observes: "Nicht bloss wirkliche Brücken, sondern hauptsächlich auf unsicheres Erdreich gelegte Baumstämme, wie oben c. 61: pontesque et aggeres." Compare Aulus Hirtius, B. G., viii. 14: "ponibis palude constrata." The Vitellian camp was fortified on the ground between Ostiglia and the marshes of the river Tartaro (Tartarus), as described in c. 9, ante: "Cæcina inter Hostiliam (Ostiglia), vicum Veronensium, et paludes Tartari fluminis castra permunit, tutus loco, cum tegna flumine, latera objectu paludis tegerentur." A glance at the map of Northern Italy will demonstrate the accuracy of Tacitus. Hostilia (Ostiglia) is on the left bank of the Po; the river Tartarus (Tartaro) lies east of Hostilia; between Hostilia and the Tartarus are the marshes. Therefore the river was behind Cæcina's camp; the marshes were between the camp and Hostilia; Hostilia itself was in front. Hence Cæcina had to construct a viaduct over the marshes from Hostilia to the camping-ground, but it was not only unnecessary, but would have been strategically absurd, to throw a bridge across the Vitellian camp, nor did Cæcina ever do so. Therefore, when the Vitellian legions abandoned their camp, and returned to Ostiglia en route for Cremona, they destroyed the viaduct over the marshes—abrupto ponte. In Smith's Dict. Ant., new ed., vol. ii., title "Pons" at p. 460, we find the following interesting statement: — "The word pons was also applied to any sort of wooden gangway, such as the pontis suffragiorum by which the file of voters at the Comitia passed into the enclosure (ovile or sapla); and also to the movable gangway used to give access to the deck of a ship; hence, in modern Italian, "Ponte" has come to mean the deck itself."

2 Unititvicensima Rapaci. See ii. 43 (n. 4), ante, vol. i. p. 101.

3 Antonio, "by Antonius," the dative used by Tacitus, instead of the ablative with ab, without restriction, whereas in Cicero, and the writers of the golden age, the dative of the agent was never used unless the act described was in the interest, or for the advantage, of the agent. See c. xii., ante: "quae provinciae Vespasiano tenebantur."

4 Hostium exercitus include the legions just arrived from Ostiglia, the I. Italica and
hasten to the front. Besides, Fabius was loyal to Vitellius and was no mean strategist. Simultaneously, the incursion of a vast horde of Germans by way of Raetia was apprehended, and Vitellius, too, had summoned auxiliaries from Britain, Gaul, and Spain, who would have proved a huge war-plague, had not Antonius, apprehending this very contingency, hastened into action and snatched off victory in advance. At the head of his entire army he reached Bedriacum after two days’ march from Verona. The day after his arrival, keeping back the legionaries to fortify the camp, he sent forward the auxiliary foot into the territory of Cremona, colourably to collect supplies, but really to whet the soldiers’ appetite for the plunder of their fellow-countrymen. He himself, with four thousand horse, advanced eight miles beyond Bedriacum in order to give the men all the looser reins for rapine. The scouts, as usual, reconnoitred at a greater distance.

XXI. Rapax, already stationed at Cremona, and the forces approaching from Rome under the command of Fabius Valens.

1 Per Raetiam, “by way of Raetia (the Tyrol).” Raetia (the Tyrol) was faithful to Vitellius, as described in c. v., ante, where we read that Porcius Septiminus, the procurator, was loyal to the core. See also c. viii., ante, note 4.

2 Immensam bellihum, “a huge war-plague.” This is the reading of the Medicean MS., and is supported by overwhelming authority. The emendation of Faernus (followed by Herœus), bellimolem, is wholly unjustified. Silius Italicus twice speaks of Hannibal and his Numidians as lues. In Punic., x. 602, et seq.:

“Sat patrias sumus, e numero si ad prelia nostrorum
Nil minuit pavor. In patulis illa horrida campis
Sit metuenda lues: muros haud freret unquam,
Exsultare levis nudato corpore, Maurus.”

And in ib. xvi. 622, et seq.:

“An, cum tu Syrtim ac stériles vastabis arenas,
Non dira lues nótis jám moénibus urbis
Adsiliet, vacuumque Jovem sine pube, sine armis
Invadet?”

Meiser cites ib. v. 106, et seq.:

“Siccine nos, inquit, Boiorum in bella ruentes
Spectatis, cum tanta lues vulgusque tremendum
Ingregare, rupeaque iterum Tarpeia paveret?”

3 Bedriacum, a village twenty miles from Cremona. See ii. 23 (vol. i. p. 85), note 3; ii. 40 (vol. i. p. 99); ii. 70 (vol. i. p. 127).

4 Civili præda miles imbucretur. The Roman soldier would at first hesitate to plunder his fellow-countrymen.

5 Quo licentius popularentur. The presence of Antonius would encourage the spirit of rapine.

6 Curabant, “reconnoitred.” Curare is frequently used absolutely, and then means
XVI. It was nearly eleven o'clock in the forenoon when
a horseman at full gallop announced that the enemy
were at hand, that a few of them were in advance, and
that the din of their approach could be heard far and
wide. While Antonius is deliberating on his plans,
Arrius Varus, in his eagerness for vigorous action,1 at the head
of the most dashing of his hussars, charged and drove back the
Vitellianists, but with only moderate loss, for, as their reinforce-
ments came up, the tide of fortune turned, and those who were
hottest in the pursuit were the quickest to turn in flight.2 Antonius
was no party to this precipitancy and had anticipated the result.3
Exhorting his men to hasten into action with spirit, he opened up
his squadrons of cavalry by a flank movement, and left a hollow
centre to cover Varus and his hussars. The legions were sum-
moned to arms, and the signal4 was given to the auxiliaries
throughout the district of Cremona: "Stop plunder, and let
every man hasten into action by the nearest route." Meanwhile
the terrified Varus dashes into the thick of his own disorganized
to discharge the particular duties in hand, as in Sallust, Jugurth., lx. 1; lx. 5; xlv. 7.
The duty of scouts is to reconnoitre—curabunt. Haase would read cursabant.
1 Aviditate navanda opera, "in his eagerness for vigorous action." In Annals,
iii. 42, we have navanda opera avidior; and in Hist., iv. 59, 10, post, we find the
analogous expression, ut quisque flagitium navaverat. Navare and navus are derived
from the Sanscrit root gnā or jnā, "to know." Hence gnarus and gnoseo in Latin,
γνωστάκω in Greek, Kennen and Konnen in German, the Scotch ken, and our words
know and can. Our little English word can means, when translated philologically,
"knowledge is power." Accordingly navare operam means "to perform a task with
knowledge and ability," that is, "to execute it vigorously."
2 Acerrimus quisque sequentium fugacissimus erat. This is the magnificent emenda-
tion of Meiser for the corrupt fugæ ultimæ of the manuscripts. The following corrections
have been proposed—fugæ primus, by Ernesti; fugæ citissimæ, by Halm; fugæ cellerri-
mus, by Nipperdey; fugæ velocissimæ, by C. Schenkl. Both Ritter and Heraeus defend
the fugæ ultimæ of the Medicean by the far-fetched translation, "fled farther than
anyone else"—per ultima campi fugiebant—Die hitzigsten Verfolger rissen am
weitesten aus. So strained a construction cannot be tolerated, entirely at variance as
it is with the ordinary and simple meaning of fugæ ultimæ—the last to fly—whereas
Tacitus wanted to describe the very opposite—the first to fly. Meiser well points out
that the original fugacissimus became fuga cissimus, and was naturally distorted by the
scribe into fugæ ultimæ. Thus (as Meiser points out) we have in Annals, ii. 15:
"Hos esse Romanos Variani exercitus fugacissimos"; and in Agricola, xxxiv.: Hi
ceterorum Britannorum fugacissimi.
3 Quae acciderant, "the result." Madvig's correction to acciderunt appears un-
necessary and unjustifiable.
4 Datum per agrorum signum. This is explained by the preceding chapter: "auxi-
liares cohortes in Cremonensem agrum missæ."
men with panic in his trail. The scatheless and the wounded alike, swept away together, were sore pressed\(^1\) by their own panic and the narrows of the road.

XVII. In that moment of panic Antonius shirked no duty of an intrepid general or gallant soldier.\(^2\) He flung himself in the path of the trembling fugitives, he checked the waverers; wherever the fray waxed thickest, whencesoever gleamed one ray of hope, he proved by skill, prowess, voice, a glittering mark for the foeman, and a shining light for his own. At length so far did his excitement carry him away that he transfixed with a lance a runaway standard-bearer,\(^3\) and then, snatching up the standard, turned it round towards the enemy. Even by such a reproach barely one hundred of his troopers were shamed into making a stand,\(^4\) and that, too, thanks to the nature of the ground, which narrowed at the particular spot, and the destruction of the bridge across the stream\(^5\) that stopped the way and checked retreat by its treacherous bed and the steepness of its banks. In such wise did either compulsion or good luck restore the fallen fortunes of the Flavian party. Strengthening their position by forming their ranks into close order, they receive the charge of the Vitellianists, whose lines were spread out in haphazard fashion, and who were instantly\(^6\)

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1. *Conflictabantur, "were sore pressed." This word is always used by Tacitus in its metaphorical, and not in its physical, sense, as may be seen in *Agricola*, xxii.; *Annals*, i. 58, *sub fine*, where Mr. Furneaux translates "was harassed"; *id. vi*. 51; *xiii. 33*; *xiv. 50*; *xv. 50*; *Hist.*, iii. 59; 82, *post*.

2. Compare Sallust, *Cat.*, ix.: *Strenuimilitiset boni imperatoris officia simul exsequatur.* Meiser refers to *Curtius*, iii. 11, 7: "Alexander non ducis magis quam militis munia exsequatur"; and *Arrian*, v. 18, 4: "Πῶρος δὲ μεγάλα έργα έν τῇ μάχῃ ἀποδείξαμενος μὴ δι᾽ στρατηγοῦ ἄλλα καὶ στρατιώτων γενναλον".


4. *Quo pudore haud plures quam centum equites restitere.* "Even by such a reproach barely one hundred of his troopers were shamed into making a stand." Such is the full meaning of this difficult passage. *Quo pudore*, as pointed out by Herculæus, is a condensation for *cujus rei pudore*, as, in ii. 43, ante, we find *quo dolore*, similarly used. The meaning of the whole sentence is thus admirably paraphrased by Meiser: "quamvis locum suis injecisset, tamen haud plures quam centum equites restitere." Thus it will be seen the meaning is that, so desperate was the panic of the Flavian troops, even the extreme course taken by Antonius shamed barely one hundred troopers into making a stand.

5. In all probability the *Delmona*, a tributary of the *Oglio*.

6. *Atque ili consternantur, "and who are instantly thrown into disorder." Tacitus*
thrown into disorder. Antonius pursued the panic-stricken
and overwhelmed those who resisted, while the other officers, each
according to his bent, took spoil, made prisoners, or snatched off
arms and steeds. Nay those, who but a moment before were
fugitives straggling through the fields, now, roused by the cheers
of success, hurried up to participate in victory.

XVIII. Four miles from Cremona gleamed the standards of
the legions, named “The Rapids,” and “The First
Italian,” which had been advanced thus far when the
cavalry proved successful at the start. But, when the
tide of fortune turned, the legions never opened
their ranks nor afforded shelter to the fugitives, neither did
they advance nor assume the offensive towards the enemy,
uses atque in the Vergilian sense of “instantly,” as in i. 82, ante (vol. i. p. 56), where
Mr. Godley cites Verg. Georg., i. 202:

“Si brachia forte remisit,
Atque illum in praeceps pronro rapit alveus amni.”

1 Ut eique ingenium, “each according to his bent.” Compare Germania, iii.,
sub fine: “Quae neque confirmare argumentis neque refellere in animo est; ex ingenio
suo quiesque demat vel addat fidem.”

2 Fulseret legionum signa, “gleamed the standards of the legions.” On the shafts
of the standards were silver plates, which glittered in the distance. The following
accurate description is given by Dr. L. C. Purser in the new edition of Smith’s Dict.
Towards the top of the pole was a transverse bar with ribands, sometimes of purple,
hanging from it; and these often had at their ends silver ornaments shaped like ivy
leaves. Along this transverse bar there appears to have been placed a plate containing
the name of the legion, cohort, and maniple to which the signum belonged. Below
the transverse bar came a series of discs, probably of silver (Plin., H. N., xxxiii. § 58),
like the phalera.” Compare Horace, Odes, i. 7, 19:

“seu te fulgentia signis
Castra tenent.”

Compare also Hist., iii. 82, post: “fulgentia per colles vexilla.”

3 XXI. Rapax. See ii. 43, ante, vol. i. p. 101, and note.

4 I. Italica. See i. 59, ante, vol. i. p. 39. Both these legions had been sent on in
advance to Cremona by Cecina. See c. 14, ante.

5 Lato inter initia equitum suorum prasio. The ablative of time, as in ii. 99, ante,
“inricao hostium,” where see note, vol. i. p. 162.

6 Non laxare ordines, non recipere turbatos. It was the normal tactic of the main
body of a Roman army to form a hollow centre to receive its vanguard, when defeated.
See c. 16, ante, where Antonius Primus adopts the usual course: “diductis in latera
turnmis vacuum medio reliquit iter, quo Varum equitesque ejus recuperet.”

7 Ultroque adredi, “assume the offensive.” Ultro marks the new departure towards
the offensive.
whom they had a chance of defeating\(^1\) when worn out by so long a march and the fatigues of battle. It was not so much in the midst of success that they missed their general;\(^2\) as then in the time of trial that they felt his absence. The victorious Flavian cavalry charges their wavering lines, and at the same moment Vipstanus Messalla, the tribune, comes up with his Moesian auxiliaries, accompanied by many\(^3\) of the Flavian legionaries, who kept pace\(^4\) with them, although brought up at the double. And so the combined Flavian horse and foot burst through the lines of the Vitellianist legions, and the neighbouring walls of Cremona, in proportion as they inspired hope of shelter, imparted all the less\(^5\) zest for holding ground.

XIX. But Antonius did not push forward, conscious as he was of the toil and the wounds with which such varying\(^6\) fortunes in the fight, however triumphant the issue, had sore-pressed\(^7\) both rider and steed. As the gloaming deepened, the entire strength of the Flavian army came upon the scene, and, as they marched over the heaps of slain\(^8\) and the

\(1\) Forte victuri. This, the glorious emendation of Agricola, approved of by Acidalius and Ryckius, for the corrupt forte victi of the Medicean MS., has now been restored to the text by Meiser, who justly censures the perverse ingenuity of subsequent editors. We may well discard the forte acti of Freinsheim, the forte ducti of Halm, the fortes invictio of Urlichs, and the forte recti of Heraeus. One glance at the restored text should be enough: "hostem tantum per spatium cursuet pugnandi fortevicturi."

\(2\) Caecina, whom the Vitellianist troops at Ostiglia (Hostilia) had thrown into irons. See c. 14, ante.

\(3\) Multi e legionariis. Dübner’s brilliant emendation for the corrupt militia legionariis of the Medicean MS., now approved of by Meiser, Heraeus, Godley. Mr. Spooner evidently, too, regards it with favour.

\(4\) Equabant, scilicet, cursu. The heavy-armed legionaries actually kept pace with the light-armed auxiliaries, although the latter had been hurried up at the double—rapit in ductos.

\(5\) Minorem, used by Tacitus for tante minorem here, and frequently throughout his works.

\(6\) Anceps praelii fortuna, "the varying fortunes in the fight." Compare Cicero, Pro Marcel., v., sub fine: "incertus exitus et anceps fortuna belli."

\(7\) Adjicitaverat, "had sore-pressed." Compare iv. 79, post: "Circumsteterat Civilem et alius metus, ne quarta decima legio adjuncta Britannica classe adjiciaret Batavos, qua Oceano ambiuntur."

\(8\) Cumulos, "the heaps of slain." Meiser refers to Annals, xiv. 37: "Confixaque telis etiam jumenta corporum cumulums auxerant"; and Livy, x. 29, 19: "Consulis corpus eo die, quia obrutum superstratis Gallorum cumulus erat, inveniri non potuit."
seeking traces of carnage, they demand, just as if the war were all over, to march upon Cremona and receive the submission of the vanquished or else storm the town. Such were their public utterances—fine-sounding words! But this is what each man said to himself: “This colony, standing, as it does, on the level ground, can be taken with a rush. If we make the assault in the darkness of night we shall have the same stock of courage, and shall enjoy all the greater impunity in pillage. But if we wait for the dawn of day there will be nought then but peace and prayers, and, as the sole reward for our toils and wounds, we shall win only the name of ‘kind hearts,’ ‘gallant soldiers’—stuff and nonsense!” while the money of Cremona will find its way into the pockets of the captains of the auxiliaries, and the

1 Recentia cæde vestigia, “the reeking traces of carnage.” Compare Vergil, Æn., ix. 454:

“ingens concursus ad ipsa
Corpora semineciasque viros tepidaque recentem
Cæde locum.”

2 Hæ in medio, “such were their public utterances.” Ernesti (cited by Meiser) observes: palam dicebant, quippe fortitudinis speciem habebant, sed animis agitabant turpia, foeda.”

3 In plano, “on the level ground”; the correction of Puteolanus for the “plano” of the MSS., justified by Livy, ix. 26, 2: “urbs sita in plano.” Compare also v. 23, post: “nec classis aut commentus aderant castraque in plano sita, κ. τ. λ.”

4 Idem audacia, “the same stock of courage.” Compare Annals, xiii. 16, 1: idem aetatis, where Mr. Furneaux’s note should be read.

6 Jam pacem, jam preces, “there will be nought then but peace and prayers.” Heræus accurately points out that the verb fore must be implied, as in c. 60, 15; iv. 23, 3; iv. 63, 8; iv. 75, 6.

6 Clementiam et gloriam, “the name of ‘kind hearts,’ ‘gallant soldiers.’” Tacitus here uses the abstract for the concrete, as frequently elsewhere. So Heræus: “Kurz für famam elementia, famam gloria.”

7 Inania, “stuff and nonsense!” “nichtiges, hohles Zeug”—Heræus. Compare Persius, i. 1:

“O curas hominum ! O quantum est in rebus inane!”

In that celebrated line Persius is sneering at Lucretius, who so frequently uses the term in rebus inane.

8 In sinu, “into the pockets.” Compare ii. 92, ante (vol. i. p. 155): “abditis pecunias per occultos aut ambitiosos sinus.” Where see note 3. Compare Propertius, ii. 16, 11:

“Cynthia non sequitur fasces, nec curat honores:
Semper amatorum ponderat illa sinus.”

9 Praefectorum, “the captains of the auxiliaries.” The praefectus stood in the same relation to the auxiliaries that the tribune did to the legionaries. See ii. 82, ante (vol. i. p. 141), and note 7; also compare Sallust, Jugurtha, xlvii. 7.
commanders of the legions. The loot of a town, when stormed, is
the perquisite of the soldiers; when surrendered, of the generals.”
The centurions and tribunes are spurned and, that they might
drown every voice, the soldiers clash their arms, boding mutiny
unless they are led forthwith to the attack.

XX. Then Antonius, edging¹ his way into the companies,
after he had restored silence by his presence and
influence, exclaimed:

“I do not seek to snatch glory or its prize from
men who have deserved so well; but the duties of
armies and of generals are quite distinct. Zest for action befits
soldiers; generals prove helpful by their foresight, counsel,
wariness, more frequently than by their dash. As I did my
uttermost² to gain victory for you by the sword and this right
hand, so now I will do you service by my forethought and
deliberation, those peculiar attributes of a general. For there
is no mistaking what confronts you—the darkness of night,
ignorance of the plan of the city, enemies within the walls, and
every chance of an ambush. Even if yonder gates stood wide
open, you should not enter them without feeling your way, and
then only in broad daylight. Will you attempt to storm the
town, when you are quite unable to see the situation of the
level ground, the possible height of the walls, whether the city
should be attacked by artillery³ and missiles, or by siege-works⁴
and pent-houses?”⁵

¹ Inserens, “edging his way.” See ii. 19, ante (vol. i. p. 81): “et inserentibus
se centurionibus tribunisque”; also, Ovid, A. A., i. 605:

“Insere te turbæ, leviterque admotus eunti,
Velle latus digitis, et pede tange pedem.”

² Pro virili portione, “my uttermost.” Tacitus, both here and in Agricola, xlv.,
uses the more recondite pro virili portione for the more usual pro virili parte of the
Augustan writers.

³ Tormentis, “artillery.” “Tormentum,” says Dr. L. C. Purser, in his able
article in Smith’s Diet. Ant., new ed., vol. ii. p. 853, “was a general name for
artillery among the ancients.” It embraced—(1) the Catapulta or Scorpio; the
(2) Ballista (παλιστος); the (3) γαστραφέτης; and (4) the onager.

⁴ Operibus, “siege-works.” Compare ii. 21, ante (vol. i. p. 83): “nox parandis
operibus absumpta.”

⁵ Vineis, “pent-houses.” See ii. 21, ante (vol. i. p. 83, note 4). The vinea—the
στολία of the Greeks—were pent-houses, having the roof covered with hides to afford
shelter from above. The sides were open.
He next addressed himself to individuals:—

"Have you," he continued to ask, "brought with you your battle-axes, your pick-axes, and your other storming-implements?" And, when they said that they had not, "can any mortal hand," he exclaimed, "break through and undermine walls with swords and lances? If we must lay a causeway, if we require the shelter of blinds and fascines, are we to stand helpless, like a crowd of boobies, gaping at the lofty turrets and the battlements in the hands of our foes? Nay, why not rather tarry for one single night, and then, with our artillery and war-engines on the ground, bear along with us the might of victory?"

Meanwhile he despatched the sutlers and camp-servants with the freshest of his cavalry to Bedriacum to procure supplies, and everything necessary for the attack.

XXI. The soldiery, however, grew impatient at this, and were bordering on mutiny, when mounted scouts, who had advanced right under the walls, seized upon some stragglers from Cremona, and, from the information obtained


3 Aggerem struere, "lay a causeway." Compare ii. 22, ante (vol. i. p. 84), note 7. See Smith's Dict. Ant., new ed., vol. i. p. 43: "It (agger) was more particularly applied to a mound, usually composed of earth, which was raised round a besieged town, and which was gradually increased in breadth and height, till it equalled or overtopped the walls."

4 Plutei crataque, "blinds (or mantlets) and fascines." The plutei, blinds or mantlets, were to form shelter in front. They were semicircular, of wickerwork, covered with hides, but had no roof, and were rolled on three wheels—one in front, two behind—in front of the advancing (besieging) party. The crates were fascines or screens for sheltering the flanks or sides of the attacking party, and differed from the plutei in having no covering of raw hides. See ii. 21, ante, vol. i. p. 83, note 4. Thus the cinces, or pent-houses, protected the besiegers overhead, the plutei, or blinds, sheltered the front, the crates or fascines covered the flanks.

5 Aliena, "in the hands of our foes," a graphic touch that can never be perfectly transferred to English canvas.

6 Vim victoriamque, "the might of victory." Tacitus had here in his mind's eye, Livy, viii. 9, 7: "vim victoriamque prosperetis."

7 Lixas calonesque. See ii. 87, ante, vol. i. p. 148, and Introduction to vol. i. p. lxiv.
1 Sex Vitellianas legiones, "six of the legions of Vitellius," not "the six legions of Vitellius," because Vitellius had eight legions (in addition to mere detachments); six at Ostiglia, from which place they had just reached Cremona, namely: I. Germanica, IV. Macedonica, V. Alaudae, XV. Primigenia, XVI. Primigenia, XXII. Primigenia; two for some time already stationed at Cremona, namely: XXI. Rapax and I. Italica. There were besides detachments from II. Augusta, IX. Hispana, XX. Valeria, as well as auxiliary horse and foot. See ii. 100, ante, vol. i. p. 163. The V. Alaudae must not be confounded with the V. Macedonica, which was stationed in Judaea under the command of Vespasian. See i. 10, ante, vol. i. page 8, and note 6.

2 Omnemque exercitum, qui Hostilia egerat. That is to say, the detachments and auxiliary horse and foot in addition to the legions stationed at Ostiglia.

3 Triginta milia passuum. Ostiglia was thirty miles from Cremona. Verona was about the same distance off.

4 Obstructas mentes consilii, "minds closed to the advice of their general." Professor Heræus contends that the metaphor is taken from obstruction in the ears to the sense of hearing. He cites Seneca, de benef. iii. 17: "cujus aures morbus obstruxit"; and observes: "Das Bild ist vom Gehör aufs Gemüt übertragen." I do not agree with this. The obstruction of light was quite as primitive an idea. Compare Cicero, De Domo sua, xlv.: "Eodem puncto temporis, quo meus discessus isti causasem eripuit, a Q. Seio contendit ut sibi domum venderet: quam ille id negaret, primo se luminibus ejus esse obstructum minabatur." So also Varr., R. R., i. 4: "obstructae fenestrae"; also Lex Puteol. ap. Grut., 207, 2: "Fenestras obstruit." The fact is, the metaphor applied to one sense quite as much as another. Hence Verg., Æn., iv. 440: "placidasque viri deus obstruit aures."

5 Aggere, "the raised causeway." See ii. 24, ante, vol. i. p. 87, note 1.


So Dübner (cited by Meiser): "ad irrigandos agere a cultibus ducta.

7 Per apertum limitem, "along the open border of the causeway." The limes was the foot-path beside the raised causeway (agger). So Burnouf (cited by Meiser): "La bordure, ou lisière découverte, qui régnait des deux côtés de la voie militaire."

8 III. Gallica. Here the scribe of the Medicean, per ἀβλεψαρ, wrote tertia decima. Pichena corrected the error.

from them, it became known, that six of the legions of Vitellius, and the entire army hitherto stationed at Ostiglia had marched thirty miles on that very day, and, upon hearing of the recent disaster to their arms, were preparing for battle and would be soon at hand. This inspired terror, and opened up minds that had hitherto been closed to the advice of their general. Antonius orders the Thirteenth Legion to take up their position on the raised causeway of the Postumian road itself. Close to the left of the Thirteenth stood Galba's own Seventh on the open plain, and next them the Seventh Claudian, which was sheltered in front by the natural barrier of an irrigating dike. On the right of the Thirteenth stood the Eighth Legion, stationed along the open border of the causeway, and near them was the Third, hedged in by thick brushwood. Such
was the order of battle of the legionary eagles and standards, but, in the darkness of night, the soldiers got mixed up together in haphazard fashion. The standard of the Praetorians was planted next the Third Legion, while the auxiliary foot was posted on either wing. The flanks and rear were covered by cavalry. The Suevian princes, Sido and Italicus, with a picked corps of their countrymen, formed the vanguard.

XXII. But the army of Vitellius, although its obvious policy was to have rested at Cremona, and, after recruiting its strength by food and sleep, then the next day to overwhelm and destroy its frozen and starving enemy, now, in sore need of a guiding hand, and bereft of all directing skill, close upon nine o’clock that same night, dashes in upon the Flavian forces, which were ready and arrayed for action. I dare not be positive as to the order of march, disorganised as it was by rage and darkness combined, although other writers may have narrated that the Fourth Macedonian Legion composed the Vitellianist right wing, that the Fifth and Fifteenth, together with detachments from the Ninth, Second, and Twentieth British Legions formed the centre, while the Sixteenth, Twenty-second, and First made up the left wing. The Legions, named "The Rapids," and "The First Italian," were interspersed through every company,

1 Praetorianum vexillum, "the standard of the Praetorians." See i. 41, ante, vol. i. p. 25, note 5.

2 Latera ac terga equite circumdata. Here equite, the instrumental ablative, is used without the preposition ab, as a body of troops was not treated as a personal agent. So Heraeus: "Vom Militär gebräuchlich."

3 See ante, c. v.

4 Ratio fuit, "its obvious policy was." The use of the indicative rather than the potential mood marks the manifest opinion of the historian himself.

5 Confectum algore, because it was now the latter end of October. Compare Sallust, Cat., v. 3.

6 Inpingitur, "dashes in upon." A poetic form of expression adapted here (as also ii. 41, ante, vol. i. p. 100, note 2) by Tacitus from Vergil, En., v. 804:

"Quum Troia Achilles
Exanimata sequens impingeret asmina muris."

7 Alii tradiderint, "other writers may have narrated"—the tribune Vipstanus Messalla, who, as we have seen in c. 18, ante, took part in the action, and Pliny the Elder. See c. 28, post, where both these authorities are referred to.

8 See ii. 43, ante, vol. i. p. 101, note 4.
while the cavalry and auxiliaries had chosen their own position. All night long the battle raged, with chequered fortune, doubtful issue, savage fury, and wrought havoc now on one side, and again on the other. Neither bravery of heart, nor prowess of hand, nay, not even the sharpest glance of eye was of any avail. For both armies wielded the same weapons, and, by reason of many challenges, the watchword on either side became known. The colours became intermingled, as each band captured those of its foe, and hurried them hither and thither. The Seventh Legion, recently raised by Galba, was most sorely pressed. Six centurions of its front rank were slain, and some of its standards were torn from it. Atilius Verus, the senior centurion of the legion, had saved the eagle itself by striking down many a foeman, and finally, by sacrificing his own life.

XXIII. Antonius supported his wavering lines by summoning the Praetorians to the rescue; and, when they took up the fighting, they drove back the enemy at first, but were then themselves in turn driven back. For the Vitellianists had concentrated their artillery on the raised causeway, in order to secure free and open range for their fire, which had at first been scattered, and had lodged in the brushwood without hurting the enemy. A ballista of notable dimensions, belonging to the Fifteenth Legion, was beating down the Flavian

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1 Interrogationibus, "Who goes there?" "Qui eire?"—the challenges.
2 Pugna signum, "the watch-word"—parole—Losung, as in i. 38; iii. 73; Annals, i. 7; xiii. 2, all cited by Herod on c. 73, post.
3 The senior centurion of the legion, that is, the leading centurion of the front rank, primipili centurio, was entrusted with the guardianship of the legionary eagle. It was carried into action, and borne during the fray, by an eagle-bearer—aquiler, but the senior centurion remained responsible for its safety. Meiser cites Vegetius, ii. 8: "centurio primipili non solum aquila praerat, verum etiam quattuor centurias, hoc est, quadingentos milites, in prima acie gubernabat." Such being the onerous duties of the senior centurion, he could not possibly carry the eagle with his own hand, but was responsible for its safety.
4 "The Ballista (παλίτρων)," says Dr. L. C. Purser, in his invaluable article in Smith's Dict. Ant., new ed., vol. ii. p. 855, "was precisely the same in principle as the catapult, the only essential differences being—(1) that the hinder part of the pipe rested on the ground to which the pipe itself was inclined at an angle of 45°; (2) that the wooden arms (ξύκωνες) in the position of rest were not parallel with the ground as in the case of the ἐθύτατον, but inclined at an angle of 30°, hence the term παλίτρων ('strung at an angle')." The reader is requested to look at the diagrams of both the
lines with the enormous stones which it was hurling in upon them; and it would have worked wide-spread destruction, had not two Flavian soldiers, acting with the courage of heroes, disguised themselves by wearing Vitellianist shields, which they had snatched up from the piles of slain, and cut away the tension-cords and projecting-string of the engine. They were both instantly slain, and so their names have been lost, but their prowess remains unchallenged. The scale of fortune had as yet turned neither way until, as the night grew on, the rising moon shed her deceptive light upon the battling hosts; but she favoured the Flavians by shining from behind them, and thus the horses and their riders cast shadows larger than life, and

catapult and ballista given at p. 855 of vol. ii. of Smith’s *Dict. Ant.*, new ed. The ordinary ballista could hurl a stone of 90 pounds in weight about one quarter of an English mile. Dr. Purser points out that there were larger engines capable of hurling 270 pounds, but that these were exceptional and rare.

1 *Scutis ignorati,* “disguised by wearing Vitellianist shields.” The shields of the soldiers had the names of their respective emperors engraven upon them.

2 *Vincla,* “the tension-cords”—*tōnoria* (so Professor Wolff, Berlin, 1888, ad locum, “vincla = *funes nervini*, Vegetius, iv. 22)—on either side of the frame-work of the ballista, “stretched,” says Dr. Purser (at p. 853, vol. ii.), till they became two-thirds of their original diameter.” They were, in effect, the main-springs which projected the missile. A glance at the diagrams will show their operation.

3 *Libramenta,* “the projecting-string”—*tōξītis*—which actually hurled the missile. It extended from the lower ends of the wooden arms (*ἀψυκανεις*), the upper ends of which were inserted through the coils or layers of the *vincla* or tension-cords. A glance at the diagram will show that, when the projecting-string was dragged down by a windlass, the leverage on the tension-cords increased in proportion to the downward pressure, and when the projecting-string was released the rebound of the tension-cords was the motive force which hurled the projectile from the centre of the projecting-string along the pipe or groove—the *σφυρέξ* or *canaliculus*. Meiser and Heraeus both (in my judgment, erroneously) take *vincla ac libramenta* as meaning one and the same thing, by way of *hendiadys*, namely, the tension-cords. So Meiser: “mihi videtur potius ἱππὸν *vincla ac libramenta* pro funibus, loris nervisque, quibus tela e ballista excussa libramabantur.” So Heraeus: “Stränge und Schwungräimen”—the strings and braces. I differ absolutely. As the plural *tormentorum* is used to denote the one engine, so *libramenta* means the one *tōξītis*, or projecting-string. See Dr. L. C. Purser’s remarks at p. 854 of ii. Smith’s *Dict. Ant.*, new ed. It will be seen from the preceding note that *vincla* are the *funes nervini*.

4 *Haud ambigitur,* “remains unchallenged.” Compare *Annals*, vi. 28: “ceterum apieic aliquando in Αἰγυπτῳ eam volucem non ambigitur.”

5 *Adulta nocte,* “as the night grew on.” See *Annals*, i. 46: “nondum *adulta* auctoritate”; xv. 73: “adultam *conjuracionem*”; also *Hist.*, i. 31, ante.

6 *Ostenderet-falleretque,* “shed her deceptive light.” Mr. Gudley’s admirable rendering. Meiser cites Dio., lxxv. 11.
the missiles of the foe fell short of their mark, falsely aimed, as they were, at what was mistaken for the reality. The Vitellianists, with the moonbeams shining full upon their faces, presented unawares an easy mark to assailants who hurled their javelins as if from ambush.

XXIV. And then, when Antonius could recognise and be recognised by his men, some of them he fired by taunts and reproaches, many, by words of praise and exhortation, all, by hope and promises of reward. "Why," he asked the legions of Pannonia, "have ye taken up again the arms that have been already conquered? Yonder is the field whereon ye can wash out the stain of past disgrace and regain your former glory!" He then turned to the legions of Moesia, and sought to rouse their spirit as the leaders and instigators of the war: "In vain," cried he, "have ye challenged the Vitellianists by mere threats and empty words, if ye cannot brave their arms and look them in the face." Such were his words as he passed along the line, but he addressed the Third Legion at greater length, reminding them of the exploits both of yore and of yesterday; of how they had defeated the Parthians under Mark Antony, the Armenians under Corbulo, the Sarmatians quite freshly. He then turned savagely on the Praetorians: "Yokels!" he exclaimed, "unless ye conquer, what other

1 The same description is given by Plutarch, Pomp., xxxii., of a moonlight battle-scene between Pompeius and Mithridates. See also Thucyd., vii. 44.

2 Cur victa resumpsissent arma. This is the emendation of L. Spengel for the corrupt currari suppsissent of the Medicean MS. Heraeus and other editors follow Lipsius, who read curr resumpsissent arma, and discarded the introduction of the word victa. But Meiser, who adopts the reading of Spengel, appositely refers to the words of Caecina in c. 9, ante: "temeritatem victa arma tractantium incusam."

3 Illos esse campos, "yonker is the field!"—δεικνύεις.

4 Principes auctoresque belli. See ii. 85, ante: "Ita tres Moesicae legiones per epistulas addiciebant Pannonicum exercitum aut abnuenti vim parabant."

5 Sub M. Antonio Parthos. One hundred and four years previously—A.C. 718.

6 Sub Corbulone Armenios. See Annals, xv. 26; Hist., ii. 74, ante.

7 Nuper Sarmatas. See i. 79, ante.

8 Pagani! "Yokels!" "Bauern, Spiessbürger"—Heraeus. "Quos non jam commilitones existimo, sed viles paganos"—Meiser. It will thus be seen that the Latin word paganus conveyed a contemptuous meaning of a distinct character. Our English word pagan, full of historic meaning, shows the attitude of the early Church towards the heathen. But even in modern times the word pagan has been used as a
general, what other camp will receive you? Yonder are your standards and your arms, and certain death upon defeat; for ye have already drained the cup of shame to the dregs! Cheers greeted him on every side, and the Third Legion, according to the Syrian custom, saluted the rising sun.

XXV. Hence arose a rumour, either purposeless, or perhaps designedly fabricated by Antonius, that Mucianus was at hand, and that both armies had exchanged greetings. Thereupon the Flavians charge as if strengthened by fresh reinforcements, while the Vitellianist lines were becoming full of gaps, inasmuch as they had no guiding hand, and individual enthusiasm or panic alternately united or scattered their ranks. When Antonius perceived that they were giving way he charged them in serried column and drove them headlong before him. Their disjointed ranks were shattered and could not regain their formation as they became entangled in the service-waggons and artillery. The victors, in their eagerness for pursuit, were spread all along the border of the raised causeway; and the carnage that ensued gained greater notoriety by reason of the death of a father at the hands of his own son. I will describe the circumstances and characters of the story on the authority of Vipstanus term of general reproach. Julius Caesar used a term less harsh, Quirites! See Annals, i. 42.

1 Ille signa armaque vestra sunt, "Yonder are your standards and your arms!"—Δεικτικῶς. "Apud hostem, quem monstrat."—Dübner. See ii. 67, ante: "addito honestae missionis lenimento arma ad tribunos suos deferebant." See note, vol. i. p. 122.

2 Nam ignominiam consumpsistis, "For ye have already drained the cup of shame to the dregs." I have adopted the elegant version of Mr. Spooner. Dübner thus explains the meaning: "Exhausistis; nulla jam vobis superest, qui occidiatis Galbam, vinci sivistis Othonem, exauctorati estis a Vitellio."

3 Meiser refers to Herodian, iv. 30: "άσπασάμενοι δὲ τὸν ἕλιον, ὡς ἔθος αὐτῶν, οἱ βάρβαροι, μεγάλη τε καλλιγραφία βοήθαντες ἐπὶ δραματὸν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις"—describing the Parthians. The highest decoration in Japan is the order of the Rising Sun.

4 Rario jam Vitellianorum acie, "while the Vitellianist lines were becoming full of gaps." Compare ii. 99, ante: "lentum et rarum agmen."

5 Ut quos nullo rectore suos quernque impetus vel pavor contraheret diduceree. Tacitus has here sacrificed logical form to his sense of balance and rhythm. In plainer prose the sentence should run, as Heræus points out, suus quemque impetus contraheret aut pavor distraheret. Heræus compares ii. 41, ante: "ut cuique audacia vel formido, in primam postremam aciem prorumpere aut relabebantur."

6 Per limitem viæ, "all along the border of the raised causeway. See c. 21, ante: "per apertum limitem," and note.
Messalla.¹ Julius Mansuetus, a Spaniard, had enlisted in the legion called “The Rapids,”² and had left at home behind him his son, a youth of tender years. The latter, soon grown to man’s estate, and enrolled by Galba in his own Seventh Legion, chanced to meet his father in the fray, struck him down with a wound, and, while rifling³ the dying man, is recognised by him, in turn recognises him, clasps the fainting form to his heart, and with wailing⁴ voice continuously besought the spirit of his sire to rest appeased⁵ and not to scorn him as a parricide. “My crime,” he cried, “was perpetrated in the service of my country⁶; and is not one poor soldier but a drop in the ocean of civil war?” He then raised up the body, opened the grave, and performed the last solemn rites over his father’s remains.⁷ Those near at hand observed the scene, then more were attracted; and, finally, astonishment,⁸ and lamentation, and curses on that ruthless war thrilled the whole army through and through. Yet even that did not deter them from butchering and despoiling their own kinsfolk, connexions, and brothers. “Such a deed

¹ Vipstanus Messalla. See c. 9, ante, and note.
³ Scrutatur, “rifles”—spoliandi causa—Heraeus.
⁴ Voice flebili, “with wailing voice.” Heraeus points out that adjectives terminating in biles have sometimes the meaning of the present participle, as the flebiles numeri of Ovid, and thenox miserabilis of Cicero. Mr. Godley also refers to the penetrabile frigus of Verg., Georg., i. 93.
⁵ Precabatur placatos patris mones, “besought the spirit of his sire to rest appeased.” Placatos is here used, under the form of prolepsis, for ut placarentur. Meiser refers to Livy, xxx. 27. 11: “et ut placatis dis omnia incipserent agerentque”: ibid., ii. 45. 14: “iratos invocat deos”: ibid., v. 11. 16: “quibus iratos quiesque deos precatus sit.” Heraeus cites Verg., Georg., iv. 547: “Placatam Eurydici viuìa venerabere casa.” On the whole sentence, compare Livy, iii. 50. 6: “supinas deinde tendens manus commilitones appellans orabat, ne, quod seclus Ap. Claudius esset, sibi attribuerent, nee ut parricidam liberum aversarentur.”
⁶ Publicum id facinus, “my crime was perpetrated in the service of my country.” Orelli cites Erernsi: “ne sibi potius imputaret hoc facinus quam universis civilibus armis, universo exercitu bellum civile ause; cujus se minimam partem esse nec totam culpam ferre debere.”
⁷ Compare the exquisite lines in Homer, Odys., xi. 72:

“Μή μ’ ἀκλαντον, ἰδαντον, ἰδν ὑπὲθην καταλείπειν, ἴνοσφισθείς, μή τοι τι θεὸν μηνυμα γένωμαι.”

⁸ Miraculum, “astonishment,” as in i. 27, ante, and v. 23, post.
is sacrilege,” they said, and still they did the very same themselves.1

XXVI. When the Flavians reached Cremona a new task of enormous difficulty confronted them. During the war with Otho the troops from Germany had pitched their camp round the walls of Cremona, and round the camp they had formed the usual rampart,2 which, in turn, they had still further strengthened with towers.3 Upon sight of this the victorious army hesitated, and the generals were perplexed as to the orders they should give. An immediate effort to storm the city with an army worn out by twenty-four hours’ work presented formidable difficulties, and, as no reserves were at hand, the result would have been doubtful. Then, the return to Bedriacum would involve the intolerable ordeal of so long a march, and the tide of victory would assuredly roll back4 and end in nothing.5 Again, the formation of

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1 To the same effect are the well known lines:

“Video meliora proboque;
Deteriora sequor.”

2 Vallum. In ii. Smith’s Dict. Ant., new ed., Mr. Philip Smith and Dr. Louis Claude Purser thus describe the vallum, at p. 918: “A term applied either to the whole or a portion of the fortifications of the Roman camp. It is derived from vallus (a stake), and properly means the palisade which ran along the outer edge of the top of the agger, but it very frequently includes the agger also. The vallum in the latter sense, together with the fossa or ditch which surrounded the camp outside of the vallum, formed a complete fortification [agger], and accordingly the word vallum is almost always found in connexion with fossa.”

3 Eaque munimenta rursus auxerat, “which in turn they had still further strengthened with towers.” This is the meaning of the passage, as proved by c. 29, post: “simul juncta turris” (scilicet, vallo angebaut—Heræus) “ictibus saxorum cessit.” So Heræus, commenting on the text, observes: auxerat, scilicet, turribus ligneis (c. 29, 6).

4 Victoria—revocebatur, “the tide of victory would assuredly” (notice the effect of the indicative) “roll back.” The metaphor is taken from the action of waves. Compare v. 14, post: “addiderat Civilis obliquam in Rhenum molem, cujus objectu revolutus annis uidicentibus superfunderetur.” See also Verg., Æn., x. 660:

“rumpit Saturnia funem,
Avolsamque rapit revoluta per aquora navem.”

Also, xi. 624, et seq.:

“Qualis ubi alterno procurrens gurgite pontus
Nunc ruat ad terram, scopulisque superjacit uida
Spumeus, extremanque sinu perfundit arenam:
Nunc rapidus retro, atque aequus revoluta resorbens
Saxa fugit, littaque eado labente reliquit.”

5 Ad inritum, “end in nothing.” Compare Horace, Odes, iii. 2’, 43, et seq.:

“Cras vel atra
Nube polum Pater occupato,
III.—26, 27. 39

an entrenched camp was fraught with danger in the presence of the enemy, who might rout them by a sudden sally when they were scattered and engaged in their laborious work. Finally, an additional source of apprehension was to be found in their own soldiers, who were more willing to endure danger than delay, for they thought safety an insipid thing, and found hope in the spirit of adventure; nay, all the terrors of death, and wounds, and blood were counterbalanced by the greed for loot.

XXVII. Antonius gave most weight to this view, and ordered the enemy’s entrenchments to be surrounded with a cordon of troops. At first the engagement took the form of a cross-fire of arrows and stones, in which the Flavians sustained the greater loss, as the Vitellianist projectiles were hurled upon them from above. Then Antonius portioned out to each legion, for attack in detail, a distinct part of the Vitellianist entrenchments and a separate gate, in order that this division of labour might mark off the brave man from the coward, and the soldiers might be fired by this very rivalry for glory. The men of the Third and Seventh selected that portion of the entrenchments adjoining the road to

\[\text{Vel sole puro; non tamen inritum,}\
\text{Quodcumque retro est, efficiet neque}\
\text{Diffinget infectumque reddet}\
\text{Quod fugiens semel hora vexit.}\]

There Hirschfelder, the editor of the new edition of Orelli, observes on “non tamen inritum”: “Non ita abolere poterit, ut omni effectuid careat, quod jam prateriit.” He then goes on to observe: “Infectum gradu aliquanto majus est quam inritum: iud est quod non factum est, hoe quod nihil valet.” Compare Hist., iv. 81, post: “denique patrati remedii gloriam penes Cesarem, inriti ludibrium penes miseris fore.” See Annals, xiv. 7, 3, where Mr. Furneaux translates inriti, “to no purpose.”

1 Vallum, “entrenchments.” See the note on vallum in the preceding chapter.
2 Coromn, “a cordon of troops.”—Mr. Spooner.
3 Librabantur, “were hurled,” that is, by catapults and ballistas, from which the arrows and stones were respectively discharged. The word librare means to hurl or discharge a missile after taking aim with carefully balanced precision. Hence the libramentum or libramenta constituted the projecting-string of the catapult or ballista, which hurled the projectile after carefully balanced (librare) aim. See the note on libramenta in c. 23, ante.
4 These were the camp-gates and must not be confounded by the reader with the gates of Cremona. Cremona was still intact, and was quite out of range until the Vitellianist camp had been stormed.
Bedriacum, while the Eighth and the Seventh Claudian chose the ground bordering on the right side, and the impetuosity of the Thirteenth hurried them to the gate which faced the road to Brescia.\(^1\) There was a lull while the legions\(^2\) were collecting their pickaxes\(^3\) from the neighbouring fields, and the other troops their halberts\(^4\) and scaling-ladders. Then raising over their heads their shields serried like the scales of a tortoise,\(^5\) they advanced upon the entrenchments. Roman tactics\(^6\) were employed on both sides. The Vitellianists roll down huge stones, and with spears and poles they continue to riddle the dislocated and rickety tortoise-defence, until they severed the juncture of the shields, overwhelmed the fainting or mangled Flavians, and strewed the ground with piles of slain. The Flavian attack began to flag, and would have hung fire, had not the generals, when their men were weary and were rejecting all exhortation as mere waste of words, pointed to Cremona.\(^7\)

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1 *Ad Brixianam portam,* "the gate which faced the road to Brescia," looking northwards.

2 "Dum e proximis agris legiones dolabras et alii falces scalasque convectant." This is the reading of the Medicean MS. Rhenanus has substituted the word *ligones* for *legiones,* and this emendation has been adopted by Heraeus and the English editors. Meiser adheres to the manuscript, in which course, I venture to say, he is fully justified by reason of the subsequent passage in c. 31: "*Jam legiones in testudinem glomerabantur et alii tela saxaque incutiebant.*" This view is strengthened by the fact (as Meiser observes) that Tacitus never uses the word *ligo.*

3 *Dolabras,* "pickaxes." See note on *dolabra,* c. 20, ante.

4 *Falces,* "their halberts." See i. Smith's Dict. Ant., new ed., at p. 823, sub fine: "If we imagine the weapon which has now been described (the *falchion*) to be attached to the end of a pole, it would assume the form and be applicable to all the purposes of the modern *halbert.* Such must have been the *asserex falciati* used by the Romans at the siege of Ambracia (Livy, xxxviii. 5; Cæs., B. G., vii. 22; vii. 86; G. Curt., iv. 19)." See also Caesar, B. G., iiii. 14.

5 *Testudo*—*χελώνη*—the tortoise. In ii. Smith's Dict. Ant., new ed., p. 808, Sir William Smith and Dr. L. C. Purser observe: "The name of *testudo* was also applied to the covering made by a close body of soldiers; the soldiers of the outside rank placing their long semi-cylindrical shaped shields (*clipei, ἁπλικά* in front, and the others placing their flat shields (*scuta, ἄποσει*) over their heads to secure themselves against the darts of the enemy. The shields fitted so closely together as to present an unbroken surface without any interstices between them, and were also so firm that men could walk over them, and even horses and chariots be driven over them (Dio., xlix. 30)."

6 *Arten,* "*taktik*"—Heraeus. So Mr. Godley, "*tactics.*"

7 The finger of rapine, pointed towards the doomed city, spoke to the passions of the soldiers with greater eloquence than the tongue. For the construction, see Verg. _Æn._, vi. 358.
XXVIII. Whether this was the happy thought\(^1\) of Hormus,\(^2\) as Messalla\(^3\) tells us, or whether we are to prefer the authority of C. Pliny,\(^4\) who makes the charge against Antonius, I cannot easily determine; suffice it to say\(^5\) that neither Antonius nor Hormus, even by the perpetration of so heinous a crime as this, belied his former life or character.\(^6\) Now no longer did blood or carnage stop the soldiers from undermining the entrenchments or thundering at the gates, or from standing upon the shoulders of their comrades, clambering up over the roof of the tortoise-defence,\(^7\) which had been formed again, and grasping the weapons and arms of the foe. The scatheless and the wounded, the fainting and the dying, are locked in one embrace 'mid the shifting scenes of doom and the manifold picture of death.\(^8\)

1 *Ingenium*, "the happy thought." Bitter sarcasm. So in iv. 32. 15, *post*, Civilis, the hero of Batavia, when goading the Treveri, says: "*Vos autem Treveri ceteraque servientium anima, quod primum effusi totiens sanguinis expectatias nisi ingratam militiam, immortalia tributa, virgas, secures et dominorum ingenia?*" There we venture to translate *dominorum ingenia*, "the refinements of tyranny." So also in ii. 71, *ante*, vol. i. p. 127, the words *cetera Neroniana aula ingenia* may be translated: "all the fancy of Nero's court." So Pliny, *Panegyr.*, xlix.: *exquisita ingenia cenarum.* Most editors translate *ingenium* in this passage as "device," but that equivalent loses the intense irony and bitterness of the original. So Meiser: "*quibus locis, ut huic, in quo versamur, inest necioquae ironia.*"  

2 Hormus, an imperial freedman, has already (c. 12, *ante*) been alluded to by Tacitus in terms of contempt.  

3 Vipstius Messalla, the tribune, already frequently referred to as an authority.  

4 Pliny, the Elder, whose works are described by his beloved nephew, Pliny the Younger, in *Epist.* iii. 5, in which he terms them "*libros avunculi mei.*" In that epistle, apart from the minor works, we read of *The Natural History*, "*natura historiarum triginta septem*" (still extant); the history of the Roman wars with Germany, "*bellorum Germaniae viginti*" (now lost), of which his nephew says, "*quibus omnia quae cum Germanis gessimus bella collegit*"; and another history entitled, "*a fine Avidi Bassi triginta unus.*" Pliny the Elder perished, a martyr to science, during the eruption on Mount Vesuvius, A.D. 79. The account of his death is narrated to Tacitus in a letter by Pliny the Younger, *Epist.* vi. 16.  

5 *Nisi quod*, "suffice it to say," "*nur dass*"—Heraeus.  

6 *A fama vitae sua—degeneraverae*, "belied his former life or character." Intense bitterness. The historian sardonically implies that neither of these worthies had a character to lose.  

7 *Testudinem.* See the note on *testudo* in the preceding chapter.  

8 *Varia perennium forma et omni imagine mortium*, "*mid the shifting scenes of doom and the manifold picture of death.*" Here Tacitus conjures up the magic lines of Vergil, *Aen.*, ii. 368, 369:

\["Cruedelis ubique  
Luctus, ubique pavor, et plurima mortis imago."\]
XXIX. The Third and Seventh Legions fought with desperate valour, and Antonius in person, with a picked band of auxiliaries, had hurled himself on the same centre of attack. When the Vitellianists found themselves unable to resist the determined and combined attack of their assailants, and when their projectiles glanced from the roof of the tortoise-defence, they finally hurled down the ballista itself upon the heads of the storming-party; but the engine, while momentarily scattering and overwhelming those upon whom it had fallen, at the same time drew down with it in its crash the battlements and topmost-portions of the rampart. Simultaneously one of the turrets built upon the rampart gave way before the volleys of stones from the Flavian ballistas. While the

Dr. James Henry, in his wonderful commentary on the Aeneid, observes on this passage: "What, then, is Plurima mortis imago? I reply: a very great picture of death, a very great likeness or appearance of death—death appeared everywhere and about: everything which was to be seen spoke of death, suggested the idea of death." He cites Ovid, Met., xii. 225: "captaquae erat urbis imago": and also the exquisite passage, ibid. i. 238, describing the metamorphosis of Lycaon into a wolf:—

"Canities eadem est, eadem violentia vultus, Idem oculi lucent; eadem feritas imago est."

He also refers to Claudian, in Rufin., ii. 238: "en iterum bella civilis imago!"—the picture of Civil War; and to Cicero's (Pro P. Sest., viii. 19) imaginem antiquitatis—picture of old times. Compare Thucydides, iii. 81: "πᾶσα ιδέα κατέστηθη θανάτου" and ibid. iii. 98: "πᾶσα ιδέα κατέστη τῆς φυγής καὶ τοῦ δέθρου."

1 Obstinentos inter se, "the determined and combined attack." Compare the firmati inter se of 17. 10, ante. For the meaning of obstinatus ("stubborn") see c. 56. 13, post: "acerrimum militem et usque in extrema obstinatum." For the use of inter se, compare the nocentes inter se ("face to face")—γραψοντες ἄλλαξον) of ii. 43, vol. i. p. 101.

2 Superjecta, "from the roof." This is the reading of the Medicean MS. The inferior MSS. have superjecta: and the Edition Princeps has superjectata. Both Meiser and Heraeus rightly defend superjecta, relying upon v. 6, post: "incertæ undæ superjecta ut solido ferunt": also, fragment of Sallust, Hist., ii., apud Nonius, p. 503. Merc: superjectis fluctibus; also, Pliny, Nat. Hist., xi. 270: harena superjecta.

3 Testudine laberentur. The tortoise-defence formed a slanting roof as described by Sir William Smith and Dr. L. C. Furrer, in ii. Smith's Dict. Ant., new ed., p. 808: "Sometimes the shields were disposed in such a way as to make the testudo slope. The soldiers in the first line stood upright, those in the second stooped a little, and each line successively was a little lower than the preceding down to the last, where the soldiers rested on one knee. Such a disposition of the shields was called Fastigata testudo, on account of their sloping like the roof of a building, κεραμωτῷ καταρρήτῳ παραθήκοι (Polyb., xxviii. 12). The advantages of this plan were obvious: the stones and missiles thrown upon the shields rolled off them like water from a roof—(Livy, xlv. 9; Polyb., xxviii. 12)."

4 Juncta turris, scilicet, vallo—"angebaut"—Heraeus.

5 Ictibus sarorum, "the volleys of stones from the Flavian ballistas." We have seen that a ballista would hurl a stone weighing 90 pounds.
men of the Seventh Legion are striving to force an entrance by an attack in wedge-formation at this point, the Third Legion shattered the adjoining gate with their battle-axes and swords.

All the authorities are agreed that the first man to burst his way into the Vitellianist camp was C. Volusius, a soldier of the Third Legion. He it was who clambered on to the rampart, drove before him all who resisted, and with waving hand and ringing cheer proclaimed aloud the capture of the camp. As the panic-stricken Vitellianists hurled themselves from the summit of the rampart, the rest of the Third Legion now crashed in; and all the intervening ground between the camp and the walls of Cremona reeked with slaughter.

XXX. Here again a fresh phase of difficulty presented itself—the lofty walls of the city, turrets all of stone, the iron-bound portcullises, the Vitellianist soldiery brandishing their missiles, the dense population of Cremona deeply committed to the party of Vitellius, the crowd of people

1 Cuneis, “an attack in wedge-formation.” See i. Smith’s Dict. Ant., new ed., p. 808, where Dr. L. C. Purser observes: “cuneus, called by the soldiers caput porcinum (Veg., iii. 19; Amm. Marc., xvii. 13. 9), the centre projecting like a wedge, a kind of attack to be received by a V-shaped arrangement called forfex—Livy, xxxix. 31.” It must be remembered, however, that cuneus often meant nothing more than column-formation.—See Dr. Purser, ibid.

2 Gladiisque. Heinsius, believing that swords could not be used to break a gate, reads dolabrisque; but it must be remembered that the gates in question were only the camp-gates.

3 In vallum egressus. For this use of egressus compare c. 71, post: “in quarum tectum egressi.”

4 Conspicuus manu ac voce, “with waving hand and ringing cheer.” So Heræus, referring to iv. 4. 12, post.

5 Observe the trimeter iambic catalectic: “ac vocē cāpītā cāstrā cōnclamācit.”

6 Ac rursus nova laborum facies. Vergilian imagery—Æn., vi. 103, et seq.:

    “Non ullā laborum,
    O virgo, nova mi facies inopinave surgit.”

7 Saxea turres, “turrets all of stone,” in contradistinction to the wooden turrets (lignesia turres) built upon the rampart of the camp—vallum—ante, c. 29.

8 Ferrati portarum obices, “the iron-bound portcullises.” So Mr. Spooner: “the iron-studded portcullises of the gates.” Tacitus, who always avoids technical terms, here uses ferrati portarum obices in lieu of the technical word cataracta (καταράκτην), a portcullis. See Smith’s Dict. Ant., new ed., i. 384, sub nomine: “A portcullis, so called (καταράκτην—καταράκτην) because it fell with great force and a loud noise. This contrivance for guarding against the surprise of a fortified town was in use in Italy in very early times (Dion., Hal., viii. 67); and the Romans had no occasion to borrow the thing itself, as they borrowed its name in classical Latin, from the
from all parts of Italy gathered together in the city for the periodic fair of that season, a circumstance, which gave the besieged an advantage in point of numbers, but, at the same time, whetted the appetite of the besiegers for plunder. Antonius orders firebrands instantly to be snatched up and hurled in upon the most charming of the suburban residences, in order to see whether the citizens of Cremona might be induced, by the impending destruction of their property, to transfer their allegiance. He filled the houses, which adjoined the walls and exceeded in height the lofty fortifications, with the most spirited of his soldiers, who drove the garrison from the battlements with a shower of rafters, tiles, and fire-darts.

XXXI. The legionaries were just forming the tortoise-defence, and the auxiliaries were pouring in a fire of projectiles and stones, when the courage of the Vitellianists gradually began to droop. The more exalted the rank of each officer, Greeks.” And again, at p. 385, the writer observes: “Vegetius (de Re Mil., iv. 4) says that it was hung outside the regular gate; and this statement is confirmed by a narrative in Livy (xxvii. 28) as well as by existing remains.” So the giant Cacus, when flying from Hercules, used a rude portcullis to protect the entrance to his cave. See Verg., viii. 223, et seq.:

"Tum primum nostri Cacum videre timentem
Turbatumque oculis: fugit ilicet ocir Euro
Speluncamque petit; pedibus timor addidit alas.
Ut sese includis, rupisque manuens catenis
Deject saxon, ferro quoq et arte paterna
Pendebat, fultosque emunit obice postes,
Ecce surens animis aderat Tirynthius, omnemque
Accessum lustrans hue ora ferebat et illuc,
Dentibus infrenandi."
the reader he was to yield to the inevitable, lest, when Cremonna, like its suburbs,¹ had been annihilated, there might be no hope of mercy, and all the fury of the conqueror might be concentrated, not on the beggarly rank and file, but on the tribunes and centurions, a quarry to repay the slaughter. The private soldiers, heedless of the future, and all the safer by reason of their obscurity, still clung to the cause.² Roving the streets or secreted in the houses,³ they would not crave for peace even at the very moment that they had abandoned war. The officers remove⁴ the name and effigies of Vitellius. They release Cæcina from his fetters, for he was even then in irons, and beseech him to advocate⁵ their cause and intercede for them. When he spurned them with inflated insolence, they then importuned him with their tears, a picture of abject misery—so many gallant warriors craving the mediation of a traitor. Next they display from the battle-ments sacred boughs and fillets.⁶ Then, when Antonius had

¹ Quoque, "like its suburbs." We have seen in the preceding chapter how Antonius had set fire to the suburban residences.

² Perstabat, "still clung to the cause." We have seen all through the history how devoted the private soldiers were to Vitellius. Here the contrast all through the chapter is between the privates and their officers. Accordingly perstabat is best translated, "still clung to the cause." This translation furnishes a key to the meaning of the succeeding passage.

³ In domibus abditi, "secreted in the houses." This is the reading of the Medicean MS., and is, we believe, the correct reading. Meiser contends that the true reading should be non in domibus abditi, but we respectfully contend that the great critic is for once in error—quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus. He has missed the true meaning of the passage, which is, that the private soldiers roamed about the streets or hid themselves in the houses to escape from their officers, who were pressing them to surrender. The soldiers did everything to escape from the humiliating position of surrender. I therefore cannot accept Meiser's proposed emendation.

⁴ Nomen atque imagines Vitellii amoliumtur, "remove" (notice the euphemism as in i. 13, ante, vol. i. p. 10, note 2) "the name and effigies of Vitellius." The name of the imperator was on the standards and shields. Thus we saw in c. 23, ante, how two Flavian soldiers disguised themselves by wearing Vitellianist shields. Meiser cites Prudentius de Constantino, in Symm., i. 488:

"Christus purpureum gemmato textus in auro
Signabat labarum, clypeorum insignia Christus
Scriperat."


⁶ Velamenta et insulas, "sacred boughs and fillets," as in i. 66, ante, vol. i. p. 44. Compare Sophocles, Oedip. R., 3:—

ιεκτηρις κλαδοιων ιξεστεμένων:
sounded the signal "Cease Fire," they brought forth to him their standards and their eagles, while a mournful line of unarmed men followed in procession with eyes cast upon the ground. The conquerors had gathered round them, and, at first, began to heap insults upon them, and threaten them with violence. Then, when the cheek was turned to the smiter, and the vanquished, laying aside all traces of pride, patiently submitted to every indignity, there stole into each heart the remembrance that these were the very men, who had recently displayed such moderation in the moment of victory at Bedriacum. But when Cæcina advanced as consul, conspicuous by his robe of office and body-guard of lictors, who cleared away the crowd before him, the conquerors flamed with passion and cast in his teeth his arrogance, his cruelty, ay, and—so loathsome is the crime—even his treachery. Antonius intervened, gave him an escort, and sent him to Vespasian.

XXXII. Meanwhile the people of Cremona were in sore straits amid the armed host, and massacre seemed imminent, when the soldiers were softened by the entreaties of their generals. Moreover, Antonius summoned an assembly and addressed the victors in words of eulogy, the vanquished in terms of compassion, while he adopted a neutral attitude towards Cremona. The Flavian army, apart from its innate lust for plunder, was eager for the destruction of Cremona through a spirit of inveterate hatred. Its citizens were believed to have aided the party of Vitellius during the recent war with Otho likewise; and after that, when the Thirteenth Legion had been left behind at Cremona to build an amphitheatre, they had, with the truculent disposition of city folk, wantonly wrangled with and jeered at the soldiery. This bad blood was further intensified by Cæcina's gladiatorial exhibition at Cremona, as well as by the selection of that city as the enemy's headquarters for a second time, the supply of rations by the citizens to the Vitellianists during action, and the death, on the field, of some women of

1 This meant unconditional surrender. A garrison, who marched out with the honours of war, retained their standards and eagles.

Cremona who had been borne by the spirit of partisanship into the thick of the fight. The season of the fair, too, invested with a still greater show of wealth a colony which was otherwise rich enough. The other generals were completely thrown into the shade: his fortune and his fame alike had made Antonius the cynosure of every eye. He had at once betaken himself to the baths in order to efface all stains of blood; and there, while complaining of the low temperature\(^1\) of the water, his exclamation, “I will soon make it hot for you,”\(^2\) was caught up.\(^3\) Thus a slang\(^4\) expression concentrated upon him all the odium of having given the signal to burn Cremona, which, as a matter of fact,\(^5\) was already in flames.

XXXIII. Forty thousand armed men burst into Cremona, and with them a still greater number of camp-servants and sutlers, who were yet more depraved in their spirit of

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\(^1\) *Teporem,* “the low temperature of the water.” So Herodes: “*laus Temperatur.*” *Tepor* is used, in the same sense of want of heat or fire, in the Dialogue on Oratory, xxii.: “Nam in orationibus minorem esse fama sua (speaking of Julius Caesar) etiam admiratores ejus fatentur. Nisi forte quisquam aut Caesaris pro Decio Samniti aut Bruti pro Deiotaro rege ceteraque ejusdem *lentitudinis ac teporis* libros legit, nisi qui et carmina eorundem miratur.” Compare Ovid, *Rem. Amoris,* 629: “Quid juvat admonitu *tepidam recalescere mentem*?”

\(^2\) “*Statim futurius ut incalescerent,*” “I will soon make it hot for you.” These are the words of Antonius, and not, as erroneously supposed, of any slave. Antonius uses a slang expression (*vernile dictum*) as familiar to the Roman as to the Englishman. Cicero uses this slang twice. In his letter to his brother Quintus (2 Fr. iii. 2; Tyrrell’s ed., cl. vol. ii. p. 157) we find: “Eodem die Gabinium ad populum luculentel *calfeceverit* Memmius sic, ut Calidio verbum facere pro eo non licuerit.” Again in *Fam.* viii. 6 (Tyrrell and Purser, ccxlii., vol. iii. p. 149), Caecilius says: “Si Parthi vos nihil *callfaciant*, nos hic frigore rigescimus.” Again, in *Fam.* xvi. 18: “*cal facere hominem.*” Meiser also refers to Plautus, *Cae.*, 291: “*virgis calcefactabere.*” Meiser thus paraphrases: “Nisi balneum *callfeceritis,* vos *callferi* statim jubebo.” I therefore entirely differ from Herodes, and those who follow him; for they miss the whole point involved in the double meaning of the expression, “I will soon make it hot for you,” equally familiar to Roman and English ears.

\(^3\) *Excepta vox est,* “his (Antony’s) exclamation was caught up.” So Meiser: “Antonii scilicet: is enim, cum de aqua parum calida quereretur, his fere verbis in balneatores minaciter invectus esse putandus est: ‘Nisi balneum *callfeceritis,* vos *callferi* statim jubebo.’”


\(^5\) A clear proof that Antonius was innocent of the charge.
lust and cruelty. Nor rank nor age could avert those scenes of
shame blent with slaughter, of slaughter blent with shame.¹ Old
men long past their span, decrepit, aged women, worthless as
prey, they dragged along in mockery. But when some maiden
in the bloom of life, or some youth of dazzling beauty, fell
in their path, they were torn limb from limb by the savage
violence of the ravishers, and eventually the struggle hurried those
harpies themselves into mutual destruction. Those bearing off
as their own booty either treasure or the massive, golden offerings
of the temples were cut down by stronger rivals. Some, disdain-
ing what was at hand, searched for hidden wealth, while they
plied the lash and the torture on the owners, and dug up the
buried² treasure, holding in their hands flaming torches,³ which,
when they had carried off their spoil, they hurled in sheer
wantonness into the houses they had looted, and the temples
they had robbed; and, as one might have expected⁴ in an army
composed of Roman citizens, allies, and foreigners speaking in
divers tongues, and representing every shade of character, they
rang all the changes of passion, each man laid down the law

¹ "Non aetas protegebatur, quo minus stupra caedis, caedes stupris miserentur." This is the figure of antimetabolē. Meiser refers to Curtius, ix. 10. 30: "'adeo nec luxuria quiquam crudelitas nec crudelitati luxuria obstat.'
² Defossae eruere, "dug up the buried treasure." Compare Cicero, de Orat., ii. 41: "Hæc, ut brevissime dici potuissent, ita a me dicta sunt; ut enim si aurorem quod esset multifarium defossum, comonstrare vellem, satis esse deberet, si signa et notae ostenderem locorum, quibus cognitus sibi fuderet et id, quod vellet, parvo labore, nullo errore, inventiret; sic has ego argumentorum volui notas etiam demonstrare, ubi sint; reliqua cura et cogitatione eruuntur." When applied to the thing hidden desfodio means to bury or hide; but, when applied to the place, spot, or earth where the thing is hidden, then desfodio means to dig up or excavate. Compare Horace, Sat., i. 1. 41:

"Quid juvat, immemenum te argenti pondus et auri
Furtim defossa timidum deponere terrae?"

There W. Mewes (the editor of the new Orelli) paraphrases: "in altitudinem clam effossa, excavata." He cites Verg., Georg., iii. 376: Pliny, Epist., x. 48: "Claudio-
politani... ingens balineum desfodiant magia quam edificant."
³ Faces in manibus, "holding in their hands flaming torches." Hieræus refers to Verg., Aen., v. 136:

"Considunt transtris, intentisque brachia remis;
Intenti expectant signum."
⁴ Utque exercitu varias. Compare Horace, Sat., i. 6, 79: "in magno ut populo." See also i. 8, ante, vol. i. p. 7.
for himself, and absolute impunity prevailed. For four days Cremona fed the pillage. When everything else, sacred and profane, was sinking into the flames, there stood alone in front of the walls the temple of the Vapour-Goddess, saved either by its site or by its tutelary divinity.

XXXIV. Such was the end of Cremona in the two hundredth and eighty-sixth year from its foundation. It was founded in the consulship of Tiberius Sempronius Longus and Publius Cornelius Scipio, when Hannibal was lowering over Italy, as a bulwark against the Transpadane Gauls, or against the danger of sudden attack from any other quarter by the Alpine passes. And so through the number of its colonists, the advantageous proximity of its rivers, the fertility of its soil, the intercourse and intermarriage of its citizens with the peoples of adjoining nations, it waxed and flourished.

1 In igne. This is the reading of the Medicean MS., but most editors adopt the ignes of Ernesti or the ignem of Heinsius, relying on Vergil, Æn., ii. 624:

"Tum vero omne mihi visum considere in ignis
Ilium et ex imo verti Neptunia Troia."

2 Mefitis, "the Vapour-Goddess," who averted the evil of foul vapours and noxious fumes. Deuerling (cited by Meiser) observes: "Dea avertens molestiam odoris gravissimi, putoris, qui ex corruptione aeris nascitur." He refers to Verg., Æn., vii. 84. Dübner (also cited by Meiser) quotes the Liber Glossarum, 1876, p. 24, to the same effect. See also Persius, Sat., iii. 99:

"Guttures sulphureas lente exalante mefites."

See Inscr., M. Lat., N., 1795.

3 Tacitus has here made a slight chronological mistake of one year as will be seen from the next note.

4 218 B.C. In the October of that year Hannibal crossed the pass of the Little St. Bernard, and later on in that same year, 218 B.C., defeated the consul Publius Cornelius Scipio near the Ticinus. Immediately afterwards, in the December of that year, 218 B.C., he overwhelmed the united forces of both the consuls, Publius Cornelius Scipio and Tiberius Sempronius Longus, on the left bank of the Trebia. Therefore it was in the early part of the year 218 B.C. that Cremona was founded. Adding to 218 the date a.d. of the destruction of Cremona, namely 69 a.d., we find the real date of the foundation of the colony, and prove that the destruction of the city took place 287 years from its foundation. Tacitus should therefore have written anno ducentissimo octogesimo septimo.

5 Ingruente in Italiam Annibale, "when Hannibal was lowering over Italy"—218 B.C. For this use of ingrue, compare ii. 100 (vol. i. p. 164), ante: ingruentia bello; and the si bellum ingrueret of Verg., Æn., viii. 535.

6 The Po, the Adda, the Oglio.

7 Ubere agri, odιωρ ἡγούρης—"the fertility of the soil."
unharmed by foreign arms but ill-starred in the civil wars. Antonius, ashamed of the outrage and finding that the odium attached to it was becoming intensified, issued a proclamation that no one should retain a citizen of Cremona as his captive. Moreover, the unanimous feeling of Italy, which scorned the purchase of such slaves as these, destroyed the value of this military booty. Incipient massacre then ensued, and when that became known, the captives were secretly ransomed by their kinsfolk and connexions. Soon the surviving citizens returned to Cremona, its public places and temples were restored by the munificence of the Italian townsfolk, and Vespasian encouraged the good work.

XXXV. However, the soil, rendered pestilential by fetid gore, would not long permit the victors to tarry on the ruins of the buried city. They advanced as far as the third milestone from Cremona, and there they collected the roaming, trembling Vitellianists under their distinctive standards. Then the conquered legions, lest they should prove treacherous during the continuance of the civil war, were scattered throughout Illyricum. The Flavians next sent messengers with the tidings

1 Cremona had supported Brutus and Cassius. Hence Verg., Ecl., ix. 28:

"Mantua, vae, miseræ nimium vicina Cremona!"

2 Municipum, “the Italian townsfolk.” The term municipes included, in the time of the emperors, the inhabitants both of colonies and municipalities. So Hereus: “civium coloniarum municipiorumque. In der Kaiserzeit war municipium im gewöhnlichen wie im publicistischen Sprachgebrauch der allgemeine Ausdruck für alle Arten römischer Städte, sowohl für eigentliche Municipien als für Kolonien. Marquardt, röm. Staatsverwaltung, i. S. 463.” For the distinction between municipia and coloniae, see i. Smith’s Dict. Ant., new ed., p. 483.

3 Tabo, “fetid gore”—so Hereus: “putri sanguine.” Compare ii. 70, ante, “infesta tabo humus.”

4 The verb adsidere clearly applies to the Flavian victors, and not to the Vitellianists. This is shown by the next sentence: “ad tertium lapidem progressi vagos paventesque Vitellianos, sua quemque apud signa, componunt.” So Hereus: “adsidere ist vom Flavianischen Heere zu verstehen.”

5 Sepulta urbis, “the buried city.” Compare Cicero, in Cat., iv. § 11: “cerno animo sepulta in patria miseros atque insепultos acervos civium.” See also Sulpicius to Cicero, ad Fam., iv. 5: “cum uno loco tot oppidorum cadaverum projecta jaceant (Dübner ad locum, cited by Meiser).”

6 Ambigu agerent, “prove treacherous.” Compare ii. 39, ante (vol. i. p. 98, note 2); also iv. 56, post: “Inter ambiguous milites et occultos hostes, optimum e presentibus ratus mutua dissimulatione et idem quibus petebatur grassari, in coloniam Agrippinensem descendit.”
to Britain and to Spain, Julius Calenus, a tribune, to Gaul, Alpinius Montanus, a captain of auxiliary foot, to Germany, inasmuch as the latter came from Trèves, Calenus from Autun, while both of them were Vitellianists, thus affording visible proof of victory. At the same time the Alpine passes were held by outposts, as Germany was suspected of arming herself to aid Vitellius.

XXXVI. Now when Vitellius, after the departure of Cæcina, had forced Fabius Valens a few days subsequently to start for the seat of war, he then sought the veil of luxury to hide his cares. He neglected all military equipments, he did not brace his soldiers by stirring words or vigorous drill, he did not display himself to the public gaze, but, secluded in garden shades, like those slothful animals which, when supplied with food, lie dormant, he had banished from his mind all thought of the past, the present, and the future in the same spirit of lethargy. And so, while he lay all

1 Prefectum cohortis, “a captain of auxiliary foot.” See ii. 88, ante (vol. i. p. 150, note 6). The prefect held the same position in the auxiliaries as the tribunes did in the legions. Compare Sallust, Jugurth., xlvi. 7: “tribunis legionum et prefectis cohortium.”

2 Ostentui, “thus affording visible proof of victory.” The word ostentum must be closely construed with the two officers from Trèves and Autun. Ostentus, in the sense of “visible proof,” is frequently used by Tacitus. Compare Annals, xv. 64, where Tacitus is describing the repose of Paulina while the blood was flowing from her: “cui addidit paucos postea annos, laudabili in maritum memoria et ore ac membris in eum pallorem alentibus, ut ostentui esset multum vitalis spiritus egestum.” So also in the description of the mutilation of Meherdates we find, ibid., xii. 14: “auribus decisis vivere jubet, ostentui clementia sua et in nos dehonestamento.”

3 Praeadid, “outposts.” See ii. 83, ante (vol. i. p. 143, note 7); ii. 98, sub fine.

4 Curis luxum obtendebat, “he then sought the veil of luxury to hide his cares.” So Walther (cited by Meiser): “Metaphora a vento translata, qua velatur aliquid, ne apparent.” The same meaning is brought out under a different construction in c. 56, post: “Contionanti (prodigiosum dictu) tantum fecedarum volucrum supervolavit, ut nube atre diem obterrent. Herœus there refers to Cicero, ad Q. fr., i. 5: “quasi velis quibusdam obtenditur unius usque natura” : also Verg., Georg., i. 248:

“Semper et obtenta densentur nocte tenebræ.”

5 Non in ore vulgi agore, “he did not display himself to the public gaze.” Meiser, Herœus, and all editors refer to Sallust, Hist., i. 98: “in ore agens gentibus, populo, civitatis” : and ibid. ii. 50. 4: “a prima adulescentia in ore costro privatus et in magistratus egit.” Compare c. 77, post: “Julianus ad L. Vitellium perductus et verberibus fœdatus in ore ejus jugulator.”

6 Paro oblivione, “in the same spirit of lethargy”—not of forgetfulness, because one cannot forget the future. Tacitus here uses oblivio in its strictly etymological
idle\(^1\) and languid\(^2\) in the grove of La Riccia,\(^3\) the announce-
ment of the treachery of Lucilius Bassus and of the mutiny of the fleet at Ravenna suddenly startled him. Soon after that came tidings of Cæcina, tidings in which the sad news\(^4\) of his treason was mingled with the joyful intelligence of his imprison-
ment by the army. Exultation rather than heedfulness swayed that senseless soul. In huge delight he returned to Rome, and before a crowded assembly heaped praises on the loyalty of his soldiers. He then ordered Publilius Sabinus,\(^5\) captain of the Praetorian Guard, to be cast into irons on account of his friendly relations with Cæcina, and appointed Alfenus Varus\(^6\) in his stead.

