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**THE GERMANIA OF TACITUS.**

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THE GERMANIA OF TACITUS

609-19

WITH

A REVISED TEXT, ENGLISH NOTES,  
AND MAP.

BY

<sup>John</sup>  
ALFRED J. CHURCH, M.A.

LINCOLN COLLEGE, OXFORD,

ONE OF THE ASSISTANT MASTERS IN MERCHANT TAYLORS' SCHOOL, LONDON,

AND

<sup>W. Jackson</sup>  
W. J. BRODRIBB, M.A.

LATE FELLOW OF ST JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

<sup>c</sup>  
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## PREFACE.

THE Treatise on Germany and the Life of Agricola have, perhaps, been edited as frequently as any of the Latin Classics. They exhibit in a singularly convenient form the manner and genius of one of the greatest of ancient historians; and thus at once possess a great literary value, and are peculiarly useful as text-books in our Schools and Universities. About works which have been so diligently studied we can hardly expect to say much that is original. We have endeavoured, with the aid of recent editions, thoroughly to elucidate the text, explaining the various difficulties, critical and grammatical, which occur to the student. Information which is now amply supplied by the dictionaries of biography and geography we have thought it unnecessary to furnish. We have consulted



throughout, besides the older commentators, the editions of Ritter and Orelli, but we are under special obligations to the labours of the recent German editors, Wex and Kritz, an obligation which must not be measured by the extent of our references to them.

We have followed, but with some important variations, the text of Orelli. A table is given of the passages in which we have adopted a different reading.

We frequently quote from our translation (published in 1868). It may be as well to explain that in some instances we have seen reason to modify the renderings there given.

A. J. C.

W. J. B.

LONDON,

*January, 1869.*

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List of Editions and Translations of the *Agricola* and *Germania* of Tacitus which have been consulted by the present Editors. [This list is confined to works of the present century.]

J. Aikin, 1823. Translation of the *Agricola* and *Germania* with notes. 4th Edition. This is a work designed rather for general readers than for scholars and students.

C. Roth, 1833. Edition of the *Agricola*, with learned and copious German notes, which are however hardly adapted to ordinary students.

P. Frost, 1847. Edition of the *Agricola* and *Germania*, with English notes. It is suitable for the use of schools, but is now rather out of date.

Dr Latham, 1851. Edition of the *Germania*, for students of philology and ethnology. Critical and grammatical difficulties are not discussed.

F. C. Wex, 1852. Edition of the *Agricola*, with a thoroughly revised text, Prolegomena, in which every difficult and corrupt passage is fully discussed, and Latin notes. This is the most valuable of all recent editions of the *Agricola*, and is the result of most laborious research.

F. C. Wex, 1852. Edition of the *Agricola* for the use of Schools, without the Prolegomena and with the notes of the larger edition translated into German.

M. Haupt, 1855. Edition of the *Germania*, with a new and carefully revised text, for the use of Schools.

W. Smith, 1855. Edition of the *Agricola* and *Germania*, with English notes, which are chiefly taken from Ruperti and Passow, and with Boetticher's essay on the style of Tacitus.

A. J. Henrichsen, 1855. German translation of the *Agricola* only partially complete.

W. S. Tyler, 1857. Edition of the *Agricola* and *Germania*, with English notes, drawn from the best commentators, and with a life of Tacitus. Published at New York. This is a useful edition, but the notes are rather too diffuse.

Kritz, 1859. Edition of the *Agricola*, mainly based upon Wex, with Latin notes.

Kritz, 1860. Edition of the *Germania*, mainly based upon Haupt, with Latin notes.

[Both these editions we have found very useful.]

K. A. Löw, 1862. German translation of the *Germania*, with the Latin text, and notes.

N. Möslér, 1862. German translation of the *Germania*, with the Latin text, and notes.

G. and F. Thudichum, 1862. German translation of the *Germania*, with the Latin text, and notes.

## NOTES ON THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF TACITUS.

LITTLE or nothing is known of the life of Tacitus except what he tells us himself, or what we may gather from the Epistles of his friend, the younger Pliny. His *praenomen* is a matter of doubt. It is commonly written *Caius* (on the authority of Sidonius Apollinaris), but it is given as Publius in the best MS. of the *Annals*. The name *Cornelius* suggests a possible connection with the great patrician Gens which was thus designated. But there was also a plebeian house of the same name, and it must be remembered that in the time of the Empire the *nomina gentilia* had become widely diffused. With regard to his parentage we have at least a probable conjecture to guide us. The elder Pliny was, he tells us (*Nat. Hist.* VII. 17), acquainted with one Cornelius Tacitus, who was then a Procurator in Belgic Gaul, and who had a son. It has been supposed that this Tacitus was the historian's father. The similarity of name, the coincidence of dates, and the probability that at some time of his life our author was familiar with the neighbourhood of North-Eastern Gaul, incline us to accept the conjecture, which is further supported by the fact that the circumstances of his career seem to imply an origin which was respectable rather than dignified. A Procurator was generally a person of Equestrian rank. About the date of his birth nothing can be certainly affirmed. It is indeed approximately fixed by several expressions used by the younger Pliny. That writer says (*Epist.* VII. 20) that Tacitus and himself were "nearly equal in age

and rank (aetate et dignitate propemodum *aequales*).” The question is how far *aequales* must be considered to be modified by *propemodum*. We think the word should be taken to imply a considerable difference. Pliny himself says, “When I was a very young man (*adolescentulus*) and you were at the height of your fame and reputation, I earnestly desired to imitate you.” *Adolescentulus* is a very vague term, but Pliny may be taken to define this application of it to himself when he tells us (*Epist.* v. 8) that he was in his nineteenth year when he began to speak in the Forum. He was, as he tells us himself (*Epist.* vi. 20), in his eighteenth year when the famous eruption of Vesuvius took place (A. D. 79), and he must therefore have been born A. D. 61 or 62. We are inclined to put the date of the birth of Tacitus at least ten years earlier. In this conclusion we are supported by the passage which we find in the third chapter of the *Life of Agricola*. There he speaks of those who had survived the evil days of Domitian as coming under two classes, the young men who had become old, the old ‘who had advanced to the very verge and end of existence.’ He must have included himself in the former class. The *Agricola* was published before the death of Nerva but after the adoption of Trajan, *i. e.* in the latter part of the year 97. It may surprise us that Tacitus could have spoken of himself as being then an old man. But the term *senior* was technically applied at Rome (Aul. Gellius, x. 28, quoting Tubero) to those who had passed their forty-fifth year. And C. Cotta (in a speech to the people preserved to us in one of the fragments of Sallust) speaks of himself, he being then forty-eight, as an old man. If Tacitus was fifty in A. D. 97, he must have been born A. D. 47 ;

if an interval of fifteen years is thought too much to be borne out by Pliny's *propemodum* (occurring, it must be remembered, in a complimentary letter, and from its very employment implying no inconsiderable difference), we must not anyhow fix a later date than A. D. 51 or 52.

The town of Interamna (now Terni) in Umbria has been named as the birthplace of Tacitus. There is no direct proof of the assertion, but it is known that this town was in the third century the seat of the family of the Emperor Tacitus. This prince, who occupied the throne for a few months after the death of Aurelian A. D. 275, was accustomed to claim descent from the historian, and honoured his memory by directing that ten copies of his works should be annually transcribed and placed in the public libraries.

If our conjecture as to the date of his birth be correct, Tacitus must have attained the period of youth in the great year (69) which witnessed the fall of three Emperors. His descriptions of some of the scenes of that time, among which we may specify the entry of the Flavianist troops into Rome (*Hist.* III. 83), look like the work of an eye-witness.

It has been suggested that Tacitus made the acquaintance of Agricola at some time in the three years (A. D. 74—77) during which that officer held the government of Aquitania. There is, it has been thought, a particularity about his description of Agricola's administration which indicates the intimate acquaintance of one who either held some official position, or was otherwise closely connected with it. This position may possibly have included something of the intimate relation in which Agricola himself at the opening of his career had stood to Suetonius

Paulinus (*Agr.* 5). However this may be, it is certain that at or before this time an intimate acquaintance had been formed between the two men. In A. D. 77 Agricola returned to Rome to fulfil the duties of the Consulship. During his year of office he betrothed his daughter (born A. D. 65) to his young friend. *Juveni mihi*, says Tacitus, *filiam despondit*. *Juvenis*, like other Latin terms denoting age, is elastic in its signification, but it is particularly applicable to one who was between his twenty-fifth and thirtieth year. The marriage was celebrated in the following year, the same in which Agricola assumed his command in Britain.

The illustrious alliance thus formed was probably the means of introducing Tacitus to a career of public distinction. His elevation, he says (*Hist.* i. 1) was "begun by Vespasian, augmented by Titus, and still further advanced by Domitian." What offices he may have held under the first and second of these princes, it is impossible to determine. Agricola himself was Quaestor and Tribune of the People before he reached the Praetorship. But the Quaestors were employed in the Provinces. If we suppose Tacitus to have remained at Rome we may conjecture that he filled the office of Aedile, and as Vespasian, his first patron died June 23, A. D. 79, that he was appointed to it early in that year. His next office was probably that of Tribune of the People, which, as Titus died Sept. 13, A. D. 81, he must have held either A. D. 80 or in the following year. We know from his own testimony (*Ann.* xi. 11) that he was Praetor A. D. 88, in which year Domitian celebrated the *Ludi Saeculares*. In 89 or 90 he left Rome with his wife, and did not return till after the death of Agricola, which took place

August 23, A.D. 93. (See *Agr.* ch. 45). It is certain, however, that he was in Rome during the last period of Domitian's reign. The language in which at the close of the *Agricola* he describes the horrors of that time is full of the bitterness, and even of the self-reproach of one who had been compelled to witness and to sanction by his presence the cruelties of the tyrant.

Domitian was assassinated Sept. 18, A. D. 95. Two years afterwards Tacitus was advanced to the dignity of the Consulship. Verginius Rufus had died in his year of office, and Tacitus was appointed to succeed him. He also delivered a funeral oration on his predecessor. "Hic supremus," says Pliny of Rufus (*Epist.* II. 1), "felicitati ejus cumulus accessit, laudator eloquentissimus."

In A. D. 100 he was appointed together with Pliny, who was then Consul elect, to conduct the impeachment preferred by the Province of Africa against their late Proconsul, Marcus Priscus. Pliny, who relates the trial at length (*Epist.* II. 11), describes his oratory by the epithet *σεμνῶς*. Here the public life of Tacitus terminated. We hear indeed in one of Pliny's letters (VI. 9) of his interesting himself in the candidature of one Julius Naso for some public office. We may gather from the letter that he was not then living at Rome, and, perhaps, as he was not aware that Naso had started under the auspices of Pliny, that he knew but little of what was going on in the capital.

The date of his death is not known, but that he at least lived down to the end of Trajan's reign, we may infer from *Ann.* II. 61, where he says that the Roman Empire "Nunc ad-rubrum mare patescit," an expression which must refer to the successes obtained by Trajan in his Eastern expedition (A. D. 114—117).



The *Dialogus de Oratore*, which we have no hesitation in ascribing to the pen of Tacitus, was probably an early work. The expression which we find in ch. 17, "sextam jam felicitis hujus principatus stationem qua Vespasianus rem publicam fovet," may not be intended to do more than fix the date of the imaginary conversation; but the passage indicates a more favourable opinion of the Emperor than he seems to have entertained in after years. (See *Hist.* II. 84, III. 34, &c.)

The *Agricola* was published towards the close of A.D. 97; the *Germany* in the following year. The *History* may with probability be ascribed to some year between A.D. 103 and 106. A very interesting letter of Pliny's (*Epist.* IX. 27) very probably refers to it. It was still, we know, in course of preparation when his *Epistles* VI. 16, 20 and VII. 33 were written. The first and second of these describe the famous eruption of Vesuvius, and were written at the historian's request. The third relates some particulars as to the prosecution of Baebius Massa in which Pliny had taken a part which he was anxious to have recorded. "Auguror," he writes, "historias tuas immortales futuras; quo magis illis (ingenuè fatebor) inseri cupio." The publication of the *Annals* must be referred, as has before been said, to the close of Trajan's reign. Reference is made in *Ann.* XI. 11 to the *History* as an earlier work, "libris quibus res Domitiani imperatoris composui." The two contained together thirty books, as we learn from S. Jerome on Zachariah, ch. XIII., and related the events of about 70 years from the death of Augustus to the accession of Nerva. It is probable that Tacitus found it expedient to abandon the intention, announced in *Hist.* I. 1, of writing the history of the reigns of Nerva and Trajan. The records of an extinct

dynasty furnished a subject 'less anxious' if not 'more fertile.' Accordingly we find him (*Ann.* III. 24) resolved, if his life should be prolonged, to choose another theme in a still earlier period, the reign of Augustus.

The letters addressed by the younger Pliny to Tacitus are the following : I. 6, 20 ; IV. 13 ; VI. 9, 16, 20 ; VII. 20, 33 ; VIII. 7 ; IX. 10, 14. Of these the one numbered IX. 10 has been ascribed, and not without probability, to Tacitus himself. In IX. 23, Pliny tells an interesting anecdote illustrative of the literary reputation which Tacitus had attained.

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The style of the Ciceronian age aimed at richness of expression, and smoothly flowing and gracefully finished periods. It had been brought by Cicero to perhaps as high a degree of perfection as the Latin language permitted. The succeeding age proposed to itself a somewhat different aim. It wanted something *piquant* and stimulating.

Hence quite a different set of literary characteristics. A style sententious and concise, sometimes unpleasantly abrupt, with far-fetched, poetical and even archaic terms and expressions became fashionable. Scope was thus given to some of the worst extravagances of bad taste, and we find nearly all the writers of what is called the silver age indulging in pedantries and affectations which frequently render them harsh and obscure. A re-action followed in favour of the earlier or Ciceronian style. Of this we have evident traces in Tacitus. He seems to have aimed at combining some of Cicero's most conspicuous graces with the pointed and sententious character of the new style. Though he occasionally wants clearness and perhaps

strains too much after effect, he is on the whole a far more natural and straightforward writer than most of his contemporaries.

It has been usual to regard Cicero as the representative of the most perfect Latinity, and Tacitus as a man of genius belonging to a declining age and infected by many of its chief literary vices. This view ignores several important considerations and requires some correction. It is true that the style of Cicero, from its general conformity to certain precise and definite rules, is fitted to be a model of Latinity in a sense in which that of Tacitus cannot be. A modern scholar feels instinctively that the first is much more suitable for imitation, but it is, we think, a great mistake to claim on this ground for Cicero a distinct superiority over Tacitus. Cicero indeed was enabled by his great abilities and wide culture to give a richness and flexibility to the Latin language which it had not known before his time, and we may venture to affirm that without him there could not have been a Tacitus. If, however, we are to measure excellence of style by its capacity of adequately representing the profound and subtle ideas of a really great thinker, we shall see good reason for placing Tacitus in at least as high a rank as Cicero. In vividness of imagination, in insight into the intricacies of human character, in the breadth and comprehensiveness of his historical faculty, he stands first among Roman writers. These qualities are continually reflected in his style. In the language of the time, permeated as it was with Greek ideas and phrases, he found an instrument ready to his hand; he used it with a consummate mastery of its various resources, and succeeded in giving to great thoughts a singularly characteristic expression.

## INTRODUCTION TO THE 'GERMANIA.'

'GERMANIA' was a comprehensive term in ancient geography. It embraced certain territories on the western bank of the Rhine, as well as the vast and imperfectly known tract of country stretching from the east of that river to the confines of Sarmatia and Dacia. The first had been formed into two Roman provinces in the time of Augustus. These were called the two Germanies, or Germania Superior and Germania Inferior; and they extended from the northern sea along the Rhine to a point a little to the south of Basle. The latter, which is the subject of the present work, was sometimes described as Germania Magna, sometimes as Germania Transrhenana or Barbara. It was, as we should expect, a loosely-defined area. The Rhine, Danube, and Vistula were its western, southern, and eastern boundaries; the name, however, of the last river does not occur in Tacitus, whose account of the eastern frontier is given in exceedingly vague terms. It is mentioned by Ptolemy as one of the great rivers of Germany, and as separating it from Sarmatia. Of the northern limits of the country no ancient writer or geographer had a distinct notion. All that was known was that there were vast peninsulas and islands in the Ocean, which presented itself to the imagination of antiquity as the ultimate bound-

dary of earth and nature. These unexplored regions, about which and their inhabitants strange rumours were current, to which there are brief allusions in this work, were all included in the name 'Germania.'

It is to Tacitus that we are mainly indebted for whatever knowledge we possess of ancient Germany, and of the character of its various peoples. There are indeed other writers from whom something is to be learnt in the way of comparison and illustration. The geographical treatises of Strabo, Pomponius Mela, and Ptolemy, the two first of which were written in the first and the last in the second century, contain information not always to be found in Tacitus, and may be frequently consulted with advantage by commentators on this work. From Cæsar, too, whose wars in Gaul brought him from time to time into collision with German tribes, and from Velleius Paterculus, who served under Tiberius in Germany, we get occasional hints about the country and its inhabitants. The elder Pliny's great work in twenty books on the Roman wars in Germany has unfortunately not come down to us, but there are scattered throughout his 'Historia Naturalis' passages of interest which touch on German Geography, climate, and productions. Dion Cassius and Suetonius were often led by the subject of their works to allude to Germany and its tribes, but we gain from them no important accession to our knowledge. Tacitus, in fact, though it is as well to supplement his work with what can be gathered from the above-mentioned sources, is the only writer who gives us a picture of the life of the ancient Germans. He naturally falls from time to time into the errors incident to imperfect information; his description of the localities of the various tribes is often obscure and

inaccurate, and he now and then seems to attribute to the whole German population the peculiarities of a single people. On the whole, however, there can be little doubt but that his work may be accepted as that of a sagacious thinker and painstaking inquirer. He has contrived to compress into a small compass much really valuable matter, and has enabled us to perceive in their earliest workings the germs of certain mediæval and modern institutions. It would be too much to suppose that he was guided to this result by a deliberate and conscious foresight, or that he ever so dimly anticipated from what most impressed him with admiration in the character of these tribes, the establishment of a new world on the ruins of the Roman empire. Tacitus, we believe, was far too deeply imbued with Roman ideas to admit such a notion into his mind. He was no doubt struck with the contrast presented by the domestic virtues of the Germans to the corruption and profligacy of his countrymen, and he continually avails himself of it to point the satire of which he was so great a master. He felt, too, as is evident from the ominous language at the close of ch. 33, that there was danger to the empire from the side of Germany. But neither was his admiration of the Germans by any means unqualified, as is clearly shown by his exposure of their vices, nor is there anything to imply that he feared the worst for his country. On the contrary, the auspicious opening of Nerva's reign, and the increasing strength and prosperity of the empire under Trajan, seem to have inspired him with new faith in the destinies of Rome.

We gather from this work that the Germans were not for the most part an utterly barbarous people. Of

art and literature indeed they knew next to nothing, and to the civilization of Greek and Italian cities they were entire strangers. They had however a regular social organization on an aristocratic basis, and a religion not without noble and awe-inspiring elements. Society ranged itself into four classes, a hereditary landed aristocracy, free-born men also landowners, freedmen, and slaves. They were governed by chieftains or kings whose power was commonly limited. Fixed habitations, separate and apart from each other, answering to our 'homesteads,' were the rule among them. They had no distinct order of priests, as that of the Druids among the Gauls; no temples, no images of the gods. Every thing implied a love of severe simplicity and a determined spirit of independence. To one brought up amidst the elegant luxuries and refinement of Rome the German life and character must have seemed as ungenial as the climate which so strikingly contrasted with the sunny skies of Italy. Tacitus however singles out one feature in German manners for special commendation. It is their reverence for the marriage-tie and the chastity of their women. He connects this virtue with their simple life, which knew nothing of the various artificial excitements of Roman civilization.

Nowhere in the course of this work does the writer announce any special purpose which he had in view in its composition. It has no preface or introduction, as his other works have. Editors have accordingly tasked their ingenuity to the utmost with the object of supplying this defect. Ritter concludes from the absence of any introductory matter, (by means of which, he observes, in the case of the *Annals*, *Histories* and *Life of Agricola*, the author's aim and

purpose are clearly explained,) that the 'Germania' was intended to be an appendix to the Histories, the readers of which would perpetually feel themselves in need of a fuller and more detailed acquaintance with the country than could be conveniently given in the course of the work. This is at least a more probable hypothesis than many which have been suggested, and which can be described only as groundless conjectures. If we are to have a theory on the subject, we incline to think that ch. 38 which enumerates the Roman losses in Germany and dwells on the fierce independence of the people, more terrible even than Samnite, Carthaginian, Gaul or Parthian, hints at the motive which led to the composition of this work. A country so formidable, from which alone, as Tacitus might well think, serious danger was to be apprehended by Rome, would at least be worth a description as full and as accurate as his opportunities enabled him to give.

It cannot, we think, be inferred with any thing like certainty from the contents and general character of this work that Tacitus had ever visited Germany and passed some time in the country. Kritz indeed labours to show in an elaborate discussion that here and there matters are described with a precision and particularity which clearly betoken an eye-witness, and he lays considerable stress on the occasional introduction of native words which he argues would hardly have been known to one who had not actually resided in the country. His arguments, though ingenious, do not seem conclusive. It is certainly by no means improbable that Tacitus may have been in Germany, but the various opportunities which he must have had of gaining a knowledge of the country are amply



sufficient to account for the character of his descriptions. As a youth he had lived in all likelihood on the German border, and in his maturer years he would be able to add to his early impressions information gathered from Roman soldiers who had served in Germany, from members of the Emperor's German body-guard, from travellers and merchants, from the elder Pliny, with whom he was personally acquainted, and from the numerous Germans who were at that time living in Rome.

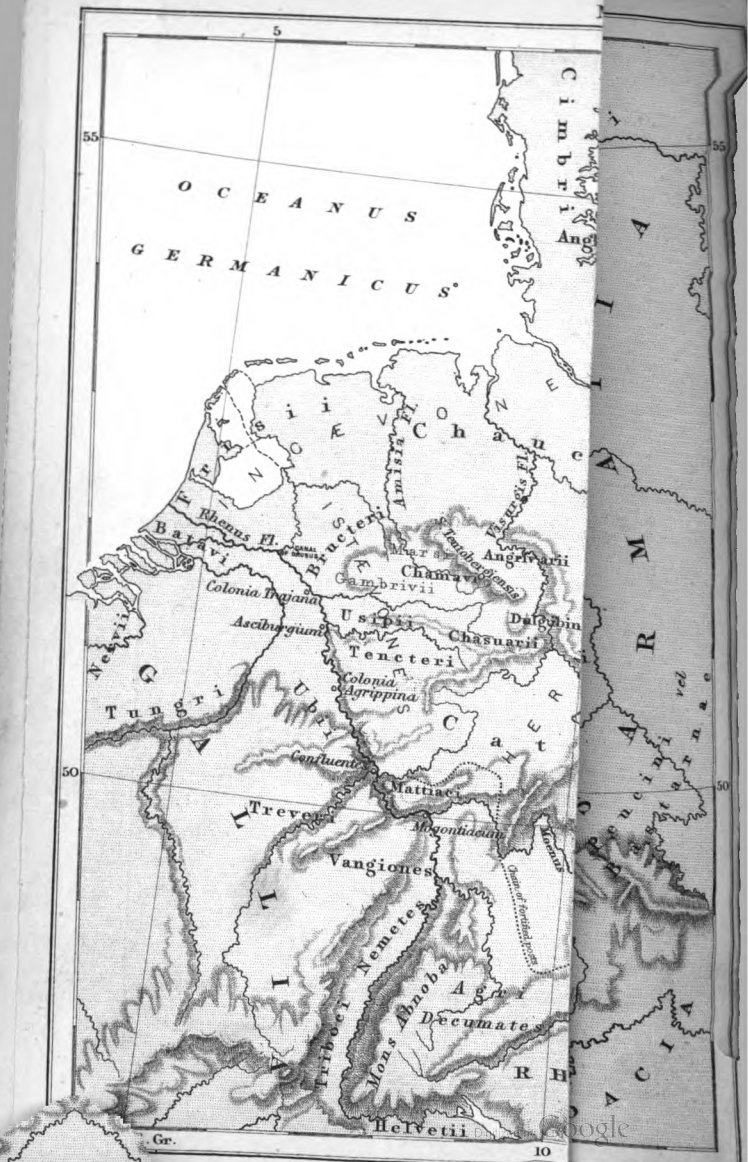
The 'Germania' bears the marks of a youthful composition. It is in passages highly rhetorical, and even poetic in some of its turns of expression. It is occasionally harsh and obscure, particularly in its description of localities, which is usually vague and ill-defined. The satire which is so characteristic of Tacitus is continually meeting us in this work. German life and manners are so described that a Roman reader must have felt that the degeneracy of his countrymen was being intentionally put to shame. The text is in a more satisfactory state than that of the Agricola, and the recensions of Haupt and Kritz, considerably more recent than that of Orelli, have probably done for it as much as a careful examination of the MSS. and a sound estimate of their comparative value can accomplish.

