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MACMILLAN'S LATIN CLASSICS

EDITED BY JAMES C. EGBERT, Ph.D.
Professor of Latin, Columbia University

THE HISTORIES OF TACITUS

BOOKS I AND II
THE HISTORIES OF TACITUS

BOOKS I AND II

FRANK GARDNER MOORE

PROFESSOR OF CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

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ERRATA

xxvii med.: Pauly-Wissowa, the fourth volume is meant.
10, l. 11: for legiones read legione, (comma).
17, c. 30, l. 1: read Nihil adrogabo.
26, c. 47, l. 6: for promiscue read promiscue.
29, l. 6–7, end: transpose hyphen and period.
32, l. 3: for et read ac.
41, l. 11: for nunito read nuntio.
54, c. 4, l. 3: for consult read consuluit.
65, c. 23, l. 12: for Marcius read Martius.
76, l. 1: transfer the first syllable to end of line (acriter . . . inpetitos).
110, c. 2, l. 8: semicolon should follow parenthesis.
116, l. 11: for 35 read 40.
118, c. 11, l. 7: for praefect read prefect.
123, l. 25: transpose the names of Gaius and Lucius, to read Lucius in 2 A.D., etc.
143, c. 47, l. 9: insert as follows: — promiscue: for this rare form cf. on 84 promisca; 2, 49, 69; but 1, 66 promiscuis.
157, c. 65, l. 1: read below Lyons, on the Rhone.
158, l. 1–2: for left bank read left bank of the Rhone.
172, l. 18: add: — cf. 47 promiscue.
176, c. 88, ll. 3 and 15: for proc. read procos.
183, l. 13: omit the dots ( . . . ).
190, c. 17, l. 3: for i read it.
212, l. 2: for this read the.
217, last word: for audito read auditu.
241, c. 93, l. 6: for principai read principia.
PREFACE

The text of this edition differs from that of Halm in the passages enumerated in a brief appendix. In perhaps a third of these cases more recent study of the Medici codex, in particular by Andresen, has restored the readings of that Ms. to favor. The editor is under the greatest obligations also to Carl and Wilhelm Heraeus, Meiser, Wolff, Valmaggi, Nipperdey, Draeger, Fabia’s Onomasticon, Gerber and Greef, and the Prosopographia. Narrow limits have been imposed by the plan of the series, with its emphasis upon the needs of younger students. The aim has been to introduce the reader with the least possible formality to the leading features of Tacitus’ style, by presenting his more striking modes of expression, not as grammatical curiosities, to be viewed with indifference through the dusty glass of a museum case, but as highly specialized tools, shaped for his own use by the master-workman.

Trinity College, Hartford
28 June, 1910
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INTRODUCTION

I. THE LIFE OF TACITUS

1. A life of Tacitus reduces itself to a handful of facts, gathered from his own works, and the letters of his friend, the Younger Pliny, supplemented by a single inscription of recent discovery in Asia Minor. As Tacitus and Pliny were propemodum aequales,¹ yet with an interval which allowed the future historian to gain fame as an orator, while his friend was still an adulescentulus,² and as Pliny was born in 61–62,³ we may infer that Tacitus was born 54–55, at the end of Claudius’ reign, or near the beginning of that of Nero. He was probably born in North Italy, certainly not at Rome, for a stranger at the circus once asked him, Italicus es an provincialis? and showed by a further question that the speech (or accent) of the historian resembled that of Pliny, who was born at Como.⁴ His father was possibly the knight Cornelius Tacitus, mentioned by the Elder Pliny⁵ as procurator of Gallia Belgica.

2. As for his official career, Tacitus tells us⁶ with excess of brevity, that he owed his first advance to Vespasian, and further promotion to Titus and Domitian. That the first stage was the quæstorship is possible, but quite uncertain. To Domitian he was indebted probably

¹ Ep. 7, 20, 3.  
² Ib. § 4.  
³ Before August, 62; id. 6, 20, 5.  
⁵ N. H. 7, 76.  
⁶ Hist. 1, 1.
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for the ædileship, or tribuneship, soon after 81, and for the prætorship. This last office was held in 88, the year of the Ludi Saeculares, on which occasion Tacitus had further duties as a member of the college of quindecimviri.¹ Mean-
time he had married the daughter of Agricola in 78,² just as the latter passed from his consulsipship to the governor-
ship of Britain. At the time of Agricola’s death in 93 Tacitus had been absent from Rome four years,³ but it is not known what provincial appointment he held. His consulsipship falls in the last months of 97, near the end of Nerva’s short reign († Jan., 98). As consul he pronounced the laudatio funebris over Verginius Rufus, a popular hero, and survivor of the revolution of 69.⁴ In January, 100, he was associated with Pliny, then consul designate, in the trial of Marius Priscus, who had been proconsul of Africa.⁵ The last stage in his public life was reached about 112, when he was proconsul of Asia, as we learn from an inscription found at Mylasa, in Caria, in 1890.⁶ His death probably occurred early in the reign of Hadrian (117–138), certainly after the year 116, as is shown by a reference in one of the early books of the Annals ⁷ to Trajan’s eastern conquests.

II. THE WORKS OF TACITUS

3. None of the orations of Tacitus has come down to us. His earliest extant work, the Dialogus de Oratoribus, is a Ciceronian dialogue on the decline of oratory. It was probably written before his quæstorship, and published

¹ Ann. 11, 11.
² Agr. 9 fin.
³ Id. 2, 11.
⁶ ², 61 fin.
perhaps under Titus (79–81). Owing to Domitian's repression of free speech it was not until after the tyrant's death (96) that Tacitus, at a mature age, entered upon his productive period. This begins with the appearance of the Agricola, a life of his father-in-law, in 98; and in the same year he published the Germania, a brief account of the land and the people. Both of these works were strongly influenced by Sallust.

4. The Histories (Historiae) had been announced in the preface to the Agricola, but were not completed until a decade later. The period covered was from Jan. 1, 69, to the death of Domitian, Sept. 18, 96. It was thus a history of the Flavian dynasty (Vespasian and his two sons), preceded by an account of the revolution year, 69. The first four books and part of the fifth remain (69–70 only), out of an original twelve to fourteen.

The Ab excessu Divi Augusti libri, better known as the Annales, followed the Histories in time of publication, appearing in 116, or the first half of 117. They dealt, however, with the period preceding that covered by the Histories, viz. from the death of Augustus in 14 A.D. to Dec. 31, 68, thus including the fall of Nero and Galba's seven months' reign, except for the last fifteen days (Jan. 1–15, 69), which fell within the period of the Histories. Extant are books 1–4, a fragment of 5, part of 6, also 11–15, and part of 16 (11 being imperfect at the beginning). The original number was probably sixteen, or at most eighteen.

Taken together the Annales and the Histories formed a connected narrative in thirty books, 14–96 A.D., but with marked differences of style in the two distinct portions. The extant books of the Annales are a tragedy of the Cæsars,

\(^1\) Ann. 2, 61 fin.
especially Tiberius and Nero; the remaining fragment of the *Histories* is a tragedy of the empire itself, in a blind struggle of armies and provinces, awaking suddenly to potential mastery of the world.\(^1\)

A continuation of the narrative through the short rule of Nerva and into the long reign of Trajan was at one time contemplated,\(^2\) but never executed.

### III. THE STYLE OF TACITUS

5. Tacitus occupies a position unique among ancient writers in that he developed a style absolutely his own. Beginning as a clever imitator, first of Cicero in the *Dialogus*, and then of Sallust in the *Agricola* and *Germania*, he was deeply influenced by Thucydides and always permeated by the language of Vergil.\(^3\) Yet in his mature historical works he attained complete mastery. "The historian speaks a language so rapid, so strong, so keen, that he carries you away, draws you to him, compels you to think with him in this language which is his own."\(^4\) Besides these qualities of movement, of incisiveness, of compelling power, there is a grave dignity which scorns all that is low and common.\(^5\) This stateliness was the conspicuous feature of Tacitus the orator, as we may well believe his friend the Younger Pliny.\(^6\)

The literary art of Tacitus is dominated by two leading principles: (a) freedom to disregard almost any pre-

---


\(^3\) For a comparison of one of the greatest passages in the *Histories*, the siege and sack of the Capitol (3, 71 f.), with Vergil’s sack of Troy, cf. Mackail, op. cit., 219 f.


\(^5\) Cf. § 20.

\(^6\) *Ep*. 2, 11, 17.
viusly accepted canon of normal prose; and (b) a love of concentration which delights in the sharpest focus.

(a) Freedom

6. With the exception of Sallust, the leading prose-writers of the golden age had willingly accepted the trammels of the periodic style. A period, to quote Taine's definition,¹ is "the expression of a complete idea which marches with a large cortège of secondary propositions, all surrounded by a number of separate ideas, like a disciplined army, which advances with one movement towards a designated goal." But this stately form was ill adapted to animated narration. Even Cicero was thought to be longus in narrationibus, at least in his earlier orations.² Sallust accordingly discarded the limitations of the period, and attained rapidity of movement, — his immortalis velocitas.³

Livy avoids monotony by introducing sentences of less formal structure, but gladly reverts to his favorite period, — an orderly sequence of motives, attendant circumstances, and other preliminaries, leading up chronologically to the principal action, usually the closing word. The effect of such a sentence is often that of a miniature drama. Yet the reader may in the end lose patience, and wish the writer had been less hampered by an artificial form brought over from oratory into history.

7. Tacitus follows Sallust in his general aversion to the period.⁴ Thus he gains the freedom to place the main action first, and then the thoughts of the agent or spectators, the circumstances, explanatory, extenuating, or

¹ Tit. Liv. 325. ² Dial. 22. ³ Quint. 10, 1, 102. ⁴ For a very elaborate period, cf. 2, 37 Ego ut concessoerim, etc.
otherwise. Often he closes with a pointed observation, suggested by the situation, but of a general character. Such bits of worldly wisdom, the sententiae of the schools, were much affected by Seneca and his followers. With Tacitus the fact that he has reached the main verb is no reason for pause; the sentence may be continued by adding further clauses. Especially frequent in this position, after the main thought, is the ablative absolute, which thus loses its old parenthetical character; e.g.:—

1, 2 consumptis antiquissimis delubris, ipso Capitolio civium manibus incenso (cf. below, § 12).
13 fin. fuentibus plerisque militum, etc.
20 decuma parte . . . relict.a
22 urguentibus etiam mathematicis.
31 invalidis adhuc corporibus, etc.
34 credula fama, etc.a

8. The main verb is often followed by a comment of the author, who supplies a motive, or calls attention to a result, by an apposition, in the accusative, if the verb denotes an activity, otherwise in the nominative, e.g.:—

1, 44 munimentum ad praesens, in posterum ultionem.
46 rem haud dubie utilem, etc.
72 effugium (acc.) in futurum.

But 1, 22 genus . . . infidum, nominative, with the subject of a verb of saying.

9. A main verb is frequently the first word of the sentence, without gaining special emphasis thereby, e.g.:—

1, 5 accessit Galbae vox.
17 consultatum inde.
19 agitatum.
ib. placbat.
20 exauctorati.

¹ Quint. 8, 5, 13-14. ² Cf. also 2, 4, 11, 51, 55, 70, etc.
A more studied arrangement is found where one verb stands at the beginning and another at the end of the sentence, e.g.:—

1, 25 *suscepere . . . transferendum, et transulerunt.*

10. A perfectly flexible order made it possible to dispense with many of the familiar words or phrases of logical connection. A hasty impression that these sentences, which plunge *in medias res*, are loosely connected in thought, is quickly dispelled. "These members which at first sight one might think broken, straggling, simply ranged side by side, are united by an invincible bond, stirred by a common life, animated by one and the same breath of thought." ¹

11. Flexibility was further gained in a marked degree by the use of participial phrases in place of a cumbersome clause. By this means almost more than any other the sentences of Tacitus escape the traditional rigidity of the Latin for a Greek freedom, with a further gain, now in the direction of conciseness, now of spirit, now of point. The heavy infantry of the clause is easily outmaneuvered by the light-armed phrase, e.g.:—

1, 2 *omissi gestique honores pro crimine.*
28 *corrumpit latius castra et . . . exitium metuens.*
76 *occupaverat animos prior auditus* (here the ptcp. has a pred., prior).
89 *Caecina iam Alpes transgressus* (i.e. the fact that, etc.).
2, 5 *cuncta . . . supergressa* (do.).

Less frequently an adjective is similarly used, e.g.:—

2, 82 fin. *nihil arduum fatis* (do.).

¹ Sainte-Beuve, *Premiers Lundis*, I, 238.
12. In participial phrases of various types the perfect sometimes becomes an aorist, losing all sense of a particular time, e.g.: —

1, 2 consumptis . . . delubris, etc. (cf. above, § 7).
20 relicta (do.).
62 nomine . . . addito.
63 raptis . . . armis.
2, 43 interfecto . . . legato.

13. The Latin love of symmetry had in the classical period displayed itself in balanced thoughts expressed in balanced forms. With Tacitus, in spite of studied terseness, symmetry of thought remains an important element, but the second term is all but invariably presented in a different form. A superficial observer thinks him perversely fond of the unsymmetrical. Often, however, he must have aimed to make the concinnity of thought only more evident by the inconcininity of expression: —

1, 1 neque amore | sine odio.
20 per artem | formidine.
21 compositis rebus | in turbido.
22 si auderet | quietant.
23 vocans | appellando.
28 magnitudine | metuens.
44 ad praesens | in posterum.
63 ob praedam | spoliandi cupidine.
88 nullum ob crimen | monstratur.
2, 1 prosperum | exitio.
26 apud paucos . . . probata | in vulgus adverso rumore.
45 in ambiguo | certa.
57 palam | inter secreta.¹

14. Yet he does not hesitate to employ pairs of synonyms and balanced expressions, e.g.: —

¹ Cf. also 1, 14 fin., 35 fin., 43, 64, 88 fin.; 2, 9, 23 fin., 30, 34, 44, 49, 59 fin., etc.
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1, 46 per latrocinia et raptus (2, 58).
1, 72 desertor ac proditor.
88 occultare et abdere.
2, 12 non Italia . . . nec loca sedesque patriae . . . tanquam externa litora et urbes hostium.
21 legionum et Germanici exercitus . . . urbanae militiae et praetorianum cohortium.
ib. segnem et desidem . . . peregrinum et externum.
47 civile bellum . . . coepit, et ut . . . certaremus armis, initium illinc fuit.

15. The principle of variety shows itself again in the use of the abstract for the concrete, and vice versa, or in an abrupt change from the one to the other, e.g.:—

1, 17 publica expectatio.
19 favor = fatores (followed by concrete, multi).
2, 4 fiducia (of a person who produces that state of mind in others).
5 fides.
1, 4 gaudentium = gaudii.

Sometimes, on the other hand, abstract is preferred to concrete for reasons of symmetry, e.g.:—

1, 2 exiliis = exulibus (with caedibus).

Behind the ready transition from concrete to abstract and back again lies the philosophic temper of the historian, who sees in an abstraction the living beings who personify it. It is one of the ways in which he treats history in terms of the universal.

16. Roman prose in the Ciceronian age was still eminently unimaginative. A sharp line was drawn between the vocabulary of prose and poetry. For later generations this line was in large measure effaced under the spell of Augustan poetry. Hence the widespread employment
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of poetic words and usages in silver Latin prose,¹ — the
ever-present umbra of the Mantuan. Examples from the
Histories are: —

1, 16 regnare as a transitive verb.
  32 valescere (30 evalescere).
  39 crebrescere (2, 67).
  40 proculcare.
  62 praesumere.
2, 3 adolere.
  27 suspectare.
  32 obumbrare.
  44 resumere.
  46 flagrare ire.
  58 spargere — divulgare or efferre.
  74 flammare.
1, 68 concitor; 2, 80 ostentator; 86 raptor.
1, 62 meatus; 2, 88 occursus.
1, 66 velamentum.
2, 70 tabum.
1, 10 inmotus; 2, 60 inemptus.
2, 61 inviolabilis.
1, 24 indigus.
  82 lymphatus.
  86 refusus.
  2, 1 praesagus.
1, 37 feralis.

17. In place of the trite compound, we often meet the
poetic use of the simple verb in the same sense, e.g. : —

1, 2 mittere (omittere).
  5 vereri (re-).
  29 servare (do.).
  79 fodere (trans-).
2, 1, 26 ferre (prae-).
  12 rapere (diripere).
  15 sidere (re-).