XXXVII. Vitellius next addressed the Senate in an elaborate and high-flown oration, and was in turn eulogised by the senators in all the refinements of flattery. "A vote of censure and condemnation\(^7\) was moved by Lucius Vitellius against Cæcina. Then the rest of the senators followed suit in terms of studied invective, signification—ob and livor—to become dark—to have the mind darkened. See Lewis and Short.

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1. *Desidem,* "all idle." Mr. Godley points out on i. 88, ante: "desidia is want of occupation; *segnitia,* natural sluggishness."

2. *Marcentem,* "languid." Compare Horace, Sat., ii. 4. 58:

   "Teotis marcentem squillis recreatis et Afra
   Potorem coclea."

3. *In nemore Aricino,* "in the grove of La Riccia," then Aricia, sixteen miles from Rome, immortalised by Horace, Sat., i. 5:

   "Egressum magna me accepit Aricia Roma
   Hospitio modico":" W. Mewes (ed. new Orelli) cites Stob., Z., 17. 1. 164, ed. Mein., where Agrippinus says: *οὔκ οὐκ ἔστι Αρική ἀριστήραμον.* Aricia was celebrated for the beautiful grove of Diana, commemorated by Verg., *Aen.,* vii. 761, *et seq.;* also by Ovid, *Metam.,* xv. 487:

   "Deflevere Namum. Nam conjunct urbe relicta
   Vallis Aricinae densis latet adita silvis
   Sacraque Orestae questu gemituque Diana
   Impedit."

4. *Mixtus gaudio dolor.* Tacitus, in his eagerness for brevity, uses *dolor* for *tristis nuntius,* and *gaudium* for *latus nuntius.* So Heræus: "*dolor—dem Sinne nach = tristis nuntius.*"


6. *Alfenus Varus.* See ii. 29, ante, vol. i. p. 90; iii. 55; iii. 61; iv. 11, post.

7. *Atroci in Cacinnam sententia,* "a vote of censure and condemnation against Cæcina." The *atroci sententia* was something more than a vote of censure; it was also a vote of condemnation. See *Annals,* vi. 2: "*atroci sententiae diebantur in effigies quoque ac memoriam ejus (Livii)," cited by Heræus.
and, while they all denounced the consul who had betrayed the
commonwealth, the general who had betrayed his emperor, and
the man, laden with so much wealth and so many titles, who had
betrayed his friend, still, under the cloak of their apparent
sympathy for Vitellius, each of them found vent for his private
spleen.\(^1\) But there was not in any one of their speeches a single
word of vituperation against the Flavian leaders, and, while they
chid the folly and fatuity of the armies, they took care, in
language of guarded and wary circumlocution, to steer clear of
the name of Vespasian.\(^2\) One of them was mean enough to coax\(^3\)
Vitellius to bestow upon him the last day of Cæcina’s consulship
(for that was all that remained of the latter’s term of office)
amid many sneers both at the donor and the recipient. And so
Rosius Regulus both assumed and resigned his consulship on the
last day of October. Experts noted that never before had another
person been appointed in the stead of a consul already in office,
in the absence of a resolution\(^4\) by the people in congress annulling
the tenure of that officer, or of a legislative enactment to the
same effect. For undoubtedly even before that time Caninius
Rebilus had been legally\(^5\) appointed consul for one day during the

\(^1\) *Suum dolorem proferebant,* “found vent for his private spleen.” So Ernesti (cited
by Meiser — “hoc est, quem ex Cæcinae injuriis privatim publiceque ceperant. Eum
cum alias pressisset, tunc sub illa specie eedebant. Igitur graviter iuv et in Cæcinam,
non Vitellii, sed suis injuriis incensi.”

\(^2\) *Vespasiani nomen suspensi et vitabundi circumibant,* “they took care, in language of
guarded and wary circumlocution, to steer clear of the name of Vespasian.” This use
of *circumire* is confined to Latin of the silver age. Compare Quintilian, xii. 10; 34:
“res plurimae carent appellationibus, ut eas necesse sit transferre aut circumire.”

\(^3\) *Eblandivetur,* “coaxed.” See (as cited by Meiser) Livy, xxvii. 31. 7:— “omnia
eemebat aut eblandiebatur.”

\(^4\) *Non abrogato magistratu,* “in the absence of a resolution by the people in congress
(in the *comitia centuriata*) annulling the tenure of that officer.” Tacitus is perfectly
accurate. In only two ways could a magistrate be deposed from his office, as explained
by Professor A. S. Wilkins in 1 Smith’s *Dict. Ant.*, new ed., p. 4:— “I. It was in
the power of a superior magistrate to forbid an inferior one to exercise his official
functions.” “II. The people, by the exercise of its sovereign legislative power,
could put an end to a magistrate’s tenure of office.” He cites the *Lex Cassia* :— “ut
quem populos damnasset cuive imperium abrogasset in senatu non esset.”

\(^5\) *Num consul uno die et ante fuerat Caninius Rebilus,* “For undoubtedly even before
that time Caninius Rebilus had been legally appointed consul for one day.” The
controversy was not as to the *fact*, but as to the *legality* or *illegality*, of the appoint-
ment.
dictatorship of C. Caesar,\(^1\) when the prizes of civil war brooked no delay.

XXXVIII. At this time the murder of Junius Blæsus\(^2\) formed the topic and scandal of the hour. We have received the following account of it. When Vitellius lay dangerously ill at his residence in the Servilian\(^3\) gardens, he observed a neighbouring château\(^4\) all aglow throughout the night; and, when he made inquiries, he was informed that Cæcina Tuscus was entertaining a numerous company, and that Junius Blæsus was the chief guest of the evening. Exaggeration magnified even such details as the decorations\(^5\) and the revelry of the guests. Nay, some were base enough to prefer charges against Tuscus and others, and even to incriminate Blæsus for junketing while his prince lay sick. As soon as those who make a special study of the antipathies of princes saw clearly enough that Vitellius was ruffled, and that Blæsus could be ruined, they

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\(^1\) All the critics refer to Cicero, ad Fam. vii. 30. 1: "In campo certe non fui, cum II. comitiis questoriis institutis sella Q. (Fabii) Maximi, quem illi consulem esse dicebant, posita esset, quo mortuo nuntiato sella sublata est. Ile autem (Cæsar), qui comitiis tributis esset auspicious, centuriae habuit; consulem H. VII. renuntiavit, qui usque ad Kalendas Jan. esset quæ erant futurae mane postridie. Ita Caninio consule scito neminem prandisse. Nihil tamen eo consule mali factum est; fuit enim mirifica vigilantia, qui suo toto consulatu somnum non viderit." Caninius had, as Meiser observes, caroused through the one night of his consulship at the usual inaugural banquet.

\(^2\) The grandson of Q. Junius Blæsus (\textit{Annals}, i. 16), the uncle of Sejanus, through whose influence he received the honours of a triumph (\textit{Annals}, iii. 72), and who was the last Roman general (apart from an emperor) saluted "\textit{Imperator}" on the field of battle (\textit{Annals}, iii. 74). In his note on \textit{Annals}, iii. 74, Orelli points out that in all the inscriptions this technical "\textit{Imperator}" is distinguished from the emperor in this, that the emperor takes the title as a prefix, while the general takes it as a suffix. Thus:—

\textit{Imperator Caesar Augustus: Junius Blæsus Imperator.}

Q. Junius Blæsus died by his own hand soon after the fall of Sejanus, and his two sons, the \textit{duo Blæsi} of \textit{Annals}, vi. 40. 3, perished in the same way. The Junius Blæsus of the text above was the son of one or other of the \textit{duo Blæsi}. As governor of Gallia Lugdunensis he had accorded to Vitellius a splendid reception, and had furnished him with a brilliant retinue, ii. 59, \textit{ante.}

\(^3\) On the Tiber, south of Rome, towards Ostia. They were a favourite haunt of Nero.—\textit{Annals}, xv. 55; Suetonius, Nero, xlvii.

\(^4\) \textit{Turrim}, "château"—schloss—Herzöge. Meiser compares the \textit{Turris Macenatiana} of Suetonius, \textit{Nero}, xxxviii.

\(^5\) \textit{Apparatu}, "the decorations." Compare the Horatian "Peraicos odi, puer, \textit{apparatus}"
assigned to L. Vitellius the part of the informer. The latter,
hostile to Blæsus and full of sinister rivalry towards one who,
by a spotless name, cast into the shade his own tarnished and infamous
reputation, now suddenly bursts into the emperor's chamber,
embraces the heir apparent, and throws himself before the knees
of his sovereign. When the emperor asked him to explain the
cause of his excitement, "I have come hither," he cried, "with
prayers and tears, not through any fear or anxiety for myself,
but on behalf of my brother and his children. It were senseless
to dread Vespasian, when there are so many legions of Germany,
so many provinces with their valour and loyalty, nay, such tracts
of land and sea with their vast distances, to hold him far afloat
from thee. Ware a traitor here in Rome, nestling in thy very
bosom, who boasts of the blood of the Junii and the Antonii,"
claims to be a scion of imperial stock, and displays such gracious-
ness and generosity to the soldiery! He is the observed of all
observers, while Vitellius, dull to discern friend from foe,
is fondling that same rival, who watches from the banquet-hall the
sufferings of his prince. Pay back his unseasonable joy with a
night of woe and doom, that he may know and feel that Vitellius
still lives, still wields the sceptre, and, should any fatality befall
him, hath a son to succeed him."

XXXIX. Vacillating between the promptings of evil and of
The poisoned cup. A holy fear, lest, on the one hand, the postponement of the
victim. murder of Blæsus might quicken his own destruction,
and, on the other, a public death-warrant might involve him in

1 Hostem, "traitor," as in i. 27, ante, vol. i., p. 18.
2 Junii Antoniosque. The Blæsi were connected with Augustus and Octavia (wife
of the triumvir, Mark Antony) through the Silani, who like the Blæsi, were of the
Junior gens. See Annals, xiii. 1; xv. 35; xvi. 8. L. Junius Silanus and M. Junius
Silanus were the great-great-grandchildren of Augustus; and L. Junius Torquatus
Silanus was his atnepos, or great-great-great-grandson.
3 Stirpe imperatoria, "a scion of imperial stock"—a reference to the connection of
the Blæsi with Augustus through the Silani, as explained in the preceding note; and
not an allusion, as erroneously stated by Herasus, to the titular "imperator" of Annals,
iii. 74, described above. See Meiser ad loc.
4 Amicorum inimicorumque negligens—"amicos et inimicos præ stupore haud discer-
nens."—Meiser.
5 Dum—fovet. Notice the indicative mood introduced into the oblique narration for
realistic effect, as in c. 70, post. In earlier times this idiom was used only by the
poets. See Roby, § 784; Madvig, § 369.
dreadful odium, Vitellius finally resolved to proceed by poison. He corroborated the proofs of his guilt by his manifest exultation during his visit of inquiry to Blæsus. Nay, his ruthless utterance was heard (for I will repeat his very words) as he vaunted:—"I have fed mine eyes on the sight of a dying enemy." In addition to the lustre of his ancestry and the charm of his character, Blæsus was most staunch in his loyalty. In the days too when the Government was secure and he had been canvassed by Cæcina and the leaders of the Opposition, who were beginning to despise Vitellius, he remained constant in his rejection of their overtures. Pure of heart and peace-loving, coveting no sudden advancement, not to speak of the diadem, he could not escape the charge of being deemed worthy of the prize.

1 Placuit veneno grassari. It is quite evident that Suetonius points to this crime without mentioning any name; in Suetonius, Vitellius, xiv., we read:—"Pronus vero ad cujuscumque et quacumque de causa necem atque supplicium, nobiles viros, con-discipulos et equeles suos, omnibus blanditiis tantum non ad societatem imperii adlice-factos, vario genere fraudis occidit; etiam unum veneno manu sua porrecto in aqua frigida potione, quam in adefactus febre poposcerat."

2 Notabili gaudio—the certain emendation of Faernus for the nonsensical nobili gudio of the Medicean MS. Heraeus very properly compares the notabili constantia of c. 54, post, and the notabile jurgium of ii. 53, ante; but, above all, the immortal passage in Annals, iii. 65, which appears on my title-page:—"exsequi sententias haud institui nisi insignes per honestum aut notabili dedecore."

3 Integris quoque rebus, "in the days too when the Government was secure." Res here means the Government in contradistinction to the partes or "Opposition." See c. 54, post, n. 1.

4 Primoribus partium, "the leaders of the Opposition." Partes in Tacitus always means, in the absence of qualifying words, "the Opposition"—the party opposed to the existing Government.

5 Sanctus inturbidus, "Pure of heart and peace-loving." For the meaning of sanctus, compare Horace, Epist., i. 16-61:—"da justo sanctoque videri": also ibid., Odes, iv. 5. 4:

"Divis orte bonis, optume Romulae
Custos gentis, abeo jam nimium diu:
Maturum reditum pollieitus patrum
Saneto consilio, redi."

Compare also ibid., Odes, i. 2. 26:

"prece qua fatigent
Virgines sancta minus audientem
Carmina Vestam?"

6 Adeo non, "not to speak of"; or "much less." It is equivalent to nedum. Compare Annals, iii. 34; vi. 15.

7 Parum effugerat, ne dignus crederetur, "he could not escape the charge of being deemed worthy of the prize." Heraeus appropriately compares the Greek construction, τὸ μὴ ἄξιον οὖν.
XL. Meanwhile Fabius Valens, with a numerous and effeminate train of concubines and eunuchs, was advancing at a pace too sluggish for the work of war, when he heard by an express despatch of the betrayal of the fleet at Ravenna by Lucilius Bassus; and, if he had accelerated the march just then commenced, he might have anticipated the vacillation of Caecina and joined the legions before the decisive battle. Nay, he was strongly urged to put himself at the head of the most devoted of his troops, and, avoiding Ravenna, to march on Ostiglia and Cremona through secret bypaths. Others contended that he should summon the Praetorian cohorts from Rome, and force his way through Ravenna with a powerful corps. Fabius himself, by his disastrous hesitation, wasted in deliberation the moments for action; and then, discarding both plans, he pursued the very worst policy in a crisis by following a middle course which lacked alike courage and caution.

XLI. He sent a letter to Vitellius asking for assistance, and, in response, came three Praetorian cohorts and a troop of auxiliary horse from Britain, a force ill-calculated either to escape notice or to cut their

1 See c. 12, and also ii., 100 and 101, ante.

2 Nutantem Cannam pravenire—potuisset, "he might have anticipated the vacillation of Caecina." For this use of pravenire with the accusative, compare Suetonius, Julius Caesar, xlv., sub fine:—"Talia agentem atque meditantem mors pravenit."

3 Agendi tempora, "the moments for action." Compare Pindar, Pyth. iv. 286, et seq.: "έθνος ἁρπαγὸς πρὸς ἄνδρῶν βραχὺ μετρὸν ἐξεῖρι· 

εἰ μὲν ἔφησεν· θέραταν δέ οί, οὗ δρατας ἐκτάει.

4 Dum media sequitur, "by following a middle course." Dum, with the present indicative, is frequently used to indicate a course of action leading to a result not contemplated by the agent. So Heræus:—"Dum mit dem Ind. Præs. (auch in indirekter Rede) hat nicht selten kausale Nebenbedeutung und nähert sich dem explikativen oder koincidiven cum (‘indem’ = ‘durch dass’). Durch einen solchen Nebensatz wird diejenige Handlung oder Bemühung ausgedrückt, welche wider die Absicht der handelnden Person den im übergeordneten Satze bezeichneten Unfall veranlasst." He compares i. 82:—"vulnerato Julio Martiale tribuno et Vitellio Saturnino prefecto legionis, dum ruentibus obsistunt": v. 17:—"suam illic victoriam Germaniam obstississe, dum omisisset telis prada manus impediant": Annals, i. 75:—"dum veritatis consulitus, libertas corrumpebatur": ibid., vi. 32:—"dum—instituta Parthorum sumit, patriis moribus impar morbo absuntius est." See also the very difficult passage at the end of c. l., post, which can only be solved by this peculiar use of dum.

5 Tres cohortes, "three Praetorian cohorts," as explained by the words in the preceding chapter: "aliis placebat, accitis ex urbe praetorii cohortibus valida manu perrumpere." See also p. 59, post.

6 Neque ad fallendum aptus, numerus neque ad penetrandum, "a force ill-calculated
way through the enemy. But not even then in the midst of such extreme peril was Valens free from the degrading imputation of snatching at forbidden pleasures, and desecrating the homes of those upon whom he was billeted by adultery and deeds of shame. As incentives to his passions were his power, his gold, and the final hankerings of lust upon the brink of ruin. At length upon the arrival of the horse and foot the wrongheadedness of his plan stood manifest, inasmuch as he could not hope to make his way through the enemy with so small a force, even though they were staunch to the core, still less when their loyalty was not beyond impeachment. Yet a sense of shame and a feeling of respect for the presence of their general still checked them, although such were but fragile bonds against greed for prize-money and indifference to dishonour. In fear either to escape notice or cut their way through the enemy. Ill-calculated, because too large to escape notice, too small to force their way.

1 Hospitum, "those upon whom he was billeted." For this meaning of hospes, see ii. 66 (vol. i. p. 121); iii. 2, ante.

2 Aderant, "as incentives to his passions." So Mr. Godley: "ministered to his passions." Tacitus, like Aeschylus, actually personifies the demons and panders, Vis and Pecunia, the Kratos and Bia of his drama.

3 Ruentis fortuna novissima libido, "the final hankerings of lust upon the brink of ruin." When Valens saw the game was up he gave full fling to his passions. So Pichena: "qui diu fruini non sperat, avidius fruitur." So Ernesti (cited by Meiser): "videbat finem adesse excludarum libidinum, cum rueret fortuna, itaque utendum facultate, dum maneant. In tali tempore solet etiam incitari cupiditas et vis." Compare ii. 47 (vol. i. p. 105), ante: "difficillius est temperare felicitati, qua te non putes diu usurum."

4 Pravitas consilii, "the wrongheadedness of his plan." See ii. 92 and 93 (vol. i. pp. 154 and 156), ante.

5 Morabatur, "checked them." Morari is here used in its active, and not in its deponent sense.

6 Avidos premiorum, Meiser's emendation for the absurd avidos periculum of the Medicean MS. Critics will scarcely accept the avidos periculum of Faernus, as it states the very converse of the truth. See cc. 69 and 73, post, and iv. 2. For pramia in the sense of "prize-money," Meiser refers to i. 51 (vol. i., p. 32); iii. 37, 51, 53, 60, 61, 74; iv. 2; v. 11 and 16; Annals, i. 16 and 24.

7 Dedecoris securus, "indifference to dishonour." They had already betrayed Galba and Otho. The language clearly points to the Praetorians. For the use of securus in the text, compare Horace, Epist. ii. 1, 176:

"Gestit enim nummum in loculos demittere, post hoc
Securus cadat an recto stet fabula talo."
of this\textsuperscript{1} he sent the Praetorian\textsuperscript{2} cohorts on in advance to Rimini, and ordered the auxiliary horse to protect his rear, while he himself with a few friends, who had remained constant in adversity, turned his course\textsuperscript{3} towards Umbria and thence to Etruria, where, upon learning the issue of the battle of Cremona, he conceived the design, by no means a spiritless one, and, in the event of success, terrible in its consequences, of seizing on the shipping, sailing to, and landing on, some point of the coast of Gallia Narbonensis, and then stirring up the armies of Gaul, the tribes of Germany, and another war.

XLII. The garrison of Rimini lost heart on the departure of Valens; and Cornelius Fuscus,\textsuperscript{4} advancing upon them with his army, while he scoured the adjoining coast with his Liburnian cruisers, hemmed them in by land and sea. The plains of Umbria and the seaboard of the Romagna,\textsuperscript{5} washed by the Adriatic, were seized on by the Flavian forces, and the whole of Italy was partitioned between Vespasian and Vitellius by the boundary line of the Appennine\textsuperscript{6} ranges. Fabius Valens, after embarking\textsuperscript{7} from the bay of Pisa,\textsuperscript{8} was forced, either by a dead calm\textsuperscript{9} or by adverse winds, to put

\textsuperscript{1} Ec metu cohortes Ariminum præmittit, alam tueri terga jubes: ipsæ paucia, quos adversum mutaverant, comitantibus jubes in Umbriam atque inde Etruriam. Such is the elegant transposition of Acidalius for ec metu et paucis, quos adversum mutaverant, comitantibus cohortes Ariminum præmittit, alam tueri terga jubes: ipsæ jubes of the Medicean MS.

\textsuperscript{2} See note 5, p. 57, ante.

\textsuperscript{3} Flexuit, "turned his course," from the Via Flaminia, which led to Rimini.

\textsuperscript{4} Cornelius Fuscus had just been appointed admiral of the Ravenna Fleet, vice Lucilius Bassus. See c. 12, ante.

\textsuperscript{5} Et qua Picenus agrar Hadria alluitur, now the Romagna.

\textsuperscript{6} Appennini jugis, the universally accepted correction of Puteolanus for the Appenninijuga of the MSS. Compare the Appenninijuga of c. 52, post.

\textsuperscript{7} Some such word must be spelt by way of zeugma out of the subsequent depellitur, which in strictness can only apply to the words portum Herculis Monad. So Dübner (cited by Meiser): "verbum depellitur ad ultima modo refertur: ad priora generale verbum intelligendum est."

\textsuperscript{8} E sinu Pisanu, "the bay of Pisa," in Etruria.

\textsuperscript{9} Segnitia maris, "a dead calm." As often pointed out to our readers, Tacitus never uses, if he can help it, a technical term; and so he here avoids, by the circumlocution of segnitia maris, the technical malacia (μαλακία) or "dead calm" of Caesar, B. G. iii. 15: "ac jam conversis in eam partem navibus quo ventus ferebat, tanta
into the port of Monaco. Close by was the official residence of Marius Maturus, the procurator of the Maritime Alps, who was staunch to Vitellius, and had not yet cast off his allegiance despite universally hostile surroundings. He received Valens with politeness, but, at the same time, by his words of warning overawed him from engaging in any wild incursion into Gallia Narbonensis. Meanwhile the fealty of all the other adherents of Vitellius was being undermined by fear; for Valerius Paulinus, the procurator of Gallia Narbonensis, who was a resolute soldier, and had been a personal friend of Vespasian before his accession to the throne, had administered to all the surrounding states the oath of allegiance to the Flavian cause.

**XLIII.** Moreover he summoned all the soldiers, who had been disbanded by Vitellius, and were now seeking enrolment as volunteers, and with them he garrisoned Fréjus, the key of the Mediterranean, thus taking an initiative all the more important from the fact that Fréjus was the birthplace of Paulinus, and that the latter was held in high esteem by the Praetorians, whose tribune he had been. The natives, too, supported their fellow-townsmen, and, looking forward to his future influence at court, did their uttermost to subito malacia ae tranquillitatis exstitit ut se ex loco commovere non possent. So Seneca, Ep. lxvii. 14: “in otio inconcussu jacere non est tranquillitas, malacia est.”

1 *Portum Herculis Monaci,* “the port of Monaco.” Dübner (cited by Meiser) observes: “ob tranquillitatem maris, ventis vela non implentibus, non eo quo volebat, pervenit, sed tantum in portum Herculis.”

2 *Agebat,* “erat,” “versabatur,” as in cc. 34, 57, *et passim.*—Heraeus.

3 See ii. 12 (vol. i. p. 76, note 4), *ante,* where Marius Maturus is mentioned as procurator of the Maritime Alps.

4 *Fortunam,* “his accession to the throne”—die Standeserhöhung.—Heraeus.

5 The Praetorians had been disbanded by Vitellius and soothed by a discharge on full retiring allowance, as narrated in ii. 67 (vol. i. pp. 122, 123), *ante.*

6 *Foro Julii sem coloniam,* also termed *Forum Julii* and *Forum Julium,* now Fréjus. See ii. 14 (vol. i. p. 78), *ante.*


8 Thus proving that the garrison of Fréjus were the Praetorians disbanded by Vitellius.
further the Flavian cause. At the moment that these steps had been rendered secure by adequate precautions,¹ and their importance, exaggerated by gossip, had acquired still greater significance in the wavering minds of the Vitellianists, Fabius Valens, accompanied by four soldiers of the body-guard, three personal friends, and as many centurions, returns to his ships. Maturus and the rest were willing² to remain and take the oath of fealty to Vespasian; but while the open sea was a safer refuge for Valens than coast or city, still he remained perplexed as to his future course, and, with a clearer notion of what he was to avoid than on what he might rely, he was driven by contrary winds to the îles d’Hyères³ off Marseilles, where some Liburnian cruisers, sent in pursuit by Paulinus, surprised⁴ him.

XLIV. Valens once a prisoner, the tide of events completely turned to swell the power of the conqueror. The initiative throughout Spain was taken by the legion of “The First Marines,” which, in its reverence for Otho’s memory, was hostile to Vitellius, and drew with it likewise the Tenth and the Sixth. Nor did Gaul hesitate to join the cause. Moreover, Britain’s traditional⁵ predilection for Vespasian,

¹ Paratu, “adequate precautions.” So Hereus: “paratu, scilicet, militum et armorum.”

² Volentibus fuit. A familiar Grecism. Compare Thucydides, ii. 3: τοῦ γὰρ πλήθει τῶν Πλαταιῶν ὃν λομένη ἢν τῶν ’Αθηναίων ἀφίστασθαι. Livy, as Mr. Spooner points out, was the first to adopt the phrase into Latin, xxi. 50: “quibusdam volentibus novas res fore.” He was followed by Sallust, Jugurth., lxxiv. 3; c. 4: and then frequently by Tacitus, as here, and in Agricola, xviii., and Annals, i. 50.

³ Stachadas, “the îles d’Hyères.” Their modern name was given them from the town of Hyères on the mainland, the ancient name of which was Aerea. These islands derived their ancient name from their being in a row, στάτιχος—Stachadoi. They were five in number, three large, and two small. The three large islands were called, respectively, Πρώτη, Μέση, “Τρίτη—Prote, Mese, Hyrea, and are now known as Porquerolles, Port Cros, and Titan or Levant. Meiser refers to Strabo, iv. p. 184: τρεῖς μὲν ἄξιολογοι, δύο δὲ μικρά: γεγραμμένοι δ’ αὖτάς Μασαλίωται.


⁵ Traditus—favor, “traditional predilection.” Meiser’s certain emendation for the corrupt inditus—favor of the Medicean MS. The similarity of the words traditus and inditus as well as the rationale of the context strongly support Meiser’s correction in preference either to the inclinatus of H. Schütz or the vetus of Hasse. Meiser puts
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inasmuch as it was there he had received the command of the second legion from Claudius and had distinguished himself in the war, won over that country to his side, but not without some resistance on the part of the other legions stationed there, containing as they did many centurions and soldiers, who had been promoted by Vitellius, and who were therefore restless at the prospect of an exchange involving the loss of a prince whose favours they had already tasted.

XLV. Relying on this spirit of discord, and on the many stories they heard concerning the civil war, the Britons plucked up courage under the leadership of Venutius, who, in addition to his inborn mettle, and his hatred of the name of Rome, was still further inflamed by personal rancour towards Queen Cartimandua. Cartimandua was Queen of North Britain, her royal heritage. She had moreover strengthened her position on the throne when, by the treacherous betrayal of King Caratacus, she got credit for having furnished forth the triumph of Claudius Caesar. Hence all the wealth and wantonness that the point clearly, thus: "Sic scripsai pro corrupto inditus: nam hoc vult dicere: Vespasianus in Britannia olim sibi favorem conciliaverat, qui favor ex prioribus annis in posteriorm tempora propagatus et traditus fuit nec memoria excitid." 1

1 I agree with Meiser that "propositus (fuerat)" can be easily spelt out of the subsequent "et bello clarus egerat." Surely this is better than the desperate expedient of Heracus, who reads: "propositus et pace et bello clarus egerat," a correction which can scarcely stand by reason of the fact that A. Plautius Silvanus was then (43 A.D.) the civil governor of Britain.

2 43 A.D. See Agricola, xiii.: "divus Claudius auctor iterati operis transvectis legionibus auxiliisque et assumpto in partem rerum Vespasiano; quod initium venturae mox fortuna etae fuit. Domite gentes, capti reges et monstratus fatis Vespasianus." 3

3 Non sine motu—ceterarum, "but not without some resistance on the part of the other legions stationed there." Meiser refers to Louandre: "non sans quelque résistance de la part des autres légions"—IX.; XIV. Gemina; XX. Victrix.

4 Our readers will observe the well known classical use of mutare, as already pointed out.

6 Brigantibus, "North Britain," from the Humber to the Solway Firth. See Mommsen, v. 166. 6

6 See Annals, xii. 36: "Ipsae (Caratacus), ut ferme intuta sunt adversa, cum fidem Cartimanduae reginae Brigantum petivisset, victus ac victoribus traditus est, nono post anno, quam bellum in Britannia perpetum." 7

7 As the triumph of Claudius took place in 44 A.D., and the arrival of the illustrious Briton in Rome in 51 A.D., Tacitus guards himself by the use of the words: "instruxisse triumphum Claudius Caesaris videbatur: "she got credit for (it looked as if she had) having furnished Claudius Caesar with a subject for his triumph." The use of these words refutes the unwarranted charge of inaccuracy brought by some critics again.
attend upon success. She spurned her husband Venutius and raised his armour-bearer Velllocatus to the dignity of Prince Consort. The royal house was instantly shaken to its centre by this atrocious crime. The sympathies of his people were ranged on the side of the outraged husband; on that of the adulterer, the lust and cruelty of the Queen. So Venutius at the head of his allies, whose strength was augmented by the defection of North Britain itself, forced Cartimandua into a position of extreme jeopardy. Then she craved aid from Rome; and our auxiliary horse and foot after many a chequered conflict eventually rescued the Queen from her peril. Venutius retained his kingdom, and we, our heritage of war.¹

XLVI. At or about this time Germany was in a state of anarchy;² and, what with the indolence of her generals, the mutiny of her legions, invasion from without, and the treachery of her allies from within, the might of Rome was well nigh laid low. We will presently narrate the history of this war together with its causes and consequences, for the struggle was a protracted one. There likewise rose in arms against us the people of the Dacians,⁴ a race at no time to be trusted, still less so then, in the absence of all fear, when our army had evacuated Mœsia.⁵ However they watched without a stir for the outset of events: and then, when they learned that all Italy was in a blaze of war, and that the

our historian, who by the very words he uses warns us not to take the passage in too literal a sense. Undoubtedly the pomp and circumstance surrounding the British chieftain at Rome were tantamount to a second triumph, as described in the glowing picture of Annals, xii. 36 and 37. Mr. Furneaux, ad locum, refers to the immortal utterance: εἶτα ταῦτα καὶ ὅτε τοιαύτα κεκτημένοι, τῶν σκηνιδων ἡμῶν ἐπιθυμεῖτε;

¹ The war lasted until 71 A.D., when it was terminated by the successes of Petilius Cerialis. See Agricola, xvii.
² Turbata, "in a state of anarchy," by reason of the revolt of Civilis. The text would be improved by a semicolon after Germania; for the remainder of the sentence must be taken with Romana res.
³ iv. 12, et seq.; iv. 54, et seq.; v. 14, et seq., where the loss of the MS. suddenly breaks the narrative.
⁴ Dacorum gens, now Transylvania and Roumania, bordering on Mœsia, the modern Servia and Bulgaria.
⁵ Mœsia, now Servia and Bulgaria.
whole world was a scene of internecine conflict, they stormed the winter-quarters of our auxiliary horse and foot and gained possession of both banks of the Danube; nay, they were preparing and would have attempted to destroy the camp of the legions, had not Mucianus checked them with the Sixth Legion, for he was aware of the victory at Cremona, and was at the same time anxious to guard against the crushing effect of a double attack on either flank from without, should the Dacians chance to invade him on one side and the Germans on the other. Their habitual good luck stood to the Roman people on this occasion likewise, for it brought up Mucianus and the forces of the East to the critical spot, while we in the meantime settled the business at Cremona. Fonteius Agrippa was transferred from Asia (which province he had ruled as proconsul for a year) to the governorship of Moesia, and was furnished with reinforcements from the army of Vitellius, for it was deemed to be in the interest of a wise and pacific policy that these forces should be scattered throughout the provinces and tied down to foreign service.

1 In vicem. Silver-age Latin for the inter se of the Augustan writers. Compare c. 25. 2, ante.

2 Parabant, ni Mucianus. For the corrective and annulling force of ni, compare ii. 68 (vol. i. p. 123), ante: "orta sediitio ludico initio, ni numerus caesorum invidiam belli auxisset. See also Agricola, vi.; Annals, xvi. 14; Hist., iv. 13, 14, post; Verg. Æn., vi. 558 (Henry's commentary); Hermathena, No. xviii. 210, by Dr. L. C. Purser.

3 VI. Ferrata, not to be confounded with the VI. Gallica Victrix, which was in Spain. See c. 44, ante.

6 Cremonenesis victoria gnarus, ac ne externa moles utrimque ingrueret. The ground on which he was enabled to act, and the reason why he so acted, are here co-ordinated. His knowledge of the victory at Cremona enabled him to spare the legion for the purpose in hand; and the motive that inspired him was his anxiety to guard against a flank attack on both sides. So Heresius: "Der Grund aus dem er es konnte, und die Absicht, in der es that, werden koordiniert." He compares ii. 34–6, ante.

5 Transegimus, "settled the business." Mr. Godley, citing Annals, xii. 19. See also Agricola, xxxiv.; Germania, xix.

6 Fonteius Agrippa, subsequently slain in battle against the Sarmatians.—Josephus, Bel. Jud., iv. 7. 3.

7 Asia was a senatorial province, and was therefore governed by a proconsul.


9 Pars consilii pacisque erat, "it was deemed to be in the interest of a wise and pacific policy."—Mr. Godley's elegant rendering of the Tacitanean έρη δια βοειον.

10 Externo bello inligari, "tied down to foreign service." Compare Livy, xxxii. 21. 11; Horace, Odes, i. 27. 23:—

"Vix inligatum te triformi
Pegasus expedit Chimara."
XLVII. Nor did any of the other nations remain tranquil. A foreign caitiff, who had been admiral of the former royal fleet, had enkindled an insurrection throughout Pontus. His name was Anicetus, a freedman of King Polemon; he was once highly influential, and afterwards, when the kingdom had passed into the condition of a Roman province, he chafed at the new order of things. Accordingly he summoned, in the name of Vitellius, the tribes bordering on Pontus, and, after enticing every penniless adventurer by the prospects of plunder, he put himself at the head of no despicable force and made a sudden attack on Trebizond, a city famous from of yore, and founded by the Greeks on the farthest end of the shore of the Black Sea. The urban cohort stationed there was cut to pieces. They had formerly acted as the king's bodyguard; subsequently they received the rights and privileges of Roman citizenship, but, while they bore the standards and arms of the Roman, they still clung to the idle and dissolute habits of the Greek. He was, moreover, able to launch the semblance of a fleet, and had free

1 Mancipium, "a caitiff." The word mancipium is not used here in its literal sense of "slave," because Anicetus was a freedman, but is applied as a general term of contempt, and is therefore translated by the word "caitiff."

2 Regia quondam classis praefectus, "had been admiral of the former royal fleet." Heraeus acutely remarks that the position of quondam between regia and classis shows that the royal fleet was a thing of the past.

3 King Polemon the Second, the last king of Pontus, ceded his crown to the Roman people under Nero, in A.D. 63, and thenceforward Pontus became a Roman province. Compare Suetonius, Nero, xviii.: "Ponti modo regnum concedente Polemone."

4 Trapezuntém, "Trebizond," founded by the people of Sinope, who, Mr. Spooner observes, "were themselves a colony of Miletus." Trebizond was founded in the year 756 B.C., and was built on a peninsula and sheltered by a lofty mountain. The modern map will show at a glance that the words, "in extremo Pontiae orae conditam," are nearly, although not quite, absolutely accurate.

5 Cohors, "the urban cohort." These urban cohorts were numbered separately and distinctly from the legions. They were apparently thirty-two in number. See i. 64 (vol. i. p. 42), ante, and also Heraeus, ad locum.

6 "Signa armaque in nostrum modum, desidiam licentiamque Graecorum retinebant," "but, while they bore the standards and arms of the Roman, they still clung to the idle and dissolute habits of the Greek." Our readers will observe that by the figure of zeugma the verb retinebant is taken in two different senses.

7 Classis quoque faciem intulit. Meiser's magnificent emendation of the monstrous classis quoque faces intulit of the MSS. There was no fleet there but that of Anicetus himself, and he would scarcely set fire to his own fleet. On the other hand, classis quoque faciem intulit, "he was, moreover, able to launch the semblance of a fleet," is full of meaning as well as a strictly classical expression. Meiser refers to i. 84, ante (vol. i. vol. ii.)
play on a sea where there was nothing to oppose him, inasmuch as Mucianus had put in to Constantinople with the best of his Liburnian cruisers and all his troops. Nay, these foreigners swept the sea in vessels which they speedily constructed. These crafts, composed of shallow sides and broad bottoms, and put together without a single rivet of either bronze or iron, they call by the name of "deckers"; and, when the sea is rough, they raise the height of the decks, in proportion to the altitude of the waves, by tiers of planks, until they are quite covered in with a sort of roof. In this way they encounter the rolling billows, and, besides that, the boats are bow-shaped at both ends, and the rowers can change their position, since it makes no difference and is equally devoid of risk whether they put into shore either prow or stern foremost.

XLVIII. This state of things attracted the attention of Vespasian and induced him to select, as an expeditionary force, a detachment from the legions under the command of Virdius Geminus, an officer of proved capacity. The latter attacked the enemy while they proceed to cut off the rear disorganised and scattered in quest of plunder, corn supplies from Dacia compelled them to re-embark. Virdius then speedily equipped a fleet of Liburnian cruisers and

Capture and execution of Anicetus. Collapse of the Pontic insurrection. Vespasian proceeds to cut off the corn supplies of Egypt and Africa from Rome.

p. 58): "imaginem quondam exercitus habet," "he has the shadow of an army"; also, i. 85: "facies bei"; Livy, xxii. 54-6: "Jam aliqua species consularis exercitum est."

1 Vacuo mari eludens, "and had free play on a sea where there was nothing to oppose him." I am indebted to Mr. Spooner for the spirited version of "had free play" for eludens. For this use of eludere, Herodes refers to Cicero, Cat., i. § 1: "quandiu etiam furor iste tuus eludet?" Also ibid., pro Milone, xiii. 32: "posse se eludere in illis suis cogitatis furoribus."

2 Camara—καμπάς—"deckers," "so-called from their having a broad arched deck."—1 Smith's Dict. Ant., 350. Meiser refers to Strabo, xi. 495: ἀνάκτικες κυψέλες λειώτα, στειτά καὶ κόσμα, δυον ἀνθρώπων πίντε καὶ εἶκος δεξύμενα.

3 Appellere, "put into shore." Appellere is the technical term for putting into shore. So Horace, Sat., i. 5-12: "huc appelle."

4 Deligeret, "to select as an expeditionary force." Lewis and Short, in their Latin Dictionary, sub nomine, point out that deligeret is used "with the accessory idea of removal to a distance, 'to choose out and send or take away.'" They cite Plautus, Asin., iii. 3. 42: deligere "amentem ex sedibus": and Verg., Æn., v. 716, et seq.: "Longevoque senes ac fessas aequore matres, Et quidquid tecum invalidum metuensque pericli est, Delige, et his habeant terris sine menia fessi: Urbem appellabant permisso nomine Acestam."

5 Vexillarios e legionibus, "a detachment from the legions." See my Introduction
overtook Anieetus at the mouth of the river Khopi, where he had received shelter from the king of the Sedochezi, whom he had induced to become his ally by presents of money and other gifts. At first indeed the king essayed to protect his suppliant by threats of armed resistance, but, when it was made clear to him that he must take his choice between the price of betrayal or a declaration of war, he then, with all the wonted treachery of the foreigner, stipulated for the destruction of Anieetus, delivered up the fugitives, and so an end was put to this servile war.

While Vespasian was rejoicing over that victory, and the full tide of fortune was flowing in upon him beyond all his expectations, news of the battle of Cremona reached him in Egypt. This hastened his progress to Alexandria, in order that he might reduce by starvation the shattered armies of Vitellius and the city of Rome, which was quite dependent on foreign supplies. Indeed it was with that view likewise that he was making preparations for a general naval and military invasion of Africa proper, which is part of the same region, so that by closing the public granaries he might spread famine and discord amongst his enemies.
THE HISTORY OF CORNELIUS TACITUS.

XLIX. While the lot of empire was passing to another dynasty amid this universal earthquake,1 Primus Antonius, after the destruction2 of Cremona, by no means continued to evince the same law-abiding character as theretofore, whether3 it was in the belief that he had sufficiently discharged his military obligations,4 and that everything else would run smoothly,5 or possibly because good fortune had the effect on such a disposition as his of bringing to light his greed, his pride, and all the other darker passions of his heart. He rode roughshod over Italy, as if it were a conquered country; he courted the favour of the legions, as if they were his own; and by every word and deed he strove to pave his way to supremacy. Moreover, in order to train6 his soldiers in depravity, he placed the commissions of the centurions, who had been slain in action, at the disposal of the legions. Their vote resulted in the election of all the most restless spirits, nor were the soldiers controlled by their generals, but, on the contrary, the generals were the puppets7 of the lawless behests of their soldiers. Antonius

1 Hoc totius orbis nutatione, "amid this universal earthquake." Compare Pliny, Panegyr., v: "cogi porro non poteras nisi periculo patriae et mutatione rei publicae."

2 Post Cremonam, "after the destruction of Cremona." Tacitus in his poetic prose uses this elegant condensation in the same way as Florus, iii. 1: "Quis speraret post Karthaginem aliquod in Africa bellum?"—a poetical form for post Karthaginem victam et deletam.

3 Ratus—seu felicitas—for sive ratus—seu felicitas. Tacitus is fond of Horace's favourite grace of omitting the first sive or seu, which ought strictly to be prefixed to the first limb of the sentence.

4 Satisfactum bello, "that he had sufficiently discharged his military obligations." Tacitus here uses a legal metaphor. Satisfacere, is "to give security to a creditor." Compare Cicero, Quint. Fr., i. 3. 7 (Tyrrell, vol. i. lxxvi. p. 229): "Quum tu de viscercibus tuis et filii tui satis facturus sis quibus debes, ego acceptam ex serio pecuniam tuo nomine frustra dissiparim." Compare the Digest, xviii.1.19: "Stichus servus meus heredi meo mille nummos si solvere satisse fecerit."

5 Ex facili—a Grecism. Compare Thucydides, i. 34: ἐκ τοῦ ἔδεος. iii. 82: ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς. So Ovid, Amor., ii. 2. 55:

"Culpa nec ex facili, quamvis manifesta, probatur:
Judicis illa sui tuta favere venit."

6 Militem imberuet, "train his soldiers." Compare i. 5 (vol. i. p. 5), ante.

7 Sed duces militari violentia trahabantur, "but, on the contrary, the generals were the puppets of the lawless behests of their soldiers." Meiser cites Dübner: "coge-bantur exsequi quaeunque militum violentia iis imponebat."
soon began to turn this spirit of mutiny, which sapped all discipline,\(^1\) into a source of personal profit, without any regard for the approach of Mucianus, a mistake that proved more ruinous\(^2\) to him than if he had spurned Vespasian himself.

L. Now as winter\(^3\) was approaching and the plains were inundated by the Po, the army proceeded in light marching order. The standards and eagles\(^4\) of the victorious legions, those soldiers who were enfeebled\(^5\) by wounds or weight of years, nay, many men even in fit condition were left behind at Verona. The auxiliary horse and foot, and detachments\(^6\) from the legions, were deemed sufficient now that the war was all but concluded.\(^7\) Here the Eleventh\(^8\) Legion, which had

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\(^1\) _Quae seditione et corrupenda disciplina, "this spirit of mutiny, which sapped all discipline."_ Compare ii. 100. 12 (vol. i. p. 164, n. 4), _ante_: _secretum componenda proditionis_, on which passage Mr. Godley observes: "This genitive, originally a genitive of quality, describes the nature (and thus the object or intention) of the substantive with which it is connected, and eventually attains a final meaning without having any substantive to qualify."

\(^2\) See iv. 11, _post_. Although Mucianus deprived him of all real power, he lived on in Rome, unmolested and in affluence, as we see by the poems of Martial.

\(^3\) November, _A.U.C._ 822; 69 B.C.

\(^4\) _Signa aquilaque victoriae legionum here means "the strength" or "body" of the legions, as we say "the strength" of the regiment. The main body stayed with the standards and eagles—_signa aquilaque_; while the detachments—_e legionibus lectis_—went on with the colours or _vexilla_. See I Smith's _Dict. Ant._, p. 792, _per_ Dr. L. C. Purser.

\(^5\) _Milites vulneribus aut atate graves, "those soldiers who were enfeebled by wounds or weight of years."_ This passage completely corroborates the interpretation put by Professor Arthur Palmer on Horace, _Satires_, i. 1. 4:

> "O fortunati mercatores! gravis annis
> Miles ait multo jam fractus membra labore."

There Orelli, followed by his new editor, Professor W. Mewes of Berlin, took the meaning of _annis_ to be "years of service," and not "years of life." Professor Palmer proves that all the passages cited by the learned Germans (Oed., _Tyr._, 17; Theocritus, xxiv. 100; Verg., _Æn._, ix. 246, _κ.τ.λ._) point to the very opposite conclusion. Professor Palmer also points out that _gravis_ means "heavy" or "stiff," as it clearly does here in Tacitus, where, in order to meet the zeugma, we use the word "enfeebled."

\(^6\) _E legionibus lectis, "detachments from the legions," under a _vexillum_, as contradistinguished from the _signa aquilaque_.

\(^7\) _Præfugit jam bello, "now that the war was all but concluded."_ See ii. 4. 10 (vol. i. p. 70), _ante_.

\(^8\) XI. Claudia. See ii. 11. 4 (vol. i. p. 75); ii. 67. 6 (vol. i. p. 123), _ante_. Their usual winter quarters were in Dalmatia.
hesitated at first, but now in the moment of victory was apprehensive of the consequences of its apathy, forthwith 1 joined the main army. Six thousand Dalmatians, quite a fresh levy, were attached to this legion. They were under the nominal command of Pompeius Silvanus, who was of consular rank, but the real power of initiative was centred in the lieutenant-general of the legion, Annius Bassus. That officer, while pretending to obey him, virtually governed Silvanus, who was an irresolute soldier and wont to waste in words the precious moments for action, while Bassus with unostentatious energy was ready for every enterprise. These forces were supplemented by the enrolment of the flower of the marines at Ravenna, who petitioned for promotion into the legionary service. Some of the Dalmatians took their place on board the fleet. The armies and generals halted at Fano, for they were in doubt as to their plan of action, inasmuch as they had heard that the Praetorian cohorts had advanced from Rome, and thought that the passes of the Appennines were held by the enemy's outposts. The generals themselves, moreover, who were now in a district stript bare by war, were dismayed by the want of provisions and the mutinous shouts of the soldiery, who clamorously demanded their "nail-money," as they called the donative.

1 Sese adjunxerat, "forthwith joined." Notice the use of the pluperfect to mark instant action. Compare ii. 73 (vol. i. p. 129, n. 6). See Verg., Æn., ii. 256, et seq.
2 Pompeius Silvanus, Governor of Dalmatia, described in ii. 86, ante (vol. i. p. 147), as wealthy and old.
3 Vis consiliorum, "the real power of initiative." Compare Horace, Odes, iii. 4. 65: "Vis consilii expers mole ruit sua"; also Euripides, Fragment, 732 N.: "Ρώμη δὲ τ' ἀμαθῆς χωλάλαις πικτει βλάβην.
4 Dies rerum verbis terentem, "wont to waste in words the precious moments for action"—"die Zeit des Handelns."—Heraeus.
5 Classicis Ravennatibus legionariam militiam postentibus. Service in the legions was deemed a much higher grade than the life of a marine, which, in the ships of those days, entailed great hardship. See i. 87 (vol. i. p. 61, n. 3), ante; Livy, xxxii. 23. 9.
6 Fanum Fortuna, or Fanum, or Colonia Julia Fanestria, the modern Fano, in Umbria, between Rimini and Ancona.
7 Clavarium, "nail-money," or, strictly, "shoe-nail-money," claimed by the legionaries and marines as a perquisite to compensate them for the wear and tear of their boots. The marines demanded this perquisite from Vespasian under the name of calcearium, but that emperor ordered them for the future to go bare-foot; Suetonius, Vesp., viii. This use of clavarium, strange even to Roman ears, necessitated the epexegetical donativi mermen est, which is surely not a gloss. "Militare hoc vocabulum," says Meiser, "sane explicatione egebat quam nolim pro insiticia habere."
But the generals had not provided either money or corn, fettered as they were by the impatience and greed of the men, which resulted in the pillage\(^1\) of the supplies that should have furnished the commissariat.

LI. I have it on the most eminent\(^2\) authority that the victorious troops evinced such an utter contempt for all moral distinctions,\(^3\) that a trooper openly declared that his brother had been slain by him in the recent battle, and claimed a reward for the deed from his generals. The law of nature,\(^4\) on the one hand, forbade them to bestow distinction on fratricide; the policy of war,\(^5\) on the other hand, would not tolerate its chastisement. So they postponed his claims under the pretext that his deserts were so great that complete justice could not be done to them then and there; and so the story ends. However a similar deed of shame had left its mark upon former civil wars likewise. For in the battle against Cinna, at the Janiculum,\(^6\) a

\(^1\) *Dum—rapientur,* "which resulted in the pillage." *Dum* marks the unexpected consequence, as in c. xli., ante, n. 4.

\(^2\) *Celeber,* as applied to persons, is not used by Cicero, and only once by Livy, xxvi. 27. 16 (cited by Heraeus); on the other hand it is common form in silver-age Latin, and also in the poetry of the Augustan period. Compare Ovid, *Met.*, iii. 339:

"*Ille per Aonias, fama celeberrimus, urbes Inreprehensam dabat populo responsa petenti.*"

Also, *ibid.*, viii. 159:

"*Dædalus ingenio fabrer celeberrimus artis.*"

Also, *Tibullus*, ii. 1. 33:

"*Gentis Aquitanæ celeber Messalla triumphis.*"

\(^3\) *Tantam victoribus adversus fas nefasque irreverentiam suasse.* Tacitus here must have had before his mind Horace, *Odes*, i. 18. 10:

"*Cum fas atque nefas exiguò fine libidinum Discernunt avidi.*"

For the use of *fas nefasque* to express totality, see ii. 56 (vol. i. p. 112, n. 6); Introduction to vol. i. p. liv.

\(^4\) *Jus hominum,* "the law of nature," or "natural law," which is even higher than the "*Jus Gentium*" or "Law of Nations."

\(^5\) *Ratio belli,* "the policy of war"—"die Kriegsraison, die Natur des Krieges."—Heraeus. The expression means "the general policy of all war," and not the character of Civil War in particular.

\(^6\) 87 n.c., when Pompeius the Elder and the Consul Octavius defended Rome from the attack of Marius, Cinna, and Sertorius. The story in the text is in accord with Livy's *Epitome*, lxxix. On the other hand Granius Licinianus (p. 25, ed. Teubner) and
soldier of Pompeius slew his own brother, and then, when he became aware of his dreadful crime, committed suicide, as we are told by Sisenna; so much livelier was our ancestors' sense of pride in deeds of virtue, of remorse for deeds of shame. Surely it will not be out of harmony with the tenour of our history to narrate such and the like old records of the past, as often as our theme or scene of action may require us to tell of the patterns of virtue or of the atonements of crime.

LII. Antonius and the other Flavian leaders determined to send forward their cavalry, search all Umbria for a pass affording the most gentle ascent over the ridges of the Appennines, summon the eagles and standards together with all the troops left behind at Verona, and cover the river Po and the sea with convoys. There were, however, some of the generals ready to frame a series of pretexts

Valerius Maximus, v. 5. 4 (both cited by Heraeus), state that the murdered brother was in the army of Sertorius. Mr. Spooner well remarks, "Sertorius's army, however, might be regarded as part of that of Cinna, since they fought on the same side."

1 Lucius Cornelius Sisenna, the distinguished historian of the Civil War of Sulla, of whom Sallust, Jugurth., xcvi., thus speaks: "neque enim aliquo loco de Sulla rebus dictur sumus, et L. Sisenna, optume et diligentissume omnium, qui eas res dixere, persecutus, parum mihi libero ore locutus videtur." Sisenna was Praetor, a.u.C. 676; Propvator of Sicily, a.u.C. 677; defended Verres, a.u.C. 684; died, a.u.C. 687. The fragments of his history will be found in Gerlach's Sallust, 367-377 (edited by Roth).

2 Aseurde, "out of harmony." As pointed out by Lewis and Short in their dictionary, absurde is derived from ab (mis), and the Sanscrit svan = sonare; and they refer to susumts and avpiy£.

3 Solacia maii, "the atonements of crime." Solacia in the sense of "atonement" or "reparation" is found in Annals, iii. 12: "Sin facinus in cujuscumque mortalium nece vindicandum detegitur, vos vero et liberos Germanici et nos parentes justis solaciois adficite." So Ovid, Met. vii. 483:

"Arma juves oro pro nato sumpta piaeque
Pars sis militia: tumulo solacia posco."

5 Clementius adirentur, "affording the most gentle ascent." Compare Annals, xiii. 38: "colles erant clementer adsurgentes"; ibid., xii. 33: "hinc montibus arduis, et si qua clementer accedi poterant, in modum valli saxa prostruit"; also, Germania, i.: "Danubius, mollis et clementer edito montis Abnobae jugo effusus."

6 Aquilas signaque, the technical expression for "the strength of the legions." See c. 50, ante, u. 4.
for delay;\(^1\) for Antonius was already becoming overweening,\(^2\) and hopes of reward from Mucianus were more certain of fulfillment. Moreover, Mucianus was perplexed by so rapid a career of triumph, and believing that, unless he seized on Rome in person, he would be shut out from all the prestige of the campaign, he frequently wrote to Primus and Varus in a vein of equivocation, expatiating, at one moment, on the necessity of pressing forward in their undertaking, and, at another, on the advantages of procrastination, while he couched his phrases in a style of ambiguity that might enable him, according to the result, either to repudiate all share in defeat or claim participation in victory.\(^3\) On the other hand he opened more of his real mind to Plotius Griphus, who had been recently admitted\(^4\) by Vespasian to the Senatorial order and given the command of a legion,\(^5\) as well as to all others whom he could trust. All these officers replied, commenting in terms of

\(^1\) Qui necterent moras, “ready to frame a series of pretexts for delay.” Compare iv. 68, post: “hic moras nectens”; also Annals, xii. 14: “NECTERE MORAS”; also Verg., An., iv. 51: “causaque innecte morandi”; ibid., x. 219:

“Causas nequiquam nectis inanis.”

Hereus, after noticing most of the above passages, explains moras nectere as “moram ex mora interponere,” “immer neuen Aufenthalt bereiten.”

\(^2\) Nimius, “overweening”—περισσός—wrongly translated by Heraeus as “übermächtig.” It means “overweening,” “too full of airs,” “too great a man” (Church and Brodribb). This is its meaning when unaccompanied by any ablative or genitive of description, as may be seen from Velleius Paterculus, ii. 32. 1: “Cn. Pompeium esse nimium jam libere rei publice.” And so Meiser translates: “nimis potens ac superbus.” On the other hand, when nimius is accompanied by an ablative or genitive of description, it takes its colour from that ablative or genitive. Thus in i. 35: nimii verbis means “braggarts”; in iv. 23, rebus secundis nimii means “flushed with success”; in iii. 75, sermonis nimius means “verbose” or “prattlesome”; in Horace, Odes, ii. 12, 5, “nimium mero Hylæum” means “Hylæus flushed with wine.” For the Greek use of περισσός compare Euripides, Bacchæ, 428, et seq.:

σοφῶν δὲ ἀτέχνων πραξίδα φρένα τε
περισσόν παρὰ φωτών
τὸ πλῆθος δὲ τὸ φωλτέρον
ἐνώμου χρῆται τε, τόθε τοι λέγομι ὡς.
See also ibid., Hipp., 445: δὲ δὲν περίσσον καὶ φρονοῦντι ἑβρρ μέγα.

\(^3\) Adversa abnueret vel prospera adgnosceret. Compare Annals, vi. 8: “fortunæ quidem meas fortasse minus expeditat adgnoscere crimen quam absueret.”

\(^4\) In senatorium ordinem adscitum. Ritter’s universally accepted correction of the in senatorium ordinem additum of the Medicean MS. Compare the in senatum nuper adscitum of ii. 53, ante, and passim in Tacitus.

\(^5\) VII. Claudiana, formerly commanded by Tettius Julianus (ii. 85, ante). See iv. 39, post.
malicious disparagement on the precipitancy of Primus and Varus, and in accordance with the wishes of Mucian, who, by forwarding these despatches to Vespasian, succeeded in having all the plans and actions of Antonius rated below the expectations of that general.

LIII. Antonius chafed at this and charged Mucian as the slanderer, who had underrated his perilous exploits. Nor did he refrain from speaking out, for he could not bridle his tongue, and was untrained to submission. He framed a letter to Vespasian in a style of boastfulness unbecoming towards an Emperor, and characterised by an undercurrent of bitterness against Mucian. "I am the man," he wrote, "who called the legions of Pannonia to arms; who spurred on and roused up the generals of Mœsia; whose unswerving resolution forced the Alpine passes, seized on Italy, and shut off the

1 Muciano volentia, "in accordance with the wishes of Mucianus." Compare Annals, xv. 36: "haec atque talia plebi volentia fuere"; also Sallust, Frag. Hist., iv. 56 (57): "multisque suspicionibus volentia plebi facturus habebatur."

2 Estimarentur, "rated" or "appraised." See ii. 76 (vol. i., p. 132, n. 5), ante; also iv. 81, post.

3 Eviluissent, "underrated"—the result of the "ut non pro spe Antonii consilia factaque ejus estimarentur" of the preceding chapter.

4 Immodicus lingua. Immodicus is used by Tacitus indiscriminately with the ablative (as here; i. 69; Annals, vi. 24, cited by Heræus) or the genitive, as in i. 53; Annals, xv. 23, cited also by Heræus. There is therefore no necessity to adopt the emendation, lingua, of Lipsius.

5 Obsequii insolens, "untrained to submission." Insolens is here taken in its primary sense of "untrained" or "inexperienced" as in Horace, Odes, i. 5. 8: "emirabitur insolens"; Sallust, Cat., iii.: "insolens mularum artium"; Cicero, De Orat., i., § 207: "quorum non ignarus et insolens." Its secondary use of "arrogant" or "insolent" is quite as common, as in Horace, Odes, i. 16. 21: "exercitus insolens"; ibid., Epodes, xvi. 14: "dissipabit insolens"; ibid., Odes, ii. 4. 2:

"Ne sit ancillæ tibi amor pudori,
Xanthia Phoceu! Prius insolentem
Serva Briseis niveo colore
Movit Achilles."
German and Rætian re-enforcements. The legions of Vitellius confounded and scattered by the whirlwind of my cavalry-charge, and then driven headlong for a day and a night before the shock of my infantry—all that was my glorious exploit! The unfortunate business at Cremona must be put down to the account of the war. The civil strife of yore cost the commonwealth greater losses and the destruction of more cities than this. I serve my Emperor not by messages and letters, but by hand and sword; nor do I seek to intercept the glory of those who have meanwhile restored Moesia to law and order: the peace of Moesia is dear to their hearts; to mine, the safety and happiness of Italy. It was through my earnest solicitations that Gaul and Spain, the strongholds of the world, were gained over to Vespasian. But all my efforts have been spent in vain, if those alone are to attain the prizes of danger, who never faced the danger itself.” These comments did not escape the notice of Mucian. Hence rancorous enmities, of which Antonius made no secret, while Mucian cherished them stealthily with all the more relentless.

1 See c. 8, ante: “interjectus exercitus Rætiam Juliasque Alpes, ne pervium illa Germanicis exercitibus foret, obseperat.”

2 As detailed in 16. 25, ante.

3 Casum Cremonae, “the unfortunate business at Cremona”—a euphemism under which Antonius cloaks the terrible sack of Cremona (c. 33, ante). So Heræus: “ein rhetorischer Euphemismus des Zerstörers von Cremona.”

4 Bello inpvedandum, “must be put down to the account of the war.” Compare the imputari Vespasiano of ii. 85 (vol. i. p. 146), ante. Imputare is, in its primary signification, a mercantile word meaning to get on the credit side of another man’s books, and to have his name on the debit side of one’s own. In the above passage, therefore, Antonius seeks credit from the war and claims discount for the incident of battle. See i. 38; i. 55; i. 71; ii. 86, ante.

5 Moesiam—composuerint, “restored Moesia to law and order”: Dr. L. C. Purser’s emendation for the corrupt Axiain—composuerint of the Medicæan MS. Meiser, Heræus, Halm, and Godley have adopted Sirker’s emendation Daciam, but, I venture to think, unjustifiably; because the verb composuerint would not apply to Dacium, which was not a Roman province, whereas Moesia was. Moreover the repetition of Moesia gives a sting to the sarcasm of Antonius. See xviii. Hermath. 214.

6 See ii. 86, sub fine (vol. i. p. 148).

7 Simplicius, “openly,” as in i. 15 (vol. i. p. 11): “Ego ut tu simplicissime inter nos hodie loquimur.”

8 Callide—the converse of simplicius.
LIV. But Vitellius, after the crushing blow to his power at Cremona, tried to conceal the tidings of that calamity, and, by his foolish suppression of the truth, postponed the remedies for the disease rather than the disease itself. For, if he had only candidly admitted his real state and taken advice, there would have been some remaining chance of hope and help for him; when, however, he pursued the opposite course of pretending that all was well with him, his condition, by reason of this deception, grew worse and worse. In his presence an extraordinary silence was observed concerning the war. Gossip on the subject was prohibited amongst all Roman citizens, and, on that account, was all the more indulged in; and so those who, if they had had free scope, would have told only the truth, now, that an attempt was made to gag them, forthwith spread lies of disaster far and wide. Nor did the Flavian leaders fail to foment the exaggeration of these reports

1 "Res," "his power"—the government, as contra-distinguished from partes—"the Opposition." Res and Partes in Tacitus, when unqualified, mean, respectively, "the Government" and "the Opposition." See c. 39, ante, n. 3.

2 Ingravescebat, "grew worse and worse"—Mr. Spooner, accurately preserving the beautiful medical metaphor, which runs all through this immortal passage, delicately colouring the picture of the "sick man" with its remedia malorum, its confitenti and consultantique (the whisper to the doctor and the quest for advice), its spes virescit, its laeta omnia siveget, and its final ingravescebat. Compare Pliny, Epist., ii. 20. 6: "illa, ut in periculo credula, poscit codicillos, legatum Regulo scribit: nemo ingravescit: clamat moriens hominem nequaquam perfidum ac plus etiam quam perjurum, qui sibi per salutem filii perjerasset"; also Cicero, ad Att., x. 4 (Tyr. and Pusr., ccclxxxi. vol. iv. p. 155): "alter ardet furore et scelere nee remittit aliiquid, sed in dies ingravescit"; also Cicero, de Senec., xi. 36: "corpora exertitationum defetigatione ingravescent"—all cited by Heræus, and some of them by Meiser.

3 Apud ipsum, "in his presence." Compare ii. 78, sub fine (vol. i. p. 137): "crebriores apud ipsum sermones."

4 Eoque plures, "scilicet per civitatem sermones erant"—Meiser, who points out that coque plures must be connected with sermones, and observes: "aliis jungunt plures (scilicet homines) ac vere narraturi." The latter is in my opinion an erroneous construction, although it is that of Heræus—pace tanti viri; the rhythm and artistic structure of the sentence connect plures with sermones.

5 Ac, si liceret, vere narraturi—"hoc est" (says Meiser) "atque homines, qui, si liceret, vere narravissent." Three constructions have been put upon this passage. The first by Heræus, who construes coque plures as coque plures (homines) vere narraturi; the second by Mr. Spooner, who takes both coque plures as meaning coque plures (sermones), and also takes on sermones into vere narraturi, and reads the sentence as coque plures (sermones), ac, si liceret, vere narraturi (sermones); the third by Meiser, who interprets the meaning to be coque plures (sermones) ac, si liceret, vere narraturi (homines). This last construction we adopt.
by leading the captured Vitellianist scouts all round the camp, in order that they might learn the strength of the victorious army, and then sending them back again to Rome. Vitellius cross-questioned all these men in secret and then ordered them to be executed. The centurion, Julius Agrestis, a man of remarkable force of character, after many interviews, at which he sought in vain to rouse Vitellius to some act of valour, finally succeeded in getting\(^1\) himself sent to make a personal inspection of the resources of the enemy as well as of the occurrences at Cremona. Nor did he try by any furtive espionage to escape the notice of Antonius, but openly announced the missive of his emperor as well as his own project, and asked permission to see everything for himself. Guides were sent with him to point out the scene of the battle, the ruins of Cremona, and the captive legions. Agrestis returned to Vitellius, and when that emperor challenged the truth of his report and actually made an imputation of venality against him, “Since indeed,” replied the centurion, “you need conclusive proof, and neither my life nor my death can render you any other service, I will furnish you with convincing testimony.” So saying, he departed and corroborated the truth of his words by a voluntary death. Some authorities tell us that he was executed by order of Vitellius, but all are unanimous in recording his loyalty and thoroughness of character.

LV. Vitellius, like unto one roused from a trance, ordered Julius Priscus and Alfenus Varus\(^2\) to blockade the Appennine passes with fourteen of the Prætorian cohorts and with the whole body of their cavalry. The new Marine Legion\(^3\) followed them. So many thousands of warriors, all picked men and horses, would have been able,

\(^1\) Perpulit ut—ipse mitteretur, “succeeded in getting himself sent.” Mr. Godley, who, with Heraeus, points out that perpulit must be taken absolutely, as in i. 66; ii. 33; iv. 14. Heraeus also cites Livy, i. 45. 2.

\(^2\) Julium Priscum et Alfenum Varum. Julius Priscus had been promoted from the rank of centurion to the command of the Praetorian guards, ii. 92, ante; and Alfenus Varus had just been made his colleague, iii. 36, ante, in lieu of Publilius Sabinus, the friend of Cæcina, ii. 92, ante.

\(^3\) E classicis legio, “the new Marine Legion,” just levied by Vitellius from the sailors of the fleet at Misenum, and not to be confounded with I. Adjutrix Clasei-corum, which had been sent to Spain, ii. 67, ante.
had they had but some other general, even to assume the offensive. The remaining cohorts were placed under the command of Lucius Vitellius, the emperor’s brother, for the protection of the city. The emperor himself, although he abated not a jot of his wonted effeminacy, was nevertheless in a state of trepidation through mistrust, and hurried forward the elections, at which he nominated a succession of consuls for many years in advance. On allies he lavished special federal privileges; on non-Italian communities, the Latin Rights; some he released absolutely from Imperial taxation; others again he indulged with complete immunity

1 Catena cohortes—the two remaining Praetorian cohorts, the four city cohorts (ii. 93, vol. i. p. 156), and the seven cohortes vigilum.

2 Comitia, “the elections”—still so called, although the power of election had, in a d. 14, been transferred from the Comitia to the Senate, where the actual election took place, the result only being announced in the Campus. See Annals, i. 15: “Tum primum e campo comitia ad patres transita sunt: nam ad eam diem, etai potissima arbitrio principis, quasdam tamen studiiis tribuum fiebant.”

3 Destinabat, “nominated.” The reader must be careful to distinguish between the emperor’s power of nominatio and of commendatio. The nominatio was simply the emperor’s list of eligible candidates, and was merely tantamount to a certificate of qualification. This was the only right or prerogative the emperor had as to the election of consuls. The commendatio, on the other hand, amounted to the right of virtual appointment by the emperor of a certain number of candidates for the minor offices of quaestor, pretor, aedile, and tribune. As regards these latter offices, the emperor had the double right of nominatio and commendatio. See vol. i. p. 153.

4 Federei sociis—dilargiri, “on allies he lavished special federal privileges.” Whenever a special treaty existed between Rome and a community either within the bounds of a Roman Province or genuinely foreign, then the people of such a community were designated as Federei Civitates, or Federati, or Socii, and were guaranteed special federal privileges, such as abroguna (now commonly called “Home Rule”), exemption from the land impost, and other immunities. See 1 Smith’s Dict. Ant., pp. 868, 869:

5 Externis, “non-Italian communities”—non-Italian, because all Italy, in B.c. 90, by virtue of the laws Julia and Plautia Papiria, passed at the close of the Social war, was declared entitled to Civitas or the full rights of Roman citizenship, as contradistinguished from the semi-citizenship of the Latinitas, or Jus Lati, or Latium, the Latin Rights explained in the next note.

6 Latium, “the Latin Rights,” also called Latinitas and Jus Latii—which gave the privilege of commercium (“capacity to take part in the dispositions, and under the protection, of the Civil Law, whether conveyances, contracts, testamentary matters, or litigation”), but did not bestow the right of comedium (“capacity to enter into a lawful Roman marriage and acquire patria potestas”). The Latinitas was therefore a kind of semi-citizenship bestowed, after B.C. 90, on non-Italian communities. See Annals, xv. 32; Suetonius, Augustus, xlvii.; 2 Smith’s Dict. Ant., p. 10, title, Latinitas; 1, ibid., 448, title, Civitas, to which I am wholly indebted.

from all local burdens.\(^1\) In a word, he mutilated the empire without any concern for the future. But the common herd gaped greedily\(^2\) for these extraordinary exemptions,\(^3\) and the greatest fools paid down in cash for them; while wise men treated them as null and void,\(^4\) inasmuch as they could neither be conferred nor received without national bankruptcy. At length, yielding to the urgent solicitations of the army, which had occupied Bevagna,\(^5\) and escorted by an immense train of senators, many of whom were drawn on by the spirit of intrigue, and still more by the influence of fear, Vitellius arrived in camp, infirm of purpose and exposed to all the treachery of faithless counsellors.

LVI. Whilst he was addressing the troops (marvellous to relate) such a flock of birds of prey\(^6\) flew over him, that they veiled\(^7\) the light of day as if with a dark cloud. All this was

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\(^1\) Immunitatibus, "complete immunity from all local burdens." See 1 Smith's Dict. Ant., 995: "The immunitas, which was conferred on classes of individuals, invariably took the form of an exemption from local burdens." See the article on Immunitas.

\(^2\) Hians aderat—Meiser's grand emendation of the corrupt Medicean MS. haberat. Meiser got his clue from the secondary Florentine MSS. a and b, which read aderat, for which Jo. Fr. Gronovius read hiabat, thus giving the clue.

\(^3\) Beneficiorum, "exemptions." See 1 Smith's Dict. Ant., 995; Cicero, Philipp. i. 3; vii. 17; ii. 36; 91; Dig., 50, 15, 4, 3 (all cited).

\(^4\) Cassa, "null and void"—"null und nichtig."—Heræus.

\(^5\) Mevania—the modern Bevagna, at the foot of the Appennines, north-west of Spoletio.

\(^6\) Tantum fædarum volucrum, "such a flock of birds of prey." Compare Ovid, Metamorph., v. 549:

> "Fadaque fit volucris, venturi nuntia lucus,<br>Ignavus bubo, dirum mortalis omen."

Here the birds of prey, the fædar volucres, were vultures, the γυνὲς of Homer, Il., xxii. 42:

> "αἰθὲ θεοὶς φίλος τοσσόδε γένοιτο,<br>δοσον ἐμοι· τάχα κέν ἐ κώνες καὶ γυνὲς ἔθοιν κείμενον."

Meiser cites Dio., lxxv. 16: "θόραντος αὐτοῦ θυσίαν τινὰ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ δημιουργοῦτος τοῖς στρατιῶταις, γυνὲς πολλοὶ προσπεσόντες τὰ τε ἱερὰ διεσκεδασίαν καὶ ἰκεῖνον ἀπὸ τοῦ βοημάτος ὄλγου δεῖν καταβαλον." It is therefore clear that Heræus is wrong in thinking that fædar volucres were locusts. He observes: "eher wohl Heuschrecken (locusta) als Raubvögel (birds of prey), die niemals in Schwärmen fliegen." There he is in error. Vultures sometimes fly in flocks, and it was that made the prodigiosum dictu.

\(^7\) Ut nube atrā diem obtenderent. Compare c. 36, ante: "curis luxum obtendebat," where see note.
intensified by a fearful omen; a bull fled from the altar, scattered the implements of sacrifice, and was slaughtered far from the ordained spot, contrary to the traditional custom regulating the immolation of victims. But the most portentous prodigy of all was Vitellius himself, unversed in the duties of a soldier, unequipped with any plan, ever asking others what was the order of march, what the system of reconnoitring, how far he should press forward or delay the campaign, full of fear too in glance and gait at every fresh report, and then drinking himself drunk. Finally he grew awear of camp-life and, upon hearing of the mutiny of the fleet at Misenum, returned to Rome, shuddering at every fresh wound, but heedless of the vital crisis of the war. For, although his clear course was to have crossed the Appennines with the undiminished strength of his army and to have attacked the enemy, when exhausted by winter and want, yet, by splitting up his forces, he virtually abandoned to massacre and captivity those troops, so brave, so staunch even to the bitter end, and that, too, against the judgment of his most skilful centurions, who, had they been consulted, would have told him the truth. But the favourites of Vitellius kept them far aloof, as the ears of that prince were so framed, that the voice of wisdom jarred upon him, and he would only hearken to those soft strains that lured him to his doom.

1 Meiser cites Festus (p. 245, ed. Müller): “Piacularia appellantur auspicia antiqua quadam loquendi consuetudine in sacrificiis, cum aut hostia ab arae fugit aut percussa magitum dedit aut in aliam, quam oportuit, partem corporisccedit.” He also cites Pliny, viii. 183; see also Suetonius, Titus, x.: “Sabinos petit aliquanto tristior, quod sacrificanti hostia a uferat.”

2 Dein—the reading of the Medicean MS., for which Heræus has substituted denique, wrongly, in my opinion, as it clashes with postremo.

3 Temulentus. Compare i. 62, ante: “torpebat Vitellius—medio diei temulentus”; also ii. 91: “velut inter temulentos agbat.”

4 In aperto forat, “his clear course was”—έν τῷ φαυρη ἐτιν. Compare Agricola, i.: “agere memoratu digna pronum magisque in aperto erat.”

5 Aspere, quæ utilia—acciperet, “the voice of wisdom jarred upon him.” Meiser cites Annals, iv. 31: aspere accepsum.

6 Nec quidquam nisi jucundum et lasurum acciperet, “and he would only hearken to those soft strains that lured him to his doom.” Jucundum et lasurum is opposed to aspere, quæ utilia. The wretched prince hearkened to the Song of the Sirens. He forgot the noble verse of Homer, which, as Gibbon says, “unites the spirit of a hero with the reason of a sage”:

Εἰς οἰωνίς ἅριστος, ἀμνίς θαλα περὶ πάτης.
LVII. But (such is the force even of individual daring in civil strife) Claudius Faventinus, a centurion, who had been drummed out of the service by Galba, induced the fleet at Misenum to mutiny by forging Vespasian's name to a letter setting forth a reward for that act of treachery. Claudius Apollinaris, who was neither staunch in his loyalty to Vitellius nor active in his treacherous adhesion to Vespasian, was admiral of the fleet; and Apinius Tiro, an ex-prætor, who happened at that time to be quartered at Minturnæ, tendered his services as leader to the mutineers. These men involved the municipalities and colonies, and thus, as Pozzuoli was conspicuous for its enthusiasm in the cause of Vespasian while Capua clung loyally to Vitellius, they mingled their local feuds in the vortex of Civil War. Vitellius selected Claudius Julianus (the officer who had recently proved himself a lenient commander of the fleet at Misenum) as his envoy to assuage the angry

1 Claudius Faventinus, whose name is preserved by the inscription on the Ara Casali (preserved in Rome) erected by him. The inscription is given by Orelli: 

Ti. CLAUDIUS FAVENTINUS D.D.V.

2 Per ignominiam—dimissus, "drummed out of the service." See vol. i. p. 122, where, in n. 4, the three different kinds of discharges from the Roman service are discussed:—(1) the honesta missio, or discharge on full retiring allowance; (2) the causaria missio, or discharge for mental or physical incapacity; (3) the ignominiosa missio, or drumming out of the service for misconduct, mutiny, or crime.

3 Apinius Tiro, whose name recurs in c. 76, post.

4 Minturnæ—famed for the marshes in which Caius Marius was captured—a town in Latium, on the frontiers of Campania, situated on the Via Appia, and on the banks of the river Liris. Near its ancient site is the modern town of Trajetta.

5 Municipia. A municipium differed from a colonia in this respect, that a municipium had no municipal authorities of its own, but was governed from Rome, while a colonia constituted a distinct community: "ut semper rempublicam separatim Populo Romano haberent."—Festus. See 1 Smith's Dict. Ant., new ed., p. 483, to which I am absolutely indebted for this interesting distinction.

6 Colonia. See 1 Smith's Dict. Ant., 479, et seq.; and for the distinction between municipium and colonia, see preceding note.

7 Puteoli, the modern Pozzuoli, was a sea-coast town in Campania between Cumæ and Naples.

8 Municipalem amulationem, "their local feuds," like those of Lyons and Vienne, i. 65.

9 Claudius Julianus—possibly the person mentioned by Pliny, N. H., xxxvii. 11. 2: "a Juliano curante gladiatorium munus Neronis principia."

10 Deliget, "selected as his envoy." Deliger in Tacitus frequently means "to choose and send," as in c. 48, ante, where see note 4.

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feelings of the soldiers there. He was furnished with a contingent of one city cohort, and the gladiators whose captain he had been. When the rival camps confronted each other at Misenum, Julianus found but little scruple in going over to the party of Vespasian, and they then occupied Terracina, which was protected by its fortifications and natural position rather than by the skill of its defenders.