*Table of Passages in which the Text of this Edition of  
the 'Germania' differs from that of Orelli.*

	OURELLI.	C. AND B.
Ch. III.	baritum	barditum
IV.	habitus quoque corporum, quanquam in tanto hominum numero, idem omnibus truces, &c.	habitus quoque corporum, quanquam in tanto hominum numero, idem omnibus; truces, &c. &c.
VIII.	Aurinium	Albrunam
IX.	Herculem	[Herculem]
XIII.	haec dignitas, hae vires, magno semper electorum juvenum globo circumdari; in pace, &c. &c.	haec dignitas, hae vires; magno semper electorum juvenum globo circumdari, in pace, &c. &c.
XIV.	tueare	tuentur
XV.	non multum venatibus	multum venatibus
XIX.	abscissis	accisis
XX.	tamquam [ii] et animum &c.	tamquam et animum
XXII.	Ergo detecta et nuda omnium mens postera die retractatur, et salva, &c.	Ergo detecta et nuda omnium mens; postera die retractatur, et salva, &c.

	ORELLI.	C. AND B.
XXXVII.	rursus pulsi (inde)	rursus inde pulsi
XL.	passim sine custode	passim et sine custode
XLII.	Narisci	Naristi
XLIII.	[jugumque]	jugumque
XLV.	sonum insuper audiri	sonum insuper emergentis audiri
	sudantur	sudant
XLVI.	sordes omnium ac torpor ; procerum, &c.	sordes omnium, ac torpor pro- cerum, &c.





OCEANUS  
GERMANICUS

Cimbri  
Angli

Belgici  
Eboracenses  
Brytanni  
Cantuarii  
Atrebatenses  
Eboracenses  
Brytanni  
Cantuarii

Rhenus Fl.  
Balavi  
Colonia Trajana  
Asciburguni  
Tungri  
Usipii  
Teneteri  
Colonia Agrippina  
Mara  
Angliarii  
Chamavi  
Cambrii  
Dulcibini  
Chasuarii

Confluent  
Treveri  
Mattiaci  
Mogontiacum  
Vangiones  
Triboci  
Nemetes  
Mons Abnoba  
Agri  
Decumates  
Helvetii

55

5

55

50

50

Gr.

10

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# P. CORNELII TACITI GERMANIA

SIVE

## DE SITU, MORIBUS ET POPULIS

GERMANIAE LIBER.

I.—v. *Boundaries of Germany. Its inhabitants; why probably indigenous. Origin of the name "Germania." National songs. Legend of Ulysses. The Germans an unmixed people. Their physical characteristics. The country; its soil and products. Metals, coins.*

I. Germania omnis a Gallis Raetisque et Pannoniis Rheno et Danubio fluminibus, a Sarmatis Dacisque mutuo metu aut montibus separatur. Cetera Oceanus ambit, lato sinus et insularum immensa spatia complectens, nuper cognitis quibusdam gentibus ac regionibus, quos bellum aperuit. Rhenus, Raeticarum Alpium inaccesso ac praecipiti vertice ortus, modico flexu in occidentem versus septentrionali Oceano miscetur. Danubius, molli et clementer edito montis Abnobae iugo effusus, plures populos adit, donec in Ponticum mare sex meatibus erumpat; septimum os paludibus hauritur.

II. Ipsos Germanos indigenas crediderim, minimeque aliarum gentium adventu et hospitibus mistos,

quia nec terra olim sed classibus advehebantur, qui mutare sedes quaerebant, et immensus ultra utque sic dixerim adversus Oceanus raris ab orbe nostro navibus aditur. Quis porro, praeter periculum horridi et ignoti maris, Asia aut Africa aut Italia relicta Germaniam peteret, informem terris, asperam coelo, tristem cultu aspectuque, nisi si patria sit?

Celebrant carminibus antiquis, quod unum apud illos memoriae et annalium genus est, Tuistonem deum terra editum, et filium Mannum, originem gentis conditoresque. Manno tris filios assignant, e quorum nominibus proximi Oceano Ingaevones, medii Herminones, ceteri Istaevones vocentur. Quidam, ut in licentia vetustatis, pluris deo ortos plurisque gentis appellationes, Marsos, Gambrivios, Suevos, Vandalos affirmant; eaque vera et antiqua nomina. Ceterum Germaniae vocabulum recens et nuper additum, quoniam, qui primi Rhenum transgressi Gallos expulerint, ac nunc Tungri, tunc Germani vocati sint. Ita nationis nomen non gentis evaluisse paulatim, ut omnes primum a victore ob metum, mox a se ipsis invento nomine Germani vocarentur.

III. Fuisse apud eos et Herculem memorant, primumque omnium virorum fortium ituri in proelia canunt. Sunt illis haec quoque carmina, quorum relatu, quem barditum vocant, accendunt animos, futuraeque pugnae fortunam ipso cantu augurantur. Terrent enim trepidantve, prout sonuit acies, nec tam voces illae quam virtutis concentus videntur. Affectatur praecipue asperitas soni et fractum murmur obiectis ad os scutis, quo plenior et gravior vox repercussu intumescat.

Ceterum et Ulixem quidam opinantur longo illo et

fabuloso errore in hunc Oceanum delatum adisse Germaniae terras, Asciburgiumque, quod in ripa Rheni situm hodieque incolitur, ab illo constitutum nominatumque; aram quin etiam Ulixi consecratam adiecto Laertae patris nomine eodem loco olim repertam, monumentaque et tumulos quosdam Graecis litteris inscriptos in confinio Germaniae Raetiaeque adhuc exstare. Quae neque confirmare argumentis neque refellere in animo est; ex ingenio suo quisque demat vel addat fidem.

IV. Ipse eorum opinionibus accedo, qui Germaniae populos nullis aliis aliarum nationum connubiis infectos propriam et sinceram et tantum sui similem gentem exstitisse arbitrantur. Unde habitus quoque corporum, quamquam in tanto hominum numero, idem omnibus; truces et caerulei oculi, rutilae comae, magna corpora et tantum ad impetum valida; laboris atque operum non eadem patientia; minimeque sitim aestumque tolerare, frigora atque inediae coelo solve assuerunt.

V. Terra, etsi aliquanto specie differt, in univ ersum tamen aut silvis horrida aut paludibus foeda, humidior qua Gallias, ventosior qua Noricum ac Pannoniam aspicit, satis ferax, frugiferarum arborum impatiens, pecorum fecunda; sed plerumque improcera. Ne armentis quidem suus honor aut gloria frontis; numero gaudent, eaeque solae et gratissimae opes sunt. Argentum et aurum propitiine an irati dii negaverint, dubito. Nec tamen affirmaverim nullam Germaniae venam argentum aurumve gignere; quis enim scrutatus est? Possessione et usu haud perinde afficiuntur. Est videre apud illos argentea vasa, legatis et principibus eorum muneri data, non in alia vilitate quam



quae humo finguntur ; quamquam proximi ob usum commerciorum aurum et argentum in pretio habent, formasque quasdam nostrae pecuniae agnoscunt atque eligunt. Interiores simplicius et antiquius permutatione mercium utuntur. Pecuniam probant veterem et diu notam, serratos bigatosque. Argentum quoque magis quam aurum sequuntur, nulla affectione animi, sed quia numerus argenteorum facilius usui est promiscua ac vilia mercantibus.

VI.—XV. *Manners and customs of the Germans. Their arms, Cavalry. Order of battle. Infamy of cowardice. Powers of the king, of the general, and the priest. Courage and sacred character of the women. Their gods and mode of worship. Divination from birds, horses, and single combat. Deliberations of the chiefs and of the people. Modes of punishment. The chiefs' retinue. Preference of war to agriculture. Love of the chase. Presents made to the chiefs.*

VI. Ne ferrum quidem superest, sicut ex genere telorum colligitur. Rari gladiis aut maioribus lanceis utuntur. Hastas vel ipsorum vocabulo frameas gerunt angusto et brevi ferro sed ita acri et ad usum habili, ut eodem telo, prout ratio poscit, vel cominus vel eminus pugnent. Et eques quidem scuto frameaque contentus est ; pedites et missilia spargunt, pluraque singuli atque in immensum vibrant nudi aut sagulo leves. Nulla cultus iactatio ; scuta tantum lectissimis coloribus distinguunt. Paucis loricae, vix uni alterive cassis aut galea. Equi non forma, non velocitate conspicui ; sed nec variare gyros in morem nostrum docentur ; in rectum, aut uno flexu dextros agunt, ita coniuncto orbe, ut nemo posterior sit. In

universum aestimanti plus penes peditem roboris, eoque misti proeliantur, apta et congruente ad equestrem pugnam velocitate peditum, quos ex omni iuventute delectos ante aciem locant. Definitur et numerus; centeni ex singulis pagis sunt, idque ipsum inter suos vocantur, et quod primo numerus fuit, iam nomen et honor est. Acies per cuneos componitur. Cedere loco, dummodo rursus instes, consilii quam formidinis arbitrantur. Corpora suorum etiam in dubiis proeliis referunt. Scutum reliquisse praecipuum flagitium, nec aut sacris adesse aut concilium inire ignominioso fas, multique superstites bellorum infamiam laqueo finierunt.

VII. Reges ex nobilitate, duces ex virtute sumunt. Nec regibus infinita aut libera potestas, et duces exemplo potius quam imperio, si prompti, si conspicui, si ante aciem agant, admiratione praesunt. Ceterum neque animadvertere neque vincere, ne verberare quidem nisi sacerdotibus permissum, non quasi in poenam nec ducis iussu, sed velut deo imperante, quem adesse bellantibus credunt; effigiesque et signa quaedam detracta lucis in proelium ferunt. Quodque praecipuum fortitudinis incitamentum est, non casus, neque fortuita conglobatio turmam aut cuneum facit, sed familiae et propinquitates; et in proximo pignora, unde feminarum ululatus audiri, unde vagitus infantium. Hi cuique sanctissimi testes, hi maximi laudatores. Ad matres, ad coniuges vulnera ferunt; nec illae numerare aut exigere plagas pavent, cibosque et hortamina pugnantibus gestant.

VIII. Memoriae proditur quasdam acies inclinatam iam et labantes a feminis restitutas constantia precum et obiectu pectorum et monstrata cominus

captivitate, quam longe impatientius feminarum suarum nomine timent, adeo, ut efficacius obligentur animi civitatum, quibus inter obsides puellae quoque nobiles imperantur. Inesse quin etiam sanctum aliquid et providum putant, nec aut consilia earum aspernantur, aut responsa negligunt. Vidimus sub divo Vespasiano Veledam, diu apud plerosque numinis loco habitam. Sed et olim Albrunam et complures alias venerati sunt, non adulatione, nec tamquam facerent deas.

IX. Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt, cui certis diebus humanis quoque hostiis litare fas habent. [Herculem] ac Martem concessis animalibus placant. Pars Suevorum et Isidi sacrificat. Unde causa et origo peregrino sacro, parum comperi, nisi quod signum ipsum in modum Liburnae figuratum docet advectam religionem. Ceterum nec cohibere parietibus deos neque in ullam humani oris speciem assimilare ex magnitudine coelestium arbitrantur. Lucos ac nemora consecrant, deorumque nominibus appellant secretum illud, quod sola reverentia vident.

X. Auspicia sortesque, ut qui maxime, observant. Sortium consuetudo simplex. Virgam frugiferae arbori decisam in surculos amputant, eosque notis quibusdam discretos super candidam vestem temere ac fortuito spargunt. Mox, si publice consulatur, sacerdos civitatis, sin privatim, ipse pater familiae precatus deos coelumque suspiciens ter singulos tollit, sublatis secundum impressam ante notam interpretatur. Si prohibuerunt, nulla de eadem re in eundem diem consultatio; sin permissum, auspiciorum adhuc fides exigitur. Et illud quidem etiam hic notum, avium voces volatusque interrogare. Proprium gentis

equorum quoque praesagia ac monitus experiri. Publice aluntur iisdem memoribus ac lucis, candidi et nullo mortali opere contacti, quos pressos sacro curru sacerdos ac rex vel princeps civitatis comitantur, hinnitusque ac fremitus observant. Nec ulli auspicio maior fides, non solum apud plebem, sed apud proceres, apud sacerdotes; se enim ministros deorum, illos conscios putant. Est et alia observatio auspicio- rum, qua gravium bellorum eventus explorant. Eius gentis, cum qua bellum est, captivum quoquo modo interceptum cum electo popularium suorum patriis quemque armis committunt. Victoria huius vel illius pro praeiudicio accipitur.

XI. De minoribus rebus principes consultant, de maioribus omnes, ita tamen, ut ea quoque, quorum penes plebem arbitrium est, apud principes pertractentur. Coeunt, nisi quid fortuitum et subitum incidit, certis diebus, quum aut inchoatur luna aut impletur; nam agendis rebus hoc auspicatissimum initium credunt. Nec dierum numerum, ut nos, sed noctium computant; sic constituunt, sic condicunt; nox ducere diem videtur. Illud ex libertate vitium, quod non simul, nec ut iussi conveniunt, sed et alter et tertius dies cunctatione coeuntium absumitur. Ut turbæ placuit, considunt armati. Silentium per sacerdotes, quibus tum et coercendi ius est, imperatur. Mox rex vel princeps, prout aetas cuique, prout nobilitas, prout decus bellorum, prout facundia est, audiuntur, auctoritate suadendi magis quam iubendi potestate. Si displicuit sententia, fremitu aspernantur; sin placuit, frameas concutiunt. Honoratissimum assensus genus est armis laudare.

XII. Licet apud concilium accusare quoque, et

discrimen capitis intendere. *Distinctio poenarum ex delicto.* Proditores et transfugas arboribus suspendunt, ignavos et imbelles et (corpore infames) coeno ac palude iniecta insuper crate mergunt. *Diversitas supplicii illuc respicit, tamquam scelera ostendi oporteat, dum puniuntur, flagitia abscondi.* Sed et levioribus delictis pro modo poena; equorum pecorumque numero convicti mulctantur. *Pars mulctae regi vel civitati, pars ipsi, qui vindicatur, vel propinquis eius exsolvitur.* Eliguntur in iisdem conciliis et principes, qui iura per pagos vicosque reddunt. Centeni singulis ex plebe comites consilium simul et auctoritas adsunt.

XIII. Nihil autem neque publicae neque privatae rei nisi armati agunt. Sed arma sumere non ante cuiquam moris quam civitas suffecturum probaverit. Tum in ipso concilio vel principum aliquis vel pater vel propinqui scuto frameaque iuvenem ornant. Haec apud illos toga, hic primus iuventae honos; ante hoc domus pars videntur, mox rei publicae. Insignis nobilitas aut magna patrum merita principis dignationem etiam adolescentulis assignant. Ceteris robustioribus ac iam pridem probatis aggregantur, nec rubor inter comites aspici. Gradus quin etiam comitatus habet iudicio eius, quem sectantur, magnaue et comitum aemulatio, quibus primus apud principem suum locus, et principum, cui plurimi et acerrimi comites. Haec dignitas, hae vires; magno semper electorum iuvenum globo circumdari in pace decus, in bello praesidium. Nec solum in sua gente cuique, sed apud finitimas quoque civitates id nomen, ea gloria est, si numero ac virtute comitatus emineat. Expetuntur enim legationibus, et muneribus ornantur, et ipsa plerumque fama bella profligant.

XIV. Quum ventum in aciem, turpe principi virtute vinci, turpe comitatu virtutem principis non adaequare. Iam vero infame in omnem vitam ac probrosum (superstitem principis) suo ex acie recessisse. Illum defendere, tueri, sua quoque fortia facta gloriae eius assignare praecipuum sacramentum est. Principes pro victoria pugnant, comites pro principe. Si civitas, in qua orti sunt, longa pace et otio torpeat, plerique nobilium adolescentium petunt ultro eas nationes, quae tum bellum aliquod gerunt, quia et ingrata genti quies, et facilius inter ancipitia clarescunt, magnumque comitatum non nisi vi belloque tuentur. Exigunt enim principis sui liberalitate illum bellatorem equum, illam cruentam victricemque frameam. Nam epulae, et quamquam incompti largi tamen apparatus, pro stipendio cedunt. / Materia munificentiae per bella et raptus. Nec arare terram aut exspectare annum tam facile persuaseris quam vocare hostem et vulnera mereri. Pigrum quin immo et iners videtur sudore acquirere, quod possis sanguine parare.

XV. Quotiens bella non ineunt, multum venatibus, plus per otium transigunt dediti somno ciboque, fortissimus quisque ac bellicosissimus nihil agens, delegata domus et penatium et agrorum cura feminis senibusque et infirmissimo cuique ex familia; ipsi hebet, mira diversitate naturae, quum iidem homines sic ament inertiam et oderint quietem. / Mos est civitatibus ultro ac viritum conferre principibus vel armorum vel frugum, quod pro honore acceptum etiam necessitatibus subvenit. Gaudent praecipue finitimarum gentium donis, quae non modo a singulis, sed publice mittuntur, electi equi, magna arma, phalerae torquesque. Iam et pecuniam accipere docuimus.

XVI.—XXVII. *German villages. Subterranean dwellings. Dress. Marriage rites. Chastity of the women. Punishment of adultery. Training of the children. Feuds. Homicide; how expiated. Hospitality. Riotous character of their banquets. Their food—love of drink. Sports—addiction to gambling. Slaves—contempt for freedmen. Lending on interest unknown. Occupation and tillage of the land. Funeral rites.*

XVI. Nullas Germanorum populis urbes habitari satis notum est, ne pati quidem inter se iunctas sedes. Colunt discreti ac diversi, ut fons, ut campus, ut nemus placuit. Vicos locant non in nostrum morem connexis et cohaerentibus aedificiis; suam quisque domum spatio circumdat, sive adversus casus ignis remedium, sive inscitia aedificandi. Ne caementorum quidem apud illos aut tegularum usus; materia ad omnia utuntur informi et citra speciem aut delectationem. Quaedam loca diligentius illinunt terra ita pura ac splendente, ut picturam ac lineamenta colorum imitetur. Solent et subterraneos specus aperire, eosque multo insuper fimo onerant, suffugium hiemi et receptaculum frugibus, quia rigorem frigorum eiusmodi locis molliunt, et si quando hostis advenit, aperta populatur, abdita autem et defossa aut ignorantur, aut eo ipso fallunt, quod quaerenda sunt.

XVII. Tegumen omnibus sagum fibula aut, si desit, spina consertum. Cetera intecti totos dies iuxta focum atque ignem agunt. Locupletissimi veste distinguuntur, non fluitante, sicut Sarmatae ac Parthi, sed stricta et singulos artus exprimente. Gerunt et ferarum pelles, proximi ripae negligenter, ultiores exquisitius, ut quibus nullus per commercia cultus.

Eligunt feras, et detracta velamina spargunt maculis pellibusque beluarum, quas exterior Oceanus atque ignotum mare gignit. Nec alius feminis quam viris habitus, nisi quod feminae saepius lineis amictibus velantur, eosque purpura variant, partemque vestitus superioris in manicas non extendunt, nudae brachia ac lacertos; sed et proxima pars pectoris patet.

XVIII. Quamquam severa illic matrimonia, nec ullam morum partem magis laudaveris. / Nam prope soli barbarorum singulis uxoribus contenti sunt, exceptis admodum paucis, qui non libidine, sed ob nobilitatem plurimis nuptiis ambiuntur. Dotem non uxor marito, sed uxori maritus offert. // Intersunt parentes et propinqui ac munera probant, munera, non ad delicias muliebres quaesita, nec quibus nova nupta comatur, sed boves, et frenatum equum, et scutum cum framea gladioque. In haec munera uxor accipitur, atque invicem ipsa armorum aliquid viro affert. Hoc maximum vinculum, haec arcana sacra, hos coniugales deos arbitrantur. / Ne se mulier extra virtutum cogitationes extraque bellorum casus putet, ipsis incipientis matrimonii auspiciis admonetur venire se laborum periculorumque sociam, idem in pace, idem in proelio passuram ausuramque. / Hoc iuncti boves, hoc paratus equus, hoc data arma denuntiant; sic vivendum, sic pereundum; accipere se, quae liberis inviolata ac digna reddat, quae nurus accipiant rursusque ad nepotes referantur.

XIX. Ergo septa pudicitia agunt, nullis spectaculorum illecebris, nullis conviviorum irritationibus corruptae. Litterarum secreta viri pariter ac feminae ignorant. Paucissima in tam numerosa gente adulteria, quorem poena praesens, et maritis permissa.



Accisis crinibus, nudatam, coram propinquis expellit domo maritus, ac per omnem vicum verbere agit. Publicatae enim pudicitiae nulla venia; non forma, non aetate, non opibus maritum invenerit. Nemo enim illic vitia ridet, nec corrumpere et corrumpi seculum vocatur. Melius quidem adhuc eae civitates, in quibus tantum virgines nubunt, et cum spe votoque uxoris semel transigitur. Sic unum accipiunt maritum, quomodo unum corpus unamque vitam, ne ulla cogitatio ultra, ne longior cupiditas, ne tamquam maritum, sed tamquam matrimonium ament. Numerum liberorum finire aut quemquam ex agnatis necare flagitium habetur, plusque ibi boni mores valent quam alibi bonae leges.

XX. In omni domo nudi ac sordidi in hos artus, in haec corpora, quae miramur, excrescunt. Sua quemque mater uberibus alit, nec ancillis aut nutricibus delegantur. Dominum ac servum nullis educationis deliciis dignoscas; inter eadem pecora, in eadem humo degunt, donec aetas separet ingenuos, virtus agnoscat. Sera iuvenum venus, eoque inexhausta pubertas. Nec virgines festinantur; eadem iuventa, similis proceritas; pares validaeque miscentur, ac robora parentum liberi referunt. Sororum filiis idem apud avunculum, qui apud patrem honor. Quidam sanctiorem artiolemque hunc nexum sanguinis arbitrantur, et in accipiendis obsidibus magis exigunt, tamquam et animum firmiter et domum latius teneant. Heredes tamen successoresque sui cuique liberi, et nullum testamentum. Si liberi non sunt, proximus gradus in possessione fratres, patruus, avunculi. Quanto plus propinquorum, quo maior affinium numerus, tanto gratiosior senectus, nec ulla orbitatis pretia.

XXI. /Suscipere tam inimicitias seu patris seu propinqui quam amicitias necesse est. Nec implacabiles durant; luitur enim etiam homicidium certo armentorum ac pecorum numero, recipitque satisfactionem universa domus, utiliter in publicum, quia periculosiores sunt inimicitiae iuxta libertatem. Convictibus et hospitiis non alia gens effusius indulget. Quemcunque mortalium arcere tecto nefas habetur; pro fortuna quisque apparatus epulis excipit. Quum defecere, qui modo hospes fuerat, monstrator hospitii et comes; proximam domum non invitati adeunt; nec interest; pari humanitate accipiuntur; notum ignotumque quantum ad ius hospitis nemo discernit. Abeunti, si quid poposcerit, concedere moris, et poscendi invicem eadem facilitas. Gaudent muneribus, sed nec data imputant nec acceptis obligantur. Victus inter hospites comis.

XXII. Statim e somno, quem plerumque in diem extrahunt, lavantur, saepius calida, ut apud quos plurimum hiems occupat. Lauti cibum capiunt; separatae singulis sedes et sua cuique mensa. Tum ad negotia nec minus saepe ad convivia procedunt armati. Diem noctemque continuare potando nulli probrum. Crebrae, ut inter vinolentos, rixae raro conviciis, saepius caede et vulneribus transiguntur. Sed et de reconciliandis invicem inimicis et iungendis affinitatibus et asciscendis principibus, de pace denique ac bello plerumque in conviviis consultant, tamquam nullo magis tempore aut ad simplices cogitationes pateat animus, aut ad magnas incalescat. Gens non astuta nec callida aperit adhuc secreta pectoris licentia ioci. Ergo detecta et nuda omnium mens; postera die retractatur, et salva utriusque temporis ratio est;

deliberant, dum fingere nesciunt, constituunt, dum errare non possunt. /

XXIII. Potui humor ex hordeo aut frumento, in quamdam similitudinem vini corruptus; proximi ripae et vinum mercantur. Cibi simplices, agrestia poma, recens fera, aut lac concretum. Sine apparatu, sine blandimentis expellunt famem. Adversus sitim non eadem temperantia. Si indulseris ebrietati suggerendo quantum concupiscunt, haud minus facile vitiis quam armis vincentur.