¹ For Tacitus as a poet, cf. below, § 30 n. 4.
16 *tenere* (do.).
18, 58 *propinquare* (ad-).
53 *clarescere* (in-), etc.

18. As in poetry, there is a tendency (much more marked in the *Annals*) to omit the preposition in expressions of the place in which, or from which, e.g.:—

1, 55 *suggestu.*
2, 16 *balineis.*
2, 62 *Italia.*
65 *Britannia.*

19. Poetic phrases and expressions are not infrequent, e.g.:—

1, 12 *fessa aetas.*
50 *arma Orientis.*
2, 11 *lecta corpora.*
20 *bracae indutus.*
22 *dies = lux.*
35 *vulnera (= ictus) derigere.*
46 *maesta fama.*

20. Common to poetry and oratory is the avoidance of technical terms, trivial or pedantic details, e.g.:—

1, 9 *debilitate pedum (= podagra).*
2, 3 *continuus orbis, etc. (= conus).*
49 *capiti (= pulvino).*
  ib. *pectore* (omitting the detail *infra laeavam papillam* of Suet.).
51 *per aversam domus partem* (i.e. *posticum).*

**(b) CONCENTRATION**

21. Tacitus' conciseness is no mere economy of words, after the fashion of the letter writer or diarist. Unlike Sallust, he probably did not regard brevity as a virtue.

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1 Taine, *Titre Live*, 324.
in itself, but as a means to a distinct end. Concentration, rather than rapidity of movement, is his purpose.

The reader’s thoughts may be focused upon the chief features of a situation, leading traits of a character, etc., by simply framing a list of these in the nominative, without verbs. This is a deliberate stylistic device, to concentrate attention upon the salient points of a picture which the reader is then left to complete from his own imagination. Sallust had occasionally given vividness to a descriptive passage by merely setting down the features of the description one after another. He had also applied the same method to a pen portrait. Vergil effectively employed the same device; and Livy sometimes used it.

22. With Tacitus this becomes a feature of his style. A noun with its adjective or participle is quite enough to suggest a first element in the picture. What if nothing is formally predicated of that noun? Other elements similarly sketched immediately follow, and imagination, freed from the restraints of formal grammar, has soon called up the whole scene before us. The most striking example of enumeration as a pictorial method stands near the beginning of the Histories, 2–3 Opus adgredoi orpinum castus . . . quattuor principes ferro interempti; trina bella civilia . . . prosperae in Oriente, adversae in Occidente res, etc. It is an intensely vivid picture in outline of the whole period which he intended to cover. For more than two hundred words there are no verbs — only a long list of nominatives with participles or adjectives.

1 E.g. Iug. 17, 5.  
2 Cf. Cat. 5, 3 f.  
3 E.g. Aen. 1, 639 ff.  
4 E.g. 21, 4, 6 f.  
This mass of distinct elements — horrible, revolting, vile, good, noble — is the cartoon of the master, from which the reader conjures up the finished tapestry.¹

23. Briefer examples of the same method of description or picturesque narration abound: —

1, 4 sed patres laeti, etc.
   6 introitus in urbem, etc.
   7 venalia cuncta, etc.
   40 negue populi aut plebis ulla vox, etc.
   88 igitur motae urbis curae, etc.
2, 70 foedum atque atrox spectaculum, etc.
   99 longe alia . . . species, etc.

24. With such adverbs as hinc, inde, unde, ibi, ubique, etc., the verb esse, whether as copula or as part of a compound tense, is quite usually omitted, e.g.: —

1, 17 consultatum inde, etc.
   19 inde apud senatum, etc.
   20 ubique hasta et sector, etc.
   53 unde seditiosa colloquia, etc.
2, 15 atrox ibi caedes.

In temporal clauses also, with postquam, ubi, etc.: —

1, 1 postquam bellatum apud Actium.
   22 postquam ex eventu fides.
2, 33 postquam . . . placitum.
   28 quod ubi auditum vulgatumque.

Or in character sketches: —

1, 10 luxuria industria, etc.
   49 vetus in familia nobilitas, etc.
2, 5 Vespasianus acer militiae, etc.

¹ Cf. the translation of J. J. Rousseau: "Quatre empereurs égorgés, trois guerres civiles . . . Des succès en Orient, des revers en Occident; des troubles en Illyrie, la Gaule ébranlée, l'Angleterre conquise," etc., a page and a half with no principal verbs; Œuvres, 1792, XVII, 9 ff. Louandré in his translation follows the same method in chap. 2.
25. Corresponding to the vivid description by mere enumeration is concentrated narrative in the form of historical infinitives in a series, — a rapid enumeration of actions which followed each other in quick succession. Sallust had used the historical infinitive far more frequently, but with much less animation than Livy and Tacitus. A few examples, though none is needed:—

1, 35 ruere . . . ostentare . . . scire . . . adfirmare.
36 strepere . . . prensare . . . complecti . . . conlocare, etc.
45 ruere . . . anteire . . . certare . . . incrpare, etc.

26. Ellipsis of other verbs than esse is far rarer, and practically confined to familiar cases where a Roman reader would not have felt the necessity of supplying anything:—

abesse — 2, 16 longe Germaniam.
facere — 1, 36 et omnia serviler.
65 multae . . . clades crebrius infestiusque.
84 vos quidem istud pro me.
agere — 2, 16 nec tamen aperta vi.
35 quae cuncta in oculis.

In contrasted statements the first may dispense with a verb, even where an unexpected change of construction in the second makes it impossible to classify the case under zeugma, e.g.:—

2, 7 optimus quisque amore rei publicae [ducebatur], multos
dulcedo praedarum stimulabat, alios ambiguae domi res.
46 nec praetorianti tantum, proprius Othonis miles [ita per-
severabant, i.e. hanc obstinationem monstrabant], sed
praemissi e Moesia eandem obstinationem adventantis
exercitus . . . nuntiabant.

27. The pointed sayings of Tacitus show an unrivaled power of condensation. The words may be simple in themselves, but they are grouped in a phrase which is his
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for all time. Many of these mark the conclusion of a speech, or a paragraph:

1, 10 *tam prope ab exule fuit quam postea a principe.*
29 *fatigabat alieni iam imperii deos.*
38 *in eo consilio quod non potest laudari nisi peractum.*
49 *maior privato visus, dum privatus fuit, et omnium consensu capax imperii, nisi imperasset.*
59 *damnatos fidei crimine, gravissimo inter desciscentes.*
73 *pecunia et orbitate, quae bonis malisque temporibus iuxta valent.*
2, 39 *nec perinde diiudicari potest, quid optimum factu fuerit, quam pessimum fuisse quod factum est.*
47 *nam incusare deos vel homines eius est qui vivere velit.*
48 *neu patrum sibi Othonem fuisse aut obliviscetur umquam aut nimium meminisset.*
74 *imperium cupientibus nihil medium inter summa aut praecipitia.*
77 *qui deliberant, desciverunt.*

IV. TACITUS AND HIS LITERARY CRITICS

28. Does Tacitus deserve our confidence as a historian? Was he rather a historical painter, delighting in somber colors, whether true to nature or not? Did he deliberately blacken the character of the emperors? These are questions of vital interest to the reader of the *Annals*, where untrustworthy sources were less readily controlled. In dealing with contemporary events in the *Histories* he is relatively free from bias. He was not infallible as a searcher of individual hearts, but deep knowledge of human nature made him a moral philosopher. Nearly every chapter yields some profound reflection.\(^1\) It is not objective history that he offers, but his own subjective

\(^1\) "The historian and the philosopher, the moral philosopher, at least, are united in Tacitus, and this is his glory." —Sainte-Beuve, *Causeries*, IX, 99.
interpretation of men and events, strongly tinged with pessimism. While indignation often guided his pen, there is nothing unworthy of "the gravest of the historians."  

29. In Racine's judgment Tacitus was "the greatest painter of antiquity." And nearly all the critics are with him. A great modern historian has said, "Tacitus is perhaps not the best narrator, but the greatest painter of situations." To compare him in this respect with Livy is to venture a comparison between Michael Angelo and Raphael. In Livy romantic temper and love of the ideal express themselves, as with Raphael, in human grace and warmth of color. Bold relief, intense shadows, achieved by a painter's brush in a sculptor's hand, profound thought embodied in figures heroic or satanic, grim destiny and the judgment of an aging world, foreshadowed in bitterness of heart with sovereignty of touch, — that is Angelo, or Tacitus.

30. His wide departure from the Ciceronian canons explains the tardy acknowledgment which he won from the Italian scholars of the Renaissance. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries read him as a master of monarchical rule; the eighteenth as the apostle of republicanism; the nineteenth inclined to view him as painter and stylist rather than as historian.

1 Bossuet, *Oraison funèbre de Henriette-Anne d'Angleterre*, sub fin.
2 Second preface to *Britannicus*.

-- Tacitus "has the defects of his time, but also the gift divine which is lacking to Livy: Tacitus is a poet." — Taine, *Tite Live*, 347. According to Leo the permanent fame of Tacitus is explained by the fact that he was a poet in prose, — "one of the few great poets whom the Romans possessed." — *Tacitus* (Rode), Göttingen, 1896, 13.

"If one gives himself up to the impression made by his books, one is carried away by it. There is no trace in him of the manner and method of Greek historiography. He is Roman through and through, and indeed the master of all who have written before or since.\textsuperscript{1} His universality culminates in the fact that the heart of the Roman state, and the contrasts it contained between unlimited power and republican sentiment, are described by him at a moment when world-conquest, on one side at least, had been brought to a standstill, while on its frontiers there were the stirrings of a power which was some day to destroy them. The historian stands on the confines of both worlds."\textsuperscript{2}

V. THE TEXT OF THE \textit{HISTORIES}

31. In the Middle Ages Tacitus was almost completely neglected. Hence the text of the \textit{Histories} must now be based upon a single manuscript, written probably in the eleventh century at Monte Cassino, the mother convent of the Benedictine order, about halfway between Rome and Naples. This manuscript was brought to light apparently by Boccaccio,\textsuperscript{3} about 1362, and came later into the possession of the Medici family of Florence, where it is still preserved in the Laurentian Library. Copies made by Italian humanists exist, but have no value, except where the original is defective.\textsuperscript{4} The entire Medici

\textsuperscript{1} "If the aim of history is to resuscitate the past, no historian equals Tacitus." "This brilliance of a style which poetry, hatred, and study inflamed and darkened, is met with but once in history, and required for its production that mind, that civilization, and that decadence." — Taine, \textit{Tite Lîve}, 348, 349 f.

\textsuperscript{2} v. Ranke, l.c. 317.

\textsuperscript{3} Voigt, \textit{Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums}, I, 249 f.

\textsuperscript{4} E.g. where a leaf has fallen out, at 1, 69–75 and 1, 86–2, 2.
codex has been reproduced in photographic facsimile, and published under the auspices of Scato de Vries, at Leyden, 1902.

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INTRODUCTION

THE HISTORIES OF TACITUS

BOOKS I AND II
CORNELII TACITI

HISTORIARVM

LIBER I

Initium mihi operis Servius Galba iterum Titus Vinius 1 consules erunt. Nam post conditam urbem octingentos et viginti prioris aevi annos multi auctores rettulerunt, dum res populi Romani memorabantur pari eloquentia ac libertate: postquam bellatum apud Actium atque omnem potentiam ad unum conferri pacis interfuit, magna illa ingenia cessere; simul veritas pluribus modis infracta, primum inscitia rei publicae ut alienae, mox libidine ad-sentandi aut rursus odio adversus dominantes; ita neutris cura posteritatis inter insensos vel obnoxios. Sed ambitionem scriptoris facile averseris, obsectatio et livor pronis auribus accipiantur; quippe adulationi foedum crimen servitutis, malignitati falsa species libertatis inest. Mihi Galba Otho Vitellius nec beneficio nec iniuria cogniti. Dignitatem nostram a Vespasiano incohatum, a Tito auctam, a Domitiano longius proiectam non abnuerim: sed incorruptam fidem professis neque amore quisquam et sine odio dicendus est. Quod si vita suppeditet, principatum divi Nervae et imperium Traiani, uberiorem securioremque materiam, senectuti seposui, rara temporum felicitate, ubi sentire quae velis et quae sentias dicere licet.

Opus adgredior optimum casibus, atrox proelii, discors seditionibus, ipsa etiam pace saevum: quattuor princi-
pes ferro interempti; trina bella civilia, plura externa ac
plerumque permixta; prosperae in Oriente, adversae in
Occidente res; turbatum Illyricum, Galliae nutantes,
perdomita Britannia et statim missa; coortae in nos
Sarmatarum ac Sueborum gentes, nobilitatus cladibus
mutuis Dacus, mota prope etiam Parthorum arma falsi
Neronis ludibrio: iam vero Italia novis cladibus vel post
longam saeculorum seriem repetitis adficta: hausta aut
obruta fecundissima Campaniae ora, et urbs incendiis
vastata, consumptis antiquissimis delubris, ipso Capitolio
civium manibus incenso: polluta caerimoniae, magna
adulteria; plenum exiliis mare, infecti caedibus scopuli:
atrocius in urbe saevitum: nobiltas, opes, omissi gestique
honores pro crimen, et ob virtutes certissimum exitium;
nec minus praemia delatorum invisa quam scelera, cum
alii sacerdotia et consulatus ut spolia adepti, procurat-
tiones alii et interiorem potentiam, agerent verterent
cuncta odio et terrore: corrupti in dominos servi, in patro-
nos liberti, et quibus deeat inimicus, per amicos oppressi.

3 Non tamen adeo virtutum sterile saeculum ut non et
bona exempla prodiderit: comitatae profugos liberos
matres, secutae maritos in exilia coniuges; propinqu
audentes, constantes generi, contumax etiam adversus
tormenta servorum fides; supremae clarorum virorum
necessitates fortiter toleratae et laudatis antiquorum
mortibus pares exitus: praeter multiplices rerum huma-
narum casus caelo terraque prodigia et fulminum monitus
et futurorum praesagia, laeta tristia, ambigua manifesta;
nec enim umquam atrociioribus populi Romani cladibus
magisve iustis indiciiis adprobatum est non esse curae deis
securitatem nostram, esse ultionem.

4 Ceterum antequam destinata componam, repetendum
videtur, qualis status urbis, quae mens exercituum, quis habitus provinciarum, quid in toto terrarum orbe validum, quid aegrum fuerit; ut non modo casus eventusque rerum, qui plerumque fortuiti sunt, sed ratio etiam causaeque noscantur. Finis Neronis ut laetus primo gaudientium impetu fuerat, ita varios motus animorum, non modo in urbe apud patres aut populum aut urbanum militem sed omnes legiones ducesque, conciverat, evulgato imperii arcano, posse principem alibi quam Romae fieri. Sed patres laeti, usurpata statim libertate licentius, ut erga principem novum et absentem; primores equitum proximi gaudio patrum; pars populi integra et magnis domibus adnexe,clientes libertique damnatorum et exulum in spem erecti; plebs sordida et circo ac theatris sueta, simul derrimini servorum, aut qui adesin bonis per dedecus Neronis alebantur, maesti et rumorum avidi.

Miles urbanus longo Caesarum sacramento inbutus et ad destituendum Neronem arte magis et impulsi quam suo ingenio traductus, postquam neque dari donativum sub nomine Galbae promissum neque magnis meritis ac praemiis eundem in pace quem in bello locum praeventamque gratiam intellegit apud principem a legionibus factum, pronus ad novas res scelere insuper Nymphidii Sabini praefecti imperium sibi molientis agitatur. Et Nymphidius quidem in ipso conatu oppressus, set quamvis capite defectionis ablato manebat plerisque militum conscientia, nec deeringer serirones genium atque avaritiam Galbae increpantium. Laudata olim et militari fama celebrata severitas eius angebat aspernantes veterem disciplinam atque ita quattuordecim annis a Nerone adsuefactos, ut haud minus vitia principum amarent quam olim virtutes verebantur. Accessit Galbae vox pro re publica
honesta, ipsi anceps, legi a se militem, non emi; nec enim ad hanc formam cetera erant.