LVIII. When Vitellius became aware of this, he gave orders that some of the forces and the captains of the Praetorian guard should remain behind at Narni, and that his brother L. Vitellius, with six Praetorian cohorts and five hundred troopers, should face the storm-cloud of war as it gathered through Campania. The emperor himself was sick at heart, but was revived by the enthusiasm of the soldiery and the shouts of the people calling for arms, and bestowed the hollow name of "army" and "legions" upon a dastardly mob of spiritless braggarts. At the instigation of his freedmen (for the more distinguished his friends the less he trusted them) he ordered the convocation of the tribes, and administered the oath of fealty to

1 See note 9, supra.
2 Terracina, now Terracina, formerly also known by the Volscian name of Anxur, 58 miles S. E. of Rome on the Via Appia and on the coast. Compare Horace, Sat., i. 5. 25:
   "Milia tum pransi tria repimus atque subimus
   Impositum saxis late candentibus Anxur."
3 Julianus, Apollinaris, and their men.
4 Vitellius was now in Rome, whither he had returned from Bevagna (Mevania); c. 55, ante. The correct translation of the passage depends on this circumstance.
5 Parte copiarum Narnia cum praetoris praetorii velicta, "he gave orders that some of the forces" (seven Praetorian cohorts; see c. 78, post, and c. 55, ante) "and the captains of the Praetorian guard should remain behind at Narni." As Vitellius himself was at Rome, he could only "give orders."
6 Narnia, the modern Narni, on the river Nar, two days' march south of Bevagna (Mevania) in Umbria. It will be remembered (c. 55, ante) that the Vitellianist forces had occupied Bevagna (Mevania). They must consequently have fallen back on Narni.
7 Ingruenti per Campaniam bello, "the storm-cloud of war as it gathered through Campania." Compare ii. 100 (vol. i. p. 164), ante.
8 Vocari tribus jubet, "he ordered the convocation of the tribes." Compare Suetonius, Vitel., xv.: "Dilectum quoque ea condicione in urbe egit, ut voluntariis non modo missionem post victoriam, sed etiam veteranorum justaque militie commoda polliceretur." Ritter has demonstrated that, from the time of Augustus down, the
those who gave in their names for enlistment. As the crowd swarmed in he divided the task of enrolment between the consuls. He called upon the senators to furnish a certain contingent of slaves and a fixed measure of silver. The Roman knights tendered supplies of men and money, while even the freedmen actually demanded the same privilege with importunate persistency. This pretended sense of duty, originating in fear, suddenly changed into sympathy; and many felt compassion not so much for Vitellius as for the sad vicissitudes of a princely house. Vitellius himself failed not to evoke pity by his glance, his voice, his tears, generous, ay, and, as men in terror are wont, lavish of his promises. Nay, he desired to be called even "Caesar," a title that he had spurned before; but now he was influenced by a superstitious reverence for the name, and also, because, in times of terror, the monitions of the wise count for no more than the gossip of the crowd. But, as all rash and impulsive undertakings, however vigorous in their inception, dwindle down after a time, so the senators and knights gradually slunk off, at first with hesitation and behind the emperor's back, but soon with disdainful indifference to his presence, until Vitellius, in very shame at his abortive undertaking, suspended the collection of a subsidy, the payment of which was grudgingly.
LIX. Just as the occupation of Bevagna had struck terror into Italy and threatened her with a second avatar of war, 1 so, on the other hand, this cowardly retreat of Vitellius imparted an unmistakeable spirit of enthusiasm towards the Flavian party. Samnites, Paeligni, and Marsi were roused by a feeling of rivalry, when they saw that Campania had anticipated them, and displayed all the zeal of neophytes in the discharge of every duty of the soldier. But the army was sorely tried by the horrors of winter during the passage of the Appennines; and when the men, even though unharassed by any foe, were barely able to force their way 2 out of the snows, they clearly felt what peril they would have had to encounter had not Vitellius been turned back by that good fortune which had aided the Flavian leaders quite as often as any calculated plan. During their passage they met Petilius Cerialis; 3 who, in the dress of a farmer and through his knowledge of the locality, had baffled the outposts of Vitellius. Cerialis and Vespasian were closely connected by marriage, nor was the former without distinction as a soldier, and on that account was raised to the rank of general. Many authorities tell us that a plan of escape had been provided for Flavius Sabinus 4 likewise, and Domitian; nay, the emissaries of Antonius succeeded under manifold disguises in reaching them, and pointed

1 Ut terrem Italia possessa Mevania ac velut renatum ex integro bellum intulerat. This passage has been much misinterpreted. The words renatum—bellum are in the accusative case as well as terrem, and both are governed by intulerat. Infere bellum is quite as familiar an expression as inferre terrem, and, therefore, intulerat is here used by Tacitus under the figure of zeugma. Compare Cicero, In Pis., xxxiv.: "Densoletis, quae natio semper obedienti huic imperio etiam in illa omnium barbarorum defectione Macedoniam C. Sentio praetore tutatus est, nefarium bellum et crudele intulisti"; also ibid., ad Att., ix. 1–3 (Tyr. and Pura., vol. iv. p. 97); ibid., Phillip., ii. 23. 53. For our English use of avatar see Dr. Murray’s new Historical Dictionary, sub nomine.

2 Nives eluctantibus, “were barely able to force their way out of the snows.” Meiser refers to Agricola, xvi.: “difficultates elucantibus”; Pliny, Epist., viii. 8, 2 (describing a fountain): “eluctatusque quem facit gurgitem lato gremio patescit purus et vitreus.” Compare Livy, xxiv. 26: Status, Achit., i. 525.

3 Q. Petilius Cerialis Cassius Rufus served under Vettius Bolanus in Britain, as lieutenant-general of the Ninth Legion, in A.D. 61 (Annals, xiv. 32); suppressed the revolt of Civilis, A.D. 70; was governor of Britain and subdued the Brigantes in A.D. 71.

4 Flavius Sabinus, brother of Vespasian and City Prefect. See i. 46, ante.
out to them where they would find both sanctuary and succour. Sabinus pleaded as his excuse a delicacy of health unsuited to fatigue and peril. Domitian was ready enough; but the sentries posted over him by Vitellius, although they offered to join the prince in his flight, were nevertheless suspected of treachery. Moreover, Vitellius himself, out of concern for his own family, did not cherish any desperate design against Domitian.

LX. When the Flavian leaders reached Casigliano they took a few days' rest, in order to await the arrival of the eagles and standards of the legions, and, apart from that, they were pleased with their camping-ground, which commanded an extensive view, while their supply of provisions was ensured, and some of the wealthiest towns lay behind. Moreover, a parley with the Vitellianist troops, who were only ten miles distant, and even their desertion of their cause were anticipated. The Flavian soldiery chafed at such an idea, and preferred victory to peace. They objected to abide even the arrival of their own legions, which they regarded as participators in the plunder rather than the peril of the fray. Antonius called them on parade, and endeavoured to show them that Vitellius had still some forces left, who would waver if they

1 Locum, "scilicet effugiendi."—Heraeus.
2 Domitian aderat animus, "Domitian was ready enough."—Mr. Godley. Compare Suetonius, Julius Caesar, lxxxii.: "Fuerat animus conjuratis corpus occisi in Tiberim trahere"; also Ovid, Metam., v. 150:

"namque omnibus unum Opprimere est animus."

3 Necessitudinum, "his own family"—mother, wife, and child. Family affection was the redeeming trait in the otherwise brutal character of Vitellius.
4 Carsulas. Carsulae, represented by the modern village of Casigliano, lay between Todi (Tuder) and Spoleti (Spoletium), south of Bevagna (Mevania) and ten miles north of Narni (Narnia), on the western slopes of the Appennines.
5 Aquila signaque legionum, "the eagles and standards of the legions"—the technical expression for "the strength of the legions," just as we say in English, "the strength of the regiment." See c. 50, ante. There is a strange blunder in the text of Heraeus here—I am sure a misprint, but still calculated to mislead the student—"donec aquila signaque legionem adsequeruntur." This is obviously wrong, as the phrase aquila signaque legionum—the strength of the legions—is a regular technical expression.
6 Florentissimis pone tergum municipiis—such as Todi (Tuder), Spoleti (Spoletium), Bevagna (Mevania).
got time to reflect, but would fight fiercely if driven to despair. "The first step in Civil war," quoth he, "must be left to luck, but final victory is the work of strategy and skill. Already has the fleet at Misenum, already has Campania's fairest border revolted from the enemy; nor in the wide wide world hath Vitellius one corner left save the patch of ground 'twixt Terracina and Narni. Enough of glory hath been won by the victory near Cremona, ay, and too much shame hath been incurred by the sack of the town itself. Nay, do not yearn to capture Rome rather than to save it. Greater will be your prize, far greater your glory, if you secure the safety of the Senate and People of Rome without shedding one drop of blood." In such wise were the feelings of the soldiers soothed.

LXI. Soon after this the legions arrived. Then, upon hearing the dread news of Flavian re-enforcements, the Praetorian cohorts of Vitellius showed signs of wavering, as there was nobody to encourage them to fight, while defection was urged by many, who vied with each

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1 Perfici, the correct reading of the secondary Florentine MS. b, universally adopted in lieu of the corrupt profici of the Medicean MS.

2 Pulcherrimam Campaniam oram, "Campania's fairest border"—a reminiscence of i. 2, ante.

3 Quod inter TarracINam Narniamque jaceat, "the patch of ground 'twixt Terracina and Narni." Neither Cicero nor Caesar use jacere in the sense of esse or situm esse, but Decimus Brutus does in his letter to Cicero, Fam. xi. 13. 2; the use is common in Livy and Nepos, as also in Vergil. Compare Verg., Aen., xi. 526, et seq.:

   "Hanc super in speculis summoque in verticem montis
   Planities ignota jaceat tutique receptus."

Also ibid., vi. 795: "jacet extra sidera tellus."

4 Heraeus points out that the word fore is implied here as in iv. 23. 3; iv. 63. 8; iv. 75. 6, post.

5 Legiones—that is, "the strength of the legions"—"aquilae signaque legionum," for detachments from the legions were already on the ground. See cc. 50, and 52, ante.

6 Et = "then," as pointed out by Mr. Godley, who refers to v. 26, post: "et Civilis ita coepit."

7 Terrore famaque, "the dread news"—ἐν διὰ διοίν

8 Vitellianae cohortes, "the Praetorian cohorts of Vitellius"—the seven (not eight) Praetorian cohorts stationed at Narni under the command of their captains, Julius Priscus and Alfenus Varus, c. 51, ante. There were in all sixteen Praetorian cohorts, ii. 93. 9, ante. Out of these sixteen Praetorian cohorts, fourteen had been despatched from Rome to occupy the passes of the Appennines, iii. 55, ante, leaving, therefore, only two behind at Rome. Out of the fourteen sent forward six had gone on with
other in betraying their own companies and troops, as an offering
to the victor and in order to curry future favour for themselves.
By their means it was discovered that Terni,¹ which lay in the
neighbouring plains, was garrisoned by four hundred Vitellianist
horse. Varus² was straightway sent thither with his skirmishers,
and he put to the sword the few who resisted him,³ while the bulk
of the men threw down their arms and craved quarter. Some fled
back to the camp⁴ and spread terror far and wide by their exag-
erated and wild accounts of the valour and strength of the
enemy, given with the object of excusing their own disgraceful
abandonment of the post of duty.⁵ Nor was any penalty for
treason inflicted in the Vitellianist camp, nay, all sense of loyalty
was undermined by the rewards bestowed upon traitors, and
nothing remained but competition in treachery. There were
constant desertions amongst the tribunes and centurions; for the
private soldiers had held out to the last for Vitellius, until Priscus
and Alfenus,⁶ by their abandonment of the camp and their return
to Vitellius,⁷ relieved all concerned from any feeling of shame at
betrayal of their cause.⁸

L. Vitellius into Campania, iii. 58, ante; and, therefore, it might be contended that
eight, not seven, were at Narni. But in iii. 78. 13, post, we find three Praetorian
cohorts at Rome. I therefore agree with Heræus that, when Vitellius returned from
Bevagna to Rome (c. 56, ante), one of the Praetorian cohorts must have escorted him
thither. Thus it is proved that the number of Praetorian cohorts remaining at Narni
was seven and not eight.

1 Interamnam, the modern Terni, midway between Spoleto and Narni, some distance
to the left of the Flaminian Way.
2 Arrius Varus, the right-hand man of Antonius Primus.
3 Paucos repugnantium, “the few who resisted him”—Silver-age Latin for paucos
qui repugnaverunt. Compare iii. 12. 9, ante: paucis resistentium, where see note 4;
also c. 75, post, n.
4 Quidam in castra refugi, “some fled back to the camp (at Narni).” See c. 58, ante.
5 Prasidii, “the post of duty.” Compare Cicero, de Senec., xx. § 73: “vetatque
Pythagoras injustus imperatoris, id est de, de prasidio et statione vita decedere”: ibid.,
Tusc., iii. 8. 17.
6 Julius Priscus and Alfenus Varus, the captains of the Praetorian cohorts. See
c. 58, ante.
7 Vitellius was at Rome. See c. 56, ante.
8 Pudore proditionis cunctos exsolvent, “relieved all concerned from any feeling of
shame at betrayal of their cause.” Pudor is here used in a subjective, and not in an
objective, sense. Compare Annals, vi. 43: “donec Tidites cum paucis in Syriam
revectus pudore proditionis omnes exsolvit.” Compare Horace, Epist., i. 18. 24,
“paupertatis pudor.”
Execution of Fabius Valens at Urbino.

Despair of the Vitellianists.

Character-sketch of Valens.

LXII. About this time Fabius Valens\(^1\) was executed during his captivity at Urbino.\(^2\) His head was displayed to the Vitellianist cohorts in order that they might no longer cherish any hope; for they used to believe that Valens had made good his escape into Germany, and was there gathering\(^3\) veteran as well as fresh armies. At that sanguinary sight they yielded to despair. Then the Flavian army, with feelings of unbounded elation,\(^4\) recognized in the death of Valens the termination of the war. Valens was born at Anagni\(^5\) and sprang from a family of equestrian rank. He was a man of dissolute character, but by no means dull of intellect,\(^6\) and sought to win the reputation of a wit by wanton vagaries. At the theatrical performances instituted by Nero to commemorate his coming of age,\(^7\) Valens, at first as if under con-

\(^1\) Whose capture off the îles d’Hyères has been described in c. 43, ante.

\(^2\) Urbinium, the modern Urbino, in Umbria, famous as the birthplace of Raphael Sanzio.

\(^3\) Cicero, "was gathering." See c. i. ante, and note.

\(^4\) *Immane quantum aueto animo* — the generally accepted emendation of *Haase* for the manifestly defective *immane quantum animo* of the Medicean MS. *Acidalius* had already filled in the lacuna by reading *animo auetus*. Meiser compares ii. 4, ante: "Titus aueto animo ad patrem perfectus." For the Grecism of *immane quantum* (*ἡμᾶς παντὸς δορῶν*) compare iv. 34, post: "immane quantum suis favoris et hostibus alacritatis indidit": also Sallust, ii. *Hist. Frag.* (ed Kr.), 76: "immane quantum animi exarsere": also Horace, *Odes*, i. 27. 5:

"Vino et lucernis Medus acinaces

*Immane quantum discrepat.*"

\(^5\) Anagnia, the modern Anagni, a town in Latium.

\(^6\) Neque absurdus ingenio. Absurdus = ab (mis) and svan, Sanscrit for sonare. Compare *Annals*, xiii. 45; Sallust, *Cat.*, xxv. 5.

\(^7\) *Ludicro Juvenalium sub Nerone*, "at the theatrical performances instituted by Nero to commemorate his coming of age." The *Juvenalia* "were," say the learned writers in 1 Smith’s *Dict. Ant.*, new ed., p. 1053, "scenic games instituted by Nero in A.D. 59, in commemoration of his shaving his beard for the first time, thus intimating that he had passed from youth to manhood. He was then in the twenty-second year of his age. . . . The most distinguished persons in the State, old and young, male and female, were expected to take part in them." Thus it will be seen that the term *Juvenalia* did not mean "performances by young men," but "games to commemorate the majority of Nero." See *Annals*, xiv. 15; xv. 33; xvi. 21. Compare *Dio*, lxi. 19: Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἔτερον αὖ εἶδος ἐφορή ἦγαγεν (ἐπεκλήθη δὲ Ἰουβεναλία, ἀπερ τυχ _νεανισκεῦματα_) καὶ ἐτελέσθη ἐπὶ τῷ γενεῖ αὐτοῦ καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο τὸν πρῶτον ἐξέφρασεν καὶ τὰς τρίχας ἐς σφαιράς τι χρυσάν _ἐμβάλαν ἀνάθηκε τῷ Διῷ τῇ Καπιταλίῳ καὶ ἐς τὴν ἐφορήν οὐ τῇ ἀλλικαὶ οὐ εὐγενεστάτοι πάντως τι ἐπεδείξαντο. According to the same authority (loc. cit.) an *old lady of eighty years of age* (*ἡγοποιοῦται*) danced upon the stage there.
III.—62, 63.

issent, and then of his own free will, often acted in the farces\(^1\) with more skill than sense of decency. When in command of a legion he first cultivated the friendship of Verginius and then sought to blacken him.\(^2\) He put Fonteius Capito to death either after he had already sapped, or possibly because he was unable to sap, that officer's fealty.\(^3\) Although he betrayed Galba, he clung loyally to Vitellius, and thus drew redeeming light from his contrast with the treachery of others.\(^4\)

LXIII. When hope was cut off on every side, the soldiers of Vitellius determined to pass over to the victorious party, but not without the honours of war,\(^5\) and so they descended into the plains around Narni with standards and colours flying. The Flavian army, marshalled and accoutred as if for battle, had already taken up its position in column formation on either side of the Flaminian Way.\(^6\) The Vitellianists were received through the lines, and, when thus encompassed, Primus Antonius addressed them in a kindly spirit. Some of them were ordered to remain at Narni, others, at Terni; while with them were stationed some of the victorious legions, no burden to the law-abiding, yet strong enough to crush any attempt at insubordination. Meanwhile Primus and Varus did not forget to tender to Vitellius, in frequent communications, offers of safety, wealth, and a quiet

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\(^1\) Mimos, "the farces." See Dr. L. C. Purser's admirable article on Mimus in 2 Smith's Dict. Ant., new ed., p. 172. He there observes: "The Roman mimus (a term applied to the piece as well as to the actor) was, like the Atellan farce, an improvised character play of ordinary life, but without the stock character-masks and buskins; and it was more concerned with the humorous side of the low life of the town than of the country." See Horace, Sat., i. 10. 6; Cicero, ad Fam., xii. 18. 2.

\(^2\) Infamavit, "sought to blacken him," by allegations that he was an aspirant for the purple. Meiser cites from Pliny, Epist., vi. 10:

"Hic situs est Rufus, pulso qui Vindice quondam Imperium adseruit non sibi sed patriae."

\(^3\) See i. 7; i. 58, ante.

\(^4\) The darker traitors were Cæcina and Bassus, whose perfidy was unredeemed by any glint of grace. Compare Cicero, Brutus, lxiv., § 228: "Illustrant eam (orationem) quasi stellae quaedam translata verba atque immutata."

\(^5\) Id quoque non sine decore, scilicet, facere. The implication of the verb facere is well warranted by i. 84, ante: "vos quidem istud pro me," scilicet, fecistis. This interpretation is safer than that of Ritter, whose construction of id quoque non sine decore, as a parenthesis karâ sôverw, is more attractive than sound.

\(^6\) Via, scilicet, Flaminiam, which passed by Narni.
home¹ in Campania, if he would lay down his arms and entrust himself and his children to the clemency of Vespasian. Mucianus likewise wrote to the same effect. Vitellius trusted the general tenour² of these proposals, and began to discuss in detail the number of slaves he would require, and the choice he would make of a sea-side retreat. So deep a lethargy had seized upon his soul that, if the world³ had not remembered that he was prince, he himself would ever and anon forget all about it.⁴

LXIV. But some of the leading citizens sought, in secret interviews, to egg on Flavius Sabinus,⁵ the City Prefect, to seize upon his share in the glory of victory. "Your own soldiers, the city cohorts,"⁶ they exclaimed, "are devoted to you, nor will you lack the cohorts of the watch, our slaves,⁷ the good fortune of the Flavian party, and the full-flowing tide of victory." Nay, yield not the palm to Antonius

¹ Secreta Campania, "a quiet home in Campania." Compare i. 10, ante: secretum Asia.
² Plerumque, "the general tenour"—"im allgemeinen."—Heraeus. Plerumque fādere is in contrast to de numero servorum, electiones iterum loqui—the discussion of details.
³ Ceteri, "the world," as frequently in Tacitus. Compare i. 5 (vol. i. p. 5, note 1), ante.
⁴ Ipse oblivisceretur, "he himself would ever and anon forget all about it"—exquisitior <p>ioches missed by all critics. Meiser is so profound a scholar that it is very rarely one can catch this Homer nodding, and Heraeus is so accurate that one can rarely challenge his conclusions. Here, however, both are wrong. Meiser observes: "accuratus dicere debefatur obliturus fuerit, ut—i. 26—'rapturifuerint—ni—tiumissent.'" The two passages are absolutely different. In i. 26, rapturifuerint means "would have seized him"; whereas here oblituratur means "would ever and anon forget," or, as Mr. Godley neatly puts it, "he was in a fair way to forget." The difference is palpable, and illustrates the artistic grace of Tacitus. The use of the imperfect subjunctive paints the dazed condition of the lethargic Vitellius. So when Heraeus asks: "Wie hätten die älteren Klassiker statt dessen geschrieben?" I reply, they would have written nothing instead of it, but would also have written oblituratur, if they were artistic enough to perceive the beauty of the expression. The passage under comment is one of the most powerful in Tacitus, and bears witness to his magical powers of style.
⁵ Flavius Sabinius, brother of the Emperor Vespasian, and prefect of the city.
⁶ Proprium militem cohortium urbanarum. There were four city cohorts (ii. 93, ante) under the exclusive control of the city prefect.
⁷ Vigilum cohortes, "the cohorts of the Watch," seven in number, founded by Augustus in 5 A.D. See Dio, lv. 26.
⁸ Servitia ipsorum, "eorum qui ita exhortatur Sabinius."—Meiser.
⁹ Omnia prona victoribus, "the full-flowing tide of victory." This expression
and Varus! Vitellius has but a handful of cohorts, and even they are disheartened by the gloomy news from every quarter. The populace are fickle, and, if you offer to become their leader, this very same flattery will veer round to Vespasian. Vitellius himself was unequal to the struggle even when all was well with him, still more so is he now, when crippled by his collapse. All the merit of concluding the war will rest with him who shall have made himself master of the city. It behoves you, Sabinus, to preserve his throne for your brother; it behoves Vespasian to make all his other subjects yield precedence unto you.”

(repeated by Tacitus in Agricola, xxxiii., and evidently copied from Sallust, Jugurtha, cxiv. 2, “alia omnia virtutis ut praemium esse”) is a metaphor taken from the flowing tide of a river. Compare Verg., Georg., i. 201, et seq.:

“Non aliter, quam qui adversus vix flumina lembum
Remigii subigat, si bracchia forte remissit,
Atque illum praecips prope rapidus alveus amnis.”

See also Horace, Odes, i. 29. 10, et seq.:

“Quis neget arduis
Pronos relabi posse rivos
Montibus et Tiberim reverti.”

1 Ne Antonio Varo quod gloria concederet. The old classical writers, such as Cicero and Terence, never used concedere de without a quantitative accusative. Thus, as cited by Heraeus, Terence writes (Adelph., ii. 2. 9): “si nunc de tuo jure concessisses paulum”; also Cicero, Pro Rosc. Am., § 118 (videtur), “hic discipulus magistro tantulum de arte concedere”: ibid., ad Att., xiv. 18: “neque eis quidquam in desperata tione concece.” Livy first abandoned this rule, and was soon followed.

2 Prosperis, “when all was well with him”—sustaining the metaphor culminating in ruentibus debilitatum. Both prosperis and ruentibus are ablatives more Tacitco. Compare i. 7, ante: subitis avide, and passim.

3 Adeo, “still more so is he now.” Compare i. 9. 3; iii. 39. 9, ante.

4 Debilitatum, “crippled.” Compare Gaius, iii. 146: “si gladiatores—occiai aut debilitati fuerint”: also Livy, xxix. 40; Tacitus, Annals, iv. 63; Horace, Odes, i. 11. 4:

“Seu pluris hiemes, seu tribuit Juppiter ultimum,
Quae nunc oppositis debilitat pumicibus mare.”

5 Patrati belli, “concluding the war.” The terms patrare bellum and ductare exercitus had fallen into desuetude in the time of Quintilian. Sallust used them frequently, and Tacitus imitates him. See ii. 100 (vol. i. p. 164, n. 2).

6 Reservaret, “preserve.” Reservare is here used in the rare sense of “preserving for a certain purpose.” Compare iv. 42, post: “reservate hominem—ut omnis etas instructa sit”: also Cicero, Ver., ii. v. 30, § 77: “Ego illum ad judicium meum, quo facilius crimen inimicorum diliere possem, vivum atque incolunmen reservavi.” Caesar, B. G., vii. 89; Ovid, Metam., vii. 657. Jacob, not perceiving the full use of the word, erroneously reads reservaret. See and compare c. 66, post: “casibus dubis reservatum,” “whose life they preserved for a time to meet the contingency of defeat.”
LXV. With the infirmities of age upon him Sabinus listened to such promptings in no buoyant mood. Some, how-
ever, attacked him by furtively insinuating that he was seeking, in a spirit of envy and rivalry, to delay his brother’s accession to the throne. Undoubtedly Flavius Sabinus, who was the elder of the two, surpassed Vespasian in wealth and influence when both brothers were in a private station, and it was believed that he upheld the impaired financial credit of the latter upon unnatural terms involving a mortgage of his house and lands. On that account, although their relations were ostensibly amicable, there was a dread of rankling animosities. It is a fairer view to consider that the kindly nature of the man shrank from a course of blood and carnage, and that he had, for this reason, deliberated with Vitellius in repeated interviews on the means of concluding peace and terminating the war on certain terms. After many private conferences, they finally fixed their conditions, as we are told, in the temple of

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1 *Tanquam*—expresses the ground or basis of a conclusion or averment, when such conclusion or averment is not that of the historian himself, but purports to be that of another person or of other persons, whose sentiments are expressed in the *oratio obliqua* of Tacitus. See c. iv., ante, n. 5: c. x., n. 4.

2 *Fortunam,* "accession to the throne," as frequently in Tacitus.

3 *Privatis utrisque rebus,* "when both brothers were in a private station." Compare v. 1, post.

4 "Credebatur adfectam ejus fidem *prave juvisse* domo agriaque pignori acceptis," "it was believed that he upheld the impaired financial credit of the latter upon unnatural terms involving a mortgage of his house and lands." *Prave juvisse* is the masterful emendation of Döderlein for the meaningless *praeviusse* of the Medicean MS. Sabinus, by insisting on a mortgage from his brother as security for the loan, was deemed to have acted harshly and not like a brother but like a usurer. Thus Meiser: "*juvisse credebatur non fraterno amore sed pravo sua utilisatis studio, non ut frater, sed ut ferator.*" Quite a contrast was the conduct of Atticus, Cornelius Nepos, *Att.*, ix. v. (referred to by Ed. Wolff and noted by Meiser): "Ille se interposuit pecuniam nis sine fanno sineque uta stipulacione creditit, maximum existimans quae est memorem gratumque cognosci simulque aperire se non fortuna, sed hominibus solere esse amicum." Halm reads *pars juvisse*, in which he is followed by Heræus and the English editors. But *pars* does not bring out the meaning as distinctly as *prave*, and the passage cited by Heræus from ii. 48, ante, "*pecunias distribuit parce nee ut perituras*" bears no analogy. Heinius reads *pras juvisse*. The impecuniosité of Vespasian is verified by Suetonius, who also refers to the mortgage required as security by Sabinus (Suetonius, *Vesp.*, iv.) : "ut qui prope labefactus jam fide omnia prædia fratri obligarit necessarioque ad mangonicos questus sustinendas dignitatis causa descenderit."
Apollo. Their words were spoken in the presence of two witnesses, Cluvius Rufus and Silius Italicus. The expression of their features was noticed by observers from afar. The face of Vitellius seemed downcast and crestfallen, while that of Sabinus looked free from scorn and touched by pity.

LXVI. If Vitellius could have moulded the minds of his adherents as readily as he himself had abdicated, the army of Vespasian would have entered Rome without shedding one drop of blood. But the friends of Vitellius, in proportion to their zeal for him, would not hear of peace at any price, and pointed to the danger and disgrace which it involved, as well as to the stipulations, which would depend on the caprice of the conqueror. “Vespasian,” they exclaimed, “is not of such a lofty spirit that he will tolerate your existence as a private person. Nay, not even the conquered will suffer you to live upon such conditions. Their very pity will prove a source of danger to you.” Doubtless you yourself are old, and have had your fill of good and evil fortune; but think of the name, think of the rank to be transmitted to your son,
Germanicus! You are now promised wealth, a household, and the charms of some Campanian retreat. But once Vespasian shall have seized upon the throne, neither he, nor his friends, nor, in a word, his armies will feel safe until their rival has been destroyed. Fabius Valens, only a prisoner whose life they preserved for a time to meet the contingency of defeat, nevertheless became an eyesore to them; still less will Primus and Fuscus, and, that true type of his party, Mucian have any choice left them in the case of Vitellius but to decree his doom. Pompeius was not spared by Caesar, nor Antony by Augustus, but Vespasian, forsooth, may prove more chivalrous, Vespasian, who was once but the henchman of a Vitellius, when that Vitellius was the colleague of Claudius! Nay, why not rather, as behaves one whose father was censor and thrice consul, whose illustrious family has filled so many offices of state, in despair at least take arms to do and dare? Your soldiers still hold out, your people are full of enthusiasm; in a word, nothing worse can befall us than the fate of our own suicidal folly. Defeat means

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1 *Reservatum,* "whose life they preserved." See c. 64, ante, *sub fine,* and note on *reservare.*

2 *Pragreavem fuissae,* "became an eyesore to them." See i. 21, ante: "Pragreavem se Neroni fuissae" (vol. i. p. 15, n. 1).

3 *Specimen partium,* "that true type of his party"—"Musterbild" (Herzog). Meiser cites Burnouf: "Le personage le plus marquant, le coryphée, et comme on dirait en style moderne, le principale notabilité du parti." Compare *Annals,* iii. 4, *sub fine:* "Agrippinam—unicum antiquitatis specimen," which Mr. Furneaux translates thus: "a peerless model of old-fashioned morals."

4 *Occidendilicentiam.* Compare *Annals,* xiv. 49. 4: "statuerant ut vellent, datam et absolvendicentiam."

5 This is rhetorical hyperbole, as Pompeius perished by the dagger of Septimius, and Antony committed suicide.

6 *Nisi forte Vespasianus aliiores spiritus gerat,* "but Vespasian, forsooth, may prove more chivalrous!" The words *aliiores spiritus gerat* are Tacitus' own explanation of the *superbia* or "lofty spirit," described *supra.* One phrase explains the other.

7 *Vitelii,* "a Vitellius," namely, L. Vitellius, the emperor's father, and colleague of Claudius in the consulsiphip in 43 and 47 A.D.

8 *Quin—accingeretur,* "nay, why not rather take arms?" In direct narration the form would be: "Quin accingeris?"

9 Compare i. 52 (vol. i. p. 35), *ante.* L. Vitellius was censor with Claudius in 47–51 A.D. He was twice consul, first in 34 A.D., and twice again, with Claudius for colleague, in 43 and 47 A.D. See *Annals,* xi. 13.

10 *Desperationes saltem,* "in despair at least"—if from no higher motive—"si non fortia ac generoso consilio."—Meiser.
death; surrender means death; the one consideration for us now is, whether we shall breathe our last 'mid mockery and insult or in the final effort of the brave.'

LXVII. Vitellius turned a deaf ear to the counsels of courage. His mind was overwhelmed with a pitiful anxiety, lest too stubborn a resistance might harden the victor's heart towards his wife and children. He had a mother, too, worn out with weight of years, but she had within the last few days anticipated by her timely death the ruin of her family, having gained nothing from her son's elevation to the throne save grief and good repute. Upon the eighteenth of December, when he heard of the defection of the legion and Praetorian cohorts, which had surrendered at Narni, he descended from the Palace clad in mourning raiment, surrounded by his sorrowing household. Behind him his little son was borne in a

1 The preposition per denotes, as Mr. Godley acutely observes, the very last movement accompanying the dying breath.

2 Miseratione curaque, "a pitiful anxiety"—διὰ τὴν ζημίαν.

3 Love of wife and child is the redeeming trait in the character of Vitellius. Tacitus, like Shakespeare, gives a touch of nature.

4 Sextilia, that heroic woman, who held aloof from fortune's blandishments, and only felt the sorrows of her house, ii. 64 (vol. i. p. 120), ante; see also, ii. 89, sub finem. Suetonius, with all the babble of a first-century Pepys, has recorded a scandalous story imputing the murder of his mother, Sextilia, to Vitellius (Suetonius, Vitellius, xiv.): "Suspectus et in morte matris fuit, quasi aegrae præberi cibum prohibuisset, vaunicorn Cattha muliere, cui velut oraculo adquiescebat, ita demum firmiter ac diutissime imperaturum, si superstes parenti extitisset." Tacitus, with a true sense of historical dignity, ignores this vulgar gossip. Hereeus thus censures the idle story: "Gehässigen Salon—und Hofklatsch von des Sohnes angeblicker Schuld an ihrem Tode."

5 The new marine legion raised by Vitellius, c. 55, ante, and not to be confounded with the Prima Adjutrix Classicorum.

6 Post eum. So I read with Meiser, and would incorporate into the text this brilliant emendation, which the modesty of the great German critic has merely relegated to a foot-note. Of course the seu of the Medicean MS. is a corruption. Accordingly Puteolanus read simul ferebatur; but how could he extract simul from seu? On the other hand seu is an easy corruption from πέψα, the usual manuscript contraction for post eum. Moreover post eum suits the context to a nicety. Meiser refers to Livy, xxvii. 37. 11: "ordo talis fuit: boves—albae duae—ducmes, post eas duo signa—portabantur"; also Curtius, viii. 14. 10: "post eos posuerat peditem"; also Tibullus, i. 10. 23:

"Atque aliquis voti compos liba ipse ferebat,
Postque comes purum filia parva favum."

Hereeus cuts, rather than unties, the knot by simply reading ferebatur lecticula parvus filius.
litter as if for a funeral procession. The salutations of the people were full of ill-timed flattery; the soldiers maintained a sullen silence.

LXVIII. There breathes not a man with soul so dead to human miseries, that such a sight would not stir it—the Roman Prince, but yesterday Lord of the World, now quits the Palace of the Caesars, and passes from his empire through the midst of his own people, through the streets of his own Rome. Men had never seen, had never heard of, the like before. A sudden attack had surprised the Dictator, Caesar; subterranean treachery had waylaid Caligula; the darkness of night and an obscure villa had veiled the flight of Nero; Piso and Galba fell as if in the fray. But now in the midst of

1 Post eum forebatur lecticula parvulus filius, velut in funebrem pompam. Meiser cites a very similar passage from Cornelius Nepos, Att., xxii.: "elatus est in lecticula, ut ipse præscripsset, sine ualla pompa funeris."

2 Blanda et intempestiva. Tacitus is fond of connecting antithetical expressions. Compare c. 56, "jucundum et laesum," cited by Mr. Spooner, who also refers to iv. 33: "major numerus et imbellior."

3 Nec quisquam adeo rerum humanarum immemor. This passage is redolent of Verg., Æn., i. 462: "Sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortale tangunt."

4 Illa facies, "such a sight." Facies is often used in this sense in Tacitus. Compare Juvenal, x. 157:

   "O qualis facies et quali digna tabella,
   Cum Gætula ducem portaret bellua luscum!"

5 Non moveret, "would not stir it"—exquisitor phantis. The use of the imperfect subjunctive conjures up the scene before the mind's eye. A mechanical writer would have written movisset, and have let his colours fade into the past.

6 Romanum Principem et generis humani paulo ante dominum—an almost exact rendering of Shakespeare, Julius Caesar, iii. 2. 124:

   "But yesterday the word of Caesar might
   Have stood against the world."

7 Fortunae sua sede, "the palace of the Caesars." Fortuna, as so often elsewhere in Tacitus, means "the imperial dignity."

8 Oppresserat, "had surprised." Compare c. 43, ante, sub fine: "Ibi eum missæ a Paulino Liburnice oppresseræ"—and note.

9 Occultæ insidia, "subterranean treachery." Caligula was stabbed by Cassius Cherea in a subterranean passage on his way from the palace to the Palatine games. See Suetonius, C. Caligula, lviii., where the passage under ground is termed crypta.

10 Ignotum rūs, "the obscure villa" of Nero's freedman, Phaon, situated four miles from Rome; Suetonius, Nero, xlviii.

11 Piso et Galba tamquam in acie cecidere. See i. 41, 42, ante.
his own gathering, among his own soldiers, before the gaze of the very women of his household, Vitellius spake a few short words befitting the scene of sorrow—"I abdicate¹ my throne for peace sake, for sake of fatherland! Hold but my memory dear! Take pity on my brother, my wife, my innocent children!" Meanwhile he held his son aloft in his arms, and now to one, now to all, entrusted him; then tears his utterance choked;² and, detaching the dagger³ from his side, he would fain have returned it, as the symbol of the prerogative of life and death, to the consul Cæcilius Simplex, who was by his side. When the consul turned away from it, and the assemblage protested loudly, Vitellius departed, as if to lay aside the emblems of empire in the Temple of Peace,⁴ and then to betake himself to his brother's house!⁵ Here there arose still more vehement cries from those who blocked the emperor's entry into a private house,⁶ and loudly summoned him to the palace. Every other avenue was shut off from him, and the only open passage lay in the direction of the Sacred Way.⁷ Then quite bewildered he returned to the palace. Thither had gone before him the rumour of his abdication, and Flavius Sabinus had given written instructions to the tribunes of the several cohorts⁸ to confine the soldiers to their barracks.

¹ Cedere se, "I abdicate my throne." See c. lxvi., ante, n. 4; i. 55, ante, and note; Introduction to vol. i. p. liii.
² Comment dant, post remoctu praeceptante—a regular hexameter, which I have marked by an English heroic in the text. Compare Annals, i. 1: "Urbem Romam a principio reges habuere": Germania, xxxix. 2: "Auguris patrum et priscar Formidine sacrum."
³ Exsolutum a latere pugionem velut jus necis vitaeque civium reddebat, "detaching the dagger from his side, he would fain have returned it as the symbol of the prerogative of life and death." The Roman emperor wore the pugio or dagger round his neck, as the sovereign arbiter of life and death. See Suetonius, Galba, xi.: "Suscepit Caesaris appellationem, itaque ingressus est paludatus ac dependente a cervicibus pugione ante pecus."
⁴ Aede Concordiae. The Temple of Peace was at the foot of the Capitoline hill. The Senate used to assemble in it.
⁵ The house of L. Vitellius overlooked the Forum and was close to the Temple of Peace.
⁶ They resisted the entry of the emperor into a private house as a manifestation of his retirement into private life.
⁷ The Sacra Via, or Sacred Way, ran past the Palace from the Forum to the Colosseum. All remember Horace—"Ibam forte Via Sacra."
⁸ Cohortium, that is, the cohorts of the Praetorians, the City cohorts, and the cohorts of the Watch.
LXIX. And so, as if the whole Commonwealth had fallen into the arms of Vespasian, the leading senators, most of the knights, all the city cohorts, and the Watch thronged the house of Flavius Sabinus. Hither came news of the popular enthusiasm towards Vitellius, and the threatening attitude of his Prætorian cohorts. Sabinus had already gone too far to retreat, and every man, in his terror lest the Vitellianists should hunt down the scattered, and consequently enfeebled, insurgents, sought to hurry the reluctant leader into action. But, as it generally happens on such occasions, all were ready to give advice, few to take their share in the danger. As his armed escort were on their way from the house of Sabinus, they were attacked near the margin of the basin of Fundanius by the most alert of the Vitellianists. There ensued an engagement on no very extensive scale indeed, as the affair was unexpected, but still the Vitellianists proved victori-

1 "Tanquam omnis res publica in Vespasian sinum cecidisset," "as if the whole Commonwealth had fallen into the arms of Vespasian." 

2 Omnisque miles urbanus, "all the city cohorts," as in i. 89. 11. On the other hand, miles urbanus is taken in a larger sense in i. 4; i. 5; ii. 94.

3 See c. 66, ante, "superesse studia populi": also c. 68, ante, "voce populi blandæ et intempestive."

4 Germanicarum cohortium, "his Prætorian cohorts." The Prætorian cohorts (of which there were three then at Rome—"adversus tres cohortes," c. 78) were chiefly recruited from the German legions (ii. 93, 94, ante), and are here consequently termed Germaniae cohortes.

5 Descendentibus, "on their way from the house of Sabinus." Descendere, in Roman parlance, meant simply "to leave the house." See c. 3, ante, n. 6.

6 Lacum Fundani, "the basin of Fundanius." Compare i. 41. 5, ante: "Curtii lacum." There were a vast number of these basins in Rome for the supply of public water. Pliny, H. N., xxxvi. 15. 121, tells us that M. Agrippa constructed 700 of them. See Horace, Sat., i. 4. 37. The basin of Fundanius was at the foot of the Quirinal Hill. Orelli refers to a suspected inscription—M. Lat. N. 567, which speaks of the Laci (sic) Fundani.

7 Tumultu, "the affair." Compare Sir Walter Scott, Lady of the Lake, iii. 14:

"So swept the tumult and affray
Along the margin of Achray."
ous. In the excitement of the moment Sabinus took the safest course under existing circumstances, and occupied the Capitol with his soldiery, amongst whom were interspersed some senators and knights, whose names it would be hard to record with accuracy, inasmuch as after the victory of Vespasian many persons counterfeited that service to the Flavian party. Even women underwent the trials of the siege, and amongst them far and away the most remarkable was Verulana Gratilla, who followed neither children nor kindred but simply the Romance of War. The soldiers of Vitellius proved remiss in the beleaguerment of the besieged; and so Sabinus succeeded at dead of night in admitting his children and his nephew Domitian into the Capitol, while he despatched a messenger through the unguarded passes to the Flavian leaders to announce that he and his army lay besieged, and would be in sore straits, unless assistance were forthcoming. He found the night so undisturbed that he might have escaped through the enemy's lines without a scratch; for the soldiers of Vitellius, spirited as they were in the face of danger, found it hard to concentrate themselves on the toils of the watch, and, moreover, a sudden storm of winter rain frustrated eye and ear alike.

LXX. At dawn Sabinus, before the opening of hostilities on either side, despatched Cornelius Martialis, an ex-centurion of the highest grade, to Vitellius, with orders to complain of the violation

1 *Arcem Capitolii,* "the Capitol." The Capitol—*arx Capitolii,* or *Capitolina arx,* or *Capitolium*—was erected on the *south-western* ridge of the Capitoline Hill (now the *Palazzo Caffarelli*), and must be distinguished from the *Arx,* or Citadel of Rome, which was situated on the *north-eastern* peak of the same Capitoline Hill (where now stands the church *Aracoeli*). The intervening space between the *Arx,* or Citadel, and the *Arx Capitolii,* or Capitol, was the *old Asylum of Romulus* (Liv. i. 8; Vell. Pat., i. 9; Dionys., ii. 15), which was also known as *inter duos lucos* or *μεθόριον θυών δρυμών.*—*Dionys., ii. 15.*

2 *Verulana Gratilla,* subsequently banished from Rome by Domitian, most probably because she was the friend of Arulenus Rusticus (c. 80). Gratilla is twice mentioned by Pliny: (1) in *Epist.,* iii. 11. 4: "relegatis Maurico Gratilla, Arria, Fannia"; (2) *Epist.,* v. 1. 8: "et erant quidam in illis quibus obici et Gratillae amicitia et Rustici posset."

3 *Bellum secuta,* "she followed the Romance of War"—"the sound of the drum." Compare Burns, *The Jolly Beggars:

"From the gilded spontoon to the fife I was ready,
I asked no more but a sodger laddie."
of the compact. "There has been nothing," ran the missive, "but an idle mockery and a sham abdication merely for the purpose of tricking so many distinguished men.

Why, otherwise, did you, Vitellius, direct your steps from the Rostra to your brother's house, which overlooks the Forum, and challenges the public gaze, and not rather towards the Aventine and the home of your wife? The latter was the becoming course for one retiring into private life and seeking to avoid the slightest semblance of Imperial authority. But you, Vitellius, on the other hand, returned to the Palace, the very fastness of the Empire. Thence issued your armed bands, and the most crowded streets of Rome were strewn with the corpses of innocent men; nay you cannot keep your hands from off even the Capitol. To be sure I am only a civilian, only a senator; but still, while the issue between Vespasian and Vitellius is being determined by the battles of legions, the capture of cities, and the surrenders of Praetorian cohorts, amid the open revolt from you of Spain, Germany, and Britain, I, the brother of Vespasian, remained staunch and true to you, until you actually summoned me to settle the terms of capitulation. The vanquished regard Peace and Reconciliation from a purely selfish standpoint, it is only the victors that see these things in their nobler aspect. If you regret the terms of your covenant, then draw the sword, not on me, whom you have so treacherously

1 Cur enim—petisset? "Why, otherwise, did you, Vitellius, direct your steps?"

When a question is put in the oratio obliqua, which in the oratio recta would be addressed to the second person, then, in such a case, the subjunctive mood is used in the oratio obliqua; but when the question is such, that it would in the oratio recta be addressed to the first or third person, then the infinitive mood is used in the oratio obliqua, as in the present chapter, infra, we find: "quantum occisis uno sene et uno juvene profeci?"

2 Judicatur, used by Tacitus for dijudicatur. Meiser refers to Velleius Paterculus, ii. 3: "discordiae civium—ferro dijudicatae."

3 Utilia, "from a purely selfish standpoint." The Stoic, Tacitus, sneers at the selfishness—utile—of the Epicureans.

4 Victoribus tantum, "it is only the victors." Tantum must be taken with victori- 

5 Pulchra, "in their nobler aspect." The Stoic holds up the pulchra—τὰ καλὰ καὶ πάγωδ.

6 Non se—non filium. Non is rightly used instead of ne, as the negative is coupled with the substantive and not with the verb.
tricked, not on the son of Vespasian, a mere stripling: for what boots the slaughter of one old man, one boy of tender years? March on against the legions of Vespasian, and fight yonder for the stake of empire! All things else will follow the issue of that battle.” Vitellius grew nervous at this missive, and sought, in a brief reply, to excuse himself, by laying all the blame upon his soldiers, who, he said, had been too zealous: he himself had been quite unable to keep them within bounds. He then warned Martialis to depart secretly by the rear of the house, lest he might be slain by the soldiery as the negotiator of an odious peace. Vitellius himself was powerless either to command or to forbid, as he was no longer emperor but the mere shibboleth of the war.

LXXI. Scarce had Martialis returned to the Capitol, when the infuriated soldiery were at hand, leaderless, each man taking his own initiative. Rushing at full speed past the Forum and the temples overhanging it, they swarmed up the face of the hill even to the outer

1 *Ille—"yonder!"—βιοκτόνως.
2 *Culpa in militem conferens, cujus nimius ardur: imparem esse modestiam suam,* “by laying all the blame upon his soldiers, who, he said, had been too zealous: he himself had been quite unable to keep them within bounds.” This is the reading of the Medicean MS., and we believe it to be absolutely correct. The difficulty of interpretation induced Puteolanus, who did not understand the full meaning of *modestiam suam* in this passage, to substitute a reading of his own, which is bad Latin and contrary to the rules of grammar. He reads: “*cujus nimio ardori imparem esse modestiam suam.*” This is not Latin, as the oblique narration would require “*cujus nimio ardori impar esse modestia sua.*” So Meiser: “Puteolanus scripsit *cujus nimio ardori imparem esse modestiam suam contra auctoritatem Medicei et contra legem grammaticam,* quae *cujus nimio ardori impar esse modestia sua flagitat.*” All the authorities cited to the contrary by *Heræus* are not in point, as those passages are simple and not relative clauses, such as here. The use of *modestia* in an objective, rather than a subjective, sense is extremely rare, and altogether Tacitean.

3 *Et = "then," as in c. 61, ante, and v. 26, post.
4 *Per secretam adium partem,* “by the rear of the house”—the *posticum.* Compare iii. 84, post: “*per aversem Palatii partem*”; ii. 51, ante: “*per aversem domus partem.*” Tacitus, as is his wont, uses a poetical circumlocution to avoid the vulgar *posticum.*
5 *Sibi quisque auctor,* “each man taking his own initiative.” For this use of *auctor,* see c. 2, n. 2; c. 43, n. 7, ante; iv. 14, post; Agricola, xiii.
6 *Inimicentia foro templo—*These were the temples of Saturn and of Peace, overlooking the Forum on the north-west side.

7 *Per adversum collem,* “up the face of the hill.” They started (as Prof. *Heræus* points out) about fifty paces to the *east* of the precipice of the Tarpeian Rock, very nearly following the modern route, which passes up from the west of the Temple of Saturn and the colonnade of the *Dii Consentes,* and leads on to the *Piazza del Campidoglio.*
gates\(^1\) of the Capitol. From that point on there were from of yore colonnades\(^2\) running along the right-hand side of the cliff as one ascended.\(^3\) The besieged clambered out on to the roof of these colonnades and sought to overwhelm the Vitellianists with showers of stones and tiles. Nor had the latter any weapons but their swords, and they thought that too much time would be lost in bringing up siege-artillery and projectiles. They hurled fire-brands upon a jutting colonnade, followed up the trail of the flame, and would have burst their way through the scorched gates of the Capitol,\(^4\) had not Sabinus torn down from their pedestals the statues all around him, those famous effigies of our ancestors,\(^6\) and formed them into a kind of barricade at the very entrance. Then\(^6\) the besiegers attacked the Capitol from two opposite points, the one, close to the grove of the Asylum,\(^7\) the other, by the hundred steps leading to the Tarpeian Rock.\(^8\) Both of these assaults were wholly unexpected, but that directed along by the Asylum gathered closer and fiercer. Nor could the Vitellianists be checked, as they clambered along the roofs of the houses adjoining the Capitol,\(^9\) which, as was natural in a time of profound peace, had been built to such a height that they

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1 *Primas Capitolinae arcis fores,* "the outer gates of the Capitol"—that is, the *Tabularium,* not the Capitol proper, but the buildings lower down the hill, now known as the *Tabularium.* From this point a flight of steps (not to be confounded with the colonnades) led straight up to the Asylum.

2 *Porticus—eoal—colonnades—Säulengänge.—Heræus.* These colonnades ran to the right of the carriage-way, and to the left of the flight of steps leading to the Asylum.

3 The colonnades constituted a foot-way to the right of the carriage-way (*dextra subcuntibus*), which turned to the left and led to the Capitol. Thus the carriage-way towards the Capitol was on the extreme left, the colonnades ran next it on the right, and the flight of steps to the Asylum were on the extreme right of all.

4 Not the Capitol proper, but the *Tabularium,* which is here included under the term *Capitolium.*

5 *Decora majorum,* "those famous effigies of our ancestors." Compare *Annals,* iv. 75. 2; xiv. 53. 5 (Furneaux’s note); *Hist.* i. 15. 1 (vol. i. p. 11).

6 The Vitellianist assailants, baffled in their attempt to capture the Capitol by storming the Tabularium, now change their tactics.

7 That is from the eastern side. The *Asylum* or *lucus Asyli* lay between the *Arx,* or Citadel, and the Capitol, or *Arx Capitolii.* Meiser cites Livy, i. 8. 5: "*(Romulus)* locum, qui nunc sæptus descendentibus inter duos locos est, *asylum aperit.*" Dionys. *Hal.* ii. 15.

8 That is, from the western side.

9 *Conjuncta adiacentia, scilicet, Capitolio.*
were on a level with the base of the temple itself. At this point in the narrative we are in the dark as to whether it was the assailants, who hurled fire-brands on to the roofs of the houses, or the besieged, as is the prevalent tradition, in their efforts to dislodge the Vitellianists as they climbed along and pushed forward.\textsuperscript{1} Then the fire glid along to the colonnades adjoining the shrines;\textsuperscript{2} and presently the eagle-shaped consoles\textsuperscript{3} supporting the pediment,\textsuperscript{4} formed as they were of seasoned wood, caught and fed the flames. And so the Capitol, with its gates closed, undefended, yet free from sacrilegious touch, was reduced to ashes.

\textbf{LXXII.} This deed of shame was the most rueful, the foulest blot that had e'er befallen the Commonwealth of the Roman people from the foundation of their city.\textsuperscript{5} In the absence of all foreign foes, with the grace of heaven on our side, if our sins would but let it, the shrine of Jupiter, the All-Good, the Almighty, that shrine raised by our ancestors with solemn ritual as a token\textsuperscript{6} of empire, which neither

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1} \textit{Dum nitentes ac progressos depulerint}, "in their efforts to dislodge the Vitellianists as they climbed along and pushed forward." So I read with Heræus for the defective \textit{nitentes ac progressos depulerint} of the Med. MS. I account thus for the corruption. The Med. MS. stands thus: \textit{qua crebrior fama nitentes ac progressos depulerint}. \textit{Fama dum} had been first corrupted or blurred into \textit{fama} or \textit{famam}; and then a subsequent copyist was forced to alter \textit{depellunt} into \textit{depulerint}. \textit{Dum} with the present indicative is in this context quite Tacitean. Compare ii. 21 (vol. i. p. 83, n. 2), ante: "\textit{dum paria regerunt}"—a perfect parallel, describing the same accidental conflagration.

Meiser reads \textit{flamma nitentes—depulerint}; but surely \textit{flamma} is never used of missile fire. Ruperti reads \textit{quo—depellerent}; Bezenberger, \textit{ut—depellerent}.

\item \textsuperscript{2} \textit{Æidibus}, "the shrines," three in number in the one temple, that of Jupiter being in the centre, and those of Juno and Minerva on either side.

\item \textsuperscript{3} \textit{Aquila}, "the eagle-shaped consoles"—the massive triangular wooden framework supporting the pediment or \textit{fastigium}. This framework is termed in \textit{Italian} architecture the \textit{console} or \textit{consoles}, and corresponds to the \textit{Gothic cornel} or \textit{corbels}. The Greek equivalent is \textit{âiâvlo} or \textit{âiâvwo}, which latter terms often mean the pediment itself. See Pindar, \textit{Olym.}, xiii. 20. I am indebted to my friend J. J. O'Callaghan, Esq., F.R.I.A.I., for these architectural explanations. See also Parker's Glossary.

\item \textsuperscript{4} \textit{Fastigium}, "the pediment." See Cicero, \textit{De Orator.}, iii. 46, § 180: "\textit{Capitoliis fastigium illud}"; \textit{ibid.}, \textit{Thilip.}, ii. 43, § 110.

\item \textsuperscript{5} To burn the Capitol was a synonym for heinous crime. Meiser cites Epictet., \textit{Diss.}, i. 7. 62: \textit{μὴ γὰρ τὸ Καπιτῶλον ἐνέφησεν}; also Plutarch, \textit{Tib. Graecius}, xx. 3: \textit{τὰ οὖν, ἐξεῖς ἐκ τίβεριος ἐκέλουσεν ἐμφησαί τὸ Καπιτῶλον}; compare iv. 54, \textit{post}, and Horace, \textit{Odes}, iii. 30. 7:

\begin{quote}
"usque ego postera Crescam laude recens, \textit{dum Capitolium Scandet cum tacita virgine pontifex.}"\end{quote}
\end{itemize}
Porsenna, when Rome was surrendered to him, nor the Gauls, when she was captured, had been able to desecrate, was now being utterly destroyed by the mad folly of our own Princes. The Capitol had been burnt ere now during Civil War, but the crime was that of some private individual; now it was publicly besieged, publicly set on fire, and what reason warranted the affray? what was to be the recompense for so great a loss? Were we fighting for fatherland? King Tarquin the Elder had registered a vow, during the Sabine War, to found the Capitol, and had laid foundations commensurate with the hope of its future magnificence rather than with the still slender resources of the Roman People. Next Servius Tullius, with the enthusiastic co-operation of his allies,

7 Porsenna, so writes Tacitus, following Vergil, viii. 646. But Lord Macaulay's "Lars Porsena of Clusium" is warranted by Martial; Silius Italicus, viii. 389 and 478; x. 483; as well as by Horace, Epodes, xvi. 4: "Minacis aut Etrusca Porsena manus."

2 Dedita urbe, "when Rome was surrendered to him." Here Tacitus flatly contradicts Livy (ii. 13), and shatters the myth of Horatius Cocles and his fabulous feat. Our historian is conclusively supported by Pliny, H. N., xxxiv. 14. 39: "In foedere, quod expulsis regibus Populo Romano dedit Porsenna, nominatim comprehensum invenimus, ne ferronisi in agri cultu uterentur; etiam stilo scribere vetitum vetustissimi auctore tradiderunt." Meiser well refers to this passage as the evidence of fate, preserved to vindicate the truth of history—"fatales, ut ita dicam, ille Plinius de Porsenna locus."

3 The Capitol was three times burnt. First, in 83 B.C. (see Plutarch, Sulla, xxvii.), when it was rebuilt by Sulla, and dedicated by Lutatius Catulus in 69 B.C.; again, in 69 A.D. (being the conflagration, described in the context above, during the reign of Vitellius), after which it was rebuilt by Vespasian; lastly, in 80 A.D., during the reign of Titus (Suetonius, Titus, viii.), when it was restored by Domitian on a scale of unprecedented magnificence.—Suetonius, Domitian, v.

4 Quibus armorum causis, quo tanta clades pretio? Pro patria bellavimus? I believe this to be the true reading for the following reasons: The Medicean MS. stands thus—quibus armorum causis, quo tanta clades pretio stetit? pro patria bellavimus? It is manifest that Tacitus, when writing of the fall of the Capitol, would not use the word stetit even in the figurative sense of "standing at a certain price." But the scribe or copyist, as so often happens, ignoring the scope and meaning of the whole context, followed the common formula, and wrote in stetit after pretio, which would have suited the meaning in any other context but one dealing with the fall of the Capitol. See my Introduction to this volume. The inferior MSS. omit stetit, and rightly. We therefore cannot understand such emendations as the quo tanta clades pretio stetit? of Pichena; or the stetit nimio, ni pro patria bellavimus, of Meiser. Fr. Walter and Heraeus read sedit for stetit—but surely that is Bathos with a vengeance!

5 Compare Livy, i. 38: "ream ad edem in Capitolio Jovis, quam vorerat bello Sabino, jam pressa genti animo futuram olim amplitudinem loci occupat fundamenta."

6 Here again Tacitus is at variance with Livy, i. 44; and Dionysius Halicar., iv. 28; as both of these last-mentioned authors describe Servius Tullius as building the temple
and then Tarquin the Proud, with the produce of the spoils from the captured city of Suessa Pometia, proceeded with the work. But the crowning glory of completion lay in store for the days of Liberty: for after the banishment of the kings, Horatius Pulvillus, in his second consulship, dedicated the Temple in all that splendour which the vast wealth of the Roman people in later ages could but set off rather than augment. It was again erected on its former site after its destruction by fire during the consulship of L. Scipio and C. Norbanus in the four hundred and fifteenth year of its existence. The victorious Sulla had undertaken the task, yet did not live to witness the dedication: that was the one drop wanting to fill the cup of his proverbial Good Fortune. Notwithstanding the splendid embellishments of the Capitol by the Caesars, the name of the dedicator, Lutatius Catulus, remained undisturbed down to the reign of Vitellius. This was the shrine that was now in flames.

LXXIII. But the conflagration dismayed the besieged more than the besiegers. For the soldiers of Vitellius were deficient neither in shrewdness nor presence of mind in the face of danger, while opposed to them were panic-stricken

of Diana on the Aventine, and make no mention of any act of his in connection with the Capitol. Doubtless here, too, Tacitus has relied on some old and standard authorities now lost—vetutissimi auctores—as we may fairly surmise from the corroboration Tacitus has already received at the hands of Pliny, n. 2, supra. 1

1 Extruxere, "proceeded with the work."—Mr. Spooner. See Livy, i. 53.

2 a.u.C. 247 ; b.c. 507. Here Dionysius, Antig. Rom., v. 35, agrees with Tacitus. On the other hand, Livy, ii. 8, and Polybius, iii. 22, make the date two years earlier, namely, the first consulship of Horatius Pulvillus—a.u.C. 245 ; b.c. 509. Plutarch follows these latter authorities.

3 This is a mistake. The real figure should be "the 425th year," that is, from a.u.C. 247 to a.u.C. 671. The error no doubt arose in this way. The true number was represented by the figures ccccxxv, and the copyist in his haste read it as ccccxv.

4 Pliny tells us that Sulla had brought the pillars of the temple of Jupiter Olympus, at Athens, to Rome for the new Capitol.—Pliny, H. N., xxxvi. 45.

5 Sulla assumed the surname of Felix; Vell. Patrec., ii. 27. 5 ; Aurel. Vict. de vir. ill. i. 75 ; Appian, B. C. i. 97: Pliny, H. N., vii. 138. See Plutarch, Sulla, xxxiv. 2 : καὶ πέραν ἓκλεισεν δαυτὸν ἐπὶ τούτου Εὐττυχί προσαγωγεοθεσαί τούτο γὰρ δ ῬΗΑΣ μᾶλιστα βούλεται δηλοῖν.

6 Compare the words of Augustus in Monum. Ancyr., iv. 9 (c. xx.): "Capitolium et Pompeium Theatrum utrunque opus impensa grandi refeci sine ulla inscriptione nominis mei."

7 Lutatius Catulus dedicated the restored Capitol in b.c. 69, and received the surname of Capitolinus.
troops and a palsied and, as it were, mentally paralysed leader, who was master neither of his tongue nor of his ears, who would not hearken to the plans of others, and was unable to arrange his own, while he was swayed hither and thither by the shouts of the enemy, countermanded his first orders, and then ordered those which he had countermanded. Next, as generally happens in forlorn counsels, all gave orders and none obeyed them. Finally, they threw down their arms and began to watch for a chance of escape, and how they might most skilfully disguise themselves. Then the Vitellianists burst in upon them amid a scene of blood, fire, sword, all blent around. A handful of warriors, amongst whom by far the most conspicuous were Cornelius Martialis, Æmilius Pacensis, Casperius Niger, and Didius Scaeva, faced the foe and were instantly out to pieces. The Vitellianists then surrounded Flavius Sabinus, who was unarmed, and made no attempt to escape, and Quintius Atticus, the consul, who was singled out by the shadow of office that still clung to him, and the idle vanity that prompted him to scatter broadcast from the Capitol manifestoes, in which he eulogised Vespasian and defamed Vitellius.

1 Captus animi, "mentally paralysed." This idiom was first applied to physical defects, as in Verg., Geórg., i. 183:

"Aut oculis capti fodere cubilia talpa."

Compare Livy, xxii. 2. 11: "Ipse Hannibal—alter oculo capitur." It was soon extended to mental infirmities, as in Cicero, Of., i. 27, 94: "labi, decipi tam dedeceat quam delirare et mente esse captum." In cases of mental infirmity the past participle capitus is alone used; while as regards physical defects the verb is used generally.

2 Non lingua non auribus competere, "was master neither of his tongue nor of his ears." The phrase is borrowed from Sallust, Hist., i., Frag., 88 (ed. Kr.); 62 (ed. Gerlach): "Sic vero quasi formidine attonitus neque animo neque auribus aut lingua competere." Tacitus repeats the same expression in Annals, iii. 46.

3 Sua expedire, "arrange his own." Compare Cicero, Fam. iii. 12. 2 (Tyrrell and Purser, cclxxv., vol. iii. p. 233): "Itaque quem ad modum expediendum exitum hujus institutae orationis non reperio."

4 Pauci militarium virorum, "a handful of warriors"—hommes de guerre—Kriegsmänner—Héros, who refers to ii. 75 (vol. i. p. 131), ante: notum viro militari": also Agricola, xli.; Annals, iv. 72; xv. 10, 26, 67. The reader will also observe the Silver-age structure of the sentence. Cicero would have written pauci, qui militares viri erant. See c. 12. 9, ante, and note 4; also c. 61, ante, n. 3.

5 See c. 70, ante.

6 See i. 87, ii. 12, ante.

7 See i. 77. 8; ii. 60. 14, ante.

8 Recalling the familiar nominis umbra.

9 Edicta in populum, "manifestoes." Edicta and in populum must be construed together, as otherwise Tacitus would have written inter populum—jecerat.
The rest escaped after a series of adventures, some disguised as slaves, others sheltered by the loyalty of clients and concealed among the baggage. Some, again, picked up the password, through which the Vitellianists distinguished each other, and by actually using it for alternate challenge and answer found audacity as effective as concealment.

LXXIV. At the very moment that the Vitellianists were bursting into the Capitol Domitian had hidden himself in the cell of the verger of the temple, and thien, attired by the skill of his freedman in a white linen robe, he mingled unnoticed with the throng of priests, and and subsequently concealed himself in the house of Cornelius Primus, a dependant of his father, near the Velabrum. Afterwards, when his father had ascended the throne, Domitian

1 Per varios casus, "after a series of adventures"—repeating the very words of Vergil, Æn., i. 204:

"Per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum."

Compare the same expression in the next chapter: "Domitianus—sacellum Jovi Conservatoris aramque posuit casus suos in marmore expressam."

2 Apud editum, "in the cell of the verger of the temple." The contubernium of the verger or editus, who was generally a slave, as the name of his residence (contubernium) proves, was a cell always within the precincts of the temple. Compare i. 43 (vol. i. p. 27) ante: "Piso in aedem Vesta pervasit exceptus quem misericordia publici servi et contubernio ejus ablitus non religione nec cærenonis sed latebra immens exitium differebat—Protractus Piso in foribus templi trucidatur."

3 Lineo amictu, "in a white linen robe," the raiment worn by the priests of Isis, whose cult had been for some time permitted in the Capitol. See Suetonius, Domitian, i.: "Bello Vitelliano confugit in Capitolium cum patruo Sabino ac parte praetorium copiariam, sed irrumpentibus adversariis et ardente templo apud editum clam pernoc-tavit, ac mane Isiacæ habitus interque sacrificios vanæ superstitionis, cum se trans Tiberim ad condiscipulis sui materem comite uno contulisset, ita latuit, ut scrutin-tibus qui vestigia subsecuti erant, deprehendi non potuerit." Compare Juvenal, vi. 527, et seq.:

"Ibit ad Ægypti finem calidaque petitas
A Meroe portabit aquas, ut spargat in aedem
Isidie, antiquo quæ proxima surgit ovili.

Ergo hic precipium summumque meretur honorem,
Quis gregis liniger ætatem circumdatur et gregis calvo
Plangentis populi currit derisor Anubis."

So Ovid, Metamorph., i. 747:

"Nunc dea linigeræ colitur celeberrima turba."

4 Sacrificialum, "the priests," termed by Suetonius, Domit. i., supra: "sacrifici-los vanæ superstitionis."

5 The Velabrum was a district or street between the Tiber, the Forum Boarium and the Palatium, opposite the modern Ponte Rotto.
removed the verger’s cell, and raised on its site a small chapel in
honour of Jupiter the Saviour, and an altar wrought in marble
bas-relief setting forth the legend of his own adventures. Later
on, when he himself had assumed the purple, he dedicated a vast
temple to Jupiter the Guardian, as well as his own effigy resting
on the bosom of the god. Sabinus and Atticus, laden with chains,
were conducted into the presence of Vitellius, and were received
by that prince without a trace of hostility either in word or glance,
amid the murmurs of those who claimed the right of execution and
the blood-money for the completion of their work. When those
standing near began the uproar, then the rabble demanded the
death of Sabinus in terms of commingled menace and flattery.
They finally prevailed upon Vitellius, who was standing at the
head of the Palace-steps and preparing to appeal for mercy, to
desist from his entreaties. Then they stabbed, mangled, and
decapitated the body of Sabinus and dragged it down the Steps
of Sighs.

LXXV. Such was the end of a man by no means unworthy of our notice. He had passed five and thirty years in the service of the fatherland, and had won celebrity both at home and abroad. No one could impeach the purity of his life and his sense of justice, but he was

1 A great number of the coins of Domitian bear upon their reverse the legend IOVI CONSERVATORI S. C.

2 Aramque posuit casus suos in marmore expressam—a Grecism, says Dübner (cited by Meiser)—τὰς τύχας αὐτῶν ἐγκεκαραγμέναν. Compare Vergil, Ecl., iii. 106:

‘‘Die, quibus in terris inscripti nomina regum
Nascantur flores; et Phyllida solus habeto.”

Also Valerius Flaccus, Argon., i. 491 (cited by Meiser):

‘‘Casusque tuos expressa, Phalere,
Arma geris.”

3 Compare Suetonius, Dom., v.: “Novam autem excitavit sēdem in Capitolio Custodi Jovi.”

4 ‘‘Gemonias,” sicilicet, Scalae, “The Steps of Sighs,” leading down from the Tullianum on the eastern slope of the Capitoline Hill.

5 Haud sane spernendi, “by no means unworthy of our notice.” Haud sane—“by no means”—gar nicht—durchaus nicht.—Heraeus, who points out that the expression is used four-and-twenty times by Livy. See Horace, Epist., i. 7. 61: “Non sane credere Mena.”

6 In re publica, “in the service of the fatherland”—as opposed to Civil War.
too vainglorious:¹ that was the one blemish at which gossip could cavil² during the seven years of the Moesian governorship, and the twelve³ for which he had held the office of City Prefect. Towards the close of his life some thought him spiritless, but many deemed him a man of moderation and loth to spill the blood of his fellow-citizens. All, I venture to think, are agreed⁴ that before Vespasian's accession to the throne Sabinus was the flower of the flock.⁵ I have heard that his murder proved a source of joy to Mucianus. Nay, many were wont to assert that the interests of peace were furthered by the extinction of a rivalry between two men, one of whom called to mind that he was the emperor's brother, while the other imagined⁶ that he was the partner of that emperor's throne. However,⁷ Vitellius withstood the demands of the people for the execution of the consul, softened as he was, and anxious to make some kind of return⁸ to Atticus, inasmuch as the latter, when asked who had set fire to the Capitol, voluntarily pleaded guilty, and seemed, by what was either⁹ a true

Ernesti did not perceive this antithesis, and consequently, without any real foundation, cast suspicion on the text which is now unchallenged.

¹ Sermonis nimius erat, "but he was too vainglorious." So Meiser: "est non tam 'loquax' quam 'rerum a se gestarum jactator.'"

² Id unum—calumniatus est rumor, "that was the one blemish at which gossip could cavil." Tacitus uses calumniari in its pristine and etymological sense of "jeering" or "cavilling." Calumnia is no doubt a more modern form for calumnium from calvar. Hence cavilla and cavillatio. We find Hallam (cited in Dr. Murray's great Historical Dictionary sub verbo) using the word cavillation in his History of Literature, ii. 11. 3, § 16: "a good deal more follows in the same sophistical style of cavillation." Cicero frequently uses calumnia and calumniari in this strict and pristine sense. So, too, Seneca, Epist., 81. 25: "non calumniatur verba nec volitus; quicquid accidit, benignae interpretandae levat."

³ Duodecim. As Pedanius Secundus was City Prefect in 61 A.D., for which see Annals, xiv. 42, et seq., it would seem to follow that Sabinus could not have been City Prefect for more than eight years up to 69 A.D. Accordingly Borghesi, iii. 327, reads totidem (a most ingenious and probable conjecture) for duodecim.

⁴ Quod inter omnis constiterit, "all, I venture to think, are agreed." The perfect subjunctive marks a deferential tone.

⁵ Decus domus, "the flower of the flock." Wolfflin has written a treatise on the alliterativeness of the Latin language.

⁶ Cogitaret is here used under the figure of zeugma to express two different meanings.

⁷ Sed—"however"—marks the resumption of the narrative.

⁸ Ac velut vicem reddens. Compare iv. 3, post: "tanto proculius est injuria quam beneficio vicem exsolvere."

⁹ Tacitus, after the manner of Horace, is fond of omitting seu from the first limb of a sentence.
confession or an opportune lie, to have taken upon himself the burden of an odious charge, and to have cleared the character of the Vitellianist party from all taint.

LXXVI. About this very time Lucius Vitellius had pitched his camp at Feronia and was bent on the destruction of Terracina, where the Flavian gladiators and oarsmen were hemmed in, and dared not either leave the shelter of the battlements or venture to fight in the open. Julianus, as we have already mentioned, commanded the gladiators, and Apollinaris the oarsmen, while both of them in their habits of depravity and idleness resembled gladiators more than generals. They neither went the rounds of the watch, nor strengthened the insecure points in the ramparts: day and night in their dissolute carousals they

1 *Invidiam crimenque adgnovisse,* "to have taken upon himself the burden of an odious charge." Compare *Annals*, vi. 8: "Fortunae quidem meae fortasse minus expediat adgnoscere crimen quam abnuere." Compare also the adgnoscere bonorum possessionem of the Digest, xxvi. 8. 11; and the adgnoscere as alienum, ibid. xxviii. 5. 1. But the full meaning of adgnoscere is best explained by Cicero, *pro Milone*, xiv., 55: "Quum totius Italiae concursus, quem mea salus concitarat, facti illius gloriama libens adgnovisset, ut, etiam si id Milo fecisset, cuncta civilias tam laudem pro sua vindicaret."

2 Feronia was only three Roman miles from Terracina (Terracina) or, as the Volscians termed it, Anxur. See Horace, *Sat.*, i. v. 24:

\> Ora manusque tua lavimus, Feronia, lympha.  
\> Milia tum pransì trīa repimus atque subimus  
\> Impositum saxis late candentibus Anxur." (Terracina).  

Feronia, from whom the place took its name, was the ancient Italian goddess of Personal Liberty, and freedmen used to receive the Cap of Liberty (pilus Libertatis insigne) from her temple. Hence Persius, *Sat.*, v. 82:

\> Hec mera libertas! Hoc nobis pillo donant!"

Compare Persius, *Sat.*, iii. 106; v. 75; Plautus, *Amphit.*, i. 1. 307; Livy, xxii. 1. 18: "ut libertina et ipsa, unde Feronia donum daretur, pecuniam pro facultatibus suis confererent": cited by Heroëus. This goddess was subsequendy confounded with Juno, and we find the inscription of *Juno Feronia*. Hence Verg., *Æn.*, vii. 799:

\> quis Jupiter Anxurus arvis  
\> presidet et viridi gaudens Feronia luco."

The site of Feronia is now marked by an ancient tower called Torre Ottowaccia.

3 Terracina or Anxur, now Terracina. For the meaning of imminebat see iv. 15, post, and note.

4 *Egredi mania*—a construction used also by Caesar, Livy, and Sallust.

5 *Noctu dieque fluxi,* "day and night in their dissolute carousals." This is the clear meaning as demonstrated by three of the contemporaries of Tacitus, namely, Pliny the Younger, Suetonius, and Martial. Thus Pliny, *Panegyricus*, xxxiii.: "Satis factum qua civium qua sociorum utilitatus. Visum est spectaculum inde non enerve nec fluxum
made the pleasant strands around re-echo with their revelry, scattered their soldiers in quest of dainties for themselves, and only spoke of war when they were junketing. A few days before this Apinius Tiro had left Terracina, and, by his ruthless requisitions for contributions and moneys upon the surrounding towns, was increasing the odium rather than the strength of the Flavian party.

LXXVII. Meanwhile a slave of Verginius Capito deserted to L. Vitellius, and undertook, if furnished with a company of soldiers, to hand over the citadel, which was unoccupied. At dead of night he stationed some of the light-armed auxiliary foot on the peaks of the mountain-ridges overhanging the enemy. From that position the Vitellianist troops rushed down to what proved carnage rather than battle. They cut down the Flavians, some wholly unarmed, some just grasping their weapons, ay, and others scarce roused from sleep, amid the wild confusion of darkness and terror, the blare of the bugles and the shouts of

nec quod animos virorum molliret et frangeret." So Suetonius, Tiberius, lii.: "Filio-rum neque naturalem Drusum neque adoptivum Germanicum patria caritate dilexit, alterius vitis insensus. Nam Drusus luxoris remissiorisque vita erat." So Martial, v. 41:

"Spadone cum sis evirator fuzo."

Again, Tacitus himself writes in ii. 32. 10 (vol. i. p. 93, n. 1), ante: "Jam Germanos—tracto in statatem bello fluxus corporibus mutationem soli caelique haud toleraturas."

Thus fluxus has three different meanings: (1) "on the wane" or "waning," as in i. 21; ii. 75; iii. 48; iv. 23; (2) "damaged" or "dilapidated," as in ii. 22; ii. 99; (3) the metaphorical meaning of "dissolute" or "enervated," as in the passage under comment; also ii. 32, ante; the passages cited from Pliny, Suetonius, and Martial. It is quite clear, therefore, with all respect, that Professor Heraeus is wrong in translating "umherschwärmend, ausser Rand und Band." Meiser has not touched upon the difficulty.

1 *Amam litorum personantes,* "they made the pleasant strands around re-echo with their revelry." Compare Verg., *Æn.,* vi. 171:

"Sed tum forte cava dum personat sequor concha."
also *ibid.,* 417:

"Cerberus haec ingens latratu regna trifauoci Personat."

2 See c. 57, ante.

3 *Verginius Capito.* The MSS. wrongly give *Vergilius,* as also in iv. 3, post. *Capito* was a cognomen of the *Verginian gens.*

4 Julianus thought the citadel was naturally impregnable, and, consequently, left it empty and unguarded.
the foe. A few of the gladiators stood their ground and perished not unavenged. The rest rushed towards the ships, where the same bewildering scene of universal panic prevailed, while caught in the throng were some of the natives, whom the Vitellianists butchered indiscriminately. Six Liburnian cruisers with Apollinaris, the admiral of the fleet, made good their escape upon the first outburst of the affray; the remainder of them were either captured at anchor or foundered at sea under the dead weight of fugitives who swarmed aboard them. Julianus was brought into the presence of L. Vitellius, and, after he had been savagely¹ scourged, his throat was cut before the very eyes of the general. Some accused Triaria, the wife of L. Vitellius, of² girding herself with the regulation³ sword and evincing a spirit of pride and cruelty amid the woe and horrors of the storming of Terracina. L. Vitellius sent a laurelled⁴ despatch announcing victory to his brother, and asking for instructions as to whether he should return to Rome at once, or press on with the conquest of Campania. That pause proved the salvation, not only of the party of Vespasian, but of the Commonwealth itself. For if the soldiers of Vitellius, when flushed with victory, and, apart from their inborn stubbornness, emboldened by success, had pressed on to Rome, the struggle would have been a severe one, and would have involved the

¹ Verberibus fasdatus, "savagely scourged." Compare the words of Æneas to the Shade of Hector, Æn., ii. 285:

"quæ causa indigna serenos
fasavit voltus? aut cur hæc volnera cerno?"

See also ibid., xi. 85:

"Ducitur infelix ævo confectus Acestes,
Pectora nunc fasdans pugnis, nunc unguibus ora."

² Incesserent, tamquam, "accused of." See c. 4, ante, n. 5.

³ Gladio militari, "the regulation sword."

⁴ Lauream gesta prospererei," a laurelled despatch announcing victory." The despatch announcing victory was wreathed with laurel. See Pliny, Panegyr., viii. (cited by Meiser): "adleta erat ex Pannonia laurea." The missive of defeat, on the other hand, bore a feather. See Verg., Æn., ix. 473:

"Interea pavidam volitantem pinnata per urbem
Nuntia Fama ruit, matrisque adlabitur auris
Euryali."

See, too, Juvenal, iv. 149: "anxia præcipiti venisset epistula pinnæ." See also Martial, x. 3. 10. See especially Statius, Syllæ., v. 92, 93.
destruction of the city. Assuredly Lucius Vitellius, however infamous, was not devoid of energy; and his strength did not display itself in the exercise of the virtues of the good, but rather in the evil courses of the worst of reprobates.