XXIV. Genus spectaculorum unum atque in omni coetu idem. Nudi iuvenes, quibus id ludicrum est, inter gladios se atque infestas frameas saltu iaciunt. Exercitatio artem paravit, ars decorem, non in quaestum tamen aut mercedem; quamvis audacis lasciviae pretium est voluptas spectantium.

Alcam, quod mirere, sobrii inter seria exercent tanta lucrandi perdendive temeritate, ut, quum omnia defecerunt, extremo ac novissimo iactu de libertate ac de corpore contendant. Victus voluntariam servitutum adit; quamvis iuvenior, quamvis robustior alligari se ac venire patitur. Ea est in re prava pervicacia; ipsi fidem vocant. Servos condicionis huius per commercia tradunt, ut se quoque pudore victoriae exsolvant. /

XXV. Ceteris servis non in nostrum morem descriptis per familiam ministeriis utuntur. Suam quisque sedem, suos penates regit. Frumenti modum dominus aut pecoris aut vestis ut colono iniungit, et servus hactenus paret; cetera domus officia uxor ac liberi exsequuntur. Verberare servum ac vinculis et opere coercere rarum; occidere solent, non disciplina et severitate, sed impetu et ira, ut inimicum, nisi

quod impune. Liberti non multum supra servos sunt; raro aliquod momentum in domo, numquam in civitate, exceptis dumtaxat iis gentibus, quae regnantur; ibi enim et super ingenuos et super nobiles ascendunt. Apud ceteros impares libertini libertatis argumentum sunt.

XXVI. Fenus agitare et in usuras extendere ignotum, ideoque magis servatur quam si vetitum esset. Agri pro numero cultorum ab universis invicem occupantur, quos mox inter se secundum dignationem partiuntur. Facilitatem partiendi camporum spatia praestant. Arva per annos mutant, et superest ager. Nec enim cum ubertate et amplitudine soli labore contendunt, ut pomaria conserant, et prata separent, et hortos rigent; sola terrae seges imperatur. Unde annum quoque ipsum non in totidem digerunt species; hiems et ver et aestas intellectum ac vocabula habent, autumnus perinde nomen ac bona ignorantur.

XXVII. Funerum nulla ambitio. Id solum observatur, ut corpora clarorum virorum certis lignis cremantur. Struem rogi nec vestibus nec odoribus cumulant; sua cuique arma, quorundam igni et equus adiicitur. Sepulcrum caespes erigit; monumentorum arduum et operosum honorem ut gravem defunctis aspernantur. Lamenta ac lacrimas cito, dolorem et tristitiam tarde ponunt. Feminis lugere honestum est, viris meminisse.

Haec in commune de omnium Germanorum origine ac moribus accepimus. Nunc singularum gentium instituta ritusque, quatenus differant, quae nationes e Germania in Gallias commigraverint, expediam.

XXVIII. XXIX. Tribes in the neighbourhood of the

*Rhine and Main. Some of these of doubtful nationality. The Batavi. Inhabitants of the Tithelands.*

XXVIII. Validiores olim Gallorum res fuisse summus auctor divus Iulius tradit; eoque credibile est etiam Gallos in Germaniam transgressos. Quantum enim annis obstabat, quo minus, ut quaeque gens evaluerat, occuparet permutaretque sedes promiscuas adhuc et nulla regnorum potentia divisas? Igitur inter Hercyniam sylvam Rhenumque et Moenum amnes Helvetii, ulteriora Boii, Gallica utraque gens, tenuere. Manet adhuc Boihemi nomen, signatque loci veterem memoriam, quamvis mutatis cultoribus. Sed utrum Aravisci in Pannoniam ab Osis, Germanorum natione, an Osi ab Araviscis in Germaniam commigraverint, quum eodem adhuc sermone, institutis, moribus utantur, incertum est, quia pari olim inopia ac libertate eadem utriusque ripae bona malaque erant. Treveri et Nervii circa affectationem Germanicae originis ultro ambitiosi sunt, tamquam per hanc gloriam sanguinis a similitudine et inertia Gallorum separentur. Ipsam Rheni ripam haud dubie Germanorum populi colunt, Vangiones, Triboci, Nemetes. Ne Ubii quidem, quamquam Romana colonia esse meruerint, ac libentius Agrippinenses conditoris sui nomine vocentur, origine erubescunt, transgressi olim et experimento fidei super ipsam Rheni ripam collocati ut arcerent, non ut custodirentur.

XXIX. Omnium harum gentium virtute praecipui Batavi non multum ex ripa sed insulam Rheni amnis colunt, Chattorum quondam populus, et seditione domestica in eas sedes transgressus, in quibus pars Romani imperii fierent. Manet honos et antiquae societatis insigne. Nam nec tributis contem-

nuntur, nec publicanus atterit; exempti oneribus et collationibus et tantum in usum proeliorum sepositi velut tela atque arma bellis reservantur. Est in eodem obsequio et Mattiacorum gens. Protulit enim magnitudo populi Romani ultra Rhenum ultraque veteres terminos imperii reverentiam. Ita sede finibusque in sua ripa, mente animoque nobiscum agunt, cetera similes Batavis, nisi quod ipso adhuc terrae suae solo et coelo acrius animantur. Non numeraverim inter Germaniae populos, quamquam trans Rhenum Danubiumque consederint, eos, qui decumates agros exercent. Levissimus quisque Gallorum et inopia audax dubiae possessionis solum occupavere. Mox limite acto promotisque praesidiis sinus imperii et pars provinciae habentur.

XXX.—XXXVII. *Northern tribes to the west of the Elbe. The Chatti; their fierce and warlike character. The Frisii. Roman expeditions into their territory. Chau-ci, Cherusci, Cimbri. Roman wars in Germany.*

XXX. Ultra hos Chatti initium sedis ab Hercynio saltu inchoant, non ita effusis ac palustribus locis, ut ceterae civitates, in quas Germania patescit; durant siquidem colles, paulatim rarescunt, et Chattos suos saltus Hercynius prosequitur simul atque deponit. Duriora genti corpora, stricti artus, minax vultus et maior animi vigor. Multum, ut inter Germanos, rationis ac sollertiae; praeponere electos, audire praepositos, nosse ordines, intelligere occasiones, differre impetus, disponere diem, vallare noctem, fortunam inter dubia, virtutem inter certa numerare, quodque rarissimum nec nisi Romanae disciplinae

concessum, plus reponere in duce quam in exercitu. Omne robur in pedite, quem super arma ferramentis quoque et copiis onerant. Alios ad proelium ire videas, Chattos ad bellum; rari excursus et fortuita pugna; equestrium sane virium id proprium, cito parare victoriam, cito cedere; velocitas iuxta formidinem, cunctatio propior constantiae est.

XXXI. Et aliis Germanorum populis usurpatum raro et privata cuiusque audentia apud Chattos in consensum vertit, ut primum adoleverint, crinem barbamque summittere, nec nisi hoste caeso exuere votivum obligatumque virtuti oris habitum. Super sanguinem et spolia revelant frontem, seque tum demum pretia nascendi retulisse dignosque patria ac parentibus ferunt. Ignavis et imbellibus manet squalor. Fortissimus quisque ferreum insuper anulum (ignominiosum id genti) velut vinculum gestat, donec se caede hostis absolvat. Plurimis Chattorum hic placet habitus, iamque canent insignes et hostibus simul suisque monstrati. Omnium penes hos initia pugnarum; haec prima semper acies, visu nova; nam ne in pace quidem vultu mitiore mansuescunt. Nulli domus aut ager aut aliqua cura; prout ad quemque venere, aluntur, prodigi alieni, contemptores sui, donec exsanguis senectus tam durae virtuti impares faciat.

XXXII. Proximi Chattis certum iam alveo Rhenum, quique terminus esse sufficiat, Usipii ac Tencteri colunt. Tencteri super solitum bellorum decus equestris disciplinae arte praecellunt, nec maior apud Chattos peditum laus quam Tencteris equitum. Sic instituere maiores; posterii imitantur. Hi lusus infantium, haec iuvenum aemulatio; perseverant senes. Inter familiam et penates et iura successionum equi

traduntur; excipit filius non, ut cetera, maximus natu, sed prout ferox bello et melior.

XXXIII. Iuxta Tencteros Bructeri olim occurrerant; nunc Chamavos et Angrivarios immigrasse narratur, pulsus Bructeris ac penitus excisis vicinarum consensu nationum seu superbiae odio, seu praedae dulcedine, seu favore quodam erga nos deorum; nam ne spectaculo quidem proelii invidere. Super sexaginta milia non armis telisque Romanis, sed, quod magnificentius est, oblectationi oculisque ceciderunt. Maneat, quaeso, duretque gentibus, si non amor nostri, at certe odium sui, quando urgentibus imperii fatis nihil iam praestare Fortuna maius potest quam hostium discordiam.

XXXIV. Angrivarios et Chamavos a tergo Dulgibini et Chasuarii cludunt, aliaeque gentes haud perinde memoratae; a fronte Frisii excipiunt. Maioribus minoribusque Frisiis vocabulum est ex modo virium. Utraeque nationes usque ad Oceanum Rheno praetexuntur, ambiuntque immensos insuper lacus et Romanis classibus navigatos. Ipsum quin etiam Oceanum illa tentavimus, et superesse adhuc Herculis columnas fama vulgavit, sive adiit Hercules, seu, quicquid ubique magnificum est, in claritatem eius referre consensimus. Nec defuit audentia Druso Germanico, sed obstitit Oceanus in se simul atque in Herculem inquiri. Mox nemo tentavit, sanctiusque ac reverentius visum de actis deorum credere quam scire.

XXXV. Hactenus in occidentem Germaniam novimus. In septentrionem ingenti flexu redit. Ac primo statim Chaucorum gens, quamquam incipiat a Frisiis ac partem litoris occupet, omnium, quas exposui, gentium lateribus obtenditur, donec in Chattos



usque sinuetur. Tam immensum terrarum spatium non tenent tantum Chauci, sed et implent, populus inter Germanos nobilissimus, quique magnitudinem suam malit iustitia tueri. Sine cupiditate, sine impotentia, quieti secretique nulla provocant bella, nullis raptibus aut latrociniis populantur. Id praecipuum virtutis ac virium argumentum est, quod, ut superiores agant, non per iniurias assequuntur. Prompta tamen omnibus arma, ac, si res poscat, exercitus, plurimum virorum equorumque; et quiescentibus eadem fama.

XXXVI. In latere Chaucorum Chattorumque Cherusci nimiam ac marcentem diu pacem illacessiti nutrierunt, idque iucundius quam tutius fuit, quia inter impotentes et validos falso quiescas; ubi manu agitur, modestia ac probitas nomina superioris sunt. Ita qui olim boni aequique Cherusci, nunc inertes ac stulti vocantur, Chattis victoribus fortuna in sapientiam cessit. Tracti ruina Cheruscorum et Fosi, contermina gens; adversarum rerum ex aequo socii sunt, quum in secundis minores fuissent.

XXXVII. Eundem Germaniae sinum proximi Oceano Cimbri tenent, parva nunc civitas, sed gloria ingens. Veterisque famae lata vestigia manent, utraque ripa castra ac spatia, quorum ambitu nunc quoque metiaris molem manusque gentis et tam magni exitus fidem. Sexcentimum et quadragimum annum urbs nostra agebat, quum primum Cimbrorum audita sunt arma Caecilio Metello ac Papirio Carbone coss. Ex quo si ad alterum imperatoris Traiani consulatum computemus, ducenti ferme et decem anni colliguntur. Tandiu Germania vincitur. Medio tam longi aevi spatio multa invicem damna.

Non Samnis, non Poeni, non Hispaniae Galliaeve, ne Parthi quidem saepius admonuere. Quippe regno Arsacis acrior est Germanorum libertas. Quid enim aliud nobis quam caedem Crassi, amisso et ipse Pacoro infra Ventidium delectus oriens obiecerit? At Germani Carbone et Cassio, et Scauro Aurelio, et Servilio Caepione, Marco quoque Manlio fuis vel captis quinque simul consulares exercitus populo Romano, Varum trisque cum eo legiones etiam Caesari abstulerunt; nec impune C. Marius in Italia, divus Iulius in Gallia, Drusus ac Nero et Germanicus in suis eos sedibus perculerunt. Mox ingentes C. Caesaris minae in ludibrium versae. Inde otium, donec occasione discordiae nostrae et civilium armorum expugnatis legionum hibernis etiam Gallias affectavere, ac rursus inde pulsi proximis temporibus triumphati magis quam victi sunt.

XXXVIII.—XLV. *Suevic tribes, between the Elbe and Vistula. Peculiarity which distinguishes the Suevi from the other Germans. The Semnones, the most ancient and famous of these tribes; their religious rites and sacred groves. The Longobardi. Worship of the Earth. Suevic tribes along the Danube. Hermunduri, Marcomanni, Quadi. Worship resembling that of Castor and Pollux among the Nahannarvali. The Harii, their extreme ferocity. The Gothones. The Suiones, a maritime tribe. Seas beyond the Suiones. The Aestii—amber found in their country; its nature and properties. The Sitones.*

XXXVIII. Nunc de Suevis dicendum est, quorum non una, ut Chattorum Tencterorumve, gens; maiorem enim Germaniae partem obtinent, propriis adhuc nationibus nominibusque discreti,

quamquam in commune Suevi vocentur. Insigne gentis obliquare crinem nodoque substringere. Sic Suevi a ceteris Germanis, sic Suevorum ingenui a servis separantur. In aliis gentibus, (seu cognatione aliqua Suevorum, seu, quod saepe accidit, imitatione,) rarum et intra iuventæ spatium, apud Suevos usque ad canitiem horrentem capillum retro sequuntur, ac saepe in ipso solo vertice religant. Principes et ornatiorem habent. Ea cura formæ, sed innoxia; neque enim ut ament amenturve,—in altitudinem quandam et terrorem adituri bella compti, ut hostium oculis, ornantur.

XXXIX. Vetustissimos se nobilissimosque Suevorum Semnones memorant. Fides antiquitatis religione firmatur. Stato tempore in silvam auguriis patrum et prisca formidine sacram omnes eiusdem sanguinis populi legationibus coeunt, caesoque publice homine celebrant barbari ritus horrenda primordia. Est et alia luco reverentia; nemo nisi vinculo ligatus ingreditur, ut minor et potestatem numinis prae se ferens. Si forte prolapsus est, attolli et insurgere haud licitum; per humum evolvuntur. Eoque omnis superstitio respicit, tamquam inde initia gentis, ibi regnator omnium deus, cetera subiecta atque parentia. Adicit auctoritatem fortuna Semnonum; centum pagi iis habitantur, magnoque corpore efficitur, ut se Suevorum caput credant.

XL. Contra Longobardos paucitas nobilitat; plurimis ac valentissimis nationibus cincti non per obsequium, sed proeliis et periclitando tuti sunt. Reudigni deinde et Aviones et Angli et Varini et Eudoses et Suardones et Nuithones fluminibus aut silvis muniuntur. Nec quicquam notabile in singulis, nisi quod in commune Nerthum, id est Terram matrem,

colunt, eamque intervenire rebus hominum, inveni populis arbitratur. Est in insula Oceani castum nemus, dicatumque in eo vehiculum, veste contextum. Attingere uni sacerdoti concessum. Is adesse penetrali deam intelligit, vectamque bubus feminis multa cum veneratione prosequitur. Laeti tunc dies, festa loca, quaecumque adventu hospitioque dignatur. Non bella ineunt, non arma sumunt; clausum omne ferrum; pax et quies tunc tantum nota, tunc tantum amata, donec idem sacerdos satiatam conversatione mortalium deam templo reddat. Mox vehiculum et vestes et, si credere velis, numen ipsum secreto lacu abluitur. Servi ministrant, quos statim idem lacus haurit. Arcanus hinc terror sanctaque ignorantia, quid sit illud, quod tantum perituri vident.

XLI. Et haec quidem pars Suevorum in secretiora Germaniae porrigitur. Propior, (ut, quomodo paulo ante Rhenum, sic nunc Danubium sequar,) Hermundurorum civitas, fida Romanis; eoque solis Germanorum non in ripa commercium, sed penitus atque in splendidissima Raetiae provinciae colonia. Passim et sine custode transeunt, et quum ceteris gentibus arma modo castraque nostra ostendamus, his domos villasque patefecimus non concupiscentibus. In Hermunduris Albis oritur, flumen inclitum et notum olim; nunc tantum auditur.

XLII. Iuxta Hermunduros Naristi ac deinde Marcomani et Quadi agunt. Praecipua Marcomanorum gloria viresque, atque ipsa etiam sedes, pulsas olim Boiis, virtute parta. Nec Naristi Quadive degenerant. Eaque Germaniae velut frons est, quatenus Danubio peragitur. Marcomanis Quadisque usque ad nostram memoriam reges manserunt ex gente ipsorum,

nobile Marobodui et Tudri genus. Iam et externos patiuntur; sed vis et potentia regibus ex auctoritate Romana. Raro armis nostris, saepius pecunia iuvantur, nec minus valent.

XLIII. Retro Marsigni, Gothini, Osi, Buri terga Marcomanorum Quadorumque claudunt. E quibus Marsigni et Buri sermone cultuque Suevos referunt; Gothinos Gallica, Osos Pannonica lingua coarguit non esse Germanos, et quod tributa patiuntur. Partem tributorum Sarmatae, partem Quadi ut alienigenis imponunt. Gothini, quo magis pudeat, et ferrum effodiunt, omnesque hi populi pauca campestrium, ceterum saltus et vertices montium iugumque insederunt. Dirimit enim scinditque Sueviam continuum montium iugum, ultra quod plurimae gentes agunt. Ex quibus latissime patet Ligiorum nomen in plures civitates diffusum. Valentissimas nominasse sufficiet, Harios, Helveconas, Manimos, Elisios, Nahanarvalos. Apud Nahanarvalos antiquae religionis lucus ostenditur. Praesidet sacerdos muliebri ornatu; sed deos interpretatione Romana Castorem Pollucemque memorant; ea vis numini, nomen Alcis. Nulla simulacra, nullum peregrinae superstitionis vestigium; ut fratres tamen, ut iuvenes venerantur. Ceterum Harii super vires, quibus enumeratos paulo ante populos antecedunt, truces insitae feritati arte ac tempore lenocinantur. Nigra scuta, tincta corpora; atras ad proelia noctes legunt, ipsaque formidine atque umbra feralis exercitus terrorem inferunt, nullo hostium sustinente novum ac velut infernum aspectum; nam primi in omnibus proeliis oculi vincuntur. Trans Ligios Gothones regnantur, paulo iam adductius quam ceterae Germanorum gentes, nondum tamen supra

libertatem. Protinus deinde ab Oceano Rugii et Lemovii, omniumque harum gentium insigne rotunda scuta, breves gladii et erga reges obsequium.

XLIV. Suionum hinc civitates ipso in Oceano praeter viros armaque classibus valent. Forma navium eo differt, quod utrimque prora paratam semper appulsui frontem agit. Nec velis ministrantur, nec remos in ordinem lateribus adiungunt; solutum, ut in quibusdam fluminum, et mutabile, ut res poscit, hinc vel illinc remigium. Est apud illos et opibus honos, eoque unus imperitat, nullis iam exceptionibus, non precario iure parendi. Nec arma, ut apud ceteros Germanos, in promiscuo, sed clausa sub custode, et quidem servo, quia subitos hostium incursus prohibet Oceanus, otiosa porro armatorum manus facile lasciviunt. Enimvero neque nobilem neque ingenuum, ne libertinum quidem armis praeponere regia utilitas est.

XLV. Trans Suionas aliud mare, pigrum ac prope immotum, quo cingi cludique terrarum orbem hinc fides, quod extremus cadentis iam solis fulgor in ortus edurat adeo clarus, ut sidera hebetet. Sonum insuper emergentis audiri, formasque deorum et radios capitis aspici persuasio adiicit. Illuc usque (et fama vera) tantum natura. Ergo iam dextro Suevici maris litore Aestiorum gentes alluuntur, quibus ritus habitusque Suevorum, lingua Britannicae propior. Matrem deum venerantur; insigne superstitionis formas aprorum gestant. Id pro armis omniumque tutela securum deae cultorem etiam inter hostes praestat. Rarus ferri, frequens fustium usus. Frumenta ceterosque fructus patientius quam pro solita Germanorum inertia laborant. Sed et mare scrutantur,

ac soli omnium sucinum, quod ipsi glesum vocant, inter vada atque in ipso littore legunt. Nec quae natura, quaeve ratio gignat, ut barbaris, quaesitum compertumve; diu quin etiam inter cetera eiectamenta maris iacebat, donec luxuria nostra dedit nomen. Ipsis in nullo usu; rude legitur, informe perfertur, pretiumque mirantes accipiunt. Sucum tamen arborum esse intelligas, quia terrena quaedam atque etiam volucra animalia plerumque interlucent, quae implicata humore mox durescente materia cluduntur. Fecundiora igitur nemora lucosque, sicut orientis secretis, ubi tura balsamaque sudant, ita occidentis insulis terrisque inesse crediderim, quae vicini solis radiis expressa atque liquentia in proximum mare labuntur, ac vi tempestatum in adversa litora exundant. Si naturam sucini admoto igne tentes, in modum taedae accenditur, alitque' flammam pinguem et olentem; mox ut in picem resinamve lentescit. Sui-onibus Sitonum gentes continuantur. Cetera similes uno differunt, quod femina dominatur. In tantum non modo a libertate, sed etiam a servitute degenerant. Hic Sueviae finis.

XLVI. *Tribes of doubtful nationality about the Vistula. The Peucini, Veneti, Fenni. Savage and miserable life of the Fenni. Fabulous tribes.*

XLVI. Peucinorum Venetorumque et Fennorum nationes Germanis an Sarmatis ascribam, dubito, quamquam Peucini, quos quidam Bastarnas vocant, sermone, cultu, sede ac domiciliis ut Germani agunt. Sordes omnium, ac torpor procerum; connubiis mistis nonnihil in Sarmatarum habitum foedantur.

Veneti multum ex moribus traxerunt; nam quic-

quid inter Peucinos Fennosque silvarum ac montium erigitur, latrociniis pererrant. Hi tamen inter Germanos potius referuntur, quia et domos figunt, et scuta gestant, et pedum usu ac pernicitate gaudent, quae omnia diversa Sarmatis sunt in plaustro equoque viventibus. Fennis mira feritas, foeda paupertas; non arma, non equi, non penates; victui herba, vestitui pelles, cubile humus; solae in sagittis spes, quas inopia ferri ossibus asperant. Idemque venatus viros pariter ac feminas alit; passim enim comitantur, partemque praedae petunt. Nec aliud infantibus ferarum imbriumque suffugium, quam ut in aliquo ramorum nexu contegantur. Huc redeunt iuvenes, hoc senum receptaculum. Sed beatius arbitrantur quam ingemere agris, illaborare domibus, suas alienasque fortunas spe metuque versare. Securi adversus homines, securi adversus deos rem difficillimam assecuti sunt, ut illis ne voto quidem opus esset. Cetera iam fabulosa, Hellusios et Oxionas ora hominum vultusque, corpora atque artus ferarum gerere. Quod ego ut incompertum in medium relinquam.





# NOTES.

## CHAPTER I.

1. **Germania omnis.]** Germany proper, or beyond the Rhine, as opposed to the provinces of Upper and Lower Germany (*Germania Prima* and *Secunda*) on the left of the Rhine. Comp. Caesar, *B. G.* I. 1, where *Gallia omnis* denotes Gaul in contradistinction to the *province* of Gaul.

2. **Mutuo metu.]** With this expression Lipsius compares Thucyd. III. 11, τὸ ἀντίπαλον δέος.

3. **Montibus.]** The Carpathian range.

4. **Oceanus.]** The German ocean and the Baltic which in Ch. 45 is called *Suevicum mare*.

5. **Latos sinus.]** *Sinus* may mean either a gulf or a peninsula. Here it means the latter. Compare its use, Ch. 29, *sinus imperii*; and Ch. 37, eundem Germaniæ *sinum* proximi Oceano Cimbri tenent. Tacitus expresses himself more definitely, Ch. 35, in septentrionem ingenti flexu redit (*Germania*). By 'latos sinus' and 'ingenti flexu' he means the Cimbric Chersonesus, sc. Jutland and Sleswick-Holstein.

6. **Insularum immensa spatia.]** The islands in the Baltic, Zealand, Funen, &c., and also Norway and Sweden. These regions were the seat of the Suiones (Ch. 44). Comp. Pliny, *H. N.* II. 112: Nam et in Germania immensas *insulas*, non pridem compertas, cognitum habeo.

7. **Nuper cognitis...regibus.]** Expeditions were undertaken into Germany by Claudius Nero Drusus (the brother of the Emperor Tiberius) B. C. 12, and by his son, the famous Germanicus, A. D. 15 and 16, who completely defeated the Germans on the Weser. Of this last expedition (to which here and Ch. 33 there is special allusion) Tacitus gives us an account, *Ann.* II. 8—24. Pliny, *H. N.* IV. 27, says that these campaigns led to the discovery of as many as twenty-three islands.