6 Invalidum senem Titus Vinius et Cornelius Laco, alter deterrimus mortalium, alter ignavissimus, odio flagitiorum oneratum contemptu inertiae destruebant. Tardum Galbae iter et cruentum, interfictis Cingonio Varrone consulii designato et Petronio Turpiliano consulari: ille ut Nymphidi socius, hic ut dux Neronis inauditi atque indefensi tanquam innocentes perierant. Introitus in urbem trucidatis tot milibus inermium militum infaustus omne atque ipsis etiam qui occiderant formidolosus. Inducta legione Hispana, remanente ea quam e classe Nero conscripserat, plena urbs exercitu insolito; multi ad hoc numeri e Germania ac Britannia et Illyrico, quos idem Nero electos praemissosque ad clausura Caspiarum et bellum quod in Albanos parabat, opprimendis Vindicis ceptis revocaverat: ingens novis rebus materia, ut non in unum aliquem prono favore, ita audenti parata.

7 Forte congruerat ut Clodii Macri et Fontei Capitonis caedes nuntiarentur. Macrum in Africa haud dubie turbantem Trebonius Garutianus procurator iussu Galbae, Capitonem in Germania, cum similia ceptaret, Cornelius Aquinus et Fabius Valens legati legionum interfecerant antequam iuberentur. Fuere qui crederent Capitonem ut avaritia et libidine foedum ac maculosum, ita cogitatione rerum novarum abstinuisse, sed a legatis bellum suadentibus, postquam impellere nequiverint, crimem ac dolum ultro compositum, et Galbam mobilitate ingenii, an ne altius scrutaretur, quoquo modo acta, quia mutari non poterant, comprobasse. Ceterum utraque caedes sinistre accepta, et inviso semel principi seu bene seu male facta parem invidiam adferebant. Venalia cuncta, praepotentes
liberti, servorum manus subitīs avidae et tanquam apud senem festinantes, eademque novae aulae mala, aequae graviae, non aequae excusata. Ipsa aetas Galbae inrisui ac fastidio erat adsuetis iuventae Neronis et imperatores forma ac decore corporis, ut est mos vulgi, comparantibus.


Superior exercitus legatum Hordeonium Flaccum spernebat, senecta ac debilitate pedum invalidum, sine constantia, sine auctoritate; ne quiety quidem milite regimen: adeo furentes infirmitate retenientis ulter accendebantur. Inferioris Germaniae legiones diutius sine consulari fuere, donec missu Galbae A. Vitellius aderat, censoris Vitellii ac ter consulis filius: id satis videbatur. In Britannico exercitu nihil irarum: non sane aliae legiones per omnes civilium bellorum motus innocentius egerunt, seu quia
procul et Oceano divisae, seu crebris expeditionibus doctae hostem potius odisse. Quies et Illyrico, quanquam ex-citae a Nerone legiones, dum in Italia cunctantur, Ver-ginium legationibus adissent. Sed longis spatiis discreti exercitus, quod saluberrimum est ad continendum mili-tarem fidem, nec vitiiis nec viribus miscabantur.


Paucis post kalendas Ianuarias diebus Pompei Propinquiram qui procuratoris e Belgica litterae adferuntur, superioris Germaniae legiones rupta sacramenti reverentia imperatorum alium flagitare, et senatui ac populo Romano arbitrium eligendi permettere, quo seditio mollius acciperetur. Maturavit ea res consilium Galbae iam pridem de adoptione secum et cum proximis agitantis. Non sane cernit tota civitate sermo per illos menses fuerat, primum licentia ac libidine talia loquendi, dein fessa iam aestate Galbae. Paucis iudicium aut rei publicae amor: multi stultae spe, prout quis amicus vel cliens, hunc vel illum ambitiosis rumoribus destinabant, etiam in Titi Vinio odium, qui in dies quanto potentior, eodem actu invisor erat. Quippe hiantes in magna fortuna amicorum cupiditates ipsa Galbae facilitas intendebat, cum apud infirmum et credulum minore metu et maiore praemio peccaretur.

Potentia principatus divisa in Titum Vinium consulem, Cornelium Laconem praetorii praefectum; nec minor gratia Icelo Galbae liberto, quem anulis donatum equestri nomine Marcianum vocitabant. Hi discordes et rebus minus libenter sibi quisque tendentes, circa consilium eligendi successoris in duas factiones scindebantur. Vinius pro M. Othane, Laco atque Icelus consensu non tam unum aliquem fovebant quam alium. Neque erat Galbae igno-
Othonis ac Titi Vini amicitia; et rumoribus nihil silentio transmittentium, quia Vinio vidua filia, caelebs Otho, gener ac soecer destinabuntur. Credo et rei publicae curam subisse, frustra a Nerone translatae, si apud Othonem relinqueretur. Namque Otho pueritiam incuriose, adolescentiam petulanter egerat, gratus Neroni aemulatione luxus. Eoque Poppaeam Sabinam, principale scortum, ut apud conscium libidinum deposuerat, donec Octaviam uxorem amoliretur. Mox suspectum in eadem Poppaea in provinciam Lusitaniam specie legationis seposuit. Otho comiter administrata provincia primus in partes transgressus nec, donec bellum fuit, segnis et inter praesentes splendifissimus, spem adoptionis statim conceptam acrius in dies rapiebat, faventibus plerisque militum, prona in eum aula Neronis ut similem.

14 Sed Galba post nuntios Germanicae seditionis, quamquam nihil adhuc de Vitellio certum, anxius quonam exercitum vis erumperet, ne urbano quidem militi confusus, quod remedium unicum rebatur, comitia imperii transigit; adhibitoque super Vinium ac Laconem Mario Celso consule designato ac Ducenio Gemino praefecto urbis, paucia praefatus de sua senectute, Pisonem Licini- num accessi iubet, seu propria electione sive, ut quidam crediderunt, Lacone instante, cui apud Rubellium Plautum exercita cum Pisone amicitia; sed callide ut ignotum fo- vebat, et prospera de Pisone fama consilio eius fidem addiderat. Piso M. Crasso et Scribonia genitus, nobilis utrimque, vultu habituque moris antiqui, ex aestimatione recta severus, deterius interpretantibus tristior habebatur: ea pars morum eius, quo suspectior sollicitis, adoptanti placebat.

15 Igitur Galba, adprehensa Pisonis manu, in hunc mo-
dum locutus furt: 'Si te privatus lege curiata apud pontifices, ut moris est, adoptarem, et mihi egregium erat Cn. Pompei et M. Crassi subolem in penates meos adsciscere, et tibi insigne Sulpiciae ac Lutatiae decora nobilitati tuae adiecisse: nunc me deorum hominumque consensus ad imperium vocatum praeclara indeola tua et amor patriae impulis, ut principatum, de quo maiores nostri armis certabant, bello adeptus quiescenti offeram, exemplo divi Augusti, qui sororis filium Marcellum, dein generum Agrippam, mox nepotes suos, postremo Tiberium Neronem privignum in proximo sibi fastigio conlocavit. Sed Augustus in domo successorum quaesivist, ego in re publica, non quia propinquos aut socios belli non habeam, sed neque ipse imperium ambitione accepi, et judicie mei documentum sit non meae tantum necessitudines, quas tibi postposui, sed et tuae. Est tibi frater pari nobilitate, natu maior, dignus hac fortuna, nisi tu potior esses. Ea aetas tua quae cupiditates adolescentiae iam effugerit, ea vita in qua nihil praeteritum excusandum habeas. Fortunam adhuc tantum adversam tulisti: secundae res acrioribus stimulis animos explorant, quia miseriae tolerantur, felicitate corrumpimur. Fidem libertatem amicitiam, praecipua humani animi bona, tu quidem eadem constantia retinebis, sed alii per obsequium imminuent: inrumpet adulatio blanditia et, pessimum veri affectus venenum, sua cuique utilitas. Etiam si ego ac tu simplicissime inter nos hodie loquimur, ceteri libentius cum fortuna nostra quam nobiscum; nam suadere principi quod oporteat, multi laboris: adsentatio erga quemcumque principem sine affectu peragitur.'

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

17 Pisonem ferunt statim intuentibus et mox coniectis in eum omnium oculis nullum turbati aut exultantis animi motum prodidisse. Serno erga patrem imperato-
remque reverens, de se moderatus; nihil in vultu habitu-
que mutatum, quasi imperare posset magis quam vellet. 
Consultatum inde, pro rostris an in senatu an in castris 
adoptio nuncuparetur. Irí in castra placuit: honorificum 
id militibus fore, quorum favorem ut largitione et ambitu 
maie adquiri, ita per bonas artes haud spernendum. 
Circumsteterat interim Palatium publica expectatio magni 
secreti inpantiens; et male coërcitam famam supprimentes 
augebant.

Quartum idus Ianuarias, foedum imbris diem, toni-
trua et fulgura et caelestes minae ultra solitum turbas-
verant. Observatum id antiquitus comitii dirimendis 
non terruit Galbam quo minus in castra pergeret, con-
temptorem talium ut fortuitorum; seu quae fato manent, 
quamvis significata, non vitantur. Apud frequentem 
militum contionem imperatoria brevitate adoptari a se 
Pisonem exemplo divi Augusti et more militari, quo vir 
virum legeret, pronuntiat. Ac ne dissimulata seditio in 
maius crederetur, uno adseverat quartam et duov-
vicensimam legiones paucis seditionis auctoribus non ultra 
verba ac voces errasse et brevi in officio fore. Nec ullum 
orationi aut lenocinium addit aut pretium. Tribuni 
tamen centurionesque et proximi militum grata auditu 
respondent: per ceteros maestitia ac silentium, tanquam 
usurpatam etiam in pace donativi necessitatem bello 
perdidissent. Constat potuisse conciliari animos quant-
tulacumque parci senis liberalitate: nocuit antiquus 
rigor et nimia severitas, cui iam pares non sumus.

Inde apud senatum non comptior Galbae, non longior 19 
quam apud militem sermo: Pisonis comis oratio; et 
patrum favor aderat, multi voluntate, effusius qui nolu-
erant, medii ac plurimi obvio obsequio, privatæ spes


21 Interea Othonem, cui compositis rebus nulla spes,

Non erat Othonis mollis et corpori similis animus; et intimi libertorum servorumque, corruptius quam in privata domo habiti, aulum Neronis et luxus, adulteria matrimonio ceterasque regnorum libidines avido talium, si auderet, ut sua ostentantes, quiescenti ut aliena exprobabant, urguentibus etiam mathematicis, dum novos motus et clarum Othoni annum observatione siderum adfirmant, genus hominum potentibus infidum, sperantibus fallax, quod in civitate nostra et vetabitur semper et retinebitur. Multos secreta Poppaeae mathematicos, pessimum principalis matrimonii instrumentum, habuerant; e quibus Ptolemaeus Othogi in Hispania comes, cum superfuturum eum Neroni promisset, postquam ex eventu fides, coniectura iam et rumore senium Galbae et iuventam Othonis computantium persuaserat fore ut in imperium adscisceretur. Sed Otho tanquam peritia et
monitu fatorum praedicta accipiebat, cupidine ingenii humani libentius obscura credendi. Nec deerat Ptolemaeus, iam et sceleris instinctor, ad quod facillime ab eius modi voto transitur.

23 Sed sceleris cogitatio incertum an repens: studia militum iam pridem spe successionis aut paratu facinoris adfectaverat, in itinere, in agmine, in stationibus vetustissimum quemque militum nomine vocans ac memoria Neroniani comitatus contubernales appellando; alios adgnoscere, quosdam requirere et pecunia aut gratia iuvare, inserendo saepius querellas et ambiguos de Galba sermones, quaee alia turbamenta vulgi. Labores itinerum, inopia commeatuum, duritia imperii atrocissimus accipiebantur, cum Campaniae lacus et Achaiae urbes classibus adire soliti Pyrenaeum et Alpes et inmensa viarum spatia aegre sub armis enterentur.

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

25 Sed tum e libertis Onomastum futuro sceleri praefecit, a quo Barbium Proculum tesserarium speculatorum et Veturium optionem eorundem perductos, postquam vario sermone callidos audacesque cognovit, pretio et promissis

Infecit ea tabes legionum quoque et auxiliorum motas iam mentes, postquam vulgatum erat labare Germanici exercitus fide; adeoque parata apud malos seditio, etiam apud integros dissimulatio fuit, ut postero idum die redeuntem a cena Othonem rapturi fuerint, ni incerta noctis et tota urbe sparsa militum castra nec facilem inter temulentos consensum timuissent, non rei publicae cura, quam foedare principis sui sanguine sobrii parabant, sed ne per tenebras, ut quisque Pannonici vel Germanici exercitus militibus oblatus esset, ignorantibus plerisque, pro Othone destinaretur. Multa erumpentis seditionis indica per conscios oppressa: quaedam apud Galbae aures praefectus Laco elusit, ignarus militiae animorum consilique quamvis egregii, quod non ipse adferret, inimicus et adversus peritos pervicax.

Octavo decimo kalendas Februarias sacrificanti pro aede Apollinis Galbae haruspe Umbricius tristia exta et instantes insidias ac domesticum hostem praedicit, audiente Othone (nam proximus adstiterat) idque ut laetum e contrario et suis cogitationibus prosperum interprete. Nec multo post libertus Onomastus nuntiat expectari eum ab architecto et redemptoribus, quae significatio coeuntium iam militum et paratae consiurationis convenerat. Otho
causam digressus requirentibus cum emi sibi praedia vetustate suspecta eoque prius exploranda finxisset, innixus liberto per Tiberianam domum in Velabrum, inde ad miliarium aureum sub aedem Saturni pergit. Ibi tres et viginti speculatores consulutatum imperatorem ac paucitate salutantium trepidum et sellae festinanter impositum strictis mucronibus rapiunt; totidem ferme milites in itinere adgregantur, alii conscientia, plerique miraculo, pars clamore et gaudios, pars silentio, animum ex eventu sumpturi.

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

29 Ignarus interim Galba et sacris intentus fatigabit alieni iam imperii deos, cum adfurtur rumor rapi in castra incertum quem senatorem, mox Othonem esse qui rape-retur; simul ex tota urbe, ut quisque obvius fuerat, alii formidine augentes, quidam minora vero, ne tum quidem obliti adulationis. Igitur consultantibus placuit pertemptari animum cohortis quae in Palatio stationem agebat, nec per ipsum Galbam, cuius integra auctoritas maioribus remediis servabatur. Piso pro gradibus domus vocatos in hunc modum adlocutus est: 'Sextus dies agitur, commilitones, ex quo ignarus futuri, et sive optandum hoc nomen sive timendum erat, Caesar adscitus sum, quo domus nostrae aut rei publicae fato, in vestra manu positum est; non quia meo nomine tristiorem casum paveam, ut qui adversas res expertus cum maxime discam ne secundas quidem minus discriminis habere: patris et
senatus et ipsius imperii vicem doleo, si nobis aut perire hodie necesse est aut, quod aequo apud bonos miserum est, occidere. Solacium proximi motus habebamus incruentam urbem et res sine discordia translatas: provisum adoptione videbatur ut ne post Galbam quidem bello locus esset.

31 Dilapsis speculatoribus cetera cohors non aspernata contionantem, ut turbidis rebus evenit, forte magis et nullo adhuc consilio rapit signa quam, quod postea credition est, insidiis et simulatione. Missus et Celsus Marius ad electos Illyrici exercitus Vipsania in porticu tendentes; praecptum Amilio Sereno et Domitio Sabino primipilaribus, ut Germanicos milites e Libertatis atrio accerserent. Legioni classicae diffidebatur, infestae ob caedem commilitonum, quos primo statim introitu trucidaverat Galba. Pergunt etiam in castra praetorianorum tribuni Cetrius Severus, Subrius Dexter, Pompeius Longinus, si incipiens adhuc et needum adulta seditio melioribus consiliis flecteretur. Tribunorum Subrium et Cetrium adorti milites minis, Longinum manibus coercent exarmantque, quia non ordine militiae, sed e Galbae amicis, fidus principi suo et descisentibus suspectior erat. Legio classicala nihil cunctata praetorianis adiungitur: Illyrici exercitus electi Celsum infestis pilis proturbant. Germanica vexilla diu nutavere, invalidis adhuc corporibus et placatis animis, quod eos a Nerone Alexandriam praemissos atque inde rursus longa navigatione aegros insensiore cura Galba refovebat.

32 Universa iam plebs Palatium implebat, mixtis serviis et dissono clamore caedem Othonis et conjuratorum exitium poscentium, ut si in circo aut theatro ludicrum aliquod postularent: neque illis iudicium aut veritas, quippe eodem die diversa pari certamine postulaturis, sed tradito more quemcunque principem adulandi licentia adclamationum et studiis inanibus.