LXXVIII. While the Vitellianists were thus actively engaged, the army of Vespasian had quitted Narni and was enjoying the holidays of the Saturnalia in leisurely fashion at Otricoli. The reason for so ill-advised a delay was the desire to await the arrival of Mucianus. Nor was there any lack of slanderers ready to insinuate that Antonius was prompted to a course of criminal procrastination by a secret missive from Vitellius, in which the latter offered the consulship, his daughter in marriage, and a rich dowry, as the price of betrayal. Others again alleged that all this was pure invention devised for the purpose of currying favour with Mucianus. Nay, some maintained that the policy of all the generals was merely to give Rome a glimpse of the sword rather than actually to draw it upon her, inasmuch as the strongest of the Praetorian cohorts had already deserted the cause of Vitellius, and it seemed, no doubt, quite probable that the emperor would abdicate, now that all his forces had been cut off from him. Still they felt that this plan had been utterly marred, first, by the premature action, and then by the cowardice of Sabinus, who, they said, had rashly taken up arms, and yet proved quite unable to defend against the assault of only three Praetorian cohorts the well-nigh impregnable fastness of the Capitol, which was quite

1 The *Saturnalia*, in the time of the empire, commenced on the 17th of December and lasted for five days under the edicts of Caligula and Claudius, although by custom the festivity was often prolonged for seven days—*septem Saturnalia*. In the days of the Republic the *Saturnalia* began on the 19th day of December, but the adoption of the Julian calendar led to the subsequent change. See 2 Smith's *Dict. Ant.*, 600.

2 *Oriculum*, the modern Otricoli, a town in Umbria, south-west of Narni (*Narnia*), near the confluence of the rivers Nar and Tiber.

3 See c. 63, ante.

4 *Videbatur*. The use of the indicative mood in the middle of the *oratio obliqua* serves to express the opinion of the historian himself, as contra-distinguished from the views of third persons, which are couched in the subjunctive mood.

5 *Cessurus imperio*, "would abdicate." See ii. 55 (vol. i. p. 111, n. 4); iii. 66; iii. 68, ante.

6 *Adversus tris cohortes*. See c. 61, ante, n. 8.
capable of resisting the attack even of mighty armies. It is no

doubt hard to fasten on any one individual the blame, which

attached to all. For Mucianus, too, delayed the march of victory
by the equivocal character of his letters, and Antonius, likewise,

by his ill-timed obedience,\(^1\) despite his efforts to shift the blame

from off his own shoulders;\(^2\) richly deserved his share of censure.

Again, all the other generals, by treating the war as at an end,

contributed to the catastrophe that marked its close.\(^3\) Nay, not

even Petilius Cerialis, who had been sent forward with a thousand

troopers to move across country\(^4\) through the Sabine district and

enter Rome by the Salt Road,\(^5\) had used sufficient despatch, until

the tidings of the siege of the Capitol aroused all alike to instant

action.

LXXIX. Antonius marched by the Flaminian Way\(^6\) and

reached Grotta Rossa\(^7\) at dead of night too late for

help. There he heard nothing but gloomy tidings—

the murder of Sabinus, the burning of the Capitol, the

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1 *Prepostero obsequio,* "by his ill-timed obedience"—Mr. Spooner's excellent

rendering. Antonius yielded to the dilatory policy of Mucianus. All remember how

Nelson put the telescope to his blind eye at Copenhagen.

2 *Vel dum regeret invidiam,* "despite his efforts to shift the blame from off his own

shoulders." Antonius would fain plead that he was only obeying orders. That, in the

opinion of Tacitus, was, *under the circumstances,* a bad plea. *Dum* with the present

indicative in Tacitus, as already pointed out, indicates a course of action leading to an

unforeseen result.

3 *Finem ejus insignivere,* "contributed to the catastrophe that marked its close"—

the burning of the Capitol. Compare *Agricola,* xli.: "Ita cum damna damnis con-

tinuarentur, atque omnis annus annus funeribus et cladibus insigniretur."

4 *Transferre itineribus,* "across country," through the district of the Sabines, so

as to reach the Colline Gate by the Salt Road.

5 *Salaria via,* "the Salt Road." See Pliny, *H.N.* xxxi. § 89: "ex nomine

*SALARIE VIA,* quoniam illa salm in Sabinos portari convenerat." Meiser also cites

*Festus,* p. 326 (ed Müller): *Salaria propter aea appellebatur quod impetrum fuerit, ut

ea liceret a mari in Sabinos salm portari.* The Salt Road or *Via Salaria* ran from

the Colline Gate (*Porta Collina*), and then from the *Porta Salaria,* past Fidene to Reate

and Asculum Picenum. It finally joined the Via Flaminia at Ancona. It will thus

be seen that Petilius Cerialis approached Rome by the north-east, while Antonius took

the more northerly course along the *Via Flaminia.*

6 *Per Flaminiam,* scilicet, *Viam*; "the great North Road," says Smith's *Classical

Dictionary,* p. 657, "commenced in the censorship of C. Flaminius, issued from the

Porta Flaminia, and proceeded past Orculum, Narnia and Pisasurum to Ariminum

(Rimini), from which town it was continued under the name of the *Via Emilia* to

Placentia and Aquileia.

7 *Saxa Rubra,* now *Grotta Rossa,* was a small town situated on the Flaminian Road,
panic in Rome, and he was further informed that the mob and
the slaves were being armed to fight for Vitellius. Then Petilius
Cerialis had been repulsed in a cavalry engagement; for the Vitel-
lianists, by mixing their infantry with a force of horse, took him
by surprise and off his guard, while he was charging, as he thought,
a conquered enemy. The fight was quite near the city among the
farm-buildings, gardens, and tortuous lanes, which were familiar
ground to the Vitellianists, but proved a source of panic to the
Flavians, who were ignorant of the locality. Nor did all the
Flavian cavalry fight with *esprit de corps*, as they had in their
ranks some of the men who had recently surrendered at Narni,
and who were scanning the chances of the contending parties.
Julius Flavianus, a captain of a troop of auxiliary horse, was taken
prisoner; the rest of the Flavians fled in a state of disgraceful
panic, but the victors did not pursue them beyond Castel Giubileo. 3

**LXXX.** The enthusiasm of the citizens was intensified by this
success; the rabble armed themselves; a few of them had the
and nine Roman miles distant from Rome. Meiser refers to Cicero, *Philip.*, ii. § 77:
"At videte levitatem hominis. Cum hora diei decima fere ad Sassa Rubra venisset,
delituit in quadam cauponula atque ibi se occultans per potavit ad vesperam; inde cicio
celeriter ad urbem adventus domum venit capite obvoluto." He also cites Martial,
iv. 64. 11, *et seq.:

"Hinc septem dominos videre montes
Et totam licet estimare Romam,
Albanos quoque Tusculosque colles,
Et quodcumque jacet sub urbe frigus,
Fidenas veteres, brevesque Rubras,
Et quod virgineo cruore gausset,
Anime pomiferum nemus Perennae."

See also Livy, ii. 49. 12. It was at Sassa Rubra that Constantine defeated *Maxentius*
A.D. 312.

1 *Incautum—excipere,* "took him by surprise and off his guard." *Excipere* is often
used in the sense of "taking by surprise." Compare Horace, *Odes*, iii. 12. 10, *et seq.:
"Catus idem per apertum fugientis agitato
Grogo cervos jaculari et celer arto latitantem
Fruticeto excipere aperum."

2 *Edificia,* "farm-buildings"—*Höfte*, Hereus. Compare Caesar, *B. G.*, iv. 4. 2:
"ad utramque ripam fluminis agros, *edificia*, vicosque habeant"; *ibid.*, iii. 29:
"Itaque vastatis omnibus eorum agris, *vicis edificiisque incensis*, Caesar exercitum
reductum."

3 *Fidenas,* the modern *Castel Giubileo*. *Fidenas* was five miles north-east of Rome,
and was situated on a steep hill adjoining the Salt Road or *Via Salaria* and on the left
of the Tiber.

4 *Vulgus urbanum*—the unenrolled populace, who received doles of public corn, as
Vitellius despatches envoysto the Flavian generals. Arulenus Rusticus, the Praetor, is wounded.

Vitellius thanked them and bade them rush out and defend the city. He then summoned the Senate, and envoyswere chosen to visit both armies andendeavour,

under colour of the public weal, to inculcate a spirit of reconciliation and peace. The envoyswere destined to experience receptions of a widely different character. Those who had gone to meet Petilius Cerialis found themselves in deadly peril, as the soldiery scorned all terms of peace. Arulenus Rusticus, the contra-distinguished from the citizens enrolled in the thirty-five tribes— "Plebs urbana XXXV. tribuum." See c. 58, ante, n. 8.

1 Scuta militaria, "the regulation shields." Compare c. 77, ante: "gladio militari cincta."

2 Legati ad exercitus, "envoys to visit both armies." The army of Antonius was at Grotta Rossa (Sasa Rubra) on the Flaminian Way, and that of Petilius Cerialis atCastel Giubileo (Fidena) on the Salt Road or Salaria Via. See the preceding chapter.

3 L. Junius Rusticus Arulenus, or Arulenus Rusticus, the ardent disciple of Thrasea Paetus, whom Professor Heereus so happily terms the leader of the Stoic Opposition (das Haupt der Stoischen Opposition) and the Cato of the Empire (der Cato der Kaiserzeit). Our readers must remember that the Stoic Philosophy was the raison d'être of the Republican Opposition. See the Introduction to vol. i. on "the Political Lessons of Tacitus." Tacitus himself was a fervent Stoic, and has been well described by Dr. James Henry, the great commentator on Vergil, as "the Castigator of the Caesars." Arulenus Rusticus was tribune of the people in A.D. 66, and offered to put his veton the Senatorial decree that condemned Thrasea, but was restrained from so doing by the latter. See Annals, xvi. 26. 6: "Aderat consilio Rusticus Arulenus, flagrans juvenis, et cupidine laudis offerebat se intercessurum senatus consulto: nam plebei tribunus erat. Cohibuit spiritus ejus Thrasea, ne vana et reo non profutura, intercessori exitiosae inciperet." He was put to death by Domitian, in A.D. 94, for publishing a laudatory biography of Thrasea Paetus, and Helvidius Priscus, as we are told by Suetonius, Domit., x.: "Quod Peti Thraseae et Helvidii Prisci laudes edidisset appellassetque eos sanctissimos viros." So Dio, lxvii. 13: "Ῥωτικον τον Ἀρουλήνον ἀπεκτεινεν, διε ὕφλοσφει καὶ διε τον Θρασίαν ἵρον ὄνωμαζε, καὶ Ἐρεύνων Ἴσητονα, διε τὸν νοήμαν ἀρχὴν ἐν πολλῇ βίῳ ἀπὸ τὴν ταμεῖαν ἱητίκει καὶ διε τοῦ Πρίσκου τοῦ Ἰλουδίου βίον συνέγραψεν." See Pliny, Epist., i. 5: "Vidistine quemquam M. Regulo timidorem humiliorum post Domitiani mortem? Sub quo non minora flagitia cumisserat quam sub Nerone, sed tectiora. Capit vereri ne sibi irascere; nec fallebatur, irascerar. Rustici Aruleni periculum foraverat, exultaverat morte, adeo ut librum recitaret publicaretque, in quo Rusticum insectatur atque etiam Stoicorum simiam appellat; adicit Vitelliana ricatrice stigmatum (an allusion to the wound Rusticus received at Fidena in the context)." See also Tacitus, Agricola, ii.: "Legimus, cum Aruleno Rustico Petuso Thraseae, Herennio Senecione Priscus Helvidius laudati essent, capitale fuisse, neque in ipsos modo autores sed in libros quoque eorum saevi- tum, delegato triumviris ministerio ut monumenta clarissimorum ingeniorum in comitio ae foro urerentur."
prætor, was wounded, an outrage, which, quite apart from the desecration of the sacred name of ambassador and prætor, was rendered all the more heinous by reason of the native worth of the man himself. His fellow-envoys were driven back,¹ the lictor immediately preceding him,² who attempted to clear a passage through the crowd, was slain, and, but for the protection afforded by an escort which the general had furnished, the fury of Roman citizens would have violated before the very walls of Rome, ay, and by the crime of murder, the personal sanctity of ambassadors, which even the foreigner holds sacred. The envoys, who had visited Antonius, were received in a calmer spirit, not because the soldiers had more respect for law, but because the general possessed greater influence.

LXXXI. Musonius Rufus,³ who belonged to the order of knights, and was enthusiastically devoted⁴ to philosophy⁵ and the doctrines of the Stoics, had accompanied⁶ the envoys, and, after associating with the men of the several companies and dilating on the advantages of peace, the hazards of war, then began to preach to the armed throng. Many regarded this as a burlesque; more looked upon

¹ Pelluntur comites. So the secondary Florentine MS. b for the absurd palantur of the Medicean MS. Th. Kiessler reads pulsantur.
² Proximus lictor. The lictors preceded the magistrate in single file and in order of seniority, that is, the junior lictor went first and the senior lictor was immediately in front of the magistrate.
³ C. Musonius Rufus was a celebrated Stoic philosopher and the master of Epictetus. He is mentioned twice again in the History as the avenger of Barca Soranus, iv. 10: iv. 40, post. In Annals, xiv. 59. 2, we find him true to his creed, where he is described, "constantiam opperiendae mortis pro incerta et trepida vita suasisse." His stoicism and ability were alike distasteful to Nero, who banished him. See Annals, xv. 71. 9: "Verginimum Flavum et Musonium Rufum claritudinem nominis expulsit; nam Verginius studia juvenum eloquentia, Musonius præceptis sapientiae fovebat." Pliny the Younger speaks of Musonius with reverence and affection in his celebrated letter, Epist., iii. 11.
⁴ Emulatus, "devoted." For this use of amulari Heraeus compares Annals, vi. 22: "sapientissimos veterem, quique sectam eorum amulatur."
⁵ Philosophia. Tacitus, who always avoids words derived from the Greek, according to Wolfflin, cited by Heraeus, only uses the word philosophia on three occasions, namely, here, in Agricola, iv., and in Annals, xiii. 42, and even then merely to avoid repetition. On the other hand our author constantly uses sapientia as the Latin equivalent for the Greek philosophia.
⁶ Misscuerat se, "had accompanied." Being only a knight, Musonius could merely accompany the senatorial envoys.
it as wearisome; nay, some would have been only too ready to fell him to the ground and trample upon him had he not yielded to the advice of the more law-abiding and to the general attitude of menace and discarded his unseasonable philosophy.1 The Vestal Virgins likewise went thither with a letter from Vitellius to Antonius. The emperor asked for a single day of grace before the final struggle; if that interval of delay, he said, were granted, then everything would be easily arranged. The holy maidens were sent back with every mark of respect, but a reply was despatched to Vitellius announcing that the courtesies2 of war had been cut short by the murder of Sabinus and the burning of the Capitol.

LXXXII. Antonius nevertheless summoned the legions to a parade and endeavoured to prevail on them to pitch their camp by the Mulvian Bridge3 and defer their entry into Rome until the morrow. His reason for this delay was lest4 the soldiery, exasperated by armed resistance, might spare5 neither citizens nor senate, nay, nor even the temples and shrines of the gods. But the troops suspected all procrastination as calculated to thwart their victory. Meanwhile the colours glistening along the heights, although nothing but an undisciplined mob was behind them, bore the resemblance of a hostile army. The Flavians advanced in three divisions. The first marched from the very spot where it had halted along the Flaminian Way; the second, by the bank of the Tiber; while the

1 Sapientiam, "philosophy." Tacitus, as already pointed out, supra, n. 5, always, when possible, uses Latin words.
2 Dirempta bellicommercia, "the courtesies of war had been cut short"—a reminiscence of Verg., Æn., x. 532:

"Belli commercia Turnus
Sustulit ista prior jam tum Pallante perempto."

3 Pontum Mulvium, the Mulvian or Milvian Bridge, now the Ponte Molle, was built across the Tiber by the censor, M. Æmilius Scaurus, and was situated two Roman miles from the Flaminian Gate. The Flaminian Way passed over this bridge and led to the Flaminian Gate.

4 Ratio cunctandi, ne. Compare the causatam prave morae, ut Mucianum opperiren-
tur of c. 78, ante.

5 Consuleret, "spare." Professor Heraeus compares Annals, iii. 46: "fugientibus consulite"; ibid., xii. 47: "visui tamen consuluit, ne coram interficeret"; Caesar, B. G., vii. 12. 3: "ut—sae vitae consuleret."
third column approached the Colline Gate by the Salt Road.¹ The rabble was scattered by a cavalry charge; but the Vitellianist regulars came up to the attack in three corresponding² battalions. Many and chequered were the conflicts before the city gates, but the Flavians, who had the advantage in the strategical skill of their generals, proved more frequently victorious. The only division that was hard pressed was that³ which had turned off towards the left⁴ of the city as far as the gardens of Sallust⁵ along the narrow and slippery lanes. The Vitellianists, standing on the garden-walls, repelled the attack with stones and javelins up to a late hour of the day, until they were taken in the rear by the cavalry⁶ who had burst in by the Colline Gate. In the Campus Martius⁷ likewise the opposing forces met in conflict. On the Flavian side stood their good fortune and the prestige of habitual victory, while the Vitellianists rushed wildly on in a forlorn hope, and, although repulsed, immediately reformed within the gates.

LXXXIII.⁸ The populace had gathered near as spectators of the fray, and, as if present at a sham fight, cheered and applauded now one side, now the other. Whenever either faction gave way, and the men lurked in the shops or took refuge in some private house, the mob

¹ The division on the Flaminian Way formed the centre; the right wing moved along the bank of the Tiber; the left wing (composed of one thousand troopers under Petilius Cerialis, c. 78, ante) advanced to the Colline Gate by the Salt Road, c. 78, ante.

² Trinis et ipse præsidia, "in three corresponding battalions." Trinis is used instead of tribus because there were three divisions on each side. So in i. 2, ante, trina bella civilia is used instead of tria bella civilia because each civil war was between two rival leaders of intestine strife.

³ The troopers under the command of Petilius Cerialis.

⁴ In partem sinistram urbis, "towards the left of the city," that is, the left to those approaching from the north along the Flaminian Way, in other words, towards the east of the city.

⁵ Sallustianos hortos. The gardens of Sallust lay in the valley between the Quirinal Hill and the Collis hortorum or modern Monte Pincio. They were situated east of the Flaminian Way, and west of the Colline Gate. Although originally the property of Sallust they subsequently became that of the emperors. See Annals, xiii. 47, and Mr. Furneaux's note on same. See also Annals, iii. 30. 3.

⁶ Equitibus—the troopers of Petilius Cerialis.

⁷ This would be the course of the first and second Flavian divisions, which had respectively advanced by the Flaminian Way and the bank of the Tiber.

⁸ Tacitus was an eye-witness of the dreadful scenes which he paints in burning
clamoured that they should be unearthed and butchered, and in that way became possessed of the bulk of the booty: for the soldiery were so intent on bloodshed and slaughter that the loot fell to the rabble. The whole city wore a look of savagery and hideousness: here were the strife and the gashes; there, the baths and the stews; now rose a scene of blood and piles of slain; close by were the harlots and the creatures of shame; commingled were all the wantonness of the most sensual time of peace, and all the horrors of the most ruthless sack of a town, more than enough to make you feel that here was one and the same city possessed by the twofold spirit of madness and of lust. In times of yore, too, hostile armies had clashed and fought in the streets of Rome; twice, when Lucius Sulla gained the day; once, when Cinna proved victorious; nor was there then less cruelty: but now there was an unnatural callousness, nor was there even a momentary lull in the round of debauchery. Nay, as if this sight, too, were one of colours. The reader is requested to compare the following passage from Carlyle’s “French Revolution,” book vi., c. 7: “And onlookers, and women, stand gazing, and the witty Dr. Moore of Glasgow among them, on the other side of the river: cannon rush rumbling past them; pause on the Pont Royal; belch out their iron entrails there against the Tuileries; and at every new belch, the women and onlookers ‘shout and clap hands.’ City of all the Devils! In remote streets, men are drinking breakfast-coffee; following their affairs; with a start now and then, as some dull echo reverberates a note louder. And here? Marseillaise fall wounded.... Lo you, the Carrousel has burst into flame!—Paris Pandemonium!”

1 Popina, “the stews.” The popina, or cook-shops (from πητα), were, like the ganea, veritable stews. Hence Horace, Epist., i. 14. 21:

“Fornix tibi et uncta popina
Incintiunt urbis desiderium.”

Compare Suetonius, Tiberius, xxxiv.: “dato edilibus negotio popinas ganaeaeque usque eo inhibendi, ut ne opera quidem pistoria proponi venalia sinister”; also Cicero, Philip., xiii. 11: In lustris, popinis, alea, vino tempus etatis omne consumpsisse, ut faciebas, cum in gremiis miramur mentem mentemque deponeres.” See 1 Smith’s Dict. Ant., p. 388, title, “caupona.”

2 Captivitate, “sack of a town.” Compare c. 70. 12, ante: “dum inter Vespasianum ac Vitellium proeliis legionum, captivitatibus urbium, deditionibus cohortium judicatur.”

3 Et ante. Ritter’s universally accepted emendation of the ante of the Medicean MS. Meiser compares c. 37: “consul uno die et ante fuerat”; also c. 72: “arserat et ante Capitolium.”

4 In 88, B.C.; and 82, B.C.

5 In 87, B.C.

6 Velut is here used for velut si. Hereus refers to Curtius, viii. 4. 31.
the pleasant varieties in the programme of the Saturnalia, they revelled and gloated over it, indifferent to the claims of party, exulting in the public woe.

LXXXIV. The heaviest task was the storming of the Praetorian Camp, to which the most spirited of the enemy still clung as their last hope. The more eagerly on that account did the victors, amongst whom the old Praetorian cohorts of Vitellius were conspicuously enthusiastic, concentrate upon it all the latest devices for the destruction of the strongest towns, the pent-house, the siege-engines, the raised mound, the firebrands, while they constantly exclaimed that all the toils and perils, which they had undergone in so many struggles, would find their consummation in this final effort. "Their city has been restored," they cried, "to the Senate and people of Rome; their temples, to the gods; the soldier's natural pride is in his camp; that is his country, that is his home. Unless we regain possession of the same forthwith, we must spend the night under arms." On the other hand, the Vitellianists, although no match for their antagonists either in numbers or in fortune, yet grasped at the last consolation of the vanquished—to cloud the hour of victory, to stay the advent of peace, to bespatter homestead and altar with

1 Festis diebus—the Saturnalia. See c. 78, ante, and the note.
2 Fruebantur. Meiser compares Pliny, Paneg., xxxiv.: "Agnosebamus et fruebamus, cum velut piaculare publicae sollicitudinis victimae—ad lenta supplici graviore et poenas ducentur."
3 Castrorum, "the Praetorian camp." As pointed out all through my work the Castra in Rome are par excellence the Castra Praetoriana.
4 Veterum cohortium, "the old Praetorian cohorts of Vitellius," disbanded by that emperor (ii. 67, ante) and re-enrolled by Vespasian (ii. 82).
5 Testudinem, "the penthouse." Here the testudo is the testudo arietaria (Vitruvius, x., 19) or χελώνη κροσθόριος, being the penthouse used to protect and cover the battering-ram or Aries. The testudo here mentioned is therefore different from the testudo or "tortoise-defence" of cc. 27 and 28, ante. Here, as Orelli points out, it is a Schutzdach (penthouse); there it is a Schilddach (shield-roof). See 2 Smith's Dict. Ant., pp. 807, 808, title, "Testudo"—per Sir W. Smith and Dr. L. C. Purser.
6 Tormenta, "siege-engines," here including the Aries or battering-ram as well as the regular artillery of ballistas and catapults.
7 Victis solatia amplectebantur. The victis solatia are in apposition to inquietare—morari—fodare, which are not historical infinitives but verbal nouns—rō inquietare—rō morari—rō fodare. If they were historical infinitives, then the construction would have been victis solatia amplecti. The use of amplectebantur proves the Grecism of

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their own blood. Many of the dying breathed their last upon the turrets and the breastworks; and, when the gates were wrenched from their hinges, the last survivors of the band confronted the victors, and fell, all with their wounds in front and their faces to the foe; so heedful were they even at the moment of death to pass away with honour. After the capture of Rome Vitellius was borne on a litter through the rear of the palace to the house of his wife on the Aventine, so that, should he succeed in lying hidden from the light of day, he might eventually effect his escape to Terracina and the Praetorian cohorts under his brother’s command. Then with characteristic vacillation, and, such is the nature of panic fear, because in his dread of everything he recoiled most from what was immediately before his eyes, he returns to the palace, which was now all dreary and desolate, for even the lowest slaves had either slunk away or avoided meeting him. The solitude and silent halls appall him; he would fain open the doors, yet shrinks with a shudder from the empty rooms. At last worn out by this piteous wandering he concealed himself in a shameful hiding-place, from which he was dragged forth by Julius

verbal nouns. I cannot therefore accept the construction of Heraeus, who puts a colon after fœdare: I follow the punctuation of Meiser, Spooner, and Godley.


Diem, “the light of day,” as opposed to the nocturnal flight by which he hoped to escape to Terracina.

Qua natura pavor est, cum omnia metuenti praesentia maxime displicerent. The very opposite of what Shakespeare says in Hamlet, iii. 1. 81:

“And makes us rather bear those ills we have Than fly to others that we know not of?”

But we must remember that in Shakespeare it is Hamlet (the morbidly meditative man) who is speaking. Not so, in ordinary life:

“Anywhere, anywhere, out of the world!”

Terret solitude et tacentes loci. Compare Verg. Æn., ii. 755: “Horror ubique animo, simul ipsa silentia terrent.” Dr. Henry cites Schiller’s:

“Es schrecket mich selbst das wesenlose Schweigen.”

Temptat clausa, “he would fain open the doors.” So Heraeus: “pragnant er versucht zu öffnen.”

Pudenda latebra. Suetonius, Vitæ, xvi., says it was a porter’s cell; Dio, lxv. 20, tells us it was a dog’s kennel. Tacitus never descends to such details.
III.—84, 85. Placidus, the tribune of a Praetorian cohort. His hands were bound behind his back; then, all in rags, he was dragged along, a hideous spectacle, 'mid many a curse, without a single tear; his degrading doom had banished all feelings of pity. One of the German soldiers met them on the way and aimed a blow, I know not whether against Vitellius, either in anger or to put him the more quickly beyond the reach of insult, or whether against the tribune. However that may be, he cut off the tribune's ear and was instantly despatched.

LXXXV. They forced Vitellius with the points\(^1\) of their swords, now to raise his face and turn it towards the doomer, now to gaze upon his own statues, as they fell,\(^2\) and to look full oft upon the Rostra\(^3\) or the scene of Galba's murder,\(^4\) and at last they pushed him towards the Steps of Sighs\(^5\) where the body of Flavius Sabinus had lain. One single utterance that showed some spark of manly spirit was caught from his lips,\(^6\) as he replied to the mockery of the tribune, "Yet I was once your General!"\(^7\) Thereupon he fell 'neath countless wounds.

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\(^1\) *Infestis mucronibus,* "with the points of their swords," which they held under his chin. So *Dio,* lxv. 21: οἱ στρατιώται ξιφιδίοι αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τὸ γένειον ὑπεκίντων, ὅσα καὶ ἄκων ἐνω βλέπω.

\(^2\) Compare *Juvenal,* x. 58, *et seq.:

"Descendunt statuae restemque sequuntur,
Ipsas deinde rotas bigarum impacta securis
Cedit et immeritis franguntur crura caballis.
Jam strident ignes, jam follibus atque caminis
Ardet adoratum populo caput et crepat ingens
Sejanus."

\(^3\) *Rostra,* from which he had a few days before addressed the people. See cc. 68 and 70, *ante.*

\(^4\) *Galba occisi locum,* "the scene of Galba's murder." The Basin of Curtius near the middle of the Forum. See i. 41. 5: "Juxta Curtii lacum trepidatione ferentium Galba projectus e sella ac provolutus est."

\(^5\) *Ad Gemonias,* scilicet, *scalas,* "the Steps of Sighs" leading down from the Tullianum, or dungeon of the state prison, on the eastern slope of the Capitoline Hill. The bodies of the criminals, who had been strangled in the Tullianum, were dragged by hooks to the Gemonia, and then subsequently hauled down those Steps of Sighs to the Tiber, into which they were cast. See c. 74, *ante,* n. 4; *Annals,* iii. 14. 6; v. 9. 3; vi. 25. 4.

\(^6\) *Exepta,* "caught from his lips." Compare c. 32, *ante,* *sub fine:* "excepta vox est."

\(^7\) *Imperatorem,* "your General": not "your Emperor." The title of *Imperator*
Then the rabble reviled him when dead as basely as they had flattered him when living.

**LXXXVI.** Lucera¹ was his birth-place. He was just completing the fifty-seventh² year of his age, and had attained the consulship, the priestly offices, and a distinguished position amongst the leading men of the day, not by any honest effort of his own, but altogether through the lustre of his father's name.³ The men, who tendered⁴ him the Purple, had no personal acquaintance with him. Rarely has anyone, by the exercise of high qualities, gained and won over to himself the affections of an army to the same extent as Vitellius did by sheer indolence of disposition. Yet he possessed straightforwardness and generosity of character, qualities which, unless kept within bounds, turn to one's ruin. In his vain belief⁵ that friendships can be preserved by extravagant bribes, and not by thoroughness of character, he hired rather than held them as his own.⁶ Undoubtedly the defeat of Vitellius was an advantage to the Commonwealth, yet those who betrayed Vitellius to Vespasian can scarcely claim credit for their treachery, since they them-

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¹ Luceria, now Lucera, a town in Apulia.
² Tacitus is here corroborated by Suetonius, *Vitell.* xviii. Dio, however, makes his age 54 (*Dio, liv. 22*): ζήσαντα μὲν ἐπὶ τέσσαρα ἑτη καὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατέρα ἓκνεα καὶ δύσδοκοντα.
³ Patris claritudo. See *Annals,* vi. 32; *Hist.,* i. 52; iii. 66, *ante;* Suetonius, *Vitellius,* ii.
⁴ Delulere, "tendered." Compare Horace, *Odes,* ii. 22; *ibid.,* Epist., i. 12. 23; i. 16. 34.
⁵ Dum—putat, "in his vain belief." As already and frequently pointed out, dum, with the present indicative in Tacitus, indicates a course of action leading to an unforeseen result.
⁶ Meruit magis quam habuit, "he hired rather than held them as his own." *Meruere* is opposed to *habere.* *Merere* (hence *meretrix* and *meritoria*) means "to hire."
selves had proved false to Galba. The day was now hastening to its close, and a convocation of the Senate was impossible by reason of the panic amongst the magistrates and senators, who had slipped away out of Rome or were secreting themselves in the houses of their dependants. Domitian, when all danger from the foe was at an end, came forth from his hiding-place to meet the leaders of the Party, and was greeted as Caesar with acclamation by the throng of soldiers, who, all armed as they were, escorted him to the home of his fathers.

So Cicero, In Ver., ii. 4. 60, § 135: "Quid arbitramini Reginos, qui jam cives Romani sunt, merere velle, ut ab iis Marmorea Venus illa auferatur?" So the meritoria were hired lodgings in the attics of the insula. So Juvenal, iii. 234:

"Nam qua meritoria somnum Admittunt?"

There Mr. Mayor most appositely cites the Digest, vii. 1. 13, § 8: "Si domus usu-fructus legatus sit, meritoria illic facere fructarius non debet, nec per cenacula dividere domum." Habere, on the other hand, meant possession and property as well, and is often used absolutely in this sense. See Cicero, In Ver., ii. 3. 36, § 199: "Habet idem in nummis, habet in urbanis prædiis"; ibid., ii. 5. 18, § 45; ibid., ad Att., viii. 10 (Tyrrell and Purser, cccxxi., vol. iv., p. 263). So Terence, Adelph., iv. 7. 10:


1 As Galba was a constitutional and upright ruler, Cecina and Bassus, by betraying him, clearly proved that their subsequent betrayal of Vitellius was not animated by any zeal for the Commonwealth.

2 The sons of the reigning emperor always received the name of "Caesar" down to the reign of Hadrian.—Mommsen, Staatsrecht, ii. 2. 5. 700.

3 Deducere was the technical word for escorting a successful candidate to his house. Here the soldiers take the place of the citizens.

* The meaning of merere is still more pointedly brought out by Plautus, Most., i. 3. 124, et seg.:

"Ut perdocte cuncta callet; nihil hac docta doctius. Verum illud esse maxuma adeo pars vostrorum intellegit, Quibus anus domi sunt uxores, quae vos dote meruerunt."
THE HISTORY OF CORNELIUS TACITUS.
BOOK IV.
BOOK IV.

I. Upon the execution of Vitellius war had ceased, albeit peace had yet begun. All in arms through the city\(^1\) the victors tracked down the vanquished with ruthless hatred: the streets reeked with slaughter, the squares and temples streamed with blood, amid a scene of promiscuous and indiscriminate butchery. And then, as the spirit of outrage grew bolder, they began to search for the fugitives and drag them forth from their hiding-places. If they espied anyone of tall and youthful mien,\(^2\) instantly they cut him down, quite heedless of all distinction between soldiers and civilians. Then this ruthlessness, which, under the first cravings of hatred, could only satiate itself on blood, soon turned to greed for gold. They ransacked every secret corner or recess under the pretence that the Vitellianists were hiding there. That paved the way for the forcible entry into private houses, and furnished a pretext for murder in the event of

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\(^1\) *Armati per urbem,* "all in arms through the city." The emphatic words are *per urbem,* inasmuch as it was illegal for soldiers to wear their uniform and accoutrements in the city. See i. 38, *ante:* "nee una cohors togata defendit nunc Galbam, sed detinet." See vol. i. p. 24, n. 3. Compare also ii. 89, *ante* (vol. i. p. 150, n. 9): "Ipse Vitellius a ponte Mulvio insigni equo, paludatus accinctusque, senatum et populum ante se agens quo minus ut captam urbem ingredaretur, amicorum consilio deterritus, sumpta praetexta et composito agmine incessit."

\(^2\) *Procörum habitu et juventa.* This was the conventional description of the Germans, who had fought so faithfully for Vitellius and were now marked for vengeance. Compare c. 14, *post:* "et est plerisque procera puertia." Also Germ., xx.: "eadem juventa, similis proceritas."

\(^3\) *Obtruncare nullo militum aut populi discrimine.* Compare the Vergilian:

"Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur."

\(^4\) *Nihil usquam secretum aut clausum sinebant,* "they ransacked every secret corner or recess." So we find in i. 22, *ante* (vol. i. p. 15, n. 2): *Secreta Poppea—Poppea’s boudoir; also ii. 100 (vol. i. p. 164, n. 4), ante:* "Patavi secretum componendæ proditionis quesitum."
resistance; the most beggarly of the mob and the vilest of the slaves were only too ready to volunteer as informers against their rich masters, nay, some were pointed out by their own friends. The wailings and dirges all around, and the fate of a stormed city made men yearn even for the once hateful insolence of the soldiers of Otho and Vitellius. The Flavian leaders, who had been so vigorous in enkindling the flames of civil war, now proved quite unable to restrain the ardour of victory, for, in truth, it is amid scenes of violence and internecine strife that every villain holds full sway, while peace and tranquillity need the support of honourable methods.

II. Domitian had been accorded the title and palace of the Caesars, and, while as yet he neglected the cares of state, he played a princely scion's part in scenes of shame and profligacy. Arrius Varus was appointed captain of the Prætorian Guards, but the supreme authority was centred in Primus Antonius. He plundered the treasury and household of the imperial family as if they were part of the spoils of Cremona, while the general body of officers, whom either self-restraint or obscurity of birth had kept in the background during the war, now went without reward. The panic-stricken citizens, quite ready for the yoke of slavery, prayed that Lucius Vitellius and his Prætorian cohorts should be cut off on their return from Terracina, and that the dying embers of the war should be stamped out. The cavalry

1 *Lamenta, conclamationes,* "wailings and dirges," over the dead, as at the funeral of Germanicus in *Annals,* iii. 2: "etiam quorum diversa oppida, tamen obvii et victimas atque aras dis Manibus statuentes lacrimis et conclamationibus dolorem testabantur." See Lucan, *Phars.,* ii. 21, *et seg.:*

"Sic funere primo Attonita tacueræ domus, cum corpora nondum Conclamata jacent, nec mater crine soluto Exigit ad sevæs famulorum brachia planctus."


2 Down to the reign of Hadrian *Caesar* was the hereditary title of the sons of the reigning emperor.

3 *Sed stupris et adulteriis filium principis agebat,* "he played a princely scion's part in scenes of shame and profligacy." Compare i. 30. 4; i. 83. 2, *ante;* for a different use of *agere,* see iv. 21. 8, *post,* and the note on same.
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were sent forward to La Riccia, while the main force of the legions drew up on this side Bojano. Vitellius unhesitatingly cast both himself and his cohorts on the mercy of the conqueror, and the soldiers threw down their ill-fated arms with feelings no less of anger than of fear. The long file of captives, hedged in by armed men, moved slowly through the city, not one of them with suppllicant look, but all sullen, and grim, and impassive 'gainst the cries and wanton insults of the mob. A few attempted to burst through but were instantly cut down by their guards. The remainder were cast into prison, but not a soul of them ever spake one unworthy word, and thus they saved their honour when all else was lost. Then Lucius Vitellius was executed. He was quite as depraved as his brother, but during the reign of the latter he showed himself more wary, nor was he so much a partner in the success as a victim dragged down in the ruin of the emperor.

III. About the same time Lucilius Bassus was sent forward with some light cavalry, in order to restore tranquillity to

1 Ariciam, the modern La Riccia. See iii. 36. 6, ante, and note.
2 Intra Bovillœ stetit, "drew up on this side Bojano." Bovilla, the modern Bojano, was on the Appian Way, twelve Roman miles from Rome.
3 Circumjecti pressere, "their guards instantly cut them down." This is the reading of the Medicean MS., and is ably defended by E. Wolff, who cites Annals, xiv. 5: "pressusque Crepereius et statim exanimatus est"; Annals, xvi. 9: "premi a militibus jubet"; Verg., Æn., ix. 339: "armigerumque Remi premit." So also Meiser who is in accord with Wolff. Faernus has emended the MS. reading and substituted oppressere, in which he is followed by Heræus, Spooner, Godley, and others.
4 Et quamquam inter adversa salve virtus fama, "tout est perdu fôr l'honneur."
5 Par vitiis fratri—the emendation of Faernus for the par vitiis fratis of the Medicean MS. Viti is a qualitative ablative as in v. 15, post: "gens—origine lingus virtute par Batavis." E. Wolff and Meiser retain the MS. reading, but, I venture to think, without sufficient reason.
6 Adversis abstractus, "a victim dragged down in the ruin of the emperor." Compare Annals, iv. 13. 6: "Ac ni Ælius Lamia et L. Apronius, qui Africam obtinuerant, insontem (C. Gracchum) protexissent, claritudine infausti generis et paternis adversis foret abstractus." See also Germ., xxxvi. Mr. Furneaux remarks, in his note on Annals, iv. 13, that the full expression would probably be: "abstractus in pernicium," and in this conclusion he is evidently fortified by i. 48, ante, where we have the full expression in abruptum tractus—"drawn down into the abyss," and by ii. 100, ante, where we find (as here) the curtained form: "nec sciri potest, traxeritne Cæciam." See vol. i. p. 48, n. 5; ibid., p. 164, n. 5; ibid., Introd., xlvi, xlvii.
7 Ad componendum Campaniam, "in order to restore tranquillity to Campania." The word componere, which applies only to a province or country subject to Roman
Campania, where the animosities of the several towns savoured more of internecine hatred than of defiance towards the new prince. The sight of the soldiery ensured peace, and the lesser colonies went unpunished; but the winter-quarters of the Third Legion were fixed at Capua, and the families of the nobles there were rigorously dealt with, while, on the other hand, the people of Terracina received no material recompense, so much more pre-disposed are we to repay a wrong rather than a benefit, because gratitude is a burden, but revenge is counted as a gain.

The citizens, however, were condoled by the execution of the slave of Verginius Capito, whose betrayal of Terracina we have already described, and who was now gibbeted with those same rings on his fingers which he was wont to display as the gifts of Vitellius. Meanwhile at Rome the Senate decreed all the usual imperial honours to Vespasian, as they were full of joy and well assured of the realization of their hopes, for the civil strife, which had originated throughout Gaul and Spain, which had then involved Germany, and subsequently Illyricum, in war, and which had
finally sped its purging course\(^1\) through Egypt, Judæa, Syria,\(^2\) every province and army, seemed at last, now that the whole world had, as it were, been purified, to be drawing to a close. They were further stimulated by a letter from Vespasian, written on the basis of a continuation of hostilities.\(^3\) That was the impression it conveyed at first blush; but still he wrote as actual prince, in terms of moderation concerning himself, and of public spirit towards the Commonwealth. The Senate were only too ready to pay homage. They decreed the consulship to Vespasian and his son Titus, and the praetorship and consular authority to Domitian.

IV. Mucian, too, had despatched a letter\(^4\) to the Senate, which furnished food for gossip. “If Mucian,” said they, “is only a subject, why does he address the Senate in a public capacity?\(^5\) He might say the same thing a few days later when it comes to his turn to speak from his seat in the House. His very invective, moreover, against Vitellius was ill-timed and ungenerous. Nay, he was guilty of insolence towards the Commonwealth, and of defiance towards his Prince, inasmuch as he boasted that he had held the sceptre in his grip and had made a present of it to Vespasian.” However all ill-will was concealed and flattery was alone visible. Amid a shower of

\(^1\) *Lustraverant,* “had sped its purging course.” Here the literal meaning of *lustrare* (to purge or purify) is blended with the metaphorical meaning of passing through or traversing, as the priest did through the congregation. This blend of meanings is proved by the subsequent words *velut expiato terrarum orbe.* Compare *Annals,* xv. 26: “*Tum lustratum rite exeuntium ad contionem vocat.*” So Edward Wolff (Berlin, 1888): “In freiem übertragenem Sinne.”

\(^2\) Mucian, Titus, and Vespasian swayed the destinies of the East.

\(^3\) *Tamquam manentem bello,* “on the basis of a continuation of hostilities.” Vespasian was not yet aware of the death of Vitellius. See c. 51, post.

\(^4\) As so often pointed out, *epistulae* in Silver-age Latin means a letter, as does *litterae* in the Augustan era.

\(^5\) *Si privatus esset, cur publice loqueretur?* It was unconstitutional for anyone but the emperor to address an official communication to the Consuls or Senate. See ii. 55, ante: “*Recitatae Fabii Valerianis epistulae ad consules scriptae haud inmoderate: gravior Caeccina modestia fuit, quod non scripsisset.*” See vol. i. p. 112, n. 5. The constitutional course was a speech from the senator’s seat in the House, when it came to his turn to vote, *loco sententiae.* See *Annals,* ii. 33; ii. 37. 3; ii. 38. 3.
compliments Mucian was presented with the badges of a triumph for a war waged against his fellow-citizens, but his expedition against the Sarmatae was the ostensible ground for the honour. The consular insignia were bestowed upon Primus Antonius, and praetorian decorations on Cornelius Fuscus and Arrius Varus. Next they thought of Heaven, and a decree was passed that the Capitol should be restored. All these questions were moved by Valerius Asiaticus, consul-elect; the general body of the senators signified their assent by look or gesture; a few, who occupied a pre-eminent position, or were deeply versed in the art of flattery, expressed their concurrence in elaborate orations. When it came to the turn of Helvidius Priscus, praetor-elect, he delivered a speech as complimentary to the new Sovereign as it was free from any tinge of insincerity, and he was enthusiastically

1 Triumphalia, "the badges of a triumph"—the tunica palmata, the pretexta, and the statua triumphalis. See 2 Smith's Dict. Ant., p. 898.

2 The honours of a triumph could not be awarded for exploits in Civil War. Hence the expedition against the Sarmatae was the technical ground of the distinction.

3 In Sarmatas expeditio. See ii. 83; iii. 46, ante. The Dacians and Sarmatians (the Hungarians) are often confounded as here, and are frequently associated together as in iv. 54. 6.

4 Consul designatus. The Consul-Elect took precedence of all the other Senators in giving his vote on a question in the House. Thus in Cicero, Quint. Fr., ii. 1 (Tyrrell's ed., xiii. vol. ii. p. 16), we find: "Marcellinum (the consul-elect) quidem primum rogavit." So in Annals, iii. 17. 8: "Primus sententiam rogatus Aurelius Cotta Consul." Again in Annals, iii. 22. 6: "exemit etiam Drusum Consulem designatum dicendo primo loco sententiam." See likewise Sallust, Cat., i. 53. Nipperdey, in his famous note on Annals, iii. 17. 8, points out that, whereas in the time of Augustus and Tiberius each senator was asked in his turn, and according to his precedence, to give his vote, later on, in the time of Tacitus himself, the superior ministers of state (Consuls, Praetors, Qaestors) had the right of voting, and speaking on their vote without any invitation or request, and could act mero motu, but the ordinary senators were obliged to wait until they were invited to vote. This is shown by the language of Annals, iii. 17. 8: "nam referente Caesar magistratus eo etiam munere fungebantur." The historian uses the imperfect tense to show that the custom no longer existed. See iv. 41, post: "Senatus incohantibus primoribus jus jurandum concepit, quo certamin omnes magistratus, ceteri ut sententiam vogabantur, deos testes advocabant." Thus it will be seen that the insertion of one monosyllable—ita—infuses sense into the passage, and that, too, quite more Taciteo. Heraeus reads: "principem, ita pro re publica decoram. Adulationum falsa aberant." This is entirely too wide a departure from the MS. authority, nor does it manifest the Tacitean abruptness of the reading we have adopted. Meiser's ita libertate insignem is equally fanciful.
applauded by the Senate. That day signally inaugurated for him great enmity and great renown.  

V. Now since I have happened to mention again the name of a man of whom I must often speak hereafter, the subject of my history evidently requires me to give a brief description of his life, his avocations, and his career. Helvidius Priscus was of Caracini extraction, was born in the town of Cluvia, and his father had, I believe, held the rank of senior centurion. When quite a youth he devoted a brilliant intellect to the deeper pursuits of philosophy, not, like many others, in order that he might veil a lazy leisure under a high-sounding title, but that he might enter upon public life with

1 Helvidius Priscus fell a martyr to his principles under Vespasian, but the account of his death has perished with the lost books of the history that recorded it.

2 Helvidius Priscus has been already specially mentioned in ii.91, ante. He is also alluded to in i. 3. 5, ante: “constantes geneii.”

3 He appears again upon the scene in iv. 43; iv. 53, post; also in The Dialogue on Oratory, v.; Agricola, ii.; Annals, xvi. 28. But the account of his martyrdom under Vespasian has been lost with the precious books of the history that contained it. In the rapid and sejum account of his death given us by Suetonius, it is quite evident that the shallow chronicler could neither understand nor appreciate the courage and constancy of a martyr, who spoke out the faith that was in him. See Suetonius, Vesp., xv.: “Helvidio Prisco, qui et reversum se ex Syria solus privato nomine Vespasianum salutaverat et in praetura omnibus edictis sine honore ac mentione nullius transmisit, non ante succensuit quam alterationibus insolentissimis pene in ordinem redactus. Hunc quoque, quamvis relegatum primo, deinde et interfici jussum, magni aestimavit servare quoquo modo, missis qui percussores revocaret; et servasset, nisi jam perisse falsa renuntiatum esset.”

4 Helvidius Priscus origine Caracina, e municipio Cluviano, patre, qui ordinem primi pili duxisset. Such is the emendation of Herauts, in which he is followed by Professor Edward Wolff (Berlin, 1888), for the evidently corrupt version of the Medicean MS., Helvidius Priscus regione Italia Caracina municipio Cluvios (corr. Cluvio). Now Helvidius Priscus regione Italia is not Latin, much less Tacilean Latin. Tacitus, in common with all other writers, uses stereotyped forms for matter-of-fact details. Thus we have in ii. 50, ante: “origo illi in municipio Ferentino”; so in Annals, xi. 24, we find: “majores mei, quorum antiquissimus Claudius origine Sabina.” It is therefore manifest that origine was corrupted into regione. Nor is it less apparent that Italia is a gloss on Caracina. The Caracini were a small Samnite tribe having as their capital Astifensa, and are mentioned by Pliny, N.H., iii. 17, under the name of Carentini. They were obscure enough to justify the gloss Italia, where most scholars will agree with Ritter. The town of Cluvia was in the neighbourhood of Bovianum. For Dr. L. C. Purser’s view of this passage, see the Introduction.

5 Ut nomine magnifico seque otium velaret. Compare Juvenal, ii. 1, et seq.: “Ultra Sauromatas fugere hinc libet et glacialmen Oceanum, quoties aliqua et moribus audient Qui Curios simulat et Bocchanalia vivunt.”
more fixity of purpose 'gainst the caprices of fortune. He was a disciple of those teachers of philosophy who deem those things alone good that are honourable, and those alone bad that are base, and who account power, rank, and everything else outside the province of the soul as neither good nor bad. He was only questor when he was chosen by Pætus Thræsea as his son-in-law, and the deepest draught he drew from the virtues of his father-in-law was that of Liberty. He was consistent in all the relations of life, as citizen, senator, husband, son-in-law, and friend; riches he scorned, righteousness he clung to, and blenched not in the presence of terrors.

VI. Some thought him too eager for renown, and indeed the thirst for fame is the last infirmity shuffled off even by philosophers. He was driven into exile by the fall of his father-in-law, but, when he returned to Rome, upon Galba's accession to the throne, he set

Indocti primum: quamquam plena omnia gypso Chrysippi invenies; nam perfectissinium horum est, Si quis Aristotelem similem vel Pittaco emit, Et jubet archetypos pluteum servare Cleanthas."

1 Doctores sapientia, "teachers of philosophy." Tacitus always prefers a Latin to a Greek word. Hence he uses sapientia rather than philosophia.

2 Sola bona, qua honesta, mala tantum, qua turpia. The glorious doctrine of the Stoics. Compare Agricola, xlv.: "vera bona, qua in virtutibus sita sunt."

3 Potentiam nobilitatem eternaque extra animum negae bonis neque malis adnumerant. According to the Stoics everything outside the province of the soul was neither good nor bad. Such things were ἄδιάφορα. Compare Cicero, de Orat., ii. 84, § 242: "Perspicuum est igitur alia esse in homine optima, alia laudanda; genus, forma, vires, opes, civitia eternaque, quae fortuna dat aut extrinsecus aut corporis, non habent in se veram laudem, quae deberi virtutis uni putatur." See also ibid., ii. § 46; and Cicero, de Finibus, iii. 16, § 53; Epict., Enchir., 32; Sext. Emp., P., iii. 177.

4 Helvidius Priscus married Fannia the daughter of Pætus Thræsea. Mr. Spooner refers to Pliny, vii. 19. 4, for a brilliant sketch of that heroine.

5 Cupido gloria novissima. Compare Milton, Lycidas, 70:

"Fame is the spur that the clear spirit doth raise (That last infirmity of noble mind)
To scorn delights and live laborious days."

6 Exuitur, "is shuffled off." So Shakespeare, Hamlet, iii. i. 67:

"When we have shuffled off this mortal coil."

Compare Fronto, de Eloq., i. 7: "novissimum namque homini sapientiam colenti amiculum est gloria cupido; id novissimum exuitur." Heraeus cites Simplicius on Epictetus, 48: "διδ καὶ ἑκατον λέγεται τῶν παθῶν χιτῶν ἡ φιλοδοξία."

7 Sapientibus. Tacitus prefers the Latin to the Greek word φιλόδοξος.

8 In exilium pusus. Mr. Godley remarks that "technically his punishment was
himself to impeach Marcellus Eprius, the informer against Thrasea. This retaliatory prosecution, as momentous as it was just, had split the Senate into factions; for if Marcellus were to fall, then the whole batch of traversers were doomed. At first the struggle was a brisk one, as was manifest from the brilliant speeches on either side, but then, when the support of Galba became doubtful, and when many of the senators deprecated further action, Priscus abandoned the impeachment amid the conflicting comments—such is human nature—of those who either praised his self-restraint or criticised his want of resolution. However, on the same day on which the Senate decreed the sceptre to Vespasian, they had also determined to despatch envoys to that prince. On this question there was a sharp passage between Helvidius and Eprius: Priscus demanded that the envoys should be specially nominated by the magistrates sworn for that purpose, while Marcellus called for election by lot, and the Consul-Elect had voted in favour of the latter proposition.

relegatio, not exilium in the special sense, which implied outlawry. Helvidius was only forbidden to reside in Italy and retired to Apollonia (Schol. on Juv., v. 36). But exilium is often used in the wider sense to include every form of banishment, and does not necessarily imply the loss of civil status.” See Pliny, Ep., iii. 9. 17. 1 Marcellum Eprium. See ii. 53 (vol. i. p. 110), ante; Annals, xii. 4; xiii. 33; Dialogue on Oratory, v.

1 Agmen reorum sternebatur, “the whole batch of traversers were doomed.” Compare Pliny, Epist., iii. 9. 11: “Nam nos quoque tam numerosum agmen reorum ita demum videbamus posse superari, si per singulos caperetur. Placuit in primis ipsum Olassicum ostendere nocentem (prove him guilty).” Reus therefore is the traverser at the Bar of the House; nocens is the convicted prisoner. See c. 10, post, and note on nocens reus. We are glad to find that Professor Edward Wolff (Berlin, 1888) takes this view, and translates, “Angeklagter.”

3 Egregius utiusque orationibus testatum. See the Dialogue on Oratory, v.

4 Eligi nominatim, “should be specially nominated.” For this use of nominatim compare i. 43. 9, ante, vol. i. p. 27, n. 3.

A magistratibus juratis, “by the magistrates sworn for that purpose.” The form of oath was e re publica id esse. See Annals, iv. 31. 5.

VII. But personal pique aroused the spirit of Marcellus, who was apprehensive lest the election of others might be regarded as a slur upon himself. And so they gradually passed from altercation to sustained declamatory invective, while Helvidius asked: "Why have you, Marcellus, become so much afraid of the decision of the magistrates? You have both wealth and eloquence, which might give you the advantage over many candidates, were you not hampered by the remembrance of your crimes. The lottery-urn is no test of character: the open votes and judgment of the Senate are devices for probing the life and character of every individual. It is conducive to the interests of the Commonwealth, conducive to the honour of Vespasian, that those should go to meet him, whom the Senate regards as men of the most stainless character, in order that they may instil the precepts of virtue into the ears of the Emperor. Vespasian was the friend of Thrasea, Soranus, Sentius, whose accusers, even though it may not behove us to punish them, should certainly not be exhibited as men of mark. By this selection of the Senate the prince is, as it were, advised of whom he is to approve, and of whom to beware; nor is there any more potent adjunct to good administration than the service of

censuit." Compare Suetonius, Augustus, xxxv.: "Sibique instituit consilia sortivs semen stria, cum quibus de negotiis ad frequentem senatum referendis ante tractaret." See also Dio, lxx. 23.

1 Per altercationem ad continuas et infestas orationes pro vesti sunt. See Cicero, ad Att., i. 16. 8 (Tyrrell, xxii. vol. i. p. 210). Mr. Godley cited Livy, iv. 6: "cum res a perpetuis orationibus in altercationem vertisset."

2 Ni memoria flagitiorum urgetur, "were you not hampered by the remembrance of your crimes." Compare Horace, Sat., i. 3. 68:

"Nam vitis nemo sine nascitur; optimus ill est,
Qui minimis urgetur."

3 Sorte et urna mores non discerni, "the lottery-urn is no test of character." The lottery is all chance. So Horace, Odes, iii. 1. 14:

"Aqua lege Necessitas
Sortitur insignes et imos,
Omnecapax movet urna nomen."

4 Qui honestis sermonibus aureis imperatoris imbuant, "in order that they may instil the precepts of virtue into the ears of the Emperor." Professor E. Wolff cites Curtius, iv. 10. 17: "talisbus promissias imbuedas aureis militum"; and Livy, i. 21: "ea pietate omnium pectora imbuerat."

5 Instrumentum, "adjunct." For this use of instrumentum, compare i. 20. 7; i. 22. 9; i. 88. 14, ante.
good friends. You, Marcellus, may rest satisfied with having
incited Nero to destroy so many blameless victims: enjoy your
blood-money with impunity, but leave Vespasian in the hands of
better men!"

VIII. "It is not my opinion," replied Marcellus, "that is being
impugned, for the Consul-Elect himself has voted in
accordance with time-honoured precedents, which have settled the practice of election by lot in the case of
envoys, lest there might be room for cabals and private enmities.
Nothing has occurred to justify us in letting ancient customs fall
into desuetude, or in suffering the honours due to our prince to
become a source of personal insult; for all of us are competent to
pay homage. The real danger is, that the obstinacy of certain
individuals may prove a cause of irritation to a mind, that is
waver ing at the moment of accession to imperial power, and is
closely studying the very looks and words of everyone around. I
remember the days of my childhood and the constitution framed
by our fathers and our grandsires. I admire the past, but follow
the present; I pray for good emperors, but bear with such

1 For the sentiment, see Suetonius, Titus, vii.: "amicos elegit, quibus etiam post
eum principes ut et sibi et rei publicae necessariis adquieverunt precipue sunt usi
(cited by Wolff)."

2 Praemiis, "blood-money." This notorious informer, whose full name was Titus
Clodius M. F. Eprius Marcellus, was employed by Nero (Annals, xvi. 22, 28, 33) to
act with Capito Cossutianus as prosecutor of the illustrious Thrasea Petus. For this
infamous business the two informers received from Nero each 5,000,000 sesterces, or
more than £40,000 a-piece (Annals, xvi. 33). Marcellus finally became implicated in
a charge of conspiracy against Vespasian, and committed suicide. He figures in the
Dialogue on Oratory; nor, notwithstanding his infamy, was his claim to eloquence
ever disputed. Our readers will observe that Helvidius Priscus was no match for him.

3 Consulem designatum censuisse. See c. 6, sub fine: "que consulis designati
sententiam fuerat."

4 Secundum vetera exempla. See Cicero, Att., i. 19 (Tyrrell, xxv. vol. i. p. 101);
Suetonius, Augustus, xxxv.; Dio, lix. 23. See c. 6, ante, n. 6.

5 Sufficere omnes obsequio, "for all of us are competent to pay homage." So
Professor E. Wolff (Berlin, 1888); "Um die Huldigung darzubringen, seien sie alle
gut genug."

6 Pericacia quorundam. A hit, a very palpable hit, at the Stoics in general and
Helvidius Priscus in particular.

7 Ulteriora mirari, presentia sequi—a reminiscence of the immortal lines:
"Sed trahit invitam nova vis; aliudque Cupido,
Mens aliud suadet. Video meliora, proboque;
Deteriora sequor."
samples as we get. Thrasea was no more ruined by my speech against him than he was by the judgment of the Senate; for the ruthlessness of Nero played with his victims under such idle forms of law, and the friendship of such a monster was no less perilous to me than their exile was to others. In a word, let Helvidius rival the intrepidity and heroism of a Cato and a Brutus; as for me, I am only a sample of a Senate of fellow-slaves. Nay, I advise Priscus not to climb above his Prince nor to play the schoolmaster towards Vespasian, the veteran, who has won the honours of a triumph, the sire of two scions now at man's estate. For, just as the worst rulers love absolute despotism, so do the most perfect like some limit to liberty." These invectives, hurled as they were with all the vigour of party hate, found eager partisans on both sides. That faction, which supported the election of the envoys by lot, succeeded, as even the neutral portion of the Senate lent their weight to the retention of the established practice, while the most distinguished members were similarly predisposed in their apprehension of unpopularity should they themselves be specially nominated.

IX. A second struggle ensued. The praetors of the public treasury (for the public treasury was then managed by praetors) complained of an impoverished exchequer, and called for a curtailment of expenditure. The Consul-Elect was in favour of reserving that question for the

1 *Imagines,* "idle forms of law." Compare *Annals,* iii. 17. 13: "Biduum super hoc imagine cognitionis absumptum."

2 *Nec minus sibi anziam talem amicitiam quam aliis exilium*—a sneer at the comfortable seclusion (relegatio) of Helvidius Priscus at Apollonia. Helvidius had not been outlawed, but only forbidden to reside in Italy. See Mr. Godley's note, cited by me, c. 6, ante, n. 8.

3 *Se unum esse ex illo senatu,* "I am only a sample of a Senate of fellow-slaves." Compare Horace, *Sat.*, i. 9. 71:

> "Sum paulo infirmior, unus multorum."

4 *Medis patrum,* "the neutral portion of the Senate." See i. 19. 3, ante: "*medii ac plurimi*"; i. 49. 10: "medium ingenium"—"neutral in disposition." See also Cicero, *ad Att.*, x. 8. 4.

5 *Si ipsi eligentur,* "should they themselves be specially nominated." See c. 6, sub fine: "*Priscus eligi nominatim a magistratibus juratis.*"

6 *Praetores avarri.* The varied history of the management of the Roman public treasury is succinctly narrated by Tacitus, *Annals,* xiii. 29: "*Varie habita ac sepe
consideration of the prince, both on account of the magnitude of the task, and the difficulty of finding a remedy. Helvidius, however, moved that action should be taken in the matter at the discretion of the Senate. When the consuls were proceeding to put the question to the vote, Volcatius Tertullinus, tribune of the people, intervened with his veto against the adoption of any resolution on so momentous a matter in the absence of the prince. Helvidius had also moved that the Capitol should be restored at the expense of the State, and that Vespasian should lend a helping hand. All the staunchest loyalists ignored that motion by their silence, while forgetfulness eventually let it pass away.

mutata ejus rei forma. Nam Augustus (b.c. 28) senatuipermisit deligere prefectos (substituted for the questors, who had originally held the office); deinde ambitu suffragiorum suspecto, sorte ducebantur (b.c. 23) ex numero pratorum, qui preessent; neque id diu mansit, quia sors deerrabat ad parum idoneos. Tum Claudius questores rursum imposuit iisque, ne metu offensionum segnius consulerent, extra ordinem honores promisit: sed deocrat robatur etatis, eam primum magistratum capessentibus. Igitur Nero pratura perfunctos et experientia probatos delegit." This succinct narrative is supplemented by 1 Smith's Dict. Ant. (new ed.), p. 38: "In the time of Vespasian we read of pratores ararii (in the text above); but in the reign of Trajan, if not before, it was again entrusted to prefects, who appear to have held their office for two years; and henceforth no further change seems to have been made (Plin., Paneg., 91, 92; Ep., x. 20; Suetonius, Claudius, xxiv.)."

1 "Censuerat Helvidius, ut Capitolium publico restitueretur." Dr. L. C. Purser points out that the construction of censere ut occurs frequently in Cicero, as in Acad., ii. 63; Cat., iii. 14; Sest., lxiv.; Rabir. Post., xiii.; Phil., iii. 37; v. 34; viii. 14. See Hermathena, xviii. pp. 209, 210.

2 Adjuvaret Vespasianus, "and that Vespasian should lend a helping hand"—an attempt on the part of Helvidius to lower the position of the emperor. See the exactly parallel passage in Horace, Sat., i. 9. 45, where the bore offers to play second fiddle to the poet:

"Haberes
Magnum adjutorem, posset qui ferre secundas,
Hunc hominem velles si tradere."

3 Modestissimus quisque, "all the staunchest loyalists." So Heræus: "Alle Gemäßigten, Loyalen."

4 Oblivio—the nominative oblivio, oblivionis, and not the ablative of oblivium, which is nowhere found in the singular, but always in the plural oblivia. Hence Madvig, followed by Nipperdey, would read oblivione in the text, but this is wholly unnecessary, as the transition to, and personification of, oblivio is thoroughly Tacitean. Professor Edward Wolff (Berlin, 1888) supports this view, and cites the Dialogue on Oratory, xxiv. 15: "ratio temporum collegerit"; and, as an instance of transition, Annals, i. 10. 7: "seo Paneam coenenum vulneri adsufusum, sui miitites Hirtium et machinator doli Caesar abstulerat." Meiser takes it as the ablative of oblivium on the analogy of obsidium, and relies on Mar. Victor., i. p. 2469, P.: "postea dixi coepit et oblivium et obsidium et contagium."
Some there were, however, who treasured up the remembrance of it.1

X. Then Musonius Rufus2 delivered an invective against Publius Celer,3 whom he charged with having compassed the destruction of Barea Soranus4 by perjury. All the hates attendant on the work of the informers seemed to be rekindled by this State prosecution.5 But the worthless and guilty character of the accused6 could not be shielded: for the memory of Soranus was held sacred; while Celer had first assumed the garb of the philosopher, then

1 The secret enemies of Helvidius Priscus treasured up the remembrance of this conduct, for the purpose of informing Vespasian, under whom the illustrious Stoic finally suffered martyrdom.

2 Musonius Rufus. See iii. 81, ante, and note.

3 Publius Celer, whose full name was Publius Egnatius Celer, was a philosopher of Berytus and a native of Phœnicia (Dio, lxxi. 26). He was a client and dependant of Barea Soranus, a Roman of rank, wealth, and exalted virtue. Celer, under the guise of a Stoic philosopher, had ingratiated himself with Soranus and then betrayed him, and falsely charged him with conspiracy and the practice, together with his daughter, of magical arts, for which both father and child were condemned to death by Nero. The picture drawn in the Annals of the character of Celer is startling and powerful. Mr. Godley well observes that our historian describes him as a kind of Tartufe. See Annals, xvi. 32: “Mox datus testibus locus; et quantum misericordiae sævitia accusationis permoverat, tantum irae P. Egnatius testis concivit. Chens hic Sorani et tunc emptus ad opprimendum amicum auctoritatem Stoica sectæ praeferebat, habitu et ore ad exprimendam imaginem honesti exercitus, ceteruinanimo perfidiosus, subdolus, avaritiam ac libidinem occultans; quae postquam pecunia reclusa sunt, dedit exemplum praecavendi, quomodo fraudibus involutos aut flagitiis commaculatos, sic specie bonarum artium falsos et umicitia fallaces.” The charge of practising magic is alluded to by the scholiast on Juvenal, vi. 552, cited by Professor Mayor in his great commentary: “filiam Barea Sorani, quamquam ipse ad magicam discendam esset institutus, detulit Neroni: ob quam rem mori cum patre jussa est a Nerone.”

4 Barea Soranus. See the preceding note.

5 Ea cognitione, “by this State prosecution.” For the meaning of cognitio, see ii. 84, vol. i. p. 144, n. 2, ante, and Appendix to vol. i.

6 Nocens reus, “the guilty character of the accused”—clearly proving that our interpretation of agmen recorum (the whole batch of traversers) in c. vi., ante, is correct. There in the quotation from Pliny’s Epistles nocens (“guilty”) is opposed to reus (“accused”). It is clear therefore that Tacitus uses reus in the same sense as Cicero. Nor does the passage in c. 40, post, militate against our interpretation. There the words manifestum reus have up to the present been wholly misinterpreted. Manifestus reus does not mean “clearly guilty,” but “guilt brought clearly home to the accused,” as is proved by Annals, xi. 6, where manifestus is used absolutely in the sense of “plainly guilty.” See also Annals, ii. 85. 3: “delicti manifesta”; ibid., xiii. 26. 4: “criminum manifestos.” See Varro, Menip. viii. (14), περὶ γνώμων:

“Si et accusator et reus erunt tenebrose uterque, utrumque vituperato.”
borne false witness against Barea,¹ and betrayed and violated that spirit of friendship of which he himself was the professed apostle.² The next court³ day is specially fixed for the trial; nor was it so much Musonius or Publius, as Priscus and the Marcellus gang, that roused the public interest, now that all hearts were beating for vengeance.

XI. While such was the condition of affairs—bad blood in the Senate, rage amongst the vanquished, no real control in the hands of the victors, no laws, no prince, to govern the State—Mucian entered Rome and instantly centred all power in himself.⁴ The influence of Primus Antonius and Varus Arrius was shattered, as Mucian ill-disguised⁵ his wrath towards them, however he may have tried to conceal it in his looks. But the citizens, keen at

¹ Celer professus sapientiam, dein testis in Baream, proditor corruptisque amicitia. Compare Juvenal, iii. 114:

"Transi
Gymnasia atque audi facinus majoris abollec.
Stoicus occidit Baream delator, amicum
Discipulunque senex, ripa mutritus in illa
Ad quam Gorgonei delapae est pinna caballia."

² Amicitia, ovius se magistrum ferebat. The ethics of Aristotle deal with the subject of "friendship." Both Theophrastus and Chrysippus wrote προσθέτος.

³ Proximus dies, "the next court day," not "the next day," as the Senate did not meet again for some days.

⁴ Wolff cites Agricola, vii.: "Initia principatus ac statum urbis Mucianus regebat juvener admodum Domitian." See also c. 39. 8, post.

⁵ Male dissimulata in eos Muciani ira vindicia, "as Mucian ill-disguised his wrath towards them." This passage instantly challenges a criticism of the new Berlin edition of Orelli's Horace by Hirschfelder, where we venture to differ from the interpretation put on Horace, Odes, i. 9. 24:

"Pignusque dereptum lacertis
Aut digito male pertinacis."

There Hirschfelder asserts that male intensifies the force of pertinacis, and that we must translate male pertinaci as "cruelly obdurate." He cites the male raucon of Satires, i. 4. 66, and the male laxus of i. 3. 32, where that acute and original scholar, Dr. Arthur Palmer, observes: "male, to be joined, ἀνὰ κουκοῦ, with laxus, which it strengthens, and haret, which it weakens: as Schütz says, male strengthens blame, weakens praise: 'his shamefully loose shoe scarcely keeps on his foot.'" So in Epist., i. 19. 3, male sanus is equivalent to insanus. Now the premises of Hirschfelder are correct, but his conclusion is wrong. For is pertinax a word of blame? Quite the contrary, the digitus pertinax would be a word of praise. I therefore follow Orelli, Ad. Kiessling, and Professor Conington's "finger, that but ill rebels."
ferreting out these antipathies, suddenly turned round and went over to Mucian. He alone was courted and cultivated, nor did he fail, by the armed escort that surrounded him, by his change of residence and demesne, by his costly appointments, his strut, his guards, to grasp at the substance of princely power, while waiving for the nonce the empty title. The murder of Calpurnius Galerianus spread terror far and wide. He was the son of Gaius Piso, and was perfectly innocent; but his illustrious name and the personal charms of his youth were the theme of every tongue, and some there were, in a city which was still unsettled and which gloated over the latest gossip, who spread idle reports anent his elevation to the throne. Under Mucian's orders he was surrounded by a military guard, and, lest his execution in the city itself might attract too much attention, they led him along the Appian Road as far as the fortieth milestone from Rome, and there severed his veins and let him bleed to death. Julius Priscus, captain of the Praetorian cohorts under Vitellius, committed suicide through shame rather than of necessity. Alfenus Varus survived the brand of his cowardice. Asiaticus, for he was only a freedman, atoned for his abuse of power by suffering the death of a slave.

1 Civitas rimandis offensis sagax, "citizens keen at ferreting out these antipathies." Compare Horace, Epod., xii. 4:

   "Namque sagacius unus odoror."

2 Domos hortosque permutans. Compare Horace, Odes, iii. 1. 47:

   "Cur valle permutem Sabina
   Divitas operiosiores?"

The best squares are always full of those people, of whom it has been humorously observed, that one half of them don't know who their grandfathers were, and the other half wouldn't tell you if they could.

3 Apparatu, "his costly appointments." Compare the immortal "Persicos odi, puer, apparatus."

4 Remittere, "waiving for the nonce," as contra-distinguished from dimittere, "to abolish," as in iii. 55. 9, ante, where we find his tributa dimittere, where dimittere means "to abolish all imperial taxation." There Professor Wolff observes: "dimittere ganz aus dem Verhältnis der Zinspflichtigkeit entlassen, remittere würde einen vorübergehenden Erlass des Zinses bedeuten."

5 Calpurnius Piso Galerianus was the adopted son of the renowned Gaius Calpurnius Piso, the leader of the conspiracy against Nero, detailed in Annals, xv. 48 to 74, in A.D. 65.
XII. About the same time the citizens heard, without the slightest distress, the gathering rumours of disasters in Germany; they chatted about armies cut to pieces, legionary winter-quarters captured, the revolt of Gaul, just as if these things were no calamity. I will unfold from their sources the prime causes of this war, and explain the extent of the outburst both of foreign and allied races with which it blazed forth. The Batavians, who as long as they occupied the right bank of the Rhine, formed portion of the tribe of the Chatti, were expelled by a civil feud, and took possession of the uninhabited tract on the verge of the Gallic coast, as well as of the island close by, which is washed by the ocean in

1 Nequaquam masta, "without the slightest distress," because the news showed that all hope for the Vitellianist party was at an end.

2 Crebrescentem cladis Germanica famam, "the gathering rumours of disasters in Germany," of which we first read in iii. 46, ante.

3 Alius expeditam. Compare i. 51, ante (vol. i. p. 32, n. 6), and Verg., Georg., iv. 285, 286:

"Alius omnem

Expediam prima repetens ab origine famam."

Dr. L. C. Purser, in criticising Mr. Spooner's note, points out in Hermathena, xviii. p. 210, that the poetical expeditam occurs in Latin prose as early as Pollio, ap. Cic., Fam., x. 33. 5, and Cic., ad Brut., i. 15. 1. It is also found in Sallust, Jugurth., v. 3.

4 Externarum sociarumque gentium. Externarum is Silver-age Latin for the Ciceronian exterarum. See Cicero, in Ver., ii. 1. 27, § 68: "Quodsi hoc jure legati populi Romani in socios nationesque exterarum uterentur." The externa gentes were the Transrhenane Germans, and the socia gentes were the Batavi, Cannoinefates, and Galliae Belgice.

5 Batavi. See Motley's "Rise of the Dutch Republic," Introduction: "A civil dissension among the Chatti—a powerful German race within the Hercynian forest—resulted in the expatriation of a portion of the people. The exiles sought a new home in the empty Rhine Island, called it 'Bet-auw,' or 'good-meadow,' and were themselves called, thenceforward, Batavia, or Batavians."

6 Trans Rhenum, "the right bank of the Rhine." Ripa is always the left or Roman side of the Rhine.

7 Chatti. This warlike tribe occupied the Hercynian forest, now represented by Nassau and Waldeck. See Germania, xxix., xxx.; Annals, i. 55; ii. 7; ii. 25; ii. 41. Tacitus says of the Chatti in Germ., xxx.: "alios ad praelium ire videas, Chattos ad bellum."

8 Extrema Gallica ora vacua cultivoribus, "the uninhabited tract on the verge of the Gallic coast," that is, the tract south of the Waal and Meuse as far as the North Sea.

9 Insulam juxta sitam, the Rhine Island or Insula Batavorum, formed by the bifurcation of the Rhine at Emmerich, where the larger and lower arm flows under the name of the Waal, and subsequently under that of the Meuse, into the North Sea, while the upper and smaller arm, first as the Rhine proper, and then as the Leck, finally reaches the same ocean. The locus classicus is in Annals, ii. 6: "Nam Rhenus
front, and by the river Rhine behind and on the other side. They pay no tribute (a rare occurrence in an alliance with those of superior strength) and supply the Empire with men and arms only. They had been long trained in the wars in Germany, and had then gained fresh laurels in Britain, whither their cohorts had been sent under the command, according to traditional custom, of the very noblest of their native chieftains. They had at home, as well, a picked troop of cavalry of such special skill in swimming that they were able, while holding their arms and horses, to force their way across the Rhine in unbroken ranks.

XIII. Julius Civilis and Claudius Paulus were of royal stock, uno alveo continuus aut modicas insulas circumveniens apud principium agri Batavi (now Emmerich) velut in duo amnes dividitur, servatque nomen (the Rhine proper) et violentiam cursus, qua Germaniam prevehitur, donec Oceano miscetur: ad Gallicam ripam latior adducit, versocognimento Vahalem (Waal) accola dicunt, mox id quoque vocabulum mutat Mosa flumine (Meuse) ejusque immenso orae in Oceum effunditur."

1 Mare Oceanus a fronte. A fronte here means on the western side, as in Germ., xxxiv.

2 Rhenus amnis, here loosely used by Tacitus for the Waal and Meuse as well as the Rhine proper.

3 Nec opibus—attribus. Compare Germ., xxix.: "Nam nec tributis contemnuntur, nec publicanus atterit."

4 Diu Germanis bellis exercitati, under Drusus, Tiberius, and Germanicus.

5 Mox aucta per Britanniam gloria. See i. 59 (vol. i. p. 39), ante; Annals, xiv. 38.

6 Transmissis ille cohortibus, the celebrated eight Batavian cohorts attached to the Legion XIV., Gemina Martia Victrix, i. 59; Annals, xiv. 38.

7 Erat et domi. The generally received reading of Harl. Reg., for the erant et domi of the Medieean MS. For the Greek construction of pracipue nandi studio—perrumperet, compare Horace, Odes, iii. 12. 10; i. 15. 8. For a full explanation of these aquatic feats see Annals, xiv. 29, sub fine, and Agricola, xviii. Pichena reads perrumperet solitus. Meiser suggests ut—perrumperet. See the Introduction.

8 Julius Civilis et Claudius Paulus, the emendation of Herennius for the Julius Paulus et Claudius Civilis of the Medieean MS. The error arose from pararosis (παραροσις) on the part of the scribe, who, naturally enough, however ignorant, caught at the alliteration of Claudius Civilis. Civilis is always called Julius Civilis elsewhere, as in i. 59, ante; Plutarch, Amator., xxv.; Frontin., Strat., iv. 3. 14. Moreover the name of the renowned chieftain should naturally come first. See Motley's "Rise of the Dutch Republic," Introd., iv.: "His Teutonic name has perished, for, like most savages who become denizens of a civilized state, he had assumed an appellation in the tongue of his superiors. He was a soldier of fortune, and had fought wherever the Roman eagles flew. After a quarter of a century's service, he was sent in chains to Rome, and his brother executed, both falsely charged with conspiracy. Such were the triumphs adjudged to Batavian auxiliaries. He escaped with his life, and was disposed to consecrate what remained of it to a noble cause."
and stood far above\textsuperscript{1} the rest of their compatriots. Fonteius Capito\textsuperscript{2} had put Paulus to death on a false charge of insurrection; Civilis had been loaded with chains, sent to Nero, and, although acquitted by Galba, had stood in jeopardy a second time under Vitellius,\textsuperscript{3} whose army vociferously demanded his execution: hence the sources of his wrath and the hopes founded on our misfortunes. But Civilis, who possessed a natural astuteness\textsuperscript{4} far above the average level of a foreigner, and who was wont to pose as a second Sertorius or Hannibal by reason of a similar facial disfigurement,\textsuperscript{5} now, in order to avoid the direct hostility he would meet with as a traitor, in the event of an open revolt from the Roman people, counterfeited friendship for Vespasian, and zeal for the Flavian party; and unquestionably\textsuperscript{6} a letter had been despatched to him from Primus Antonius,\textsuperscript{7} in which he was ordered to turn aside the reinforcements summoned by Vitellius, and to hold back the legions under the pretext of a revolt\textsuperscript{8} in Germany. Hordeonius Flaccus\textsuperscript{9} had urged the same course in person, as his feelings were inclined towards Vespasian and he was at the same time anxious for the Commonwealth, whose destruction was imminent, and would

\textsuperscript{1} multo ceteros antiebat. Dr. L. C. Purser, in criticising Mr. Spooner's note, points out, in Hermathena, xviii. p. 210, that this construction is found in Cicero. 