The ablatives, 'cognitis...regibus,' define the locality of the

sinus and insularum spatia just mentioned, and may be rendered, 'where have lately become known to us.'

8. **Quos bellum aperuit.]** Comp. *Agr.* 22: Tertius expeditionum annus novas gentes *aperuit*.

9. **Modico flexu.]** Meaning the bend which the Rhine makes near Arnheim.

10. **Versus.]** A participle, not a preposition as taken by Ernesti.

11. **Molli.]** 'Gently sloping.' So Ritter, and Orelli who compares Virg. *Ec.* ix. 7, Qua se subducere colles Incipiunt *mollique* jugum demittere clivo. This seems a more natural meaning for the word than that which Kritz gives it, 'free from rocks and with a fruitful soil.'

12. **Abnobae jugo.]** The reading Abnobae for Arnobae or Arbonae is conclusively established by inscriptions found in the Black Forest, and by a passage of Avienus, a poet and geographer who seems to have lived towards the end of the 4th century, in his description of the world, Abnoba mons Istro pater est, cadit Abnobae hiatu Flumen, 437.

13. **Donec...erumpat.]** The subjunctive is commonly used by Tacitus after *donec* when the *present* tense is required. It seems intended to express the continuity of a process as well as its termination.

## CHAPTER II.

1. **Ipsos Germanos.]** The pronoun '*ipse*' implies a contrast between the Germans themselves and their country, which is subsequently described. Comp. *Agr.* 13, *Ipsi* Britanni.

2. **Crediderim.]** 'I am inclined to think.' Tacitus gives us three reasons for believing the Germans to be indigenae; (1) the difficulties presented by the ocean in the way of emigrants, (2) the unattractive character of the country, (3) the native traditions of the people.

3. **Adventibus et hospitiiis.]** The first of these words denotes strangers from distant countries; the second, persons in some way connected with the country which they visit.

4. **Adversus.]** It is better, we think, to take this word with Ritter in the sense of 'hostile' than to suppose that Tacitus was thinking of the Antipodes; the preceding words, 'utque sic dixerim,' seem to point to this meaning rather than to the other, which is somewhat too technical for the ordinary

usage of Tacitus. The passage, Chap. 34 (*sed obstitit oceanus in se simulatque in Herculem inquiri*) confirms us in this view. Very possibly there was at the same time present to the writer's mind the sense of the sea as a formidable physical obstacle perpetually confronting (*adversus*) mankind. Comp. Hor. C. i. 3. 22, *oceano dissociabili*. So too Matthew Arnold, 'the estranging sea.' (Poems, First Series, p. 197.)

5. **Praeter periculum.]** 'To say nothing of the danger.'

6. **Horridi.]** Sc. rough from the action of the winds.

7. **Asia.]** Asia Minor.

8. **Africa.]** Sc. the Roman province.

9. **Informem terris.]** Referring to the vast forests and morasses of Germany. *Informis* means, 'not brought into a proper form or condition.' Comp. Ch. 16, *materia informi*, and Ch. 45, *informe perfertur (sucinum)*.

10. **Cultu.]** The word 'cultus' (often nearly equivalent to our *civilisation*) includes here the general character of the tillage of the soil and of the mode of life of the inhabitants, in all which Germany was such a striking contrast to Italy. Comp. Thucyd. I. 2, where the autochthonous character of the population of Attica is attributed to the poverty of the soil.

11. **Tuistonem.]** So Kritz after the best MSS. Orelli reads Tuisconem which Grimm and Zeuss prefer on philological grounds.

12. **Originem gentis conditoresque.]** Tuisto and Mannus were in popular belief both the parents (*origo*) of the German people and the founders of their laws and customs (*conditores*).

13. **Ut in licentia vetustatis.]** 'As is to be expected where antiquity gives a license to fiction.' Comp. for this use of 'ut' Ch. 22, *ut inter vinolentos*; Ch. 45, *ut barbaris*; Agr. 11, *ut inter barbaros*.

14. **Deo.]** Sc. Mannus.

15. **Marsos, Gambrivios, Suevos, Vandalius.]** Of these only the *Suevi* are afterwards mentioned. The name of the Marsi occurs *Ann.* I. 50, in the account of the *first* campaign of Germanicus in Germany, and their territory, probably on both banks of the Ems, was the farthest limit to which the Roman arms advanced on that occasion. Neither the Gambrivii or Vandalii are elsewhere mentioned by Tacitus. Strabo speaks of the former (who were perhaps the same as the Chamavi) in connexion with the Cherusci and Chatti; the latter appear

in Pliny as the Vindili, and their settlements seem to have been between the Oder and Vistula.

16. *Ceterum.*] The word marks a transition. Tacitus has been speaking of the various ancient names by which the Germans were known; he now passes to the modern and universal name.

17. *Qui primi Rhenum, &c.*] The Belgae, according to Caesar, *B. G.* II. 4, were to a large extent of German origin, and had at a former period crossed the Rhine, and dispossessed the Gauls in those parts. These invading tribes went under the various names of Condrusi, Eburones, Caeraesi, &c.; they were however comprehended under the general appellation of Germans. But this appellation (which, Tacitus expressly says, in its wider application was modern) was for a time confined to those who had established themselves by conquest in Gallic territory.

18. *Ita nationis...vocarentur.*] ‘*Natio*’ and ‘*gens*’ (in the reading which we have adopted) must mean ‘tribe’ and ‘race’ respectively, and the two words are thus used by Velleius, II. 98, omnibus ejusdem *gentis nationibus* in arma accensis. *Natio* has this meaning, c. 38, Germaniæ partem obtinent (Suevi) propriis adhuc *nationibus* nominibusque discreti. ‘*Natio*’ thus denotes the comparatively small conquering section of the ‘*universa gens*’ which had crossed the Rhine, and which, to inspire terror into the conquered (ob metum) gave itself out to be a mere fraction of a great kindred people still remaining on the other side of the river. The name ‘German,’ adopted in the first instance by these victorious invaders of Gaul (a victore), and thus rendered terrible by its associations, was soon afterwards (mox) that by which the entire people called themselves. The passage may be thus rendered: ‘Thus the name of a tribe and not of a race prevailed till all called themselves by the self-invented name of Germans, a name first employed by the conquerors because of the terror it inspired.’ The newest view of the original signification of the name ‘German’ is that it means ‘one who shouts’ (from a Keltic word *gair*), and, like the Greek *βόηρ ἀγῶβος*, denotes a warrior.

### CHAPTER III.

1. *Herculem.*] Tacitus speaks throughout his work of the German divinities under Roman names. (Comp. Ch. 9, Deorum maxime *Mercurium* colunt. *Martem* concessis anima-

libus placant. In *Ann.* II. 12, we have mention of a grove sacred to Hercules. He seems to have represented among the Germans a hero rather than an actual god.

2. **Memorant.]** 'Authors tell us.' We should have *apud se* instead of *apud eos* if 'Germani' were the nominative to 'memorant.' Tacitus has in his mind the various Greek writers who had treated of Germany and other countries.

3. **Primum.]** Equivalent to 'maximum,' or 'praecipuum.'

4. **Virorum fortium.]** *Sc.* heroes and demigods.

5. **Haec quoque carmina.]** *Haec* is for *talia* or *ejusmodi*, and implies such songs as were sung under the circumstances of going into battle. *Comp. Hist.* II. 22, *temere subeuntes Germanorum cohortes cantu truci.*

6. **Relatu.]** 'Recital.' The word is found only in Tacitus.

7. **Barditum.]** So Kritz with the best MSS., though, as he says, there can hardly be any reference to the Keltic bards, an order of men of whom we hear nothing among the Germans. Orelli reads 'baritus' after Grimm, who connects the word with the Frisian 'baria' (to raise a shout). Dr Latham thinks that Tacitus erroneously describes a German custom by a Gallic name, but that he was perfectly aware of the differences between the Germanic and Gallic practice. Ritter brackets the words (*quem barditum vocant*) believing them to have been added by some reader imperfectly acquainted with the matter.

8. **Ipsa cantu.]** 'From the mere sound of the song.' This appears to be the force of the pronoun.

9. **Trepidantve.]** *Ve* implies that the word to which it is affixed expresses the less probable alternative.

10. **Prout sonuit acies.]** *Comp. Hist.* IV. 18, where we read of the war-song of the men and the shrill cries of the women rising from the entire line of the army of the Batavian chief, Civilis.

11. **Nec tam voces...videntur.]** The pronoun *illae* is the *subject* of the sentence, the meaning of which is, 'Those [shouts] do not so much seem articulate words as a united cry of valour.' Orelli takes 'conventus' to be the plural number. This does not appear necessary.

12. **Fractum murmur.]** The sound instead of issuing straight out of their mouths was broken by their shields, which produced the echo afterwards mentioned.

13. **Plenior et gravior.]** 'Of a fuller and deeper tone.'

14. **Opinantur.]** The word 'opinari' is especially used of rash and groundless conjectures.

15. **In hunc oceanum.]** Sc. the northern ocean, which has been already mentioned.

16. **Asciburgium.]** Now Asburg. It is mentioned, *Hist.* iv. 33, as a Roman military station on the left bank of the Rhine.

17. **Aram.]** The word implies some kind of *stone* monument.

18. **Ulixi.]** Orelli, after Ernesti and Passow, takes this for ab Ulixē. It is better however to take it as meaning 'in honour of and to the memory of Ulixes.' Similarly, veterem aram Druso sitam, *Ann.* II. 7, means an altar raised by the army to the memory of Drusus.

19. **Adhuc extare.]** Tacitus may have borrowed this from the elder Pliny's great work on the Roman wars in Germany. Pliny had himself served in Germany.

20. **Fidem.]** The word here means something more than 'belief;' it implies the grounds on which belief should rest, so that addere fidem is almost equivalent to 'confirmare argumentis.'

#### CHAPTER IV.

1. **Aliis aliarum.]** This pleonasm, Kritz observes, is used with the deliberate intention of marking as distinctly as possible the difference between the Germans and all other barbarians.

2. **Truces et caerulei oculi.]** Caesar, *B. G.* I. 39, represents the Gauls as saying that in action they had often been scared by the fierce looks and eyes of the Germans. Both Horace and Juvenal use the epithet caeruleus (caerulus) in connexion with them. Horace, *Epod.* XVI. 7, *Nec fera caerulea domuit Germania pube.* Juvenal, XIII. 164, *Caerula quis stupuit Germani lumina?*

3. **Rutilae comae.]** *Comp. Agr.* 11.

4. **Magna corpora.]** *Comp.* Ch. 20, and *Hist.* iv. 1, where it appears that after the capture of Rome by the Flavianists, it was assumed that any very tall man was a German, and a Vitellianist.

5. **Ad impetum valida.]** We have the same character

of the Germans, *Ann.* II. 14, where Germanicus in his speech to his army is represented as saying of them that 'though their appearance is dreadful, and though their strength is great for a sudden effort, yet they are unable to endure wounds.' A somewhat similar description is given of the Highlanders who followed the young Pretender.

6. *Laboris atque operum.*] 'Labor' denotes toil generally; 'opera,' as elsewhere, has special reference to work connected with a campaign, 'intrenching camps, cutting down timber,' &c.

7. *Aestumque tolerare.*] *Comp. Hist.* II. 93, where the German soldiers in Rome are described as suffering 'aestus impatientia.'

## CHAPTER V.

1. *Aliquanto.*] 'To a considerable extent.'

2. *Silvis horrida.*] 'Bristling with forests,' such as the 'silva Hercynia, Caesia, Teutoburgensis,' &c.

3. *Satis.*] The ablative case of 'satum' (a sown crop), a word frequently used by Virgil.

4. *Frugiferarum arborum.*] *Sc.* the *finer* kinds of fruit-trees, as the mention of *poma agrestia* in Ch. 23 shews. The vine was then unknown in Germany.

5. *Improcera.*] The construction appears to be suddenly changed for the sake of avoiding the awkward sound of 'improcerorum.' It is not possible that *improcera* can be applied to 'terra,' as has been assumed by some interpreters. Even Tacitus would not have ventured on so obscure an expression.

6. *Ne armentis...frontis.*] The horses do not attain their proper size, and the cattle have not such fine horns as they have in Italy. The word 'armentum' derived from *aro* includes 'horses' and horned cattle.

7. *Número gaudent.*] 'They (the people) take delight in having a large number.' 'Numerus' is often equivalent to 'magnus munus,' *Comp.* (at end of chapter) 'numerus argenteorum.'

8. *Haud perinde.*] Orelli takes this as equivalent to *non admodum*. There is no doubt an implied contrast between German simplicity and Roman luxury and avarice. This seems better than Kritz's view, that *perinde* compares *possessio* and *usus* ('they care more about possessing than using,' &c.).



9. **Est videre.]** A Greek form of expression, *ἔστιν ὁρᾶν*.

10. **Vilitate.]** Kritz reads 'utilitate,' a conjecture which seems unnecessary. The words non in alia may well stand for 'pari' or 'eadem.'

11. **Proximi.]** Sc. those nearest the Rhine.

12. **Agnoscent.]** 'They are well acquainted with.'

13. **Serratos bigatosque.]** *Serrati* were denarii the circumferences of which had been made to resemble a saw (*serra*). This was to insure them from being clipped. 'Bigati' (as Pliny, *H. N.* xxxiii. 3, 13, explains) were coins stamped with the image of a two-horse chariot (*biga*). There were also coins called 'quadrigati.' The 'bigati' and 'quadrigati' were invariably silver coins.

14. **Affectione animi.]** This reading (for which Kritz substitutes affectatione) appears to be perfectly intelligible. 'Affectio animi' may, for anything we can see to the contrary, mean a *particular* as well as a *general* state of mind, and so in this passage may denote a whim or caprice in regard to the matter in question. The Germans had no bias in favour of silver rather than gold; they preferred silver coins as the most convenient.

## CHAPTER VI.

1. **Superest.]** 'Is abundant.' Compare Ch. 26, *superest ager*, and *Agr.* 44, *gratia oris supererat*.

2. **Ex genere telorum.]** According to *Ann.* II. 14, 'the Germans had neither helmet nor coat of mail; even their shields were not strengthened with iron or leather, but were merely a contexture of twigs or thin painted boards; only their first rank was armed with spears, the rest had short darts hardened by fire.'

3. **Lanceis.]** This according to Diodorus, v. 30, was a Gallic word. The 'lancea' seems to have differed from the 'hasta' in having a broader point.

4. **Frameas.]** The 'framea' was probably furnished with a leather thong, so that it could be thrown forward and drawn back. It was thus suitable for distant as well as for close fighting.

5. **Cultus.]** Here equivalent to *ornatus militaris*.

6. **Cassis aut galea.]** The 'cassis' was of metal, the 'galea' of leather. This is the distinction drawn between the

two words by Isidorus Hispalensis in his *Origines*, a work on Etymologies, XVIII. 14.

7. **Sed nec, &c.]** 'Nor are they taught, &c.' i. e. they are neither swift, handsome, nor well trained.

8. **Variare gyros.]** Sc. to describe a movement of which the figure 8 gives one the best idea.

9. **Ita conjuncto orbe.]** The movement may be thus explained. The line of horsemen formed the radius of a circle, of which the rider on the extreme right was the centre, while the rider on the extreme left followed the line of the circumference. Their skill consisted in always presenting an even front. This was effected by each man adapting his speed to his position.

10. **In universum aestimanti.]** For si quis in universum aestimat. We find the same expression *Agr.* 11. The meaning is: 'Taking a general view of the Germans.' There were a few tribes, as the Tencteri, who were famous for their cavalry. See Ch. 32.

11. **Mixti praeliantur.]** Sc. infantry fight intermixed with cavalry. Caesar, *B. G.* 1. 48, in the account of his war with Ariovistus, speaks of infantry who were so active that they could lay hold of the manes of the cavalry horses and keep pace with them.

12. **Definitur et numerus.]** Sc. there is a certain fixed proportion of these chosen youths just mentioned to so many cavalry.

13. **Idque ipsum vocantur.]** Sc. 'centeni' vocantur.

14. **Nomen et honor.]** 'A name of distinction.' A hendiadys.

15. **Cuneos.]** 'Distinct bodies,' opposed in *Hist.* v. 16 to *porrectum* agmen.

16. **Consilii...arbitrantur.]** 'They consider a mark of prudence rather than of cowardice.' Tacitus often omits 'potius' in such sentences.

17. **Multique...finierunt.]** Comp. Herod. VII. 232, where we find a report mentioned by the historian of a certain Spartan Pantaites, who, having been sent on a message by Leonidas, and having thus escaped the fate of the 300 at Thermopylae, hanged himself on his return to Sparta.

## CHAPTER VII.

1. **Ex nobilitate.]** Not meaning 'ex nobilibus,' but propter nobile genus.

2. **Quam imperio.]** Comp. Ch. 17, where we are told that the 'king or chief is obeyed rather from his ability to persuade than his authority to command.'

3. **Admirazione praesunt.]** 'Admirazione,' as well as 'exemplo' and 'imperio,' is a causal ablative, not equivalent to cum 'admirazione,' as Kritz takes it.

4. **Animadvertere.]** To punish with death. Comp. *Hist.* I. 46, In Marcianum Icelum palam *animadversum*; and I. 68, In Julium Alpinum Caecina *animadvertit*. The absolute use of the word is exceptional.

5. **Ne verberare quidem.]** In the Roman army even the centurion could do as much as this, for which purpose he carried a staff of vine-wood (*vitis*).

6. **Effigies.]** Sc. images of boars, wolves, bulls, &c. Compare *Hist.* IV. 22, where we find that in the army of Civilis there were 'the images of wild beasts brought out of the woods and sacred groves (of the Germans).'

7. **Detracta.]** The word seems to suggest that these images were usually suspended from trees, &c., though it is used very commonly for simple removal. See Ch. 45, in which we are told that the Aestii 'carry about, as a symbol of their superstition, the figures of wild boars.'

8. **Turmam aut cuneum.]** The first word is used of *cavalry*, the second of *infantry*.

9. **Pignora.]** Sc. their wives and children. The word is similarly used *Agr.* 38, 'Aliquando frangi aspectu *pignorum* suorum, saepius concitari.' We have an illustration of this practice *Hist.* IV. 18. Civilis, we are there told, when on the eve of battle, 'directed his mother and sisters, and the wives and children of all his men, to stand in the rear, where they might encourage the troops to victory and shame them if they fled.' The same thing is said to have been done by the Teutones in the great battle of *Aquae Sextiae*, B. C. 102.

10. **Audiri.]** This is the reading of the MSS. and is followed by Orelli, who understands 'possit.' It cannot well be taken as the historic infinitive, coming as it does after the relative 'unde.' Kritz reads 'auditur.'

11. **Sanctissimi.]** 'Most solemnly binding.'

12. **Exigere plagas.]** We prefer Lipsius' interpretation of 'exigere,' 'requirere cum exprobatione,' to that of recent commentators who explain the word to mean 'carefully examining and probing the wounds.' The German women may well be supposed to have actually demanded wounds as a test of valour. In the three other passages in which the word 'exigere' occurs in this work, Ch. 10, *auspiciorum adhuc fides exigitur*; 14, *exigunt...illum bellatorem equum*; 20, in *accipiendo obsidibus magis exigunt*, it has the meaning of 'requiring' or 'demanding.'

13. **Cibos et hortamina...gestant.]** An instance, among many, of combining under the government of the same verb incongruous objects. 'Gestare hortamina' would hardly be a correct expression.

## CHAPTER VIII.

1. **Memoriae proditur...a feminis restitutas.]** Both Caesar and Plutarch speak of the bravery of the German women, and very possibly Tacitus had the first of these writers in his mind. Caesar, *B. G.* VII. 51, says that on one great occasion they accompanied the soldiers to battle, and, with dishevelled hair, intreated them not to give them up to slavery. Plutarch (*Life of Marius*, c. 19) tells us that in the battle of *Aquæ Sextiæ* they actually took part in the engagement, and that armed with swords and axes, they drove back both their own fugitives and the pursuing enemy.

2. **Objectu pectorum.]** Sc. not merely baring their breasts, but actually exposing them to the weapons of the enemy.

3. **Monstrata cominus captivitate.]** Sc. 'by visibly shewing captivity as close at hand.' A less concise writer would have said, 'captivitate quæ in propinquo esset.'

4. **Feminarum...nomine.]** Sc. *feminarum respectu*. The ablative of '*nomen*' is often equivalent to our expression, 'on the score of.'

5. **Consilia...responsa.]** The *first* word signifies 'counsels given unasked'; the second, 'replies to specific questions.'

6. **Vidimus...Veledam.]** Tacitus is here speaking of himself and his contemporaries, and he means, 'We actually saw Velede, who was long regarded, &c.' Velede is mentioned three times in the course of the historian's narrative of the war

with *Civilis*: *Hist.* iv. 61 (where she is said to have been a maiden of the tribe of the Bructeri, with extensive dominion); *Hist.* iv. 65 (where we are told she dwelt in a lofty tower, and, in order to inspire greater awe, declined all personal communication with those who wished to consult her); and *Hist.* v. 21. Her name too occurs in Statius, *Silvae* I. 4, 89, *Captivaeque preces Veledae*.

7. *Albrunam*.] We prefer this reading of Kritz to the more Latin form of name *Aurinia*.

8. *Non adulatione*.] 'Not in a spirit of flattery,' as Tacitus would imply that his own countrymen had paid honour to Drusilla, the sister of Caligula, and to Poppaea Sabina, the infant daughter of Nero by his mistress Poppaea.

9. *Facerent deas*.] They regarded certain women as really goddesses; consequently there was no need of deifying them. *Comp. Hist.* iv. 61, where Tacitus says that the Germans believed their prophetesses to be divine.

## CHAPTER IX.

1. *Mercurium*.] See note 1, Ch. 3.

2. *Certis diebus*.] On fixed, appointed days.

3. *Humanis quoque hostiis*.] *Quoque* implies that on other than these fixed days *animals* were sacrificed. *Comp. Hist.* v. 13.

4. *Concessis animalibus*.] These are opposed to 'human victims,' and mean such sacrifices as were permitted among the humaner and more civilised nations of Greece and Italy. Tacitus mentions two occasions on which human victims were offered; these however were in time of war. The first (recorded *Ann.* I. 61) was that on which the Germans immolated in their sacred groves the tribunes and centurions of the defeated army of Varus. The second (*Ann.* XIII. 57) was that of a battle between the Hermunduri and Chatti, at the beginning of which the latter tribe devoted to Mars and Mercury the men and horses of the enemy.

5. *Pars Suevorum et Isidi sacrificat*.] Coupling this passage with what we are told (Ch. 40) about several of the Suevic tribes worshipping a goddess Nerthus (Earth) and dedicating to her a carriage (*vehiculum*), as the Romans dedicated a ship to the Egyptian goddess Isis, we think the chances are that Ritter is right in identifying Nerthus and Isis. There seems

also to have been a similarity between the attributes of the two goddesses.

6. **Nisi quod.]** Sc. only this is certain, that the image is of itself enough to shew, &c. *Ipsum* = per se.

7. **Liburna.]** The liburna or liburnica (for both forms are found) was a species of light vessel used by the Liburni, an Illyrian tribe on the north-east of the Adriatic.

8. **Ex magnitudine.]** 'Consistent with the grandeur.'

9. **Lucos ac nemora consecrant.]** The temple of Tanfana, mentioned *Ann.* I. 51, in the territory of the Marsi, and that of Baduhenna (*Ann.* IV. 73), among the Frisii, were consecrated groves.

10. **Deorumque nominibus appellant.]** Sc. certain groves are consecrated to certain deities. Thus, *Ann.* II. 12, we hear of a wood sacred to Hercules, and, Ch. 40, of a grove dedicated to Nerthus.

11. **Secretum illud.]** 'That abstract existence.' The notion of 'secretum' is that of separation from everything which the senses can recognise.

12. **Sola reverentia.]** 'Simply with a reverent mind.' Compare this account of the German conceptions of the Deity with what we are told *Hist.* v. 5, about the Jews.

## CHAPTER X.

1. **Sortesque.]** Caesar twice mentions the use of lots among the Germans for the purpose of divination, *B. G.* I. 50 and 53. In the first of these passages he says the German matrons used them in war to decide whether or no they should fight; in the second, we are told that Procillus, a Roman soldier whom the Germans had taken prisoner, said, on being rescued, that a consultation with lots had been thrice held over him as to whether he should be burnt.

2. **Ut qui maxime.]** Equivalent to 'quam maxime.' Comp. Cicero, *Epp. ad Fam.* XIII. 63, 'Te semper sic colam et tuebor ut quem diligentissime.'