Interim Galbam duae sententiae distinebant. Titus Vinius manendum intra domum, opponenda servitia, firmandos aditus, non eundum ad iratos censebat: daret
malorum paenitentiae, daret bonorum consensui spatium: scelera impetu, bona consilia mora valescere; denique eundi ultro, si ratio sit, eandem mox facultatem, regressus, si paeniteat, in aliena potestate.

Festinandum ceteris videbatur, antequam cresceret invalida adhuc coniuratio paucorum: trepidaturum etiam Othonem, qui furtim digressus, ad ignaros inlatus, cunctatione nunc et segnitia terentium tempus imitari principem discat. Non expectandum ut compositis castris forum invadat et prospectante Galba Capitolium adeat, dum egregius imperator cum fortibus amicis ianua ac limine tenus domum cludit, obsidionem nimirum toleraturus. Et praeciprum in servis auxilium, si consensus tantae multitudinis et, quae plurimum valet, prima indignatio elanguescat. Perinde intuta quae indecora; vel si cadere necesse sit, occurrendum discrimini: id Othoni invidiosius et ipsis honestum. Repugnatum huic sententiae Vinium Laco minaciter invasit, stimulante Icelo privati odii pertinacia in publicum exitium.

Nec diutius Galba cunctatus speciosiora suadentibus accessit. Praemissus tamen in castra Piso, ut iuvenis magno nomine, recenti favore et insensus Tito Vinio, seu quia erat, seu quia iratitata volebant; et facillius de odio creditur. Vixdum egresso Pisone occisum in castris Othonem vagus primum et incertus rumor; mox, ut in magnis mendaciis, interfuisse se quidam et vidisse adfirmabant, credula fama inter gaudentes et incuriosos. Multi arbitrabantur compositum auctumque rumorem mixtis iam Othonianis, qui ad evocandum Galbam laeta falso vulgaverint.

Tum vero non populus tantum et imperita plebs in plausus et inmodica studia, sed equitum plerique ac
senatorum, posito metu incauti, refractis Palatii foribus ruere intus ac se Galbae ostentare, praereptam sibi ul-tionem querentes; ignavissimus quisque et, ut res docuit, in periculo non ausurus nimii verbis, linguae feroce; nemo scire et omnes adfirmare, donec inopia veri et consensu errantium victus sumpto thorace Galba inruenti turbae neque aetate neque corpore resistens sella levaretur. Obvius in Palatio Iulius Atticus speculator cruentum gladium ostentans occisum a se Othonem exclamavit; et Galba 'commilito,' inquit, 'quis iussit?' insigni animo ad coërcendam militarem licentiam, minantibus intrepidus, adversus blandientes incorruptus.

36 Haud dubiae iam in castris omnium mentes tantusque ardor ut non contenti agmine et corporibus in suggestu, in quo paulo ante aurea Galbae statua fuerat, medium inter signa Othonem vexillis circumdarent. Nec tribunis aut centurionibus adeundi locus: gregarius miles caveri in-super praepositos iubebat. Strepere cuncta clamoribus et tumultu et exhortatione mutua, non tanquam in populo ac plebe, variis segni adulatione vocibus, sed ut quemque adfluentium militum adspexerant, presare manibus, complecti armis, conlocare iuxta, praerit sacramentum, modo imperatore militiae, modo milites imperatori commendare. Nec deerat Otho pretendens manus adorare vulgus, iacere oscula et omnia serviliter pro dominatione. Postquam universa classicorum legio sacramentum eius accepit, fidens viribus, et quos adhuc singulos extimu-latrerat, ascendiendos in commune ratus pro vallo ca-strorum ita coepit:

37 'Quis ad vos processerim, commilitones, dicere non possum, quia nec privatum me vocare sustineo princeps a vobis nominatus, nec principem alio imperante. Vestrum

‘Ac ne qua saltem in successore Galbae spes esset, as accersivit ab exilio quem tristitia et avaritia sui simillimum iudicabat. Vidisti, commilitones, notabili tempestate etiam deos infaustam adoptionem aversantes. Idem senatus, idem populi Romani animus est: vestra virtus expectatur, apud quos omne honestis consiliis robur et
sine quibus quamvis egregia invalida sunt. Non ad bellum vos nec ad periculum voco: omnium militum arma nobiscum sunt. Nec una cohors togata defendit nunc Galbam, sed detinet: cum vos aspexerit, cum signum meum acceperit, hoc solum erit certamen, quis mihi pluri- mum inputet. Nullus cunctationis locus est in eo consilio quod non potest laudari nisi peractum.’ Aperi re deinde armamentarium iussit. Rapta statim arma, sine more et ordine militiae, ut praetorianus aut legionarius insignibus suis distinguueretur: miscentur auxiliaribus galeis scutisque, nullo tribunorum centurionumve adhortante, sibi quisque dux et instigator; et praecipuum pessimorum incitamentum quod boni maerebant.

39 Iam exterritus Piso fremitu crebrescentis seditionis et vocibus in urbem usque resonantibus egressum interim Galbam et foro appropinquantem adsecutus erat; iam Marius Celsus haud laeta rettulerat, cum alii in Palatium redire, alii Capitolium petere, plerique rostra occupanda censerent, plures tantum sententiis aliorum contra di- cerent, utque evenit in consiliis infeliciibus, optima vide- rentur quorum tempus effugerat. Agitasse Laco ignaro Galba de occidendo Tito Vinio dicitur, sive ut poena eius animos militum mulceret, seu conscium Othonis credebatur, ad postremum vel odio. Haesitationem attulit tempus ac locus, quia initio caedis orto difficilis modus; et turbaver e consilium trepidi nuntii ac proximorum diffugia, lan- guentibus omnium studiis, qui primo alaces fidem atque animum ostentaverant.

40 Agebatur hic illuc Galba vario turbae fluctuantis impulsiu, completis undique basilicis ac templis, lugubri prospectu. Neque populi aut plebis ulla vox, sed attoniti vultus et conversae ad omnia aures; non tumultus, non
quies, quale magni metus et magnae irae silentium est. Othoni tamen armari plebem nuntiabatur; ire praecipites et occupare pericula iubet. Igitur milites Romani, quasi Vologaesus aut Pacorum avito Arsacidarum solio depulsuri ac non imperatorem suum inermem et senem trucidare pergerent, disiecta plebe, proculcato senatu, truces armis, rapidi equis forum irrupunt. Nec illos Capitolii aspectus et iniminentium templorum religio et prioris et futuri principes terruere quo minus facerent scelus cuius ultor est quisquis successit.


Titum inde Vinium invasere; de quo et ipso ambigitur, consumpseritne vocem eius instans metus, an proclama-verit non esse ab Othone mandatum ut occideretur. Quod seu finxit formidine, seu conscientiam coniurationis
confessus est, huc potius eius vita famaque inclinat, ut
conscius sceleris fuerit cuius causa erat. Ante aedem divi
Iulii iacuit primo ictus in popli
tem, mox ab Iulio Caro
 legionario milite in utrumque latus transverteratus.

43 Insignem illa die virum Sempronium Densum aetas
nostra vidit. Centurio is praetoriae cohortis, a Galba
custodiae Pisonis additus, stricto pugione occurrente
armatis et scelus exprobrans a modo manu modo voce
vertendo in se percussores quanquam vulnerato Pisoni
effugium dedit. Piso in aedem Vestae pervasit, exceptu-
tusque misericordia publici servi et contubernio eius ab-
ditus non religione nec caerimoniiis sed latebra inminens
exitium differebat, cum advenere missu Othonis nominatim
in caedem eius ardentis Sulpicius Florus e Britannicas
cohortibus, nuper a Galba civitate donatus, et Staius
Murus speculator, a quibus protractus Piso in foribus
templi trucidatur.

44 Nullam caedem Otho maiore laetitia exceptisse, nul-
lum caput tam insatiabilibus oculis perlustrasse dicitur, seu
tum primum levata omni sollicitudine mens vacare gaudio
coperat, seu recordatio maiestatis in Galba, amicitiae in
Tito Vinio quamvis inimitem animum imagine tristi con-
fuderat: Pisonis ut inimici et aemuli caede laetari ius
fasque credebat. Praefixa contis capita gestabantur inter
signa cohortii iuxta aquilam legionis, certatim osten-
tantibus cruatas manus qui occiderant, qui interfuerant,
qui vere qui falso ut pulchrum et memorabile facinus
iactabant. Plures quam centum viginti libellos praemium
exposcentium ob aliquam notabilem illa die operam Vitel-
lius postea invenit, omnesque conquiri et interfici iussit,
non honorì Galbae, sed tradito principibus more, mun-
imentum ad præsens, in posterum ultionem.

Omnia deinde arbitrio militum acta: praetorii praeffectos sibi ipsi legere, Plotium Firmum e manipularibus quondam, tum vigilibus praepositum et incolumi adhuc Galba partes Othonis secutum; adiungitur Licinius Proculus, intima familiaritate Othonis suspectus consilia eius foivisse. Urbi Flavium Sabinum praefercere, iudicium Neronis securi, sub quo eandem curam obtinuerat, plerisque Vespasianum fratrem in eo respicientibus. Flagitatum ut vacationes praestari centurionibus solitae remitterentur; namque gregarius miles ut tributum annum pendebat. Quarta pars manipli sparsa per commecatus aut in ipsis castris vaga, dum mercedem centurioni exsolveret, neque modum oneris quisquam neque genus quaeustus pensi habebat: per latrocinia et raptus aut servilibus ministeriiis militare otium redimebant. Tum locupletissimus quisque miles labore ac saevitia fatigari, donec vacationem emeret. Ubi sumptibus exhaustus
socordia insuper elanguerat, inops pro locuplete et iners pro strenuo in manipulum redibat, ac rursus alius atque alius eadem egestate ac licentia corrupti ad seditiones et discordias et ad extremum bella civilia ruebant. Sed Otho ne vulgi largitione centurionum animos averteret, fiscum suum vacationes annuas exsoluturum promisit, rem haud dubie utilem et a bonis postea principibus perpetuitate disciplinae firmatam. Laco praefectus, tan- quam in insulam seponeretur, ab evocato, quem ad caedem eius Otho praemiserat, confossus; in Marcianum Icelum ut in libertum palam animadversum.


48 Piso unum et tricensimum aetatis annum explebat, fama meliore quam fortuna. Fratres eius Magnum Claudius, Crassum Nero interfecerant: ipse diu exul, quadriduo Caesar, properata adoptione ad hoc tantum maiori fratri praelatus est, ut prior occideretur. Titus Vinius quinquaginta septem annos variis moribus egit. Pater illi praetoria familia, maternus avus e proscriptis. Prima militia infamis: legatum Calvisium Sabinum habuerat,
cuius uxor mala cupidine visendi situm castrorum per noctem militari habitu ingressa, cum vigilias et cetera militiae munia eadem lascivia temptasset, in ipsis principii stuprum ausa est: criminis huius reus Titus Vinius arguebatur. Igitur iussu C. Caesaris oneratus catenis, mox mutatione temporum dimissus, cursu honorum inoffenso legioni post praetum praepositus probatusque, servili deinceps probro respersus est, tanquam scyphum aureum in convivio Claudii furatus, et Claudius postera die soli omnium Vinio fictilibus ministram iussit. Sed Vinius proconsulatu Galliam Narbonensem severe integreque rexit; mox Galbae amicitia in abruptum tractus, audax callidus promptus et, prout animum intendisset, pravus aut industrius eadem vi. Testamentum Titi Vini magnitudine opum inritum, Pisonis supremam voluntatem paupertas firmavit.

Galbae corpus diu neglectum et licentia tenebrarum plurimis ludibriis vexatum dispensator Argius et primoribus servis humili sepultura in privatis eius hortis context. Caput per lixas calonesque suffixum laceratumque ante Patroobii tumulum (libertus is Neronis punitus a Galba fuerat) postera demum die repertum et cremato iam corpori admixtum est. Hunc exitum habuit Servius Galba, tribus et septuagintaannis quinque principes prospera fortuna emensus et alieno imperio felicior quam suo. Vetus in familia nobilitas, magnae opes: ipsi medium ingenium, magis extra vitia quam cum virtutibus. Famae nec incuriosus nec venditator; pecuniae alienae non appetens, suae parcus, publicae avarus; amicorum libertorumque, ubi in bonos incidisset, sine reprehensione patiens, si mali forent, usque ad culpam ignorant. Sed claritas natalium et metus temporum obtentui, ut, quod segnitia

50 Trepidam urbem ac simul atrocitatem recentis sceleris, simul veteres Othonis mores paventem novus insuper de Vitellio nuntius exterruit, ante caedem Galbae suppressus, ut tantum superioris Germaniae exercitus descivisse crederetur. Tum duos omnium mortalium inpudicitia ignavia luxuria deterrimos velut ad perdendum imperium fataliter electos non senatus modo et eques, quis aliqua pars et cura rei publicae, sed vulgus quoque palam maerere. Nec iam recentia saevae pacis exempla, sed repetita bellorum civilium memoria captam totiens suis exercitiis urbem, vastitatem Italiae, direciones provinciarum, Pharsaliam Philippos et Perusiam ac Mutinam, nota publicarum cladium nominam, loquebantur. Prope eversum orbem, etiam cum de principatu inter bonos certaretur, sed mansisse C. Iulio, mansisse Caesare Augusto victore imperium; mansuram fuisse sub Pompeio Brutoque rem publicam. Nunc pro Othone an pro Vitellio in templo ituros? Utrasque inpias preces, utraque detestanda vota inter duos, quorum bello solum id scires, deteriorem fore qui vicisset. Erant qui Vespasianum et arma Orientis augurarentur, et ut potior utroque Vespasianus, ita bellum aliud atque alias clades horrebat. Et ambiguæ de Vespasiano fama, solusque omnium ante se principum in melius mutatus est.

51 Nunc initia causasque motus Vitelliani expediam. Caeso cum omnibus copiis Iulio Vindice ferox praeda gloriaque exercitus, ut cui sine labore ac periculo ditissimi

Sub ipsas superioris anni kalendas Decembres Aulus Vitellius inferiorem Germaniam ingressus hiberna legionum cum cura adierat: redditi plerisque ordines, remissa igno-nominia, adlevatae notae; plura ambitione, quaedam iudicio, in quibus sordes et avaritiam Fontei Capitonis
adimendis adsignandis sve militiae ordinibus integre mutaverat. Nec consularis legati mensura, sed in maius omnia accipiebantur; et ut Vitellius apud severos humilis, ita comitatem bonitatemque favit nec vocabant, quod sine modo, sine iudicio donaret sua, largiretur aliena; simul aviditate imperi dandi ipsa vitia pro virtutibus interpretabantur. Multi in utroque exercitu sicut modesti quietique, ita mali et strenui. Sed profusa cupidine et insigni temeritate legati legionum Alienus Caecina et Fabius Valens; e quibus Valens infensus Galbae, tanquam detectam a se Verginii cunctationem, oppressa Capitonis consilia ingrate tulisset, instigare Vitellium, ardorem militum ostentans: ipsum celebri ubique fama, nullam in Flacco Hordeonio moram: adfore Britanniam, secutura Germanorum auxilia; male fidas provincias, precarium seni imperium et brevi transiturum: panderet modo sinum et venienti Fortunae occurreret. Merito dubitasse Verginium equestri familia, ignoto patre, inparem, si recepisset imperium, tutum, si recusasset: Vitellio tres patris consulatus censuram collegium Caesaris et inponere iam pridem imperatoris dignationem et auferre privati securitatem. Quatiebatur his segne ingenium, ut concupisceret magis quam ut speraret.

53 At in superiore Germania Caecina decorus iuventa, corpore ingens, animi inmodicus, scito sermone, erecto incessu, studia militum inlexerat. Hunc iuvenem Galba, quaestorem in Baetica inpigre in partes suas transgressum, legioni praeposuit; mox compertum publicam pecuniam avertisse ut peculatorum flagitari iussit. Caecina aegre passus miscere cuncta et privata vulnera rei publicae malis operire statuit. Nec dearent in exercitu semina discordiae, quod et bello adversus Vindicem universus
adfuerat, nec nisi occiso Nerone translatus in Galbam atque in eo ipso sacramento vexillis inferioris Germaniae praeventus erat. Et Treveri ac Lingones, quasque alias civitates atrocibus edictis aut damno finium Galba perculerat, hibernis legionum prope miscentur; unde seditiosa colloquia et inter paganos corruptior miles, et in Verginium favor cuicumque alii profuturus.