\textsuperscript{2} Fonteius Capito, legate of Lower Germany. See i. 7. 3, ante.

\textsuperscript{3} See i. 59, ante: "Julius deinde Civilispericuloexemptus, praepotens inter Batavos, ne supplicio ejus ferox gens alienaretur."

\textsuperscript{4} Ingeniosaiers, "possessed a natural astuteness." The same expression occurs in Annals, i. 53. The derivation of sullers is probably solla ars.

\textsuperscript{5} Ori dehonestamento. Compare Sallust, Frag. Hist., i. 62 (ed. Kr.). For Hannibal, see Livy, xxii. 2; for Sertorius, Plutarch, Sert., i.

\textsuperscript{6} Sane, observes Mr. Spooner, is concessive—"unquestionably," or "it must be allowed."

\textsuperscript{7} See c. 32, post.

\textsuperscript{8} Tumultus Germanicispecie, "under the pretext of a revolt in Germany." Strictly speaking tumultus meant a revolt of the Italian nations or an inroad of the Gauls, but in course of time it lost this restrictive application. See Mr. King's note to the locus classicus in Cicero, Philip, viii. 3: "Itaque maiores nostristumultum Italicum, quod erat domesticum, tumultum Gallicum, quod erat Italicus finitimus, praeterea nullum nominabant. Gravius autem tumultum esse quam bellum hinc intelligi potest, quod bello vacationes valent, tumultu non valent."

\textsuperscript{9} Hordeonius Flaccus, legate of Upper Germany. See i. 9. 1; ii. 57, ante.
have ensued, had the war been renewed, and had so many thousands of armed men burst into Italy.

XIV. So Civilis, having determined upon revolt, kept his deeper design in the dark for the present, and, resolving to shape his course in all things else according to results, commenced his career of insurrection in this wise. By order of Vitellius the Batavian youths were being summoned to the conscription, which was essentially an irksome imposition, and was rendered still more burdensome by the greed and depravity of the official underlings, who enrolled old or infirm men, with the object of securing a bribe for their discharge, while, moreover, boys of tender years and dazzling beauty (many of whom attain a lofty stature in childhood) were being dragged away to a life of infamy. Hence arose indignation, and the ring-leaders of the organized revolt induced the Batavians to disregard the conscription. Civilis summoned the native chieftains and the most spirited of the commonalty to one of the holy groves under the pretext of a banquet, and, when he saw them flushed with the revelry by night, he opened his speech with a eulogy and panegyric on their race, and then passed on to review in detail the outrages, the rapine, and all the other ills in the train of slavery. "We are no longer allies," he exclaimed, "as we were once, but are now looked upon as mere serfs. When does an Imperial legate visit us, however oppressive and arrogant his retinue may be? No! we are handed over to the rule of petty

1 Si redintegratum bellum, scilicet, esset. — Heraeus.
2 Excidium adventabat— si—inripissent. See iii. 46, ante, p. 64, n. 2.
3 Altior consulio, "his deeper design," to become King of Germany and Gaul. See c. 18, post: "Sic in Gallias Germaniasque intentus, si destinata provenissent, validissimarum ditissimarumque nationum regno imminebat." See also c. 61, post.
4 Conquirendo, "enrolling"— a technical word, as the conqueriores were recruiting officers. See 1 Smith's Dict. Ant., p. 805, per Dr. L. C. Purser.
5 Impubes, Silver-age Latin for impuberes.
6 Procerapueritia, the usual description of the Germans. See c. 1, ante: "Si quem procerum habitu et juventa conspexerant," and note.
7 Specie epularum. See Germ. xxii.
8 Nocte ac laetitia, "revelry by night," — ἐν διά ἄνωτρ.
9 Ruptus, "the rapine." Compare i. 46. 12, ante: "per latrocinia et raptus aut servilibus ministeria militare otium redimebant."
10 Comitatu. See Agricola, xix.: "A se suisque orsus primum domum suam coercuit, quod plerisque haud minus arduum est quam provinciam regere."
tyrants\(^1\) and centurions: and when we have gorged them with our substance and our blood, lo! they are changed, and new sets of pockets\(^2\) are devised, and novel forms of robbery. We are confronted with the conscription, by which sons are to be torn, as 'twere, from the last embrace of their parents, and brothers too from that of brothers. Never was Rome so low as she is now, nor is there aught in her winter-quarters save plunder and old men: only lift your eyes and cease to dread her skeleton legions.\(^3\) But we have upon our side the flower of horse and foot, the kinship of Germany, the sympathy of Gaul. Nor is this war unwelcome even to the Flavians: \(^4\) for, if fortune fail us, we shall claim credit in Vespasian's books, but if we prove victorious, we need render an account to none."

XV. He was listened to with marked approval, and then he swore in all present according to their savage ritual and the oath peculiar to the country. Envoys were despatched to the Canninefates\(^6\) to invite their co-operation in the plot. That race inhabits a portion of the Rhine Island, and is fully equal to the Batavians in descent, language, and valour, while inferior in point of numbers. Civilis then by secret missives succeeded in enticing into the conspiracy those Batavian cohorts, which had served as an auxiliary force in Britain, had been subsequently sent into Germany, as already narrated,\(^7\) and were then quartered at Mainz.\(^8\) Among the Canninefates was one Brinno, a warrior of sturdy resolution and of illustrious origin. His father had

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1. *Prefectis,* "petty tyrants"—the petty governors of small districts in Imperial provinces.

2. *Novos sinus,* "new sets of pockets." See ii. 92. 16 (vol. i. p. 155, n. 3); iii. 19, ante.

3. *Inania legionum nomina,* "skeleton legions"—cadres—Rahmen.

4. *Romani,* used here by Civilis loosely for Flavians.

5. *Cujus ambiguam fortunam Vespasiano imputaturos: victoriarationemnon reddi.* Mr. Godley has favoured us with Thierry's elegant translation (Histoiredes Gaulois, iii.): "Vaincus, nous en ferons un merite aupres de Vespasien: vainqueurs, qui viendra nous demander des comptes?"

6. *Canninefates,* a people occupying the lower part of the Rhine Island, west of the Batavians, and also the territory north of the island on the far side of the Rhine. See *Annals,* iv. 73; xi. 8; Pliny, *H.N.*, iv. § 101.

7. See ii. 69. 4, ante, vol. i. p. 125, n. 3.

8. *Mogontiacum,* now Mainz or Mayence, the stronghold of Upper Germany.
often shown his spirit 'gainst the foe, and had scorned with impunity Caligula's burlesque expedition.¹ Brinno therefore won favour by the very name of his rebel family, was hoisted upon a shield, as is the custom of the race, whirled round the ring² on the shoulders of those who bore him aloft, and chosen as leader. He then instantly summoned the Frisians,³ a race on the far side of the Rhine, to his assistance, and rushed along by the sea-coast to seize upon⁴ the neighbouring winter-quarters of two auxiliary Gallic cohorts. The Roman soldiers had not foreseen the enemy's attack, nor, even if they had, were they strong enough to repel it: and so the camp was captured and plundered. The enemy then assailed the Roman sutlers and traders, who were roaming at large and were scattered as in time of peace. They were also bent on destroying⁵ the forts, which were, however, burnt down by the commanders of the auxiliary foot, as it was impossible to defend them. The standards and colours and the remnant of the troops were drawn together into that part of the Rhine Island higher up the river,⁶ under the command of Aquilius, an ex-centurion of the first grade, and formed the skeleton rather than the body of an army, inasmuch as Vitellius, after absorbing


² Vibratus, "whirled round the ring." So Heraeus: "hin und hergeschwenkt, während er dreimal im Kreise herumgetragen wurde."

³ Frisii. The Frisii, who were divided into two tribes—majores and minores—occupied the territory between the mouths of the Rhine and the Zuider Zee. See Germ., xxxiv.; Annals, iv. 72.

⁴ Kiberna proxima occupatum Oceano inruptum— the emendation of Weissenborn for the proxima occupata of the Med. MS. Compare the Horatian ire dejectum monumenta regis, and see c. 23, post: "ut oppugnatum ultra legiones nostras venirent." Oceano is the ablative of descriptive route, as in i. 61, ante: "Fabius Valens—vastare Gallias et Cottianis Alpibus Italian inruptum—jussus"; compare Annals, i. 63: "litore Oceani petere Rhenum." Ibid., xiii. 54. Meiser would read: "hiberna proxima accubantia Oceano inruptum," but without authority.

⁵ Simul excidit castellorum imminebant, "They were also bent on destroying the forts," as in iii. 76, p. 110, ante, note (3); c. 18, post. Compare Ovid, Metamorph., i. 146: "Imminet exito vir conjugia, illa mariti." Also, Cicero, in Ver., ii. 2. 54, § 134: "nam ipsum Verrem tantum avaritiam semper hiante atque immineente fuisse": ibid., Philip., v. 7. 20; Annals, xvi. 14, where Burnouf and Nipperdey take this meaning. See also, Suetonius, August., xxiv., and Introd. to this volume.

⁶ That is to the east of the island and not northwards. So Wolff and Heraeus.

⁷ Nomen magis exercitus quam robur. Compare the inania legionum nomina of the preceding chapter.
the strength of the auxiliary foot, had burdened with arms a herd of idlers\(^1\) drawn from the neighbouring villages of the Nervii and the Tungri.

XVI. Civilis, believing that he should pursue a policy of craft, actually charged the auxiliary commanders with the\(^2\) desertion of the forts, and asserted that he would soon crush the revolt of the Canninefates with the cohort of which he was captain, while he bade the Roman officers repair to their several winter-quarters. That treachery was at the bottom of this advice, that the cohorts, when scattered, could be more easily destroyed, and that it was not Brinno but Civilis who was the leader of this war, soon became clear from the evidence which gradually burst its way into the light,\(^3\) and which the Germans, a nation that revels in war, could not long keep dark. When treachery proved abortive, Civilis had recourse to open force, and marshalled the Canninefates, Frisians, and Batavians, according to their clans, in columns en échelon.\(^4\) The Roman lines were drawn up against him not far from the river Rhine,\(^5\) and the bows of the ships, which, after the burning of the forts, the Romans had brought to moorage\(^6\) there, were turned towards the enemy. The battle had not long begun when the cohort of the Tungri\(^7\) went over to Civilis, and the Roman soldiery, panic-stricken by this

\(^1\) Segnem numerum, "a herd of idlers." Compare Horace, Epist., i. 2. 27: "nos numerus sumus et fruges consumere nati." See also Euripides, Herac., 997, where the Greek ἄνδραίς is used in the same sense.

\(^2\) Erumpentibus paulatim indicitis, "the evidence which gradually burst its way into the light." So Professor Wolff:—traten zu Tage.

\(^3\) Propriis cuneis componit, "marshalled, according to their clans, in columns en échelon." "A formation en échelon is when the successive divisions are placed parallel to one another, but no two on the same alignment, each division having its front clear of that in advance"—Murray's Historical Dictionary, sub verbo "échelon." Professor Wolff refers to c. 23. 6, post: "quo discreta virtus manifestius spectaretur, sibi quaeque gens consistunt"; also, Cæsar, B. G., i. 51. 2:—"Germani suas copias . . . generatim constituerunt, paribus intervallis (en échelon), Harudes, Marcomannos."

\(^4\) Rheno, here loosely used by Tacitus for the Waal, as in c. 12, ante, where see note.

\(^5\) Illuc adpulerant, "had brought to moorage there"—the regular technical term, as in Horace, Sat., i. 5. 12:

"Hue appelle! Trecentos inseris. Ohe!
Jam satia est."

\(^6\) Tungrorum cohors, a strong argument for the reading Nerviorum Tungrorumque at the end of the last chapter.
sudden betrayal, were being mown down by allies and enemies alike. The same sort of treachery arose on board the fleet: some of the oarsmen were Batavians, and, feigning want of skill, sought to impede the work of the sailors and marines; presently, they began to back water,¹ and drive the ships stern foremost into the bank of the river occupied by the enemy; finally, they commenced to cut down all the pilots and centurions who opposed their tactics, until the entire fleet of twenty-four ships either deserted or was captured.²

XVII. That victory proved a source of present triumph and of future advantage.³ They obtained arms and ships of which they stood in need, and won great renown throughout Germany and Gaul as the pioneers of freedom. The German tribes immediately sent envoys with offers of assistance: Civilis sought to gain the alliance of Gaul by diplomatic generosity,⁴ for he sent back to their respective states the auxiliary commanders whom he had captured, while he accorded to the cohorts themselves an absolute discretion either to go or stay. A distinguished position in the service was tendered to those who wished to remain, and the spoils of the Romans were presented to those who desired to depart. At the same time he reminded them in private interviews of the evils which they had endured for so many years, while they bestowed the false name of peace on the wretched lot of the slave. "'Twas we, the Batavians," he exclaimed, "who, although free from tribute, first

¹ * CONTRA TENDERE*, "they began to back water." Compare Verg., *Aen.*, v. 26:

"Tum pius Aeneas: Equidem sic poscere ventos
Jamdudum et frustra cerno te tendere contra.
*Flecte viam velis.*"

"Haec ubi dicta, petunt portus, et vela secundi
Intendunt Zephyri: fertur cita gurgite classis,
Et tandem lati note adventuntur harene."  

² *DONEC—TRANSFUGERET AUT CAPERETUR*. "*Donec,*" observes Professor Heraeus, "in the sense of 'until at last,' is used by Tacitus with the present and imperfect subjunctive instead of the perfect indicative, whereas Cicero always uses the perfect indicative to express the same meaning."

³ *CLAARA EA VICTORIA IN PRESENTS, IN POSTERUM USUI.* Observe the chiasitic structure of this sentence. Tacitus uses *usui*, by way of variety, instead of *utilis*.

⁴ *LIBERTATIS AUCTORES,* "pioneers of freedom." *Auctor,* as so often pointed out through this volume, means "one who takes the initiative"—"a pioneer."

⁵ *ARTE DONISQUE,* "diplomatic generosity."
took up arms against our common masters. In the first conflict the Roman was routed and vanquished. What then, if Gaul cast off the yoke? What strength remains in Italy? It is by the blood of the provinces that the provinces are conquered. Nor need ye brood over the fate of the army of Vindex, for it was by the Batavian horse that the warriors of Autun and Auvergne were ridden down. Among the auxiliaries of Verginius were the Belgians, and it must be clear to those, who form a true estimate, that Gaul has fallen by her own prowess. But now we are all on the same side, and possess moreover whatever remains of that martial spirit which once flourished in the Roman camp. We have with us those veteran cohorts before which the legions of Otho quite recently bit the dust. Let Syria and Asia Minor and the East, trained as it is to despotism, play the slave; there are many still alive in Gaul who were born before the payment of any tribute. At all events it is not so long ago since slavery was driven from Germany by the destruction of Quintilius Varus, nor was Vitellius the prince who was challenged in that combat, but Caesar Augustus himself. Freedom is bestowed by nature even upon the dumb brutes, but valour is the special attribute of man. Heaven favours the brave. Let us then, whose hands are free and fresh for the fray, fall on those whose hands are full and worn with the burden of the fight. While conflicting parties support Vespasian on one side and Vitellius on the other, we have a clear opening against both.”

1 Vindex was defeated by Verginius at Besançon (Vesontio) in A.D. 68.
2 *Edus Avvernosque,* “the warriors of Autun and Auvergne.” The *Edus* occupied the district between the Loire and the Saône. Their capital was *Augustodunum,* now Autun. The *Averni* dwelt in the modern Auvergne.
3 *Belgas,* that is, the Treveri, Lingones, and Remi. See i. 8; i. 51, ante; iv. 69, post.
4 *Veteranas cohortes*—the renowned eight Batavian cohorts. See i. 59; iv. 15, ante; iv. 19, post.
5 On the fatal field of Bedricum. See ii. 43, ante.
6 *Ante tributa genitos*—a piece of rhetorical exaggeration, as the census of Gaul was taken in the seventh consulship of Augustus, B.C. 27, 96 years previously.
7 *Nuper certe caso Quintilio Varo*—rhetoric again. The destruction of Quintilius Varus by Arminius was in A.D. 9, just 60 years previously.
8 *Arriperent,* “fall on.” Professor Hertaeus refers to Verg., *Æn.,* ix. 13:

"Rumpce moras omnis et turbata arripem castra."
XVIII. With his heart thus set on Gaul and Germany he was bent\(^1\) on making himself king of those very powerful and wealthy nations, and would have made the attempt\(^2\) if his ulterior schemes had succeeded. However, Flaccus Hordeonius nurtured the incipient plans of Civilis by ignoring them. Then when a succession of panic-stricken messengers announced the storming of the camp, the destruction of the cohorts, the expulsion of Roman authority from the island of the Batavians, he ordered Munius Lupercus,\(^3\) the lieutenant-general in command of the two legions in winter-quarters, to sally forth against the enemy. Lupercus hurriedly despatched across the Waal all the legionaries that were at hand,\(^4\) the men of Cologne\(^5\) who were close by, the cavalry of Trèves who were at no great distance, and supported them with a troop of Batavian horse, who, although they had for some time back been bought over by the enemy, feigned loyalty, in order that by betraying the Romans in the heat of action they might secure a higher price for their treachery. Civilis, who was surrounded by the standards of the recently captured cohorts, so that the sight of their late triumph might be before the very eyes of his own soldiers, and that his foes might be appalled by the remembrance of the disaster, then ordered his mother and sisters as well as the wives and little children\(^6\) of all his men to stand together in the rear, as a source either of encouragement to victory or of shame upon defeat. When his lines resounded with the war-shout of the men\(^7\) and the sharp cries\(^8\) of the women, the challenge was

\(^1\) *Regno imminebat,* "was bent on making himself king." See iii. 76; and c. 15, ante, and note.

\(^2\) The words in italics must be supplied *kurâ sôveir* to explain the pregnant construction *imminebat—si destinata provenissent.* So Heræus: "Ist als Konj. des Fut. ex. zu fassen und gehört zu *imminebat.*" See Spooner ad loc.

\(^3\) In command of the Fifth and Fifteenth Legions at the Old Camp (Vetera). See c. 35, post; and i. 55, ante (vol. i. p. 36).

\(^4\) *Legionarios e presentibus.* They were only about 5000 strong, as the bulk of the legions had been drawn off by Vitellius.

\(^5\) *Ubios,* "the men of Cologne." See vol. i. p. 37, n. 1.

\(^6\) The presence of wives and children on the field of battle was a custom not confined to Germany (*Germ.* vii.–viii.). See *Agricola,* xxxii.; *Annals,* xiv. 34; iv. 51.

\(^7\) *Feriorum cantu.* See ii. 22, 6, vol. i. p. 84, ante; *Germ.,* iii.

\(^8\) *Feminarum ululatu,* "the sharp cries of the women." See *Germ.,* vii. *Ululatus*
answered by a far less spirited shout from the Roman legions and auxiliaries. The troop of Batavian horse had at once, by their desertion to the enemy, exposed our left wing and instantly turned upon us. But the Roman legionary, although in the midst of panic, still held his arms and his ground. The auxiliaries of Cologne and Trèves scattered in disgraceful flight and straggled over the whole country. The Germans concentrated their attack upon them, and meanwhile the legions got a chance of escape into what is called the Old Camp. The commander of the troop of Batavian horse, Claudius Labeo, who was a local political rival of Civilis, was carried off to the country of the Frisii, for they were afraid that his execution might create indignation amongst his countrymen, or that his retention might prove a source of dissension.

XIX. About the same time an envoy from Civilis came up with the cohorts of the Batavians and Canninefates who were on their way to Rome under orders from Vitellius. Straightway they became puffed up with pride and insolence, and demanded what undoubtedly Vitellius had promised them as the price of their march to the capital, a donative, double pay, an increase in the

may be either a cry of sorrow, as in Verg., Æn., ii. 487; iv. 667; ix. 477; or of ecstasy, as in Catullus, lxiii. 24:

"Ubi capita Maenades vi jaciant eiderigeræ, Ubi sacra sancta acutis ululatibus agitant."

1 Heraeus refers to Livy, iv. 37: "Clamor indicium primum fuit, qua res inclinatuæ esset, excitatio crebrisque ab hoste sublatus; ab Romanis dissonus, impar, segnior iteratus prodidit pavorem animorum."

2 Vetera, now Xanten on the Rhine. For the construction quibus Veterum nomen est, compare ii. 24, ante: "locus castorum vocatur"; Annals, iv. 59: "in villa cui vocubulum Speluneæ"; ibid. xiv. 50; xv. 37.

3 Batavorum et Canninefatiium cohortes. The eight Batavian cohorts were stationed, as we have seen (c. 15, ante), at Mainz or Mayence—Mogontiacum. They had been summoned thence by Vitellius to Rome. See ii. 97, ante, where we are told that Hordeonius Flaccus already suspected the Batavians. It was on their march from Mainz or Mayence towards Italy that the messenger of Civilis reached them.

4 Promissa sune a Vitellio, "what undoubtedly Vitellius had promised them." Same is here, as so often elsewhere in Tacitus, used in a concessive sense.

5 Duplex stipendium, that is, twenty asses a day. See Annals, i. 17. 6: "denis in diem asibus animum et corpus aestimari," where see Mr. Furneaux's note. The Pretorians received two full denarii a day, or 32 asses. Hence the complaint of the mutineers in Annals, i. 17.
number of the cavalry,¹ not for the purpose of securing these claims, but as an excuse for mutiny. Moreover, Flaccus had gained nothing by his numerous concessions save still more importunate demands, which the men knew that he must refuse. They scorned his authority, and turned their course towards Lower Germany, in order to effect a junction with Civilis. Hordeonius summoned a meeting of the tribunes and centurions, and consulted them as to whether he should use force to repress the action of the mutineers; then, influenced by his own natural cowardice, as well as by the panic of his subordinate officers who were nervous at the unreliable temper of the auxiliaries and the condition of the hastily-recruited legions, he resolved to confine the troops within their several camps. Finally, he changed his mind owing to the disapproval of the very men who had originally induced him to adopt their plans, announced his intention of pursuing the fugitives² in a letter to Herennius Gallus, lieutenant-general of the First Legion, who was in occupation of Boun, and directed that officer to stop the Batavians from crossing his lines,³ while he himself, he wrote, would fasten on their rear with his army.⁴ And undoubtedly the mutineers could have been crushed, if Hordeonius on the one side and Gallus on the other had caught them between the two armies advancing from opposite directions. Flaccus, however, abandoned the project, and, in a second letter, advised Gallus to let the Batavians pass on unmolested. Hence there was an inking that the flames of war were being fanned with the approval⁵ of the legates, and that everything, which had happened or was apprehended, should be attributed⁶ neither

¹ Because the cavalry received higher pay.
² Tamquam secuturus scripsit—a Greek construction—ος διώτω. Herœus compares Annals, vi. 36: "subdito rumore tamquam Mesopotamiam invasurus: ibid., xii. 49: " tamquam recuperaturus Armeniam."
³ Ut arceret transiti Batavos, "to stop the Batavians from crossing his lines," not "from crossing the Rhine."
⁴ Se cum exercitu tergis eorum hæsurum, "while he himself, he wrote, would fasten on their rear with his army." Compare Curtius, iv. 15. 32: "Hærebat in tergis fugientium victor"; also Livy, i. 14. 11: "hæren in tergo Romanus."
⁵ Sponte legatorum, "with the approval of the legates." Herœus compares iii. 16. 6, ante: " nec sponte Antonii properatum."
⁶ Cunctaque qua acciderant aut metuebantur—evenire, "and everything, which had happened or was apprehended, should be attributed," that is, "must be the outcome"—evenire.
to the cowardice of the soldiers nor the fear of the foe, but to the perfidy of the generals.

XX. When the Batavians were approaching the camp at Bonn, they sent forward envoys to lay before Herennius Gallus the message¹ of the cohorts. "We do not want," the missive ran, "to fight against the Romans, on whose side we have so often fought; but we are aweary of a tedious and bootless service, and long for home and rest. If there be no opposition, our march will harm no man; but if any armed force² attack us, we will cut our way through with the sword." The Roman soldiers forthwith induced³ the lieutenant-general, although very reluctant, to try his chance in a battle. Three thousand legionaries, some hastily-levied cohorts of Belgians, as well as a band of yokels and sutlers, who were cowards at heart but braggarts before the fray,⁴ burst forth⁵ from all the gates for the purpose of surrounding the Batavians who were inferior in point of numbers. But the latter, experienced soldiers as they were,⁶ drew up into column formation in close order on every side, and were safe from attack in front as well as on their rear and flanks. By this manoeuvre they succeeded in breaking through our thin lines. The Belgians gave way, the legion was consequently driven back, and the panic-stricken men rushed for shelter towards the rampart and gates of the camp. There the carnage was thickest, the dikes were choked

¹ Mandata cohortium, "the message of the cohorts." Compare Annals, xiv. 38: "simul in urbem mandabat, nullum praeliorum finem expectarent." See also Juvenal, iii. 46:

"ranarum viscera nunquam
Inspexi, ferre ad nuptam que mittit adulter,
Quae mandat, norunt alii."

² Arma, "any armed force." So in i. 76. 9: "Longinqua provinciae et quiescid armorum mari dirimitur pene Othonem manebat"; and Annals, i. 1. 3: "Lepidi atque Antonii arma in Augustum cessere."

³ Perpulerant, "forthwith induced." Note the force of the pluperfect.

⁴ Payanorum lizarumque ignava sed prosax ante periculum manus. Compare ii. 87 (vol. i. p. 148), ante: "calonum numerus amplior, procacissimus etiam inter servos lizarum ingenii," where see note.

⁵ Prorumpunt—Ritter's emendation of the rumpunt of the Medicean MS.

⁶ Veteres militiae, "experienced soldiers as they were." Compare c. 76, post: "nec subitum militem, sed veterem exper tumque bellum." So Annals, i. 20: "vetus operis ae laboris et eo immittior, quia toleraverat." Ibid., vi. 12. 2; vi. 44. 1: "vetus regnandi."
with dead, nay, many perished not merely from the murderous havoc of the foe, but by falling impaled upon their own swords. The victors kept clear of Cologne, and during the remainder of their march did not venture on any further hostilities, while they sought to justify the battle of Bonn on the ground that they had craved for peace, and, when their prayer was rejected, had then acted in self-defence.

XXI. Civilis, upon the arrival of the veteran cohorts, was now at the head of a regular army, but, as he had not yet determined upon his plans and was pondering on the power of Rome, he administered to all the soldiers at hand the oath of allegiance to Vespasian, and despatched envoys to the two legions that had been defeated in the recent engagement, and had taken refuge in the Old Camp, with a request that they should take the same pledge of fealty as the rest. The legionaries gave this answer:—"We do not take advice either from a traitor or from enemies; Vitellius is our prince and we will remain true to him and fight for him to the last gasp: then let not the runaway Batavian play the arbitrator on Roman issues, but let him rather await the doom due to his guilt." When this message was returned to Civilis, he was inflamed with wrath, and hurried

1 *Ruina et suis plerique telis interierre. Heræus takes this as ἤ ν θ ῳ αυ τ ο ῳ, but Dr. L. C. Purser points out in xviii., Hermath., 214, that *ruina may perhaps mean "by falling," and he cites Verg., , of . , xi. 612:

"Continuo adversis Tyrrhenus et acer Aconteus
Coniix incurrunt hastis, primique ruina
Dant sonitum ingentem."

Also Lucretius, v. 1329:

"Permixtasque dabant equitum peditumque ruinae."

2 *Justi exercitus, "a regular army." See Annals, xiv. 32. 3: "Ille haud amplius quam ducentos sine justis armis misit." See also Livy, ix. 43.

3 See the account of the defeat of the Fifth and Fifteenth Legions at Vetera (the Old Camp), now Xanten on the Rhine, c. 18, ante.

4 *Provide perfugia Batavus arbitrium rerum Romanorum ne ageret, "then let not the runaway Batavian play the arbitrator on Roman issues." Such is the text of the Medicæan MS., and the emendation of Puteolanus—arbitrium—ne ageret—is wholly unnecessary. *Arbitrium agere is used in two different senses. It may mean "to play the arbitrator," as it does here, or "to act as arbitrator”—"to arbitrate," as it does in Annals, xiii. 14: "Et Nero infensus iiis, quibus superstibis muliebris inimicatur, demovet Pallantem cura rerum, quis a Claudio impositus velit arbitrium regni agebat." There Nipperdey points out the two meanings in which the expression is used, and
the whole of the Batavian people into arms. He was joined by
the Brucerti, the Tencteri, and all Germany, now summoned by
his missives to participate in the spoils and glory of the fray.

XXII. In order to meet these gatherings menaces of war, the
lieutenants-general of the legions, Munius Lupercus and Numisius Rufus, commenced to strengthen the
rampart and fortifications of the camp. Those build-
ing,s which had sprung up during a prolonged peace,
and had been erected at no great distance from the camp into a
regular township, were now demolished lest they should prove of
some advantage to the enemy. Little heed, however, was taken
for the convoy of provisions into the camp; plunder was tolerated;
and so in a few days those resources were recklessly squandered,
which would have lasted a long time for the relief of pressing
wants. Civilis with the flower of the Batavians marched in the
centre of the advancing force, and, in order to inspire still wilder
terror at the spectacle, covered both banks of the Rhine with
masses of German foot, while his cavalry careered over the
adjoining plains and his fleet moved up the river. On one bank
of the Rhine the standards of the veteran Batavian cohorts, on

Remarks that while the phrase in the text above means "to play the arbitrator," it
bears the more serious sense in Annals, xiii. 14, of "acting as arbitrator," as it does
likewise in Curtius, vi. 1. 19: "Itaque Antipater, qui probe nosset spiritum ejus, non
est ausus ipse agere arbitria victoria"; while Livy, on the contrary, uses it in the
lighter sense of "playing the arbitrator" in xxiv. 45. 4: "temporum oblitos homines
in medio ardore belli tamquam in pace libera de quoque arbitria agere"; and again,
xxl. 15. 5: "Rhodios in orbe terrarum arbitria belli pacisque agere."

1 Brucerti. The Bructeri occupied the district of the river Lippe, which falls into
the Rhine at Xanten (Vetara—the Old Camp). See Annals, i. 51; xiii. 56.
2 Tencteri. The Tencteri lay between the Bructeri and the Chattii in the region
round Cologne and Bonn. See Annals, xiii. 56.

3 Has concurrentia belli minas. Concurrentia is the accusative plural agreeing with
minas.

4 In modum municipii exstructa. Compare i. 67, ante: "longa pace in modum
municipii exstructa locus."

5 Necessitates. Compare Germ., xv.: "moes est civitatis ultra ac virim confrere
principibus vel armentorum vel frugum, quod pro honore acceptum etiam necessitates
subvenit." Hereus cites Suetonius, Caesar, lviii.: "famem et ceteras necessitates toler-
rabant."

6 Truculentior, "wilder." Messrs Lewis and Short suggest Tpop as the root.
See Ovid, Pont., ii. 7. 31:

Nulla Getis toto gens est truculentior orbe:
Sed tamen hi nostris ingenuere malis."
the other the effigies of wild beasts taken from their shrines in the woods and groves,¹ as each tribe bore the distinctive symbol which it is wont to follow into battle, suddenly dazed the besieged at the sight of this strange blend of civil and foreign war.² Moreover, the extent of the rampart of the camp filled the attacking party with fresh confidence, inasmuch as that fortification had been constructed³ to meet the requirements of two complete legions, and was now defended by scarcely five thousand⁴ armed Romans; but a host of sutlers had flocked thither upon the disturbance of peace, and were now available for service in war.

XXIII. One part of the camp stood on the gentle slope of a hill, the other was situated on level ground. For Augustus had believed that Germany could be held in check⁵ and kept down by those winter-quarters, and that we could never reach such a sorry pass that our enemies would actually proceed to storm the camp of our legions. Consequently no labour had been expended⁶ either on the ground or on the fortifications: the power and armed force of Rome seemed quite enough. The Batavians and Transrhenane⁷ Germans, in order to afford a more prominent display of

¹ "Deprompta sitis lucisque ferarum imagines, ut cuique genti inire praelium mos est." Compare Germ., vii: "effigiesque et signa quaedam detracta lucis in praelium ferunt."

² Mixta bellic civilis externique facie. I cannot do better than transcribe Mr. Spooner's excellent note: "The Batavian cohorts wore Roman dress, arms, and accoutrements, the Germans their own native badges, so that the Romans would seem to be fighting at once against their own countrymen and a foreign enemy."

³ Duabus legionibus situm, "constructed to meet the requirements of two complete legions." Situm is the past participle of sito, and not of sino. Such is the opinion of Dräger. See Annals, ii. 7. 3: "veterem aram Druso sitam disjecerant." See also Nipperdey on Annals, i. 39: "Situs braucht Tacitus ganz wie positus." See also iii. 72. 21, ante: "Isdem rursus vestigiis situm est."

⁴ As the rampart required 12,000 men (the full complement of two legions) to defend it, the force of 5000 Roman soldiers was quite inadequate.

⁵ Obsideri, "held in check," like the Greek ὀσιδηροκείσθαι. Compare Cicero, pro Flac., xxiv.: "quum speculatur atque obsidel rostra vindex temeritatis et moderatrix officii curia, tamen quantos fluctus excitari contionum videtis?" Hereaus also cites Nepos, Pet., i. 3: "satisius ducebant eos (Thebanos) obsideri quam liberari."

⁶ Labor additus. Compare Verg., Georg., i. 150: "mox et frumentis labor additus."

⁷ Transrhenani—the Frisii, Bructeri, Tencteri. See cc. 15 and 21, ante
individual prowess, took up separate positions according to their respective tribes, and tried to harass us by opening a missile-fire. Then, when most of their projectiles fastened harmlessly in the turrets and battlements, while they themselves were being wounded by volleys of stones from above, they rushed forward with a cheer, attacked the rampart, many placed scaling-ladders against the walls, some mounted on their comrades' shields, serried like the back of a tortoise, and some were actually in the act of climbing, when they were hurled down by blows of sabre and of shield, and buried beneath a shower of stakes and javelins, too daring as they ever were at the onset, and too much elated by success. But now in their lust for plunder they bore up also against failure, and attempted to make use even of siege artillery, to which they were quite unaccustomed. Nor did they themselves possess any skill in the art, but some deserters and prisoners taught them how to frame planks of timber into a kind of movable drawbridge and then to roll it forward on wheels fastened underneath, so that some might stand on the top and fight as if from a raised mound, while others concealed within the framework might commence to undermine the walls. But volleys of stones from the Roman ballistas shattered the clumsy contrivance. Then, when they attempted to construct fascines and penthouses, flaming projectiles were shot home into them by the Roman artillery, and thus it was the besiegers themselves who fell within

1 *Discreta virtus*. See iii. 27, *ante*: "ut discreetus labor fortess ignavosque distinguere t."  
2 *Pinnis*, "the battlements." See iii. 29, *ante*.  
3 *Sollertia*. See note on *sollers*, c. 13, *ante*.  
4 *In modum pontis*, "into a kind of movable drawbridge"—the Sambuca (*σαμβοκη* or *σαμβόκη*). See 2 Smith's Dict. Ant., new ed., p. 595, where the learned writers observe: "The σαμβόκη of Bito was a bridge with sheltering bulwarks supported on a high column or cylinder made as a screw, which was turned in any direction by a capstan; the whole being fixed on a platform with wheels so that it combined tower and bridge. The bridge had a weight at one end to assist in keeping it horizontal, and a ladder at the other by which the soldiers climbed up to it; it was turned with the column upon its screw in the required direction, and raised to a level with the top of the wall by the screw, and possibly also by pulleys." See *Annals*, iv. 51.  
5 *Crates vineasque*, "fascines and penthouses." See ii. 21 (vol. i. p. 83), *ante*.  
the range of fire-missiles, until they abandoned all hope of capture by assault and resolved upon a policy of delay, well aware as they were that the besieged had only provisions enough to last for a few days, and that the place was crowded by a helpless mob. At the same time they based their hopes on possible treachery as the outcome of starvation, on the wane of loyalty among the slaves, and on the chances of war.

XXIV. Flaccus, who in the meantime had been apprised of the the siege of the Old Camp, and had despatched envoys through every quarter of Gaul to summon assistance, now entrusted Dillius Vocula, the lieutenant-general of the Twenty-second Legion, with the command of legionary detachments, and gave him orders to hurry along the left bank of the Rhine by forced marches, while he himself sailed down on shipboard, as he was in a sickly state of health, and was moreover detested by the soldiery, whose murmurings sounded no uncertain note.

"The Batavian cohorts," they cried, "have been let slip out of Mayence, the attempts of Civilis have been cloaked from us, the Germans have been adopted as allies: the cause of Vespasian has not thriven more on the aid either of Antonius or Mucian. Manifest hate and the naked sword can be openly defeated; chicanery and treachery burrow in the dark, and therefore cannot be frustrated. Civilis stands face to face with us and marshals his battalions: Hordeonius gives orders from his bedroom and his bed in the interest of our foes. All these thousands of the sabres

1 *Fiuza servitorum fides.* Mr. Spooner cites ii. 75, *ante:* "fluza per discordias militum fidelia"; iii. 48: "fluza, ut est barbaria, fide." 2 *Navi vectus.* Ritter's certain emendation of the navibus of the Medicean MS. Compare Plautus, *Mil. Glor.*, ii. 1. 41:

"Capiunt praeones navem ullam, ubi vectus fui."

See also ibid., *Bacch.*, i. 1. 73; *Am.*, ii. 2. 220; *Mecr.*, ii. 3. 37; *Stich.*, iv. i. 25. See also Catullus, lxxii.: "*Super alta vectus Attis colori rate maria.*"

Haase, who is followed by *Hercus*, would read navibus vectus. Meiser adheres to the MS., spelling sequitur out of celararet.

3 *Invalidus corpore.* See i. 9, *ante:* "senecta ac debilitate pedum invalidum."

4 *Emissas,* "have been let slip out"—"'herausgelassen,' nicht 'herausgesandt.'"

—*Hercus.*

5 *E cubiculo et lectulo,* "from his bedroom and his bed," where he was suffering from the gout—"debilitate pedum invalidum," i. 9, *ante.*
of the brave are swayed by the sickly whims of one old man! Nay, why not rather 1 slay the traitor, 2 and rescue our destiny and our manhood from this evil spell?" 3 Fired by these mutual murmurings they were still further inflamed by the arrival of a letter from Vespasian, which Flaccus, who was well aware that its import could not be concealed, read aloud on parade, while he sent the bearers of the missive in iron to Vitellius.

XXV. In this way he assuaged their anger, and then they advanced to Bonn, the winter-quarters of the First Legion. The soldiers stationed there were still more hostile, and tried to shift the blame of their recent disaster on to the shoulders of Hordeonius. "It was by your order," they said, "that we attacked the Batavians, and we did so on the distinct understanding that the legions should advance from Mayence to our support. It was owing likewise to your treachery that our ranks were mown down, as no reinforcements arrived later on to assist us. All this is unknown to the other armies of Rome, and has not been communicated to our commander-in-chief, 4 although this treachery could have been nipped in the bud 5 by the speedy support of so many provinces." Hordeonius read aloud before the army copies 6 of all the de-

1 Quin potius—exsolverent, "Nay, why not rather rescue?" The interrogative form of quin with the present indicative in the direct narration is represented, in the oblique narration, by the imperfect subjunctive in a positive form. See iii. 66. 17, ante, and note.

2 Proditore, the emendation of Ferretus for the traditore of the Medicean MS.

3 Malo omine, "this evil spell"—an allusion to the unlucky (infaustum) name Flaccus—"languid" or "feeble." Professor Wolff translates it by the German word "welk," and refers to 53. 5, post: "ingressi milites, quis fausta nomina, felicibus ramis." Compare Verg., Æn., vii. 717:

"Qui Tiberim Fabarimque bibunt, quos frigida misit
Nursia, et Ortine classes populique Latini;
Quosque secans infaustum interluit Alia nomen."

4 Imperatoris suo, "our commander-in-chief." See iii. 85, ante, and the note.

5 Exstinguiripensperfidiapotuerit, "although this treachery could have been nipped in the bud." This use of ripens in the sense of "fresh" or "new" is peculiar to Tacitus. Compare Annals, vi. 7. 12: "quid ripens aut vetustate obscurum." So ibid., xi. 24. 22: "Libertinorum filii magistri mandare non, ut plerique falluntur, ripens, sed priori populo factitatum est." So ibid., xv. 68, sub fine: "Accesserat ripens causa (a fresh reason), quod Vestinus Statiliam Messalinam matrimonio sibi junxerat."

6 Exemplares, "copies"—διάγραμα—the more common form being exemplaria.
patches in which he besought assistance throughout Gaul, Britain, and Spain, and he established the infamous precedent of handing over all the letters he had received to the eagle-bearers of the legions, by whom they were read to the rank and file sooner than to the officers. Hordeonius then ordered one only of the mutineers to be put in irons, more for the sake of vindicating his authority than because the blame rested on any particular individual. The army then moved on from Bonn to Cologne, while the Gallio auxiliaries came pouring in, and at first gave their hearty support to the Roman cause; afterwards, when the strength of the Germans increased, many of the Gallio States took up arms against us in the hope of gaining their independence as well as in their passionate desire, should they themselves succeed in casting off the yoke of slavery, to become in turn masters of Gaul. The wrath of the legions was swelling, nor did the imprisonment of one soldier inspire any terror: nay, this same individual actually accused the general of complicity in crime, for he asserted that, inasmuch as he had acted as intermediary between Civilis and Flaccus, an attempt was now being made to crush by a false charge a witness to the truth. With marvellous nerve Vocula mounted the tribunal, ordered the soldier, who was in the grasp of the lictors, and was loudly protesting, to be led off to execution, and thus, while he struck terror into the hearts of the evil-doers, ensured the obedience of all the well-disposed. Then, as there was a unanimous request for the appointment of Vocula to the position of general, Flaccus transferred to him the supreme authority.

XXVI. But many circumstances combined still further to exasperate the bad temper of the men: want of pay and food; Gaul's scornful repudiation of levy and tribute; the Rhine

_Heraeus_ cites Fronto, _Epist. ad Anton._, ii. 5: "exemplares eorum excerptorum nullas feci."

1 _Cupidine imperitandi, "scilicet, ceteris civitatibus."_—_Heraeus._ The words are in antithesis to _si exuisissent servitium._

2 _Terrorum—indiderant._ "Indere is scarcely ever used by the Augustan writers. Cicero uses it only once—_de Inv._, ii. 149; Livy and Sallust only apply it in the limited sense of _nomen indere, cognomen indere._ Tacitus, however, uses it generally as an equivalent for _injicere, conjicere, dare, ponere, imponere._"—Professor Wolff, _ad locum._

3 _Tamquam, "for he asserted that," or "on the ground that."_
scarcely navigable by reason of a drought unprecedented in that climate; scarcity of supplies; pickets posted along the entire of the left bank of the river in order to prevent the Germans from fording the stream; and from one and the same cause a decrease of grain-supplies and an increase of consumers. Indeed ignorant people construed the scarcity of water as in itself a kind of prodigy, and believed that the very rivers, those ancient safeguards of the Empire, were deserting us; thus what was ascribed to chance or natural causes in times of peace was now termed "fate" and "the anger of the Rhine-God." Upon their arrival at Neuss our men were joined by the Sixteenth Legion. Herennius Gallus, the lieutenant-general of that force, was now associated with Vocula in the anxious duties of command; still they did not yet venture to attack the enemy, but pitched their camp at a place called Gellep. There they sought to brace their men by

1 Incognita illi calo sicitate, "a drought unprecedented in that climate." Compare Annals, i. 56, where the historian says in regard to Germany: "Nam (rarum illi calo) sicitate et annibus modicis inoffensum iter properaverat."

2 Ripam, always means "the left bank," or Roman side of the Rhine, par excellence.

Eademque de causa, the drought impeded the navigation of the river and stopped the supplies of corn by river transit, while the necessity for pickets all along the left bank, to prevent the Germans from fording the shallow stream, largely increased the number of consumers.

4 Ira di (i.e. dei), "the anger of the Rhine-God." Such is the text of the Medicean MS., which is not only fortified by the extreme beauty of the poetical idea of the Rhine-God protecting the Fatherland from the legions of Rome, but is also strongly supported by v. 17, post: "Rhenum et Germaniae deos in adspectu: quorum numine capesserent pugnam, conjugum parentum patriae memoras." Thus two thousand years back was Die Wacht am Rhein. I cannot therefore follow Nipperdey, who reads ira deum, or Wurm, who reads ira divum. I am glad to find my view supported by Meiser as well as by Hereaus and Wolff.

6 Novasium, now Neuss. Neuss is on the Erft, a tributary of the Rhine, from which the modern town is two miles distant. Novassium, on the other hand, was right down on the bank of the Rhine. Neuss is about one third of the way between Cologne and Xanten.

8 Loco cui Gelduba nomen est castra fecere, the reading of the inferior MSS., adopted by Ernesti for the loco Gelduba nomen est castra fecere of the Medicean MS. The simplicity of this emendation commends itself, and is moreover supported by c. 84. 14, post: "templum pro magnitudine urbis exstructum loco cui nomen Rhacotis." Meiser also adopts this reading. Gelduba is represented by the modern village of Gellep or Gelb, situated between Kaiserswerth and Ürdingen, and about thirteen and a half miles from Neuss. The modern village is some short distance from the Rhine, the ancient Novassium was actually down on the bank of the Rhine.
engaging them in the formation of the order of battle, and in working at fortifications and entrenchments as well as all other kinds of military exercises. 1 Moreover, in order to fire their courage by the prospect of booty, part of the army was led by Vocula to the neighbouring villages of the Cugerni, 2 who had entered into an alliance with Civilis; while the rest of the men remained behind with Herennius Gallus.

XXVII. A ship, heavily laden with grain, had chanced to ground in the shallows not far from the camp at Gellep, 3 and the Germans were endeavouring to drag it over to the right bank 4 of the river. Gallus would not submit to this, and despatched a cohort to the assistance of the crew: but the Germans likewise supplemented their forces, and, as the reinforcements on both sides gradually accumulated, a pitched battle ensued. The Germans inflicted a signal defeat upon our men and succeeded in dragging off the ship. The vanquished Romans, in accordance with what had now become an established practice, sought to lay the blame, not on their own cowardice, but on the treachery which they imputed to the lieutenant-general. 5 They dragged him forth from his tent, tore his garments into tatters, and scourged him, while they bade him declare for what bribe, with what confederates, he had betrayed the Roman army. The ill feeling towards Hordeonius returned. "He was the guilty principal and Gallus was the accessory," they continued to exclaim, until the latter, in his wild terror at the threats of doom, actually brought a personal charge of treachery against Hordeonius. He was then put in irons, but was eventually released on the return of Vocula. The next day Vocula inflicted the death

1 Belli meditamentis, "military exercises." See iii. 2, ante, and the note.
2 Cugernorum. The Cugerni, had been transferred by Tiberius from the right to the left bank of the Rhine. Prior to the change they seem to have been called Sugambri. They dwelt on the river Niers, between the Ubii and the Batavians. See Mr. Spooner's instructive note ad locum. Pliny, iv. 106, calls them Guberni.
3 Castris, "the camp at Gellep," or Gelb (Gelduba).
4 In suam ripam, "to the right bank of the river," as ripa, when used per se, always meant the left or Roman bank of the Rhine.
5 So the French troops, when ruined by the incompetence of the generals during the Franco-Prussian War, exclaimed, naturally enough, "nous sommes trahis."
penalty on the ringleaders of the mutiny: such opposite extremes of lawlessness and submission to the law were there in one and the same army. Beyond all question the private soldiers were devoted to Vitellius, while all the most brilliant officers were inclined to favour Vespasian: hence these alternations of crime and of punishment, and so novel a blend of discipline and of frantic insubordination, that it was impossible to control the very men whom it was quite possible to punish.

XXVIII. But all Germany was swelling the flood of fortune for Civilis with a vast tide of reinforcements, and the alliance was cemented by hostages from the very noblest families. Civilis ordered the devastation of the regions around Cologne and Trèves by the Germans bordering upon those colonies, while he bade another force cross the Meuse for the purpose of striking terror into the Menapii, the Morini, and the farthest confines of Gaul. These several districts were plundered, but the men of Cologne were treated with more rigour because, although they were a race of German extraction, they had forsworn the Fatherland and assumed the name of "colonists of Agrippina." Their infantry,

1 Tanta illi exercitui diversitas inerat licentia patientiaeque. Compare Germ. xv. :— "ipsi hebent, mira diversitate nature, quum iidem homines sic ament inertiam et oderint quietem."

2 Sceulum ac suppliciorum vices, "alternations of crime and of punishment." Compare Annals, vi. 35:—"modo equestris praeli more frontis et tergi vices, aliquando ut conserta acie corporibus et pulsu armorum pellerent pellerentur."

3 Ut contineri non possint qui puniri poterant—a Tacitean oxymoron. The scenes here described resemble those detailed in the Annals. Professor Wolff refers to Annals, i. 30:—"ut quisque præcipuus turbator, conquisiit; et pars extra castra palantes a centurionibus aut prætoriarum cohortium militibus caesi; quosdam ipsa manipuli, documentum fidei, tradidere." See also ibid. i. 44.

4 At Civilem immensis auctibus universa Germania extollebat. I venture to agree with Mr. Spooner that the metaphor is taken "from swollen streams which pour into and fill a river." Compare Annals, i. 56:—"imbresque et fluminum auctus regredienti metuebantur." Meiser refers to i. 86, ante, and Vell. Patere., ii. 40:—"hujus viri vastigium tantius auctibus fortuna extulit."

5 Ubiu Treverosque, "the regions around Cologne and Trèves."

6 Menapii—a Belgic tribe between the Meuse and Scheldt, south of the Batavians.

7 Morini—were south of the Menapii between the Scheldt, the Lys, and the Ocean, opposite Britain. Professor Wolff cites Verg., Æn., viii. 727: "Extremique hominum Morini." See also Pliny, xix. 2: "ultimi hominum existimati Morini."

8 Infestius in Ubiis, quod gens Germanicae originis ejurata patria [Romanorum
while encamped in the village of Düren without any precautions, inasmuch as they were at a distance from the Rhine, were cut to pieces. Still the men of Cologne could not refrain from attempting to plunder Germany, but, although at first successful, their forces were eventually surprised, and during the whole of that war they proved themselves more faithful than fortunate. When he had crushed the men of Cologne, Civilis became more ruthless, and, emboldened by success, pushed forward the siege of the camp of the legions, and increased the vigilance of his pickets, in order to prevent any secret missive of coming help from slipping into the hands of the Romans. He charged the Batavians with the control of the military engines and the construction of the siege works, 2 while he ordered the Transrhenane Germans, who were eager for the fray, to cut their way through the rampart of the camp, and, if they were beaten back at first, then to renew the attempt, as their numbers were excessive and their losses could be easily borne.

XXIX. Nor did night bring with it any rest from the struggle; they piled the blazing logs around the walls, and, in the midst of their carousal, 4 rushed into the fray with bootless daring, as each of them caught the fever of the wine-cup. For their missiles sped idly through the darkness, while the Romans were able to take deadly aim at the

Abortive attempts of Civilis to storm "The Old Camp."
German array as it shone in the light of the fires, or at any foe, whose courage or decorations made him a glittering mark. Civilis soon saw the effect, extinguished the fires, and plunged everything into darkness and the din of arms. Then there ensued discordant uproar and wild charges, nor could they see how to aim or how to parry any blow. From whatever quarter any shout fell upon the ear, they wheeled round in that direction and strained every limb towards that point. Courage was of no avail, chance swayed the medley, and even the bravest often fell 'neath the stroke of the coward. The Germans fought with blind fury, while the Roman soldier, fully cognisant of any danger, hurled with deliberate method iron-tipped stakes and massive stones. Whenever the sound of the foe swarming up the rampart caught their ear, or the scaling-ladders brought him within reach, they struck him down with the bosses of their shields and hurled their javelins after him. Many, who had clambered to the summit of the battlements, they stabbed with their daggers.

1 Conspicuum, “as it shone in the light of the fires”—“lignis accensis collustratam,” Heræus.
2 Et si quis audacia aut insignibus effulgens, scilicet, erat—Heræus; Drager, § 36 a.
3 Concursus incerti, “wild charges,” the emendation of Heræus for the corrupt corsus ineptit of the Medicean MS. Ritter, Orelli, and Meiser follow the secondary Florentine MS. in reading casus incerti; Wolfflin would read incursus incerti. Professor Wolff follows Heræus.
4 Tendere artus, “strained every limb”—the emendation of Lipsius for the absurd tendere arcus of the MSS. Professor Wolff compares ii. 70. 4, ante: laceræ corpora, trunci artus. Weissenborn would read tendere ictus.
5 Periculorum gnarus, “fully cognisant of any danger”—the reading of Rhenanus, following the Florentine MS. 6, for the incongruous Periculorum ignarus of the Medicean MS.
6 Molientium, “swarming up the rampart.” I venture to express my absolute approval of Mr. Godley’s explanation—“attempting to scale the rampart.” moliri means here a slow and difficult movement, as it does in ii. 35 (vol. i. p. 95), ante: “Et erat insula amne medio, in quam gladiatores navibus molientes Germani nando praelabebantur.” There we translated: “There was an island in mid-stream, and, as the gladiators slowly sailed towards it, the German swimmers outstripped them.” The context points to the laborious effort of scaling the ramparts, and therefore I cannot follow the interpretation of Heræus or of Wolff, who understand molientium to refer to the operation of undermining or destroying the rampart.

7 In moenia egressos, “who had clambered to the summit of the battlements.” So Heræus: “gesucht für qui escenderant.”
Thus was the night spent, and then the day disclosed fresh tactics of assault.

XXX. The Batavians had erected a tower two stories in height, and, as they were rolling it forward towards the Praetorian gate of the camp where the ground was quite level, the Romans drove stout poles against it, rammed it with swinging beams, and in that way shattered it to pieces, inflicting heavy loss on the men who were standing in its upper story. While the enemy were panic-stricken, the Romans made a sudden and successful sortie upon them. Meanwhile the superior ingenuity and skill of the legionaries were devising fresh engines of defence. The greatest terror was inspired by a crane balanced on a pivot and working vertically.

1 Novam aciem dies operuit, "the day disclosed fresh tactics of assault." Compare Agricola, xxxviii.: "Proximus dies faciem victoriae latius operuit:" also Livy, xxvii. 2. 10.

2 Eduxerant. Compare Verg., En., ii. 460:

"Turrim in precipitii stantem summisque sub astra
Eductam tectis, unde omnis Troia videri
Et Danaum solitie naves et Achaica castra,
Adgressi ferro circum, qua summa labantis
Juncturas tabulata dabant, convellimus altis
Sedibus, impulimusque."

See also Annals, xii. 16: Eductaque altius turres facibus atque hastis turbabant obsessos. Compare also Caesar, B.G., vi. 29; Livy, xxiv. 34. 5; xxviii. 6. 2.

3 Praetoria porta. In their masterly article on the Roman Camp, Mr. William Ramsay and Dr. Louis C. Purser observe in 1 Smith's Diet. Ant., at p. 376: "There can be no doubt that the porta decumana was the one which was turned away from the enemy (Livy, x. 32), and the porta praetoria the one which faced them (Veget., i. 23; Festus, s. v; Hyg., de Munit. Castr., 66)." This view of the learned writers is completely borne out by the context in our author, for the description of the level ground fixes the locus in quo as the west side, where the plateau gently slopes down to the Niers.

4 Suspensum et nutans machinamentum, "a crane balanced on a pivot and working vertically"—the tollēno used by Archimedes against the Roman fleet at the siege of Syracuse, described by Livy, xxiv. 34. 8: "Quæ propius quædam subibant naves quæ interiores ictibus tormentorum essent, in eos tollēnones super murum eminente ferrea manus firmæ catena illigata quam injecta præse esset gravique liramento plumbi recelleret ad solum, suspensa prora navem in puppim statuebat, dein remissa subito velut ex muro cadentem navem cum ingenti trepidatione nautarum ita undas adfligebat ut, etiam si recta reciderat, aliquidum aque acciperet." See ibid., xxxviii. 5. 4; Polyb., viii. 8; Vegetius, iv. 21; Festus, sub verbo "Tolleno."

5 Suspensum, "balanced on a pivot."

6 Et nutans, "and working vertically."
IV.—30, 31. By a sudden depression of the arm of this engine one or more of the enemy were seized, then, by a change of the balancing-weight, whirled aloft past the very eyes of their comrades, and hurled into the Roman camp. Civilis now abandoned all hope of taking the place by storm, and again sat down quietly to a regular siege, while he endeavoured to sap the loyalty of the legions by missives and promises.

XXXI. These events took place in Germany before the battle of Cremona, news of which was announced in a letter from Primus Antonius, supplemented by a proclamation from Cæcina; moreover, Alpinius Montanus, a commander of auxiliary foot on the vanquished side, appeared in person and confessed the defeat of his party. Thereupon feelings of an opposite character were manifested. The Gallic auxiliaries, who were swayed neither by love nor hatred towards either party and whose hearts were not in the service, immediately followed the advice of their commanders and deserted the cause of Vitellius: the veteran legions showed reluctance, but, when Hordeonius Flaccus dictated the words and their tribunes pressed them to respond, they repeated the form of the vow in a listless and half-hearted fashion; and while they followed all the other set terms of the oath, they stammered over

1 Ante Cremonense pralium. These words fix the date of the insurrection of Civilis, as the battle of Cremona took place at the end of October, A.U.C. 822; A.D. 69. "So far," says Mr. Godley, "Civilis is besieging Vetera (The Old Camp—Xanten), Vulca and Herennius Gallus are at Gelduba (Gellep or Gelb), Hordeonius Flaccus is at Novesium—Neuss."

2 Addito Cæcina edicto, "supplemented by a proclamation from Cæcina"—scilicet, consulari. See iii. 31; iii. 37; ii. 71. 7, ante.

3 Alpinius Montanus, who was a Trevir (iii. 35, ante), afterwards openly joined Civilis—v. 19, post.

4 Militia sine affectu, "whose hearts were not in the service." So Mr. Godley, "who had no heart in their service." See i. 15, ante; Annals, xiv. 27.

5 Sed adigente Hordeonio Flacco, "when Hordeonius Flaccus dictated the words."

6 Dixit sacramentum, non vultuneque animosatis adfirmans, "they repeated the form of the vow in a listless and half-hearted fashion."

7 Cum cetera juris jurandi verba conceiperent, "while they followed all the other set terms of the oath." The form juris jurandi verba conceiperere was the technical expression for "following the set terms of the oath." See Verg., Æn., xii. 13:

"Fer sacra, pater, et concipe fœdus."

Servius thus comments on that passage: "concepta verba dicuntur jurandi formula." See 1 Smith's Dict. Ant., p. 1049: "Each tribunus militum assembled his regiment,
or merely whispered the name of Vespasian, nay, many of them passed it by in silence. 1

XXXII. A letter from Antonius to Civilis was then read upon parade, and excited the suspicions of the soldiery, who surmised that it was written to Civilis as an ally of the Vitellianist Party and in a spirit hostile to the army of Germany. Missives then reached the camp at Gellep to the same purport and with the same result, and Montanus was despatched with a message to Civilis calling upon him to desist from war and not to cloak his hostile designs under a sham alliance; for if he was endeavouring to aid Vespasian, then his object had been achieved. Civilis replied to this at first in terms of craft; but then, when he saw that Montanus was full of mettle and ready for insurrection, he started with a complaint of all the hazards he had undergone for five-and-twenty years in the Roman camp. "A precious recompense," he cried, "I have received for all my toils—death for my brother, chains for myself, and the ruthless cry of the Roman army for my blood, to which I respond, under the sanction of the law of nations, with a demand for retribution!" O ye creatures of Trèves and other slavish spirits! What reward do ye expect for all the blood ye have so and picked out one of the men to whom he put the oath that he would obey the commands of his generals and execute them punctually (καὶ ποιήσειν τὸ προσταττόμενον ἕως τῶν ἀρχής τῶν κατὰ δίκαιον, Polyb., vi. 21. 2). The other men then came forward one after another and expressed their obligation to the oath, which had been sworn conceptis verbis by the first, by the words idem in me (Fest., s. v. Prajuratio, p. 224; Polyb., l. c.; Livy, ii. 45; Serv., in Æn., vii. 1)."

1 "Vespasiani nomen hasitantes aut levi murmure et plerunque silentio transmittebant"—a strong example of the figure of zeugma, for the words hasitantes aut levi murmure cannot be taken strictly with transmittebant, out of which we must spell some such word as pronuntiabant or proloquebantur.

2 Egregium—pretium, "a precious recompense!"—ironical. Compare i. 36. 6, ante; Annals, i. 42; i. 59; Verg., Æn., iv. 93.

3 Necem fratis. His brother Claudius Paulus had been put to death by Fonteius Capito. See c. xiii. ante.

4 Et saxisimatas ejus exercitis voces, quibus ad supplicium petitus jure gentium penas repose. Note the sibilants and the alliteration.

5 So Professor Wolff: "und all' ihr andern Sklavenseelen!" He compares Verg., Æn., xi. 372:

"Nos animae viles, inhumata insletaque turba,
Sternamur campis."
often shed save barren service, taxes without end, the rod, the axe, and all the refinements of tyranny? Lo, I, the captain of one poor cohort, and the Canninefates and Batavians, a slender fraction of Gaul, have destroyed yonder huge, half-empty camps, or at least are now crushing them within a ring of steel and famine! In a word, let us show heart, and then either freedom will follow in our train, or, if vanquished, we shall be no worse off than before.” In this way he fired the heart of Montanus, but bade him tone down the reply, and then sent him back. Montanus returned with the air of a man who had merely failed in his mission, but he cloaked those other matters, which soon burst their way into the light.

XXXIII. Civilis retained a portion of his forces and despatched the veteran Batavian cohorts, as well as the most spirited of his German troops, under the command of Julius Maximus and Claudius Victor, his sister’s son, with orders to attack Vocula and his army. On the march they surprised and captured the winter-quarters of a troop of auxiliary horse stationed at Asberg; and they dashed so unexpectedly on the Roman camp at Gellep, that Vocula

1 *Dominorum ingenia,* “all the refinements (i.e. exquisite tortures) of tyranny”—bitter irony. Compare iii. 28 ante, p. 41, where we translate *ingenium* as “the happy thought”; and ii. 71, where we render *cetero Neroniana aula ingenio* as “all the fancy of Nero’s court.” *Ingenium* means intellectual cleverness, and in these passages is used by Tacitus in a sarcastic and ironical sense, as in Annals, xvi. 20 : “Ambigenti Neroni, quonam modo noctium suarum ingenia notescerent.” There the words *noctium suarum ingenia* mean “the refinements of his nocturnal orgies,” and so Nipperdey translates “*Einfälle*” or “*Erfindungen*,” and quotes the passages in the History. With all respect, therefore, I cannot agree with Meiser, Hares, and Spooner, who take the meaning as “whims”—Launen—caprices. Compare Pliny, Panegyr., xlix.: “*exquisita ingenia cenarum.*”

2 *Ut iniuria legationis,* “with the air of a man who had merely failed in his mission.” This *relative genitive* runs all through Tacitus. Compare iii. 59. 12, ante, p. 84: “neq ipse inglorius militia.”

3 Vocula and his army were at Gelduba (Gellep or Gelb).

4 *Rapiunt,* “they surprised and captured.” *Rapere* is also used by Livy in this rather unusual sense of “to surprise and capture.” See Livy, vi. 23. 5: “castra urbesque primo impetu rapere sit solitus.” Also *ibid., xxx.* 14. 2. Professor Wolff translates, “*überrumpeln.*”

5 *Asciburgium*—now Asberg, between Neuss and Xanten (Germ., iii.). Professor Wolff has favoured us with the extremely interesting derivation of *Asciburgium*—*Asc* = Esche (Ash) = Schiff = Schiftstadt—the same as the English Ashbourne.

6 *Castra*—that is the Roman camp at Gellep or Gelb (Gelduba).
was wholly unable either to address his men or to deploy his lines. The only order he could give, as may be imagined, amid the hurly-burly,\textsuperscript{1} was that the legionaries should support the centre; both wings were composed of auxiliaries in loose formation. The Roman cavalry charged, but, when they were confronted by the serried ranks of the enemy, turned round and fled back to their own lines.\textsuperscript{2} Carnage rather than battle then ensued; and, at the critical moment,\textsuperscript{3} the Nervian auxiliary foot, either in panic or through treachery, suddenly exposed our flanks. In this way the enemy were enabled to close in upon the legionaries who had lost their standards and were being cut down inside the rampart of the camp, when the fortune of the fray was suddenly changed by unexpected succour. Galba’s own picked cohorts of Basques,\textsuperscript{4} who had just been ordered to the front, heard, during their approach towards the camp, the shouts of the combatants, attacked the rear of the enemy whose attention was riveted in front, and spread terror out of all proportion to their numbers, as some imagined that the forces from Neuss, and others believed that the entire army of Mayence, were in the field. This misconception inspired our men with fresh courage,\textsuperscript{5} and thus, by their confidence in the strength of others, they regained their own. The bravest of the Batavians, or at least of their infantry, fell.\textsuperscript{6} Their cavalry escaped with the standards and prisoners that they had seized upon at the commencement of the battle. The losses upon that day were the heavier on our side, but comprised the less serviceable portion of our men,\textsuperscript{7} whereas the Germans lost the very flower of their army.

\textsuperscript{1} \textit{Ut in tumultu, “as may be imagined, amid the hurly-burly.”} Compare Horace, \textit{Sat.}, i. 6. 79: “\textit{in magno ut populo.”}

\textsuperscript{2} \textit{Terga in suos vertit—a brachyological form for \textit{terga vertit et ad suos confugit—}} Wolff.

\textsuperscript{3} \textit{Et, “and at the critical moment.”} \textit{Et} is here emphatic, as in iii. 61. 1, \textit{ante.}

\textsuperscript{4} \textit{Vascones} or \textit{Basques} occupied Navarre at this time. In the sixth century A.D., they passed into Aquitaine, to which they gave the name of Gascony (\textit{Vascones = Gascons}).

\textsuperscript{5} \textit{Is error Romanis addit animos.} The reading of the inferior MSS., adopted by Nipperdey in lieu of the defective \textit{is error addit animos} of the Medicean MS.

\textsuperscript{6} \textit{Funduntur—“fell.”} See \textit{Annales}, xii. 13; \textit{Verg., Aen.}, ix. 722; Propertius, v. 10. 8. Halm’s \textit{conciduntur} is therefore unnecessary.

\textsuperscript{7} \textit{Major numerus et imbellior.} \textit{Et} is here used in an adversative sense more
XXXIV. Both generals were equally at fault and richly deserved¹ their reverse, while they were quite unable to take advantage of their success. For if Civilis had supported his attack with larger forces, his army could never have been outflanked by so small a number of cohorts, but could have cut its way through the Roman camp and utterly destroyed it, while Vocula, on the other hand, had not even posted scouts to signal the approach of the enemy, and was consequently repulsed the moment he advanced; and then again, he put no faith in his victory, and wasted some days in idle delay before he marched against the enemy, whereas if he had hastened to give the finishing blow² then and there and to follow the tide of fortune,³ he would have been able in one and the same stroke to raise the blockade of the legions. Meanwhile Civilis had been trying to sap the spirit of the besieged at the Old Camp by pretending that the Romans had been defeated, and that his own men had proved victorious. The standards and colours captured at Gellep⁴ were borne round the Old Camp, and the prisoners too were paraded. One of these latter, acting with the courage of a hero, announced the real facts in a ringing voice, and was instantly cut down by the Germans. For that very reason his information was all the more credited. At the same time the advance of the victorious army was heralded by scenes of plunder and the flames of burning homesteads.⁵ Vocula ordered his standards to be fixed within sight of the Old Camp, and to be surrounded with a trench and rampart, within which his men might leave their baggage and

Taczio. Professor Wolff refers to Annals, xv. 65: “magna moles et improspera”: xii. 52: “senatus consulatum atrox et inritum”; i. 13: “avidum et minorem.”

¹ Meritus adversa, “richly deserved their reverse.” Compare iii. 78. 16, ante, “crimen meruit,” where see note.

² Impellere, “to give the finishing blow.” See iii. 16. 4; iv. 78. 8; Annals, i. 63.

³ Cursunque rerum sequi, “and to follow the tide of fortune.” Hereus compares Cicero, Fam., iv. 2. 3: “Perspicis—qui cursus rerum, qui exitus futurus sit.”

⁴ Signa vexillaeque, “the standards and colours captured at Gellep” (Gelduba). See the preceding chapter sub fine.

⁵ Villarum, “homesteads,” or “farm-buildings.” See c. 26, ante; v. 23, post; Annals, iv. 73; xiii. 57.
their kits, and then fight without impediment. Thereupon the general was challenged by a shout from the men demanding instant action, and indeed they had become accustomed to play the bully. Without waiting even for the proper formation of the order of battle, they instantly engaged in action, all disarrayed and weary as they were, for Civilis was already afield, and relied no less on the blunders of the foe than on the valour of his own men. The fortunes of the Romans were chequered, for the most mutinous amongst them proved cowards, while some again, mindful of their late victory, held their ground, struck at the foeman, cheered on their own as well as the adjoining ranks, reformed their lines, and stretched forth their hands to the besieged by way of entreaty not to miss the opportunity. The latter, who had a perfect view of everything from the battlements, instantly charged forth from all the gates. Moreover it happened that Civilis was thrown by the fall of his horse, and, when a rumour gained credence throughout both armies that he had been either wounded or slain, the news had a wonderful effect in spreading panic amongst his own men, and in imparting fresh spirit to the Romans. But Vocula, abandoning the pursuit of the flying foe, began to strengthen the rampart and turrets of the Old Camp, as if a second siege were impending, and thus he had so often spoilt the advantages of victory that he was justly suspected of preferring the continuance of war.

XXXV. Nothing proved so trying to our armies as the want of supplies. Accordingly the legionary baggage-train was despatched to Neuss, together with a horde of unserviceable men to convey grain-supplies to us from

1 *Impedimentis sarcinisque,* "their baggage and their kits." The *impedimenta* were the heavy baggage, and the *sarcinae* were the kits. Compare Juvenal, ii. 103:

> "Res memoranda novis Annalibus atque recenti Historia, speculum civilis sarcina bella."

2 *Et minari adsueverant.* Et is here emphatic, "and indeed."

3 *Immane quantum suis pavoris et hostibus alacritatis indidit.* Compare Horace, *Odes,* i. 27. 6:

> "Vino et lucernis Medus acinaces
> *Immane quantum discrepat.*"

4 *Imbelli turba,* "a horde of unserviceable men." So Professor Wolff: "nicht 'unbewehrt,' sondern *minder kampffähig.'"
that quarter by an overland route, for the enemy were masters of the river. The first expedition reached its destination without molestation, as Civilis had not yet sufficiently recovered himself. But when he heard that a second expedition of foragers had started for Neuss, that their escort of auxiliary foot were advancing as if in the midst of profound peace, that scarcely a soldier was marching round the standards, that the arms were piled in the baggage-waggons, and that the entire body were roaming about at will, he made an organized attack upon them after he had sent forward an advance-guard to beset the viaducts and narrow gangways over the marshes. A straggling fight ensued and continued without any decisive result, until night separated the combatants. The auxiliary foot made their way to Gellep, where they found still standing in its original position the camp, which was in the hands of the garrison that had been left behind there. It was now quite manifest that the foragers, encumbered and demoralized as they were, would have to incur extreme peril upon the return journey. Voclula supplemented his army by a reinforcement taken from the Fifth and Fifteenth Legions, which had gone through the siege of the Old Camp, of one thousand men, all soldiers of an ungovernable temper and of mutinous tendencies. More of the legionaries than were required started on the expedition, and openly murmured on the march, exclaiming that they would no longer endure either the pangs of hunger or the treachery of their commanders; while those who had to stay behind complained of

1 *Nondum satis firmo Civile, "as Civilis had not yet sufficiently recovered himself" from the fall from off his horse. See the account of that accident in the preceding chapter. This is the interpretation of Heræus, Orelli, and Meiser, with which I venture to concur. Wolff, on the other hand, follows Ritter in taking the meaning as "had not yet recovered from his defeat."

2 *Pontes et viarum angusta, "the viaducts and narrow gangways over the marshes." See note on abrupto ponte, iii. 14, ante. So Professor Wolff: "Hier sind schmale aus Holz hergestellte Übergänge (Bohlwege) durch sumpfige Niederungen gemeint. Vgl. die pontes longi im Burtanger Moor, Ann. i. 63: "angustus is trunes vastas inter paludes."

3 *Manentibus, "still standing." So Wolff: "adhuc extare," and he cites Germ., xxviii.; xxxvii. The camp here referred to is, of course, the camp at Gellep or Gelb (Gelduba). See c. 26, ante.

4 *At qui remanuerant, "while those who had to stay behind"—"hatten bleiben müssen," Wolff.
their desertion and betrayal\(^1\) by reason of this withdrawal of some of the legionaries. Hence ensued mutiny of a twofold character, as one faction demanded the return of Vocula and the other refused to go back to the Old Camp.

XXXVI. Meanwhile Civilis renewed the siege of the Old Camp, while Vocula retired to Gellep and thence to Neuss.\(^2\) Then Civilis captured Gellep, and soon after proved victorious in a cavalry engagement not far from Neuss. But the Roman soldiery\(^3\) were inflamed by success no less than by defeat\(^4\) with a deadly animosity towards their generals; and the legions, now that their strength was augmented by the arrival of the men of the Fifth and Fifteenth, vociferously demanded a donative, as soon as they had learnt that money had been forwarded by Vitellius. After a little hesitation Hordeonius gave the donative in the name of Vespasian, an act that mainly tended to feed the spirit of mutiny. The men abandoned themselves to debauchery, carousals, midnight meetings, and rekindled their old grudge against Hordeonius; not a single commander or tribune dared to oppose them (for the darkness of night had banished all sense of shame\(^5\)), and so they dragged the

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\(^1\) Desertos se proditosque, the emendation of Weissenborn for the desertosque of the Medieean MS., in which he is followed by Herenius and Wolff. The inferior MSS. read desertos se. Herenius cites Caesar, B.C. ii. 32, 7: "desertos se ac proditos a nobis dicunt": Livy, xxvi. 12: "relictos se desertosque": Hist. ii. 44, 8, ante: "desertorem proditoremque." Meiser follows the inferior MSS., and reads desertos se.

\(^2\) Professor Wolff asks, why did Vocula retire so rapidly to the south? and supplies the answer from the opening words in the preceding chapter—nam flumine hostes potiebantur. The Rhine was in the possession of the enemy, and supplies could only come from the south. Moreover, it was not at all certain that supplies would reach Gellep (Gelduba), as the communication between that place and the Old Camp (Vetera) was anything but certain.

\(^3\) Sed miles, scilicet, Romanus.

\(^4\) Secondis (the late victory of the Roman troops at the Old Camp, c. 34, ante) adversisque (the defeat of the Romans in the cavalry engagement mentioned in the preceding sentence).

\(^5\) Quippe omnem pudorem nox ademerat, "for the darkness of night had banished all sense of shame." Compare i. 80, 12, ante:—"obsequia meliorum nox abstulerat." Compare also the New Testament, John, iii. 19, et seq.:—19. "And this is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil. 20. For every one that doeth evil hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved. 21. But he that doeth truth cometh to the light, that his deeds may be made manifest, that they are wrought in God."
general from his bed and murdered him. The same doom was designed for Vocula, but that general had disguised himself in the garb of a slave, and had thus escaped unnoticed in the darkness.

XXXVII. When their passion had cooled down and fear supervened, they despatched centurions with a letter to the Gallic States, praying for aid in men and money. The soldiers themselves, as every mob without a guiding hand is wont to be rash, timorous, and spiritless, upon the approach of Civilis, first wildly seized their arms, then instantly abandoned them, and took to flight. Then defeat engendered bad blood, and the men of the army of the Upper Rhine refused to make common cause with their comrades. Nevertheless the effigies of Vitellius were set up again in the camp, and throughout the adjoining Belgic States, even at a time when Vitellius himself had perished. Subsequently the soldiers of the First, Fourth, and Twenty-second Legions relented, followed Vocula, renewed in his presence the pledge of fealty to Vespasian, and marched under his command to raise the siege of Mayence. But the besiegers, a motley horde of Chatti, Usipi, and Mattiaci, had already decamped, glutted with booty but not unscathed, as our soldiers had attacked them when scattered and off their guard. Nay, the men of Trèves erected a breastwork and rampart along

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1 Eadem in Vocioption parabantur, nisi—evasisset. For this corrective use of nisi by Tacitus, compare ii. 68, vol. i., p. 123, ante, and introduction to vol. i., pp. iv—lvi. For the account of the execution of Vocula by order of Classicus, see c. 59, post.

2 In quem superiore exercitu erant, the Fourth and Twenty-second Legions, whose winter-quarters were at Mayence (Mogontiacum)—i. 55, vol. i., p. 36, ante.

3 Causam suam dissociantibus. Compare Annals, xiii. 56: "exitium minitans, ni causam suam dissociarent."

4 Cum jam Vitellius occidisset, 20th December, A.D. 69, A.U.C. 822.

5 The Chatti occupied the territory now represented by Hesse-Nassau and Waldeck. See c. 12, 6, ante, and Germania, xxx. The Usipi, Usipii, or Usipètes were south of the Tencteri (Cologne and Bonn), west of the Chatti (Hesse-Nassau and Waldeck), and on the Rhine-bank between the Sieg and Lahn. The Mattiaci (a branch of the Chatti) occupied the region between the Main, Rhine, and Lahn, in the neighbourhood of the modern Wiesbaden (Aqua Mattiacae).

6 Lorica, "a breastwork" or "parapet." See Annals, iv. 49: "fossam loricamque contexens quattuor milia passuum amplexus est." Caesar, B. G., v. 40: "turres contabulantur, pinèae loricæque ex cratibus attexuntur." Ibid., vii. 72: "Post eas aggerem ac vallum xii pedum exstruxit; huius loricam pinmasque adject, granilibus cervis eminentibus ad comniussuras pluteorum atque aggeris qui ascensum hostium tardarent."
the borders of their territory, and continued the struggle in many a bloody fray, 'mid varying fortunes, with the Germans, until at last they tarnished by rebellion the lustre of their services to the Roman people.

XXXVIII. Meanwhile Vespasian had entered upon office as consul for the second time¹ with Titus as his colleague, although both of them were absent from Rome, where the citizens were now in a state of gloom and an anxiety that sprang from manifold sources of fear; for, in addition to the evils at hand, they were wrapt in imaginary dread² that Africa had revolted and that Lucius Piso³ was plotting revolution. That officer was proconsul of the province, and had nothing of the revolutionist in his nature; but, because the corn-ships were being kept back by stress of weather, the common herd, accustomed as they were to live from hand to mouth, and whose patriotism was altogether centred in the flour trade,⁴ now in their fear worked themselves into the idea that the coast was being blockaded, and that the supplies were

¹ A.D. 70; a. u. c. 823. Vespasian was consul for the first time under Claudius in a.D. 51, a. u. c. 804. See Suetonius, Vesp., iv.; Dom., i.