3. **Frugiferae arbori.]** See note 4, Ch. 5. Here it must mean a tree bearing 'poma agrestia,' or a tree of a choicer kind selected for its rarity.

4. **Temere ac fortuito.]** Temere, 'without any definite plan or system;' fortuito, 'as chance has it.'

5. **Si publice consuletur.]** 'If the question be put on the public account.'

6. **Ter singulos tollit.]** 'He thrice takes up each piece.'

7. **Auspicioꝝ fides adhuc exigitur.]** 'The confirmation of auspices is further required.' Kritz explains 'exigitur' by 'exploratur,' which seems very doubtful. 'Auspiciuꝝ' here is not confined to signs drawn from birds, but includes omens from horses, &c. 'Adhuc,' as here, in the sense of *etiam*, is found only in the later Latin writers.

8. **Illud.]** Sc. 'that well known custom of ours.'

9. **Iisdem...lucis.]** Referring to the words 'lucos ac nemora consecrant' in the preceding chapter.

10. **Candidi.]** Comp. Herod. I. 189, from which it appears that white horses were held in similar honour among the Persians. So too a white elephant is regarded in the present day in some regions of the East.

11. **Pressos.]** A more poetic and rhetorical word than 'junctos' would be.

12. **Hinnitus, &c.]** Comp. Herod. III. 84—87 for the mode in which Darius was chosen king.

13. **Illos conscios putant.]** '(The horses) they believe to be acquainted (with the divine will).'

14. **Committunt.]** *Committere* is the technical word for pitting combatants against each other.

## CHAPTER XI.

1. **Ita tamen ut.]** 'Under this condition however, that,' &c.

2. **Plebem.]** Sc. all the freeborn with the exception of the chiefs.

3. **Pertractentur.]** *Thoroughly* discussed. Ritter reads *praetractentur* after Muretus, a word nowhere found.

4. **Noctium.]** The Gauls, according to Caesar, *B. G.* VI. 18, reckoned time in the same way. (*Spatia omnis temporis non numero dierum sed noctium finiunt*). The traces of this mode of computation still linger in the expressions 'fortnight,' 'sennight.'

5. **Constituunt...condicunt.]** Both words are legal terms.

6. **Ducere diem.]** Ducere=praeire. Their idea was that the night, as it were, took precedence of the day, and was in some sense its cause and origin. This notion was common among the nations of antiquity. The Jews reckoned their day from sunset to sunset. Comp. our expressions 'fortnight,' 'sen-night.' Comp. *Plut. Symp.* iv. 5. 2, whence it appears that a similar idea was prevalent among the Egyptians.

7. **Illud...vitium.]** '*Illud*' is the subject, *vitium* the predicate.

8. **Nec ut jussi.]** Comp. *Hist.* iv. 76, where Civilis is represented as saying that the Germans do not obey orders, and cannot be controlled, but always act according to their own caprice.

9. **Ut turbae placuit.]** It seems better to take 'ut' in the sense of time, and as equivalent to 'ubi' or 'simulac,' than as expressing the confused and disorderly character of the proceeding.

10. **Coercendi.]** Sc. of keeping them in order.

11. **Frameas concutiunt.]** So we read, *Hist.* v. 17, that Civilis' harangue to his troops was hailed with the clash of arms and wild antics. (Sono armorum tripudisque.)

## CHAPTER XII.

1. **Quoque.]** The word refers to what is implied, but not expressed, and has the same force which it has Ch. 9, *humanis quoque hostiis*, as pointed out in note 3.

2. **Discrimen capitis intendere.]** Sc. to hold over a man the peril of a capital charge.

3. **Ignavos et imbelles.]** 'ignavi' strictly are those who shew themselves cowards in action; 'imbelles' those who decline military service altogether.

4. **Coeno ac palude.]** A hendiadis for 'coenosa palude.'

5. **Illuc respicit tamquam, &c.]** 'Points to the notion that crimes,' &c., 'recognises the principle,' &c. Comp. Ch. 39 for a similar form of expression; *Superstitio respicit tamquam, &c.*

6. **Scelera...flagitia.]** The first word denotes 'crimes against society;' the second, 'disgraceful acts repugnant to human nature.'

7. **Pro modo poena.]** 'A proportionate penalty.' The reading of the MSS. is 'poenarum,' which Acidalius corrected.



8. **Equorum pecorumque numero.]** We have been already told, Ch. 5, that the wealth of the Germans consisted wholly in horses and cattle (*cae solae et gratissimae opes*). 'Numero' is for aliquo numero.

9. **Vel propinquis.]** Sc. when, as in homicide, the injured person is represented by others. Comp. Ch. 21 for the penalty of homicide.

10. **Reddunt.]** The indicative expresses the actual functions performed by the chiefs. The subjunctive would of course have substantially the same meaning, but would draw attention to the purpose for which they were elected. It appears to have been the office of these chiefs to decide private disputes and civil actions. *Reddere jus* or *jura* is a common expression, and occurs *Ann.* VI. 11, XIII. 51, *Hist.* III. 68. The idea of 'reddere' is to give something on which the recipient has a claim.

11. **Pagos vicosque.]** *Pagi*, districts of various extent into which the territory of a tribe or people was divided. Thus the Semnones (Ch. 39) occupied 100 pagi, and in *Ann.* 1. 56, we hear of the '*pagi vicique*' of the Chatti. *Vici*, towns or villages of which we have the description Ch. 16. The words answer approximately to our hundreds and parishes.

12. **Centeni.]** These 'centeni,' being chosen from the 'plebs,' could not be the same as the 'comitatus' mentioned in the next chapter, which consisted of chiefs and men of rank. Comp. what is known of the constitution of the Roman court of the 'centum viri.'

13. **Consilium simul et auctoritas.]** In apposition with 'comites.' 'Consilium' expresses simply the notion of advisers; 'auctoritas' implies the strength and support given by these assessors, who were to the German chief what the 'judices' were to the Roman praetor.

### CHAPTER XIII.

1. **Moris.]** Comp. for the construction Ch. 21, *abeunti, si quid poposcerit, concedere moris.* *Agr.* 33 *ut barbaris moris,* and *Agr.* 39 *ut Domitiano moris erat.*

2. **Suffecturum probaverit.]** 'Has approved his ability to bear them, sc. arma.' *Sufficere* is used in much the same way *Agr.* 45. 'Probare,' according to Gronovius, was a regular military term, and expressed the duty of those who had to conduct the levy of troops, and admit to the *sacramentum*. The word occurs again in this chapter.

3. **Haec apud illos toga.]** Sc. these (arms) are to them what the 'toga virilis' is to us. The custom here described may

be paralleled with the ceremonies connected with the mediæval bestowal of knighthood.

4. *Principis dignationem.*] These words are susceptible of two explanations. One is, that they mean 'the favourable regard of a chief,' and his consequent willingness to admit such youths into his comitatus; the other is that *dignatio* is here used as equivalent to 'dignitas.' It is not easy to choose between these two meanings; as, however, Tacitus seems unquestionably to use *dignatio* for dignitas, *Ann.* II. 33, III. 75, IV. 16, IV. 52, XIII. 20, *Hist.* I. 19, I. 52, III. 80, and Ch. 26 of this work, we think it is likely that it is thus used in this passage. The difference between the words appears to be that '*dignatio*' answers better than dignitas to our word 'rank.' These noble youths were considered 'principes' in rank, while they were content with the position of simple 'comites.'

5. *Aggregantur.*] 'They attach themselves.' The middle voice.

6. *Comites.*] Elsewhere called *clientes*. *Ann.* I. 57, *Se-gestes magna cum propinquorum et clientium manu*; II. 45, *ni Inguio-merus cum manu clientium ad Maroboduum perfugisset*; XII. 30, *Vannium—secuti mox clientes*.

7. *Gradus.*] 'Various degrees.' These were determined by the judgment (*judicio*) of the chief.

8. *Haec dignitas...praesidium.*] We have adopted the punctuation of Kritz in preference to that of Orelli, as it seems, on the whole, to give a somewhat better turn to the sentence. The sense is not affected. 'Dignitas,' it may be noted, is used in a wider and more general sense than '*dignatio*.' Here it nearly answers to our 'prestige.'

9. *Id nomen, ea gloria.*] The following '*si numero... emineat*' is the epexe-gesis of these words.

10. *Comitatus.*] The genitive case

11. *Expetuntur.*] 'Are courted.'

12. *Ipsa plerumque fama.*] *Comp. Livy, xxvii. 45, famam bellum conficere.*

13. *Profigant.*] *Profigare*, not actually 'to finish,' but 'virtually to decide.' *Comp. Hist.* II. 4, *Profigaverat bellum Judaicum Vespasianus*. The war with the Jews was not finished because Jerusalem had not yet fallen, but its result was no longer doubtful. *Comp. also Livy, xxi. 40, Bellum commissum ac profigatum conficere*. Ritter explains the word by 'propellant' (drive to a distance), a meaning which we think it will not bear.

## CHAPTER XIV.

1. **Jam vero.**] This formula is used to introduce an additional and more important fact. Compare *Agr.* 9, *jam vero tempora curarum remissionumque divisa.*

2. **Infame...probrosus.**] 'Infame' regards the disgrace in itself; 'probrosus' has reference to the reproaches of which it is the subject. Comp. *Q. Curtius*, iv. 15. 24, *Utrumque regem delecti tuebantur, sui immemores. Quippe amisso rege nec volebant salvi esse nec poterant.*

3. **Praecipuum sacramentum est.**] 'Is their peculiar loyalty.' Comp. *Agr.* 8, where the same virtue is commended in *Agricola.*

4. **Tuentur.**] So *Kritz* and *Ritter.* '*Tueare* (the common reading and retained by *Orelli*) breaks the construction, and would rather express the writer's notion of the matter than the actual practice of the Germans, which is here in question.

5. **Illum...frameam.**] The pronouns, *illum*, *illam*, imply that the war-horse and the spear were the recognised rewards of valour. The epithet 'cruenta' denotes that the 'framea' was given as a token of having slain an enemy.

6. **Et quanquam...apparatus.**] 'Apparatus' may be taken as a genitive of quantity denoting the character of the 'epulae.' It seems however better and more in accordance with Tacitean usage to take *epulae et apparatus* with *Orelli* as a species of hendiadis, and equivalent to *epularum apparatus.* Comp. *Horace*, *C.* i. 38. 1, *Persicos odi, puer, apparatus.* We have the expression 'apparatus epulis,' *Ch.* 21, where see note 7.

7. **Pro stipendio cedunt.**] 'Are taken as pay.'

8. **Annum.**] *Sc. anni proventum.* So *Lucan*, III. 452, uses the word. *Agricolae raptis annum flevire juvenis.*

9. **Vocare hostem.**] *Tacitus*, who often uses simple words for compound, here uses *vocare* for *provocare.* Comp. *Hist.* iv. 80, *neque ipse deerat arrogantia vocare offensas.*

10. **Vulnera mereri.**] As we might say, 'to win honourable scars.'

11. **Pigrum et iners.**] 'Tame and spiritless.'

## CHAPTER XV.

1. **Multum venatibus.]** MSS. non multum. Lipsius was the first to suggest the omission of the negative, and the suggestion has been adopted by Ritter and Kritz, while Orelli retains it and defends it on the strange ground that the Germans could have had but comparatively little leisure for such hunting expeditions. The reasons for rejecting it appear to us to be of overwhelming strength. Not to speak of the extreme awkwardness of its position, and of the improbability that Tacitus should trouble himself to tell us what the Germans did not do, or did to a very slight extent, it is incredible that on a matter which must have been well known and familiar to the Romans, he should be in direct contradiction to Caesar who says expressly, *B. G.* VI. 21, that the Germans pass their whole life in the chase and the pursuits of war. It is, besides, utterly improbable that a wild and warlike people (as Tacitus describes the Germans to have been) should have been indifferent to the chase.

2. **Domus et penatium cura.]** 'Domestic economy.'

3. **Mira diversitate naturae.]** 'By a strange contradiction in their nature.'

4. **Ultro ac viritim.]** 'Voluntarily and individually.'

5. **Armentorum vel frugum.]** These are *partitive* genitives. *Comp. Hist.* II. 44, *superesse cum ipso Othone militum quod trans Padum fuerit*, and *Ann.* XV. 53, *ceterorum ut quisque audentiae habuisset*. Conferre is here used as the Greek *μεταδιδόναι*.

6. **Jam et pecuniam...docuimus.]** Speaking of the Marcomanni and Quadi (Ch. 42) Tacitus says that their kings were oftener aided by Roman money than by Roman arms. The German love of money is also glanced at, *Hist.* IV. 76. In the word 'docuimus' is obviously implied a satire on Roman covetousness. *Comp.* for the sentiment *Agr.* 12, *Ego facilius crediderim naturam margaritis deesse quam nobis avaritiam*.

## CHAPTER XVI.

1. **Nullas...habitari.]** Tacitus means that the Germans had no cities to be compared with those of Italy and Greece. He can hardly mean that they had no towns (*oppida*), as he himself, *Ann.* I. 56, speaks of Mattium as the capital of the Chatti, and Caesar, *B. G.* IV. 19, uses the word '*oppidum*' in reference to the Suevi. The word '*urbs*' with all its associa-

tions implied a higher degree of civilisation than the Germans had reached. To a Roman it conveyed the notion of fortifications, temples, porticoes, public places, &c.

2. *Inter se.*] These words are to be taken with 'junctas.' We have described, first, the character of the larger country-houses, next, that of their towns or villages.

3. *Discreti.*] 'Apart and at a distance from one another. A mark of their love of liberty and independence.

4. *Ut fons... placuit.*] It will be remembered that the modern names of German towns frequently end in bach (brook), feld (field), holz (grove), wald (wood), born (spring), thus indicating their origin.

5. *Connexis et cohaerentibus.*] The first of these words answers to 'contiguous,' meaning that there might be the separation of walls or hedges, &c.; the latter word implies 'close contact.'

6. *Spatio.*] Sc. a considerable open space.

7. *Remedium.*] The accusative, in apposition with the fact expressed by the preceding words. It is a concise way of saying 'ut sit remedium.' So below, 'suffigium hiemi.'

8. *Caementorum.*] Sc. caesorum lapidum. 'Caementum' is from caedo, and denotes stone cut from the quarry, not otherwise hewn. Such stones would be termed 'caesi lapides.' Comp. Horace, *C. III. 1. 35*, *Caementa demittit redemptor*, and *C. III. 24. 3*, *Caementis licet occupes*, &c.

9. *Materia.*] 'Wood for building.'

10. *Informi.*] See note 9, Ch. 2.

11. *Citra.*] Compare *Agr. 1*, *Citra fidem*, where see note.

12. *Delectationem.*] 'Attractiveness.'

13. *Quaedam loca.*] Sc. the interior walls.

14. *Terra...splendente.*] Probably some kind of red chalk.

15. *Ut picturam...imitetur.*] 'So as to resemble painting and coloured designs.' '*Pictura*' means simply 'painting,' not 'painted figures;' '*lineamenta colorum*' appears to mean frescoes. Tacitus was thinking of the customary ornamentation of Roman houses.

16. *Solent, &c.*] Tacitus is here speaking of the wilder and remoter tribes—those of which he speaks in the following chapter as wearing the skins of beasts.

17. **Subterraneos specus aperire.]** Compare what Virgil says (*Georg.* III. 376) of the Scythian and northern tribes :

Ipsi in defossis specubus secreta sub alta  
Otia agunt terra.

Ammianus Marcellinus (XVII. 1—8) relates that the emperor Julian in his expedition across the Rhine into the territory of the Alamanni was told by a deserter, on his approaching a dense forest, that multitudes of the enemy lay concealed in the intricate windings of subterraneous passages, and might burst forth at any moment. The same kind of habitations are still to be seen in the table-lands of Armenia. Xenophon, *Anab.* IV. 5. 25, describes them. Tacitus uses 'aperire' for fodere, as the less commonplace word.

18. **Hiemi.]** A dative, 'for the needs of winter.'

19. **Fallunt.]** Equivalent to the Greek *λανθάνει*, a sense in which Tacitus often uses the word.

20. **Quod quaerenda sunt.]** Meaning that the delay which search would cause is their protection.

## CHAPTER XVII.

1. **Sagum.]** This was properly the Roman soldier's cloak, and it was to him what the 'toga' was to a civilian. The word here stands for an *outer* vest generally resembling the Roman 'sagum.'

2. **Veste.]** This must mean something worn beneath the 'sagum,' and confined to comparatively few.

3. **Stricta...exprimente.]** 'Tight and exhibiting each limb.'

4. **Gerunt...pelles.]** Caesar (*B. G.* VI. 22) speaks of the Germans as using the skin of the reindeer (*reno*) for this purpose. Comp. Virg. *Georg.* III. 383.

5. **Ripae.]** Meaning especially the bank of the Rhine.

6. **Ulteriores.]** Sc. the interior and more distant tribes.

7. **Exquisitius.]** 'With considerable study and pains-taking.' Skins were their only material for dress; hence the pains they bestowed on them.

8. **Cultus.]** The word here denotes the elegancies of civilised life which were procurable by the Germans only through commerce.

9. **Eligunt feras.]** 'They make choice of particular beasts.'

10. **Spargunt.]** Spargere, as Ritter observes, answers here exactly to the Greek *ποικιλλειν*.

11. **Maculis pellibusque.]** 'Spotted skins.' A hendiadis. The hides (velamina) of the common beasts (ferae) were ornamented and varied with the furs of rarer beasts (beluae), not generally marine animals, though the skins of the seal and the sea-otter might probably be among them, found in the islands of the Baltic.

12. **Exterior Oceanus.]** Sc. the German ocean and the Baltic.

13. **Lineis amictibus.]** Pliny, *H. N.* XIX. 1, represents the Germans as weaving clothes from flax, and their women as considering this the choicest kind of dress.

14. **Partemque...extendunt.]** They do not lengthen the upper part of their clothes, which was the fashion of the Roman tunic. Comp. the phrases *tunica manuleata* (Plautus, *Ps.* II. 4. 48) and *κιθῶν χειριδωτός*.

15. **Brachia ac lacertos.]** 'Brachium,' the arm from the hand to the elbow; 'lacertus,' from the elbow to the shoulder.

#### CHAPTER XVIII.

1. **Quanquam.]** This word is used to repel the inference which the conclusion of the preceding chapter would have suggested to the ordinary Roman reader. It should be rendered by 'nevertheless.'

2. **Pluribus nuptiis ambiuntur.]** Virgil uses a very similar expression *Aen.* VII. 323:

Neu connubiis ambire Latinum  
Aeneadae possint.

In both passages we prefer the construction with the ablative instead of the dative which Kritz takes *nuptiis* to be. Ariovistus was one of those few exceptions here noted. He had two wives, one from Suevia, the other from Noricum. See *Caes. B. G.* I. 53.

3. **Delicias muliebres.]** 'The fastidious tastes of women.' There is an indirect allusion to the costly jewels, rings, bracelets, &c., of which the Roman ladies were so fond. Comp. the speech of Tiberius, *Ann.* III. 53, in which mention is made of the various female ornaments for the purchase of which 'Roman money found its way into distant and even hostile countries.'

4. **Quibus nova nupta comatur.]** Sc. suitable to a bride's toilet. Our 'trousseau' seems to convey the writer's notion.

5. **In haec munera.]** Ritter follows Ernesti in explaining this as equivalent to *ἐπι τούτοις τοῖς δώροις*, 'on condition of such a dower.' It seems better to take it as somewhat analogous to the phrase 'jurare in verba.' The idea is that the character of the bride and of the bridal gifts correspond to each other.

6. **Haec arcana sacra.]** The meaning is that this interchange of gifts which has been just described was to the Germans what the sacred rites of the *confarreatio* were to the Romans. This, the most solemn form of marriage, had, as we learn from *Ann.* iv. 16, almost fallen into disuse in the time of the empire.

7. **Hos conjugales deos.]** Among these were Jupiter, Juno, Diana, Venus, Hymenaeus, and several obscure deities, such as Jugatinus, Domiducus, Domitius, &c. whose offices Augustine, *De C. D.* vi. 9, satirically commemorates.

8. **Extra virtutum cogitationes.]** 'Out of the range of aspirations after manly qualities.'

9. **Auspiciis.]** Almost equivalent to 'initiis.' There is of course the notion of initiatory rites in the word.

10. **Passuram ausuramque.]** '*Resolved to suffer and to dare.*'

11. **Denuntiant.]** 'Plainly declare.' The word 'denuntiarī' was originally a legal term. It soon acquired the meaning of 'to threaten,' which is not wholly absent from this passage.

12. **Sic vivendum.]** This, and the infinitive 'accipere,' depend on 'denuntiant.'

13. **Digna.]** Understand 'liberis' from the context. The word however is often used absolutely, just as our 'worthy,' by the best writers. See *Hor. C.* ii. 14. 25, *Absumet heres Caecuba dignior.*

14. **Quae nurus accipiant.]** Construe this with 'accipere se.' The reading of the MSS. 'rursusque' (for which Kritz substitutes *rursus quae*) is retained by Orelli and Ritter, and seems satisfactory.

## CHAPTER XIX.

1. **Septa.]** Equivalent to 'munita.' The bridal gifts and the obligation implied in them, of which we have just been told, were a guard and defence to the purity of married life.

2. **Illecebris...irritationibus.]** Both words denote 'things which tempt,' but the latter implies temptation of a peculiarly stimulating and vehement character.



3. **Litterarum secreta.]** Tacitus cannot mean that the Germans were wholly ignorant of the use of letters for ordinary purposes, since, *Ann.* II. 63 and 88, he speaks of letters addressed by Maroboduus, king of the Suevi, and Adgandestrius, chief of the Chatti, to the emperor and senate respectively. He is clearly alluding to the clandestine love letters of which we have mention in Ovid, Juvenal, Martial, and is thus suggesting a contrast to the disadvantage of his countrymen.

4. **Praesens et maritis permissa.]** 'Immediate and at the discretion of the husbands.'

5. **Accisis.]** Sc. cut so short as to be completely disfigured. So 'accisae res' in the sense of 'impaired fortunes.' Contrary to the authority of most of the MSS. Orelli reads *absicis*.

6. **Publicatae enim pudicitiae.]** In reference to *unmarried* women. So profligate were the Roman ladies of the empire that we are told, *Ann.* II. 85, that the senate had to provide by law that no woman whose father, or grandfather, or husband was an 'eques' should give in her name as a prostitute to the aediles. 'Enim' implies a transition in the subject. Tacitus passes from the character of the married to that of unmarried women.

7. **Aetate.]** Here 'youth.'

8. **Seculum.]** Louandre: 'la mode du siècle.' 'Zeitgeist' is the equivalent German word. In the New Testament *αἰών* is used in a precisely similar way.

9. **Melius...civitatis.]** Sc. agunt. 'Still better is the condition of those states,' &c. 'Adhuc' strengthens the comparative *melius*; it is equivalent to the Greek *ἔτι*, and is here used when the writers of the Augustan age would have used 'etiam.'

10. **Cum spe...transigitur.]** *Transigere cum aliqua re = finire, absolvere rem.* Compare *Agr.* 34, *Transigite cum expeditionibus*, and Ch. 22 (of this work), *rixae raro conviciis transiguntur*. The meaning therefore is that the hopes and vows of a wife are ended once for all at the time of marriage. This was far from being the case at Rome. Martial, VI. 7, tells us of a lady who shortly after the revival of the Julian law married her tenth husband.

11. **Ne tamquam...ament.]** 'That they may fix their affections, not, as it were, on the husband, but on the married state.'

12. **Agnatis.]** Sc. the children born *after* the final arrangements made by the father as to his heirs and the disposition of

his property. In his account of the Jews, Tacitus says of them, *Hist.* v. 5, what he here says of the Germans (necare quemquam ex agnatis nefas). Compare the use of 'sublatum,' *Agr.* 6, and see note.

13. **Flagitium.**] See note 6 on word, Ch. 12.

14. **Alibi bonae leges.**] The allusion is to the Lex Julia, passed in the reign of Augustus, about 17 B.C., and to the Lex Papia Poppaea, passed A.D. 9, as a supplement to the former. These laws had for their object the regulation and encouragement of marriage; they proved however, as Tacitus tells us, *Ann.* III. 25, a failure, and simply increased the power of the 'delatores.'

## CHAPTER XX.

1. **Nudi ac sordidi.**] The first word expresses the scantiness of their clothing, the second, its meanness and filth.

2. **Nec ancillis...delegantur.**] In allusion to the practice at Rome in his own time, Tacitus says, *Dial.* 29, At nunc natus infans delegatur Graeculae alicui ancillae.

3. **Nullis educationis deliciis.**] 'By no soft refinements in their training.'

4. **Virtus agnoscat.**] A kind of personification. 'Till valour claim them as her own.'

5. **Festinantur.**] 'Hurried into marriage.'

6. **Miscentur.**] 'Are united in marriage.'