Miserat civitas Lingonum vetere instituto dona legionibus dextris, hospitii insigne. Legati eorum in squalorem maestitiamque compositi per principia per contubernia modo suas iniurias, modo vicinarum civitatum praemia, et ubi pronis militum auribus accipiebantur, ipsius exercitus pericula et contumelia conquerentes accendebant animos; nec procul seditione aberant, cum Hordeonius Flaccus abire legatos, utque occultior digressus esset, nocte castris excedere iubet. Inde atrox rumor, adfirmantibus plerisque interfectos, ac ni sibi ipsi consulenter, fore ut acerrimi militum et praeuentia conquesti per tenebras et inscitiam ceterorum occiderentur. Obstringuntur inter se tacito foedere legiones, adsciscitur auxiliorum miles, primo suspectus, tanquam circumdatis cohortibus alisque impetus in legiones pararetur, mox eadem acrior volvens, faciliore inter malos consensu ad bellum quam in pace ad concordiam.

Inferioris tamen Germaniae legiones sollemni kalendae rum Ianuariaurum sacramento pro Galba adactae, multa cunctatione et raris primorum ordinum vocibus, ceteri silentio proximi cuiusque audaciam exspectantes, insita mortalibus natura propere sequi quae piget incohare. Sed ipsis legionibus inerat diversitas animorum: primani quintanique turbidi adeo ut quidam saxa in Galbae imagines iecerint: quinta decuma ac sexta decumam legiones
nihil ultra fremitum et minas ausae initium erumpendi circumspectabant.

At in superiore exercitu quarta et duoetvicensima legiones, isdem hibernis tendentes, ipso kalendarum Ianuariarum die dirumpunt imagines Galbae, quarta legio promptius, duoetvicensima cunctanter, mox consensu. Ac ne reverentiam imperii exuere viderentur, senatus populique Romani obliterata iam nomina sacramento advocabant, nullo legatorum tribunorumve pro Galba nitente, quibusdam, ut in tumultu, notabilius turbantibus. Non tamen quisquam in modum contionis aut suggestu locutus; neque enim erat adhuc cui inputaretur.

56 Spectator flagitii Hordeonius Flaccus consularis legis aderat, non compescere ruentes, non retinere dubios, non cohortari bonos ausus, sed segnis pavidus et so\ordia innocens. Quattuor centuriones duoetvicensimae legionis, Nonius Receptus, Donatius Valens, Romilius Marcellus, Calpurnius Repentinus, cum protegerent Galbae imagines, impetum militum abrepti victique. Nec cuiquam ultra fides aut memoria prioris sacramenti, sed quod in seditionibus accidit, unde plures erant, omnes fuere.

Nocte quae kalendas Ianuarias secuta est, in coloniam Agrippinensem aquilifer quartae legiones epulanti Vitellio nuntiat, quartam et duoetvicensimam legiones proiectis Galbae imaginibus in senatus ac populi Romani verba iurasse. Id sacramentum inane visum: occupari nutantem fortunam et offerri principem placuit. Missi a Vitellio ad legiones legatosque qui descivisse a Galba superiorem exercitum nuntiarent: proinde aut bellandum adversus desciscentes aut, si concordia et pax placeat, faciendum imperatorem; et minore discrimine sumi principem quam quaeri.


60 Praeerat Trebellius Maximus, per avaritiam ac sordes contemptus exercitui invisusque. Accendebat odium eius Roscius Coelius legatus vicensimae legionis, olim discors, sed occasione civilium armorum atrocior proruperant. Trebellius seditionem et confusum ordinem disciplinae Coelio, spoliatas et inopes legiones Coelius Trebellio obiectabant, cum interim foedis legatorum certaminibus modestia exercitus corrupta eoque discordiae ventum, ut auxiliarium quoque militum conviciis proturbatus et adgregantibus se Coelio cohortibus alisque desertus Trebellius ad Vitellium perfugerit. Quies provinciae quanquam remoto consulari mansit: rexere legati legionum, pares iure, Coelius audendo potentior.

61 Adiuncto Britannico exercitu ingens viribus opibusque Vitellius duos duces, duo itinera bello destinavit: Fabius Valens allicere vel, si abnuerent, vastare Gallias et Cottianis Alpibus Italiam inrumpere, Caecina propriore transitu Poeninis iugis degredi iussus. Valenti inferioris
exercitus electi cum aquila quintae legionis et cohortibus alisque, ad quadraginta milia armatorum, data: triginta milia Caecinae superiore Germaniae ducebat, quorum robur legio unaetvicensima fuit. Addita utrique Germanorum auxilia, e quibus Vitellius suas quoque copias supplevit, tota mole belli secuturum.

Mira inter exercitum imperatoremque diversitas: in-62 stare miles, arma poscere, dum Galliae trepident, dum Hispaniae cunctentur: non obstare hiemem neque ignavae pacis moras; invadendam Italiam, occupandam urbem; nihil in discordiis civilibus festinatione tutius, ubi facto magis quam consulto opus esset. Torpebat Vitellius et fortunam principatus inerti luxu ac prodigis epulis prae-sumebat, medio diei temulentus et sagina gravis, cum tamen ardor et vis militum ultrro ducis munia implebat, ut si adesset imperator et strenuus vel ignavis spem metumve adderet. Instructi intentique signum profectionis exposcunt, nomine Germanici Vitellio statim addito: Caesarem se appellari etiam victor prohibuit. Laetum augurium Fabio Valenti exercituique quem in bellum agebat, ipso profectionis die aquila leni meatu, prout agmen incederet, velut dux viae praevolavit; longumque per spatium is gaudentium militum clamor, ea quies interratae alitis fuit; ut haud dubium magnae et prosperae rei omen acciperetur./

Et Treveros quidem ut socios securi adiere: Divo-63 duri (Mediomatricorum id oppidum est) quanquam omni comitate exceptos subitus pavor terruit, raptis repente armis ad caedem innoxiae civitatis, non ob praedam aut spoliandi cupidine, sed fureore et rabie et causis incertis eoque difficilioribus remediis, donec precibus ducis mitigati ab excidio civitatis temperaverer; caesa tamen ad
quattuor milia hominum. Isque terror Gallias invasit, ut venienti mox aegmini universae civitates cum magistratibus et precibus occurrerent, stratis per vias feminis puerisque, quaeque alia placenta hostilis irae non quidem in bello, sed pro pace tendebantur.


65 Veterem inter Lugudunenses et Viennenses discordiam proximum bellum accenderat. Multae in vicem clades crebrius infestiusque quam ut tantum propter Neronem Galbamque pugnaretur. Et Galba reeditus Lugudunensis occasione irae in fiscum verterat; multus contra in
Viennenses honor: unde aemulatio et invidia et uno amne discretis conexus odium. Igitur Lugudunenses extimulare singulos militum et in eversionem Viennensium impellere, obsessam ab illis coloniam suam, adiutos Vindicis conatus, conscriptas nuper legiones in praesidium Galbae referendo. Et ubi causas odiorum prætenderant, magnitudinem prædae ostendebant; nec iam secreta exhortatio, sed publicae preces: irent uliores, exciderent sedem Gallici belli; cuncta illic externa et hostilia: se, coloniam Romanam et partem exercitus et prosperarum adversarumque rerum socios, si fortuna contra daret, iratis ne relinquent.

His et pluribus in eundem modum perpulerant, ut ne legati quidem ac duces partium restinqui posse iracundiam exercitus arbitrarentur, cum haud ignari discriminis sui. Vienensenses, velamenta et infusas praeferentes, ubi agmen incesserat, arma genua vestigia prensando flexere militum animos; addidit Valens trecenos singulis militibus sestertios. Tum vetustas dignitasque coloniae valuit et verba Fabi salutem incolumitatemque Viennensium commendantis aequis auribus accepta; publice tamen armis multati, privatis et promiscuis copiis iuvero militem. Sed fama constans fuit ipsum Valentem magna pecunia emptum. Is diu sordidum, repente dives mutationem fortunae male tegebat, accensus egestate longa cupidinibus inmoderatus et inopi iuventa senex prodigus. Lento deinde agmine per fines Allobrogum ac Vocontiorum ductus exercitus, ipsa itinerum spatia et stativorum mutationes venditante duce foedis paccionibus adversus possessores agrorum et magistratus civitatum, adeo minaciter ut Luco (municipium id Vocontiorum est) faces admovert, donec pecunia mitigaretur. Quotien
pecuniae materia deesset, stupris et adulterii exorabatur. Sic ad Alpes perventum. / 67 Plus praedae ac sanguinis Caecina hausit. Inritaverant turbidum ingenium Helvetii, Gallica gens olim armis virisque, mox memoria nominis clara, de caede Galbae ignari et Vitellii imperium abnuentes. Initium bello fuit avaritia ac festinatio unaetvicensimae legionis: rapuerant pecuniam missam in stipendium castelli, quod olim Helvetii suis militibus ac stipendiis tuebantur. Aegre id passi Helvetii, interceptis epistulis, quae nomine Germanici exercitus ad Pannonicas legiones ferebantur, centurionem et quosdam militum in custodia retinebant. Caecina belli avidus proximam quamque culpam, antequam paeniteret, ultum ibat: mota propere castra, vastati agri, direptus longa pace in modum municipii exstructus locus, salubrium aquarum usu frequens; missi ad Raetica auxilia suntii, ut versos in legionem Helvetios a tergo adgrederentur. 68 Illi ante discrimen feroce, in periculo pavidus, quam primo tumultu Claudium Severum ducem legerant, non arma noscere, non ordines sequi, non in unum consulere. Exitiosum adversus veteranos proelium, intuta obsidio dilapsis vetustate moenibus; hinc Caecina cum valido exercitu, inde Raeticae alae cohortesque et ipsorum Raetorum iuventus, sueta armis et more militiae exercita. Undique populatio et caedes; ipsi medio vagi, abiectis armis, magna pars saucii aut palantes, in montem Voctium perfugere. Ac statim inmissa cohorte Thracum depulsi et consectantibus Germanis Raetisque per silvas atque in ipsis latebris trucidati. Multa hominum milia caesa, multa sub corona venundata; cumque dirutis omnibus Aventicum gentis caput infesto agmine peteretur,
missi qui dederent civitatem, et deditio accepta. In Iulium Alpinum e principibus ut concitorem belli Caecina animadvertit: ceteros veniae vel saevitiae Vitellii reliquit.

Haud facile dictu est, legati Helvetiorum minus placabilem imperatorem an militem invenirent. Civitatis excidium poscunt, tela ac manus in ora legatorum intendant. Ne Vitellius quidem verbis ac minus temperabat, cum Claudius Cossus, unus e legatis, notae facundiae, sed dicendi artem apta trepidatione occultans atque eo validior, militia animum mitigavit. Tum, ut est mos, vulgus mutabile subitis, tam pronum in misericordiam quam immodicum saevitia fuerat: effusis lacrimis et meliora constantius postulando inpunitatem salutemque civitati inpetravere.

Caecina paucos in Helvetii moratus dies, dum sententiae Vitellii certior fieret, simul transitum Alpium parans, laetum ex Italia nuntium accipit alam Silianam circa Padum agentem sacramento Vitellii accessisse. Pro consule Vitellium Siliani in Africa habuerant; mox a Nerone, ut in Aegyptum praemitterentur, acciti et ob bellum Vindicis revocati ac tum in Italia manentes, instinctu decurionum, qui Othonis ignari, Vitellio obstricti robur adventantium legionum et famam Germanici exercitus attolletbant, transiere in partes, et ut donum aliquod novo principi firmissima transpadanae regionis municipia, Mediolanum ad Novarum et Eporediam et Vercellas, adiunxere. Id Caecinæae per ipsos compertum; et quia praesidio alae unius latissima Italiae pars defendi nequibat, praemissis Gallorum Lusitanorumque et Britannorum cohortibus et Germanorum vexillis cum ala Petriana, ipse paulum cunctatus est, num Raeticis iugis in Noricum flecteret adversus Petronium Urbicum procuratorem, qui
concitis auxiliis et interruptis fluminum pontibus fidus Othoni putabatur. Sed metu, ne amitteret praemissas iam cohortes alasque, simul reputans plus gloriae retenta Italia, et ubicumque certatum foret, Noricos in cetera victoriae praemia cessuros, Poenino itinere subsignanum militem et grave legionum agmen hibernis adhue Alpibus traduxit.

71 Otho interim contra spem omnium non deliciis neque desidia torpescere: dilatae voluptates, dissimulata luxuria et cuncta ad decorum imperii composita, eoque plus formidinis adferebant falsae virtutes et vitia reeditura. Marium Celsum consulem designatum, per speciem vinculorum saevitiae militum subtractum, acciri in Capitolium iubet: clementiae titulus e viro claro et partibus invisò petebatur. Celsus constanter servatae erga Galbam fidei crimen confessus exemplum ulter imputavit. Nec Otho quasi ignosceret, sed testes mutuae reconciliationis adhibens, statim inter intimos amicos habuit et mox bello inter duces delegit, mansitque Celso velut fataliter etiam pro Othone fides integra et infelix. Laeta primoribus civitatis, celebrata in vulgus Celsi salus ne militibus quidem ingrata fuit, eandem virtutem admirantibus cui irascebantur.

72 Par inde exultatio disparibus causis consecuta inpetrato Tigellini exitio. Ofonius Tigellinus obscuris parentibus, foeda pueritia, inpudica senecta, praefecturam vigilum et praetorii et alia praemia virtutum, quia velocius erat, vitis adeptus, mox crudelitatem, deinde avaritiam, virilia scelera, exercuit, corrupto ad omne facinus Nerone, quaedam ignaro ausus, ac postremo eiusdem desertor ac proditor: unde non alium pertinacius ad poenam flagitaverunt, diverso affectu, quibus odium Neronis inerat et quibus desiderium. Apud Galbam Titi Vinii potentia
defensus, praetextentis servatam ab eo filiam. Haud dubie servaverat, non clementia, quippe tot interfectis, sed effugium in futurum, quia pessimus quisque diffidentia praesentium mutationem paves adversus publicum odium privatam gratiam praeparat; unde nulla innocentiae cura, sed vices impunitatis. Eo infensior populus, addita ad vetus Tigellini odium recenti Titi Vinii invidia, concurrere ex tota urbe in Palatium ac fora et, ubi plurima vulgi licentia, in circum ac theatra effusi seditiosis voci-bus strepere, donec Tigellinus accepto apud Sinuessanas aquas supremae necessitatis numfo inter stupra concubinarum et oscula et deformes moras sectis novacula faucibus infamem vitam foedavit etiam exitu sero et inhonesto.

Per idem tempus expostulata ad supplicium Calvia Crispinilla variis frustrationibus et adversa dissimulantis principis fama periculo exempta est. Magistra libidinum Neronis, transgressa in Africam ad instigandum in arma Clodium Macrum, famem populo Romano haud obscure molita, totius postea civitatis gratiam obtinuit, consulari matrimonio subnixa et apud Galbam Othonem Vitellium illaes, mox potens pecunia et urbitate, quae bonis malis-que temporibus iuxta valent.

Crebrae interim et muliebribus blandimentis infectae ab Othane ad Vitellium epistulae offerebant pecuniam et gratiam et quemcumque e quietis locis prodigae vitae legisset. Paria Vitellius ostentabat, primo mollius, stulta utrimque et indecora simulatione; mox quasi rixantes stupra ac flagitia in vicem obiectavere, neuter falso. Otho revocatis quos Galba miserat legatis rursus ad utrumque Germanicum exercitum et ad legionem Italiam easque quae Luguduni agebant copias specie senatus misit.
Legati apud Vitellium remansere promptius quam ut retenti viderentur; praetoriani, quos per simulationem officii legatis Otho adiunxerat, remissi, antequam legionibus miserentur. Addidit epistulæ Fabius Valens nomine Germanici exercitus ad praetorias et urbanas cohortes de viribus partium magnificas et concordiam offerentes; increpabat ultero quod tanto ante traditum Vitellio imperium ad Othonem vertissent.

75 Ita promissis simul ac minis temptabantur, ut bello impares, in pace nihil amissuri; neque ideo praetorianorum fides mutata. Sed insidiatores ab Othone in Germaniam, a Vitellio in urbem missi. Utrisque frustra fuit, Vitellianis inpune, per tantam hominum multitudinem mutua ignorantia fallentibus: Othoniani novitate vultus, omnibus in vicem gnaris, prodebantur. Vitellius litteras ad Titianum fratrem Othonis composit, exitium ipsi filioque eius mimitans, ni incolumes sibi mater ac liberi servarentur. Et stetit domus utraque, sub Othone incertum an metu: Vitellius victor clementiae gloriam tuit.