² Falsos pavores induerat, "they were wrapt in imaginary dread"—a familiar metaphor. Compare Tennyson's Godiva:

"Then she rode forth, clothed on with chastity."

See c. 57, post: "Galbam et infracta tributa hostiles spiritus induisse," and see the note on that passage.

³ Lucius Calpurnius Piso. For the account of his murder by Valerius Festus, see cc. 48–50, post. He was the s-n of Lucius Calpurnius Piso, consul in 57 A.D. (Annals, xiii. 25; xv. 18), and grandson of Lucius Calpurnius Piso, consul in 27 A.D. (Annals, iv. 62). This is proved by Pliny, Epist., iii. 7–12: "Nuper L. Piso, pater Pisonis illius qui a Valerio Festo per summum facinus in Africa occisus est, dicere solet neminem te videre in senatu quem consul ipse sententiam rogavisset. Tam angustis terminis tante multitudinis vivacitas ipsa concluditur, ut mihi non venia solum dignae verum etiam laude regiae lacrimae. Nam ferunt Xerxen, cum immense exercitum oculis obisset, inlacrimasse, quod tot milibus tam brevis immineret occasus."

⁴ Cui una ex re publica annoae cura, "whose patriotism was altogether centred in the flour trade." They well illustrate the Johnsonian paradox—"patriotism is the last refuge of scoundrelism." Compare Juvenal, x. 77, et seq.:

"Nam qui dabat olim
Imperium fasces legiones omnia, nunc se
Continet atque duas tantum res anxius optat,
Panem et circenses."
being cut off; while the Vitellianists, who still clung to their party, intensified the rumour, which found favour even with the victor, whose greed nor foreign war had ever glutted, nor triumph over fellow-citizens had ever appeased.¹

XXXIX. On New Year's Day at the meeting of the Senate, which Julius Frontinus,² in his capacity of City Prefect, had summoned for the occasion, special votes were passed of marked thanks to the lieutenants-general, the several armies, and the allied kings,³ while Tettius Julianus,⁴ on the ground that he had deserted his legion when it was espousing the cause of Vespasian, was deprived of his praetorship in order that it might be handed over to Plotius Griphus.⁵ The honour of knighthood was bestowed upon Hormus.⁶ Presently Frontinus resigned,⁷ and Cæsar Domitian accepted the office of City Prefect. All despatches and decrees were intituled in his name, but the real authority lay in the hands of Mucian, except that very frequently Domitian, either at the instigation of his boon companions or prompted by his own passions, ventured to assert his power. But Mucian was chiefly afraid of Primus Antonius and Varus Arrius, who, with all their honours fresh upon them and surrounded by an enthusiastic soldiery, were now greeted by the citizens likewise, inasmuch as they had never done one single cruel act outside the field of battle. Moreover, it was bruited that Antonius had urged

¹ *Nulla unquam civilis victoria satiavit,* "nor triumph over fellow-citizens had ever appeased." Compare Sallust, *Jugurth.,* xv. 4: "ante civilem victoriam" (cited by Wolff); also *Annals,* iii. 54. 14.

² Julius Frontinus, consul, A.D. 74; Governor of Britain, 75–78; curator aquarum, 97; died, 108. He was the author of *Strategemataon, Libri iv.; de aqueductibus Urbis Roma, Libri ii.* See Smith's *Dict. Biog., sub nomine.*

³ *Regibus,* "the allied kings"—Sohaemus, Prince of Emesa in Syria and King of Sophene; Antiochus, Seleucid King of Commagene in North Syria; Herod Agrippa Minor, brother of Queen Berenice. See vol. i. p. 139.

⁴ Tettius Julianus. See ii. 85, ante. His pretorship was soon afterwards restored to him, as narrated in the next chapter.

⁵ Plotius Griphus. See iii. 52, ante.

⁶ Hormus. See iii. 12. 15; iii. 28, ante.

⁷ *Ejusante Frontino,* "Frontinus resigned." The outgoing magistrate *ejuravit,* swore that he had discharged his duties loyally. See *Annals,* xii. 4; xiii. 14.
Scribonianus Crassus, a youth of noble character, and who derived fresh lustre from the memory of his brother, to enter upon public life, and undoubtedly the band of conspirators would have stood to him, had not Scribonianus rejected their offer, for he was a man who could not easily be lured even by the certainty of success, and was therefore all the more afraid of risk. Well, Mucian, who knew that Antonius could not be openly crushed, piled praises upon him in the Senate, loaded him with promises in private, and tempted him with the governorship of Eastern Spain, which was vacant by reason of the departure of Cluvius Rufus from that province, while he showered tribuneships and auxiliary commands upon his friends. Then, when he had inflated the vain spirit of the man with hope and greed, he suddenly swept away his power by sending off to their winter-quarters the soldiers of the seventh Legion, who were passionately devoted to Antonius. Moreover, the men of the Third Legion, with whom the name of Arrius Varus was a household word, were sent back to Syria; another division of the army was already on the road to Germany. In that way all the elements of revolution were eliminated, and Rome resumed her wonted aspect of law and order.

XL. On the first day that Domitian entered the Senate he spoke briefly and modestly of the absence of his father and brother from the House as well as of his own youth, and bore himself with grace. Moreover, as his character was as yet unknown, his habit of perpetually blushing was taken as a sign of modesty. When Caesar was

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1 Scribonianus Crassus, the elder brother of L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi Licinianus, Galba's adopted son. See i. 15; vol. i. p. 11, ante.
2 Egregius moribus, the universally accepted emendation of Bötticher for the egregius majoribus of the Medicean MS.
3 Fratema imagine fulgentem, "cum titulis honorum in atrio colocata," Hersaeus. Compare ii. 76, 15, ante: "cessisti etiam Galba imaginibus." See Martial, ii. 90:

"Vivere quod propeo pauper nec inutilis annis,
Da veniam: propeo vivere nemo satis.
Differat hoc patrios optat qui vincere census
Atriaque immoicilis artat imaginibus."

4 Ad capessandum rem publicam hortatus, a euphemism for an invitation to lead the conspirators.
5 Cluvius Rufus. See i. 8; ii. 65, ante.
putting the question that the honours of Galba should be restored, Curtius Montanus moved an amendment to the effect that the memory of Piso should also be commemorated. The Senate passed both of these resolutions, but the decree touching Piso's memory proved nugatory. A commission was then chosen by lot to effect the restoration of property that had been seized upon as the spoils of war, to identify and set up again the bronze tablets of the laws, which had fallen down through lapse of time, to purge the calendar of the taint of the flattery then in vogue, and to curtail the public expenditure. His praetorship was restored to Tettius Julianus, as soon as it was discovered that it was to Vespasian he had fled for refuge, while Griphus retained honorary rank. It was then resolved that the state prosecution of Publius Celer by Musonius Rufus should be resumed. Publius was condemned and the shade of Soranus was avenged. That day so signalised by the vindication of public justice was not unmarked even by private merit. Musonius was deemed to have discharged a solemn duty, but a very different view was taken of the conduct of Demetrius,

1 Curtius Montanus. See Annals, xvi. 28; xvi. 29; xvi. 33; Juvenal, iv. 107:

"Montani quoque venter adest abdomen tardus."

2 Noscerent, "identify."

3 Æra legum, "the bronze tablets of the laws," tabulas äeneas. Compare Annals, iii. 63, sub fine: "Jussique ipsis in templis figere æra sacrandam ad memoriam, neu specie religions in ambitionem delaberentur." See Suetonius, Vesp., viii.: "œuvreaque tabularum tria milia, que simul conflagraverant, restituenda sucepit, undique investigatia exemplavibus: instrumentum imperii pulcherrimum ac vetustissimum, quo continebantur peene ab exordio urbis senatus consulta, plebi scita de societate et federe ac privilegio cuicumque concessis."

4 Vetustate dilapsa, the reading of the Ed. Princ., and inferior MSS., which is superior to the delapsa of the Medicean MS. Hereus cites i. 68, ante: "dilapsis vetustate mœnibus"; also i. 86: "fundamenta remane facundo dilapsa": Livy, iv. 20: "sedem vetustate dilapsam."

5 Fastos adulatione temporum fœdatos exonerarent, "to purge the calendar of the taint of the flattery then in vogue." See Annals, xv. 74; xvi. 12. Hereus observes: "Ludi anniversarii vel sacra solemnia pessimo cuique e familia Caesarum a senatu adulandii causa delecta et in falsos relata erant aut nomina mensium honoris causa mutata." For instance April was Neroncus; May, Claudius; June, Germanicus. Even the French revolutionists were better than this with their Floreal, Prairial, and Messidor.

6 Reeditur Tettio Juliano præitura. See the preceding chapter.

7 Repeti inde cognitionem inter Musonium Rufum et Publum Celerem placuit. See c. 10, ante.
the Cynic philosopher, on the ground that, from interested motives rather than upon the merits, he had defended a traverser who was plainly guilty.\footnote{Manifestum rerum, "a traverser who was plainly guilty." See the note on nocens rerum, c. 10, ante.} As for Publius, his heart and tongue failed him alike in the hour of peril. When the signal for vengeance upon the informers had been thus given, Junius Mauricius asked Caesar Domitian to grant the Senate access to the imperial minutes,\footnote{Commentariorum principalium, "the imperial minutes." See Annals, xiii. 43; Pliny, Epist., x. 106; Suetonius, Calig., xv.; Tib., lxi. 1 Smith's Dict. Ant., "Commentarius."} in order that it might ascertain from their perusal against what persons each of the traversers had demanded a prosecution. Domitian replied that Vespasian must be consulted upon a matter of such consequence as that.

XLI. The senators, according to the order of precedence,\footnote{As already pointed out in note 4 on c. 4, ante, Nipperdey has clearly explained in his famous note on Annals, iii. 17. 8, that, whereas in the time of Augustus and Tiberius each senator was asked in order of precedence to give his vote, later on in the time of Tacitus himself the superior ministers of State (Consuls, Praetors, and Questors) had the right of voting and speaking on their vote without any invitation or request, and could act mero motu, but the ordinary senators were obliged to wait until they were invited to vote—ceteri, ut sententiam rogabantur. See c. 4, ante, n. 4.} repeated the set form of oath;\footnote{Jus jurandum concepit, "repeated the set form of oath." See note on c. 31. 9, ante.} all those holding official rank vied with each other, while the ordinary members responded singly, as each was invited in turn to express his opinion, in calling Heaven to witness that they had not wilfully done aught to cause harm to any person, nor had they derived any profit or emolument from the ruin of their fellow-citizens; but those who were stricken by a guilty conscience\footnote{Quis fugitit conscientia inerat, "but those who were stricken by a guilty conscience." Wolff cites Agricola, xxxix.: "inerat conscientia derisui fuisse nuper."} grew nervous and sought by every kind of device to alter the words of the oath. The House applauded scrupulous respect for the sanctity of the oath and reproved the violation of it;\footnote{Probabant religionem patres, perjurium arguebant, "the House applauded scrupulous respect for the sanctity of the oath and reproved the violation of it." Such is undoubtedly the true interpretation of this difficult passage, which was at one time very differently rendered. Orelli, for instance, thought that religio must be translated} and this semi-official censorship fell with ruthless
IV.—41, 42. 185

severity on Sariolenus Vocula, Nonius Attianus, and Cestius Severus, who were all notorious for their numerous acts of betrayal in the reign of Nero. Fresh stains of guilt, moreover, pressed heavily on Sariolenus, for he was suspected of having attempted the same practices under Vitellius, nor did the senators forbear from shaking their fists in his face until he quitted the House. They then turned on Paccius Africanus and proceeded to expel him likewise, on the ground that he had pointed out to Nero for destruction the brothers Scribonii, who were as famous for their fraternal affection as for their wealth. Africanus had not the heart either to confess or to deny the accusation: but he actually turned round upon Vibius Crispus, when pressed hard by his cross-examination, and, by charging that senator with complicity in crimes which he himself could not deny, sought to avert the full burden of shame by an assumed copartnership in guilt.

XLII. Great was the character for fraternal devotion as well as eloquence, which Vipstanus Messalla gained upon that day for his courage in pleading, before he had attained the senatorial

"scruple," and was an ironical reference to quis flagitii conscientia inerat. No doubt religio often does mean "a scruple," but not in the present passage, where it is used in its technical sense of "scrupulous respect for the sanctity of the oath" in opposition to perjurium or "the violation of that sanctity." Thus in Cicero, Font., ix. 20: "religione jurisjurandi ac metu deorum in testimoniis dicendis commoveri." So Caesar, B.C., i. 76; iii. 28. Messrs. Lewis and Short also cite Livy; xxxix. 37: "neo Achaos religione obstringerent"; and Caesar, B.C., ii. 32: "timor magis quam religioni consulere." Accordingly Wolff, as do also Heræus and Spooner, translates religio as "ehrlicher Schwur," and explains the whole passage as translated by us above. We therefore accept the rendering of Burnouf: "les sénateurs applaudissaient à la bonne foi, protestaient contre le parjure." We are glad to observe that Meiser takes the same view.

1 Scribonios fratres—Rufus and Proculus, mentioned in Annals, xiii. 48, as commissioned by Nero (in A.D. 58) to restore law and order in Puteoli. They were subsequently appointed legates of Upper and Lower Germany. But Nero lusted for their great wealth, and in A.D. 67 (A.U.C. 820) forced them to commit suicide—Dio, lxiii. 17. See Spooner ad locum, and Furneaux on Annals, xiii. 48.

2 Vibium Crispum. See ii. 10, ante, n. 3; Annals, xiv. 28, where Mr. Furneaux reminds us that he was the author of the joke, "ne musca quidem." Juvenal is not so severe upon him as Tacitus. See Sat., iv. 81:

"venit et Crisi jucunda senectus."

See vol. i. p. 74, ante.

3 Vipstanus Messalla. See iii. 9. 12, ante, p. 13, and note. Messalla figures as one of the speakers in the dialogue de claris oratoribus. See especially c. 15 of same.
age, on behalf of his brother Aquilius Regulus. The ruin of
the houses of the Crassi and of Orfitus had made
Regulus an object of intense hatred. Of his own
accord, it would seem, and when quite a youth, he had
engaged in the indictment of aged men of consular
rank, not to avert any peril from himself but in the
hope of attaining influence. And now Sulpicia Prae-
textata, the wife of Crassus, and her four children were at hand to
demand vengeance in case the Senate should take up the hearing
of the prosecution. So Messalla did not attempt to defend either
the cause or the traverser, but simply sought to shield a brother
from deadly peril by a personal appeal, and was on the point of
moving the hearts of some of the senators, when Curtius Mont-
anus intervened with a savage invective, and went to such
lengths as to charge and aver that, after the murder of Galba,
the assassin of Piso had been rewarded by Regulus, and that the
latter had fastened his teeth in Piso's head. “This at all events,”
he exclaimed, “was not Nero's mandate; nor did you purchase
either rank or safety by such ruthlessness as that. In good
sooth we should lend a kindly ear to the pleas of these other
traversers here, who had no alternative between the ruin of others
and their own personal peril: but as for you, your exiled, bank-
rupt father, the official disabilities of your minority, your poverty

1 Nondum senatoria atate. The same words occur in Annals, xv. 28. 4. The
limit was fixed by Augustus at 25 years. See Dio, lii. 20. 1.
2 Aquilius Regulus—“ omnium bipedum nequissimus.” See Pliny, Epist., i. 5. 14;
ii. 20; iv. 2. 7. Martial (i. 13; i. 83; i. 112), on the other hand, praises him.
3 The allusion is to M. Licinius Crassus Frugi (Annals, xv. 33), put to death by
Nero (i. 48, ante, vol. 1, p. 30). For Servius Cornelius Orfitus, see Annals, xii. 41;
xvi. 12.
4 " Sponte senum consularium accusationem subisse juvenis admodum—videbatur "—
Meiser's magnificent emendation of the meaningless sponte e XSU of the Med. MS.
ŚC was the old abbreviation for Senum Consularium, and X was the mark of a scribe.
Again senum consularium is a perfect antithesis to juvenis admodum. The accusationem
(without a genitive) of Ritter and Nipperdey is defective; and J. Müller's sponte
Cesarris is, as Meiser shows, repugnant to the context. See the Introduction.
5 Cognosceret, " take up the hearing of the prosecution." This absolute use of
cognoscere recurs in the Dialogue, xli.: " clementia cognoscentis (sc. judicis)."
6 Curtius Montanus. See Annals, xvi. 28, 29, 33; Juvenal, iv. 108: " Montani
quoque venter adest abdomine tardus."
7 Hoc certe, inquit, Nero non ccegit. These words are the (erroneous) foundation of
J. Müller's sponte Cesarris, supra, n. 4.
which could not tempt the greed of Nero, your helplessness which could not wake his fear, all these circumstances had secured you from danger. In your lust for blood, in your gaping greed for loot, you, unknown as you were to fame and briefness at the Bar, gave your genius its forensic baptism in the blood of our nobility,\(^1\) when, although you tore the spoils of consuls from the country which you had done to death, although you were gorged with seventy thousand pounds, although you were glittering with the vestments of priestly offices, yet you went on to overwhelm in one common ruin innocent youths, old men of noble name, ladies of lustrous rank; ay, and you chid Nero for his tardiness, and complained that he was tiring both himself and his informers by a weary round from house to house. 'The whole Senate,' you exclaimed, 'can be destroyed by a single word.' Preserve, Conscript Fathers, treasure up\(^2\) this ready-witted knave, in order that people of every age may have a schoolmaster, and, just as our old men make Marcellus and Crispus their models, so our youths may learn to copy Regulus! Even unsuccessful wickedness finds its votaries. What are we to expect should it flourish and prosper? And, if we dare not beard this man when he is only quaestor, how shall we dare to face him when he becomes praetor and consul? Do you fancy that Nero was the last of your tyrants? So imagined those who survived Tiberius and Caligula, when, lo and behold, some more abandoned,\(^3\) some more ruthless despot has arisen. We do not dread Vespasian, so mature is the age of that prince, and such his constitutional spirit: but exemplary punishments have a more lasting effect than the characters of emperors. We are weaklings, Conscript Fathers, we are no longer the same Senate that, when Nero fell, demanded the traditional\(^4\) chastisement of his informers and of his satellites. The fairest day is the first that dawns after a tyrant's doom.'

\(^1\) _Ingenium—œae nobili imbusi._ Compare Juvenal, iv. 154: "Hoc nocuit Lamiarum œae madenti."

\(^2\) _Retinete, patres conscripti, et reservoir hominem._ Compare Cicero, _Ver.,_ ii. 31, § 76: "Retinete, retinet hominem—et conservate."

\(^3\) _Intestabilior_, "more abandoned"—_ἐσκίμως, ἀπάρπατος._ See Horace, _Sat.,_ ii. 3. 181: "intestabilis et saer esto." See Palmer's note.

\(^4\) _More majorum puniendos—euphemistic for scourging and decapitation._ See _Annals_, ii. 32; iv. 30.
XLIII. The speech of Montanus was so favourably received by the House, that Helvidius conceived some hope that there might be a chance of crushing Marcellus likewise. So he started with a eulogium on Cluvius Rufus, "who," said he, "although he is quite as wealthy and just as brilliant an orator as Marcellus, never endangered a single life during Nero's reign," and then he pressed home on Eprius the charges against him, contrasting the record of Rufus, while the Senate glowed with excitement. When Marcellus perceived this, he rose as if to quit the House and exclaimed, "Priscus, we are off and away, and leave you master of your Senate. Play the King even in Caesar's presence." Vibius Crispus, too, was fain to depart, and both of them were full of wrath, but wore very different looks. The eyes of Marcellus flashed fire, while Crispus merely simpered, and they were then finally lead back to their

1 Qui—nulli unquam sub Nerone periculum facessisset. Compare Cicero, ad Fam., iii. 10. 1 (Tyrrell and Purser, vol. iii. p. 198, let. colxi.): "cum est ad nos adlatum de temeritate eorum, qui tibi negotium facesserent." Verg., Än., iv. 295:

"Imperio læti parent et iussa facessunt."

Ibid., Georg., iv. 548:

"Haud mora; continuo matris pracepta facessit."

Ovid, A. Amat., iii. 367:

"Mille facesse jocos; turpe est nescire puellam
Ludere: ludendo sepe paratur amor."

2 Crimine simul exemploque Eprium urgebatur, "and then he pressed home on Eprius the charges against him (crimine), contrasting the record of Rufus (simul exemploque)."

3 Regina, "play the King"—an emphatic use of a word odious to Roman ears.

4 Crispus renidens, "while Crispus merely simpered." Catullus, xxxix., is the

locus classicus:

"Egnatius, quod candidos habet dentes,
Rendidet usque quaque: sei ad rei ventum est
Subsellium, cum orator excitat fletum,
Rendidet ille: si ad pii rogum fili
Lugetur, orba cum flet unicum mater,
Rendidet ille: quicquid est, ubicunque est,
Quodcunque agit, renidet: hunc habet morbum,
Neque elegantem, ut arbitror, neque urbanum.

* * * * *

Tamen renidere usque quaque te nollem:
Nam risu inepto res ineptior nulla est."

We can now understand "yond simpering dame" of Shakespeare, Lear, iv. 6. 120.
seats through the intervention of friends. As this struggle between a constitutional majority and an influential minority waxed apace in its relentless bitterness, the whole day was wasted in rancorous altercation.

XLIV. At the next meeting of the Senate Caesar Domitian opened the proceedings with a suggestion, that all traces of resentment and of anger, caused by acts done under pressure in the past, should be obliterated, and then Mucian spoke in favour of the informers, while he appealed in a tone of conciliation almost bordering on entreaty to those who had, he said, at first begun, then abandoned, and finally revived a prosecution. And so the senators, when they met with opposition, abandoned the first sweets of liberty. Then, in order to avoid any semblance of a slight upon the judgment of the House, or of impunity for all the crimes perpetrated during Nero's reign, Mucian sent back again to the same islands Octavius Sagitta and Antistius Sosianus, culprits of senatorial rank, who had quitted their places of exile. Octavius had

Compare Annals, iv. 60. 3: "Enimvero Tiberius torvus aut falsum renidens vultu." Ibid., xv. 66. 2. All are familiar with the description of Crispus in Juvenal, iv. 81. 93. Mr. Spooner points out that the contrast is borne out by Annals, xvi. 22: "Marcelli aoris eloquentiaperta"; and xvi. 29: "Cum Marcellus, ut erat, torvus ac minax voce vultu ostulis ardesceret."

1 Censuit Mucianus prolixepro accusatoribus, "Mucian spoke in favour of the informers." This meaning of prolixus ("favourable") is found in Cicero, ad Att., i. 1 (Tyrrell, x. vol. i. p. 26): "Cetera spero prolixae esse, his duntaxa turbanis competitoribus." See Professor Tyrrell's note upon that passage. So we find in Cato, apud Gel., viii. 3. 14: res secunda atque prolixae.

2 "Simul eos, qui captam, deininde omissam actionem repeterent, monuit sermone molli et tamquam roguret. Patres captatam libertatem, postquam obviam itum, omissere"—an echo more Pindaric than Pindar himself. Here Tacitus fairly surpasses himself. The historian echoes the words of Mucian but in a voice of bitter irony. The capta actio of Mucian is the captalibertas, "the first sweets of liberty," of Tacitus, and the omissam actionem of the despotic minister is the omissam libertatem of the stoical historian. When we write of echoes we must naturally recall the noble works of Mr. J. B. Bury, f.t.c.d., who has so admirably caught the echoes of the Dircean swan.

3 Insulas. Islands formed the usual penal settlements. Compare ii. 2, ante: "infecicadsibuscopuli," and Juvenal, i. 73:

"Aude aliquaevbrevis Gyaris et carceredignum, Si vis esse aliquid. Probitas laudatur et alget."

4 Octavius Sagitta. His crime is detailed at length in Annals, xiii. 44.

5 Antistius Sosianus, praetor, was exiled and narrowly escaped death for his lampoons or pasquinades on Nero in a.d. 62. See Annals, xiv. 48; xiii. 26; xvi. 14.
seduced Pontia Postumia, and then, when she rejected his proposals of marriage, had murdered her in a paroxysm of disappointed passion;¹ Sosianus had ruined many a victim by his profligate course of life. Both had been condemned and banished by a severe decree of the Senate, and, while other convicts were allowed to return to Rome, these men were kept in their original penal settlement. Yet the ill-feeling towards Mucian was not thereby assuaged: for Sosianus and Sagitta were men who, even if they were allowed to return to Rome, would count as mere ciphers, while the real objects of dread were the informers with their talents, their wealth, and their power, trained as they were in all the machinations of evil.

XLV. However, an impeachment, conducted in the House in accordance with ancient precedent, gained back to Mucian, for a time at least, the sympathies of the senators. Manlius Patruitus, a senator, complained to the House that he had been beaten by a mob in Sienna,² and that too under an order of the local magistrates; nor had the outrage, he said, ended there; he found himself made the subject of funeral wailings and dirges³ and of his own burial in effigy,⁴ amid gibes and jeers levelled against the Senate at large. The accused were summoned to the bar of the House, those who were found guilty upon the impeachment were punished, and the trial was supplemented by a senatorial decree warning the people of Sienna to stand upon their good behaviour. About the same time Antonius Flamma was condemned, at the instance of the people of Cyrene,⁵ under the law against extortion, and was

¹ Impotens amoris, "in a paroxysm of disappointed passion"—in Liebeswahnsinn—Wolff. The use of the genitive of respect, the genetirus de quo, runs all through Tacitus. Octavius was impotens—in a paroxysm—in a frenzy—amoris—by reason of his disappointed passion—his rejected love, as detailed in Annals, xiii. 44.
² In colonia Senisensi, now Sienna in Etruria.
³ Lamenta, "dirges." See iv. 1. 13, ante, and note.
⁴ Supremorum imaginem, "his own burial in effigy"—das Scheinbild einer Leichenfeier—Heraeus, who refers to Annals, xvi. 1: nocturnae quietis imaginem ad spem hau biebie rei traxit."
⁵ Cyrenensis d annatur, "was condemned at the instance of the people of Cyrene." The word Cyrenensis must be taken as an ethical dative. We venture entirely to concur with the criticism of Dr. L. C. Purser in Hermathena, xviii. 214: "Probably in iv. 45. 10, Cyrenensisibus is to be explained as an ethical dative—'the Cyrenenses got
punished with exile to boot on account of his cruel administration.¹

XLVI. Meanwhile there was very nearly an outbreak of mutiny. The Prætorians, who had been disbanded by Vitellius² and had gathered around the standard of Vespasian, now demanded re-enrolment in the Prætorian service, while the legionary detachments, whose selection was founded on the same hopes, vociferously called for the promised increase of pay.³ Nay, it would have been impossible to get rid even of the Prætorians of Vitellius⁴ without serious bloodshed, yet the retention in the service of so vast a body of men would have entailed enormous expense.⁵ Mucian visited the camp for the purpose of more thoroughly investigating individual claims for length of service, and ranged the victorious troops, who wore all their decorations and arms, in separate brigades at moderate distances from each other. Then the Prætorians of Vitellius, whose surrender at Bojano we have already narrated, and all the other Vitellianist troops that had been mustered throughout the

¹ Mr. Godley observes: "Had his crime been simply extortion the case would have been tried by recuperatores, and the penalty would have been fourfold restitution of the amount extorted." Flamma had taken a bribe to inflict the penalty of death on an innocent man. He therefore was punished with banishment.

² A Vitellio dimissi, "the Prætorians who had been disbanded by Vitellius"—the old Prætorians of Otho—ii. 67, ante.

³ Lectus in eandem spem (duplex stipendium, c. 19, ante) e legionibus miles promissa stipendia (c. 19, ante) flagitabat.

⁴ The Prætorian cohorts of Vitellius which had surrendered at Narni and Bojano, iii. 63; iv. 2, ante.

⁵ Sed immensa pecunia tanta vis hominum retinenda erat. The now universally accepted readjustment by Agricola of the misplaced sheet of the archetype MS. The Medicean MS. runs as follows, sed immensa pecunia fer. At this point in the narrative two sheets of the archetype MS. were transposed, with the result that the misplaced sheet commenced after immensa pecunia with fer ne criminantium nuntiis temere accenderetur (c. 52, post), going on to the end of c. 53, which includes the misplaced words tanta vis hominum retinenda erat, where the sheet ended. The Medicean MS. followed the error of the archetype, and the mechanical抄写员, when he saw fer, changed it (c. 52, post) into diecebatur; whereas the Bipontine (Zweibrücken) editors taking the hint from fer, very correctly read ferunt in c. 52, post. Thus the words misplaced in consequence of the transposition of the sheets of the archetype have been restored to their proper place, and the ferunt of c. 52, post, has been clearly evolved out of fer.
city and suburbs were marched out upon the ground in an almost naked condition. Mucian ordered them to draw up separately, bidding the soldiers of Germany and of Britain, as well as those belonging to any other Vitellianist force, take up their position in distinct corps completely apart from each other. The very first glimpse of what they saw instantly paralysed them, as they gazed, now on the battle array, as it were, that frowned down upon them from the opposite side with its bristling arms, and again upon themselves, hemmed in, defenceless, all squalid and haggard, as they were. When, however, the work of completely isolating each corps commenced, terror swept all through their ranks, but the greatest panic seized upon the German troops, believing, as they did, that they were being thus set apart and marked out for butchery. They clasped their comrades to their hearts, hung upon their necks, besought the farewell kiss, and prayed that they alone might not be abandoned, nor suffer a fate far different from those whose case was the same as their own. They called upon the name, now of Mucian, now of Vespasian far away, ay, and of Heaven and its Gods, until at last Mucian addressed them as soldiers all sworn to the same fealty, all serving under the same Lord General,¹ and stayed their panic fear. Nay, besides, the victorious army aided their tears by sympathetic cheers. Such was the termination of that eventful day. A few days afterwards, when Domitian addressed them, they received him with all the old nonchalance; they scorned the proffered allotments of land, and prayed for retention in the service on full pay. Ay, they prayed such prayers as dared not be gainsaid; and so they were re-enrolled in the Praetorian service. Then those who had attained the limit of age, and served their complete time, were retired on full pay,² while others, again, were dismissed the service for misconduct,³ but gradually and one by one, as is the safest course for wearing down the combined resistance of numbers.

¹ *Ejusdem imperatoris,* "the same Lord General"—not *Imperator Vespasianus*, but *Vespasianus Imperator*. See iii. 85, ante.

² *Dimissi cum honore,* "were retired on full pay," that was *honesta missio*. See ii. 67 (vol. i. p. 122, n. 4), ante.

³ *Alii ob culpam,* "others, again, were dismissed the service for misconduct," that was *ignominiosa missio*. See ii. 67, ante.
XLVII. Now, whether real or perhaps counterfeit poverty was the motive, a question was raised in the senate\(^1\) as to whether a State loan of £600,000\(^2\) sterling should be raised from private sources,\(^3\) and Pompeius Silvanus\(^4\) was elected chairman of the finance committee. However, shortly afterwards either the financial pressure ceased, or the pretence of its existence was abandoned. Then the consulships which Vitellius had bestowed in advance\(^5\) were cancelled by a senatorial enactment passed on the motion of Domitian, and the distinction of a public funeral\(^6\) was accorded to the remains of Flavius Sabinus,\(^7\) both signal proofs of fickle Fortune’s hand that shuffles the lots of triumph and of doom.\(^8\)

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1. *Actum in senatu,* "a question was raised in the senate." Compare *Annals*, i.79: "*Actum deinde in senatu ab Arruntio et Ateio, an ob moderandas Tiberis exundationes verterentur flumina et lacus, per quae augescit.*"

2. *Sesscentiens scertertium = 60,000,000 sesterces = £600,000 sterling.* See Table xvi. to 2 Smith’s *Dict. Ant.*, new ed., p. 1008, note.

3. *A privatim mutuum accipertur.* The object of the inquiry was doubtless to anticipate the loan which every new emperor asked for. Vespasian proved no exception, as we learn from Suetonius, *Vesp.* xvi.: "*Sunt contra qui opinentur, ad manubias et rapinas necessitate compulsum summa erarii fisique inopia; de qua testificatus sit initio statim principatus, professus quadringenties milites opus esse, ut res publica stare posset.*"

4. Pompeius Silvanus. See ii. 86. 14; iii. 50, ante; *Annals*, xiii. 52.

5. *Abrogatis inde legem ferente Domitiano consulatus, quos Vitellius dederat.* See ii. 91. 6; iii. 55, ante; Suetonius, *Vitel.* xi.

6. *Funusque censorium, "a public funeral."* See *Annals*, iv. 15; vi. 27; xiii. 2; *sub fine*. Nipperdey, in commenting on the term publicum funus in *Annals*, iii. 5, points out that censorium funus and publicum funus were synonymous terms, inasmuch as the arrangements and contracts for the public ceremony were made by and were in the hands of the censor in the time of the Republic. During the empire these powers were in the hands of other officers, but the historical signification survived.

7. Flavius Sabinus, brother of Vespasian, whose death is described in the concluding chapters of Book iii.


Horace, *Odes*, i. 34. 12:

"*Valet ima summis\[\[\]
*Mutare et insignem attenuat deus,\[\[\]
*Obscura promens.*"

Homer, *Odys.*, xvi. 211:

'\[\[\]
*Ρηθίδον δ' θεῶι, τοι ούρανον εύφων ξούσιν,\[\[\]
*Ήμέν κυθήνα θηντὸν βροτὸν ἥδε κακῶσαι.'

See also Cicero, *de Leg.* iii. 19; Juvenal, x. 163.
XLVIII. About the same time Lucius Piso, the proconsul, was done to death.¹ I will be able to give a particularly accurate account of that murder, if I first take a brief retrospect of the circumstances connected with² the inception and motives of such crimes. The legions stationed in Africa and the auxiliaries, whose duty it was to guard the frontiers of the empire,³ were, during the reigns of blessed Augustus and Tiberius, under the command of a proconsul. Subsequently, Caligula, in his disordered state of mind and in his dread of Marcus Silanus,⁴ then governor of Africa, deprived the proconsul of the command of the legion and transferred it to a legate specially deputed for that purpose. Both of those officers enjoyed the same extent of patronage,⁵ and, as their functions were not clearly defined, their feuds became acutely intensified by sinister rivalry.⁶ The power of the legates waxed apace, either by reason

¹ See c. 38, ante; Pliny, Epist., iii. 7. 12: “L. Piso, pater Pisonis illius qui a Valerio Festo per summum facinus in Africa occius est.”

² Non absurda, “connected with.” Absurda = “out of harmony with,” from ab = mis, and Sanscrit man = sonare. See iii. 62, ante, n. 6; Annals, xiii. 45; Sallust, Cat., xxv. 5.

³ Auxiliaque tutandis imperii finibus. For this use of the dative of the gerundive, Professor Wolff compares Annals, xv. 43: “subsidia reprimendis ignibus.” See also c. 68, post: “turbidus miscendisseditionibus”: also c. 11, ante: “civitas rimandis offensis sagax.”

⁴ Marcus Silanus, the father-in-law of Caligula, was consul in 19 a.d. (Annals, ii. 59). Caligula married his daughter in 33 a.d. (Annals, vi. 20). See especially Agricola, iv.: “Gnæus Julius Agricola, vetere et illustri Forojuliansium colonia ortus, utrumque avum procuratorem Cæsaris habuit, que equestris nobilitas est. Pater fuit Julius Græcinus senatorii ordinie, studio eloquentie sapientieque notus, iisque ipsis virtutibus ivam Gaii Cæsaris meritus; namque M. Silanum accusare jussus, et, quia abuerat, interfecit est.”

⁵ Equatus inter duos beneficiorum numerus, “both of those officers enjoyed the same extent of patronage.” Compare i. 25, ante: “Suspensos ceterorum animos diversis artibus stimulant, primores militum per beneficià Nymphidii ut suspexit, volgus et ceteros ira et desperatione dilati totiens donativi.” See 1 Smith’s Dict. Ant., new ed., p. 296: “In the time of Cicero it was usual for a general, or a governor of a province, to report to the treasury the names of those under his command who had done good service to the State; those whose names were entered in such report were said in beneficiis ad ararium deferri (Cicero, pro Arch., v.; ad Fam., v. 20).”

⁶ Discordia quaüita aspexit prave certamine, “their feuds became acutely intensified by sinister rivalry.” Compare Annals, iii. 57. 1: “Praecipserant animis orationem patres, quo quaüitio adulatorio fuit.” Also ibid., v. 3. 3: “Verba inerant quaüita asperitate.” Hence our classical use of the terms “Exquisite pain,” “Exquisite torture.” So we find in Cicero, de Off., iii. 27. 100—Exquisita supplicia.
of the length of their tenure of office, or because underlings are keener competitors, while the most brilliant of the proconsuls thought more of their ease than of their influence.

XLIX. Well, at that time the command of the legion in Africa was held by Valerius Festus, who was a youth of extravagant habits and inordinate ambition, and who was then in an uneasy mood by reason of his relationship to Vitellius. Whether Festus, in the numerous interviews they had, tempted Piso to revolution, or withstood the overtures of the latter, must be a matter of doubt, as nobody was present at their private meeting; and, after the murder of Piso, many were inclined to curry favour with his assassin. However, there can be no question that the province and the soldiery were disaffected towards Vespasian. Moreover, some Vitellianist refugees from Rome constantly pointed out to Piso that Gaul was wavering, and that Germany was devoted to him, while they emphasised his own danger and the safety that war would afford to one who was an object of suspicion in time of peace. Meanwhile Claudius Sagitta, the commander of Petra’s horse, was enabled by a favourable voyage to anticipate the arrival in Africa of the centurion Papirius, who was Mucian’s envoy, and he now solemnly asserted that orders had been given to the centurion to murder Piso. “Galerianus,” said he, “your cousin-german and son-in-law has perished: your sole chance of escape depends on daring, but two courses of daring are open to you, either to take up arms here on the spot if you choose, or to sail for Gaul and offer your services as leader to the armies of Vitellius.” These words made no

1 Valerius Festus. See ii. 98, ante; Pliny, Epist., iii. 7. 12: “L. Piso, pater Pisonis illius qui a Valerio Festo per summum facinus in Africa occisus est.”
2 Secreto eorum, “their private meeting.” Compare ii. 4. 7, ante: “petito secreto futura aperit,” ii. 100. 12: “moz Patavi secretum componenda proditioni quassatum.”
3 See ii. 97, ante: “simul cetera juventus dabat impigre nomina. Quippe integrum illic ac favorabilem proconsulatum Vitellius, famosum invinusque Vespasianus egerat.”
4 Aed Petrianae, “Petra’s horse.” See i. 70. 15, ante and note.
5 Galerianus. Gaius Calpuruius Piso Galerianus. For the account of his murder see c. 11, ante, and note.
6 Unam in audacia sperare salutem—“Il nous faut de l’audace (said Danton), et encore de l’audace, et toujours de l’audace.” Compare Vergil:

“Una salus victis nullam sperare salutem.”
impression on Piso. The moment that the centurion, Mucian’s envoy, reached the port of Carthage, he repeatedly exclaimed in a loud voice, “All hail, Piso!”’ as if the latter were emperor, and urged all whom he met, lost as they were in wonderment at so sudden an event, to join in the chorus of congratulation. The crowd of dupes rushed into the Forum, called loudly on Piso to show himself, and, in their unscrupulous indifference to truth and their passion for flattery, indulged in a wild revel of boisterous exultation. Piso, either in consequence of the information which he had received from Sagitta, or, perchance, prompted by his natural regard for law and order, did not appear in public or display himself to the enthusiastic populace; but he cross-examined the centurion, and, when he had made sure that an attempt was being made to concoct a false charge against himself and then to murder him, he ordered the man to be executed, not so much in any hope of saving his own life as in indignation against the assassin, for he knew that this was one of the villains who had slain Claudius Macer and had now hied him hither to ply his hand, just red with the blood of the legate, in the slaughter of the proconsul. He then rebuked the people of Carthage in a proclamation that evinced his uneasiness, ceased to discharge even his normal duties, and shut himself up in his house, lest even by some chance a pretext might arise for fresh disturbance.

L. But when tidings of the popular excitement and of the execution of the centurion, when truth and falsehood, together with all the wonted exaggerations of rumour, reached the ears of Festus, he despatched some horsemen to murder Piso. They rode off at full gallop, and in the dimness of the early dawn burst into the house of the proconsul, sword in hand, but most of them knew nothing of Piso’s appearance, as Festus had chosen

1 *Lata Pisoni omnia,* “All hail, Piso!”—the reading of the Medicean MS., which is clearly right. The proposed emendation—* omina*—of Acidalius is wrong as shown by us on ii. 74 (vol. i. p. 130): *frusta Vitellio omnia precantem,* where see n. 4, and Introd. to vol. i. Ivii. Compare Plautus, *Rud.,* iii. 2. 25: “Equidem tibi bona optavi omnia.” Terence, *And.,* i. 1. 70: “Patri omnia bona dicere.” Livy, xxiv. 16. 10: “bona omnia populo Romano Gracchoque ipsi precarentur”: *ibid.,* xxxi. 7. 15: “*lata omnia* prosperaque portendere.”

2 *Consternatio vulgi,* “the popular excitement.” Compare i. 83, *ante,* vol. i. p. 57; *Annales,* i. 39; xiii. 16: Suetonius, *Claud.,* xii.; *Calig.,* li.
Carthaginian and Moorish auxiliaries for that deed of blood. Close by the proconsul's bedroom they chanced to meet a slave and asked, "Who goes there? Where is Piso?" The slave, nobly counterfeiting his master, replied, "I am Piso," and was instantly cut down. Soon after that Piso himself was slain, for they had at hand to identify him Baebius Massa, the procurator of Africa, who was even then a deadly bane to Rome's best sons, and who is destined still more frequently to figure on the scene of my History amid the prime causes of those woes which we had soon to bear. Festus moved on from Susa, which he had made his post of observation, to the legion, ordered Caetronius Pisanus, the prefect of the camp, to be put in irons, in reality to gratify a personal grudge, but ostensibly as the henchman of Piso, punished some of the soldiers and centurions and rewarded others, in neither case through any spirit of justice, but simply to make people think that he had crushed out a war. He then made peace between the peoples of Tripoli and of Lebda, whose feuds had originally arisen on a limited scale by reason of those raids on corn and cattle which are wont to occur among rustics, but had now developed into regular warfare; for the people of Tripoli, who were inferior to their rivals in point of numbers, had invoked the aid of the Garamantes, a wild race, and fertile in every device for rapine on their neighbours. Consequently the men of Lebda were hard pressed, their country was ravaged far and wide, and they

1 Quisnam, "Who goes there?" Qui vive? Wer da?
2 Egregior mendacio. Compare the Horatian splendidem mendax.
3 Namque adeverat qui nosceret, "for they had at hand to identify him." Compare c. 40, ante: "quique aeralegum— nosecrent.
4 Baebius Massa. See Juvenal, i. 35: "Quem Massa timet." See Agricola, xlv.; Pliny, Epist., iii. 4; iv. 9; vi. 29; vii. 33; Epist., vii. 33, should be studied.
5 Sapius rediturus. Compare Juvenal, iv. 1:
   "Ecce iterum Crispinus, et est mihi sape vocandum
   Ad partes, monstrum nulla virtute redemptum."

6 Aduumetum, the modern Susa, a seaport town on the south shore of the gulf of Hammamet, and 32 miles E.N.E. of Kairwan.
7 Ete or civitas Ensisi—the modern Tripoli.
8 Leptis magna, the modern Lebda or Lebida, lay on the coast south of Hammamet, and 60 miles S.S.E. of Tripoli. See Sallust, Jugurth., xix. 3.
9 Garamantes, the modern Fezzan. See Annals, iii. 74; iv. 23; Verg., Æn., vi., 795; Herodotus, iv. 183; Pliny, H. N., v. 5. 38.
themselves were cowering under the shelter of their fortifications, until by the arrival of the auxiliary foot and horse the Garamantes were routed and all the plunder was recaptured, save that portion of it which the freebooters had borne away through inaccessible villages, and sold to tribes more remote than themselves.

LI. Now after Vespasian had heard of the victory at Cremona, and had received good news from every quarter, many senators and knights risked the dangers of the wintry sea with a boldness only equalled by their good fortune, and bore him tidings of the death of Vitellius. The ambassadors of King Vologesus too arrived, and tendered the support of forty thousand Parthian mounted archers. It was a source of triumph and exultation to Vespasian thus to be courted with offers of such vast aids from his allies, and yet to stand in no need of them. The offer of Vologesus was declined with thanks, and he was invited to send envoys to the senate and learn for himself that peace had been re-established. Vespasian's attention was now concentrated on Italy and affairs in Rome, and

1 See i. 47, ante: "Igitur milites Romani, quasi Vologesum aut Pacorum avito Arsacidarum solio depulsuri ac non imperatorem suum inermem et senem trucidare pergerent, dijecta plebe, proculcato senatu, truces armis, rapidi equis forum irrupunt." Vologesus, son of Vonones II., King of Parthia, a.d. 51 (Annals, xii. 44), raised his brother Tiridates to the throne of Armenia (xii. 50), and his brother Pacorus to that of Media Atropatene (Annals, xv. 2 ; xv. 14 ; xv. 31).

2 Quadraginta milia. The Medicean MS. has simply quadraginta, and milia has been supplied from Suetonius, Vesp., vi. sub fine: "Praeterea ex praesidibus provinciarum Licinius Mucianus et e regibus Vologesus Parthus, ille depositas simulatatem, quam in id tempus ex semulacione non obscure gerebat, Syriacum promisit exercitum, hic quadraginta milia sagittariorum."

3 Parthorum equitum, scilicet, "sagittariorum"—Suetonius, Vesp., vi. See preceding note.

4 Tantissorum auxiliis ambiri, "to be courted with offers of such vast aids from his allies."

Compare Verg., Aen., vii. 333:

"Hunc mihi da proprium, virgo sata nocte, laborem, Hanc operam, ne noster honos infractave cedat Fama loco, neu conubis ambire Latinum Aeneadæ possit, Itulosve obsidere fines."

See also Germ., xviii.: "Nam prope soli barbarorum singulis uxoribus contenti sunt, exceptis admodum paucis, qui non libidine, sed ob nobilitatem plurimis nuptiis ambiantur."

5 Gratiae Vologeso actae, "the offer of Vologesus was declined with thanks." Compare the French merci.
he received unfavourable reports of Domitian, to the effect that he was overstepping the bounds warranted by his age as well as the privileges of a son. Accordingly he entrusted Titus with the strongest division of his army for the purpose of bringing to an end\(^1\) the final struggle in the war with the Jews.

LII. They say\(^2\) that Titus before his departure had a prolonged interview with his father, and besought him not to let himself be rashly inflamed by the missives of those who were incriminating Domitian, but rather to preserve an unbiased attitude, and leave himself open to reconciliation with his son. "Neither legions," said Titus, "nor fleets are such staunch bulwarks of imperial power as a band\(^3\) of one's own children; for friendship is weakened, or shifted, or lost, by lapse of time, by change of fortune, sometimes by ambition or by delusions: but a man's own blood cannot be separated from him; nay, that is so especially in the case of princes, whose good fortune is common property, while their misfortunes are confined to their nearest and dearest alone.\(^4\) Nay, harmony will not endure even between brothers, unless their father has first set them the example." Vespasian was not so much softened towards Domitian, as delighted with the fraternal devotion of Titus, whom he


2. *Ferunt*. The brilliant emendation of the Bipontine (Zweibrücken) editors followed by Madvig and Halm, for the *dicebatur* of the MSS. See c. 46, *ante*, and the note on the words *sed immensa pecunia fer*.

3. *Numerum liberorum*, "a band of one's own children"—a play on the word *numerus*, which means a band, company, or detachment of troops. See i. 6, *ante* (vol. i. p. 6): "plena urbs exercitu insolito; multi ad hoc *numerii* e Germania ac Britannia et Illyrico." *Agricola*, xviii.: "sarsi per provinciam *numeri*." Suetonius, *Vesp.*, vi.: "revocatis ad officium *numerii* parumper." It is true that Vespasian had only two sons—Titus and Domitian—but Professor Wolff appositely refers to Ovid, *Met.*, i. 355, where Deucalion says to Pyrrha:

> "Nos *duo turba sumus*; possedit cetera pontus."

For the sentiment compare *Psalms*, cxxvii. 4 and 5: "As arrows are in the hand of a mighty man; so are the children of the youth. Happy is the man that hath his quiver full of them: they shall not be ashamed, but they shall speak with the enemies in the gate." It may be well to point out that in the *Digest*, xxix. 1. 43; 1. 38, the term *in *numeri esse* means "to be enrolled."

bade be of good cheer and exalt the nation by his prowess in the war. "I," said he, "will devote myself to the interests of peace and of my own household." He then had his swiftest ships laden with corn, and let them take their chance upon the still wintry sea: for Rome was on the brink of so grave a crisis, that the corn remaining in her granaries was barely enough to have lasted for ten days at the moment when the supplies sent by Vespasian arrived in the city.

LIII. Vespasian entrusted the task of restoring the Capitol to L. Vestinus,¹ who, although he belonged to the equestrian order only, yet in influence and repute ranked with the highest in the land. The soothsayers were summoned together by him, and they advised him that the débris of the old shrine should be borne away into the marshes of Ostia,² and that the new temple should be erected on the same site. The gods, they said, would not sanction any deviation from the original plan. On the twenty-first day of June, beneath a cloudless sky, soldiers, whose names were auspicious,³ and who bore in their hands the branches of lucky trees,⁴ entered the whole of the enclosure, which was dedicated to the use of the temple, and was now garlanded with fillets and wreaths. Next, the Vestal Virgins, accompanied by boys and maidens, whose freeborn fathers and mothers were still living,⁵ thoroughly sprinkled the ground with water drawn from springs and streams. Then Helvidius Priscus,

¹ *Lucius Vestinus* is referred to in the speech delivered by the Emperor Claudius on the occasion of bestowing citizenship upon the Gauls, as: "L. Vestinum familiaris tine diligo et hodieque in rebus meis detineo; cujus liberis fruantur quos primo sacerdotiorum gradu, post modo cum annis promoturi dignitatis sue incrementa." See the Appendix to the second volume of Nipperdey's *Tacitus*. Friedländer proves conclusively that this Vestinus cannot be the Vestinus mentioned in Martial, *Ep.*, iv. 73. Possibly the latter was his son.

² *In paludes avherentur*, scilicet, "Ostiensis." See *Annal.*, xv. 43. 4: "ruderi accipiendo Ostienses paludes destinabant."

³ *Fausta nominis.* Heraeus gives as instances of such auspicious names, *Salvius, Statorius, Longinus, Valerius, Victor.* For an example of an unlucky name, see c. 24. 14, ante, and note. Compare Cicero, *de Div.*, i. § 102; Pliny, *N. H.*, xxviii. 22.

⁴ *Felicibus ramos.* Such as the oak (which saved Charles the Second), beech, stone-fruit trees, vine, olive, laurel, lotus, fig.—Wolff.

⁵ *Patrimonis matrisimique, "whose freeborn fathers and mothers were still living."*—διφίλαλεις.
the praetor, following the formulary dictated to him by Plautius Ælianus, the High Priest, first purified the building-ground by sacrificing a boar, a ram, and a bull, the entrails whereof were offered up upon an altar of green turf, and, after he had besought in prayer Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, and the other guardian Gods of Rome to bless the undertaking, and by their divine aid to bring to completion their own shrines now founded by the pious zeal of mortal men, he touched the fillets with which the foundation-stone was bound and with which the ropes were enwreathed. At that moment the other magistrates and priests, as well as the senators, the knights, and a great number of the citizens, all pulled together in joyous enthusiasm and drew the huge foundation-stone to its resting-place. Then there were scattered at large under the foundations gifts of silver and of gold, as well as virgin ores never smelted in any furnace but remaining in their pristine state. The soothsayers gave warning that the holy work should not be desecrated by stone or gold that had been originally intended for any other purpose. The new shrines were raised to a greater height than the old; that was the sole improvement which the sacred formularies would concede, and its absence was considered to have detracted from the splendour of the old temple.

LIV. Meanwhile the news of the death of Vitellius, now known throughout Gaul and Germany, had intensified the war. For Civilis had thrown off the mask, and was making a furious onslaught on the Roman people, while the legions of Vitellius were more willing to submit even

1 Præsente Plautio Æliano pontifice, scilicet, "sacramentum." See Suetonius, Claud., xxii: "eamque (obsecrationem) ipse jure maximi pontificis pro rostris populo praieret."

2 Suovetaurilibus. See Annals, vi. 37: "Sacrificantibus, cum hie more Romano suovetaurilia daret, ille equum placando amni adornasset," k.t.A.

3 Super caspitem redditis extis, "the entrails whereof were offered up upon an altar of green turf." See Horace, Odes, iii. 8. 4; ii. 7. 17; ii. 17. 30; Verg., Georg., ii. 194.

4 Argenti aurique stipes, "gifts of silver and of gold." See Annals, xiv. 15; Hist., v. 3, post.

5 Duplicaverat bellum, "had intensified the war." Compare Sallust, Frag. Hist., i. 23 (edition Gerlach), p. 208: "Et Marius victus duplicaverat bellum." See also Vergil, EcL., ii. 67:

"Et sol crescentis decedens duplicat umbras."
to a foreign yoke than to the imperial sway of Vespasian. The Gauls had plucked up courage, for they believed that the same evil fortune had befallen our armies in every direction, as the rumour had been spread broadcast that our winter-quarters in Mesia and Pannonia were completely invested by the Sarmatians and Dacians, while similar falsehoods were invented concerning our position in Britain. But nothing lent such weight to the belief in the approaching end of the Roman Empire as the burning of the Capitol. “Rome had been captured by the Gauls of yore,” they felt, “but the Empire had survived because Jove’s shrine had rested inviolate.” But now the Druids, swayed by their idle superstition, announced in prophetic chant that the signal of heaven’s wrath had been given by this ominous fire, and that here was portended the transfer of the world’s dominion to the races beyond the Alps. Moreover, the report had gone abroad that those Gallic chieftains, whom Otho had despatched from Rome to cabal against Vitellius, had, prior to their departure from the capital, pledged themselves to strike home for freedom, should the uninterrupted course of civil wars and intestine mischief break down the power of the Roman people.

LV. Before the murder of Flaccus Hordeonius no evidence had leaked out to warrant any suspicion of conspiracy: but

1 Sustulerant animos, “had plucked up courage.” Compare iii. 45, ante: “Britanni sustulere animos auctore Venutio.”


See also iii. 72, ante: “Sedem Jovis Optimi Maximi auspicate a majoribus pignus imperii conditam, quam non Porsenna dedita urbe neque Galli capta temerare potuissent, furore principum excindi.”


See also Cicero, Cat., iii. § 18: “Ut omittam cetera, quae ita multa nobis consulibus facta sunt, ut haec, quæ nunc fiunt, canere di immortales viderentur, hoc certe, quod sum dicturus, neque prætermittendum neque relinquendum est.”

5 Prorupit, “leaked out.” Compare the similar use of erumpere in c. 16. 6, ante:
after Hordeonius had been slain, envoys passed to and fro between Civilis and Classicus, the captain of the auxiliary horse from Trèves. Classicus distanced all competitors in rank and wealth: he was of royal stock, and of a race equally distinguished in the pursuits of peace and war, while he himself used to boast that his ancestors were the enemies rather than the allies of the Roman people. 1 Julius Tutor and Julius Sabinus had involved themselves in the conspiracy. The former came from Trèves, the latter from Langres. 2 Tutor had been appointed by Vitellius prefect of the left bank of the Rhine. Sabinus, apart from his innate conceit, became intoxicated by the fame of his imaginary descent: for he alleged that his great grandmother had captivated blessed Julius during his campaigns in Gaul by her charms and her amours. The conspirators tested 3 the feelings of their countrymen in private interviews, and, when they had bound over as their confederates those whom they deemed fit instruments, they assembled at Cologne in a private house, for the citizens still shrank from any public approval of such enterprises; and yet some of the men of Cologne and of Tongres were present at the proceedings. But the men of Trèves and of Langres had far and away the greatest influence, and would not brook the delay of consultations. They vied with each other in openly announcing that the Roman people were distracted by feuds, the legions cut

erumpentibus paulatim indiciis: also c. 32, ante, sub fine: "cetera dissimulans, quae mox erupsero."

1 Ipse e majoribus suis hostis (the archaic form for hostes) populi Romani quam socios jactabat. The scribe of the Medicean MS., misled by the archaic form hostis (for hostes), wrote socius jactabatur as a kind of Greek construction, which Urlich thought to improve upon by writing socius jactabatur. But Mercerus correctly perceived that the scribe had changed socios into socius, in order to make it agree with what he wrongly thought was the nominative hostis. The emendation of Mercerus must commend itself—ipse e majoribus suis hostis populi Romani quam socios jactabat.

2 Hic Trevir, hic Lingönae. Nipperdey would read Lingo, but see Martial, Ep., viii. 75. 2. The first hic is used for illis, in poetic fashion. Compare Vergil, Ecl., iv. 56:

"huic mater quamvis atque huic pater adsit,
Orphi Calliopea, Lino formosus Apollo."

See also ibid., Εn., vii. 473; vii. 506; ix. 572; x. 9; Tacitus, Annals, xiv. 8: "hi molium objectus, hi proximas scaphas scandere."

3 Scrutati, the manifest emendation of Pichena for the scrutari of the Medicean MS.
to pieces, Italy laid waste, Rome at that very moment stormed, while all her armies were swayed by divided interests, each being engaged in a separate war of its own. "Let us but strengthen our hold upon the Alpine passes with our outposts," they exclaimed, "and then Gaul, when her independence has been thus established, will determine at her will the final limits of her power."

LVI. No sooner were these statements made than they were approved of. However, the enemy differed in their proposals concerning the remnant of the army of Vitellius. Many were of opinion that they should all be put to the sword, as lawless, faithless men, whose hands were stained with the blood of their own generals. Yet the quality of mercy prevailed, lest the victors might enkindle a spirit of resistance by cutting off all hope of pardon. "It would be better," they said, "to allure them into an alliance. Let us slay only the lieutenants-general of the legions; the rank and file will readily join us under the impulse of a guilty conscience and in the hope of escaping punishment."

Such was the sketch drawn at their first meeting, and emissaries were despatched throughout Gaul to stir up the spirit of war. The leaders themselves feigned loyalty, in order to surprise Vocula when all the more completely off his guard. Yet many did not fail to apprise him of his danger, but he had not forces enough at his disposal to crush the plot, inasmuch as his legions were below their normal complement and were also disloyal. Thus, what with the treachery of his own men and the secret movements of his enemies, Vocula considered that the best course now open to him was to encounter deceit with its own weapons—diamond cut diamond—and so he sailed down the Rhine to Cologne.

1 Gallias—disceptaturas, "Gaul will determine"—the emendation of Victorius for the corrupt discepras of the Med. MS. Rhenanus wrote dispectaturas.

2 Primi consilii, "their first meeting"—the reading of the Medicean MS. The inferior MSS. contain the erroneous consilii.

3 Concitatores—the true Tacitean form. Tacitus never writes concitatores. See iii. 2, ante, and note.

4 In coloniam Agrippinensem descendit, "he sailed down the Rhine to Cologne"—from Mayence (Mogontiacum)
Claudius Labeo, whose capture and transportation to Frisia beyond the range of the insurrection we have already narrated, had bribed his gaolers and taken refuge in the same city. He now undertook, if furnished with a detachment of men, to make his way into Batavia and induce all the best citizens there to return into their alliance with Rome. He was accordingly provided with a moderate contingent of horse and foot, but never made any attempt to carry out his project in Batavia, and merely succeeded in prevailing upon some of the Nervii and Bétasii to take up arms for the Roman cause, while he indulged in a series of stealthy raids, rather than in a course of open warfare, against the Canninefates and Marsaci.

LVII. Vocula, lured on by the treachery of the Gauls, advanced against the enemy, and was but a short distance from the Old Camp, when Classicus and Tutor, who had gone to the front by way of reconnoitring, settled the terms of their compact with the German leaders. Then, too, for the first time, they held aloof from the legions and surrounded their camp with a rampart of its own, while Vocula protested that Rome was not so distracted by civil wars as to be an object of scorn even to these people of Trèves and of Langres. "She still has loyal provinces," he exclaimed, "victorious armies, the star of Empire, and the Nemesis of Heaven on her side. In such wise did Sacrovir and the men of Autun of yore, and

1 Extra motum, "beyond the range of the insurrection," Meiser's emendation for the corrupt extra òómi of the Med. MS. He translates: "aus dem Bereich des Aufstandes," and refers for this use of motus to cc. 12 and 49, ante, and cc. 63 and 69, post. Agricola reads conventum; Jacob, commutatum; Haase, commercium.

2 Bétasii, occupied the district east of the Nervii, between the Meuse and the Scheldt, in the neighbourhood of Béze in Brabant. See c. 66, n. 5, p. 216, post.

3 Marsaci—"the men of the marshes"—occupied the country north of the Canninefates, now represented by North Holland. See Grimm, Gesch., d. d. Spr. B. 2 S. 619.

4 Gallorum, that is the Gauls of Trèves and of Langres.

5 Ad hostem, Civilis, who was besieging the Old Camp—Vetena, now Xanten on the Rhine.

6 For an account of the insurrection of Sacrovir, see Annals, iii. 40 to 46. He was completely routed by C. Silius near Autun (Augustodunum), and fell by his own hand, A.D. 21; A.U.C. 774 (Annals, iii. 46).
Vindex and his Gauls of late, 1 perish in the very first conflict. Let the violators of treaties await the same wrath of Heaven and the same doom. Your character was better understood by blessed Julius and blessed Augustus. It was Galba who, by his abatement of your tribute, arrayed you with this spirit of enmity. 2 You are our enemies now, because our yoke is light, but, when plundered and stript bare, you will then become our friends." Such were his spirited words, and then, when he perceived that Classicus and Tutor were persistent in their course of treachery, he wheeled round and fell back on Neuss. The Gauls pitched their camp in the plains, two miles distant from that town, and, as the Roman centurions and soldiers passed to and fro, attempts were made to corrupt them, make them swear fealty to the foreigner, a crime hitherto unknown in the Roman army, 3 and, as a token of such sacrilege, murder or manacle their generals. Vocula, although many advised him to fly, adopted a bold policy, summoned the men on parade, and addressed them in this wise:—

LVIII. "I have never addressed you in a spirit of greater anxiety for your interests or of greater indifference to my own. For I welcome the sounds and signs of my approaching doom, and look forward to death as a consolation 4 amid my numberless woes, and as a happy release

1 Nuper Vindiciem. See i. 12. 6, ante.
2 Galbam et infracta tributa hostiles spiritus induisse (sc. iiis—Gallis)—the text of the Medicean MS., defended by Dr. L. C. Purser in xviii. Hermath., p. 214. Dr. Purser observes: "it is quite possible to say, by a strong metaphor, Galba Gallis spiritus induit: cp. Cic. Tusc., 2, 20, cui cum Deianira . . . tunicam induisset." Meiser takes exactly the same view, citing Thierry, iii. p. 411: "que c'était Galba, en supprimant leurs tributes, qui leur avait soufflé cet esprit de rébellion." He also cites Quintilian, Inst. Or., iv. 1. 28: "fictam orationem induere personis." The post Galbam of W. Hereus is therefore erroneous. See i. 8. 5; i. 51. 20, ante. Compare the Book of Job, lx. 10: "Array thyself with honour and majesty." Also Genesis, xli. 42.
3 Romani exercitus—Halm's correction of the Romanus exercitus of the Med. MS. Hereus reads Romano exercitui.
4 Solacium, the emendation of Th. Kiesling for the in tot malis hostiō of the Med. MS. Hereus refers to Cicero, ad Fam., iv. 4. 4. (Tyrrell and Purser, ccxcccv., vol. iv. p. 367): "quod erat unum solatium in malis." Also, to the solacia malis of iii. 61, ante. Compare the solamengue malis of Verg., Æn., iii. 661; and the durī solacia causus of Ibid., vi. 377. Malis solacium was easily corrupted, by reason of the double s, into
from all my sorrows.¹ For you it is that I feel shame and pity; for you, against whom no battle array is being marshalled by the foeman; that indeed would be in accordance with the laws of arms and the rights of belligerents. But it is by the aid of your right hands that Classicus hopes to wage war upon the Roman people, while he points to the Empire of Gaul and your homage to her sceptre. Even if fortune and valour alike have forsaken us for the present, are we so utterly bereft of all those glorious memories of the past, when the legions of Rome full oft chose death before surrender? Full oft of yore did our allies endure the destruction of their cities and the death by fire of themselves, their wives, and their children, nor was there any other reward for such a fate save the glory of untarnished honour. At this very moment the legions of the Old Camp are enduring the pangs of hunger and the horrors of a siege, nor are they swayed either by the threats or promises of the foe; while we have not only arms and men and an admirably fortified camp, but also corn and supplies sufficient to last throughout any war however protracted. Quite recently we had money enough to supply you even with a donative, and, whether you prefer to construe the gift as the largess of Vespasian or of Vitellius, beyond all question it was from a Roman Emperor that you received it. If you, who have been the victors in so many wars, who have so often routed the enemy at Gellep and at the Old Camp, are now afraid to fight in the open, that indeed is quite unworthy of you, yet still you have the rampart and fortifications of your camp, and you have at your disposal many devices for protracting the struggle, until auxiliaries and re-enforcements come swarming to your rescue from the neighbouring provinces. Doubtless my leadership may be distasteful: then follow some other general, tribune, centurion, nay, even some common soldier, lest these monstrous tidings may be published throughout the whole world—that Civilis and

¹ Ut finem miseriarium. See Ovid, Trist., iii. 3. 56: "Finitis gaude tot mihi morte malis."
Classicus are about to invade Italy with you as their body-guard. What! If the German and the Gaul shall have led you to the very walls of Rome, will you wage war upon the Fatherland? My soul shudders at the mere thought of such a crime. Will you be the sentinels of Tutor of Trèves? Is the Batavian to give you the watchword of battle? Will you become raw recruits in the German battalions? What then will be the outcome of your guilt, when the legions of Rome shall have marched against you? Will you turn double renegades, double traitors, and roam like pariahs, outcasts both from the new and from the old allegiance? I humbly implore thee, O gracious and almighty God, to whom we have paid the homage of so many triumphs for these eight hundred years past, and thee, too, Quirinus, Father of Rome, if ye will not deign to preserve the Roman Camp pure and unsullied while I am General, yet at least let it not be polluted and desecrated by a Tutor and a Classicus! O vouchsafe unto these Roman soldiers either unblemished honour, or the timely repentance that comes without a pang!

LIX. His speech was listened to with mingled feelings of hope, fear, and shame. Vocula then left the assembly and was preparing for his last end, when his freedmen and slaves prevented him from anticipating by suicide a most shameful death. Then Classicus sent Æmilius Longinus, a deserter from the First Legion, and made quick work of the murder. It was deemed enough to put Herennius and Numisius, the lieutenants-general, in irons. Thereupon Classicus assumed the emblems of Roman Imperial authority and entered the camp. But, although his heart was steeled for any crime, words failed him save in the merely formal dictation of the oath of fealty. Those who were present swore allegiance to the Empire of Gaul.

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1 *Vobis satellitibus,* "with you as their body-guard." Compare Sallust, *Jugurth.,* lxxv.: "si equites Romani satellites Numidiæ tradentur." See also *Annals,* ii. 45. 4; vi. 3; xvi. 22; Plautus, *Mil. Olor.,* i. 78; Horace, *Odes,* iii. 16. 9.

2 *Legiones se contra derexerint*—Madvig's admirable emendation. *Se* easily slipped out after *legiones.* Meiser's defence of the vulgate *legiones contra* is strained and feeble.

3 *Maturam et sine noxa penitentiam,* "the timely repentance that comes without a pang!"

4 *Et = "then,"* as it does frequently in Tacitus. So Professor Wolff: *et = "da."*
Classicus promoted the assassin of Vocula to a high rank\(^1\) in the army, and rewarded the rest of his accomplices in proportion to the zeal they had evinced as abettors of the crime.\(^2\) The duties attaching to the supreme command were then shared by Tutor and Classicus. Tutor administered the same form of oath\(^3\) to the people of Cologne, whom he had completely hemmed in with a strong force, as well as to all the soldiers stationed on the left bank of the Upper Rhine,\(^4\) after he had first put to the sword the tribunes at Mayence and expelled the prefect of the camp there for declining to swear fealty. Classicus bade all the most venal of his prisoners visit the besieged at the Old Camp, and point out to them, on the one hand, pardon, if they would only yield to the force of existing circumstances; on the other hand, despair, the pangs of hunger, the edge of the sword, and the last agonies.\(^5\) Those who were thus deputed furnished the additional argument of their own example.

LX. On the one side loyalty to their cause, on the other, the pangs of want, swayed the besieged 'twixt honour and treason; and, while they hesitated to surrender, all food, wonted and unwonted alike, began to fail them, as they had already devoured mules, horses, and all those other animals, which, although they were unclean\(^6\) and

\(^1\) Altis ordinibus. A descriptive or qualitative ablative.

\(^2\) Flagitium navaverat. A pregnant expression, as Professor Wolff points out, for flagitio perpetrando operam navaverat. Compare v. 25. 6, post: "Si Vespasiano bellum navaverint."

\(^3\) In eadem verba adigit, "administered the same form of oath"—fealty to the Empire of Gaul—pro imperio Galliarum.

\(^4\) Quantumque militum apud superiorem Rheni ripam, scilicet, erat. The tv. and xxii. Legions stationed at Mayence.

\(^5\) Extrema passuros, "the last agonies"—his favourite Vergil's euphemism for "death." Compare Æn., i. 219:

"Spemque metumque inter dubii, seu vivere credant, Sive extrema pati nec jam exaudire vocatos."

Ibid., vi. 466:

"Infelix Dido, verus mihi nuntius ergo Venerat extinstam, ferroque extrema secutam?"

\(^6\) Profana, "unclean"—"quibus vesce nefas est"—Hercules. Meiser cites Burnouf: "immondes et dégoûtants."
loathsome, the pressure of famine turned into a means of sus-
tenance. Finally, when they tore up shrubs, roots, and rock-plants, they afforded a notable example of suffering and endurance alike, until at last they tarnished the lustre of their heroism by sending envoys to Civilis, and praying that their lives might be spared. But Civilis would not hearken to their prayers until they had first sworn fealty to the Empire of Gaul. He then stipulated for the pillage of the camp, and placed guards over the captives, with instructions to hold possession of their money, camp-servants, knapsacks, and then accompany the men themselves as they went forth despoiled of everything. As the Romans were approaching the fifth mile-stone from the Old Camp, the Germans rose from ambush upon them and attacked them when completely off their guard. All the bravest men were cut down where they stood; many perished as they straggled through the country; the remnant made their way back to the Old Camp, while Civilis forsooth chid and upbraided the Germans for their criminal violation of good faith. We have not sufficient evidence to show whether this was mere hypocrisy, or whether he was unable to control the fury of his men. They first pillaged the camp, then hurled burning torches into it, and thus the flames engulfed those who escaped the sword.

1 Fado, "loathsome." Compare Horace, Ars Poet., 391 et seq.:

"Silvestriis homines sacer interpresque deorum
Cedibus et victu fado deterruit Orpheus,
Dictus ob hoc lenire tigris rabidosque leones."

2 Internatas saxis herbas, "rock-plants." See Livy, xxiii. 19. 8: "Postremo ad id ventum inopie est, ut lora detractasque scutis pelles, ubi fervida mollissent aqua, mandere conarentur, nec muribus aliove animali abstinerent, et omne herbarum radi-
cumque genus aggeribus infimis muri eruerent." This passage annihilates some silly criticism on the sandy soil where there were no rocks. But the saxa were the stones of the fortifications. See also Cicero, ad Fam., vii. 26. 2 (Tyrrell, xciv., vol. ii. p. 18):

"Nam dum volunt isti lauti terra nata, quae lege excepta sunt, in honorem adducere, fungos, helvellas, herbas omnes its condiant, ut nihil possit esse suavius." Compare Horace, Epist., i. 12. 7:

"Si forte in medio positorum abstemius herbis
Vivis et urtica."

3 Coorti, "rose from ambush upon them." This use of cooriri is frequent in Tacitus. The Germans here mentioned were not the guards who were following the captives but a different body.
LXI. Civilis, who, in obedience to a vow which savage races are wont to make, had worn his hair combed down over his breast, and had dyed it red, from the moment that he had commenced hostilities with Rome, now at last, after the massacre of the legions, shore off his locks. We are told that he made some of the prisoners a target for the toy arrows and javelins of his little son. However, Civilis himself did not swear fealty to the Empire of Gaul, nor did he administer such an oath to any of the Batavians, for he relied upon the power of Germany, and, in the event of a struggle with the Gauls for the mastery, felt confident in the lustre and prestige of his name. Munius Lupercus, the lieutenant-general of the fifteenth legion, was one of the presents sent to Veleda. That maiden, who sprang from the tribe of the Brucetian, wielded a sway acknowledged far

1 Barbaro voto. Compare Germ., xxxi.: “Et aliis Germanorum populis usurpatum raro et privata cujusque audentia apud Chattos in consensum vertit, ut primum adoleverint, crinem barbamque summittere, nec nisi hoste caeso exuere votivum obligatunque virtutis oris habitum.”

2 Propexum, “combed down over his breast.” See Ovid, Fast., i. 259:

“Ille manu mulcens propexam ad pectora barbam
Protinus (Ebaliirettulit arma Tati.”

Hence we should probably read in Verg., Æn., x., 838: “fusus propexam in pectora barbam,” instead of “fusus propexam in pectore barbam.” Compare Vergil’s imitator, Silius Italicus, Punic., xiii. 310:

“nunc propexis in pectora barbis
Verrero humum, nunc foedantes in pulvere crimem.”

3 Rutilatum. Compare Martial, viii. 33. 20:

“Fortior et tortos servat vesica capillos
Et mutat Latias spuma Balava comas.”


4 Veleda—Statius, Silv., i. 4. 90:

“Non vacat Arctos acies, Rhenumque rebellem,
Captivaque proeces Velēda, et (que maxima nuper
Gloria) depositam Daciae pereuntibus arcem
Pandere.”

See also Germ., viii. According to Wolff, Velēda means “die Wohlwollende,” “the Wellwisher.” “On the banks of the Lippe, near its confluence with the Rhine, dwelt the Virgin Velēda, a Brucetian weird woman, who exercised vast influence over the warriors of her nation. Dwelling alone in a lofty tower, shrouded in a wild forest, she was revered as an oracle. Her answers to the demands of her worshippers concerning future events were delivered only to a chosen few. To Civilis, who had formed a close friendship with her, she promised success and the downfall of the Roman world.” Motley’s Dutch Rep., Int. iv. See c. 66; v. 22, post; Germ. viii.
and wide in accordance with an ancient custom of the Germans, whereby they deem many women prophetesses, ay, and, with the growth of superstition, even goddesses. Besides that, the prestige of Veleda had then grown apace, for she had predicted the success of the Germans and the destruction of the legions. But Lupercus was murdered on the way. A few of the centurions and tribunes, natives of Gaul, were held as hostages for the observance of the alliance. The winter-quarters of the auxiliary horse and foot and of the legions were demolished and burnt, with the solitary exception of those situated at Mayence and Windisch.

**LXII.** The Sixteenth Legion, together with the auxiliaries that had surrendered at the same time, was ordered to march from Neuss over to Trèves, and a day was fixed within which it should quit the camp. During the whole of the intervening time the men experienced manifold anxieties. All the greatest cowards trembled at the warning of the butchery in the Old Camp, while the better disposed blushed for very shame over their degradation.

"What a march," they exclaimed, "lies before us? Who is to guide us on our way? Ay, we are at the mercy of those very men whom we ourselves have made arbiters of life or death." Others, heedless of their dishonour, secreted upon their persons money or valuables, while some, again, furbished their armour and girt on their swords as if for battle. Such were their several moods when the hour of their parting arrived and exceeded their gloomiest expectations. For within the entrenchments of the camp the unsightliness was not so very noticeable, but the open field and

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1 *Carissima, "valuables."* Compare Caesar, *B.G.*, v. 33. 6; *Annals*, xiv. 23. 2: "ae fuere qui se speluncis et carissima secum abderent." Livy, xxi. 60. 6: "omnibus fere caris rebus, ne gravia impedimenta ferentibus essent, citra Pyreneum reticita."

2 *Expedire arma, "furbished their armour."* Wolff refers to Caesar, *B.G.*, ii. 21. 5. Compare Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, i. 2. 29:

"No sooner justice had with valour arm'd
Compelled these skipping kerns to trust their heels,
But the Norweyan lord surveying vantage,
With furbish'd arms and new supplies of men
Began a fresh assault."

3 *Haud perinde notabilis, "not so very noticeable."* See ii. 84, ante (vol. i. pp. 144, 145).
the light of day revealed the scene of shame. The effigies of the emperors were wrenched from the standard-shafts, and the standards were shorn of their medallions, while the colours of Gaul gleamed all around them. Silently marched the column like a long funeral procession. Its commander was Claudius Sanctus, who had had his eye gouged out and presented a hideous aspect, while his mental infirmity was still more apparent. The infamy seemed to redouble itself when another legion participated in the guilt by deserting their camp at Bonn. Moreover, when the news of the capture of the legions had spread, all those, who but a short time before trembled at the very name of Rome, now ran forth from their farms and houses, swarmed from every quarter, and gloated over the unwonted spectacle. The horse of Picens would not brook the exultation of the jeering rabble, and, scorning the promises or threats of Sanctus, rode off to Mayence; and, while on their way thither, they chanced to meet Longinus, the assassin of Vocula, slew him with a shower of javelins, and thus began the course of future atonement for their fault. The legions never swerved from the prescribed route and pitched their camp before the walls of Trèves.

LXIII. Civilis and Classicus, elated by their success, were in doubt whether they should not abandon Cologne to be sacked by their armies. They were prompted to destroy that city by their natural ruthlessness and by their greed for booty, but they were checked by strategical considerations, and the desire to acquire a reputation for clemency, so

1 Revulsceimperatorum imagines, "the effigies of the emperors were wrenched from the standard-shafts." See i. 41, ante, vol. i. p. 25, n. 6.

2 Inhonasigna—the certain emendation of Victorius for the inhorna signa of the Med. MS. See ii. 31, vol. i. p. 92, n. 2; Madvig reads indecora.

3 Alteraselegiomiscuerat. The First Legion. See c. 19, ante.

4 Sublatis, "elated," a poetical form for elati, following Verg., Æn., x. 502:

"Nescia mens hominum fati sortisque future,
Et servare modum, rebus sublata secundis!"

5 An coloniam Agrippinensem divi piendam exercitibus sui permittarent, dubitaverent, "were in doubt whether they should not abandon Cologne to be sacked by their armies." Professor Wolff points out that an with dubium, dubito, incertum, nescio, frequently, as here, implies a negation of the affirmative, "ob nicht"—"whether they should not," as in Annals, iii. 53; vi. 50.
useful for those who are founding a new empire. Moreover, the remembrance of a kindly act moved the heart of Civilis, inasmuch as, when his son had been suddenly arrested in Cologne upon the outbreak of the insurrection, the citizens had treated him as a prisoner of state. But that city had, by reason of its wealth and prosperity, become an object of envious hatred to the races beyond the Rhine, nor did they believe that there was any other way of putting an end to the war than by either making Cologne a free town for all Germany, or by destroying it, and so breaking up the Ubii likewise.