7. **Robora.**] 'The robust frames.'

8. **Referunt.**] Equivalent to 'repraesentant.' Compare Ch. 43, Marsigni sermone ac cultu Suevos referunt.

9. **Tamquam...teneant.**] 'Under the notion that (sisters' sons) bind the affections more strongly and the family more extensively.' The German idea seems to have been that while the attachment of the sons would be secured by nature, the less close relationship of the nephew would be advantageously secured by custom.

10. **Nullum testamentum.**] Sc. no will according to Roman ideas, which required the presence and signature of witnesses, &c.

11. **Tanto gratiosior.**] 'So much the more regarded with favour.'

12. *Orbitatis pretia.*] We have several allusions in Tacitus to the influence possessed by the childless wealthy. The subject is noticed *Ann.* III. 25, XIII. 52, XV. 19, *Hist.* I. 73, (where it is said of Calvia Crispinilla that she was potens pecunia et orbitate), *Dial.* 6, and is continually remarked on by Juvenal. 'Pretia,' 'advantages.' Comp. Pliny, *Epp.* IV. 15, where we have the similar phrase, *orbitatis praeemia.*

## CHAPTER XXI.

1. *Suscipere.*] 'To adopt.'
2. *Nec.*] *Nec* here = sed non, as it commonly = et non.
3. *Implacabiles durant.*] It is not clear whether the nominative to *durant* is inimicitiae or Germans, as the word *implacabilis* might be applied to either. We prefer the former view.
4. *Recipit satisfactionem.*] Sc. receives this penalty as a satisfaction for the wrong. Caesar, *B. G.* VI. 9, has the phrase *accipere satisfactionem* which seems to express more clearly the notion doubtless implied here that the aggrieved party professes himself satisfied.
5. *Juxta libertatem.*] Sc. 'by the side of freedom.' This is perhaps better than 'in proportion to freedom,' though there may be the notion that the nearer you approach liberty, the greater the danger.
6. *Convictibus et hospitibus.*] *Convictus* are social gatherings among friends and neighbours; *hospitium* implies throwing open one's house to strangers and foreigners.
7. *Apparatis epulis.*] 'Well furnished entertainments.' Livy uses the same expression (XXIII. 4). Comp. Ch. 14, note 6. The idea of the word is 'careful preparation,' and so it approaches very closely the sense of 'exquisitus.'
8. *Defecere.*] Sc. *epulae.*
9. *Nec interest.*] It makes no difference whether they come by invitation or not.
10. *Quantum ad jus hospitibus.*] Comp. *Agr.* 44, *quantum ad gloriam.*
11. *Imputant.*] 'Regard as an obligation.' A word properly used of money accounts.
12. *Victus inter hospites comis.*] These words can only mean, 'their demeanour to their guests is courteous,' and

must, if genuine, have been added by way of summing up what we have been told about German hospitality, and, perhaps, of contrasting their treatment of strangers with their quarrelsomeness over their cups among themselves, which is noticed in the following chapter. They are found in all the MSS., and it seems rash in Ritter (who follows Ernesti) to pronounce them an interpolation, as he does chiefly on the ground that Tacitus never uses 'victus' for 'vivendi modus.' Even writers of the Augustan age occasionally use the word in this sense. Lachmann has ingeniously conjectured *vinculum inter omnes comitas*.

## CHAPTER XXII.

Every German usage noticed in this chapter is in pointed contrast with Roman habits. An ordinary Roman of the upper class rose before daybreak, had his game at ball (*pila*), and then took his bath; he and his friends reclined on the same couch at dinner; he must not go about armed within the city; he could not drink without disgrace before nightfall; he was much more staid and reserved than a German. Tacitus throughout this chapter is evidently describing the way of life of the chiefs and the higher class generally.

1. **Plurimum.]** Sc. the greatest part of the year.
2. **Ut inter vinolentos.]** See note on ch. 2, *ut* in *licentia vetustatis*. The word 'vinolentus' is not necessarily confined to the intoxication produced by wine.
3. **Transiguntur.]** See note 10, ch. 19.
4. **Asciscendis principibus.]** *Asciscere principes*, 'to admit into the number of their chiefs,' the same in fact as *eligere*.
5. **De pace...consultant.]** We have instances of this having been done by *Civilis* in preparing for his revolt. *Hist.* IV. 14 and 29.
6. **Simplices cogitationes.]** 'Simplex' here means 'frank, openhearted,' and so the expression is about equivalent to our word 'sincerity,' or 'candour.' It is used in the same sense *Hist.* I. 15, *ego ac tu simplicissime inter nos hodie loquimur*; *Ann.* I. 69, *simplices eas curas*; and we find the noun, *Hist.* III. 86, *inerat tamen simplicitas et liberalitas*.
7. **Astuta ... callida.]** The first word implies natural cunning; the second, that which is acquired by experience of the world. Hence, *Agr.* 9, we find the expression *calliditas fori*. 'Callidus' has not necessarily a bad sense, nor indeed is the bad sense uppermost in the word, as is the case with 'astutus.'

8. **Aperit adhuc secreta pectoris.]** If we construe *adhuc* with *aperit*, the meaning will be that up to the present time the Germans are simple and sincere, with an implied hint that they will not long retain these qualities. If construed with '*secreta*,' the expression will mean the thoughts that have been locked in their breasts up to the time of their festive gathering. Or possibly it may be used for *etiam*. Compare note 9, Ch. 19. We are reminded of Horace's line (*Sat.* I. 4. 89):

Conditā cum verax aperit prae cordia Liber.

9. **Ergo detecta...mens.]** The consequence of their consulting under the circumstances described is introduced by '*ergo*.' The subsequent clause, beginning according to the punctuation we have thought it best to adopt (*postera die retractatur*) states the correction of the possible ill effects of such a practice. The subject of '*retractatur*' is *mens*, or more strictly, the results at which the '*mens*' has arrived by the process described.

10. **Salva...ratio est.]** '*Ratio*' expresses that which peculiarly belongs to a thing; here, 'the peculiar character or advantage of each time.' Herodotus, I. 33, mentions a precisely similar custom as prevailing among the Persians.

### CHAPTER XXIII.

1. **Frumento.]** Sc. 'wheat.' Commonly, '*frumentum*' includes every sort of grain.

2. **Corruptus.]** Changed by the process of fermentation. Herodotus, II. 77, speaks of 'wine made from barley' as an Egyptian drink. Pliny, *H. N.* XXII. 82, says this liquor was known by the name of *cerevisia* in Gaul and other provinces.

3. **Ripae.]** Sc. the bank of the Rhine. According to Caesar, *B. G.* IV. 2, the Suevi would not allow wine to be imported into their territories.

4. **Recens fera.]** The meaning is not that the Germans ate their meat actually raw, but that they did not keep it so long as the Romans. Pomponius Mela, III. 3. 2, exaggerates their savageness in this respect. Caesar's account, *B. G.* IV. I and VI. 22, of the German diet corresponds with what we are told here. He speaks of milk, cheese, and meat as the staple of their food.

5. **Sine apparatu.]** Compare Ch. 14 and 21. '*Apparatus*' here implies all the adjuncts of an elegantly furnished table.

6. **Sine blandimentis.]** '*Blandimenta*' here are what Sal-

lust, *Jug.* 89, calls *irritamenta gulae*, and are enumerated in detail by Horace, *Sat.* II. 8. 8—9.

7. **Expellunt.]** Sc. Germani.

8. **Si indulseris...vincentur.]** Of this we have two recorded instances, *Hist.* IV. 79 and *Ann.* I. 50. In the first, one of the cohorts of *Civilis*, consisting of *Chauci* and *Frisii*, was entirely destroyed while in a state of intoxication by the inhabitants of the *Colonia Agrippinensis*. In the second, which occurred during the first campaign of *Germanicus* in Germany, a night attack was made by some light Roman cohorts under *Caecina* on the *Marsi* who were surprised in a drunken revel. Compare for a similar incident *Herod.* I. 211.

#### CHAPTER XXIV.

1. **Unum.]** One and only one.

2. **Quibus id ludicrum est.]** 'To whom the thing is a diversion.'

3. **Infestas.]** Sc. with their points turned towards the bodies of the dancers. *Louandre* renders it 'qui les menacent.' It would seem that the spears were stuck in the ground with their points upwards.

4. **Artem.]** Comp. *Agr.* 36, *arte* *Britanni...missilia* *nostrorum* *vitare*.

5. **In quaestum aut mercedem.]** On the contrary, at Rome, the gladiator was hired and fought for pay. There were instances of ruined spendthrifts of noble birth gaining their livelihood as performers on the stage, and it is quite possible that *Tacitus* may have been thinking of such men.

6. **Quamvis audacis.]** 'However reckless.' 'Audax' is more frequently applied to persons than to things. We do however meet with such expressions as 'audax facinus,' 'audax consilium,' &c.

7. **Inter seria.]** 'As a serious occupation.'

8. **Juvenior.]** *Tacitus* seems to use this form of the comparative to draw special attention to the superior strength and vigour of youth, a notion which would not be so prominent in 'junior.'

9. **Fidem.]** Equivalent to our word 'honour.'

10. **Per commercia.]** Comp. *Agr.* 28, *fuere* *quos per commercia* *venundatos*.

11. **Exsolvant.]** Sc. liberent. Compare *Ann.* vi. 44, Donec Tiridates pudore proditiōnis paucos *exsolvit*; and *Hist.* iii. 61, Donec Priscus et Alphenus pudore proditiōnis cunctos *exsolverent*.

## CHAPTER XXV.

1. **Ceteris.]** Sc. all slaves not acquired in the manner just described. These might be captured in war, or obtained by regular purchase.

2. **Descriptis per familiam ministeriis.]** 'In the different services distributed among the domestics.' A wealthy Roman had a distinct set of slaves for town and city purposes. The word 'familia' answers to our 'establishment.'

3. **Sedem...penates.]** 'A house and home of his own.'

4. **Penates.]** The word expresses the idea of home with all the domestic economy connected with it. Roman slaves did not live separate and apart, but were commonly housed together under one roof in close contiguity to their master. They had little apartments called 'cellae.' See Horace, *Sat.* i. 8. 8.

5. **Colono.]** The 'colonus' was a renting farmer. The German slave thus occupied something like the position of the Roman 'cliens' in the times of the republic.

6. **Hactenus paret.]** 'Is in subjection up to this limit,' sc. of furnishing corn, &c.

7. **Cetera domus officia.]** Sc. all the other domestic duties which among the Romans were performed by slaves termed 'vernae.' By 'uxor' and 'liberi' are meant the wife and children of the master.

8. **Opere.]** Sc. 'hard labour.' Horace threatens his slave Davus (*Sat.* ii. 7. 118) that he will send him off to his Sabine farm; *Accedes opera agro nona Sabino*.

9. **Disciplina et severitate.]** A hendiadis for *severitate disciplinae*, an expression which occurs *Hist.* i. 51.

10. **Nisi quod impune.]** 'Only it is done with impunity.'

11. **Aliquod momentum.]** 'An element of any considerable importance.' Freedmen at Rome often acquired enormous wealth and great political influence. Pallas, Narcissus, Polycletus, are names with which Tacitus makes us familiar. The last of these was sent by Nero on an important mission to Britain.

12. **Quae regnantur.]** Compare Ch. 43. *Trans Ligios*

Gothones *regnantur*. Compare also *Hist.* i. 16, where Galba, on adopting Piso, is represented as saying, 'It is not here, as it is among nations despotically ruled (*regnantur*) that there is a distinct governing family, while all the rest are slaves.'

13. *Impares libertini.*] 'The inferior condition of the freedmen;' inferior, that is, to the condition of the freeborn. No distinction is implied between 'libertus' (used above) and 'libertinus.' The term 'libertus' is the correlative of 'dominus;' 'libertinus' referred to the man's new condition and designated him as one of a class.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

1. *In usuras extendere.*] sc. to continue taking a succession of *usuræ*, that is, to exact compound interest. This seems the only meaning which brings out the force of *in usuras*.

2. *Ideoque magis servatur.*] The subject of this clause is 'non fenerari,' which is to be supplied from the preceding. We are here reminded of what Tacitus remarks at the end of ch. 19, plus *ibi boni mores valent quam alibi bonæ leges*. On the evils connected with usury at Rome he dwells particularly, *Ann.* vi. 16, 17, where the somewhat remarkable phrase, 'agitare fenus,' is repeated.

3. *In vices occupantur.*] We understand the meaning to be that the land here spoken of was of the nature of *ager publicus*, and was occupied in turns for the purposes of tillage, the chiefs and nobles having the largest portions. The distribution of the allotments would be changed from time to time. This view accords with what we are told by Caesar, *B. G.* vi. 22, that the magistrates assigned every year to families and clans settled on the same spot as much land as they thought fit, and where they chose, and compelled them in the course of a year to go elsewhere. Nor does it necessarily clash with what is said ch 20, 'that they live scattered and apart, &c.' There may have been (though Caesar, *B. G.* iv. 1, denies it) fixed properties along with such a system as seems suggested by this passage.

4. *Secundum dignationem.*] 'According to rank.' The chief receives a larger portion than the nobles, and they again than the other freeborn members of the tribe. On *dignatio*, see note 4, ch. 13.

5. *Arva per annos mutant.*] Tacitus is speaking of change of occupancy, not of possession. 'Arvum,' 'land under tillage.' Comp. Horace, *C.* III. 24. 11—16, where the habits of the *Getæ* are described, a Thracian tribe who are said to have changed their lands annually.



6. **Superest ager.]** See note, ch. 6.

7. **Cum...contendunt.]** Kritz here reads 'laborare,' but laborare contendunt seems a strange expression. We have adhered to Orelli. The meaning is, 'they do not laboriously strive with the assistance of the fertility and extent,' &c., sc. they leave the soil to its own natural productions, and attempt nothing like scientific agriculture. Or it may be rendered, 'nor does their industry vie with the richness and extent of the soil.'

8. **Sola...imperatur.]** 'Corn alone is required from the earth.' '*Imperare*' means to require that to which you have a right, and so is used of taxes, tribute, &c. There is a rhetorical touch about its use here. Cicero, *de Senect.* xv. 51, terra nunquam recusat imperium, which may have possibly suggested this use of '*imperare*.' Comp. also as a correlative expression, Ut quamvis avido parerent arva colono. Virg. *Aen.* i. 3 (obelized lines).

9. **In totidem.]** Sc. as those into which the Roman year was divided.

10. **Intellectum.]** 'Intellectus' is a word of the silver age, a marked characteristic of which was the growth of abstract terms. It is used both actively and passively, denoting 'the faculty of the understanding,' and also, as here, 'that which is understood,' and so is equivalent to our 'meaning,' 'signification.'

11. **Bona.]** 'The blessings,' 'bounty.'

## CHAPTER XXVII.

1. **Funerum nulla ambitio.]** The Gauls, on the contrary, as we learn from Caesar, *B. G.* vi. 19, delighted in splendid and costly funerals. Such funerals were not uncommon at Rome. According to Pliny, *H. N.* xxxiii. 10. 47, one Isidorus, a freedman, directed that he should be buried at an expense of 11,000,000 sesterces, or about £90,000.

For the use of the word '*ambitio*,' compare *Agr.* 29, quem casum neque ut plerique fortium virorum ambitiose tulit, and *Agr.* 42, ambitiosa morte.

2. **Certis lignis.]** Sc. kinds of wood appropriated by custom to this particular purpose.

3. **Vestibus.]** 'Coverings.' 'Vestis' here seems to be equivalent to '*stragula vestis*,' or '*tapete*.' So ch. 10, '*candidam vestem*,' and ch. 40, '*vehiculum et vestes*,' &c. In the account of the funeral of Germanicus (*Ann.* iii. 2) we are told that the knights burnt coverings (*vestem*) and perfumes. From

Cic. *De Leg.* II. 24, it appears that the legal term for the sprinkling of perfumes was 'sumptuosa respersio.' Comp. also Virgil's description of the funeral of Misenus (*Aen.* VI. 221), *Purpureasque super vestes, velamina nota, Conjiciunt.* It would seem from this passage that the actual garments of the dead man were included in the general term 'vestis.'

4. **Quorundam.]** Sc. the chiefs.

5. **Equus.]** Sc. bellator equus. See ch. 14.

6. **Sepulcrum caespes erigit.]** Tacitus avoids the ordinary mode of expression, caespite erigitur. Comp. *Hist.* v. 6, *praecipuum montium Libanum erigit.* Seneca (*Ep.* 7) has the very same expression; *hanc (domum) utrum caespes crexerit an varius lapis gentis alienae, nihil interest.*

7. **Gravem defunctis.]** The peculiar force of the word 'gravis' lies in its contrast to the usual prayer in an epitaph, 'sit tibi terra *levis.*'

8. **Feminis...meminisse.]** Comp. Seneca, *Ep.* 100, *Vir prudens meminisse perseveret, lugere desinat.*

9. **In commune.]** 'Generally.' The phrase occurs in a somewhat different sense *Agr.* 12, *in commune non consulunt.*

10. **Instituta ritusque.]** 'Instituta' denotes civil and military customs; 'ritus,' everything connected with religious beliefs and forms of worship.

11. **Nationes.]** 'Natio' is a portion or member of a gens, which word denotes 'a people,' as, for instance, the Suevi, Lygii, &c. Comp. ch. 2, *nationis nomen non gentis;* and see note 18.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

1. **Validiores.]** Sc. 'more powerful than the Germans.' This must be Tacitus' meaning, since Caesar (to whom he refers) says, *B. G.* VI. 24, that there was once a time when the Gauls were superior to the Germans in bravery.

2. **Summus.]** Referring rather to Caesar's credibility than to his literary merits as a writer.

3. **Permutaret.]** Sc. take in exchange for their previous settlements.

4. **Promiscuas.]** Open to the first comer.

5. **Regnorum potentia.]** Sc. 'powerful kingdoms.' The phrase is meant to express the power which belongs to regularly organised kingdoms.

6. *Igitur.*] 'So it comes to pass.'

7. *Hercyniam silvam.*] Caesar, *B. G.* vi. 25, appears to have regarded the Hercynian forest as almost coextensive with the southern part of Germany. Tacitus is here speaking of its western extremity. The locality which he assigns to the Helvetii would thus nearly coincide with the duchy of Baden. It should be observed that by Helvetii he means those who had quitted their own settlements, and had established themselves by conquests on the German side of the Rhine. Of these movements no particulars are known.

8. *Uteriora Boii.*] Part of this tribe according to Caesar, *B. G.* i. 5, had crossed the Rhine and settled in Noricum, perhaps in what is now a portion of Bavaria and Bohemia.

9. *Signatque...memoriam.*] 'Serves as an indication of the old traditions of the spot,' i. e. of its invasion and occupation by the Boii.

10. *Mutatis cultoribus.*] The Boii had been expelled by the Marcomanni (see ch. 42, and *Ann.* ii. 62, 63) under the leadership of Maroboduus.

11. *Ab Osis, Germanorum natione.*] Here Tacitus speaks doubtfully as to whether the Osi were a German tribe. Subsequently, ch. 43, he decides from their use of the Pannonian language and the fact of their patient submission to tribute that they could not be Germans. If we are determined that Tacitus shall not be inconsistent with himself, we must understand the words 'Germanorum natione' to represent the current conception about the Osi, which classed them among the German tribes. Ritter has ventured to substitute 'natio' for 'natione,' in order to get over this difficulty.

12. *Quia pari...erant.*] 'Because, in their like previous condition of poverty and independence, either bank had the same advantages and the same drawbacks.' Understand by 'utrisque ripae' the right and left banks of the Danube which were occupied respectively by the Aravisci and Osi. The words 'bona malaque' have their explanation in 'inopia ac libertate.' Neither tribe had any special inducement to cross from one side of the Danube to the other.

13. *Treveri.*] Caesar, *B. G.* viii. 25, describes the Treveri as very like the Germans. It is singular that the Roman general Cerialis in addressing them (*Hist.* iv. 75, 74) makes no allusion to this supposed German origin, but rather speaks of them as Gauls whom Roman intervention had delivered from German oppression.

14. *Nervii.*] One of the most powerful tribes of Belgic Gaul. They were neighbours of the Treveri.

15. *Circa affectationem.*] 'In the matter of claiming.' This is a post-Augustan use of the preposition *circa*, and answers to the metaphorical sense of our 'about.'

16. *Ultrō.*] The word answers to our 'actually,' and seems to express the writer's surprise.

17. *Similitudine et inertia.*] A hendiadis for 'similitudine inertiae.' Comp. *coeno ac palude*, ch. 12; *maculis pellibusque*, 25; *disciplina ac severitate*, 28; *oblectationi oculisque*, 33; *castra ac spatia*, 37.

18. *Ripam.*] Sc. the Gallic bank of the Rhine.

19. *Haud dubie Germanorum populi.*] 'Peoples unquestionably German.'

20. *Vangiones, Triboci, Nemetes.*] These three tribes are mentioned by Caesar, *B. G.* i. 51, as forming part of the army of the German Ariovistus, and the name of the Triboci occurs *B. G.* iv. 10. Pliny, *H. N.* iv. 31, defines their locality, which was on the west bank of the Rhine, and seems to have stretched southwards from Moguntiacum (Mayence). It would thus coincide with part of the Rhine provinces. Borbitomagus (Worms) was the capital of the Vangiones; Noviomagus (Spire) that of the Nemetes.

The Vangiones and Triboci are mentioned *Hist.* iv. 70.

21. *Ne Ubii quidem...meruerint.*] The Ubii allied themselves to Caesar and helped him in his battles with the Suevi. This was the beginning of their claim to be made a Roman colony, a distinction which appears to have been finally conferred upon them A. D. 51 by the famous Agrippina, the wife of the Emperor Claudius, who was born in their territory. See *Ann.* xii. 27. Her grandfather, Marcus Agrippa, probably B. C. 49, had removed them from their original settlements on the German side of the Rhine to the western or Gallic bank, and had placed them under the protection of Rome. This explains the words, *transgressi olim*.

22. *Libentius...vocentur.*] Compare *Hist.* iv. 28, where it is said that 'the Ubii, a nation of German origin, had forsworn their native country and assumed the Roman name of the Agrippinenses.' It is not quite clear whether by 'conditoris sui' Tacitus means Agrippa or Agrippina.

23. *Origine erubescunt.*] Comp. *Hist.* iv. 64, where the legates of the Tencteri dwell on this fact.

24. *Experimento fidei.*] Sc. in consideration of the proof which they had given of their fidelity.

25. *Ut arcerent.*] 'That they might keep off foes.'

## CHAPTER XXIX.

1. **Harum.]** Sc. the tribes on the banks of the Rhine.
2. **Non multum ex ripa.]** 'A small portion of the bank.' The words will not bear the meaning which some interpreters have put on them, 'not far from the bank.'
3. **Insulam Rheni amnis.]** Tacitus thus briefly denotes the island formed by the Rhine, Vahal, and Mosa. See *Hist.* iv. 12. It was known as 'insula Batavorum.'
4. **In quibus...fierent.]** 'Where it was destined they should become,' &c. Compare *Agr.* 34, *Defixerem aciem in his vestigiis in quibus pulcrum et spectabilem victoriam ederetis.*
5. **Antiquae societatis insigne.]** It seems far-fetched to refer 'insigne' with Ritter to the 'dextrae' (clasped right hands) mentioned *Hist.* i. 54, and ii. 8, as emblems of friendship and good faith. The words find a more natural explanation in the following sentence.
6. **Nam nec tributis...atterit.]** 'For neither are they insulted by tribute, nor does the tax-gatherer impoverish them.'
7. **Exempti oneribus et collationibus.]** 'Onera' were the fixed annual taxes; 'collationes,' special and extraordinary contributions made after some great loss, such, for instance, as we read of *Ann.* i. 71, where we find that the provinces of Gaul, Spain and Italy, supplied the army of Germanicus, which had just returned from its campaign in Germany, with arms, horses, money, &c. Pliny (*Paneg.* 41) praises Trajan for having dispensed with these contributions, which were not always voluntary, but were occasionally exacted. The Batavi are represented as saying (*Hist.* v. 25) that 'not tribute, but valour and brave soldiers, were required from them.' (*Sibi non tributum sed virtutem et viros indici.*)
8. **Tantum...sepositi.]** 'Reserved only for the purposes of fighting.' For the word 'sepositi' compare *Agr.* 31, *ostendamus quos sibi Caledonia viros seposuerit.*
9. **Velut tela atque arma.]** Comp. *Hist.* iv. 12, where the Batavi are said to furnish nothing to the Roman empire but 'men and arms.'
10. **Mattiacorum gens.]** The Mattiaci were not neighbours of the Batavi, as might be supposed from their being mentioned in close connexion with them. Their settlements were considerably to the south, on the German side of the Rhine, and about Wiesbaden. It appears from *Hist.* iv. 3,

that previous to the reign of Trajan (of which Tacitus is here speaking) they had not always been in subjection to Rome, for they are there said to have united with the Chatti and Usipii in besieging the Roman colony of Mogontiacum.