76 Primus Othoni fiduciam addidit ex Illyrico nuntius, iurasse in eum Delmatiae ac Pannoniae et Moesiae legiones. Idem ex Hispamia adlatum, laudatusque per edictum Cluvius Rufus: set statim cognitum est conversam ad Vitellium Hispaniam. Ne Aquitania quidem, quamquam ab Iulio Cordo in verba Othonis obstricta, diu mansit. Nusquam fides aut amor: metu ac necessitate huc illuc mutabantur. Eadem formido provinciam Narbonensem ad Vitellium vertit, facili transitu ad proximos et validiores. Longinquae provinciae et quidquid armorum mari dirimitur penes Othonem manebant, non partium studio, sed erat grande momentum in nomine urbis ac praetexto senatus, et occupaverat animos prior auditus. Iudaicum
exercitum Vespasianus, Syriae legiones Mucianus sacramento Othonis adegere; simul Aegyptus omnesque versae in Orientem provinciae nomine eius tenebantur. Idem Africae obsequium initio Karthagine orto; neque sæceptata Vipstani Aproniani proconsulis auctoritate Crescens Neronis libertus (nam et hi malis temporibus partem se rei publicae faciunt) epulum plebi ob laetitiam recentis imperii obtulerat, et populus pleraque sine modo festinavit. Karthaginem ceterae civitates secutae.


Eadem largitione civitatium quoque ac provinciarum animos addresuss Hispalensibus et Emeritensibus famili-
arum adiectiones, Lingonibus universis civitatem Romanae, provinciae Baeticae Maurorum civitates dono dedit; nova iura Cappadociae, nova Africae, ostentata magis quam mansura. Inter quae necessitate praestantium rerum et instantibus curis excusata, ne tum quidem inmemor amorum statuas Poppaeae per senatus consultum reposuit; creditus est etiam de celebranda Neronis memoria agitasse spe vulgus aliciendi. Et fuere qui imagines Neronis proponerent; atque etiam Othoni quibusdam diebus populus et miles, tanquam nobilitatem ac decus adstruerent, Neroni Othoni adclamavit. Ipse in suspenso tenuit vetandi metu vel agnoscedi pudore.

res posceret, levi gladio inermem Sarmatam (neque enim scuto defendi mos est) comminus fodiebat, donec pauci, qui proelio superfuerant, paludibus abderentur. Ibi saevitia hiemis aut vulnerum assumpti. Postquam id Romae compertum, M. Aponius Moesiam obtinens triumphali statua, Fulvus Aurelius et Iulianus Tettius ac Numisius Lupus legati legionum consularibus ornamentis donantur, laeto Othone et gloriam in se trahente, tanquam et ipse felix bello et suis ducibus suisque exercitibus rem publicam auxisset.

Parvo interim initio, unde nihil timebatur, orta sedi-tio prope urbi excidio fuit. Septumam decumam cohortem e colonia Ostiensi in urbem acciri Otho iussaret; armandae eius cura Vario Crispino tribuno e praetorianis data. Is quo magis vacuus quietis castris iussa exsequeretur, vehicula cohortis incipiente nocte onerari aperto armamentario iubet. Tempus in suspicacionem, causa in crimen, adfectatio quietis in tumultum evaluit, et visa inter temulentos arma cupidinem sui movere. Fremit miles et tribunos centurionesque proditionis arguit, tanquam familiae senatorum ad pernicem Othonis armamentur, pars ignari et vino graves, pessimus quisque in occasionem praedarium, vulgus, ut mos est, cuiuscumque motus novi cupidum; et obsequia meliorum nox abstulerat. Resistentem seditioni tribunum et severissimos centurionem obtruncant; rapta arma, nudati gladii, insidientes equis urbem ac Palatium petunt.

Erat Othoni celebre convivium primoribus feminis virisque; qui trepidi, fortuitusne militum furor an dolus imperatoris, manere ac deprehendi an fugere et dispergi periculosius foret, modo constantiam simulare, modo formidine detegi, simul Othonis vultum intueri; utque
evenit inclinatis ad suspicionem mentibus, cum timeret Otho, timebatur. Sed haud secus discrimine senatus quam suo territus et praefectos praetorii ad mitigandas militum iras statim misit et abire propere omnes e convivio iussit. Tum vero passim magistratus proiectis insignibus, vitata comitum et servorum frequentia, senes feminaeque per tenebras diversa urbis itinera, rari domos, plurimi amicorum tecta et ut cuique humillimus cliens, incertas latebras petivere. 75


83 Otho, quanquam turbidis rebus et diversis militum animis, cum optimus quisque remedium praesentis licen-
tiae posceret, vulgus et plures seditionibus et ambitioso imperio laeti per turbas et raptus facilius ad civile bellum inpellerentur, simul reputans non posse principatum sceleere quaesitum subita modestia et prisca gravitate retineri, sed discrimine urbis et periculo senatus anxius, postremo ita disseruit: 'Neque ut adfectus vestros in amorem mei accenderem, commilitones, neque ut animum ad virtutem cohortarer (utraque enim egregie supersunt), sed veni postulaturus a vobis temperamentum vestrae fortitudinis et erga me modum caritatis. Tumultus proximi initium non cupiditate vel odio, quae multos exercitus in discordiam egere, ac ne detrectatione quidem aut formidine periculorum: nimia pietas vestra acrius quam considerate excitavit; nam saepe honestas rerum causas, ni iudicium adhibeas, perniciosi exitus consecuntur. Imus ad bellum. Num omnes nuntios palam audiri, omnia consilia cunctis praesentibus tractari ratio rerum aut occasionem velocitas patitur? Tam nescire quaedam milites quam scire oportet: ita se ducum auctoritas, sic rigor disciplinae habet, ut multa etiam centuriones tribunosque tantum iuberi expediat. Si cur iubeantur quaeerere singulis liceat, pereunte obsequio etiam imperium intercidet. An et illic nocte intempesta rapientur arma? Unus alterve perditus ac temulentus (neque enim plures constellatione proxima insanisse crediderim) centurionis ac tribuni sanguine manus imbuet, imperatoris sui tentorium inrumpet.'

'Vos quidem istud pro me: sed in discursu ac tenebris et rerum omnium confusione patefieri occasio etiam adversus me potest. Si Vitellio et satellitibus eius eligendi facultas detur, quem nobis animum, quas mentes inpressur, quid aliud quam seditionem et discordiam opta-

Et oratio ad perstringendos mulcendosque militum animos et severitatis modus (neque enim in plures quam in duos animadverti iussuerat) grate accepta, composique ad praesens qui coërceri non poterant. Non tamen quies urbi redierat: strepitus telorum et facies
belli, militibus ut nihil in commune turbantibus, ita spar-
sis per domos occulto habitu; et maligna cura in omnes
quos nobiles aut opes aut aliqua insignis claritudo ru-
moribus obiecerat: Vitellianos quoque milites venisse in
urbem ad studia partium noscenda plerique credebant:
unde plena omnia suspicionum et vix secreta domuum
sine formidine. Sed plurimum trepidationis in publico,
ut quomque nuntium fama adtulisset, animum vultumque
conversis, ne diffidere dubii ac parum gaudere prosperis
viderentur. Coacto vero in curiam senatu arduus rerum
omnia modus, ne contumax silentium, ne suspecta li-
bertas; et privato Othoni nuper atque eadem dicenti nota
adulatio. Igitur versare sententias et huc atque illuc
torquere, hostem et parricidam Vitellium vocantes, pro-
videntissimus quisque vulgaribus convicis, quidam vera
probra iacere, in clamore tamen et ubi plurimae voces, aut
tumultu verborum sibi ipsi obstrepentes.

Prodigia insuper terrebant diversis auctoribus vulgata: in
vestibulo Capitolii omissas habenas bigae, cui Victoria
institerat, erupisse cella Iunonis maiorem humana spe-
ciem, statuam divi Iulii in insula Tiberini amnis sereno et
immoto die ab occidente in orientem conversam, prola-
cutum in Etruria bovem, insolitos animalium partus, et
plura alia rudibus saeculis etiam in pace observata, quae
nunc tantum in metu audientur. Sed praecipuus et cum
praesenti exitio etiam futuri pavor subita inundatione
Tiberis, qui inmenso auctu proruto ponte sublicio ac
strage obstantis molis refusus, non modo iacentia et
plana urbis loca, sed secura eiusmodi casuum implevit.
Rapti e publico plerique, plures in tabernis et cubilibus
intercepti: fames in vulgus inopia quaestus et penuria
alimentorum; corrupta stagnantibus aquis insularum
fundamenta, dein remeante flumine dilapsa. Utque primum vacuus a periculo animus fuit, id ipsum quod paranti expeditionem Othoni campus Martius et via Flaminia iter belli esset obstructum, a fortuitis vel naturalibus causis in prodigium et omen imminentium cladium vertebatur.


88 Sepositus per eos dies Cornelius Dolabella in coloniam Aquinatem, neque arta custodia neque obscura, nullum ob crimen, sed vetusto nomine et propinquitate Galbae monstratus. Multos e magistratibus, magnam consularium partem Otho non participes aut ministros bello, sed comitum specie secum expedire iubet, in quis et Lucium
Vitellium, eodem quo ceteros cultu, nec ut imperatoris fratrem nec ut hostis. Igitur motae urbis curae; nullus ordo metu aut periculo vacuus. Primores senatus aetate invalidi et longa pace desides, segnis et oblita bellorum nobilitas, ignarus militiae eques, quanto magis occultare et abdere pavorem nitebantur, manifestius pavidi. Nec deerant e contrario qui ambitione stolida conspicua arma, insignes equos, quidam luxuriosos apparatus convivorum et irritamenta libidinum ut instrumentum belli mercarentur. Sapientibus quietis et rei publicae cura; levissimus quisque et futuri improvidus spe vana tumens; multi adficta fide in pace anxii, turbatis rebus alaces et per incerta tutissimi.

Sed vulgus et magnitudine nimia communium cura-89 rum expers populus sentire paulatim belli mala, conversa in militum usum omni pecunia, intentis alimentorum pretiis; quae motu Vindicis haud perinde plebem attriverant, secura tum urbe et provinciali bello, quod inter legiones Galliasque velut externum fuit. Nam ex quo divus Augustus res Caesarum composuit, procul et in unius sollicitudinem aut decus populus Romanus bellaverat; sub Tiberio et Gaio tantum pacis adversa ad rem publicam pertinuere; Scriboniani contra Claudium incepta simul audit a et coer cita; Nero nuntiis magis et rumoribus quam armis depulsus. Tum legiones classesque et, quod raro alias, praetorius urbanusque miles in aciem deducti, Orien s Occidensque et quidquid utrimque virium est a tergo, si ducibus aliis bellatum forest, longo bello materia. Fuere qui proficiscenti Othoni moras religionemque nondum conditorum ancilium adferrent: aspernatus est omnem cunctationem ut Neroni quoque exitiosam; et Caecina iam Alpes transgressus extimulabat.
90 Pridie idus Martias commendata patribus re publica reliquias Neronianarum sectionum nondum in fiscum conversas revocatis ab exilio concessit, iustissimum donum et in speciem magnificentum, sed festinata iam pridem exactione usu sterile. Mox vocata contione maiestatem urbis et consensum populi ac senatus pro se attollens, adversum Vitellianas partes modeste disseruit, inscitiam potius legionum quam audaciam inrepsans, nulla Vitellii mentione, sive ipsius ea moderatio, seu scriptor orationis sibi metuens contumeliis in Vitellium abstinuit, quando, ut in consiliis militiae Suetonio Paulino et Mario Celso, ita in rebus urbanis Galeri Trachali ingenio Othonem uti credebatur; et erant qui genus ipsum orandi noscerent, crebro fori usu celebre et ut ad implendas populi aures latum et sonans. Clamor vocesque vulgi ex more adulandi nimiae et falsae: quasi dictatorem Caesarem aut imperatorem Augustum prosequerentur, ita studiis votisque certabant, nec metu aut amore, sed ex libidine servitii; ut in familiis, privata cuique stimulatio, et vile iam decus publicum. Prefectus Otho quietem urbis curasque imperii Salvio Titiano fratri permisit.
CORNELII TACITI

HISTORIARVM

LIBER II

Struebat iam fortuna in diversa parte terrarum initia causasque imperio quod varia sorte laetum rei publicae aut atrox, ipsis principibus prosperum vel exitio fuit. Titus Vespasianus e Iudaea incolumi adhuc Galba missus a patre, causam profectionis officium erga principem et maturam petendis honoribus iuventam ferebat, sed vulgus fingendi avidum disperserat accitum in adoptionem. Materia sermonibus senium et orbitas principis et interperantia civitatis, donec unus eligatur, multitudo destinandi. Augebat famam ipsius Titi ingenium quantaecumque fortunae capax, decor oris cum quadam maestate, prosperae Vespasiani res, praesaga responsa, et inclinatis ad credendum animis loco omnium etiam fortuita. Ubi Corinthi, Achaiae urbe, certos nuntios accepit de interitu Galbae, et aderant qui arma Vitellii bellumque adfirmarent, anxius animo paucis amicorum adhibitis cuncta utrimque persuasat: si pergeret in urbem, nullam officii gratiam in alterius honorem suscepti, ac se Vitello sive Othoni obsidem fore: sin rediret, offensam haud dubiam victoris, sed incertam adhuc victoriam et concedente in partes patre filium excusatum. Sin Vespasianus rem publicam susciperet, obliviscendum offensarum de bello agitabantibus.
2 His ac talibus inter spem metumque iactatum spes vicit. Fuerunt qui accensum desiderio Berenices reginae vertisse iter crederent; neque abhorrebat a Berenice iuvenilis animus, sed gerendis rebus nullum ex eo impedimentum: laetam voluptatibus adolescentiam egit, suo quam patris imperio moderatior. Igitur oram Achaiae et Asiae ac laeva maris praeventus, Rhodium et Cyprum insulas, inde Syriam audentioribus spatiis petebat. Atque illum cupido incessit adeundi visendique templum Paphiae Veneris inclutum per indigenas advenasque. Haud fuerit longum initia religionis, templi ritum, formam deae (neque enim alibi sic habetur) paucis disserere.

3 Conditorem templi regem Aëriam vetus memoria, quidam ipsius deae nomen id perhibent. Fama recentior tradit a Cinyra sacratum templum deamque ipsam conceptam mari hoc adpulsam; sed scientiam artemque haruspicum accitam et Cilicem Tamiram intulisse, atque ita pactum ut familiae utriusque posteri caerimoniiis praesiderent. Mox, ne honore nullo regium genus peregrinam stirpem antecelleret, ipsa quam intulerant scientia hospites cessere: tantum Cinyrades sacerdos consultur. Hostiae, ut quisque vovit, sed mares deliguntur: certissima fides haedorum fibris. Sanguinem arae obsundere vetitum: precibus et igne puro altaria adolentur, nec ullis imbribus quamquam in aperto madescunt. Simulacrum deae non effigie humana, continuus orbis latiore initio tenuem in ambitum metae modo exsurgens, set ratio in obscurio.

4 Titus spectata opulentia donisque regum, quaeque alia laetum antiquitatibus Graecorum genus incertae vetustati adfingit, de navigatione primum consult. Postquam pandi viam et mare prosperum accept, de se per ambages
interrogat caesis compluribus hostiis. Sostratus (sacerdoti id nomen erat) ubi laeta et congruentia exta magnisque consultis adnuere deam videt, paucia in praesens et solita respondens, petito secreto futura aperit. Titus aucto animo ad patrem pervectus suspensis provinciarum et exercituum mentibus ingens rerum fiducia accessit.

Profligaverat bellum Judaicum Vespasianus, obpugnatione Hierosolymorum reliqua, duro magis et arduo opere ob ingenium montis et pervicaciam superstitionis, quam quo satis virium obsessis ad tolerandas necessitates superesset. Tres, ut supra memoravimus, ipsi Vespasiano legiones erant, exercitae bello: quattuor Mucianus obtinebat in pace, sed aemulatio et proximi exercitus gloria depulerat segnitiam, quantumque illis roboris discrimina et labor, tantum his vigoris addiderat integra quius et inexperti belli rubor. Auxilia utrique cohortium alarumque et classes regesque ac nomen dispari fama celebre.