LXIV. With that view the Tencteri, a Transrhenane tribe, despatched envoys with orders to communicate to the Parliament of Cologne the following message, which the most spirited of the ambassadors announced somewhat in this wise:—“For your return to the body politic and name of Germany we render thanks to our common Gods and above all to Mars, chief of the Gods, and we congratulate you now that at last you are about to enjoy freedom amongst free men; for up to this day the Romans had closed river and shore alike, nay, so to speak, the free air of heaven itself, against us, in order to prevent our conferences, our social intercourse, or, what is still more humiliating to a nation of warriors, in order to force us to meet unarmed and well nigh naked, and that, too, under military surveillance and upon payment of a poll tax. But, so that our

1 *Honorata custodia habuerant,* the emendation of Wurm for the manifestly corrupt *honorata custodia erat* of the Medicean MS. Orelli and others, following the inferior MSS., would read *honorate custodierant.* Compare iii. 12. 13, ante: “Bassus honorata custodia Liburnicis navibus Atriam pervertit.” The prisoner of state under this *honorata custodia,* or *libera custodia,* was lodged in the house of a magistrate, who was held responsible for his safe custody. See *Annales,* vi. 3. 3: “retrahitur in urbem custodiurque domibus magistratum.” Mr. Furneaux, in commenting on that passage, refers to Ulpian, *Dig.,* xlviii. 3. 1, who defines the four different kinds of custody. See his instructive note. See also i. 87. 5, ante: “in custodia habitos.”

2 *Tencteri.* See c. 21, ante, and note. Meiser points out that the “concilium” was called by the Germans “Warh”!

3 *Mars.* Hence the Franch Mardi (Mars’day) and our Tuesday—Tiws daeg (German—Dienstag). Mr. Skeat points out, in his *Etymological Dictionary,* that *Tiw* answers to the Latin *Ju* in Jupiter; Greek, *Zeús;* Sanskrit, *Dyāus = “the shining one,”* from the root *Dīw,* to shine. Tacitus translates the German.

4 *Inermes ac prope nudi.* See Germ., xiii.: “Nihil autem neque publice neque privatae rei nisi armati agunt.”
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friendly alliance may be thus ratified for ever and aye, we require you to dismantle the fortifications of your city, the mere bulwarks of slavery (for even wild animals, if you imprison them, forget their spirit). We also require you to put to the sword all the Romans found within your territory (for freedom and slavery are strange companions). Let the goods of those who are slain become public property, so that no man may be able to conceal anything or disassociate himself from the common cause. Let it be lawful both for you and for us to occupy both banks of the Rhine, as did our ancestors of yore: for just as nature has thrown open the light of day unto all men, so does she accord unto the brave free entrance into every land. Adopt again the manners and customs of the Fatherland and sever yourselves from those alluring pleasures, which the Romans find a more effective weapon than the sword against their subjects. When you become a people pure,¹ and clean of heart, and all forgetful of the slavery of the past, you will then lead a life of independence or even hold sway over other races.”

LXV. The citizens of Cologne took time to consider and, as anxiety for the future deterred them from accepting the proposed conditions, while on the other hand the pressure of existing circumstances precluded the open and scornful rejection of them, they replied somewhat in this wise:—“We have availed ourselves with more zeal than discretion of the very first opportunity afforded by our freedom to join hands with you and all the other German folk, our kinsmen. Our safer course is to strengthen rather than destroy the fortifications of our city, as the Roman armies are at this very moment concentrating their forces. The few foreigners from Italy or the provinces, who were within our territory, have either been destroyed by the war or have fled for refuge back to their several homes. As for the original colonists,² with whom we have been allied in the bonds of marriage, and as for their children,³ this is

¹ *Sincerus,* “pure.” Messrs. Lewis and Short give the etymology from sim = sim (simplex) = Sanskrit, sama, “whole,” “together,” and the root skir = Sanskrit, Kir, “to pour out.”

² *Deductis olim,* “the original colonists,” A.D. 50; *Annales,* xii. 27; *Germ.* xxviii.

³ *Quique mox provenerunt,* “their children,”—Silver-age Latin. Compare *Just.*, ii.
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their fatherland; nor can we think you so unjust as to desire that our parents, brothers, children, should be slain by our hands. Henceforth we abolish all imposts and protective tariffs. You may enjoy the free passage across the Rhine unchecked by surveillance, but by day only and without arms, until these new and modern laws turn into established custom by force of time-honoured observance. We will have as arbitrators between us Civilis and Veleda, before whom our compact shall be ratified.” In this way the Tencteri were appeased, and the envoys, who were sent with presents to Civilis and Veleda, accomplished everything in accordance with the wishes of the citizens of Cologne. Still they were refused any interview or audience with Veleda. They were debarred from her presence, so that they might be inspired with greater reverence for her. She dwelt in a lofty tower, and one of her kinsfolk was chosen to convey, as if he were the intermediary of a goddess, the questions put and answers given.

LXVI. Civilis, now that he was strengthened by his alliance with the citizens of Cologne, determined either to gain over the neighbouring states, or, in the event of resistance, to wage war upon them. Accordingly he seized upon the territory of the Sunici, and formed the youths of that district into cohorts. Thereupon Claudius Labeo, at the head of a mass levy of Baetasii, Tungri, and Nervii,
attempted to bar his advance and relied on his position, for he had already seized on the bridge across the Meuse. The battle commenced in a narrow pass, nor did either side gain any advantage, until the Germans swam across the Meuse and attacked Labeo in the rear. At that instant, Civilis, either on the spur of the moment or perhaps by pre-arrangement, dashed into the lines of the Tungri, and cried out in a ringing voice:—“We have not begun this war in order that the men of Batavia and of Trèves should lord it over the nations. Far be from us such insolence as that! Receive us as your allies! I am your recruit: take your choice of me either as general or as private!” The rank and file were swayed by these words, and were already sheathing their swords, when Campanus and Juvenal, leaders of the Tungri, placed the whole tribe at his disposal. Labeo affected his escape before he could be cut off. Civilis then received the submission of the Bétasii and Nervii likewise, incorporated them into his army, and acquired immense power, as all the other states were either panic-stricken or naturally predisposed to join his cause.

LXVII. Meanwhile Julius Sabinus cast down the tables that recorded the treaty of Langres with Rome, bade his countrymen for the Tungri, see ii. 14. 3, vol. i. p. 77, n. 4; and for the Nervii, see c. 15. 20, ante.

1 Pontem Mosa fluminis—subsequently termed Trajectus Mosa—the modern Maas-tricht.

2 Seu me ducem seu militem mavultis. Professor Wolff compares Sallust, Cat., xx. 6: “vel imperatore vel milite me utimini.”

3 Labeo antequam circumveniretur, profugit. See c. 70, post, where we read that Labeo had taken refuge in the pathless fens of Belgium, from which Civilis sought in vain to dislodge him.

4 Ingens virium, the emendation of A. Ruperti for the ingens rerum of the Medicean MS. Compare Sallust, Frag. Hist., iii. 10 (ed. Kr.): “ingens ipse virium atque animi.” Vell. i. 12. 4: “modicus virium.” The objection to the reading ingens rerum is not based on the use of the genitive of respect, which is so often found in Tacitus, as, for instance, in Annals, i. 69, “ingens animi.” The objection is founded on the unidiomatic use of rerum without an explanatory verbal substantive, as in c. 61. 7, ante: “si certandum adversus Gallos de possessione rerum foræ.” It is for that reason that Völker proposes to read ingens rerum fiducia, and it is for that reason that we adopt the emendation of A. Ruperti—ingens virium.

5 Faderis Romani monumentis. These tables were of bronze. Hereus observes: “tabulis abeneis vel columnis cum titulis, quibus foedus Romanorum cum Lingonibus sanctum erat.” He refers to Livy, ii. 33: “nisi foedus cum Latinis columna aenea insculptum monumento esset.” Compare Exodus, xxxii. 19: “And it came to pass, as soon as he came nigh unto the camp, that he saw the calf and the
greet him as Caesar, and hurried at the head of a vast and undisciplined mob of his people against the men of Besançon, a neighbouring state that was loyal to us; nor did the men of Besançon decline the contest. Fortune favoured the better cause, and the men of Langres were routed. Sabinus abandoned the fight with a cowardice only equalled by the rashness with which he had hurried it on; and, in order to ventilate the report of his death, he burnt the farm-house in which he had taken refuge, and was believed to have perished there by his own hand. But we will describe in due course by what devices and hiding-places he managed to prolong his life during the next nine years, as well as the loyalty of his friends, and the noble example set by his wife, Epponina. The avalanche of war was stayed by the victory of the men of Besançon. The surrounding states gradually came to their senses, and began to show some regard for the law of God and the treaties of men, while the people of Rheims lead the way, for they issued a proclamation throughout Gaul, convoking delegates for the General Diet to determine the issue of Independence or Peace.

LXVIII. Meanwhile the sinister exaggeration of every report at Rome made Mucian anxious lest his generals, however distinguished (for he had already selected Gallus Annius and Petilius Cerialis), might prove unequal to the supreme direction

dancing: and Moses' anger waxed hot, and he cast the tables out of his hands, and brake them beneath the mount." The tables in Exodus were of stone. See Exodus, xxxi. 18 : "And he gave unto Moses, when he had made an end of communing with him upon Mount Sinai, two tables of testimony, tables of stone, written with the finger of God." See also Deuteronomy, x. ; 2 Corinthians, iii. 3 : "Forasmuch as ye are manifestly declared to be the epistle of Christ, ministered by us, written not with ink, but with the spirit of the living God; not in tables of stone, but in fleshy tables of the heart."

1 Sequani, "the men of Besançon." See i. 51, vol. i. p. 33, n. 4; Annals, iii. 45.
2 Eusi Lingones. According to Frontinus, Strat., iv. 3. 14, they surrendered to the number of 7000 men.
3 Suo loco reddemus—in the lost books of the History under the events of 79 A.D. The story is told in Dio, lxvi. 3; and Plutarch, Amat., xxv.
4 Insigne Epponina uxoris exemplum. In Plutarch she is called 'Εππωνία, and in Dio, Περοβία.
5 Remi—the people of Rheims—Durocortorum Remorum—between the Marne and the Aisne. See Caesar, B. G., vi. 44.
of the campaign. Nor could Rome be left without a guiding hand. Again, another source of fear lay in the unbridled passions of Domitian, whose suspected abettors were, as we have already pointed out, Primus Antonius and Varus Arrius. Varus was captain of the Praetorian guards and in that capacity continued to maintain his influence over the army. Mucian forced him to retire from that command, but, to console him for the loss thereby incurred, made him Prefect of the Roman markets. Moreover, in order to wean the affections of Domitian from Varus, towards whom they were inclined, he bestowed the command of the Praetorians on Arrecinus Clemens, who was closely connected by marriage with the family of Vespasian, and was a prime favourite of Domitian's, "for his father," quoth Mucian, "discharged the duties of that office during the reign of Caligula with brilliant success, the soldiers will hail as their captain one bearing the same name, and Clemens himself, although he is of senatorial rank, is fully equal to the requirements of both positions at once." All the most distinguished civilians were accorded a place in the retinue, while others, again, were appointed through interest. Meanwhile Domitian and Mucian were preparing for action but

1 *Summam belli, "the supreme direction of the campaign."* Compare Caesar, *B.G.*, xli.: "neque de *summa belli* sumum judicium sed imperatoris esse existimavisse." *Ibid.*, ii. 4: "ad hunc propter justitiam prudentiamque suam *tutius belli summam omnium voluntate deferri." Compare the analogous expression in *Annals*, xiv. 7. 6: "qui nihil cunctatus poscit *summam sceleris*.

2 *Arrecinus Clemens,* the correct name, as proved by Henzen, *Inscr. Lat. Sel.*, iii. 72, 5429 (referred to by Heraeus). He was consul in A.D. 93, and was brother of *Arrecina Tertulla,* the first wife of Titus (*Suetonius, Titus,* iv.). *Suetonius, Domit.*, xi., describes him as "consularem, unum e familiaribus et emissariis suis."

3 From the time of Augustus a rule had been made, in accordance with the advice of *Mæcenas,* that the commander of the Praetorian guards should be chosen from amongst the knights. Sejanus, however, who was a senator, had been appointed by Tiberius to that office.

4 *Adsumuntur, "were accorded a place in the retinue."* For this use of *adsumere,* see Horace, *Epist.*, i. 5. 28:

"Butram tibi Septiciunque
Et nisi cena prior potiorque puella Sabinum
Detinet adsumam."

with far different motives. Domitian was spurred on by the promptings of hope and youth, while Mucian sought to weave pretexts for delay, whereby to check the ardour of the prince, lest the latter, egged on by the pride of early manhood and by evil counsellors, might, if he inflicted himself upon the army, prove baneful to the interests of peace and war alike. Of the victorious legions, the Eighth and Eleventh, of the Vitellianist legions, the Twenty-first, and of the legions just levied, the Second, were marched down into Gaul, some by the passes of the Great St. Bernard and Mont Genèvre, others by that of the Little St. Bernard, while the Fourteenth Legion was summoned from Britain, and the Sixth and Tenth from Spain. And so the Gallic States were swayed towards a pacific policy, partly by the tidings of the advance of the Roman army, partly by their own natural inclinations, and assembled at Rheims, where there awaited them the envoys from Trèves, amongst whom was Julius Valentine, fiercest of firebrands for urging open war. Valentine, in a studied harangue, poured forth the usual torrent of invective against great empires, while he heaped insult and calumny upon the Roman people, for his stormy spirit revelled in revolution, and he pleased many by the very frenzy of his eloquence.

LXIX. But Julius Auspex, a chieftain of Rheims, by descending on the power of Rome and the blessings of peace, by pointing out that war can be initiated even by the coward but must be waged at the peril of the bravest spirits, and that the legions were just down upon their very heads, succeeded in restraining all the wisest, who were influenced by feelings of honour and loyalty, and all the younger men, who were checked by their apprehension of danger: and so while they admired the spirit of Valentine

1 Si exercitum invasisset, bitter irony, treating Domitian as if he were a scourge, plague, or pestilence.

2 Turbidus miscendis seditionibus, for this Tacitean use of the gerundive, see my note, c. 48, ante.

3 Sumi bellum etiam ab ignavis, strenuissimi et quaeque periculo geri. Notice the chiastic structure of this sentence.

4 Reverentia fideque, "feelings of honour and loyalty"—Ehrgefühl und Pflicht.—Wolff.
they followed the advice of Auspex. It is admitted that the position of the men of Trèves and of Langres was impaired in the eyes of Gaul, inasmuch as they had fought upon the side of Verginius at the time of the revolt of Vindex. The rivalry of the provinces exercised a restraining influence upon many. "Where," said they, "will be our headquarters in the war?" Where are we to seek the sanction of authority? What capital, should all our plans succeed, shall we select as the seat of our new empire?" Victory had yet to be fought for, while discord had already begun its work, and, in their wrangles, some vaunted of their alliances, others, of their wealth, their fighting-power, or the antiquity of their race. Weary of waiting for the future, they were faint to rest content with the present. A letter in the name of Gaul was addressed to the men of Trèves, advising them to desist from the conflict, and assuring them that their pardon could be obtained, and that friends were ready to intercede for them, if they showed signs of repentance. The same Valentine resisted these proposals, and succeeded in stopping the ears of his fellow-citizens, yet he devoted himself not so much to preparation for war as to constant harangues upon the platform.

1 Et Valentinum laudabant, consilium Auspicias sequabantur, a reminiscence of Ovid, Met., vii. 21:

"vide meliora proboque, 
Deteriora sequor."

2 Quod bello caput? "Where will be our headquarters in the war?" Compare Livy, viii. 4. 5: "Romam caput Latio esse." Ibid., xxiii. 10. 2: "brevi caput Italia omni Capuam fore."

3 Unde jus auspiciumque petetur? "Where are we to seek the sanction of authority?" In the very able article on "Augur, Auspicia," by the learned editor and Mr. J. H. Fotherby and Dr. L. C. Purser, in 1 Smith's Dict. Ant., new ed., we read at pp. 254, 255: "As there was a distinction between the civil and the military imperium, so there was a distinction between auspicia urbana and bellica, although the augural science employed in each case was the same. Auspicia urbana were those auspices taken within the city for acts performed within the city; auspicia bellica (or militaria) were those employed by generals on a campaign anywhere a mile outside the pomerium. It was the act of their election which made them the recipients of the auspices, since the comitia, in which they were appointed to their office, were held auspicate, and consequently their appointment was regarded as ratified by the Gods." See Livy, xxi. 63. 6: "non cum senatu modo sed jam cum diis immortaliibus C. Flaminium bellum gerere: consulem ante inauspicato factum revocantibus ex ipsa acie diis atque hominibus non paruisse." See ibid., xxii. 1. 5: "Quod enim illi justum imperium, quod auspicium esse."
LXX. And so neither the men of Trèves nor the men of Langres nor any of the other rebel states bestirred themselves with a zeal at all proportionate to the magnitude of their perilous undertaking. Not even did their leaders pursue any concerted policy, but Civilis kept marching around the pathless fens of Belgium in his vain endeavours to capture Claudius Labeo or drive him into the open; Classicus spent most of his time in the engagement of a lazy leisure as if he were already tasting the sweets of empire; nor did even Tutor hasten to close up with his detachments the upper bank of the Rhine and the Alpine passes. And now meanwhile the Twenty-first Legion from Windisch, and Sextilius Felix, leading the auxiliary foot, burst in upon the foe through the Tyrol. They were joined by the Imperial Allied Horse-Guards, a force formerly summoned to his assistance by Vitellius, but which had subsequently espoused the cause of Vespasian. This troop was commanded by Julius Briganticus, the son of the sister of Civilis, and, as family feuds are generally the most bitter, he was equally hated by, and hostile to, his uncle. Tutor had augmented his forces from Trèves by a fresh levy of the men of Worms, Mayence, and Alsace, and he now strengthened them with contingents of veteran horse and foot, composed of legionaries, whom he had either bribed by promises or cowed by fear. These latter at first cut to pieces the auxiliary foot sent forward by Sextilius Felix, but then, upon the approach of the generals and army of Rome, they deserted,

1 *Avia Belgarum.* Compare the *avia Masicia* of ii. 85. 14, *ante*, and the Lucretian "*Avia Pieridum peragro loca nullius ante Trita solo."*

2 *Ala Singularium,* "the Imperial Allied Horse-Guards"—the *ίκεισ εἰκερτοι* of Dio, iv. 24. They were called *Singulares* because they were a picked corps, composed of the *εἴλε* of the men from various provinces.

3 *Excita,* "summoned to his assistance," not "levied," as some, erroneously, understand. See i. 70. 5; i. 9. 10, *ante*.

4 *Julius Briganticus,* ii. 22, 16, *ante*; for his death, see v. 21, *post*.

5 *Invisus avunculio insensuosque.* Compare Curtius, x. 7. 7: "Meleager insensus insensuosque Perdicae." Livy, ii. 65: "*invisum infestumque plebi*".

6 *Vangionum* (the men of Worms—*Germ.*, xxviii.; *Annals*, xii. 27), *Caracætium* (the men of Mayence), *Tribocorum* (the men of Alsace—*Germ.*, xxviii.).
honestly for once, back to Rome, and were followed by the men of Alsace, Worms, and Mayence. Tutor, at the head of the men of Trèves, kept clear of Mayence, and fell back on Bingen, where he relied on his strategical position, for he had cut down the bridge over the river Nahe, but he was attacked by some auxiliary foot under the command of Sextilius, and then, when these latter discovered a ford across the stream, he was surprised and routed. The men of Trèves were panic-stricken by that disaster, and the rank and file threw down their arms and roamed at large through the country, while some of their leaders, in order that they might seem to have been the first to abandon the war, took refuge in those states which had not discarded the Roman alliance. Those legions, which, as I have already narrated, had been marched from Neuss and Bonn and interned in Trèves, now of their own free will swore fealty to Vespasian. All this took place in the absence of Valentine, and, when he came upon the scene, mad with rage, and evidently determined to plunge everything back again into disorder and ruin, the legions departed for Metz, a State in alliance with Rome. Valentine and Tutor now forced the men of Trèves back again into the conflict, and slew the Roman envoys, Herennius and Numisius, in order that, as the hope of pardon waned away, the bond of treason might wax stronger.

LXXI. Such was the position of the belligerents when Petilius Cerialis reached Mayence. At his approach hopes bounded upwards. The general himself was eager for the fray, and showed to more advantage in his contempt for the foe than in any defensive tactics, while he fired the hearts of his soldiers by his spirited words, and evinced his determination to fight without delay upon the first opportunity for action. He sent back the Gallic recruits to their several States, and bade them announce that the legions alone were quite able to save the empire. "Let the allies," he said, "return to the avocations of peace, and rest assured that the war is as good as over, now that Roman hands have taken it up." This course of action strengthened the loyal

1 *Honesto trans fugio*, these legionaries, the garrison of Mayence, had deserted six times, and now, honestly for once.
spirit of the Gauls; for, now that their young men were allowed home, they showed more patience under the burdens of taxation, and returned to a sense of duty all the more readily after their rebuff. Meanwhile, when Civilis and Classicus learned that Tutor had been routed, that the men of Trèves had been cut to pieces, and that the enemy had proved victorious all along the line, they were seized with panic, and, while they concentrated their own scattered forces, hastened in the meantime to warn Valentine, in a succession of express despatches, not to hazard a decisive action.\(^1\) On that account Cerialis acted all the more rapidly, sent officers to Metz to wheel round the legions there by a short cut against the enemy, concentrated the garrison of Mayence and all the forces that he had brought over with him, and on the third day's march reached Riol,\(^2\) which Valentine had already occupied with a large contingent from Trèves, and which is surrounded partly by the mountains, partly by the river Moselle. Moreover, Valentine had strengthened his position by the addition of ditches and stone barricades. But these outworks did not prevent the Roman general from ordering his infantry to burst through the defences and directing his cavalry to charge up the hill, with an utter contempt for the enemy's forces, which he knew were merely raw levies, and, notwithstanding all the advantages of their strategical position, would prove unequal to cope with the valour of his own troops. The Roman cavalry received a slight check in the ascent, as long as they were running the gauntlet of the enemy's missile fire;\(^3\) but, when they came to close quarters, the foe were driven headlong down and hurled from their position with a crash like a falling tower.\(^4\) Moreover, some of the Roman

\(^1\) \textit{Ne summa rei periculum faceret, "not to hazard a decisive action."} Compare v. 15. 12, \textit{post}: "ejus praëlii eventus utrumque ducem diversis animi motibus ad maturandum summae rei discrimen erexit."

\(^2\) Rigodulum, now Riol, in the valley of the Moselle nine miles below Trèves.

\(^3\) \textit{Dum missilia hostium prævehuntur, scilicet, "equites."} Thus it will be seen that \textit{missilia} is the accusative governed by \textit{prævehuntur}. The Roman cavalry had to run the gauntlet of the enemy's missile fire. Professor Wolff refers to v. 23. 12, \textit{post}: "Sic prævecti tentato levium telorum jactum dirimuntur." Compare also ii. 2. 7, \textit{ante}: "Igitur oram Achaiae et Asis ac lave maris prævectus."

\(^4\) \textit{Ruina modo.} Compare Livy, xxii. 33. 7: "sed ruina maxime modo jumenta cum oneribus devolvebantur."
horse made a detour over a gentle slope and captured the very flower of the Belgian nobility, amongst whom was the general, Valentine.

LXXII. Cerialis next day entered Trèves with troops all eager to destroy that city. "This," they exclaimed, "is the fatherland of Classicus, of Tutor, by whose treason our legions were hemmed in and slaughtered. Of what crime like this was Cremona guilty? Cremona was torn from the bosom of Italy because she stayed the march of the conquerors for one single night. But here on the borders of Germany stands unsheathed a capital that gloats over the spoils of our armies and the butchery of our generals. Let the plunder be paid into the emperor's privy purse: we will be content with the flames and ashes of the rebel colony, to balance the account for the destruction of so many of our camps." Cerialis feared disgrace should it be thought that it was he that was instilling this spirit of lawlessness and cruelty into the minds of his soldiers, and so he curbed their fury: and they obeyed him, for, now that the civil war was over, they proved more amenable to discipline in foreign service. Then the piteous spectacle of the legions summoned from Metz concentrated their attention. There stood those men in the gloomy consciousness of guilt with eyes downcast to earth. No greeting passed between the armies as they met; nor did the men give any answer to those who sought to console or cheer them, but they lurked in

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1. Coloniam Treverorum. Heresius refers to the description of Trèves by Zosimus, iii. 7: πόλις μεγαλείτη τῶν ἐν τῷ Αλκείς ἐθνῶν.

2. Ererenda civitatis. Compare Vergil, Æn., ii. 5:

"Infandum, regina, jubes renovare dolorem,
Trojanas ut opes et lamentabile regnum
Eruerint Danai; quæque ipse miserrima vidi,
Et quorum pars magna fui."

Ibid., ii. 612:

"Neptunus muros magnoque emota tridenti
Fundamenta quatit totamque a sedibus urbem
Eruit."

3. Quid tantum Cremonam mereuisse? "Of what crime like this was Cremona guilty?" Compare Vergil, Æn., vii. 307:

"Quod seculs aut Lapithas tantum aut Calydonia merenter?"
their tents and avoided the very light of day. Nor was it so much the sense of danger or of fear that paralysed them as the feeling of shame and of disgrace, while even the victors were struck dumb, and dared not plead or pray for them, but simply craved for their pardon with the silent eloquence of tears, until at last Cerialis sought to soothe their feelings:—"This was the work of fate," quoth he, "for it was the outcome of bad blood between soldiers and generals, or of the perfidy of the enemy. You must regard this day as the first of your service and of your fealty. Neither the emperor nor myself remember aught of the shame of yore." The men were then admitted into the same camp and a general order was read to every company, that no soldier should in any dispute or altercation reproach his comrade with the late mutiny or disaster.

LXXIII. Presently Cerialis summoned the men of Trèves and of Langres to a public meeting and addressed them thus: "I have never practised the art of eloquence, and the Roman people are wont to prove their valour by the sword. But, since words carry most weight with you, and good and evil are tested here, not according to their essence, but by the language of mutineers, I have resolved to deliver a short address, which, now that the war is all but over, may prove of more advantage for you to hear than for me to utter. The Roman leaders and generals entered your territory, as well as that of the rest of the Gauls, prompted by no spirit of greed, but at the earnest entreaty of your forefathers, whom civil strife was exhausting even unto destruction, and then the Germans, who had been summoned to their aid, had imposed the yoke of slavery on allies and enemies alike. In how many battles against the Cimbri and Teutons, with what signal exploits of our armies, and with what final result, we waged our wars in Germany, is sufficiently well known to all. We did not occupy the Rhine bank for the purpose of protecting Italy, but in order to prevent

1 *Lacrimis ac silentio, ἐν δίδ δυνάν, "with the silent eloquence of tears."
2 *Neque ego unquam facundiam exercui. Compare the words of the ephor Thene-laidas in Thucydides, i. 86: τοῦτο μὲν λόγον τοῦτο πολλοὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐ γεγράφασι.
3 *Profigato bello, "now that the war is all but over." See ii. 4. 10; iii. 50. 5, ante.
a second\textsuperscript{1} Ariovistus from becoming master of the empire of Gaul. Do you fancy that you are dearer to Civilis, the Batavians, and the tribes across the Rhine, than your sires and grandsires were to their ancestors? The same motive has ever prompted the Germans to cross over into Gaul—lust, and avarice, and the love of change, so that they might leave behind them their own swamps and deserts and seize upon this most fertile soil of yours as well as upon yourselves. But 'freedom' and the glamour of such phrases\textsuperscript{2} are used by them as pretexts, nor has any man ever yet lusted to impose his yoke of slavery and tyranny upon others who has not availed himself of these very same catch-words.'\textsuperscript{3}

LXXIV. "Despotisms and wars perpetually prevailed throughout Gaul, until you acquiesced in the jurisdiction of our laws." We, although we were so often provoked by you, took no further advantage of the victor's rights than to enjoin\textsuperscript{6} upon you the payment of a tribute sufficient to ensure the maintenance of peace; for the peace of nations cannot be secured without an army, nor an army without pay, nor pay without taxation; in all things else we stand on terms of perfect equality. You yourselves very often hold command over our legions, you rule the affairs of this and other provinces.\textsuperscript{6} From no office are you debarred or precluded.

\textsuperscript{1} \textit{Alius Ariovistus}, "a second Ariovistus." For this use of \textit{alius} in the sense of \textit{alter}, Professor Wolff compares Curtius, x. 5. 22: "quem alium futurum Alexandrum?" For an account of Ariovistus, see Caesar, \textit{B.G.}, i. 31 to 53.

\textsuperscript{2} \textit{Libertas et speciosa nomina}, "freedom and the glamour of such phrases." Compare Thucydides, iii. 11. 3: \textit{αὐτόνομοι τε ἐξελήφθησαν οὐ δὲ ἅλλα τι ἢ διὸν αὐτῶς ἐς τὴν ἄρχην εὑρετεῖσα τὸ λόγον καὶ γνάμῃς μᾶλλον ἐφόδῳ ἢ ἰσχύος τὰ πράγματα ἐφαινέτο καταληπτά.} See also Horace, \textit{Epist.}, ii. 2. 115, et seq.:

"Obscurata diu populo bonus eruet atque Proferet in lucem speciosa vocabula rerum."

\textsuperscript{3} \textit{Vocabula}. Compare Horace, \textit{Sat.}, ii. 3. 280:

\begin{quote}
"an commotæ crimine mentis
Absolves hominem et sceleris damnabís eundem,
Ex more imponens cognata vocabula rebus?"
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{4} \textit{Donec in nostrum jus concederetis}, "until you acquiesced in the jurisdiction of our laws"—euphemistic, to avoid giving offence.

\textsuperscript{5} \textit{Addidimus}, "enjoined upon you"—another euphemism, adopted to avoid unpleasant friction. See Verg., \textit{Æn.}, vi. 90; Soph., \textit{Ajax}, 610; Plato, \textit{Apol.}, 30\textit{e}.

\textsuperscript{6} \textit{Ipsi has aliasque provincias regitis}, such as Vindex, propretor of Gaul. See also \textit{Annales}, xi. 23 and 24.
Besides that, you enjoy the same advantages as we do from the administration of worthy emperors, however distant you may be from the seat of empire; whereas tyrants vent their fury upon those only who are close by. Nay, just as you endure the barrenness of the soil, or excessive rains, or all those other natural calamities, so I would ask you to bear with the luxury or avarice of your rulers. Vices there will be as long as there are men, yet these vices do not run an uninterrupted course but are counterbalanced by the alternation of better things; unless perchance you expect a more lenient form of government under the crowns of Tutor and of Classicus, or that armies will be equipped to hold the Germans and Britons at bay under a lower rate of taxation than at present. For should the Romans be driven from Gaul—which Heaven forefend!—what else will befall you save universal internecine strife? This fabric of empire has been welded together by the good fortune and the constitutional development of eight hundred years, nor can it be rent asunder without involving the destruction of the disintegrators themselves. But you will stand in the greatest peril of all, you, who possess gold and wealth, those dominant causes of war. I ask you then to love and cherish peace and that capital, which all of us, vanquished and victors alike, possess under a common title. Let the manifest warnings on the cross-roads of destiny admonish you not to choose the path of disloyalty and destruction rather than that of loyalty and

1 *Usus ex aquo,* "you enjoy the same advantages as we do." Compare Horace, *Sat.*, i. 1. 73:

> "Necis quo valeat nummus, quem præbeat usum?"

2 *Meliorum interventu,* "by the alternation of better things"—a legal metaphor. See Gaius, iii., § 176; *Poste,* p. 414: "Præterea novatione tollitur obligatio; veluti si quod tu mihi debes, a Titio dari stipulatus sim. Nam interventu nova persona nova nascitur obligatio et prima tollitur translata in posteriorem."

3 *Disciplina,* "constitutional development." Compare Cicero, *de Orat.*, i., § 3: "nam prima etate incidimus in ipsam perturbationem disciplinae veteris, "the ruin of the ancient constitution"—Wilkins: *ibid.*, i., § 159: "perdiscedimus jus civile, cognoscendae legis, percipientia omni antiquitas, senatoria consuetudo, disciplinae rei publicae, jura sociorum, fœdera, pactiones, causa imperii cognoscenda est." See Mr. Wilkins' note.

4 The Gauls were proverbially wealthy. See c. 17. 26, *ante*; *Annals,* iii. 46; xi. 18. Meiser cites Plato, *Phæd.*, 66 c.

5 *Utriusque fortuna,* "the cross-roads of destiny"—contumacia cum pernicie—obsequentium cum securitate.
certain happiness.” By some such speech as this did he soothe
and encourage the Gauls, who were in apprehension of sterner
treatment.

LXXV. The men of Trèves were already in the grasp of the
victorious army, when Civilis and Classicus despatched
a letter to Cerialis, of which this was the gist:—
“Vespasian hath departed this life, although the
tidings are being kept dark; 1 Rome and Italy are
being wasted by intestine war; the names of Mucian and
Domitian are but shadows and phantoms. If Cerialis wishes to
be Emperor of Gaul, we are content to keep within the borders
of our own states; if he prefers 2 to engage us in battle, we will
not gainsay even that.” Thereupon Cerialis gave no reply to
Civilis and Classicus, but sent both the bearer of the letter and the
letter itself 3 to Domitian. The enemy came up from all sides in
detachments. Many critics found fault with Cerialis for having
allowed the concentration of forces, which he might have cut off
in detail. The Roman army now surrounded their camp with a
ditch and rampart, for hitherto they had been rash enough to
occupy it while it was in a defenceless condition.

LXXVI. Amongst the Germans there was a conflict between
opposite opinions. Civilis contended that the arrival of the tribes

1 Quamquam nuntius occultaretur, the reading of Professor Wolff, which I adopt,
fortified as it is by c. 24. 15, ante: “his inter se vocibus instinctos flammavere insupe”
adlatæa Vespasiano litteræ, quas Flaccus, quia occultari nequiban, pro contione
recitavit.” Ritter would read quamquam amici nuntios occultarent. The manifestly
corrupt reading of the Medicean MS., quamquam nuntios occultarent, is strangely
followed by Meiser, Hœreus, and Halm.

2 “Si Cerialis imperium Galliarum velit, ipsos finibus civitatum suarum contentos;
si prœgium mallet, ne id quidem abnuere”—the reading, and the correct reading, of the
Medicean MS. Halm most erroneously has altered mallet into mali, forgetful of the
fact that Tacitus is fond of, and constantly affects, variations of tenses without at all
implying any change of meaning. Compare c. 20, ante: “si nemo obsisteret, innoxium
1 er fore: sin arma occurrant, ferro viam inventuros.” Also 81, post: “medici
varie disserrere: huic non exesam vim luminis et redituram, si pellerentur obstantia;
illi elapos in pravum artus, si salubris vis adhibeatur, posse integrari.” Also c. 83,
post, sub fine, we find expediri jubet prœcipitque navigaturis, where Halm and Heræus
wrongly change the words of the Med. MS., into jubet prœcipitque. Compare Livy,
xxxvii. 45. 1: petit impræcatque. See also iii. 16. 12, ante: “pavidus interim
Varus turbae suorum miscetur intestitique formidinem.”

3 Et ipsas epistulas, the correction of A. Ruperti for the ipsas epistulas of the
Med. MS.
from beyond the Rhine should be awaited, in order that the
power of the Roman people might be shattered and
cried, "but a source of plunder to the
conquerors? And yet the Belgians, the sole flower of
race, are our supporters either openly or in their
Tutor, on the other hand, maintained that
the power of the Romans was gaining strength by delay, as their
armies were gathering from every quarter. "One legion," he
exclaimed, "has been transported from Britain, others have been
summoned from Spain, others, again, are arriving from Italy; nor are those soldiers raw recruits, but veterans and skilled
warriors, whereas the Germans, who are expected by us, submit
neither to drill nor to discipline, but act altogether according
to their own whims. Moreover, money and gifts, by means
of which alone they can be bribed, are in greater abundance
amongst the Romans, and no man is so inclined for fighting
as not to prefer the same reward for a life of rest as can be
achieved by a life of peril. But if we engage the enemy at once,
Cerialis has no legions save those, which are the mere wreckages
of the army of Germany, and which are bound by their treaties
with Gaul. Nay, the very fact that, contrary to their expectations,
they recently routed the untrained forces of Valentine, will serve
as fuel to feed the rash spirit of themselves and their general.
They will hazard a second action, and will fall into the hands,
ot of an unskilled stripling better practised in speeches and
harangues than in the use of the sword and in deeds of arms, but
into those of Civilis and of Classicus, at whose very sight there
will return into their hearts the remembrance of fear, flight,
famine, and how many a time and oft, when captured, life hung
upon a prayer. Neither the men of Trèves nor of Langres are

1 Opterentur. Compare Annals, xv. 11; xvi. 5; Agric., xviii.; Livy, xxx. 5.
2 The XIV. Legion was summoned from Britain (c. 68, 20, ante); the VI. Victrix,
and X., from Spain (c. 68, ante); the VIII., XI., XXI., from Italy.
3 Reliquis, "the wreckage." See Plautus, Rud., i. 3. 17; v. 1. 7; Verg., Æn.,
i. 30; i. 598; iii. 87.
4 Meditantis, "practised." Compare iii. 2, ante: "sed addito spatio redditurum et
his robur meditatione belli"—where see note.
5 Precarium vitam, "life hung upon a prayer"—a poetical use of a legal metaphor.
restrained by good feeling; they will take up arms again when fear shall have passed away.” Classicus, by supporting the view of Tutor, put an end to all disagreement from the plans of the latter, which they forthwith proceeded to carry out.

LXXVII. The centre was assigned to the men of Cologne and the men of Langres; the Batavian cohorts were posted on the right wing, and the Bructeri and the Tencteri on the left. One division hurried down the mountains, another by the high road, another, again, by the path between the high road and the river Moselle, and they all rushed upon the Romans so unexpectedly that Cerialis, while still in his chamber, nay in his bed (for he had not spent the night in camp), heard of the battle and of the rout of his men at one and the same moment, and persisted in rebuking the cowardice of the messengers, until the full extent of the disaster revealed itself to his gaze—the camp of the legions stormed, his cavalry put to flight, his approach to the camp cut off by the enemy’s occupation of the bridge over the Moselle, which connects the suburbs with the town of Trèves. Cerialis proved fearless in the midst of panic, dragged back the runaways with his own hand, braved a shower of javelins all armourless as he was, and by a lucky stroke of daring as well as by

Precarium is the technical term for “a tenancy at sufferance.” See Ulpian, Digest, 43; title, 26: “Precarium est, quod precibus potenti utendum conceditur tam diu, quam diu is, qui concessit, patitur.” See i. 62 (vol. i. p. 34, n. 5), ante. I am indebted to my friend F. P. Hamilton for the above rendering.

1 Pars montibus, alii via, alii viam inter Mosellamque flumen, the brilliant emendation of Meiser for the manifestly defective pars montibus, alii. Iulius viam inter Mosellamque flumen. So Dr. L. C. Purser (in xlviii. Hermathena, at p. 211) terms this emendation “admirable.” It is to be observed that Mr. Spooner does not give the very words of the MS., namely, alii. Iulius viam inter, which at once show the beauty of the correction made by Meiser. See my Introduction.

2 Tam improvisi, the emendation of Agricola for the tam improvisa of the Med. MS. Döderlein would read tam improviso.

3 Medius Mosellæ pons, qui ulteriora coloniae adnexit, ad hostibus insessus, “his approach to the camp cut off by the enemy’s occupation of the bridge over the Moselle, which connects the suburbs with the town of Trèves.” Medius means that the bridge was between him and the camp, and this bridge was occupied by the enemy—ad hostibus insessus. Trèves is on the right bank of the Moselle. The camp was in the suburbs on the left bank. Cerialis had spent the night in Trèves, and therefore, when the enemy seized the bridge, which connected the town with the suburbs (ulteriora), Cerialis found himself temporarily cut off from his camp.
by the assistance of his bravest men recaptured the bridge and strengthened his position there with a picked detachment. He then crossed the bridge into the camp and beheld the companies of the legions that had been captured at Neuss and Bonn1 roaming at large, while there was scarcely a soldier round the standards, and the eagles had been almost surrounded by the enemy. Inflamed with wrath, "It is not Flaccus," he exclaimed, "it is not Vocula, that you are deserting: there is no treachery here;2 I have nothing to excuse myself for except my rash belief that you had forgotten your compact with the empire of Gaul, and had recalled the remembrance of your oath of fealty to Rome. I shall be reckoned by you amongst the Numisii and Herennii, to make sure that all your generals shall have fallen at the hands either of their own men or of the foe. Go, tell Vespasian, or, they are nearer, Civialis and Classicus, that your general has been abandoned by you on the field of battle! Other legions will come that will not suffer either me to rest unavenged or you to go unpunished."

LXXVIII. His reproaches were true, and the same taunts were repeatedly hurled3 at the men by the tribunes and the commanders of the auxiliaries.4 The troops then drew up in cohorts and companies;5 for their lines could not deploy, inasmuch as the enemy were spread over the ground, and the tents and baggage proved a source of obstruction as the fighting was inside the palisade of the camp. Tutor, Classicus, and Civialis, each at his own post, were cheering on their soldiers to the fray, and urged the Gauls to

1 Captarum apud Novatium Bonnamque legionum. See c. 62, ante.
2 Nulla hic proditio, "there is no treachery here." The legionaries, as we have seen, were perpetually accusing Flaccus Hordeonius and Vocula of treachery.
3 Eadem ingerebantur, "the same taunts were repeatedly hurled at the men." Compare Annals, ii. 79. 5: "magnum imperatoris identidem ingens et rem publicam armis peti." Ibid. iv. 42: "Ac forte habitam per illos dies de Votieno Montano, celebris ingenii viro, cognitio cunctante jam Tiberium perpulit ut vitandos credaret patrum cœtus vocesque, quæ plurumque vera et graves coram ingerebantur."
4 Prefectissque, "the commanders of the auxiliaries"—corresponding (as so often already pointed out) to the tribunes of the legions.
5 Per cohortes et manuipulos, "in cohorts and companies." Per, as Mr. Spooner well explains, "denotes the unit on which the formation rests." See c. 66, ante; Germ., vi.: "acies per cuneos componitur; Annals, ii. 45: "disjectas per catarvas"
—where see Mr. Furneaux's note.
fight for freedom; the Batavians, for glory; the Germans, for booty. So far everything was in favour of the foe, until the Twenty-first Legion, which occupied more open ground than the rest, formed itself into a serried phalanx, withstood the enemy's charge, and soon drove them back. It must have been through the interposition of Divine Providence that the spirit of the victors was suddenly changed and that they turned and fled. According to their own account they were terrified at the sight of our auxiliary foot, which had been scattered by their first charge, then had rallied on the heights, and presented all the appearance of fresh reinforcements. But the truth is that their course of victory was checked by their own sordid rivalry in hunting for booty and disregarding the advance of the enemy. As for Cerialis, just as he nearly dashed our fortunes by his carelessness, so now he too restored them by his spirit, and, following up his chances, captured and destroyed the enemy's camp on one and the same day.

LXXIX. Brief was the rest given to the soldiers. The citizens of Cologne constantly besought our help and offered to give up to us the wife and sister of Civilis and the daughter of Classicus, who had been left with them as hostages for the observance of the alliance. Moreover, pending that alliance, they had massacred the Germans, who were scattered throughout the houses in the city. Hence their fear, and they were fully warranted in their supplications and entreaties for our assistance, before the enemy could recover his strength, and prepare himself for the realization of his hopes or for the projects of his revenge. For Civilis had set his heart on vengeance and

1 *Pro hostibus,* "in favour of the foe." Compare Agricola, xxxii.; Sall., Jugurth., xciii. 2; Cicero, de Orat., iii. 20: "non modo non pro me, sed contra me est potius."

2 *Secutusque fortunam,* "and following up his chances." Compare v. 15. 11, post: "Civilis instare fortunae, Cerialis abolere ignominiam"; Agricola, xviii.; Annals, xiii. 8.

3 *Interim* must be referred to *societas,* and translated, "pending that alliance."

4 *Juste preces invocantium,* "they were fully warranted in their supplications and entreaties."

5 *Civilis illuc* (that is, *ad ultionem*) intenderat, scilicet, animum, "Civilis had set his heart on vengeance." Compare Annals, ii. 6: "Igitur huc intendit," where vol. ii.

2 H
was by no means powerless, as he still held in reserve, fresh for the fray, the most spirited of his cohorts, which was composed of Chauci and Frisii and was then quartered at Zülpich\(^1\) on the confines of Cologne. But gloomy news stayed his course—the destruction of the cohort by a ruse of the men of Cologne, who, when the Germans had been lulled to sleep with wassail and wine,\(^2\) fastened the doors upon them, set the room on fire, and burnt them to ashes. At the same moment Cerialis came up to the assistance of Cologne by forced marches. Moreover, another source of fear had beset\(^3\) the path of Civilis, who was in dread lest the Fourteenth Legion might, with the assistance of the fleet from Britain, harass the coast of Batavia on its ocean border. However, Fabius Priscus, the lieutenant-general, marched the legion by an overland route\(^4\) against the Nervii and Tungri, and those states were allowed to surrender. Meanwhile the Canninefates assumed the offensive,\(^5\) attacked the fleet, and the greater portion of the ships was either sunk or captured. The same Canninefates likewise routed a horde of Nervii, who had voluntarily risen in an attempt to wage war on behalf of Rome. In addition to that, Classicus had proved successful in an engagement with some Roman cavalry that had been sent forward to Neuss by Cerialis. These losses were inconsiderable, but their repetition tended to shatter\(^6\) the renown of the victory which we had recently won.

Mr. Furneaux observes (after noticing the passage here): “the full expression (intendere animum alicui rei) occurs in Annals, ii. 61” : "Ceterum Germanicus aliis quoque miraculis intendit animum.” See also Annals, iii. 37. 3: “hoc potius intendideret,” which Mr. Furneaux well translates, “he had better give his mind to this.”

\(^1\) Tolbiacum, the modern Zülpich.
\(^2\) Largis epulis vinoque sopitos, “lulled to sleep with wassail and wine.” See Germania, xxii.
\(^3\) Circumsteterat Civilem, “had beset the path of Civilis.” Compare Thucydides, v. 73. 1: ἀμφοτέρωθεν αὐτῶς κίνδυνος περιεστήκει.
\(^4\) Terrestri itinere, “an overland route”—the Roman military road from Gessoriacum (Boulogne)—by way of Bagacum Nerviorum (Bavai) and Aduatuca Tungrorum (Tongres) to Cologne.
\(^5\) Ulto, “assumed the offensive.”
\(^6\) Lacerabant, “tended to shatter.” Hereaus compares Livy, xxxviii. 54: “nisi et ipsius fama sepulti laceretur.”
IV.—79–81.

LXXX. At the same time Mucian ordered the son of Vitellius to be put to death under the pretext that the spirit of discord would prove lasting unless he were to stifle the germs of civil war. Nor would he suffer Antonius Primus to be adopted by Domitian as one of his intimates, as he was alarmed at the popularity of that officer amongst the soldiery, as well as at the arrogance of the man himself, who would not brook even a rival, still less a superior. Antonius set forth to visit Vespasian, and, while his reception fell below his expectations, still the emperor met him in no unfriendly spirit. Vespasian was distracted by conflicting considerations: on the one side, by the services of Antonius, under whose leadership the war had unquestionably been brought to a close; on the other, by the letter of Mucian. Meanwhile the world at large inveighed against Antonius as a rancorous and vain-glorying man, and, moreover, brought up against him the scandals of his past life, while the general himself did not fail to challenge enmities by the insolence of his demeanour and his self-sufficient recapitulation of his own exploits. All others he upbraided as cowards, while he taunted Cæcina as a prisoner who had surrendered at discretion. Hence by degrees he lost weight and prestige, although the emperor still maintained an outward show of friendship towards him.

LXXXI. During those months that Vespasian spent at Alexandria, while waiting for the periodic summer winds and a settled

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1 Vitellii filium. See ii. 59, ante.
2 Ado superiorum, "still less a superior." Compare i. 9. 3, ante: "ne quieto quidem milite regimen; ado furente infirmitate retinentis ulmo accendebantur."
3 Vocare offensas, "to challenge enmities." Vocare, the reading of the Med. MS., is correct, and there is no need to read with some critics provocare. Compare Vergil's beautiful description of the bees in Georg., iv. 73; et seq.:

"Tum trepida inter se coeunt pinnisque coruscant,
Spiculaque execuunt rostris aptantque lacertos,
Et circa regem atque ipsa ad praetoria dense
Miscentur, magnisque vocant clamoribus hostem."

See also Germ., xiv., sub fine: "Nec arare terram aut exspectare annum tam facile persuaseris quam vocare hostem et vulnera mereri." Also v. 25, post: "sin populum Romanum armis vocent, quotam partem generis humani Batavos esse?" Also Annales, ii. 81; vi. 34.

4 These periodic summer winds blow from the East from 27th May until 20th
condition of the sea, many miracles took place as a manifestation of divine favour and as a kind of token of goodwill from Heaven towards Vespasian. One of the poor of Alexandria, well known as a man who was sightless, threw himself at the emperor's knees, and in a voice of lamentation besought him to cure his blindness, in accordance with the premonitions of the God Sarapis, to whom that nation, prone as it is to every form of superstition, renders paramount homage. And so he entreated the Prince to vouchsafe to sprinkle his spittle upon his, the patient's, cheeks and eyeballs. Another, who had a diseased hand, prayed, under the inspiration of the same God, July. They are not to be confounded with the N. W. trade winds—\textit{ēρησιάς ὁρῶν}—that blow towards Alexandria, from 20th July, for thirty days or more. See ii. 98 (vol. i. p. 162, n. 2), ante.

1 \textit{Sarapis or Sarapis}, a corrupted form of \textit{Sorapis}—\textit{Σάραπις}—"the grave of Apis," a derivation not only of extreme poetical beauty, but one that harmonizes with the history, philosophy, and theology of the dual God, Aphis, the bull of Memphis, and the incarnation of Ptah, that passed, after death, into Osirapis. See Suidas \textit{sub verbo} (cited by Meiser), ed. Gaisf., p. 3259: "\textit{τὴν σορᾶν τοῦ Ἀπίδων, ἐν ἔξω τῷ σώμα ἐκείνῳ αὐτοῦ, ἐν Ἀλεξάνδρεια μετῆνεγκαὶ, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς σορᾶς καὶ τοῦ} Ἀπίδων σύνθετον ὅσμα πεποιηκότες ἐκάλουν αὐτὸν \textit{Σάραπις} οἱ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα \textit{Σάραπις}." To the same effect, according to Meiser, is Cedrenus, p. 325, and Clement of Alexandria, Strom., 1 c. 21, § 106: "\textit{Ἀπίς ὁ Ἀργοῦς Βασίλεις Μέμφιν οἰκίζει, ὡς φησίν ὁ Ἀριστέππος ἐν πρώτῃ Ἀρκαδίῳ.} τοῖσον δὲ Ἀριστέας ὁ Ἀργεῖος ἑκομαχηθηκαί φησι \textit{Σάραπις καὶ τοῦτον εἶναι ὀν Αἰγύπτιον σέβομαι.} Νυμφάδορος δὲ ὁ Ἀμφιπόλιτης ἐν τριτῷ νυμφῶν Ἀπίας τὸν Ἀπίον τὸν ταῖνον τελευτησάμα ταῦτα καὶ ταραχευόμενα εἰς σορᾶν ἀντισεβαζέα τῷ ναῷ τοῦ τιμωμένου Βαύμος, κάντενεν Ὁρίσαν κλῆθηκαί καὶ \textit{Σάραπις} συνεβεβεβία τιν πάντων ἑγχωρίων ἐστεροῦν."

The name would seem therefore to have passed through the three forms of \textit{Sorapis, Sarapis, and Sarapis}. "It is likely," says Professor Mahaffy, in his Empire of the Ptolemies, p. 72, "that this peculiar form of the worship of Osiris—Osiris Ptah, two distinct deities jumbled together, in a manner only possible among the Egyptians—was the most prominent at that period." This view is supported by Plutarch, \textit{de Isis et Osiride}, xxviii.: "\textit{Βέλτιον δὲ τὸν Ὀσίρις εἰς τοῦτο συνάγει τῷ Διόνυσῳ, τῷ Ὀσίριδι τῷ Ζάραπις, ὅτε τὴν φῶς μετέβαλε, ταῦτα τυχόντα τῆς προσοχῆς.} \textit{Διὸ πάντω κοινῷ ὁ Ζάραπις ἦτο, ὃς ἐτὸν Ὀσίρις οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν μεταλάβοντες ἁγιάζει.}" Professor Mahaffy, in a note at p. 72, cites the Vienna papyrus, where the God is termed \textit{Osirapis}. See also Catullus, x. 26; Cicero, \textit{de Div.}, ii. 59. 123; Varro, \textit{Eum.}, xxvi., xxvii., xxviii., xxix. See also c. 84, \textit{post}: "\textit{quidam Osirin, antiquissimum illis gentibus numerum—conjectantur.}"

2 \textit{Respergere oris excremento}. See Mark, viii. 23. The use of the spittle is not mentioned in Luke, xviii. 35. 43, or in Matthew, xx. 30. See also Strauss's \textit{Life of Jesus}, second English ed. by George Eliot, p. 445, and compare the Royal Touch for the King's Evil ascribed to Edward the Confessor, referred to by Meiser, who cites Lecky's \textit{History of the Eighteenth Century}, vol. i. c. 1, p. 9.

3 \textit{Oculorum orbes}. Compare Sophocles, \textit{Antigone}, 974: \textit{ἀλάνω ἀλαστρόνισαι δραμάτων κύκλοις}. See also Verg., \textit{Æn.}, xii. 670.
that he might be permitted to receive the impress of the sole of Caesar's foot. Vespasian was at first inclined to scoff at and scorn these votaries, and at one moment, when they pressed him, he feared the scandal of a silly failure; at another, when the patients implored him and his courtiers cheered him on, he would fain hope for success: finally, he ordered a diagnosis\(^1\) by the doctors, to determine whether the blindness and the diseased hand were such as could be cured by the skill of man. The doctors discussed the cases from different aspects. In the one case they maintained that the power of sight had not been destroyed, and would return, if the impediments to its restoration were removed; in the other case they held that the joints of the hand had shrivelled into a distorted condition,\(^2\) and might be restored to shape again, if some healing power were applied to them. "Perchance," said they, "this is the wish of Heaven, and Your Majesty has been chosen as the Apostle of God. In a word, the glory of a successful cure will rest with Caesar, whereas the ridicule of failure will fall upon the poor wretches themselves." And so Vespasian began to think that everything lay open to his good fortune, and that nothing was outside the range of credibility, and therefore with a joyful countenance, while the crowd close by was on the tiptoe of expectation, he carried out the requests of the patients. Forthwith the diseased hand regained its natural action, and the radiance of day sparkled in again upon the blind. Those who were present attest the truth of both miracles, even now at the present day when there is nothing to be gained by falsehood.

LXXXII. Hence a still deeper yearning possessed Vespasian to visit the holy shrine of Sarapis in order to consult\(^3\) the oracle upon affairs of state. He gave orders that all persons should be kept aloof from the temple. Thereupon he entered, and, while absorbed in the

\(^1\) Estimari, "a diagnosis." See ii. 76 (vol. i. p. 132, n. 5), ante.

\(^2\) In pravum, "into a distorted condition." See Strauss's Life of Jesus, George Eliot's translation, p. 473. In Suetonius, Vesp., vii., a diseased leg, not a diseased hand, is mentioned as having been cured by Vespasian.

\(^3\) Consulret, the technical word for consulting an oracle or taking the opinion of counsel, just as responsum (see sub fine) is the answer of the oracle or the opinion of counsel. See c. 65, ante, and also ii. 4 (vol. i. pp. 69 and 70, n. 7), ante.
worship of the God, he looked behind him and saw one of the chief men of the Egyptians, Basilides by name, who, as he was well aware, was constrained on account of illness to be far away from Alexandria by a journey of many days. Vespasian cross-questioned the priests as to whether it was possible that Basilides could have entered the temple on that day; he cross-questioned everyone he met as to whether he might possibly have been seen in the city; finally, he despatched mounted couriers and discovered that at the very moment in question the man was eighty miles away. Then he perceived the divine character of the vision, and recognised in the meaning of the name "Basilides" the force of an oracular response.

LXXXIII. The source of the worship of the God has never yet been the theme of any of our writers. The Egyptian priests give the following account of it. They tell us that when king Ptolemy, who was the first Macedonian to establish the power of Egypt, was engaged in providing the newly founded city of Alexandria with fortifications, temples, and a system of state-worship, there appeared

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1 *Intentusque numini*, an unusual construction for *intentus in numen*. Compare v. 10. 7, post: "*Proximus annus civili bello intentus.*"

2 *Respexit pone tergum—Basiliden*, a condensed expression for *respexit et vidit pone tergum Basiliden*.

3 *Basiliden*, the same name is given to a different priest in ii. 78, ante.

4 *Tunc interpretatus est* must be applied by way of *zeugma* to *divinam speciem* and *vim responsi*.

5 *Divinam speciem*, "the divine character of the vision"—for *speciem ut divinam*.

6 *Basilides, βασιλεία*, "kingdom" or "empire."

7 *Vim responsi*, "the force of an oracular response." The technical word *responsorium* is used to correspond to the equally technical *consulceret* at the commencement of the chapter. So Döderlein:—"*den Sinn des Orakelspruchs. Tunc agnovit illum, quem pone tergum conspexit, ipsum deum fuisse responsi loco apparentem, qui consulenter sub persona Basilidis fortunam principalem (βασιλείας) portenderet.*"

8 *Nostris auctorisibus*. Tacitus must mean *Latin* writers, as the subject is largely discussed by Diodorus Siculus, the contemporary of Julius Caesar and Augustus, who spent thirty years travelling in Europe and in the East while compiling his *Bibliotheca historica*. He is quoted exhaustively in Dr. Mahaffy's *Empire of the Ptolemies*.

9 Ptolemy Soter—Σωτήρ—son of Lagos and Arsinoe, satrap from 322 to 307 B.C., and king from 305 to 285 B.C. See Dr. Mahaffy's *Empire of the Ptolemies*, 19; 111.

10 For a graphic account of the visit of Diodorus Siculus to Alexandria (*circa 60 B.C.*), see Dr. Mahaffy's *Empire of the Ptolemies*, pp. 439 et seq.
to him in his sleep the vision of a youth of extraordinary beauty and superhuman stature, who urged him to despatch his most trusted friends to Pontus and bid them fetch his, the youth's, image. That image, said the vision, would prove a blessing to the kingdom, and great and glorious would be the capital that became its shrine. At that moment, according to the legend, the same youth seemed to be borne up to Heaven in a sheet of flame. Ptolemy was startled by the ominous portent, and disclosed the story of his nocturnal vision to the Egyptian priests, who are wont to interpret such prodigies. But, when he found that they knew scarcely anything of Pontus and foreign parts, forthwith he summoned Timotheus, an Athenian of the family of the Eumolpids, from Eleusis, as being the hierophant there, and asked him what was the form of worship at Pontus, and who was the God. Timotheus sought out those who might have journeyed to Pontus, and discovered that there was a city called Sinope, and

1 Compare the story of Pharaoh's dream in Genesis, xli. 8.

2 E gente Eumolpidarum. The Eumolpids were an Attic priestly family that held the hereditary office of Hierophant at Eleusis. Hence Sophocles, (Edip. Col., 1053, speaks of the προσώπων Ευμολπίδων. It will be seen, on reference to Professor Jebb's note, i.e., that the hereditary office of Hierophant alone belonged to the Eumolpids, and that the other hereditary offices at Eleusis of δαίον και λειτουργία belonged to other families.

3 Ut antistitum carimoniaram, "as being the hierophant there" (at Eleusis), not, as some erroneously understand, "to preside over the sacred rites at Alexandria." So, in the next chapter, sub fine, the words "ut rerum omnium potentem" mean "as being the omnipotent Lord." Compare Cicero, de Dom., xxxix.: "vos, qui estis antistites carimoniaram et sacrorum": ibid., in Ver., iv. 45, § 99 ; Juvenal, ii. 113.

4 Superstitio, "the form of worship"—Silver-age Latin for religio. See Seneca, Epist., xcv. 35 ; Just., xxxix., 3. 9.

5 Sinope, a blunder common to Tacitus, Plutarch (de Is. et Osir., xxviii.), and Clement of Alexandria, Protreptic., § 48, who have all confounded the city of Sinope in Pontus with Mount Sinopium in Memphis, as pointed out by Eustathius (cited by Meiser) in Paraprolais, ed. Hudson, p. 156. There Eustathius is commenting upon the lines of Dionysius Periegr., 254 et seq.:

Μακηδόνον πτολεμαίρον,
"Ενθα Ζωνητίται Δίδ μεγάλουν μελαθρον
Χρυσά τιμήτε κεκασμένον.

There the critic, as cited by Meiser in his excursus, points out the distinction in the following passage: Ζωνητίτης δε λεες ἡ δ Μεμφίτης. Ζωνητίων γὰρ ὁτος Μεμφίδος ἡ ἀκό Ζωνητής τῆς Ποντικῆς. Φέρεται καὶ τουώτος λόγος, ὅτι Βασιλεῖ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας Πτολεμαίρῳ τῷ Ἀγῶν δαίμων τίς ἐκφεύγει κέλευσε πέμψαντα πάντων κοιμάς αὐτόν, μή προσβηλώσαι καί τόπον θεῖν αὐτόν ἀνακοίμησαι: ὃ δὲ πέμπει φέρεσθαι τὴν ἀλλὰς τήν
not far from thence the shrine, according to an ancient tradition among the natives, of the nether Jove, as indeed might be inferred, they said, from the statue of a woman standing close by, whom many call Proserpine. But, such is the character of tyrants, Ptolemy, who was at first inclined to take alarm, then, the moment that a sense of safety returned, proved more eager for the sweets of pleasure than for the mysteries of religion, gradually grew careless, and was turning his attention to other matters, until the same vision, now more dreadful and menacing than before, threatened him with the destruction both of himself and of his kingdom unless its behests were accomplished. Then Ptolemy ordered envoys with presents to be despatched to King Scyderothemis, the reigning sovereign at Sinope, and bade them, just as they were weighing anchor, consult the Pythian Apollo. They had a favourable voyage, and the answer of the oracle was clear: “Go and take back with you the image of my father, but leave behind you that of my sister.”

The legend of Sinope.
Various other traditions concerning Sarapis.

LXXXIV. When they reached Sinope, straightway they laid before Scyderothemis the gifts, prayers, and message of their sovereign. Scyderothemis was in a distracted state of mind, and, at one moment, was afraid to disobey the God, at another, was terrified by the threats of the popular opposition; and again, he was often swayed by the gifts of mind, the emendation of Puteolanus for the us animi of the Med. MS. For the construction, compare the turbidus animi of c. 48; the captus animi of iii. 73, ante; the fidens animi of Annals, iv. 59.
and promises of the envoys. And thus an interval of three years was spent while Ptolemy persisted in his zealous endeavours and entreaties, and continued to despatch ambassadors of higher rank, a greater number of ships, and more massive offerings of gold. Then the appalling vision presented itself before Scyderothemis, and warned him no longer to delay the course marked out by the God.\(^1\) When he hesitated to obey, then divers plagues and pestilences, and the visible and daily gathering wrath of Heaven unceasingly harried him. He then summoned a public meeting, and described the mandate of the God, the apparitions seen by himself and by Ptolemy, and the lowering storm of calamities. The populace opposed\(^2\) the king, grudged the gift to Egypt, became apprehensive for themselves, and blockaded the temple. From this point on, a still more startling tradition tells us that the God himself voluntarily embarked on board the ships that were moored to the shore; and that thereupon, wonderful to relate, in a voyage of three days they traversed that vast expanse of sea, and put into Alexandria.\(^3\) A temple\(^4\) worthy of the grandeur of the city was built in that quarter called Rhacotis;\(^5\) there had been originally a shrine dedicated from of yore to Sarapis and Isis. Such is the most generally received account of the source and introduction of the worship of the God. At the same time I am well aware that there are some authorities who maintain

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\(^1\) *Destinata deo*, the dative of the agent, used by Tacitus, as so often pointed out, under all conditions.

\(^2\) *Volgus aversari regem*, "the populace opposed the king." Compare i. 38, *ante*: "deos infaustum adoptionem aversantes." *Also Annals*, i. 28.

\(^3\) Dr. Mahaffy points out, in his *Empire of the Ptolemies*, p. 72, that Tacitus, Plutarch, and Clement of Alexandria, all vary from each other in the details they give of this legend. After the blunder anent Sinope, we can understand the discrepancies.

\(^4\) By the courtesy of the learned editor of *The Academy* I have been enabled to give the reader (see Note, p. 245) a full account of the discovery of the Sarapicum or Serapeum of Alexandria by Dr. Botti, the Director of the Alexandrian Museum, as set forth in *The Academy* of 21st September, 1895, p. 230. For the lines of Dionysius Perieg., see the preceding chapter.

\(^5\) *Rhacotis*—*Pākāris*—the S.W. portion of Alexandria near the dockyards. See Strabo, xvii. 1. 6; Pliny, *H. N.*, v. 10. 62. *Bruchium*, the eastern division of the city, was destroyed in A.D. 275, forty years before Aphthonius wrote. See Note, p. 245.
that the cult was introduced from Seleucia, a city of Syria, during the reign of Ptolemy, the Third in the line of descent; while others contend that the original Ptolemy was the real founder, but that the seat, from which the creed passed over to Alexandria, was Memphis, a city famous from of old and the mainstay of ancient Egypt. Many conjecture that the God himself is Æsculapius, because he heals the sick, others, that he is Osiris, a divinity that is most time-honoured among those races; a great number, again, recognize in him Jupiter, as being the omnipotent Lord, while the vast majority infer that he is the nether Jove, either from the emblems, which appear all around him in clear significance, or from the dark sayings of oracles.

LXXXV. Now Domitian and Mucian received intelligence of the success at Trèves before they drew near the Alps. The most striking credential of victory was the presence of the enemy's general, Valentine, who was by no means downcast, and displayed in his glance all his wonted fire. They gave him a hearing simply for the purpose of analysing his character; he was then condemned, and, when some one reproached him with the conquest of his Fatherland, he replied, during the very pangs of execution, that he received the announcement as a consolation for his death. Then Mucian divulged as a new idea what was in fact a long-hidden scheme. "Since," quoth he, "thanks to the goodness of Providence, the power of our

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1 This tradition rests, as Meiser points out, on the sole authority of Isidorus in Clement of Alexandria, Protrep., 42.

2 Ptolemy Euergetes (b.c. 247–222). See Dr. Mahaffy's Empire of the Ptolemies, 193, 242. The expression atas tuit is exactly the same as the Horatian atas parentum peior avis tuit.

3 See Catullus, x. 26; Cicero, de Div., ii. 59. 123; Varro, Eumen., xxvi., xxviii., xxix.

4 See Plutarch, de Isid. et Osir., xxviii.; Dr. Mahaffy's Empire of the Ptolemies, p. 72.

5 Præcipuæ victoriae fides dux hostium Valentinus. Compare ii. 5, ante: "dein præcipua concordæa fides Titus"; ii. 4. 9: "Titus aucto animo ad patrem pervectus suspensis provinciarum et exercituum mentibus ingens rerum fiducia accessit."

6 Quos spiritus gessisset, "all his wonted fire"—stolzen Sinn—Heraeus, who compares Annals, xiii. 21: "spiritus ejus mitigatibus"; xvi. 24: "spiritus et libertatem insontis ultimo extimuit"; c. 26: "cohibuit spiritus ejus Thrasea."
enemies has been shattered, it would ill become Domitian, at the very close of the war, to tamper with the glory that belongs to others. If the position of the empire or the safety of Gaul were in jeopardy, then should Caesar stand in battle array, but the Canninefates and Batavians must be relegated to the attention of subordinate officers. At Lyons you yourself may display close at hand the power and grandeur of the purple and show that, while you do not involve yourself in petty risks, you will be ready to face all graver perils."

LXXXVI. These wiles were understood by Domitian, but the rôle of submissiveness precluded their exposure, and so he proceeded to Lyons. It is believed that Domitian sent secret despatches to Cerialis from that city, and sought to sap the honour of the general by overtures for the transfer to the prince in person of the army and the supreme command. Whether in the furtherance of this design he contemplated war against his father or the collection of money and forces to oppose his brother is a matter of doubt, for Cerialis adopted the wholesome expedient of evading his proposals as

1 Thus showing that the intended route was not over the Great St. Bernard, but over the Graian or Cottian Alps.

2 Pars obsequii, "the rôle of submissiveness." Pars is Silver-age Latin for the classical partes. See Juvenal, iv. 1; Ovid, Pont., iv. 2. 27. Thus Quintilian, v. 13. 1: "pars defensoris est posita in refutatione"; and ix. 4. 35: "negligentia est pars hoc pati." Tacitus uses obsequium in its strictly classical sense of "submissiveness" or "obedience." Thus in Annals, iii. 12: "obsequium erga imperatorum exuit"; Ibid., vi. 37. 8: "obsequium in regem." See also c. 74, ante, sub fine. So Sueton., Aug., xxii.: "alias item nationes male quietas ad obsequium redigit." See my Introduction.

3 Salubri temperamentum, "the wholesome expedient." The history of the word temperamentum, the Silver-age equivalent for the Augustan temperatio, is interesting and instructive. Temperamentum, in its primary signification, means a proper or correct mixture, a suitable compound, as in Horace, Odes, i. 20. 11:

"Mea nec Falernæ Temperant vites neque Formiani Pocula colles."

There Orelli observes: Temperant—"producunt vinum, quod meis in poculis cum aqua temperetur, miscetur." Hence the word temperamentum was used in the metaphorical sense of a middle or moderate course, and always bears that meaning under different forms according to the context. Thus Annals, iii. 12. 1: "Die senatus Caesar orationem habuit meditato temperamento ('with studied moderation')." Ibid., iv. 20. 4: "neque tamen temperamenti ('moderation' or 'self-control') egebat, cum æquabili auctoritate et gratia apud Tiberium viguerit." Ibid., xi. 4. 7: "Rogatus sententiam
the idle whims of a mere boy. When Domitian perceived that his youth was slighted by his seniors, he ceased to exercise even those ordinary Imperial functions which he had hitherto discharged and, under the cloak of a homely and demure life, shrouded himself in a deep reserve, feigning literary pursuits and love of poetry in order to mask his intentions and withdraw himself from rivalry with his brother, upon whose character, so different from his own, and so much more amiable, he put a false construction.

et Scipio 'cum idem,' inquit, 'de admissis Poppææ sentiam quod omnes, putate me idem dicere quod omnes,' elegant temperamento (making a neat compromise) inter conjugalem amorem et senatoriam necessitatem." So in Hist., i. 83, ante: "temperamentum vestrae fortitudinis ('temper' your valour)." See my Introduction.

1 Evadit, "evaded," or, more strictly, "parried." See i. 26 (vol. i. p. 17, n. 8), ante, and Martial, xiv. 202:

"Callidus emissas eludere simius hastas."

Also Annales, xiii. 22 (cited by Wolff): "variis mox artibus elusus."

2 Modestia, "a demure life." See Cicero, Tusc., iii. 8. 16: "eam virtutem Graeci σωφροσύνη vocant: quam soleo equidem tum temperantiam, tum moderationem appellare, nonnumquam etiam modestiam." See also i. 30, ante (vol. i. p. 19, n. 5).

NOTE.—IV. 84.

"Templum pro magnitudine urbis extructum loco, cui nomen Rhacotis: fuerat illie sacellum Serapidi atque Isidi antiquitum sacratum."

"Μακρόν τού πολισθήρων
Ενθα ημείς τω βίω τω μέλαθρον,
Χρυσῷ τιμήσαντι κεκατομέναν. Όπη διν ἐκεῖνον
Νηόν ἐν ανθρώποις βεότερον ἄλλον ἔθεον."

DIONYSIUS PERIEGETES, § 254.

By the courtesy of the learned editor of The Academy I am enabled to reprint the subjoined account of the discovery of The Serapeum at Alexandria, which appeared in that Journal on 21st September, 1895:

"DISCOVERY OF THE SERAPEUM AT ALEXANDRIA.

"The excavations of Dr. Botti, the Director of the Alexandrian Museum, in the neighbourhood of Pompey's Pillar have resulted in an important discovery: nothing less, in fact, than that of the Serapeum, where the last of the great libraries of Alexandria was preserved. It is the first fixed point that has been gained in the recovery of the ancient topography of Alexandria.

"An elaborate account of his researches, with an admirable plan, has been given by the discoverer in a memoir on L'Acropole d'Alexandrie et le Sérapium presented to the Archeological Society of Alexandria a month ago.

"Dr. Botti was first led to make his explorations by a passage in the orator Aphthonius, who visited Alexandria about A.D. 315. The orator introduces into his speech, by way of illustration, a description of the Acropolis of Alexandria, as compared with that of Athens. No reference, however, is made either to the Parthenon or to the Serapeum, perhaps for prudential reasons. The Acropolis of Alexandria is stated to be close to the Stadium, which was recognised and mapped by the savans of the French Expedition on the south side of the plateau on which Pompey's Pillar stands. It is further stated to have been approached by a single pathway, consisting of 100 steps, which led to a propylee supported on four columns. This opened into an oecus or covered hall surmounted by a cupola, and this again into a great square court surrounded on all sides by columns. Porticoes separated the court from the library, as well as from shrines in which the gods had formerly been worshipped. Some of the empty shrines seem to have been appropriated to books in the time of Aphthonius. Everything was profusely gilded, and the central court was decorated with sculptured works of art, among which the exploits of Perseus were of special value, while in the middle of it rose 'a column of surpassing size,' visible from the sea as well as from the land, and serving as a sort of sign-post for visitors to Alexandria. Dr. Botti shows conclusively that this column
was Pompey's Pillar, to which the description given by the Greek orator is as applicable to-day as it was in the fourth century. By the side of the column were a fountain and two obelisks.

"The great court was still standing in the twelfth century, and its columns are described by mediaeval Arabic writers. We learn from Edrisi that there were sixty-seven pillars on each of the longer sides of the rectangle, and sixteen on each of the shorter sides. Remains of the court and columns were found by Mahmūd Pasha el-Falaki when he excavated on the spot in 1865. Dr. Botti has now discovered the piscina of the fountain, as well as the channels cut through the rock which conducted the water into it.

"Aphthonius is the first writer who speaks of an 'Acropolis' of Alexandria. Dr. Botti's excavations have explained why this should have been the case. The Acropolis was the better known Serapeum, which, like the other temples of Egypt, was intended to be a fortress as well as a sanctuary. He has discovered inscriptions of the time of Hadrian and Severus, dedicated to 'Serapis, and the deities worshipped with him in the temple.' It must have been for them that the empty shrines described by Aphthonius had been built. Tacitus (Hist. iv. 84) tells us that the Serapeum stood upon the site of an ancient sanctuary of Isis and Osiris in the old Egyptian town of Racotis, the western division of the later Alexandria; and it is just here that Pompey's Pillar is situated. Bruchium, the eastern division of the city, was destroyed in A.D. 275, forty years before Aphthonius wrote. Besides the inscriptions, Dr. Botti has found remains of gilded ornaments and a bull of fine workmanship, all of which come from the great central court. He has also found a few tombs, and, above all, long subterranean passages cut through the rock under the site of the ancient building, and once accessible from the court. The passages are broad and lofty, and were originally faced with masonry. Here and there are niches in the rock for the lamps which illuminated them. Nothing has been found in the passages except some broken pottery, but at the entrance of one of them are two proskynemata scratched on the rock by pious visitors. The passages, therefore, must have been used for religious worship; and we are reminded of the fact that similar subterranean passages were needed for the Mysteries of Serapis, and that Rufinus informs us that they actually existed under the Serapeum at Alexandria. Dr. Botti, consequently, is fully justified in his enthusiasm when he exclaims:—

"'The secrets of the Serapeum are at last about to be disclosed! We are upon the threshold of the venerable sanctuary which Alexander the Great visited, where Vespasian the sceptic performed miracles, and where Hadrian, Sabinus, Caracalla, and Zenobia sacrificed.'"
THE HISTORY OF CORNELIUS TACITUS.

BOOK V.
BOOK V.

I. In the beginning of the same year Caesar Titus, who had been chosen by his father to effect the complete subjugation of Judaea, and who, when they were both in a private station, had already won his spurs, was at this time Jerusalem enjoying still greater power and repute, as provinces and armies vied with each other in their enthusiasm towards him. Moreover, the prince himself, in order that he might be deemed superior to the advantages of rank, constantly proved himself a brilliant and resolute warrior, while by the grace of his address he evoked a spirit of devotion, and often, either in the trenches or on the march, went amongst the private soldiers without detriment to his prestige as a general. In Judaea three legions, the Fifth, the Tenth, and the Fifteenth, all veterans of Vespasian, received him as their commander. To these forces he joined the Twelfth legion from Syria and some of the men of the Twenty-second and Third whom he had led in person from Alexandria. He was escorted by twenty cohorts of allied infantry and eight squadrons of

1 V. Macedonica; X. Pretensis; XV. Apollinaris. See i. 10, ante: "Bellum Judaicum Flavius Vespasianus (ducem eum Nero delegerat) tribus legionibus administrabat."

2 Compare the narrative of Josephus, v. 2 (Whiston’s translation): "He had with him those three legions that had accompanied his father when he laid Judea waste, together with the Twelfth Legion. . . . Of these legions he ordered the Fifth to meet him by going through Emmaus, and the Tenth to go by Jericho; he also moved himself, together with the rest; besides whom marched those auxiliaries that came from the Kings, being now more in number than before, together with a considerable number that came to his assistance from Syria. Those also that had been selected out of these four legions, and sent with Mucianus to Italy, had their places filled up out of these soldiers that came out of Egypt with Titus, who were 2000 men chosen out of the armies at Alexandria. There followed him also 3000 drawn from those that guarded the river Euphrates."
horse, as well as by the two kings, Agrippa and Sohæmus,\(^1\) by the auxiliary forces of King Antiochus,\(^2\) by a strong band of Arabs, who hated the Jews with all the proverbial rancour of neighbours, and also by many whom their personal hopes of winning the heart of a prince as yet unpledged had summoned from Rome and Italy. With these forces he entered the enemy’s territory in orderly array, reconnoitred every inch of ground, was ever ready to give battle, and eventually pitched his camp close to Jerusalem.\(^3\)

II. But since we are about to record the last day of a renowned city, it seems meet to trace the origin of its foundation.\(^4\) They tell us that the Jews, when banished from the island of Crete,\(^5\) took possession of the remotest borders of Libya at the very time that Saturn had been driven

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\(^1\) Agrippa, Herod Agrippa Minor, brother of Queen Berenice, great grandson of Herod the Great, grandson of Aristobulus, and son of Herod Agrippa Major. Sohæmus was Prince of Emesa in Syria, and King of Sophene. See ii. 81 (vol. i. p. 139), ante.