11. *Mente...agunt.*] 'In sentiment and spirit,' or, 'in heart and mind they are with us.' *Agunt* = *vivunt*, *sunt*.

12. *Ipsa adhuc...coelo.*] The *Mattiaci* still (*adhuc*) occupied their original settlements, which being on comparatively high ground, were colder than those of the *Batavi*.

13. *Acrius animantur.*] 'They have a keener courage.' The idea of spirit and enterprise is implied in the expression.

14. *Decumates agros.*] The phrase occurs nowhere else, but it is almost certain that it must mean the same as 'decumanus ager' (land which pays tithe), of which we have continual mention in Cicero's *Verrine* speeches with reference to Sicily. In *Ann.* XIII. 54, we hear of lands set apart for the use of the soldiery (*agros vacuos et militum usui sepositos*), so that perhaps these 'decumates agri' were of the same kind, and contributed a tenth of their produce to the sustenance of the Roman armies in Upper and Lower Germany.

15. *Levissimus.*] *Sc.* the most restless, unsettled, &c.

16. *Dubiae possessionis solum.*] The 'decumates agri' are said to be of 'doubtful ownership' because they were neither reduced to the form of a province, nor again were the inhabitants perfectly independent, since they occupied the land on condition of parting with a tenth of its produce for Roman purposes.

17. *Limite acto.*] Compare *Agr.* 41, *limite imperii*. The boundary line in question was the work of the Emperor Trajan; its object was to preserve the 'decumates agri' from the incursions of the Germans. It appears to have been drawn from somewhere about Ratisbon to Mayence, thus enclosing portions of Wurtemberg and Baden. The word 'acto' expresses the drawing of an actual visible boundary.

18. *Sinus imperii.*] *Sc.* 'the furthest nook of our empire.'

19. *Pars provinciae.*] *sc.* the province of Upper Germany, or of *Rhaetia*.

20. *Habentur.*] *Sc.* the inhabitants of the 'decumates agri,' which by means of the 'limes' were, as it were, brought into the Roman world.

## CHAPTER XXX.

1. **Chatti.]** This tribe is wrongly described by Caesar, *B. G.* iv. 19, as a branch of the Suevi.

2. **Ultra hos.]** Ultra means further in a north-easterly direction. It is a question whether 'hos' refers to the inhabitants of the *decumates agri* (who are the last mentioned) or to the Mattiaci. Ultra would have a much more precise meaning in the latter case than in the former, as the settlements of the Chatti bordered on those of the Mattiaci. They were further from the Rhine, and to the north of them. The passage from *Non numeraverim* to the end of ch. 29 has the appearance of a parenthesis, so that it seems possible (with Kritz) to understand 'hos' of the Mattiaci, the last German tribe mentioned.

3. **Non ita effusis...]** We have adhered in this passage to the punctuation of Orelli and Ritter. Kritz does not seem to make it much clearer by beginning a new sentence at this point, and taking *effusis...locis* as an ablative which expresses the cause of the Chatti continuing (*durant*) to dwell in their own settlements, and not migrating as some of the other tribes. It is better to take it simply as an ablative of place, and to connect it with the preceding. The following words, *durant...rarescunt* (which have been variously explained) appear to mean, 'They (the Chatti) extend, if (*sc.* wherever) the hill-ranges extend, and gradually diminish in number as the country becomes less hilly.' (*Durant siquidem colles durant, paullatimque rarescunt siquidem colles rarescunt*). An antithesis seems intended between '*durant*' and '*inchoant*.' Louandre, as we think, rightly, renders *durant* by *s'y prolongent*. It is hardly necessary to suppose with some interpreters that the word must mean, 'they endure to dwell,' or 'are constrained to dwell.' The territory of the Chatti would appear to have been rather desirable than otherwise, when compared with the rest of Germany.

4. **Chattos suos.....deponit.]** There is something bold and poetic about this passage. The Hercynian forest is personified, and the Chatti are regarded as its 'alumni.' '*Deponit*,' 'leaves,' 'sees the last of.'

5. **Stricti.]** "Close-knit." '*Strictus*' is opposed to *laxus, solutus, flaccidus*.

6. **Ut inter Germanos.]** *Sc.* 'Considering they are Germans,' who as a rule were rash and impetuous.

7. **Nosse ordines.]** Understand by '*ordines*' 'regular military array.' *Comp. Hist.* i. 68, *ordines sequi*. The '*solertia*' of the Chatti is illustrated entirely in reference to war.

8. **Occasiones.]** Sc. Favourable opportunities of attacking the enemy.

9. **Disponere diem.]** 'Portion out the day.' Referring to the division of the day into watches. Comp. Pliny, *Epp.* ix. 36, *quaeris quem ad modum in Tuscis diem aestate disponam.*

10. **Vallare noctem.]** Sc. Noctu castra vallare. Or perhaps better to take the words thus; 'render night secure by an intrenchment.' This gives a more picturesque turn to the sentence.

11. **Nec nisi Romanae disciplinae concessum.]** We retain the reading *Romanae* which has the weight of MS. authority. It must mean, 'to no other discipline than the Roman.' The reading 'ratione' which Ritter adopts from the suggestion of a copyist, gives perhaps a preferable sense, 'made possible only by systematic discipline.'

12. **Ad bellum.]** 'To a campaign,' as contrasted with a single engagement (*praelium*). Comp. *Hist.* ii. 40, *non ut ad pugnam sed ad bellandum profecti.*

13. **Fortuita pugna.]** Sc. Rara est.

14. **Equestrium sane virium.]** Tribes whose chief strength consisted in cavalry, which in the judgment of a Roman was less capable of regular organisation than infantry, and was thus more fitted for 'casual encounters' (*fortuita pugna*), are here contrasted with the Chatti. Compare *Sall. Hist. Fr.* *More equestris praelii sumtis tergis atque redditis.*

15. **Velocitas ..... est.]** 'Fleetness and timidity go together; slowness of movement is more akin to steady courage.' 'Juxta' is used in the same way *Ann.* vi. 42, *populi imperium juxta libertatem.* 'Constantia' implies 'deliberate and disciplined courage.'

## CHAPTER XXXI.

1. **Aliis Germanorum ..... audentia.]** 'What with other German tribes is a rare practice and confined to individual daring.' *Audentia* has here a favourable meaning. Comp. ch. 34, *nec defuit audentia Druso, &c.*

2. **Crinem barbarumque submittere.]** 'Submittere' is equivalent to the more usual 'promittere,' 'to let grow.'

3. **Nec nisi hoste caeso.]** Civilis, the Batavian, (whose ancestors were Chatti) did this. See *Hist.* iv. 61.



4. **Obligatumque virtuti oris habitum.]** Sc. the bearded face, which is a symbol that they have devoted themselves to valour. 'Obligatum' is for 'quo se obligarunt,' and it is joined to virtuti by a kind of hypallage. The beard and long hair were the outward sign (oris habitus) of their devotion to war.

5. **Super sanguinem et spolia.]** Sc. as they stood over their enemy's bleeding corpse, &c. The meaning is, "as soon as they have slaughtered and spoiled a foe."

6. **Frontem revelant.]** Sc. they remove the long hair. 'Frons' here means the face generally.

7. **Pretia ..... rettulisse.]** 'They have paid the due price for birth;' sc. they have fulfilled the purpose of their existence. The expression is thus equivalent to 'vitam meruisse.'

8. **Ignavis et imbellibus.]** See note 3, ch. 12.

9. **Squalor.]** Sc. the condition of being unshorn.

10. **Absolvat.]** Sc. from the disgrace attached to him.

11. **Habitus.]** Sc. the wearing of this iron ring.

12. **Jamque canent insignes.]** 'They even attain old age, with this distinction.' Insignes (for insigniti) means 'marked out by the iron ring.' Comp. Ch. 38, Apud Suevos usque ad canitiam &c.

13. **Visu nova.]** 'strange,' 'unfamiliar.'

14. **Prodigi alieni, contemptores sui.]** Compare Sall. *Cat.* v. *alieni* appetens, *sui* profusus, which passage perhaps Tacitus had in his mind.

## CHAPTER XXXII.

1. **Certum jam alveo.]** 'Well-defined in regard to its channel,' sc. the channel is comparatively narrow, deep, and not broken up by islets. Tacitus is speaking of the Rhine from Cologne to somewhere about Arnheim.

2. **Tencteri.]** This tribe is mentioned *Hist.* iv. 64, as having taken a prominent part in the revolt of Civilis. The Usipii and Tencteri seem to have occupied the country between Coblenz and Wiesbaden.

3. **Rhenum ..... colunt.]** Rhenum for Rheni ripam.

4. **Familiam.]** 'The slaves and domestics.'

5. **Penates.]** 'The house itself and its various adjuncts.'

6. **Ferox.]** 'High-spirited.'

7. **Melior.]** Sc. superior in war.

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

1. **Bructeri.]** The Bructeri were neighbours of the Usipii, with whom they are mentioned *Ann.* I. 51. From *Ann.* I. 60, and *Strabo*, VII. 1. 3, it appears that the river Luppia (Lippe) ran through their territory. We have no historical record of the event alluded to in the words 'pulsis ac penitus excisis.' It is not improbable that it may have occurred after the rebellion of Civilis had been crushed by the Romans.

2. **Chamavos et Angrivirios.]** The Chamavi are mentioned *Ann.* XIII. 55, where it is said that their original settlements were subsequently those of the Tubantes and Usipii, the Bructeri not being named. At this time they appear to have been settled on the banks of the Weser. The Angrivarii, as may probably be inferred from *Ann.* II. 19 and 41, occupied districts between the Weser and Elbe. Dr. Latham suggests that the termination of the name is the 'ware' in Cantware and =occupants, inhabitants.

3. **Consensu.]** 'Coalition.'

4. **Nam ne ..... invidere.]** Comp. *Ann.* I. 22, *Ne hostes quidem sepultura invident.* 'Spectaculo' is the ablative. "They did not grudge or stint us even in the spectacle of the battle." We see the transition to this construction with the ablative from the common usage of the Augustan age illustrated by *Cic. De Orat.* II. 56, *Nisi interdum in hoc Crasso paullum inviderem.* *Quintilian*, IX. 3. 1, remarks that in his time the ablative was used with *invidere* when *Cicero* would have used the accusative. We do not know to what particular event *Tacitus* is here alluding. It must have occurred between A. D. 70 and 98 (the date of this work) since from several passages of the *Historiæ* (IV. 21. 61. 77, V. 18) it appears that at the commencement of *Vespasian's* reign the Bructeri were still in existence.

5. **Obletationi oculisque.]** A dativus commodi. The expression is a hendiadis. See note 17, ch. 28. *Tacitus* was no doubt thinking of the pleasure which the Romans derived from the gladiatorial contests.

6. **Quando.]** 'Since.'

7. **Urgentibus imperii fatis.]** We retain *Orelli's* reading (which is also that of *Ritter*), as we see nothing gained by the *in urgentibus* of *Kritz*, who interprets the words as equivalent to *si forte accidat ut fatalia tempora instent.* *Tacitus* seems rather to mean that 'fatalia tempora' were even then looming, notwithstanding the promise of prosperity given by the com-

mencement of Trajan's reign, on which he dwells with evident pleasure *Agr.* 3. Without assuming that he was thoroughly convinced that the empire had entered on a period of inevitable decline (as the reading *vergentibus* would imply), it is at least by no means improbable that its vast extent and miscellaneous character inspired him with vague apprehensions, and that among the elements of danger Germany from its special circumstances would be likely to hold a prominent place. His general meaning seems to be very accurately represented by a passage from Matthew Arnold's poem on Heine's Grave, in which he speaks thus of England:

Staggering on to her goal;  
Bearing on shoulders immense,  
Atlantean, the load,  
Well nigh not to be borne,  
Of the too vast orb of her fate.

The last line comes very near to the notion of '*urgentibus fatis*,' in which the ideas of a heavy pressure and blind hurrying on are probably combined.

8. *Nihil jam.....discordiam.*] *Comp. Agr.* 12, *Nec aliud adversus validissimas gentes pro nobis utilius quam quod in commune non consulunt*, and *Ann.* II. 62, *Haud leve decus Drusus quaesivit, illiciens Germanos ad discordias*. Precisely similar to the sentiment here expressed is the well-known '*divide et impera*.'

#### CHAPTER XXXIV.

1. *A tergo.*] '*Tergum*' as opposed to '*frons*' (which in '*a fronte*' clearly means north or north-west) must mean to the south-east. The *Dulgubini* would probably be somewhere between the *Angrivarii* and the *Weser*. Their locality however, and that of the *Chasuarii*, cannot be accurately defined.

2. *Aliaeque.....memoratae.*] Meaning, perhaps, such tribes as the *Ansibarii* (*Ann.* XIII. 55) and *Tubantes* (*Ann.* I. 51), which are here passed over as not equally famous (*haud perinde memoratae*) with the rest.

3. *Frisii.*] This tribe (which is often mentioned in the *Annals* and *History*, and *Agr.* 28) occupied the extreme north of Germany from the *Rhine* to the *Ems*. They are noticed by *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*, but only *Tacitus* speaks of their division into *majores* and *minores Frisii*. '*A fronte excipiunt*,' that is to say, between the *Angrivarii* and *Chamavi* and the western or Roman boundary from which *Tacitus* regards them.

4. *Praetexuntur.*] '*Are fringed by*.' The metaphor is taken from the border (*praetexta*) of the *toga*.

5. **Lacus.]** These 'lakes' (now known as the Zuyderzee) are continually mentioned in the account of the campaigns of Germanicus. See *Ann.* I. 60. 63. 70 and II. 8. The "fossa Drusiana" (*Ann.* II. 8), which united the Rhine and Yssel, opened a communication with the lakes in question.

6. **Druso Germanico.]** It seems better to take this with Orelli of Drusus alone, the father of Germanicus, than with Kritz of both the father and the son. Such an asyndeton would be needlessly harsh and obscure, as Ritter, who inserts *ac*, has noticed. Drusus is spoken of, *Hist.* v. 19, as Drusus Germanicus. His son was not so much an explorer as an avenger of the defeat of Varus. This makes Orelli's view the more probable. The following words (*Mox nemo tentavit*), which seem to contradict it, must be understood of exploring expeditions rather than of ordinary campaigns.

7. **Quam scire.]** Sc. than to pry into them with the purpose of ascertaining the actual facts.

#### CHAPTER XXXV.

1. **Hactenus ..... novimus.]** Sc. this is the extent of my knowledge of western Germany.

2. **In septentrionem ..... redit.]** Sc. "It runs up northwards, and returns southwards, with a vast sweep." Comp. for this use of 'redire' *VIRG. Georg.* III. 351, *Quaque redit medium Rhodope porrecta sub axem*, where the word 'redit' indicates the winding course of the mountain-range, which stretches northwards and then takes a semi-circular bend to the south. The "vast sweep" (*ingenti flexu*) is the Cimbric Chersonesus, and is the same as the 'lati sinus' mentioned ch. I, where see note. Comp. also 37, *Eundem Germaniæ sinum proximi Oceano Cimbrici tenent*.

3. **Chaucorum gens.]** Pliny, *H.N.* XVI. 1, divides the Chauci into majores and minores, and makes the Visurgis (Weser) the boundary between them. In *Ann.* XI. 19, Tacitus recognises this distinction (*missis qui majores Chaucos ad deditionem pellicerent*). The Chauci majores seem to have been settled between the Weser and the Elbe, the minores between the Weser and the Ems. Though in this passage Tacitus describes them favourably, it appears from *Hist.* IV. 79, v. 19, that they aided Civilis in his revolt.

4. **Lateribus.]** Sc. the eastern frontiers.

5. **Donec ..... sinuetur.]** Referring to their southern boundary.

6. **Sed et implent.]** Comp. Vell. Patere. II. 106, where the youth of the Chauci are spoken of as 'infinita numero.'

7. **Sine impotentia.]** "Without lawless violence." (C and B).

8. **Secretique.]** Sc. keeping aloof from other tribes.

9. **Assequuntur.]** Equivalent to 'efficient.' 'They attain the result' described in the words "ut superiores agant."

10. **Exercitus &c.]** Understand 'promptus est.' The words 'plurimum virorum equorumque' are best taken in apposition with 'exercitus,' and seem to be added with the view of pointing a contrast between the Chauci on one hand and such tribes as the Chatti and Tencteri on the other, which could not boast of strength in both cavalry and infantry. See ch. 30 and 32.

11. **Eadem fama.]** Sc. the same renown as in war.

#### CHAPTER XXXVI.

1. **In latere.]** Sc. on the eastern or south-eastern frontier. The tribes are conceived as looking towards the northern sea. Comp. Ch. 34, note 1.

2. **Cherusci.]** The Cherusci from Caesar's description of them, *B. G.* VI. 10, must have occupied regions between the Weser and the Elbe. The 'silva Bacenis,' he tells us, formed a barrier between them and their enemies, the Suevi. Under their chief Arminius they defeated and destroyed three Roman legions commanded by Varus, A.D. 9.

3. **Nutrierunt.]** Almost equivalent to 'auxerunt.' Comp. *Agr.* 40, *tranquillitatem atque otium penitus auxit.*

4. **Quia falso quiescas.]** "Because you would be peaceful under a delusion," sc. 'peacefulness would be a delusion,' &c.

5. **Impotentēs.]** Sc. 'sui;' lawless, unable to restrain the impulses of greed. It was the especial distinction of the Chauci (35) that they were *sine impotentia.*

6. **Ubi manu ..... sunt.]** "Where matters are decided by force, moderation and justice are terms applied (only) to the more powerful." It is implied that what is despised as cowardice in the weak, is regarded as a praiseworthy moderation in the strong.

7. **Ex aequo.]** 'On equal terms.' Comp. *Agr.* *Civitates quae in illum diem ex aequo egerant.*

8. **Chattis ..... cessit.]** "In the case of the victorious Chatti success (fortuna) has been identified with prudence" (C and

B). In sapientiam = ut sapientia videatur. The Chatti and Cherusci are described *Ann.* XII. 28, as having been at perpetual feud.

9. **Tracti ruina.**] "Dragged down in the fall (of the Cherusci)." *Comp. Hist.* III. 29, pinnae ac summa valli *ruina sua traxit* (ballista); *Ann.* VI. 26, Agrippinae pernicies Plancinam *traxit*; and *Hist.* I. 48, Galbae amicitia in abruptum *tractus*.

10. **Fosi.**] This name possibly survives in that of the river Fuse, a branch of the Aller. If so, the Fosi occupied part of Hanover, perhaps the neighbourhood of the town of Celle.

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

1. **Eundem Germaniae sinum.**] See notes ch. I and 35. Pliny, *H. N.* II. 67, designates this part of Germany as Cimbrorum promontorium.

2. **Utraque ripa.**] Sc. on the Rhine and Danube. Kritz thinks the expression means both banks of the Rhine; but there would be no special significance in this.

3. **Castra ac spatia.**] "Vast encampments." A hendiadis.

4. **Molem manusque.**] "The immense military strength." The word 'manus' is here used in its strict sense.

5. **Tam magni exitus fidem.**] "Evidence of so extensive a migration." Caesar, *B. G.* I. 5, uses the word 'exire' in the sense of emigrating. (Helvetii id quod constituerunt facere conantur ut e finibus suis *exeat*.) 'Exitus' therefore (which is the reading of all the MSS.) may very well bear this meaning, though there seems to be no precisely similar instance of the use. *Metiri fidem* is to measure or estimate (in this case it would be to estimate highly) the credit to be attached to an alleged fact.

6. **Caecilio Metello ac Papirio Carbone coss.**] This was 113 B. C., in which year Carbo was defeated near Noreia.

7. **Colliguntur.**] 'Are the result;' a meaning akin to the logical use of the word in the sense of 'to infer.'

8. **Ad alterum consulatum.**] Sc. A. D. 98. This passage determines the date of the composition of this work.

9. **Tamdiu Germania vincitur.**] "So long have we been trying to conquer Germany." The present tense implies that the work is still unaccomplished at the time of writing.

10. **Invicem damna.**] *Comp. Hist.* I. 2, nobilitatus cladibus mutuis *Dacus*.

11. **Saepius admonuere.]** "given us more frequent warnings."

12. **Regno Arsacis.]** Comp. Ch. 25, note 12.

13. **Caedem Crassi.]** Crassus perished with his army in the East B. C. 53.

14. **Pacoro.]** Pacorus was the son of the Parthian king, Orodes, and, as we are told *Hist.* v. 9, seized Judæa, and was ultimately crushed by Publius Ventidius A. D. 39. His name occurs in Horace, *C.* III. 6. 9.

**Amisso et ipse, &c.]** Sc. which itself lost in a Pacorus an equivalent for Crassus, &c.

15. **Infra Ventidium dejectus.]** This is said contemptuously. '*Dejectus*' implies a disgraceful fall. Ventidius, the conqueror of Pacorus, was a man of low origin. He had been brought to Rome as a captive, and was said to have made a fortune by buying and selling mules. He rose to distinction through his connexion with Caius Julius Caesar under whom he served in Gaul.

16. **Carbone.]** See note 6.

17. **Cassio ..... Manlio.]** Cassius Longinus and Scaurus Aurelius were defeated by the Tigurini and Cimbri A. D. 107, Caepio and Manlius, A. D. 105.

18. **Etiam Caesari abstulere.]** "They have robbed even a Caesar" (*C* and *B*). This is opposed to the losses which are said in the preceding clause to have fallen on the *Populus Romanus*. There is possibly something of republican bitterness in the sentiment. The armies now belonged to Caesar. Comp. the last words of Augustus, Suet. *Oct.* 23, *Quintili Vare legiones redde.*

19. **Caius Marius in Italia.]** Referring to Marius' great victory over the Cimbri and Teutones in the *Campi Raudii* B. C. 101.

20. **Divus Julius in Gallia.]** From B. C. 58 to B. C. 53 Caesar was continually engaged in wars with the *Usipii*, *Tencteri*, *Sigambri*, *Suevi*, &c. all German tribes.

21. **Drusus, &c.]** Drusus, the elder; Nero, or Tiberius, brother of Drusus, and afterwards emperor; Germanicus, the son of Drusus, whose campaigns in Germany are related in the 1st and 2nd books of the *Annals*.

22. **Gaii Caesaris minae.]** Comp. *Hist.* iv. 15, *Caianarum expeditionum ludibrium*; *Agr.* 13, *agitasse Gaium Caesarem de intranda Britannia satis constat ni velox ingenio mobilis poeni-*

tentiae et ingentes adversus Germaniam conatus frustra fuissent. Suetonius (*Calig.* 47) tells us that the Emperor Caius procured with the view of making his triumph more imposing some captives and deserters from Gaul and caused them to dye their hair red, and to assume German names. Domitian did the same thing. See *Agr.* 39.

23. **Otium.]** Sc. during the reigns of Claudius and Nero.

24. **Discordiae nostrae, &c. &c.]** Referring to the wars 1, between Galba and Otho, 2, between Vespasian and Vitellius. Of this latter war Civilis, who contemplated the foundation of an empire of Gaul, took advantage for his revolt. See *Hist.* iv. 12, v. 15, etc.

25. **Gallias affectavere.]** Sc. Galliarum imperium affectavere. Comp. *Agr.* 7, *affectati* a Vespasiano imperii.

26. **Inde.]** Sc. from Gaul.

27. **Proximis temporibus, &c.]** Sc. the times of Domitian, whose sham triumph over the Chatti is alluded to *Agr.* 39. Comp. also Plin. *Paneg.* 16, *Accipiet ergo aliquando Capitolium non mimicos currus, nec falsae simulacra victoriae.*

## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

1. **Suevis.]** The Suevi are said by Caesar, *B. G.* iv. 1, to have been by far the most numerous and warlike of the German peoples, and to have occupied a hundred 'pagi' from each of which they annually sent out on warlike expeditions 1000 men. Under this general name were comprehended the tribes between the Elbe and Vistula as far north as the Baltic.

2. **Propriis...discreti.]** 'As yet divided into distinct tribes with designations of their own.' They had not yet (adhuc) formed themselves into one people. This seems here the more natural sense of adhuc than that which Kritz gives it of 'etiam.'

3. **Obliquare crinem.]** Sc. to twist the hair out of its natural direction into a knot on the top of the head.

4. **Rarum, &c.]** Sc. the practice described in the words 'obliquare crinem.'