Vespasianus acer militiae, anteire agmen, locum castris capere, noctu diuque consilio ac, si res posceret, manu hostibus obniti, cibo fortuito, veste habituque vix a gregario milite discrepans; prorsus, si avaritia abesset, antiquis ducibus par. Mucianum e contrario magnificentia et opes et cuncta privatum modum supergressa extollevant; aptior sermone, dispositu provisque civilium rerum peritus: egregium principatus temperamentum, si demptis utriusque vitii solae virtutes miscerentur. Ceterum hic Syriae, ille Judaee praepositus, vicinis provinciarum administrationibus invidia discordes, exitu demum Neronis positis odiis in medium consulueret, primum per amicos, dein praecipua concordiae fides Titus prava certamina communi utile atque arte compositus adiciendis etiam Muciani moribus. Tribuni centur...
onesque et vulgus militum industria licentia, per virtutes per voluptates, ut cuique ingenium, adsciscebantur.

6 Antequam Titus adventaret, sacramentum Othonis acceperat uterque exercitus, praecipitus, ut adsolet, nuntiis et tarda mole civilis belli, quod longa concordia quietus Oriens tunc primum parabat. Namque olim validissima inter se civium arma in Italia Galliave viribus Occidentis coepta; et Pompeio Cassio Bruto Antonio, quos omnes trans mare secutum est civile bellum, haud prosperi exitus fuerant, auditique saepius in Syria Iudaearque Caesares quam inspecti. Nulla seditio legionum, tantum adversus Parthos minae vario eventu; et proximo civili bello turbatis aliis inconcussa ibi pax, dein fides erga Galbam. Mox, ut Othonem ac Vitellium scelestis armis res Romanas raptum ire vulgatum est, ne penes ceteros imperii praemia, penes ipsos tantum servitii necessitas esset, fremere miles et vires suas circumspicere: septem legiones statim et cum ingentibus auxiliis Syria Iudaearque; inde continua Aegyptus duaeque legiones; hinc Cappadocia Pontusque et quidquid castrorum Armeniis praetenditur; Asia et ceterae provinciae nec virorum inopes et pecunia opulentae; quantum insularum mari cingitur, et parando interim bello secundum tutumque ipsum mare.

7 Non fallebat duces impetus militum, sed bellantibus aliis placuit expectari. Bellorum civilium victores victosque numquam solida fide coalescere, nec referre, Vitellium an Othonem superstitem fortuna faceret. Rebus secundis etiam egregios duces insolecere: sociordiam his, ignaviam, luxuriem; et suismet vitiiis alterum bello, alterum victoria periturum. Igitur arma in occasionem distulere, Vespasianus Mucianusque nuper, ceteri olim mixtis consiliis; optimus quisque amore rei publicae,
multos dulcedo praedarum stimulabat, alios ambiguae domi res. Ita boni malique causis diversis, studio pari, bellum omnes cupiebant.

Sub idem tempus Achaia atque Asia falso exterritae, velut Nero adventaret, vario super exitu eius rumore eoque pluribus vivere eum fingentibus credentibusque. Ceterorum casus conatusque in contextu operis dicemus: tunc servus e Ponto sive, ut ali quae tradidere, libertinus ex Italia, citharae et cantus peritus, unde illi super similitudinem oris prionior ad fallendum fides, adiunctis desertoribus, quos inopia vagos ingentibus promissis corruperat, mare ingreditur; ac vi tempestatum Cythnum insulam detrusus et militum quosdam ex Oriente comman tum adscivit vel abnuentes interfici iussit, et spoliatis negotiatoribus mancipiorum valentissimum quemque armavit. Centurionemque Sisennam dextras, concordiae insignia, Syriaci exercitus nomine ad praetorianos ferentem variis artibus adgressus est, donec Sisenna clam relickta insula trepidus et vim metuens aufugeret. Inde late terror; multi ad celebritatem nominis erecti rerum novarum cupidine et odio praesentium. Gliscentem in dies famam fors discussit.

Galatiam ac Pamphyliam provincias Calpurnio Asprenati regendas Galba permiserat. Datae e classe Misernensi duae triremes ad prosequendum, cum quibus Cythnum insulam tenuit; nec defuere qui trierarchos nomine Neronis accirent. Is in maestitiam compositus et fidem suorum quondam militum invocans, ut eum in Syria aut Aegypto sisterent, orabat. Trierarchi, nutantes seu dolo, adloquendos sibi milites et paratis omnium animis reversuros firmaverunt. Sed Asprenati cuncta ex fide nuntiata; cuius cohortatione expugnata navis et interfectus quisquis
ille erat. Caput insigne oculis comaque et torvitate vultus
in Asiam atque inde Romam pervectum est.

10 In civitate discordi et ob crebras principum muta-
tiones inter libertatem ac licentiam incerta parvae quoque
res magnis motibus agebantur. Vibius Crispus, pecunia
potentia ingenio inter claros magis quam inter bonos,
Annium Faustum equestris ordinis, qui temporibus
Neronis delationes factitaverat, ad cognitionem senatus
vocabat; nam recenti Galbae principatu censuerant patres,
ut accusatorum causae noscerentur. Id senatus consul-
tum varie iactatum et, prout potens vel inops reus in-
ciderat, infirmum aut validum, retinebat aliquid terroris.
Et propria vi Crispus incubuerat delatorem fratri sui
pervertere traxeratque magnam senatus partem, ut inde-
fensum et inauditum dedi ad exitium postularent. Contra
apud alios nihil aeque reo proderat quam nimia potentia
accusatoris: dari tempus, edi crimina, quamvis invisum ac
nocentem more tamen audiendum censebant. Et valuerre
primo, dilataque in paucos dies cognitio: mox damnatus
est Faustus nequaquam eo adsensu civitatis quam pessimis
moribus meruerat: quippe ipsum Crispum easdem accu-
sationes cum praemio exercuisse meminerant, nec poena
criminis, sed ulter displicebat.

11 Laeta interim Othoni principia belli, motis ad imperium
eius e Delmatia Pannoniaque exercitibus. Fuere quattuor
legiones, e quibus bina milia praemissa; ipsae modicis
intervallis sequebantur, septuma a Galba conscripta,
veteranae undecuma ac tertia decuma, et praecipui fama
quartadecumani rebellioniae Britanniae compressa. Ad-
diderat gloriam Nero eligendo ut potissimos, unde longa
illis erga Neronem fides et erecta in Othonem studia.
Sed quo plus virium ac roboris, e fiducia tarditas inerat.
Agmen legionum alae cohortesque praeveniebant. Et ex ipsa urbe haud spernenda manus, quinque praetoriae cohortes et equitum vexilla cum legione prima, ac deforme insuper auxilium, duo milia gladiatorum, sed per civilia arma etiam severis ducibus usurpatum. His copiis rector additus Annius Gallus, cum Vestricio Spurinna ad occupandas Padi ripas præmissus, quoniam prima consiliorum frustra ceciderant, transgresso iam Alpes Caecina, quem sosti intra Gallias posse speraverat. Ipsum Othonem comitabantur speculatorum lecta corpora cum ceteris praetoriis cohortibus, veterani e praetorio, classicorum ingens numeros. Nec illi segne aut corruptum luxu iter, sed lorica ferrea usus est, et ante signa pedes ire, horridus inemptus famaeque dissimilis.

Blandiebatur coeptis fortuna, possessa per mare et 12 naves etiam ora Italiae penitus usque ad initium Maritim arum Alpium, quibus temptandis adgrediendaeque provinciae Narbonensi Suedium Clementem, Antonium Novellum, Aemilium Pacensem duces dederat. Sed Pacensis per licentiam militum vinctus, Antonio Novello nulla auctoritas: Suedius Clemens ambitioso imperio regebat, ut adversus modestiam disciplinae corruptus, ita proeliorum avidus. Non Italia adiri nec loca sedesque patriae videbantur: tanquam externa litora et urbes hostium urere vastare rapere, eo atrocius quod nihil us quam provisum adversum metus. Pleni agri, apertae domus; occursantes domini iuxta coniuges et liberos securitate pacis et belli malo circumveniebantur. Maritimas tum Alpes tenebat procurator Marius Maturus. Is concita gente (nec deest iuventus) arcer provinciae finibus Othonianos intendit; sed primo impetu caesi disiectique montani, ut quibus temere collectis, non castra, nor
ducem noscitantibus, neque in victoria decus esset neque in fuga flagitium.

13 Irritatus eo proelio Othonis miles vertit iras in municipium Albintimilium. Quippe in acie nihil praedae, inopes agrestes et vilia arma; nec capi poterant, pernix genus et gnari locorum; sed calamitatibus insontium expleta avaritia. Auxit invidiam praeclaro exemplo femina Ligus, quae filio abdito, cum simul pecuniam occultari milites credidissent eoque per cruciatus interrogarent, ubi filium occuleret, uterum ostendens latere respondit, nec ullis deinde terroribus aut morte constantiam vocis egregiae mutavit.

14 Inminere provinciae Narbonensi in verba Vitelli adactae classem Othonis trepdi nuntii Fabio Valenti attulere; aderant legati coloniarum auxilium orantes. Duas Tungrorum cohortes, quattuor equitum turmas, universam Treverorum alam cum Iulio Classico praefecto misit, e quibus pars in colonia Foroiuliensi retenta, ne omnibus copingis in terrestre iter versis vacuo mari classis aceleraret. Duodecim equitum turmae et lecti e cohortibus adversus hostem iere, quibus adiuncta Ligurum cohors, vetus loci auxilium, et quingenti Pannonii, nondum sub signis. Nec mora proelio; et acies ita instructa ut pars classicorum mixtis paganis in colles mari propinquos exsurgeret, quantum inter colles ac litus aequi loci praetorianus miles expleret, in ipso mari ut adnexa classis et pugnae parata conversa et minaci fronte prætenderetur. Vitelliani, quibus minor peditum vis, in equite robur, Alpinos proximis iugis, cohortes densis ordinibus post equitem locant. Treverorum turmae obtulere se hosti incaute, cum exciperet contra veteranus miles, simul a latere saxis urgueret apta ad iaciendum etiam paganorum manus, qui
sparsi inter milites, strenui ignavique, in victoria idem audebant. Additus perculsis terror invecta in terga pugnantium classe. Ita undique clausi deleetaeque omnes copiae forent, ni victorem exercitum attinuisset obscurum noctis, obtentui fugientibus.


Corsicam ac Sardiniam ceterasque proximi maris in-16 sulas fama victricis classis in partibus Othonis tenuit; sed Corsicam prope adfixit Decumi Pacarii procuratoris temeritas, tanta mole belli nihil in summam profutura, ipsi exitiosa. Namque Othonis odio iuvare Vitellium Corsorum viribus statuit, inani auxilio, etiam si provenisset. Vocatis principibus insulae consilium aperit, et contra dicere ausos, Claudium Pyrrhicum trierarchum Liburni-carum ibi navium, Quintium Certum equitem Romanum, interfici iubet; quorum morte exterriti qui aderant, simul ignara et alieni metus socia imperatorum turba in verba Vitellii iuraveret. Sed ubi dilectum agere Pacarius et inconditos homines fatigare militiae muneribus occipit, laborem insolitum perosi infirmitatem suam reputabant: insulam esse quam incolarent, et longe Germaniam
viresque legionum; direptos vastatosque classe etiam quos cohortes alaeque protegerent. Et aversi repente animi, nec tamen aperta vi: aptum tempus insidiis legere. Digestis qui Pacarium frequentabant, nudus et auxilii inops balineis interficitur; trucidati et comites. Capita ut hostium ipsi interfectores ad Othonem tulere; neque eos aut Otho praemio adfecit aut puniit Vitellius, in multa conluvie rerum maioribus flagitiis permixtos.

17 Aperuerat iam Italiam bellumque transmiserat, ut supra memoravimus, ala Siliana, nullo apud quemquam Othonis favore, nec quia Vitellium mallent, sed longa pax ad omne servitium fregerat faciles occupantibus et melioribus incuriosos. Florentissimum Italiae latus, quantum inter Padum Alpesque camporum et urbium, armis Vitellii (namque et praemissae a Caecina cohortes adven- nerant) tenebatur. Capta Pannoniorum cohors apud Cremonam, intercepti centum equites ac mille classici inter Placentiam Ticinumque. Quo successu Vitellianus miles non iam flumine aut ripis arcebatur; inritabat quin etiam Batavos transrhenanosque Padus ipse, quem repente contra Placentiam transgressi raptis quibusdam explorat- toribus ita ceteros terruere ut adesse omnem Caecinæ exercitum trep idi ac falsi nuntiarent.

18 Certum erat Spurinnae (is enim Placentiam optinebat) necdum venisse Caecinam et, si propinquaret, coercere intra munimenta militem nec tris praetorias cohortes et mille vexillarios cum paucis equitibus veterano exercitui obicere; sed indomitus miles et belli ignarus correptis signis vexillisque ruere et retinenti duci tela intentare, spretis centurionibus tribunisque: quin prodì Othonem et accitum Caecinam clamitabant. Fit temeritatis alienae comes Spurinna, primo coactus, mox velle simulans, quo plus auctoritatis inesset consiliis, si seditio mitesceret.
Postquam in conspectu Padus et nox adpetebat, vallari castra placuit. Is labor urbano militi insolitus contundit animos. Tum vetustissimus quique castigare credulitatem suam, metum ac discrimen ostendere, si cum exercitu Caecina patentibus campis tam paucas cohortes circumfudisset. Iamque totis castris modesti sermones, et inserentibus se centurionibus tribunisque laudari providentia ducis, quod coloniam virium et opum validam robur ac sedem bello legisset. Ipse postremo Spurinna, non tam culpam exprobrans quam rationem ostendens, relictis exploratoribus ceteros Placentiam reduxit minus turbidos et imperia accipientes. Solidati muri, propugnacula addita, auctae turre, provisa parataque non arma modo, sed obsequium et parendi amor, quod solum illis partibus defuit, cum virtutis haud paeniteret.

At Caecina, velut relicita post Alpes saevitia ac licentia, modesto agmine per Italam incessit. Ornatum ipsius municipia et coloniae in superbiam trahebant, quod veriscolori sagulo, bracas indutus togatos adloqueretur, uxoremque eius Saloninam, quod quam in nullius inuriam insignis equo ostroque veheretur, tanquam laesi gravabantur, insita mortalibus natura recentem aliorum felicitatem acribus oculis intropiscere modumque fortunae a nullis magis exigere quam quos in aequo viderunt. Caecina Padum transgressus, temptata Othonianorum fide per conloquium et promissa, isdem petitus, postquam pax et concordia speciosis et inritis nominibus iactata sunt, consilia curasse in oppugnationem Placentiae magno terrore vertit, gnarus, ut initia belli provenissent, famam in cetera fore.

Sed primus dies impetu magis quam veterani exercitus artibus transactus: aperti incautique muros subiere, cibo
vinoque praegraves. In eo certamine pulcherrimum am-
phitheatrum opus situm extra muros conflagravit, sive ab op-
pugnatoribus incensum, dum faces et glandes et missilem
ignem in obsessos iaculantur, sive ab obsessis, dum paria
regurunt. Municipale vulgus, pronom ad suspiciones,
fraude inlata ignis alimenta credidit a quibusdam ex
vicinis coloniis invidia et aemulatione, quod nulla in Italia
moles tam capax foret. Quocumque casu accidit, dum
atrociora metuebantur, in levi habitum, reddit a securitate,
tanquam nihil gravius pati potuissent, maerebant. Ce-
terum multo suorum cruore pulsus Caecina, et nox parandis
operibus absumpta. Vitelliani pluteos cratesque et vineas
subfodiendis muris protegundisque opbpugnatoribus, Otho-
niani suades et inmensus lapidum ac plumbi aerisque moles
perfringendis obruendisque hostibus expedient. Utrum-
que pudor, utrimque gloria, et diversae exhortationes
hinc legionum et Germanici exercitus robur, inde ur-
banae militiae et praetoriae cohortium deus attol-
lentium: illi ut segnem et desidem et circa ac theatris
corruptum militem, hi peregrinum et externum increpa-
bant. Simul Othonem ac Vitellium celebrantes culpan-
tesve uberioribus inter se probris quam laudibus stimula-
bantur.