\(^2\) Antiochus was the Seleucid King of Commagene, in Northern Syria, and also of part of Cilicia. He was dethroned by Vespasian in A.D. 72, and his kingdom was converted into a Roman province. See ii. 81 (vol. i. p. 139), ante: Annals, xii. 55; xiii. 7. 37; xiv. 26.

\(^3\) Josephus, v. 2 (Whiston’s trans.) is more specific: “And when he had gone as far as a day’s march, he pitched his camp at that valley which the Jews, in their own tongue, call ‘The Valley of Thorns’ (τὸν ὅπου ἱουδαίων πατρίς Ἀκαθήν αὐθένα καλοθύμνον), near a certain village called Gabathsaul, which signifies the ‘Hill of Saul,’ being distant from Jerusalem about thirty furlongs.’”

\(^4\) Our historian had not read either Josephus or the LXX. Dubner’s theory that Tacitus treated the Jewish historian with the disdain of a Roman can scarcely be sustained. Modern critics incline to the opinion that the publication of the works of Josephus in the reign of Hadrian was necessarily a slow and tedious process, and all the more so in that the learned Jew was his own publisher (contra Apion, i. 9). It is believed that by reason of this Tacitus was unable to procure a copy. As Meiser observes, the Hebrew-Greek of the LXX was practically a sealed book.

\(^5\) Tacitus is the only writer who records this legend, which is, however, interwoven with the errors and misnomers that have crept into the text of the Old Testament. The Cherethites and the Pelethites (Ὁ Ἐξεθι καὶ Ὁ Φελεθι) of 2 Samuel, viii. 18, and 1 Kings, i. 38, 44, are mere misnomers of the Cretans and Philistines of Ezek., xxv. 16, and Zeph., ii. 5. In Ezek., xxxv. 16, the words of the LXX are:—“Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐκεῖνω τὴν χειρά μου ἐκεῖ τοὺς ἄλφοφολος (Philistines or Utlanders), καὶ ἑξολοθρεύω Κρῆτας, καὶ ἀπολέω τοὺς καταλοίκους τοὺς κατοικοῦντας τὴν παραλίαν.” There the learned translators of the Greek rightly translate: “Behold, I will stretch out my hand upon the Philistines (Utlanders), and will utterly destroy the Cretans, and will cut off the remnant that dwell by the sea-coast.” In the Revised Version, however, we find instead of Cretans, the absurd Cherethites. Again, in Zeph., ii. 5, the LXX gives
from his dominions by the power of Jupiter, and had abdicated his kingdom. Proof of this is sought from their name. There is, they argue, a famous mountain in Crete called Ida, and the Idaei who dwell close by, were called, by a foreign increment in the name, Judei. Some maintain that during the reign of Isis the swarm overflowing Egypt found vent into the adjoining lands under the leadership of Hierosolymus and Judâ. Many contend that the Jews were of Ethiopian extraction, and that during the reign of Cepheus fear and hatred of their neighbours forced them to emigrate. Some again would have it that they were Assyrian refugees, and that, being a people in want of a territory, they took possession of part of Egypt, and soon afterwards founded cities of their own, and dwelt in the Hebrew lands on the borders of Syria. Other authorities accord an illustrious origin to the Jews, and declare that the Solymi, a race made famous by the poems of Homer, bestowed upon the city which they had founded the name, called after their own, of Hierosolyma.

πάροικοι Κρητῶν ("neighbours of the Cretans"), whereas we are treated in the Revised Version to "the nation of the Cherethites." Meiser, in his excursus, refers to Röth, the highest authority on this subject, who, in his Ägyptische Glaubenslehre (Mannheim, 1846), points out that the names Cretans, Carions, Philistines, Phœnicians, and Pelasgians all mean "fugitives" or "exiles."

1 Plutarch, in his De Iside et Osiride, xxxi., narrates (with some variations) the same myth: "οἱ δε λέγοντες ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἔτι διὸν τῇ Τυφάνῳ τὴν φυγὴν ἐκτὸς ἡμέρας γενέσθαι, καὶ σωθήτα γεννησάραι παῖδας Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ Ιουδαίων, αὐτοθεν εἰσὶ κατάθλητοι τὰ ιουδαϊκα παρέκκλητες εἰς τὸν μίθον."

2 This would seem to be a Phœnician story, as Cepheus was the father of Andromeda, and Joppa was the scene of the exploit of Perseus. Compare Pomponius Mela, i. 11; Pliny, H. N., v. 69. Meiser cites a curious passage from Pliny, H. N., ix. 11, to show how the Phœnician and Jewish myths became confused: "Belœa, cui diecibatur exposita fuisse Andromeda, ossa Romæ apportata ex oppido Judaœae Jœpe."

3 This myth was taken from Trogus Pompeius in Justin, xxxvi. 2: "Judæis origo Damascena, Syria nobilissima civitas; unde et Assyrìis regibus genus et reginae Semiramidi fuit. Nomen urbi a Damasco regi inditum. Post Damascum Azelus, mox Adores et Abrahamus et Israel reges fuere. Sed Israeleam felix decem filiorum proventus majoribus suis clariorem fecit. Itaque populum in decem regna divisum filiis tradidit, omnesque ex nomine Judææ, qui post divisionem decesserat, Judææ appellavit."

4 Homer mentions the Σολήμωι three times—Iliad, vi. 184; vi. 204; Odys., v. 283.

5 These Greek derivations are merely fanciful. Yerushelahîm is the "foundation of peace," or "the city of Salem" (the God of Peace).
III. Most authors\(^1\) are agreed that, when a leprosy\(^2\) broke out over Egypt, which disfigured the bodies of its victims, King Bocchoris\(^3\) consulted the oracle of Hammon, and, upon asking for a remedy, was ordered to cleanse his kingdom, and drive away into other lands that race of men which was so hateful to the gods. Accordingly, as they tell us, the Jewish People were sought out and gathered together, and afterwards, when they found themselves abandoned in the desert and all the rest lay dazed with weeping, Moses,\(^4\) one of the exiles, warned them not to look for any aid from gods or men, as

\(^1\) The principal writers here alluded to were (a) Lysimachus of Alexandria, who flourished at the close of the first century. He was a distinguished grammarian, and possibly the author of the Αιγυπτιακ\(\) cited by Josephus. In the beginning of this chapter Tacitus follows him almost word for word. (b) Manetho, who flourished in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus (285–247 B.C.), and who, as Professor Mahaffy tells us in his brilliant Empire of the Ptolemies, p. 170, “was commissioned” (by the king) “to render the history of ancient Egypt into Greek, and he may possibly have begun the publication of the sacred books of the Jews in the form now known as the LXX.” Professor Mahaffy (p. 72) justly praises his ability, learning, and research. (c) Chaeremon (A.D. 50), Stoic philosopher, grammarian, and chief librarian of the Alexandrian library. He was called Οικογραμματεὺς, was the teacher of Dionysius of Alexandria, and subsequently the preceptor of Nero. His principal work was a history of Egypt. He is mentioned by Martial, Ep., xi. 56. (d) Diodorus Siculus, the contemporary of Julius Caesar and Augustus, and the author of Η Βιβλιοθήκη Ηστορίας. He is cited by Professor Mahaffy exhaustively all through the Empire of the Ptolemies; and the learned professor gives us a graphic account (p. 441) of his visit to Alexandria in 60 B.C. (e) Strabo, the illustrious geographer, who flourished in the reign of Augustus, and whose Γεωγραφία has survived. He is cited by Professor Mahaffy exhaustively all through the Empire of the Ptolemies. Unfortunately the Historia Philippica of Trogus Pompeius is lost, but we have the copy of Justin—Historiarum Philippicarum libri xliv.

\(^2\) Tabē, “a leprosy,” described in the next chapter as scabies, and by Justin, xxxvi. 2. 12, as scabies et vitiligo.

\(^3\) Bocchoris reigned, according to Bunsen, B.C. 763–720, and according to Böckh (Manetho, p. 393), B.C. 725–720, whereas the exodus of the Jews is generally fixed at B.C. 1492. Tacitus is here following Lysimachus (Josephus, c. Apion, i. 34). Meiser refers to 2 Kings, vi. 1, which fixes the foundation of Solomon’s Temple at 480 years from the exodus.

\(^4\) Moyses—Μωσῆς—“drawn” (out of the water). According to Chaeremon in Josephus, c. Apion, i. 32, the Egyptian name of Moses was Τισιθέων. Here Tacitus is following the narrative of Lysimachus (Josephus, c. Apion, i. 34): Μωσῆς παρακελεύσατο αὐτὸν μὴ παρακελεύσατο αὐτὸν μὴ ἄρετα συμβούλευσεν ἀλλὰ τὰ χείραν τεῖχων τε βαιότο καὶ βαμβακί, οἷς ἐν περιτήχεις, ἀνατρέσθων. See also Manetho in Josephus, c. Apion, i. 16: μετετέθη τὸνομά καὶ προσηγορεύθη Μωσῆς.
they had been forsaken by both, but to believe their only guide from Heaven was that by the aid of which they might first be enabled to get rid of their present woes. They agreed with this advice, and, in total ignorance of their surroundings, commenced their haphazard journey. But nothing tried them so severely as the want of water, and they were already at death's door, and lay prostrate over the whole desert tract, when a herd of wild asses retired from their pasturage to a rock shaded by a grove. Moses followed the herd, and, guessing his course from the grassy character of the soil, opened up abundant springs of water. This relieved their distress, and then, after a march of six days in succession, on the seventh day they expelled the original inhabitants, and took possession of those lands on which their city and temple were consecrated.

IV. Moses, in order to strengthen his hold upon the people for the future, introduced a strange ritual absolutely at variance with the ideas of the rest of the world. The Jews treat as profane all that we deem sacred, and again, they regard as legitimate those relations which we hold to be incestuous. They have consecrated in their innermost shrine the image of that animal under the guidance of which they had freed themselves from a life of wandering and of thirst. They slay the

1 Sed sibimet duce coelestis celerent, primo cujus auxilio praeantes miseras pepulissent. So I read with Haase instead of the Medicean sed sibimet duce coelesti celerent k.t.l. Moses tells his people not to rely on either gods or men, but on the dux coelestis—the wild ass. See the next chapter. The narrative here is from Trogus Pompeius in Justin, xxxvi. 2. See the admirable excursus of Meiser.

2 Compare the account of the Egyptian institutions and habits in the second book of Herodotus.

3 Degrees of consanguinity that did not fall within the prohibition of Leviticus, xviii., fell under the ban of the Roman law. See Annals, xii. 6, where Furneaux cites Hermes, iv. 372, and Marquardt, Privatl. 31, where we find the recently discovered fragment of Livy:—"primus adversus veterem morem intra septimum cognationis gradum duxit uxorem."

4 Effigiem animalis, that is, the image of the wild ass, the dux coelestis of the preceding chapter. The Gentile writers erroneously believed that the Jews worshipped the ass. See Plutarch, Sympos., iv. 5. 2. Josephus, c. Apion, ii. 7, refutes the calumny. Meiser, in his excursus, cites Diodorus, Frag., i. 34, to show how the error arose:—"'Αντίοχος ὁ Ἐπιφανής—εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦ θεοῦ σηχόν—εὐθὺς ἐν αὐτῷ λίθον ἀγαλμα ἄθροι βαθυτάγωνος καθήμενον ἐπὶ θρόνον μετὰ χείρας ἔχουν βιβλίων, τούτῳ μὲν ὑπέλαβε Μουσέως εἶναι τοῦ κτίσαντος τὰ ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ συστησαμένου τὸ ἱερὸς."
ram as if in mockery of Hammon, and they also sacrifice the ox, inasmuch as the Egyptians worship it under the form of Apis. They abstain from pork in order to commemorate the plague, because the leprosy, to which swine are subject, had once disfigured themselves. By their constant fasts even at the present day they bear witness to the prolonged famine of yore, and, as a symbol of the corn which they had hurriedly borne off with them, the Jewish bread is still kept unleavened. It is said that they determined to observe as holy the Seventh Day, because that was the day which brought their toils to an end, and subsequently, under the seductive influences of a lazy life, the Seventh Year too was given up to indolence. Other authorities assert that this custom is in honour of Saturn, either because the people of Ida, who, as we have heard, were banished from Crete with Saturn and were the founders of the Jewish race, handed down the traditions of the cult, or because out of the seven planets, by which the fates of men are ruled, the star of Saturn moves in the vastest orbit and with the most sovran virtue, and many of the heavenly bodies.

1 Zeus "Amon, or Jupiter Ammon, was represented sometimes in the form of a ram, sometimes as a man with a ram's head, sometimes as a man with only the horns of a ram.

2 Apis, the bull of Memphis, " was," says Sayce (Egypt of the Hebrews and Herodotus, pp. 222, 223), " the incarnation of Ptah." For the origin of Sorapis (" the grave of Apis") or Sarapis, see iv. 81, ante, and the note on Sarapis. The union of Apis or Ptah with Osiris formed the compound God Osirapis or Sarapis. This is admirably explained by Dr. Mahaffy in his Empire of the Ptolemics, pp. 71, 72: " He (Ptolemy Soter) had already, at the opening of his rule, contributed 50 talents (nearly £12,000) to the obsequies of the Apis bull that died at that time, and it is likely that this peculiar form of the worship of Osirhapi— Osiris Ptah, two distinct deities jumbled together, in a manner only possible among the Egyptians— was the most probable at that time." See the learned professor's note on Osiris at p. 72.

3 Scabies, " the leprosy," the tabes, qua corpora fædaret, of the preceding chapter, where see note.

4 Tacitus is here correct in his facts, but gives a wrong reason for the custom. See Deuteronomy, xvi. 3.

5 Mr. Godley points out that Tacitus is here confounding the ordinary Sabbath with the Seven Days' feast of Tabernacles.

6 See Leviticus, xxv. 4: " But in the seventh year shall be a sabbath of rest unto the land, a sabbath for the Lord: thou shalt neither sow thy field, nor prune thy vineyard." Here again the facts of Tacitus are right, but his reasons are wrong.

7 With Wurm I read mortales res for the mortales of the Med. MS. The word res may easily have dropped out after but not before mortales.

8 The introduction of astrology here is natural enough, as Vespasian was devoted to that superstition. See ii. 78, ante. vol. i.
pass through the course of their revolutions in cycles of seven
years.¹

V. This ritual, however it may have been introduced, can
be upheld on the score of its antiquity: but their other pecu-
lar customs, as unnatural as they are repulsive, are sup-
ported by their very depravity. For every miscreant, who had
spurned faith and fatherland,² was wont to shower his dues³ and
contributions upon Jerusalem, and thus the power of the Jews
increased, as it did also in this that, while they are inflexibly
staunch to each other and ever ready to compassionate their own,
they hate all the rest of the world as if they were deadly enemies.⁴
They take their meals apart from strangers, they sleep aloof from
them, and, although they are a race abandoned to lust, they do
not cohabit with women of alien stock, while amongst themselves
they are absolutely unrestrained. They introduced the custom of
circumcision⁵ in order that they might be known by that peculiarity.
Their proselytes adopt the same practice, and the first lesson
taught them is to scorn⁶ their former gods, to cast off their
country, to despise their parents, children, and brothers. The
Jews, however, provide for the increase of the population; for they
deem it a heinous crime to kill any child born after its father's

¹ "Ac pleraque celestium viam suam et cursus septenos per numeros comment." I follow Bezzenberger in substituting viam for the vim of the Med. MS. For a similar correction, see iii. 49. 6, ante; I accept Halm's septenos for the MS. septimos; and I adopt Wülflin's comment for the MS. commearent. Commeare is the right word to describe the movements of the heavenly bodies. See Cicero, De nat. Deorum, ii. 49; Digest, xlviii. 10. 27. § 2.

² An allusion to the Jewish proselytes. See the New Testament, Matthew, xxiv. 15; Horace, Sat., i. 4. 142; i. 9. 69; Juvenal, xiv. 96 et seq.

³ Tributa, "his dues." See Exodus, xxx. 13: "This they shall give, everyone that passeth among them that are numbered, half a shekel after the shekel of the sanctuary (a shekel is twenty gerahs): an half shekel shall be the offering of the Lord." See also Cicero, Flac., xxviii.: "Cum aurum Judæorum nomine quotannis ex Italia et ex omnibus provinciis Hierosolyma exportari solerat." Also, Josephus, Bell. Jud., v. 5. 1; Ant. Jud., i. 7. 2.

⁴ See Juvenal, xiv. 100, et seq.: Annals, xv. 44. Mr. Spooner also cites Diodorus, xxxiv. 1: τῶν Ἰουδαίων . . . πολεμίου ὑπολαμβάνειν πάντας.

⁵ See Genesis, xvii. 10. Mr. Spooner refers to Mommsen, P. R. E., ii. 228, who states that, under Hadrian, circumcision was absolutely forbidden.

⁶ Contemnere deos—almost the very language of Juvenal, xiv. 100: "Romanas autem soliti contemnere leges | Judaicum ediscunt et servant ac metuunt jus."
testamentary disposition,\(^1\) and they believe that the spirits of those who pass away either in battle or on the scaffold are immortal. Hence their passion for offspring\(^2\) and their contempt for death. They take heed,\(^3\) after the manner of the Egyptians, to embalm\(^4\) rather than to cremate the bodies of the dead, and hold the same creed as that nation concerning the nether, but not the upper, world. The Egyptians worship many animals and images of hybrid\(^5\) shapes, the Jews conceive a purely abstract ideal of one sole Divinity:\(^6\) they regard as profane those who mould from mortal stuff the statues of the gods in human shape, and they believe that their Supreme and Eternal Being is as inimitable as it is immortal. Accordingly they set up no images in their cities, still less so in their temples; no such flattery as this do they bestow upon kings, no such honour do they confer upon the Caesars. But, inasmuch as their priests were wont to sing to the accompaniment of the flute and of cymbals,\(^7\) and to wear wreaths of ivy,\(^8\) and as a golden vine\(^9\) was found in the Temple, some

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\(^1\) Quemquam ex agnatis, "any child born after its father's testamentary disposition." Here, as well as in Germania, xix., the term agnati is not used in its strict legal sense of "relations on the father's side," but means "children born after the father has made his will." See Cicero, De Orat., i. 57, § 241: "Constat agnascendo rumpi testamentum," where see Wilkins' note. See also Plautus, Truc., i. 1. 102; Juvenal, vi. 595. The Greek term was ἐκθεώρει, Plato, Legg., 740C.

\(^2\) See Genesis, xv. 2: "And Abram said, Lord God, what wilt thou give me, seeing I go childless?"

\(^3\) Corpora condire quam cremare e more Egyptio cura, eademque est de infernus persuasio, caelestium contra. So I read with Triller and Heræus for the corpora condere quam cremare e more Egyptio, eademque cura et de infernus persuasio, caelestium contra, of the Med. MS. Triller has changed condere into condire, and rightly. See Cicero, Tusc., i. 45. 108: "Condiunt Egypti mortuos"; Annals, xvi. 6. 2; Herodotus, Book ii.; New Test., John, xix. 39 and 40. The transposition of cura by Heræus must commend itself to every scholar.

\(^4\) Condire, "to embalm." Triller's certain emendation for the condere of the Med. MS. See the preceding note, and Herodotus, Book ii.

\(^5\) Such as Osiris or Sarapis, Ammon with the head of a ram, Anubis with that of a dog, Sêbek with that of a crocodile.

\(^6\) Compare Germania, ix.: "deorum nominibus appellant secretum illud, quod sola reverentia vident." See also Juvenal, xiv. 97.

\(^7\) Mr. Spooner refers to Psalms, cl. 3: "Praise him with the sound of the trumpet: praise him with the psaltery and harp"; also Leviticus, xxiii. 24.

\(^8\) There is no foundation for this statement, nor can any such conclusion be drawn from Leviticus, xxiii. 40.

\(^9\) This story is corroborated by Josephus, Bel. Jud., v. 5. 4: εἰπέ εἰς καὶ τὰς χρυσὰς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς (τῆς πύλης) ἀμπέλους, ἀφ' ἀν βάτρους ἀνθρωμῆκης κατεκρέματο.
have formed the opinion that Father Bacchus,¹ the conqueror of the East, is worshipped by them, a theory that jars with their institutions: for Bacchus founded a gay and joyous ritual, whereas the ceremonial of the Jews is dull² and squalid.

VI. Their country and territories are bounded on their eastern slopes by Arabia;³ Egypt⁴ abuts them on the south; Phœnicia and the Mediterranean Sea on the west; while they command an extensive view of the north from the borders of Syria. The physique of the inhabitants is healthy and capable of enduring fatigue. Rain falls at distant intervals,⁵ yet the soil is fertile: their products are of the same kind as our own, but they possess in addition the balsam and the palm. Their palm-groves are lofty and elegant, the balsam is a tree of moderate height: as each of its branches swells with sap, if you cut it with steel, the sap-vessels shrink up,⁶ and accordingly they are opened with a broken stone or a potsherd; the extract⁷ is used medicinally. The chief mountain, Libanus,⁸ towers aloft, and, strange to say, 'mid those intense heats enjoys shade, and never abandons its snows.⁹ The same mountain

¹ Mr. Spooner points out that this view is taken by Plutarch (Symp., iv. 6), who came to this conclusion on the ground that the feast of Tabernacles followed the vintage.

² Absurdus, "dull," here used by Tacitus in its strict philological sense—ab (mis) and svan = sonare—not sounding—dull.

³ Arabia—that is, by the Arabian desert.

⁴ Egyptus—that is, the Bahari desert.

⁵ Rari imbres—an allusion to the two rainy seasons, the first of which lasts during March and April, the latter during October, November, and December. See Deuteronomy, xi. 14: "That I will give you the rain of your land in his due season, the first rain and the latter rain, that thou mayest gather in thy corn, and thy wine, and thine oil."


⁷ Umor, "the extract"—myrrh—the medicinal qualities of which are well known.

⁸ Libanus is here used vaguely by Tacitus for the range of Anti-Libanus, of which Hermon, the southern summit, is nearly 9000 feet high.

⁹ Fidumque nivibus, "never abandons its snows." Compare Claudian, De Rapt. Proserp., i. 165 (describing Mount Ætna):

"Sed quamvis nimio fervens exuberet æstu,
Scit nivibus servare fidem, pariterque favillis
Durescit glacies tanti secura vaporis."
feeds and discharges the sources of the river Jordan. Nor is the Jordan received by the sea, but flows clean through two lakes in succession, and is then absorbed by the third. The latter lake is of immense circumference, quite like the sea, but is more salt in taste, proves baneful to the neighbouring inhabitants by reason of its oppressive smell, and neither yields to the action of the winds nor brooks the presence of fish or sea-birds. Its sluggish waters support their freight as if on solid ground, while trained swimmers as well as those ignorant of the art are equally buoyant upon its surface. At a fixed season of the year the lake casts up asphalt, and experience, as in the case of all other arts, has taught the method of collecting it. The fluid is naturally black, and, when vinegar is sprinkled upon it, it solidifies and floats upon the surface of the lake. The experts then take hold of it with their hands and draw it on to the deck of the ship: thereupon without more ado it continues to flow into and freight the vessel, until you sever the connexion. Nor is it possible to sever it with any bronze or steel instrument, but it yields to the touch of blood or of garments stained with the menstrual discharges of women. Such is the story of ancient writers, but those who are versed in the locality tell us that undulatory masses of asphalt are wafted along, then drawn by hand to shore, and presently, when they

1 The sources of the Jordan rise at Banias on the base of Mount Hermon, the highest mountain in the range of Anti-Libanus.

2 The two lakes here referred to are the Waters of Merom (Joshua, xi. 5 and 7), and the Lake of Gennesaret (Mark, vi. 53; Luke, v. 1), sometimes called the Sea of Tiberias (John, xxi. 1), sometimes the Sea of Galilee (Matt., iv. 18; Mark, vii. 31; John, vi. 1), and in the Old Testament, the Sea of "Chinneroth," or "Cinneroth" (Numbers, xxxiv. 11; Joshua, xii. 3).

3 The Dead Sea or Lacus Asphaltites. It is 46 English miles long, 10½ broad, and covers an area of 250 square geographical miles.

4 There is no truth in this statement. The traveller Poole saw ducks diving on the lake. See Smith's Concise Dict. of the Bible, p. 839, Title, "The Salt Lake."

5 Incertes undae, "its sluggish waters"—the emendation of Heinsius for the corrupt incertes undae of the Med. MS. Orelli reads incertae undae.

6 Josephus, Bel. Jud., iv. 8, 4, tells us that Vespasian tested its character by having men who could not swim thrown into it.

7 Josephus, Bel. Jud., iv. 8, 4, tells the same story with a slight variation.

8 Compare Josephus, Bel. Jud., iv. 8, 4 (Whiston's Trans.): "It casts up black clods of bitumen in many parts of it; these swim at the top of the water, and resemble, both in shape and bigness, headless bulls"—ταῦροι ἀκεφδοι.
have been dried by the heat of the earth and the power of the sun, they are split asunder, in the same way as beams or stones, with axes and wedges.

VII. Not far from thence lie those plains, which, they say, were once fertile and the homes of mighty cities, until they were burnt up by the lightning;¹ nay, they tell us that traces of the catastrophe still remain and that the country itself, which presents a blasted appearance, has lost its powers of fertility. For all natural growths, as well as what is sown by the hand, whether they have reached the stage of leaf or blossom, or semblance of fruit,² become black and hollow and moulder as it were into ashes.³ For my own part, while I am ready to admit that those famous cities of yore may have been consumed by fire from heaven, still, on the other hand, I am of opinion that the land is impregnated with, and the surrounding atmosphere⁴ tainted by, the miasma of the lake, and that, consequently, the growth of the crops and of the autumn produce is blighted by the equally noxious effects of soil

¹ The allusion is to the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. Five cities of the plain are mentioned in Genesis, xiv. 2: "That these made war with Bera king of Sodom, and with Birsha king of Gomorrah, Shinab king of Admah, and Shemeber king of Zeboim, and the king of Beila, which is Zoar." Strabo, xvi. 2, mentions that tradition recorded thirteen cities of the plain, but the names have not been preserved.

² Sive herba tenes aut flore seu solidam in speciem adolevere," the certain emendations of Rhenanus and Salmasius for the corrupt herbas tenues aut flores seu solidam in speciem adolevere of the Med. MS. We are indebted to Rhenanus for his herba tenues aut flore, and to Salmasius for his "solidam in speciem," which is proved by the Dial. de Orat., ix.: "ad nullam certam et solidam pervenit frugem." Meiser's objection to solidam is met by the word speciem, which he overlooks. They were only solid in appearance.

³ Atra et inaniva velut in cinerem vanescent. Compare Josephus, Bel. Jud., iv. 8 (Whiston's Trans.): "It was of old a most happy land both for the fruits it bore and the riches of its cities, although it be now all burnt up. It is related how, for the impiety of its inhabitants, it was burnt by lightning; in consequence of which there are still the remains of that divine fire; and the traces of the five cities are still to be seen, as well as the ashes growing in their fruits, which fruits have a colour as if they were fit to be eaten; but if you pluck them with your hands, they dissolve into smoke and ashes"—eis καρδιαν ἀναλύοντα καὶ τιφαν.

⁴ Superfusum spiritum, "the surrounding atmosphere." Compare Cicero, Cat., i. 6. 15: "Poteunte tibi haec lux, Catalina, aut hujus call spiritus esse jucundus?" Ibid., iv. 4. 7: "hoc communi spiritu." Pliny, N. H., ii. 5. 10: "Spiritus, quem Greci nostrique codem vocabulo aëra appellant."
and climate. Now the river Naman\(^1\) flows into the Jewish Sea, and round its mouth sand is collected, which, when mixed with nitre, is smelted into glass. The shore is of moderate extent, and yet\(^2\) it proves inexhaustible to those who quarry\(^3\) it.

VIII. A great portion of Judaea is sprinkled with villages,\(^4\) but the people possess towns likewise: Jerusalem is the capital\(^5\) of the race. There stood once a temple of vast wealth. Then there was the city fortified by the outer walls,\(^6\) next came the palace,\(^7\) and finally the temple surrounded by the innermost lines of defence.\(^8\) The Jews alone were permitted to approach the gates\(^9\) of the temple; all except the priests

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2. Et, "and yet"—a Tacitean use as in iii. 56. 15, ante, "nec quicquam nisi jucundum et lesurum acciperet." See also iii. 67. 9: "voce populi blandae et intempestivae." Also iv. 33. 20: "major numerus et imbellior," where Madvig wrongly suggests set, as does Rhenanus here, but erroneously, being unaware of the idiom.

3. Egerentibus, "to those who quarry it." So Wolff: "effodientibus"—citing Annals, i. 65: "per quae egeritur humus."

4. Magna pars Judaea vicis dispersit. Compare Josephus, Bel. Jud., iii. 3. 2 (describing Galilee): "Moreover the cities lie here very thick; and the very many villages there are here, are everywhere so full of people, by the richness of their soil, that the very least of them contain above 15,000 inhabitants."

5. Jerusalem was the Jewish, Cæsarea the Roman, capital of Judaea, see ii. 79, ante. Jerusalem stands on the high tableland between the valley of Jehosaphat, or Kidron, on the right, and the valley of Hinnom on the left.

6. These walls were not concentric and continuous, but still there were three lines of defence. This is well explained by Josephus, Bel. Jud., v. 4: "The city of Jerusalem was fortified with three walls, on such parts as were not encompassed with impassable valleys; for in such places it had but one wall."

7. Regia, "The Palace"—built by Herod the Great on Mount Zion, the lofty Western Hill, 2537 feet above the level of the sea. The word dein means that this Palace on Mount Zion was surrounded by the second line of defence.

8. Templum intimis clausum. The Temple stood on Mount Moriah (Haram esh Sherif), the lofty Eastern Hill, 2429 feet above the level of the sea. It was surrounded by the third or innermost line of defence—intimis clausum.

9. Ad foras tantum Judæo aditus. The gentiles were confined to the cloisters of the outer court. So Josephus, Bel. Jud., v. 5: "When you go through these first cloisters into the second court of the Temple, there was a partition made of stone all round, whose height was three cubits: its construction was very elegant; upon it stood pillars at equal distances from one another, declaring the law of purity, some in Greek, and some in Roman letters, that 'no foreigner shall go within that sanctuary';
were forbidden to cross the threshold.\(^1\) As long as the East was subject to the dominion of the Assyrians, Medes, and Persians, the Jews were the most despicable\(^2\) of their bondsmen; when the Macedonians were in the ascendant, King Antiochus\(^3\) endeavoured to extirpate the Jewish superstition, and introduce the customs of Greece, but was prevented by reason of his war with the Parthians from improving the condition of a most loathsome race; for it was at this time that Arsaces\(^4\) had revolted. Then, when the power of the Macedonians waned, and before the Parthians had waxed strong, while the Romans were far away, the Jews elected their own kings.\(^5\) Those princes were exiled by the fickle rabble, but regained the sceptre by force of arms and, in their ruthless work of banishing their fellow-citizens, destroying cities, murdering\(^6\) their own brothers, wives, and parents, and perpetrating all the other wonted enormities of despots, they continued to cherish the old superstition, for the office of High-Priest was usurped\(^7\) by them as the mainstay of their power.

for that second court of the Temple was called 'the Sanctuary,' and was ascended by fourteen steps from the first court.'\(\)\(^1\)

\(^1\) Limine prater sacerdotes arcabantur. The Priests alone could cross the threshold of the third or innermost court. Josephus, Bel. Jud., v. 5; Luke, i. 8–10: 'And the whole multitude of the people were praying without at the hour of incense.' But the High Priest alone could enter the Holy of Holies, behind the veil, and that but once a year, on the Day of Atonement. See Mr. Spooner's admirable note.

\(^2\) This statement is a proof of our historian's violent hatred of the Jews; for, as Mr. Spooner observes, the Israelites attained considerable power under David and Solomon.

\(^3\) Antiochus IV., surnamed Epiphanes, but called Epimanes by the Jews, ruled Syria from 176 to 164 B.C. It was against his tyranny that the Maccabees successfully revolted. See 1 Macc., i. 5; 2 Macc., iv. 10; Joseph., Ant. Jud., xii. 5. 3; xii. 7. 1.

\(^4\) Nam ea tempestate Arsaces desciverat. A chronological blunder. Arsaces revolted in the reign, not of Antiochus Epiphanes, but in that of Antiochus II., who ruled Syria from 260 to 245 B.C. As both kings were called θεός, the error of confusion may have arisen. Ernæus brackets the passage.

\(^5\) Sibi ipsi reges imposuerunt. The Maccabees, of whom Aristobulus, son of Hyrcanus, was the first to assume the title of king, B.C. 107. Joseph., Ant. Jud., xiii. 11.

\(^6\) An allusion to the domestic atrocities of Herod the Great, the monster who slaughtered the Innocents. Matthew, ii. 16–18.

\(^7\) The Asmonean dynasty (B.C. 153), finally destroyed by Herod the Great, combined the twofold office of kings and high priests. Simon was the first prince and high priest.
IX. Cneius Pompeius was the first Roman who subjugated the Jews, and he entered the temple by right of conquest; thereupon the world learnt that there was no image of the Gods within, that the sanctuary was empty, and that there was nought behind the Veil. The walls of Jerusalem were razed to the ground, but the shrine remained intact. Soon, when civil strife divided us, and after the eastern provinces had submitted to the sway of Mark Antony, Pacorus, Prince of the Parthians, seized upon Judæa, but was slain by P. Ventidius, and the Parthians were driven back across the Euphrates, while C. Sosius reduced the Jews to submission. Antony bestowed upon Herod the kingdom of Judæa, and Augustus, when he proved victorious, extended its limits. After the death of Herod, one Simon, without awaiting the decision of the Emperor, had usurped the title of king. He was subsequently put to death by Quintilius Varus, the governor of Syria; and the Jewish nation, now

1 In 63 B.C., when Pompeius terminated the struggle between the Asmonean rivals, Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, by capturing the Temple, deposing Aristobulus, and making Hyrcanus Ethnarch and High Priest of Judæa.

2 Inania arcana, "that there was nought behind the veil." Compare the Vulgate, Ezech., vii. 22: "violabant arcanum meum." See Josephus, Bel. Jud., v. 5. 6: "But the inmost part of the Temple was of twenty cubits. This was also separated from the outer part by a veil. In this there was nothing at all (ἐκεν τὸ οὐδὲν ὅλως ἐν αὐτῷ). It was inaccessible and inviolable (ἐβαστὸν δὲ καὶ ἕχαρατον), and not to be seen by any; and was called the Holy of Holies." Compare c. 5. 16, ante: "Judæi mente sola unumque numen intellegunt."

3 Provincia Orientis—the emendation of Heræus for the defective Provincia of the MSS. Ritter reads Orientis provincia.

4 Rex, "Prince," as in ii. 25, ante. Pacorus, the son of the Parthian king Orodes, espoused the cause of Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, in B.C. 40, and, after defeating Herod, placed him on the throne of Judæa. Pacorus was subsequently routed and slain by Publius Ventidius, Antony's general, in B.C. 38.

5 Sosius, the governor of Syria, joined Herod after the defeat of Pacorus, besieged Jerusalem, captured that city, and executed Antigonus in B.C. 34. Meiser refers to a coin in Morellius, i. 396: C. Sosius. IMP.

6 Herod the Great (B.C. 34—3 B.C.), the butcher of the Holy Innocents, the assassin of his own wife Mariamne, the testamentary murderer of his nobles.

7 See Josephus, Bel. Jud., i. 20. 3: "He did not only bestow other marks of honour upon him, but made an addition to his kingdom, by giving him not only the country which had been taken from him by Cleopatra, but, besides that, Gadara, and Hippos, and Samaria; and moreover, of the maritime cities, Gaza, and Anthedon, and Joppa, and Strato's Tower."

8 The ill-fated general, who perished (A.D. 9) in the Teutoburgian forest, at the hands of the German chief, Arminius.
shorn of its prestige, was divided into three parts each of which was governed by one of the children\(^1\) of Herod. There was a period of rest during the reign of Tiberius. Then, when the Jews were commanded by Caligula to place his image in the Temple, they chose the alternative of the sword, but the Emperor's death put an end to the insurrection. Claudius, after the death or humiliation of the Jewish kings, entrusted the province of Judaea either to Roman knights or to his freedmen, amongst whom was Antonius Felix,\(^2\) who passed through every phase of cruelty and lust, and exercised the rights of a king with the natural instincts of a slave. He married Drusilla,\(^3\) the granddaughter of Antony and Cleopatra, and so he, Felix, became the grandson-in-law, just as Claudius was the grandson,\(^4\) of one and the same Antony.

X. Nevertheless the patience of the Jews lasted until Gessius Florus\(^5\) became procurator: during his term of office the insurrection broke out. Then, when Cestius Gallus, the legate of Syria, attempted to suppress it, many a chequered conflict, ay, and still more often defeat\(^6\) itself, befell him. After he had passed away, either by the

1 *Liberi Herodis.* Herod had five sons. Of these, two, *Alexander* and *Aristobulus,* were put to death by Herod, their own father. Of the remaining three, *Archelaus* became Ethnarch of Judea, Samaria, and Idumea; *Herod Antipas,* tetrarch of Galilee and Perea; *Philip II.* tetrarch of the territory beyond the Jordan.

2 *Antonius Felix,* before whom St. Paul appeared and pleaded (*Acts,* xxiv.), was a brother of Pallas, the freedman and favorite of Claudius: *Annals,* xii. 54.

3 *Drusilla.* See *Acts,* xxiv. 24: "But after certain days, Felix came with Drusilla, his wife, which was a Jewess, and sent for Paul, and heard him concerning the faith in Christ Jesus." Drusilla was the daughter of *Herod Agrippa I.,* who married *Cyprus,* the daughter of Antony and Cleopatra.

4 *Claudius* was the son of *Drusus Germanicus,* who married *Antonia Minor,* the daughter of Antony and Octavia.

5 "*Gessius Florus,*" says Josephus (*Ant. Jud.,* xx. 11), "who was sent as successor to Albinus by Nero, filled Judea with abundance of miseries. He was by birth of the city of Clazomenes, and brought along with him his wife Cleopatra (by whose friendship with Poppaea, Nero's wife, he obtained this government), who was by no way different from him in wickedness. And what need I say more upon this head, since it was this Florus who compelled us to take up arms against the Romans, while we thought it better to be destroyed at once than by little and little? Now this war was begun in the second year of the government of Florus, and the twelfth year of the reign of Nero."

common lot or through weariness of life,¹ Vespasian was sent by Nero in his stead, and, aided by his fortune and his fame alike as well as by his brilliant staff, within the course of two summers² he held in the grip of his victorious army all the plains and cities of Judaea, save Jerusalem. The next year,³ devoted as it was to the civil war, passed over quietly so far as⁴ the Jews were concerned. Then, when peace dawned once more on Italy, the anxieties of foreign war returned, and the anger of Rome was intensified by the remembrance that the Jews alone had not submitted to her sway. Meanwhile it was deemed prudent that Titus should remain with the armies in order to deal with all the successes or reverses of the new reign.⁵

XI. Therefore, as we have already mentioned, Titus pitched his camp before the walls of Jerusalem and displayed his legions in battle-array. The Jews marshalled their lines close in under the very ramparts with a view to venture further into the open if successful, while they had the shelter of the fortifications at hand in the event of defeat. Our cavalry, supported by some light auxiliary foot, was sent forward against them and encountered them with no decisive result. Soon, however, the enemy retired, and during the ensuing days engaged us in constant fighting before the gates, until they were constrained by their continuous losses to take refuge within their walls. The Romans then prepared to storm the city. Indeed it seemed beneath their dignity to await the effect of famine on the foe, and they clamoured for the perils of the fray, some of them under the inspiration of courage, but the majority

¹ Fato aut tadio, scilicet, vitæ, a poetical euphemism for "natural death" or "suicide."
² The summers of the years 67 and 68 A.D.
⁴ Quantum ad—"quant à—so weit es betrifft."—Wolff. "So far as the Jews were concerned."
⁵ Ad omnes principatus novi eventus casuæ, "in order to deal with all the successes or reverses of the new reign." Eventus means "a successful issue." See Agricola, xxii.: Damna eventibus pensare." Ibïd., xxvii.: "Atque illi modo cauti ac sapientes prompti post eventum ac magniloqui erant." See also Annales, ii. 26: "Satis jam eventuum, satis casuum." Hist., i. 4. 4, ante: "casus eventusque rerum."
through mere savagery and greed for booty. Titus himself had in his mind's eye Rome with her wealth and her pleasures, that seemed to linger\textsuperscript{1} in their advent unless Jerusalem were to fall forthwith. But the city, which occupied a commanding natural position, had been strengthened by vast works of defence that would have sufficed for the protection even of level ground. For two hills,\textsuperscript{2} that towered aloft, were encompassed by walls skilfully constructed with projecting or retreating angles,\textsuperscript{3} so as to expose the flank of the besiegers to attack. The sides of the rock ended in a sheer perpendicular, and the towers,\textsuperscript{4} when favoured by high ground, were raised to an altitude of sixty feet each, while on the slopes they reached as much as one hundred and twenty, thus presenting a novel sight, and an appearance of uniformity when viewed from a distance. Within the fortifications a second line of defence surrounded the Palace,\textsuperscript{5} and on a jutting crag stood the tower of Antony,\textsuperscript{6} so named by Herod in honour of Mark Antony.

XII. The Temple\textsuperscript{7} resembled a citadel, and had its own fortifications, which had been rendered superior to all the rest by the labour spent on their construction. The very cloisters by which the shrine was surrounded constituted an excellent outwork. It enjoyed a perennial spring of water, and had its catacombs under the hills as well as

\textsuperscript{1} Morari videbantur, "seemed to linger in their advent." Some critics would govern morari by Hierosolyma, and make opes voluptatesquae the object. I prefer to take morari in its neuter sense, as in Horace, Odes, i. 38:
"Mitte sectari, rosa quo locorum Sera moretur."

\textsuperscript{2} Duas colles—Acra and Zion. The historian here alludes to Acra and Zion as the two hills which constituted the fortifications of the City as contradistinguished from the hill Moriah, on which the Temple was built, and which is separately dealt with in the next chapter. Meiser cites Ferlet: "L'auteur parle d'abord des deux premières collines seulement—les regardant comme le corps de la place dont le Temple était la citadelle."

\textsuperscript{3} Obliquiaut introrsussinuati, "with projecting or retreating angles"—Godley, citing Vegetius, iv. 2.

\textsuperscript{4} There were in all 164 towers on the walls of Jerusalem. See Joseph., Bel. Jud., v. 4. 3.

\textsuperscript{5} The Palace stood on Mount Zion, the great western hill. See c. 8, ante, and note. It was the second line of defence.

\textsuperscript{6} The Tower of Antony stood on the north-western crag of Mount Moriah, some fifty feet above the level of the Temple.

\textsuperscript{7} The Temple, standing on the eastern hill of Mount Moriah, formed the third line of defence. See c. 8, n. 4, ante.
its reservoirs and cisterns for preserving the rain-supply.\textsuperscript{1} The founders of the city had foreseen that constant wars would result from the peculiar institutions of the Jews, and accordingly they made every provision to withstand a siege however protracted. Moreover, after the city had been stormed by Pompeius,\textsuperscript{2} fear and experience alike taught the Jews how to effect many improvements. Again, owing to the avarice which characterized the reign of Claudius, they were enabled to purchase the right of refortifying the town, and so they erected walls in time of peace that were meant to bear the brunt of war, whereupon their numbers were increased by a vast influx of the dregs\textsuperscript{3} of the inhabitants of the other cities that had been destroyed;\textsuperscript{4} for the most obstinate of the rebels had taken refuge in Jerusalem, and the spirit of faction was consequently all the more rampant there. There were three leaders and as many armies. Simon, whom they used to call Bargiora,\textsuperscript{5} had entrenched himself in the first line and widest ambit of defence,\textsuperscript{6} John in the middle city,\textsuperscript{7} and Eleazar in the Temple. John and Simon were superior to the latter in point of numbers and weapons, but Eleazar held the stronger position. Still, fighting and fraud and the firebrand were rife amongst them, and a vast supply of corn was burnt. Soon afterwards John

\textsuperscript{1} The spring of Siloam, now called "the Fountain of the Virgin," which, passing through a subterraneous rocky conduit, feeds the pool of Siloam. See John, ix. 7: "And said unto him, Go, wash in the pool of Siloam (which is by interpretation, Sent.)."

\textsuperscript{2} Jerusalem was taken by Pompeius in B.C. 63. See c. 9, ante.

\textsuperscript{3} Magna conluscie et ceterarum urbiurum cladeaucti. So I read with the first hand for the conluscie of the Med. MS. Nipperdey would read magna conluscies. For the meaning of conluscies, see Annals, xiv. 15; xiv. 44; ii. 55.

\textsuperscript{4} "The other cities," says Mr. Spooner, "alluded to are those captured by Vespasian in 67 and 68 A.D., such as Jotapata, Gamala, Gischala, Lydda, Jamnia, Azotus, and many towns in the district east of the Jordan."

\textsuperscript{5} I follow Salinerius in transposing the words quem et Bargioram vocabant from John to Simon, for we are expressly informed by Josephus, B. Jud., iv. 9: — "There was a son of Giora (i.e. Bargiora), one Simon, by birth of Gerasa, a young man, not so cunning indeed as John."

\textsuperscript{6} Extrema et latissima maxium, the outer walls built by Herod Agrippa, constituting the first line of defence. See c. 8, n. 4.

\textsuperscript{7} Mediam urbem, that is Mount Zion and the Palace of Herod built upon it, forming the second line of defence. See c. 8, n. 4.
despatched his emissaries, under the pretext of celebrating the Passover, with instructions to cut down Eleazar and his forces, and in that way he gained possession of the Temple. Thus the City was split up into two factions, until, upon the approach of the Romans, foreign war produced harmony.

XIII. Prodigies had taken place, which a race, as enthralled by superstition as it is averse to religious ceremonies, did not deem it lawful to expiate by sacrifice or votive offerings. Embattled hosts were seen to clash in the heavens, arms to glow in the sky, and the Temple to gleam with flashes of fire from the clouds. The doors of the shrine were suddenly flung wide open, and a supernatural voice was heard crying out, "The gods are going hence"; and at that very moment there was a mighty rustling as if of those departing. But few interpreted these signs as omens of disaster, the majority were firmly persuaded that in the ancient lore of the priests was contained a prophecy that at this very time the East would regain her strength, and that travellers from Judæa

1 *Per speciem sacrificandi,* "under the pretext of celebrating the Passover," because all Jews were welcome to Jerusalem for the Passover. See Luke, xxii. 10–12; Matt., xxvi. 18. Conf. Smith's *Dict. Bible,* new ed., title, "Passover."

2 Eleazar was not slain, but joined John. See Joseph., B. Jud. v. 7:—"John, who had seized upon the Temple, had 6000 armed men under twenty commanders; the Zealots also that had come over to him, and left off their opposition, were 2400, and had the same commander that they had formerly, Eleazar."

3 See Jeremiah, x. 2: "Thus saith the Lord, Learn not the way of the heathen, and be not dismayed at the signs of heaven; for the heathen are dismayed at them." See also Leviticus, xix. 26.

4 So Josephus, Bel. Jud., vi. 5: "Chariots and troops of soldiers in their armour were seen running about among the clouds."

5 *Ibid.*: "There was a star resembling a sword which stood over the city."

6 *Ibid.*: "At the ninth hour of the night so great a light shone round the altar and the holy house that it appeared to be bright day-time."

7 *Ibid.*: "The eastern gate of the inner court of the Temple was seen to be opened of its own accord."

8 *Ibid.*: "They felt a quaking and heard a great noise, and after that they heard a sound as of a great multitude, saying, 'Let us remove hence.'" Compare *Eschylus, Septem,* 206:

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ἀλλ' ὦ θεοῖς
τοὺς τῆς ἀλούσης πόλεως ἐκλείπειν λόγος.
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would sway the world.1 This oracular legend had pointed to Vespasian and Titus, but the common herd, with the characteristic greed of mankind, expounded this momentous prediction as bearing on themselves, nor could they be induced, even by the lessons of adversity, to alter their views, and recognize the truth. We have heard that the number of the besieged, of every age, and including both sexes, was six hundred thousand.2 All the able-bodied men bore arms, and a number of the rest, far above the usual average in a population, were brave enough to do the same. Men and women were equally determined, and they plainly showed that, if they were forced to abandon their homes, they would dread life far more than death itself. Such were the city and the race which Cæsar Titus, when the strength of their position prohibited either an assault or any attempt at a surprise, resolved to attack by a system of raised mounds and pent-houses.4 Their respective duties were assigned to the legions, and there was a respite from battle, pending the construction of the various engines either invented by the ancients, or devised by the genius of modern times, for the capture of cities.

1 Profectique Judæa rerum potirentur. Compare the marvellously similar language of Suetonius, Vesp. iv.: "Percrebuerat Orient et tota veterum et constans opinio esse in fatis ut eo tempore Judæa proiecti rerum potirentur. Id de imperatore Romano, quantum postea eventum paruit, prædictum Judæi ad se trahentes rebellareunt." Josephus, Bel. Jud., vi. 5, is to the same effect.

2 Virile ac muliebre secus. The grammarians tell us that secus is an indeclinable and archaic neuter form of sexus, and they construe it as the neuter accusative of respect, citing Annals, iv. 62. 3; Sallust, Hist., ii. 23. i. D. 29., i. X. 54 g; Sisenn., ap. Non., p. 222 M.; Livy, xxvi. 47. But the passage cited from the Annals is inconsistent with this theory, as also Ausonius, Idyl., xi. 8:

"Tres Ope progenitifratres, tres ordine partæ, Vesta, Ceres, et Juno, secus muliebre, sorores."

I therefore think that the true view is, that secus is an indeclinable neuter form of sexus used either in the nominative or accusative.

3 Josephus tells us (Bel. Jud., vi. 9) that 1,100,000 perished during the siege of Jerusalem, but adds that this was by reason of the Passover, when Jews from every part of Judea had congregated in the city.

4 See ii. 21. 13, ante, vol. i. p. 83, n. 4; also, ii. 22, ante, vol. i. p. 84, n. 7; also, iii. 20; Annals, ii. 81.
XIV. Now Civilis, after his defeat at Trèves, recruited his army by levies throughout Germany, and posted himself at the Old Camp, where his position was safe, and where the courage of his savage warriors might be intensified by the remembrance of the victory there. Cerialis followed him thither, now that the Roman forces had been doubled by the arrival of the Second, Sixth, and Fourteenth Legions. Moreover the auxiliary foot and horse, which had been summoned to the front long before, had hastened up after the victory at Trèves. Neither of the generals was inclined to shrink from the fray, but a broad tract of natural marsh-land kept them asunder; and, in addition to this, Civilis had constructed a dam projecting into the Rhine, so that the river might be driven back by that barrier, and flood the surrounding lands. Such was the nature of the ground, which was rendered treacherous by the fluctuating depth of its fords, and was consequently unfavourable to us: for the Roman soldier was heavily armed and afraid to swim, while the lightness of their gear and their tall stature ensured the buoyancy of the Germans, who were moreover well accustomed to the rivers.

XV. And so, when the Batavians commenced to harass us, the battle was begun by the most spirited of our men, but then panic supervened as our arms and horses were being engulfed in the depths of the morasses. The Germans, who were conversant with the fords, bounded over

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1 Post malam in Treveris pugnam. See iv. 78, ante.
2 Germaniam means Germany proper, east of the Rhine. The plural Germaniae always means in Tacitus the Roman provinces of Upper and Lower Germany.
3 The Second Legion had come from Italy, the Sixth from Spain, the Fourteenth from Britain.
4 Objectu, "that barrier." Compare iii. 9, ante: tutus loco, cum terga flumine, latera objectu paludis tegeterunt." See Verg., Æn., i. 160:
   Insula portum
   Efficit objectu laterum, quibus omnis ab alto
   Frangitur inque sinus scindit sese unda reductos."
5 Nandi pavidus, "afraid to swim." Herennius cites Annals, iv. 38: offensionum non pavidus; Lucan, Phars., viii. 811: "pavidos Cilicas maris"; Hesiod., i. 33: "prolii pavidus."
6 Proceritas corporum. Compare iv. i. 5, ante: "si quem procœrum habitu et ju venta conspexerant."
the surface and often, suspending their attacks in front, hemmed us
in on our flanks and rear. Nor was there any hand-to-hand fighting as in a battle on shore, but the struggle savoured more of a naval engagement, as the men floundered through the water or, if they got any footing, strained every nerve thither, and so the wounded and the unscathed, the skilled swimmer and the helpless, were involved in mutual destruction. Still the slaughter was less than one would surmise from the panic, because the Germans had not the courage to advance beyond the marshes, but returned to the Old Camp. The issue of that battle roused both leaders to hasten forward the decisive action, but from far different motives. Civilis was eager to follow up his good fortune; Cerialis to wipe out the stain of his defeat: the Germans were elated by success, shame had roused the Romans to action. The savage warriors spent the night in singing or in uproar; our men in feelings of wrath and threats of vengeance.

XVI. The next morning Cerialis formed the vanguard with
his cavalry and auxiliary foot; his legions were stationed in the second line, while the general held in reserve under his own command a picked corps for emergencies. Civilis faced him with his men not at all deployed, but drawn up in column-formation. The Batavians and Cugerni were posted on his right; the Transrhenane Germans held the left which adjoined the river. The addresses

1 Comminus certabatur. So I read with Meiser, Halm, and Heræus for the corrupt comminus minus of the Med. MS. J. Gronovius would read comminus eminus certabatur; but, apart from the false idea conveyed by this correction, it is far more likely that the scribe committed an error of παράβασις.

2 Totis illuc corporibus nitentes, “strained every nerve thither.” Compare Sallust, Jugurth., 60: “monere ali au ii hortari aut manu significare aut niti corporibus et sa huc et illuc quasi vitabundi aut jacientes tela agitare.”

3 Summa rei discrimen, “the decisive action.” See Annals, ii. 12.

4 Cuneis, “in column-formation.” Strictly speaking the cuneus was a wedge-shaped formation, as explained by Vegetius (cited by Heræus), iii. 19: “cuneus dicitur multitudo militum, que juncta acie primo angustior, deinde latior procedit et adversatororum ordines rumpit.” But Heræus points out, and I venture to agree with him, that here, as well as in ii. 42. 11; iv. 16. 8; iv. 20. 11; Annals, i. 51; Germ., vi. and vii., Tacitus uses cuneus merely to describe “column-formation,” rather than the actual wedge-shaped tactic.
of the generals did not savour of the character of a public harangue, but were delivered to each corps separately as the commanders rode up to them in turn. Cerialis reminded his troops of the ancient glory of the Roman name and of the victories of yore and of yesterday. Vengeance rather than battle was what they needed to destroy for ever their treacherous, cowardly, conquered foe. They had recently fought against superior numbers, and yet the Germans had been routed, although they were the backbone of the enemy's army. The survivors bore the remembrance of defeat in their hearts and the brand of wounds upon their backs. He then spurred on the legions in words that went home to their hearts, by addressing the Fourteenth as "the conquerors of Britain," by reminding the Sixth Legion that it was owing to their initiative Galba had been elected emperor, and by assuring the Second that it was in this, their first battle, they would consecrate their new standards and their new eagle. He then galloped past them towards the army of Germany, and stretching forth his hands besought them to win back their own bank of the Rhine, and their Old Camp, by the destruction of their enemies. His words were greeted by a spirited cheer all along the line, as some yearned for battle after a tedious peace; others longed for peace in weariness of war; while all set their hearts on ultimate rewards and rest.

XVII. Nor did Civilis array his forces in silence, but appealed to the field of battle to bear witness to their valour. "You Germans and Batavians," he exclaimed, "are now standing in the very footprints of your fame, and are trampling under foot the ashes and bones of the legions. Whithersoever the Roman may turn his eyes, captivity, disaster,

1 *Quod roboris fuerit*, "although they were the backbone of the enemy's army"—Sponner. See iv. 76. 4, *ante*.

2 *Auctoritate*, "owing to their initiative." See my note on *auctor*, iii. 2, *ante*: *idem suasar auctorque consilii ero*.

3 The Second *Adjutrix* had only recently been formed. See iv. 68, *ante*.

4 *Germanicum exercitum*, the army of Germany in the service of Rome of course.

5 *Suam ripam*, the left or Roman bank of the Rhine *par excellence*.

6 *Silens instruxit aciem*, the correction of *Pichena* for the *silentem struxit aciem* of the Med. MS.
and everything to daunt\(^1\) his spirit, confront him. Be not dis-
mayed by the chequered\(^2\) issue of the battle at Trèves! You
Germans obstructed your own victory by dropping your weapons
and encumbering your hands with booty.\(^3\) Nevertheless all our
subsequent efforts have been successful, and the enemy has been
discomfited. I have taken every precaution within the forecast of
a sagacious general, such as flooding those plains with which you
are familiar, and drawing the enemy into a dangerous morass.
Father Rhine and the gods of Germany are before your eyes:
under their protection I bid you enter upon the struggle, and
remember your wives, your parents, and the Fatherland. This
day will prove either the most glorious record of the past,\(^4\) or will
inflict the deepest brand of shame upon our children.” When
these words had been applauded by the clash of arms and the
war-dance (as is their custom), the battle was opened with a
shower of stones, bullets, and other missiles, as our soldiers would
not enter the marsh, and the Germans were trying to harass
them in order to lure them on.

XVIII. When their ammunition was exhausted and the fight
waxed hotter, a more deadly charge was made by the
enemy. By reason of their lofty stature and extremely
long spears\(^5\) they were able, without coming to close
quarters, to stab our men, who were drifting and floun-
dering in the water. At the same moment a column of the
Bructeri swam across from the dam, which, as we have already
described, had been built out into the Rhine. Panic there-
upon supervened, and the line of our auxiliary foot was being

\(^1\) *Dira omnia*, the true reading for *dira oía* of the MSS. The alteration *dira oína*
is erroneous, as in ii. 74. 3 (vol. i. p. 130, n. 4); iv. 49. 17, *ante*.

\(^2\) *Vario Treverici præsæ eventæ*, a euphemism in order to avoid the ill-omened word
“defeat.” For the victory of the Romans at Trèves, see iv. 77, *ante*.

\(^3\) See iv. 78, *ante*, “*sed obstitit vincentibus pravum inter ipsos certamen omissò
hoste spolia concertandii*.”

\(^4\) *Gloriosissimum inter majores*, a condensed form of expression for *gloriosissimum
inter gloriosos majorum dies*. It is therefore quite unnecessary to adopt Nipperdey’s
correction of *gloriosissimum in majores*, or that of Heræus, *gloriosissimum inter
majorum*.

\(^5\) See *Annals*, i. 64; “*Contra Cheruscis suæ apud paludés præsæ, procera membra,
hasta ingentés ad vulnera facienda quamvis procul*.” See also *Germ.*, vi.
driven back, when the legions took up the fighting; the furious onslaught of the enemy was checked, and the position of the combatants was equalized. Meanwhile a Batavian deserter visited Cerialis, and undertook to ensure an opportunity for a charge upon the enemy’s rear if some cavalry were sent with him along the border of the marsh, where, he said, the ground was firm, and where the Cugerni, who chanced to be on duty there, were off their guard. Two troops of auxiliary horse were sent forward with the deserter and completely surrounded their unwary enemy. When this became known by the cheering, the legions charged in front, the Germans were routed, and began to fly towards the Rhine. The war could have been completely finished on that day if the Roman flotilla had hastened up to chase the fugitives, whereas not even the cavalry continued the pursuit, owing to a sudden downfall of rain and the approach of night.

XIX. Next day the Fourteenth Legion was sent into Upper Germany to join Gallus Annius; the Tenth Legion, which had arrived from Spain, filled the gap in the army of Cerialis. Auxiliary forces from the Chauci reached Civilis. Nevertheless he did not venture to protect Battenberg by force of arms, but carried off everything that could be transported, burnt everything else, and retired to the Island of the Batavians, as he knew full well that the Romans had not boats enough to construct a bridge, and that the Roman army could not otherwise cross over from the main-

1 *Legiones pugnam excipiunt, "the legions take up the fighting."* Compare iv. 71. 7, *ante:* "Socii ad munia pacis redirent securi velut confecto bello, quod Romana manus excepissent."

2 *Terga hostium, "a charge upon the enemy’s rear"—the abstract for the concrete, as in iii. 49. 2. *ante:* —"Primus Antonius nequaquam pari innocentiaposi Cremonam agebat."

3 *Si extremo paludis eques mitteretur—*the reading, and the correct reading, of the Med. MS., inasmuch as *extremo paludis* is the ablative of the route. Halm’s emendation *immitteretur* is therefore unwarrantable and unnecessary.

4 *Illā* is here used for *illae*, as in iii. 8. 9, *ante:* —"ne pervium illā Germanicis exercitibus foret."

5 *Oppidum Batavorum, "Battenberg"—*the reading of the Med. MS. Other MSS. have *oppida*. Lipsius would read *oppidum Batavodurum*, but I prefer to follow Orelli textually and geographically.
land. Moreover he destroyed the dyke¹ which had been built by Drusus Germanicus, and, by removing that barrier, flooded the river Waal² which rushes towards Gaul along the natural fall in its bed. And so when the waters of the Rhine had been, as it were, drawn off, its shallow channel between the island and Germany presented all the appearance of continuous dry land. Then Tutor, too, and Classicus, and one hundred and thirteen of the senators of Trèves crossed the Waal,² and amongst them was Alpinius Montanus, who, as we have already narrated, had been sent into Gaul by Primus Antonius.³ His brother D. Alpinius accompanied him. Meanwhile the rest of his retainers were now endeavouring to collect reinforcements amongst those tribes that yearned for perilous adventures, by appealing to their sympathies and presenting them with gifts.

XX. So far was the war from being at an end, that on one and the same day Civilis attacked the stations of the auxiliary foot and horse as well as those of the legions at four different points—the Tenth Legion at Arenacum, the second at Batavodurum, and the camps of the auxiliary foot and horse at Grinnes and Vada,⁴ while the attacking forces were so distributed that Civilis, Verax, his

¹ Molem a Druso Germanico factam, "the dyke which had been built by Drusus Germanicus" in b.c. 9, and was completed by Paulinus Pompeius in a.d. 55. It was placed close to where the Rhine bifurcates at Emmerich, and the object of Drusus was to swell the northern branch, or Rhine proper, in order to protect the Roman territory from German invasion. The motive of Civilis was exactly the opposite—to deplete the same northern branch, so as to facilitate the transit from Roman to German soil. See Annals, ii. 6. 5; xiii. 53.

² Rhenum, "the Waal." Tacitus, as in the fourth book, uses Rhenus loosely to describe both the southern branch or Waal, as well as the Rhine proper, or northern branch.

³ See iii. 35; iv. 31, ante, where, as Mr. Spooner points out, Tacitus tells us that Germany, and not Gaul, was the destination of Montanus.

⁴ As there is a great divergence of opinion amongst critics as to the identity of the places here named, we must remember that Civilis had retired into the Island of the Batavians, because he was well aware that the Romans had not boats enough to build a bridge and that the Roman army could not otherwise cross over from the mainland—"gnarus deesse naves efficiendo ponti, nesque exercitum Romanum aliter transmissurum" (c. 19, ante). Now, at the conclusion of the present chapter (c. 20), we are told that the Germans were endeavouring to destroy the bridge of boats which the Romans had commenced to build at Batavodurum—"Germanorum manus Batavoduri interrumpere inchoatum pontem nitabantur." This would appear to show that the scenes of action lay south of the Waal. I therefore agree with Heraeus and Von Veith (Venera Castra,
sister's son, Classicus and Tutor, led each his own detachment;¹ not that they were assured of triumph all along the line, but they believed that a series of daring attempts would result in success at some one spot. Moreover they knew that Cerialis was anything but wary, and that, in consequence of the various communications he received, he was hurrying to and fro, and might possibly be intercepted. Those who had been commissioned to attack the camp of the Tenth Legion, shrank from the risk of an attempt to storm the legionary entrenchments, but, when the Roman soldiery left their quarters and were engaged in felling timber, they routed them, and slew the prefect of the camp, five centurions of the first grade, and a few privates. The main body had instantly taken refuge within their fortifications. Meanwhile the German troops were seeking to destroy the bridge of boats which we had commenced to build at Batavodurum, but nightfall put an end to an indecisive engagement.

XXI. The situation proved more dangerous at Grinnes and Vada. Civilis attempted to storm Vada, while Classicus was similarly engaged upon Grinnes, nor could their onslaughts have been withstood, as our bravest men had been slain, and amongst them had fallen Briganticus, the captain of a troop of auxiliary horse, whose loyalty to the Roman cause and animosity towards his uncle Civilis we have already described.² But, when Cerialis came to the rescue with a picked body of horse, the fortunes of the day were restored and the Germans were driven headlong into the river Waal.³ While Civilis was endeavouring to hold back the

p. 38) that Arenacum was near the modern village of Ryndern close to Cleve, and that Batavodurum is represented by Dürstedt near Nymwegen, while Grinnes and Vada were towns further westward, but still south of the Waal. The exact positions or modern sites of the two latter places are unknown, but Von Veith believes that Grinnes is represented by Cranenburg, and Vada by Bedburg or Wyler.

¹ Suam quisquem traherent—a manifest correction for the singular traheret of the Med. MS. Tacitus always uses the plural with quisque, as in iv. 78. 4 ; iv. 23, ante.
² See iv. 70. 11, ante.
³ In ammem, "into the river Waal." As we have attempted to show in our note (4) to the preceding chapter that all the four points of attack lay south of the Waal, it follows, if we are right, that the river here mentioned must be the Waal. Those who maintain that all the points of attack were in the Island, will of course translate amnis as the Rhine proper.
fugitives he was recognised, and, amid a shower of darts, he left his horse behind him, and swam across the river. Verax escaped in the same way. Some boats put in to the river side and ferried Tutor and Classicus over the stream. But not even upon this occasion did the Roman fleet take part in the action, as it had been ordered, but panic stayed its progress, and besides that the oarsmen were scattered on shore in the discharge of other military duties. No doubt Cerialis gave but short notice to carry out his orders, as he conceived his plans rapidly and executed them with brilliant success; good luck had sustained him even when strategy had failed. On that account both general and army became heedless of the rules of the service. And so some days afterwards, although he escaped the peril of capture, he was not able to avoid loss of reputation.

XXII. After a visit to Neuss and Bonn for the purpose of inspecting the camps, which were being erected for the legionary winter-quarters there, Cerialis was returning on shipboard, while his escort were marching along the bank in broken order, and his sentinels were remiss. This was noticed by the Germans, and they organized a surprise. A dark and cloudy night was chosen, and then, drifting rapidly down the stream, they entered the fortified camp without hindrance. The inception of the massacre was aided by stratagem: they cut the ropes of the tents, and commenced to butcher the Roman soldiers as they lay hampered under their own canvas. A second detachment began to throw the fleet into disorder by casting hawsers over the ships, and hauling them back by the sterns; and just as they observed silence, in order to escape observation, so now, once the carnage

1 Transvexere—the correction of Halm for the vexere of the Med. MS. Heraeus proposes avexere.

2 Disjecta agmine, "while his escort were marching along the bank in broken order." The general was on board one of the ships, and his escort, or part of it, were marching along the bank of the river in broken order.

3 The soldiers halted, and formed a regular camp, every night, opposite the ships in the river.

4 Vincla, "hawsers." Heraeus compares Verg., Æn., ii. 236:

"Accingunt omnes operi, pedibusque rotarum
Subiciunt lapsus, et stuppea vincla collo
Intendunt."

5 Ad fallendum silentio—miscabant. We must construe silentio with miscabant by the
had begun, they made the welkin ring with their yells for the purposes of intensifying the scene of terror. The Romans, roused from their slumbers by their wounds, began to seek for their arms, and to rush through the passages of the camp, a few of them in uniform, but the majority with their garments twisted around their shoulders, and sword in hand. The general, half asleep and almost naked, was saved by a mistake of the enemy: for they had captured the admiral's flag-ship under the impression that the general was aboard. Cerialis had spent the night elsewhere, while engaged, as many believed, in an amour with Claudia Sacratia, a Ubian lady. The sentinels sought to palliate their guilt at the expense of their general's honour, by alleging that they had been ordered to observe silence so as not to disturb his repose; and so they stopped sounding the bugle-calls and repeating the challenges, and in that way, as they said, fell asleep themselves. In broad daylight the enemy rowed back with the captured vessels, and towed the flag-ship up the river Lippe as a present to Veleda.

XXIII. The desire for a naval demonstration took possession of Civilis; and so he manned all his biremes as well as his single-banked sloops. He had in addition an immense number of pinnaces, each of which carried a crew of between thirty and forty men. The Liburnian galleys were provided with the usual gear; and

figure of zeugma, and spell another verb to suit the context. Ad fallendum is like the Greek λαυθάνει, "to escape notice."

1 This shows that the Romans were near Cologne, on their way back from Neuss and Bonn, when they were attacked.

2 Signo et vocibus, "the bugle-calls and the challenges." At the beginning of each of the four watches the bugle was sounded—Hereus.

3 Incessit. The Med. MS. has invasi incessit, where invasi is either a gloss, or a careless adoption of the more familiar word by the scribe, who corrected himself before adding the t. For this use of incessit, see ii. 2. 8 ; ii. 63. 16 ; iii. 27. 15, ante.

4 Quaque simplici ordine agebantur, "his single-banked sloops." Tacitus avoids the use of the Greek word moneris (μονήρης), although Livy (xxxviii. 38) uses it. The moneris (μονήρης) had a single bank of oars and but one mast. See the picture of the same in 2 Smith's Dict. Ant., p. 218.

6 Tricenos quadragenosque vexere. Meiser's admirable emendation of the defective tricenos quadragenosque ser of the Med. MS.

6 Armamenta, "the gear" of a ship. See Ovid, Metamorph., xi. 456: "Aptarique suis pinum jabet armamentis."
at the same time the pinnaces were helped along by a rig\(^1\) of party-coloured plaids,\(^2\) which proved a picturesque substitute for sails. A broad expanse of water, like the open sea, was chosen, where the mouth of the Meuse discharges the waters of the Waal into the ocean.\(^3\) The motive for this naval display, apart from the inborn vanity of the race, was to ensure that in the consequent panic the Roman supplies might be cut off while on their way from Gaul. Cerialis, more in amazement\(^4\) than in alarm, drew up his own fleet, which, although inferior to that of the enemy in point of numbers, was superior to it in the training of its crews, the skill of its pilots, and the size of its ships. The Romans were aided by the current of the river, the enemy were favoured by the high wind: so they sailed past each other; and, after a mere skirmish with some light projectiles, they moved off in opposite directions. Civilis attempted nothing further, and crossed the Rhine proper\(^5\); Cerialis was engaged in the ruthless devastation of the Island of the Batavians, but, in accordance with the well-known ruse\(^6\) of generals, respected the estate and villas of Civilis, when meanwhile, upon the turn of the autumn and by reason of the continuous rains throughout the equinox, the river overflowed its banks and flooded the island, which is naturally marshy and flat, to such an extent that it presented all the appearance of a lake. Cerialis had

\(^1\) *Apta lintres.* The emendation of the Bipontine (Zweibrücken) editors for the corrupt *capta lintres* of the Med. MS. The quotation from Ovid, *Metamorph.*, xi. 456, in the preceding note, should be convincing: "*Aptarique suis pinum jubet armamentis.*" Meiser cites Livy, xxii. 22. 4: "*apta instructaque remigio triginta et due quinquiremes erant*"; and Ibid., xxii. 27. 8: "*paratas apatatase habebat lintres*": Ibid., xxx. 10. 3: "*agili et nautico instrumento aptae et armatae classi.*" Also, Caesar, *B. G.*, iii. 111: "*quinquiremes aptae instructaque omnibus rebus ad navigandum.*" Heræus reads *acta = actuaria.*

\(^2\) *Sagulis versicoloribus,* "party-coloured plaids." See ii. 20 (vol. i. p. 82), ante.

\(^3\) The waters of the Meuse and Waal, after receiving those of the Lek, flow into the sea under the one name of the Meuse.

\(^4\) *Miraculo,* "in amazement." See i. 27. 4 (vol. i. p. 18), ante.

\(^5\) *Rhenum.* Here used in its exact sense of "the Rhine proper."

\(^6\) *Nota arte,* "the well-known ruse" of sparing the property of the opposing general in order to suggest corruption upon his part. See Thucydides, ii. 13, where Pericles feared that Archidamus might *χαρίζεσθαι τούς ἄγραφα αὐτοῦ παραλίπη καὶ μὴ δραπη.* So the lands of Fabius Maximus were spared *fraude ac dolo Hannibalis,* Livy, xxii. 23.
neither his fleet nor his supplies at hand, and his camp, which stood upon the low ground, was being swept away by the force of the inundation.

**XXIV.** Civilis claimed credit on the ground that the legions could have been crushed at this time, and that such was the wish of the Germans, but that they were dissuaded from the attempt by a ruse upon his part; nor is this statement improbable, as in a few days afterwards the surrender of the enemy took place. For Cerialis had despatched secret envoys with promises of peace for the Batavians and of pardon for Civilis, while the general exhorted Veleda and her kinsfolk to turn the tide of war, which had hitherto flowed against them on so many disastrous occasions, by some opportune service to the Roman People. "The men of Trèves," said Cerialis, "have been cut to pieces; the men of Cologne have been readmitted to our allegiance; their fatherland has been torn from the Batavians; nor has any advantage sprung from the friendship of Civilis save wounds and banishment and sorrow. He is an exile and an outcast, and a burden to those who harbour him, and as for you, your guilt has reached its limit in that you have so often crossed the Rhine. Should you attempt anything further, on your side will be the wrong and the crime: on ours, the duty of revenge, and the sanction of Heaven."

1 *Imputavit,* "claimed credit." As has been so often pointed out before, *imputare* means to credit one's own side of the account, and to debit that of someone else. Hence the metaphor. So Meiser:—"*Sibi tamquam meritum tribuit postea apud Romanos.*" See i. 38, ante. See Juvenal, v. 14, and Mayor's note.

2 *Fortunam belli mutaret,* "to turn the tide of war." Compare ii. 23. 15 (vol. i., p. 86): "Sed repressus victorius impetus, ne novis subsidis firmati hostes fortunam praelii mutarent." For the use of *monere* with the infinitive, see iv. 33. 6, ante: "*id solum, ut in tumultu, monuit, subsignant milites, media firmare.*"

3 *Partum,* Ritter's certain correction of the paralum of the Med. MS.

4 *Fugas,* "banishment," as in *Annals,* xiv. 64: "*quotiens fugas et cades jussit princeps.*" Compare also *Agricola,* xlv.: "*tot noblissemuarum feminarum exilia et fugas.*"

XXV. Promises were mingled with these threats, and, now that the fidelity of the Germans across the Rhine had been shaken to its centre, discussion arose amongst the Batavians likewise. "The hour of ruin," said they, "can no longer be postponed, nor can the slavery of the whole world be averted by the efforts of one single race. What have we gained by slaying and burning the legions save their replacement by greater numbers and stronger men? If we have fought with spirit for Vespasian, well, Vespasian is now lord of the world; but if we challenge the Roman People to the fray, what fraction of the human race are the Batavians? Think of the lot of the men of Rhaetia and of Noricum and of the burdens of the rest of the allies; whereas no tribute, but simply our valour and our warriors, are required from us. This is the nearest possible approach to absolute independence, and, if there must be a choice of masters, then the yoke of the Princes of Rome is more honourable than that of the women of Germany." Such were the utterances of the populace, but the nobles spoke more savagely. "We have been forced into arms," they exclaimed, "by the frenzy of Civilis, that man who has weighed the ruin of his race in the balance of his private wrongs. Then indeed was Heaven hostile to the Batavians, when Rome's legions were beleaguered, her generals slain, and a war was commenced, which no one save Civilis needed, but which was fraught with death for all of us. We have now reached the very brink of destruction, unless we begin forthwith to regain our senses, and manifest our repentance by the chastisement of the guilty."

1 Armis vocent, "challenge to the fray." Vocare is here used by Tacitus for provocation. Compare iv. 80. 10, ante: "Neque ipse dearet adrogantia vocare offensas, nimius commemorandis quae meruisset." See also Annals, ii. 81: "praemisia vocans" : Ibid., vi. 34: "Vocare ad pugnam" : Ibid., Germ. xiv. : "Vocare hostem."

2 Quotam partem generis humani Batavos esse? Compare Annals, xiii. 55, where Nipperdey rightly follows the Medicean MS. : "Quotam partem campi, in quam pecora et armenta militum aliquando transmitterentur!"

3 See Germania, xxix.: "Manet honos et antiquae societatis insigne. Nam nec tributis contemnuntur, nec publicanus atterit; exempti oneribus et collationibus et tantum in usum præliorum sepositi velut tela atque arma bellis reservantur."

4 A sneer at the influence of the weird woman, Veleda.
XXVI. This change of feeling did not escape the notice of Civilis, and he resolved to anticipate it, for, apart from his weariness of the existing ills, he was prompted by the hope of saving his life, a hope that often subdues mighty spirits. Upon his request for a parley the bridge over the river Nabalia was cut in twain, the generals advanced to the broken edges on either side, and Civilis opened the interview as follows: "If I were defending myself before a general of Vitellius, my conduct would deserve no pardon, nor would my words be entitled to any credit; for there was absolute enmity between us, and the hostilities begun by him were intensified by me. But my respect for Vespasian is of old standing, and when he was in a private station we used to be called friends. This was well known to Primus Antonius, by whose letter I was forced into war, in order to prevent the legions of Germany and the youth of Gaul from crossing the Alps. All that Antonius urged in his letter Hordeonius Flaccus impressed upon me in a personal interview. I fought for the same cause in Germany as Mucian did in Syria, Aponius in Moesia, Flavianus in Pannonia.

1 The Stoic philosophy of our historian breaks out. Compare Annals, ii. 53: "Et Maroboduus quidem Ravennæ habitus, si quando insolescerent Suebi, quasi reediturus in regnum ostentabatur: sed non excessit Italia per duodeviginti annos consensuque multum imminuta claritate ob nimiam vivendi cupidinem." Mr. Furneaux cites Juvenal, viii. 83:

"Summum credo nefas animam preterre pudori
Et propter vitam vivendi perdere causas.
Dignus morte perit, cnet licet ostrea centum
Gaurana et Cosmi toto mergatur aeno."

2 Nabalia fluminis. This river cannot be identified; but, as Civilis had retreated across the Rhine proper, our choice must be confined to the Yssel or the Vecht.

3 See iv. 13. 10, ante: "missis sane ad eum Primi Antonii litteris, quibus avertere accita a Vitellio auxilia et tumultus Germanici specie retentare legiones jubeatur." See also Ibid., xxxii. 1.

4 "Here the story abruptly terminates. The remainder of the Roman's narrative is lost, and upon that broken bridge the form of the Batavian hero disappears for ever. His name fades from history: not a syllable is known of his subsequent career; everything is buried in the profound oblivion which now steals over the scene where he was the most imposing actor."—Motley's "Rise of the Dutch Republic," Introduction, iv.
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