5. **Usque ad canitiem...sequuntur.]** Comp. Quint. xi. 3. 1, *capillos a fronte contra naturam retroagere ut sit horror ille terribilis. Construe horrentem with capillum.* Their hair was twisted back (contra naturam); hence the effect described by 'horrentem.' There is a difficulty about the words *retro sequuntur.* The passage just quoted would seem to suggest that they are to



be taken together in the sense of *retroagere* (to twist, or comb back), and this is Orelli's interpretation, though he admits it is harsh and cannot be paralleled. If we may suppose that retro can be connected with 'horrentem capillum,' the word 'sequuntur' becomes intelligible, and will have the same meaning which it has Ch. 5, *argentum magis quam aurum sequuntur*. The sense will then be, 'the Suevi affect the fashion,' &c. &c.

6. *In ipso solo vertice religant.*] Comp. Juvenal XIII. 165, *madido torquentem cornua cirro*; this is said of the Germans. The word 'solo' (which Ritter omits) must imply that in many cases (*saepe*) the hair was tied in a single knot on the very top of the head. It can hardly be equivalent to 'calvus,' as Kritz who compares the expression with 'sola loca' takes it.

7. *Ornatiorem.*] They were not content simply to tie their hair, but raised it by an elaborate process to a great height.

8. *Ea cura formae sed innoxiae.*] 'Such is their study of a comely appearance, yet of one which is perfectly innocent.' The following sentence explains the writer's meaning. The Germans were a contrast to the profligate Roman youth such as Cicero describes them *Catil.* II. 10, *quos pexo capillo, nitidos, aut imberbes aut bene barbatos videtis*.

9. *In altitudinem quandam et terrorem.*] 'With a view to a tall and terror-striking appearance.' It is best, we think, to take 'compti' with these words, and we have therefore adopted Orelli's punctuation in preference to that of Kritz.

10. *Ornantur.*] 'They adorn themselves.'

## CHAPTER XXXIX.

1. *Semnones.*] The Semnones are mentioned with the Langobardi *Ann.* II. 45, where they are said to have been under the rule of Maroboduus and to have joined in the revolt of Arminius. They occupied a territory between the Elbe and Oder.

2. *Auguriis ... sacram.*] A hexameter line of which 19 instances occur in Tacitus. The passage is of a poetic character, and reminds us of Virg. *Aen.* VIII. 598, '*Relligione patrum late sacer*,' and *Georg.* IV. 468, '*Et caligantem nigra formidine lucum*.' By 'auguriis' we must understand the ceremonies connected with the consecration of the grove. '*Prisca formidine*,' 'immemorial associations of terror.' (*C* and *B*).

3. *Ejusdem sanguinis.*] Sc. of Suevic race. In this

religious custom of all the Suevi assembling in this grove of the Semnones was the proof of the claims advanced by this particular tribe.

4. **Caesoque publice homine.]** This would be a prisoner of war. Comp. *Ann.* XIV. 30, where Tacitus says of the Britons, *cruore captivo adolere aras et hominum fibris consulere Deos fas habebant.*

5. **Ut minor...ferens.]** 'As an inferior and one who acknowledges the power of a divinity.' 'Ferens,' 'displaying,' 'acknowledging,' 'attesting'; 'prae se,' 'openly,' 'visibly.'

6. **Evolvuntur.]** The word is used in the middle sense, 'They crawl out.'

7. **Etque omnis...tanquam, &c.]** Sc. all this superstition implies, &c. The epexegetis of 'eo' is in the clause *tanquam inde...parentia.* Compare for the phrase 'respicit tanquam,' Ch. 12, *diversitas supplicii illuc respicit, tanquam scelera ostendi oporteat, dum puniuntur, flagitia abscondi.* The word 'superstitio' denoted to a Roman some foreign kind of religious belief. Comp. *Ann.* XIII. 32, *Pomponia (Graecina...superstitionis externae rea* and XV. 44, where the word is applied to Christianity.

8. **Adjicit auctoritatem.]** Sc. 'adds weight to this superstition.'

9. **Fortuna Semnonum.]** 'The greatness of the Semnones.' *Fortuna* is used here, as elsewhere, absolutely in the sense of 'prosperity,' 'high position.'

10. **Corpore.]** Comp. for this use of 'corpus' in the sense of a community, *Ann.* XIII. 27, *late fusum id corpus, sc. of freedmen,* and *Hist.* IV. 64, *corpus nomenque Germaniae.*

## CHAPTER XL.

1. **Langobardi.]** See note 1, Ch. 39. The settlements of the Langobardi were on the west of the Elbe. Velleius characterises them as a *gens etiam Germaua ferocitate ferocior.*

2. **Paucitas nobilitat.]** 'Their fewness' (as contrasted with the vast multitude of the Semnones) 'makes them famous.'

3. **Reudigni ... Nuithones.]** These tribes, so far as their locality can be fixed, occupied what are now the duchies of Mecklenburg and Sleswick-Holstein, and, perhaps, part of Pomerania.

4. **Nerthum.]** This is the reading of most of the MSS., and is retained by Orelli, and by Kritz in his last edition. The

reading *Ertha* is a very doubtful conjecture of Ritter, who thinks Tacitus would have certainly described the goddess by a name of feminine form. *Nerthus* may be derived from a Celtic word 'nerth' (strength) and so express the notion of 'vigour, fecundity,' &c.

5. **Invehi populis.]** Sc. 'visits nations in her chariot.'
6. **Insula Oceani.]** Probably the island of Rugen.
7. **Castum nemus.]** 'Castum' here is a rather more poetic word than 'sacrum' would be, but means the same. It is specially appropriate to a grove sacred to a goddess. Comp. Horat. *C. I.* 12, 59, Tu parum *castis* inimica mittes Fulmina lucis.
8. **Veste.]** See note 3, Ch. 27.
9. **Is intelligit.]** The pronoun is emphatic; 'he can recognize.'
10. **Penetrati.]** Sc. the consecrated car (vehiculum) just mentioned.
11. **Non bella ineunt.]** We may compare the mediaeval practice of 'the Truce of GOD.'
12. **Festa loca.]** 'all places wear a holiday garb.'
13. **Tunc tantum ... amata.]** 'Are known and welcomed only on these occasions,' sc. when the goddess is present.
14. **Templo.]** Sc. the sacred grove. 'Templum' is here used in its strict sense of *τέμενος*. The two words, it will be remembered, are the same.
15. **Numen ipsum abluitur.]** There was a similar ceremony at Rome in connexion with the worship of the Mater Deum.
16. **Sanctaque ignorantia.]** 'A pious ignorance.' Comp. Ch. 9, *sanctius* visum de actis deorum credere quam scire.

## CHAPTER XLI.

1. **In secretiora Germaniae.]** Sc. the remoter and more northern parts of the country, of which the Romans knew but little.
2. **Propior.]** Nearer, that is, to the Roman provinces on the south of the Danube, Vindelicia, Noricum, Pannonia, &c.
3. **Hermundurorum.]** The Hermunduri would appear from a comparison of Tacitus (who mentions them from time to time in the *Annals*) and Velleius Paterc. II. 106 (where they are coupled with the Semnonēs) to have occupied portions of Bavaria,

and to have skirted the bank of the Danube in the neighbourhood of Ratisbon. Tacitus can hardly be right in saying that the Elbe rises in their territory. Very possibly he confounded that river with one of its branches, the Saal.

4. **Penitus.]** 'Far inland.'

5. **In splendidissima...colonia.]** 'In the most flourishing colony of the province of Rhaetia.' Tacitus no doubt means Augusta Vindelicorum (Augsburg), founded by Augustus about A. D. 14.

6. **Sine custode transeunt.]** The Tencteri, on the contrary, complained (*Hist.* iv. 64) to the Agrippinenses that the Romans compelled them to hold intercourse with their neighbours unarmed and all but stripped, watched by sentinels (*sub custode*) and taxed for the privilege.

7. **Flumen inclitum et notum olim.]** The allusion is to the German expeditions of Drusus, of his son Germanicus, of Domitius Ahenobarbus and Tiberius. Domitius Ahenobarbus, the grandfather of the Emperor Nero, crossed the Elbe and penetrated further into the country than any Roman before him (see *Ann.* iv. 44). The date of his expedition is uncertain. That of Tiberius was undertaken A. D. 5, and is described by Velleius, II. 106, as an extraordinary effort, and exceeding all expectation. A Roman army marched from the Rhine to the Elbe, 400 miles.

## CHAPTER XLII.

1. **Naristi.]** The MSS. fluctuate between Narisci and Naristi. Ptolemy, II. 1. 23, speaks of them as *Οὐαρίστοι*. They were to the east of the Hermunduri, and in Bavaria.

2. **Marcomani et Quadi.]** Caesar, *B. G.* I. 51, enumerates the Marcomani among the allies of Ariovistus. At this time, they were settled in Bohemia whither the Suevian chief Maroboduus had transferred them from their original settlements on the Rhine and Main. Marcomani means simply 'men of the border.' The Quadi were to the east of the Marcomani, in Moravia. Ammianus Marcellinus, XVII. 12. 1, describes them as like the Sarmatae, whose neighbours they were. Both the Marcomani and Quadi waged war with the Emperor Marcus Antoninus, A. D. 166.

3. **Eaque...peragitur.]** 'This I may call the frontier of Germany as far as it is completed by the Danube' (*C* and *B*). Tacitus here, as throughout his work, speaks of Germany from a Roman point of view. 'Peragitur' (though not exactly the word we should expect) is no doubt correct, and expresses the notion of a long-extended boundary.

4. **Saeptus pecunia juvantur.]** Comp. Ch. 15, Jam et *pecuniam* accipere docuimus. Large sums of money were sent by Domitian to Decebalus, king of the Daci, and Trajan sought by similar means to attach the Marcomani to the interests of the Roman empire.

5. **Nec minus valent.]** Sc. these kings are just as powerful among their people as though they were helped by Roman arms instead of by Roman money.

## CHAPTER XLIII.

1. **Retro.]** Sc. further in the interior, north of the tribes mentioned in the preceding chapter.

2. **Marsigni ... Buri.]** These tribes must have occupied Silesia, Gallicia, &c.

3. **Referunt.]** 'Reproduce,' i. e. resemble.

4. **Osos.]** See note 11, Ch. 28.

5. **Quo magis pudeat.]** Sc. to complete their shame in submitting to tribute Tacitus implies that with the iron of their mines they might and should have furnished themselves with the means of throwing off subjection.

6. **Ceterum.]** This word marks the opposition between *saltus*, &c. and the preceding '*pauca campestrium*,' '*Vertices*' would be the distinctly marked summits, '*jugum*' the continuous ridge mentioned in the next sentence.

7. **Continuum montium jugum.]** Probably the Riesengebirge or Sudeten range, to the south of Silesia.

8. **Ultra quod.]** Sc. in a northerly direction. The Ligii must therefore have occupied Silesia and Poland, &c.

9. **Interpretatione Romana.]** Tacitus, of course, does not mean that the deities worshipped by the Nahhanarvali are actually identical with Castor and Pollux, but simply that there is a general resemblance between them. The words '*ea vis numini*' (such are the attributes of the divinity) are added, to make this clear. '*Interpretatio Romana*' thus means the description which a Roman would naturally give of the matter.

10. **Nomen Alcis.]** As there were two of these divinities, it is possible that Kritz may be right in taking Alcis as a dative plural. It is to be noted that in Diodorus Siculus (iv. 56) there is an allusion to Castor and Pollux as having been worshipped by the Celts near the ocean.

11. **Superstitionis peregrinae.]** See note 7, Ch. 39.

12. **Super vires.]** 'Besides their military strength.'

13. **Truces.]** Connect this with 'super vires.' 'Trux' specially denotes 'fierce looking.'

14. **Insitae...lenocinantur.]** 'Make the most of their natural ferocity by the help of art and opportunity.' This use of the word 'lenocinari' belongs to the post-Augustan age. Comp. Pliny, *Epp.* I. 8, *Anceps hic et lubricus locus est, etiam quum illi necessitas lenocinatur*; and *Epp.* II. 19, *Potest tamen fieri ut libro isto novitas lenocinetur*.

15. **Tempore.]** 'Opportunity,' explained by the next clause.

16. **Ipsaque ... exercitus.]** 'By the very terror and gloomy aspect of their death-like host.' 'Feralis' has a kind of double sense; it means 'death-like' and 'death-portending.' Comp. *Ann.* II. 31, '*Feralibus jam sibi tenebris duos ictus in viscera direxit*'; XIV. 30, *Intercursantibus feminis in modum Furiarum veste ferali*; *Hist.* I. 37, *Horror animum subit quoties recorder feralem introitum*.

17. **Gothones.]** This tribe (mentioned under the name *Gotones*, *Ann.* II. 62) dwelt, according to Ptolemy, III. 5. 20, on the banks of the Vistula.

18. **Regnantur.]** 'Are ruled by kings.'

19. **Paulo jam adductius.]** The metaphor in 'adductius' is taken from the phrase 'adducere habenas,' 'to tighten the reins.' Comp. the expression, '*adductius imperitari*,' *Hist.* III. 7, and '*adductum et quasi virile servitium*,' *Ann.* XII. 7. 'Jam' has no reference to the time at which Tacitus was writing as contrasted with a former period, but indicates that he has reached a certain point in his description. It thus implies, 'Now that we are speaking of these northern tribes.' Comp. '*nullis jam exceptionibus*,' Ch. 44, where 'jam' denotes that as you go farther north, all limitations (exceptions) on the royal power cease.

20. **Nondum tamen supra libertatem.]** Sc. 'not yet however inconsistently with freedom.' 'Nondum' implies that there are tribes farther north of which this could not be said.

21. **Protinus.]** The word is here used, as occasionally elsewhere, of *place*.

22. **Rugii.]** This tribe (whose name survives in the island of Rugen) seems to have dwelt round the mouths of the Oder.

## CHAPTER XLIV.

1. **Suionum hinc civitates.]** Under this name Tacitus includes Norway and Sweden, which he supposed to be islands. Pliny, *H. N.* iv. 27, speaks of the sinus Codanus (the Baltic) as crowded with islands, Scandinavia being the most famous of them, and of unknown extent.

2. **Eo differt.]** Sc. differs from other vessels, is peculiar in this respect.

3. **Utrimque...agit.]** 'A prow at either extremity acts as a forepart always ready for putting in to shore.' Vessels of similar construction were employed by Germanicus on the Rhine (*Ann.* II. 6), and by some of the barbarian tribes on the Pontus (*Hist.* III. 47).

4. **Nec velis ministrantur.]** 'They are not worked by sails.' Virg. *Aen.* vi. 302, uses the same phrase, 'Ipse ratem conto subigit velisque ministrat.'

5. **Remos in ordinem.]** Sc. a regular and fixed row of oars. 'In ordinem' is equivalent to 'ut ordo fiat.'

6. **Solutum...et mutabile.]** 'Not fixed and capable of being shifted.'

7. **Eoque unus.]** Sc. the wealthiest among them.

8. **Nullis jam exceptionibus.]** See note 19, Ch. 43. An 'exceptio' would be such as was stipulated for by the seven conspirators against the Magian Smerdis. One of the seven was to be king, but the houses of all were to be free. See Herod. III. 83.

9. **Non precario jure parendi.]** 'With no uncertain claim to obedience.' (*C* and *B*). The 'jus parendi' did not in any way depend on the will and pleasure of the people. Comp. the expression, '*precarium seni imperium*,' in reference to Galba (*Hist.* I. 52). 'Precarius' is a word comparatively common in the post-Augustan writers, and may be often rendered by its English derivative. Ovid uses it in the sense of 'uncertain,' 'transitory,' *Met.* IX. 76, *Quid fore te credis, falsum qui versus in animum, Arma aliena moves? quem forma precaria celat.*

10. **In promiscuo.]** 'At the general disposal.' 'Promiscuus' denotes 'open to all without distinction.' Comp. Ch. 28, *sedes promiscuas adhuc.*

11. **Lasciviunt.]** 'Become demoralised.'

12. **Regia utilitas.]** 'The policy of a monarch.'

## CHAPTER XLV.

1. *Pigrum ac prope immotum.*] Comp. *Agr.* 10, 'Mare *pigrum* et grave remigantibus.' Pliny, *H. N.* iv. 16, 20, uses the still stronger expression 'mare concretum.'

2. *Solis...edurat.*] Tacitus endeavours to explain this phenomenon, *Agr.* 12, where he speaks of the sun not rising or setting, but only crossing the heavens.

3. *Emergentis.*] This appears to be the true reading, and is adopted by Ritter and Kritz. Orelli, after Ernesti, rejects it as an interpolation. Some word of the kind seems to be required. Lipsius conjectured *se mergentis*, as though Tacitus were speaking of the remote west, to which he afterwards alludes in this chapter. Here however he is confining his description to the regions of the north, and the context would, on the whole, indicate that he is referring to the north-east portions of Germany, and to the adjacent seas.

4. *Formas deorum, &c.*] There may be an allusion to the splendour of the Aurora Borealis.

5. *Persuasio.*] 'Popular belief.' Comp. *Hist.* v. 5, 'Eadem de inferis *persuasio*,' and v. 13, pluribus *persuasio* inerat fore ut valesceret oriens, *Agr.* 11, superstitionum *persuasiones*.

6. *Et fama vera.*] These words are introduced parenthetically to express the writer's own conviction. Very probably he derived his opinion from conversations with his father-in-law, Agricola.

7. *Tantum natura.*] Sc. the world of men and of living creatures extends only thus far. Comp. *Agr.* 33, where Agricola in his speech to his army describes Britain as *terrarum ac naturae finis*. The notions of a physical philosopher of Tacitus' age are expressed by Avitus, a contemporary of Seneca, and quoted by him as saying, *Ita est rerum natura; post omnia Oceanus, post Oceanum nihil.*

8. *Ergo jam dextro, &c.*] 'Ergo' (a word commonly denoting a strict logical conclusion) here implies that no more nations are to be found north of the Suiones, but that you must now go by the right (sc. the eastern) shore of the Baltic in order to meet with fresh tribes.

9. *Aestiorum gentes.*] Tribes to the east of the Vistula, on the shores of the Baltic. Their name is preserved in 'Ea-thonia.'

10. *Ritus habitusque.*] Sc. 'Religious rites, and fashions.' 'Habitus' has special reference to their outward appearance and style of dress, &c.



11. **Matrem deum.]** Sc. Nerthus, see Ch. 40. Tacitus does not think it necessary to repeat here that he is describing their worship under Roman names.

12. **Insigne superstitionis.]** Sc. a religious symbol. The 'formae aprorum' must have been a species of amulet. The 'figures and images' which in Ch. 7 are said to have been carried into battle, were no doubt on a larger scale, though it would be rash to assume that there is no connexion between them and what is here mentioned. It is clear, however, that in this passage Tacitus is speaking of something worn habitually, not merely on exceptional occasions.

13. **Omniumque tutela.]** 'A protection against all dangers.' A rather harsh phrase, but not unlike *ferarum imbriumque suffugium*, Ch. 46, and *subsidium fortunae*, Livy, xxii. 32. Ritter reads *omni tutela*, in the sense of 'every sort of defence.'

14. **Laborant.]** This word is rarely used transitively, except by the poets. Comp. Horat. *Epod.* v. 60, *quale non perfectius Meae laborarint manus*. Somewhat similar is the expression Ch. 30, *vallare noctem*.

15. **Sucinum ... vocant.]** Pliny, *H. N.* xxxvii. 11, gives a more particular account of the nature and properties of the amber, and says that one of these northern islands went by the name of Glesaria, and was visited by a Roman fleet under Germanicus.

16. **Quae natura... gignat.]** 'What is its nature or what process produces it?'

17. **Ut barbaris.]** 'As was natural to barbarians.'

18. **Jacebat.]** 'It lay unheeded.'

19. **Donec luxuria... nomen.]** Roman ladies wore amber necklaces, and from time to time used amber balls to cool their hands. See Juv. vi. 573.

20. **Rude.]** 'In a rough state.' So Pliny (quoted above) describes the Indian amber as *rude*, *pineo cortice adhaerente*.

21. **Informe.]** 'In shapeless lumps.' Comp. Ch. 16, '*materia informi*;' and see note 9, Ch. 2.

22. **Tamen.]** Sc. though we give such a price for it, still it is simply a juice, &c. &c.

23. **Terrena quaedam..... animalia.]** 'Reptiles and even winged insects.' Pliny, in the passage above referred to, speaks of ants, gnats, lizards, &c. being visible (*translucentia*) in the amber. Martial has three epigrams (iv. 32, 59; vi. 15) on

the subject. The first (the epigram which suggested some of the lines in the epitaph recently discovered and attributed to Milton) is on a bee, 'Phaethontide condita gutta,' the second and third on an ant and viper under the same circumstances.

24. **Sudant.]** Comp. Virg. *Georg.* II. 118, *Quid tibi adorato referam sudantia ligno Balsama.* Ritter and Kritz read 'sudant' (for which there is MS. authority) in preference to 'sudantur,' as there appears to be no satisfactory instance of the passive form with this meaning.

25. **Quae.....expressa, &c.]** According to their grammatical construction these words ought to be referred to 'nemora lucosque.' They refer, in fact, to the productions (*quae sudant*) of these groves.

26. **Adversa littora.]** Sc. the opposite shores, in the sense of opposite to the sea (*proximum mare*) just mentioned. The words have been wrongly understood of 'eastern' as opposed to western shores.

27. **Pinguem.]** Comp. Ov. *Trist.* v. 5, 11, *thura pingues facientia flammis.*

28. **Ut in picem resinamve.]** 'Into something like pitch or resin.'

29. **Sitonum gentes.]** The Sitones are named only in this passage. Finland would seem to have been their locality. It is possible that the Germans may have given this name to the non-German populations of Scandinavia.

30. **In tantum.....degenerant.]** 'So low have they fallen, not only from freedom but even from slavery itself' (*C* and *B*).

## CHAPTER XLVI.

1. **Peucinatorum, &c.]** These tribes were to the east of the Vistula, and occupied the regions between that river and the Tanais or Don. The Peucini derived their name from Peuce, an island at the mouth of the Danube. They were, as appears from Strabo, VII. 305, a branch of the Basternae, a numerous and powerful people, mentioned by Livy (XL. 57, 58) as allies of Philip, the father of Perseus of Macedon, in his war with Rome. Pliny, *H. N.* IV. 28, speaks of them as neighbours of the Dacians (*contermini Dacis*). Veneti (or Venedi, as it appears in Pliny) is the same name as Wend.

2. **Fenni.]** Seemingly identical with the *Φέννοι* of Ptolemy (III. 5) and with our 'Fins.'

3. **Sede ac domiciliis.]** Sc. 'in the permanence of their settlements.' The Sarmatian peoples, on the contrary, were as a rule nomadic.

4. *Sordes omnium ac torpor procerum.*] This is the punctuation of Ritter and Kritz. All lived in carelessness and filth, and even their chiefs were indolent. Or it may mean, 'All were filthy; the chiefs were both filthy and indolent.' Comp. Ch. 15, *fortissimus quisque ac bellicosissimus nihil agens.*

5. *In Sarmatarum habitum foedantur.*] 'They are debased into a resemblance to the Sarmatae.' 'Habitus' probably includes both physical and mental characteristics. The Sarmatae had something of the repulsiveness of the Tartar appearance and character.

6. *Ex moribus.*] Sc. from the manners of the Sarmatae.

7. *Quidquid inter, &c.*] 'Wherever a wood or a hill rises,' or perhaps a hendiadis for 'wooded hills.'

8. *Domos figunt.*] 'They have fixed habitations.'

9. *Redeunt quoque, &c.*] The young men come back to it from hunting; the old make it their abode (*receptaculum*) through the day.

10. *Ingemere agris.*] 'To groan over field-labour.' Comp. Virgil's expression, *Georg.* I. 46, '*ingemere aratro*' of the bull.

11. *Illaborare domibus.*] 'To toil at building houses.' Kritz, however, takes it to mean 'toiling within doors;' sedentary occupation as opposed to field labour.

12. *Suas versare.*] 'To subject the fortunes of themselves and others to the alternations of hope and fear.' The notion, perhaps, is that of the anxious life of the trader, whose gains and losses depend to a great extent on fortune.

13. *Securi, &c.*] 'Careless of mankind, careless of the gods' (*C* and *B*).

14. *Cetera jam fabulosa, &c.*] 'Every thing else now becomes fabulous,' &c. Comp. for the use of *jam* Ch. 44, *Nullis jam exceptionibus*, and Ch. 45, *Ergo jam dextro Suevici littore, &c.* It is not difficult to see how such stories may have originated. Pliny, *H. N.* IV. 27, says that there were reported to be islands, of which the inhabitants were called Hippopodes. Comp. also *Ann.* II. 24, where we are told that some of the Roman soldiers of Germanicus' army who had been wrecked on the fleet's return, brought back strange tales of sea-monsters, half man, half beast (*monstra maris, ambiguas hominum et beluarum formas*).

15. *In medium relinquam.*] 'I will leave to be an open question.' 'In medium' is equivalent to 'ut medium sit.' Cicero (*pro Coelio*, 20) uses the phrase 'in medio relinquam' with the same meaning.

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