22 Vixdum orto die plena propugnatoribus moenia, ful-
gentes armis virisque campi; densum legionum agmen,
sparsa auxiliorum manus altiora murorum sagittis aut
saxis incessere, neglecta aut aevi fluxa comminus adgredi.
Ingerunt desuper Othoniani pila librato magis et certo
ictu adversus temere subeuntes cohortes Germanorum,
cantu truci et more patrio nudis corporibus super umeros
scuta quatientium. Legionarius pluteis et cratibus tectus
subruit muros, instruit aggerem, molitur portas: contra
praetoriani dispositos ad id ipsum molaes ingenti pondere ac fragore provolvunt. Pars subeuntium obruti, pars confixi et exsangues aut laceri: cum augeret stragem trepidatidio eoque acrius e moenibus vulnerarentur, rediere infracta partium fama. Et Caecina pudore coeptae temere obpugnationis, ne inrisus ac vanus isdem castris adsideret, traiecto rursus Pado Cremonam petere intendit. Tradidere sese abeunti Turullius Cerialis cum complibus classicis et Iulius Briganticus cum paucis equitum, hic praefectus alae in Batavis genitus, ille primipilares et Caecinae haud alienus, quod ordines in Germania duxerat.

Spurinna comperto itinere hostium defensam Placentiam, quaeque acta et quid Caecina pararet, Annium Gallum per litteras docet. Gallus legionem primam in auxilio Placentiae ducebat, diffusus paucitati cohortium, ne longius obsidium et vim Germanici exercitus parum tolerarent. Ubi pulsum Caecinam pergere Cremonam acceptit, aegre coeritam legionem et pugnandi ardore usque ad seditionem progressam Bedriaci sistit. Inter Veronam Cremonamque situs est vicus, duabus iam Romanis cladi-bus notus infaustusque.

Isdem diebus a Martio Macro haud procul Cremona prospere pugnatum; namque promptus animi Marcius transform vector navibus gladiatores in adversam Padi ripam repente effudit. Turbata ibi Vitellianorum auxilia, et ceteris Cremonam fugientibus caesi qui restiterant: sed repressus Vincentium impetus, ne novis subsidiis firmati hostes fortunam proelii mutarent. Suspectum id Othonianis fuit, omnia ducum facta prave aestimantibus. Certatim, ut quisque animo ignavus, procax ore, Annium Gallum et Suetonium Paulinum et Marium Celsum (nam
eos quoque Otho praefecerat) variis criminiibus incessebant. Acerrima seditionum ac discordiae incitamenta, interfectores Galbae, scelere et metu vaecordes miscere cuncta, modo palam turbidis vocibus, modo occultis ad Othonem litteris; qui humillimo cuique credulus, bonos metuens trepidabant, rebus prosperis incertus et inter adversa melior. Igitur Titianum fratrem accitum bello praeposuit.

24 Interea Paulini et Celsi ductu res egregie gestae. Angeles bant Caecinam nequiquam omnia coepta et senescens exercitus sui fama. Pulsus Placentia, caesis nuper auxiliis, etiam per concursum exploratorum, crebra magis quam digna memoratu proelia, inferior, propinquante Fabio Valente, ne omne belli decus illuc concederet, recuperare gloriam avidius quam consultius properabat. Ad duodecimum a Cremona (locus Castorum vocatur) ferocissimos auxiliarium inminentibus viae lucis occultos componit; equites procedere longius iussi et irritato proelio sponte refugi festinationem sequentium elicere, donec insidiae coerentur. Proditum id Othonianis ducibus, et curam peditum Paulinus, equitum Celsus sumpsere. Tertiae decumae legionis vexillum, quattuor auxiliorum cohortes et quingenti equites in sinistro locantur; aggerem viae tres praetoriae cohortes altis ordinibus obtinuere; dextra fronte prima legio incessit cum duabus auxiliaribus cohortibus et quingentis equitibus: super hos e praetorio auxiliisque mille equites, cumulus prosperis aut subsidium laborantibus, ducebantur.

25 Antequam miserentur acies, terga vertentibus Vitellianis, Celsus doli prudens repressit suos: Vitelliani temere exsurgentes, cedente sensim Celso longius secuti ultrò in insidias praecipitabantur; nam a lateribus cohortes, legio-
num adversa frons, et subito discursu terga cinxerat eques. Signum pugnae non statim a Suetonio Paulino pediti datum: cunctator natura et cui cauta potius consilia cum ratione quam prospera ex casu placertem, complebi fossas, aperiri campum, pandi aciem iubebat, satis cito incipi victoriam ratus, ubi provisum foret, ne vincerentur. Ea cunctatione spatium Vitellianis datum in vineas nexu traducum impeditas refugiendi; et modica silva adhaerebat, unde rursus ausi promptissimos praetoriorum equitum interfecer. Vulneratur rex Epiphanes, impigre pro Othone pugnem ciens.

Tum Othonianus pedes erupit; prostrata hostium acie versi in fugam etiam qui subveniebant; nam Caecina non simul cohortes, sed singulas acciverat, quae res in proelio trepidationem auxit, cum dispersos nec usquam validos pavor fugientium abriperet. Orta et in castris seditio, quod non universi ducerentur: vincit praefectus castrorum Iulius Gratus, tanquam fratri apud Othonem militanti prodictionem ageret, cum fratrem eius, Iulium Fronto, tribunum, Othoniani sub eodem crimine vinxisser. Ceterum ea ubique formido fuit apud fugientes occurrentes, in acie pro vallo, ut deleri cum universo exercitu Caecinam potuisse, in Suetonius Paulinus receptui ceceanisset, utrisque in partibus percrebererit. Timuisse se Paulinus ferebat tantum insuper laboris atque itineris, ne Vitellianus miles recens et castris fessos adgrederetur et percursis nullum retro subsidium foret. Apud paucos ea ducis ratio probata, in vulgus adverso rumore fuit.

Haud perinde id damnun Vitellianos in metum com pulit quem ad modestiam composit, nec solum apud Caecinam, qui culpam in militem conferebat, seditioni magis quam proelio paratum: Fabii quoque Valentis
copiae (iam enim Ticianum venerat) posito hostium contemptu et reciprandi decoris cupidine reverentius et aequalius duci parebant. Gravis alioquin seditio exarserat, quam altiore initio (neque enim rerum a Caecina gestarum ordinem interrupi oportuerat) repetam. Cohortes Batavorum, quas bello Neronis a quarta decuma legione digressas, cum Britanniam peterent, audito Vitellii motu in civitate Lingonum Fabio Valenti adiunctas ret tulimus, superbe agebant, ut cuiusque legionis tentoria accessissent, coerctos a se quartadecumanos, ablatam Neroni Italiam atque omnem belli fortunam in ipsorum manu sitam iactantes. Contumeliosum id militibus, acerbum duci; corrupta iurgiis aut rixis disciplina; ad postremum Valens e petulantia etiam perfidiam suspectabant.

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

29 Haec ferociter iactando, postquam inmissis lictoribus Valens coereree seditionem coeptabat, ipsum invadunt, saxa iaciunt, fugientem secuntur. Spolia Galliarum et Viennensium aurum, pretia laborum suorum, occultari clamitantes, direptis sacrinis tabernacula ducis ipsamque humum pilis et lanceis rimabantur; nam Valens servili
veste apud decurionem equitum tegebatur. Tum Alfenus Varus praefectus castrorum, deflagrante paulatim seditione, addit consilium, vetitis obire vigilias centurionibus, omissis tubae sono, quo miles ad belli munia cietur. Igitur torpere cuncti, circumspectare inter se attoniti et id ipsum, quod nemo regeret, paventes; silentio patientia, postremo precibus ac lacrimis veniam quaebant. Ut vero deformis et flens et praeter spem incolmis Valens processit, gaudium miseratio favor: versi in laetitiam, ut est vulgus utroque inmodicum, laudantes gratantesque circumdatum aquis signisque in tribunal ferunt. Ille utili moderatione non supplicium cuiusquam poposcit, ac ne dissimulans suspicior foret, paucos incusavit, gnarus civilibus bellis plus militibus quam ducibus licere.

Munientibus castra apud Ticinum de adversa Caecinae pugna adlatum, et prope renovata seditio, tanquam fraude et cunctationibus Valentis proelio defuissent: nolle requiem, non expectare ducem, anteire signa, urguere signiferos; rapido agmine Caecinae iunguntur. Inprospera Valentis fama apud exercitum Caecinae erat: expositos se tanto pauciores integris hostium viribus querebantur, simul in suam excussionem et adventantium robur per adulationem attollentes, ne ut victi et ignavi despectarentur. Et quamquam plus virium, prope duplicatus legionum auxiliariumque numerus erat Valenti, studia tamen militum in Caecinam inclinabant, super benignitatem animi, qua promptior habebatur, etiam vigore aetatis, proceritate corporis et quodam inani favore. Hinc aemulatio ducibus: Caecina ut foedum ac maculosum, ille ut tumidum ac vanum irridebant. Sed condito odio eandem utilitatem fovere, crebris epistulis sine respectu veniae probra Othoni obiequant, cum duces par-
entiae est, alienam stultitiam opperiebantur, incohato
ponte transitum Padi simulantes adversus obpositam
gladiatorum manum, ac ne ipsorum miles sege otium
teret. Naves pari inter se spatio, validis utrimque trabi-
bus conexae, adversum in flumen dirigebantur, iactis
super ancoris, quae firmitatem pontis continerent, sed
ancorarum funes non extenti fluitabant, ut augescente
flumine inoffensus ordo navium attolleretur. Claudebat
pontem inposita turris et in extremam navem educta,
unde tormentis ac machinis hostes propulsarentur. Otho-
niani in ripa turrim struxerant saxaque et faces iacula-
bantur.

35 Et erat insula amne medio, in quam gladiatores navibus
molientes, Germani nando praelabebantur. Ac forte
plures transgressos completis Liburnicis per promptissi-
mos gladiatorum Macer adgreditur; sed neque ea con-
stantia gladiatoribus ad proelia quae militibus, nec
perinde nutantes e navibus quam stabili gradu e ripa vul-
nera derigebant. Et cum variis trepidantium inclinationibus
mixti remiges propugnatoresque turbarentur, desilire in vada ultrro Germani, retentare puppes, scandere
foros aut comminus mergere; quae cuncta in oculis utrius-
que exercitus quanto laetiora Vitellianis, tanto acrius
Othoniani causam auctoremque cladis detestabantur.

36 Et proelium quidem, abruptis quae supererant navibus,
fuga direptunt: Macer ad exitium poscebatur, iamque
vulneratum eminus lancea strictis gladiis invaserant, cum
intercursu tribunorum centurionumque protegitur. Nec
multo post Vestricius Spurinna iussu Othonis, relictos
Placentiae modico praesidio, cum cohortibus subvenit.
Dein Flavium Sabinum consulem designatum Otho re-
torem copiis misit quibus Macer præfuerat, laeto milite
ad mutationem ducum et ducibus ob crebras seditiones tam infestam militiam asperrantibus.

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

legiones, nedum Othonis ac Vitellii exercitus sponte posituri bellum fuerint: eadem illos deum ira, eadem hominum rabies, eadem scelerum causae in discordiam egere. Quod singulis velut ictibus transacta sunt bella, ignavia principum factum est. Sed me veterum novorumque morum reputatio longius tulit: nunc ad rerum ordinem venio.

39 Profecto Brixellum Othone honor imperii penes Titianum fratrem, vis ac potestas penes Proculum praefectum; Celsus et Paulinus, cum prudentia eorum nemo uteretur, inani nomine ducum alienae culpae praetendebantur; tribuni centurionesque ambigui, quod spretis melioribus deterrimi valebant; miles alacer, qui tamen iussa ducum interpretari quam exequi mallet. Promoveri ad quartum a Bedriaco castra placuit, adeo imperite ut quanquam verno tempore anni et tot circm amnibus peneria aquae fatigarentur. Ibi de proelio dubitatum, Othone per litteras flagitante ut maturarent, militibus ut imperator pugnae adsett poscentibus: plerique copias trans Padum agentes acciri postulabant. Nec perinde diiudicari potest, quid optimum factu fuerit, quam pesimum fuisse quod factum est.

40 Non ut ad pugnam sed ad bellandum profecti confluentes Padi et Aduae fluminum, XXV inde milium spatio distantes, petebant. Celso et Paulino abnuentibus militem itinere fessum, sarcinis gravem obicere hosti, non omissuro quo minus expeditus et vix quattuor milia passuum progressus aut incompositos in agmine aut dispersos et vallum molientes adgrederetur, Titianus et Proculus, ubi consiliis vincerentur, ad ius imperii transibant. Aderat sane citus equo Numida cum atrocibus mandatis, quibus Otho increpita ducum seignitia rem in discrimen mitti iubebat, aeger mora et spei inpatiens.

Attonitas subito terrore mentes falsum gaudium in languorem vertit, repertis qui descivisse a Vitellio exercitum ementirentur. Is rumor ab exploratoribus Vitellii dispersus, an in ipsa Othonis parte seu dolo seu forte surrexerit, parum compertum. Omissae pugnæ ardore Othoniani ulterio salutavere; et hostili murmure excepti, plerisque suorum ignaris quae causa salutandi, metum proditionis fecere. Tum incubuit hostium acies integris ordinibus, robore et numero praestantior: Othoniani, quamquam dispersi pauciores fessi, proelium tamen acri-
diter sumpsere. Et per locos arboribus ac vineis inpe-
tos non una pugnae facies: comminus eminus, catervis et cuneis concurrebant. In aggere viae conlato gradu
corporibus et umbonibus niti, omissa pilorum iactu gladiis et
securibus galeas loricasque perrumpere: noscentes
inter se, ceteris conspicui in eventum totius belli certa-
bant.

43 Forte inter Padum viamque patenti campo duae legiones
congressae sunt, pro Vitellio unaetvicensima, cui cognome
Rapaci, vetere gloria insignis, e parte Othonis
prima Adiutrix, non ante in aciem deducta, sed ferox et
novi decoris avida. Primani stratis unaetvicensimanorum
principii aquilam abstulere; quo dolore accensa legio et
inpullit rursus primanos, interfecit Orfdio Benigno legato,
et plurima signa vexillaque ex hostibus rapuit. A parte
alio propulsam quintanorum impetu tertia decuma legio,
circumventi plurium adcursu quartadecumani. Et duci-
bus Othonis iam pridem profugis Caecina ac Valens sus-
sidiios suas firmabant. Accessit recens auxilium, Varus
Alfenus cum Batavis, fusa gladiatorum manu, quam
navibus transvectam obpositae cohortes in ipso flumine
trucidaverant: ita victores latus hostium invecti.

44 Et media acie perrupta fugere passim Othoniani, Be-
driacum petentes. Inmensum id spatium, obstructae
stragae corporum viae, quo plus caedis fuit; neque enim
civilibus bellis capti in praedam vertuntur. Suetonius
Paulinus et Licinius Proculus diversis itineribus castra
vitavere. Vedio Aquilam tertiae decumae legionis
legatum irae militum inconsultus pavor obtulit. Multo
adhuc die vallum ingressus clamore seditiosorum et fugac-
cium circumstrepetur; non probris, non manibus absti-
nent; desertorem profidoremque increpant, nullo proprio
crimine eius, sed more vulgi suum quisque flagitium aliis obiectantes. Titianum et Celsum nox iuvit, dispositis iam excubiis compressisque militibus, quos Annius Gallus consilio precibus auctoritate flexerat, ne super cladem adversae pugnae suismet ipsi caedibus saevirent: sive finis bello venisset, seu resumere arma mallent, unicum victis in consensu levamentum. Ceteris fractus animus: praetorianus miles non virtute se, sed proditione victum fremebat: ne Vitellianis quidem incruentam fuisse victoriam, pulso equite, rapta legionis aquila; superesse cum ipso Othonem militum quod trans Padum fuerit, venire Moesicas legiones, magnam exercitus partem Bedriaci remansisse. Hos certe nondum victos, et si ita ferret, honestius in acie perituros. His cogitationibus truces aut pavidì extrema desperatione ad iram saepius quam in formidinem stimulabantur.

At Vitellianus exercitus ad quintum a Bedriaco lapidem 45 consedit, non ausis ducibus eadem die obpugnationem castrorum; simul voluntaria deditio sperabatur: sed expeditis et tantum ad proelium egressis munimentum fuere arma et victoria. Postera die haud ambigua Othoniani exercitus voluntate et qui ferociores fuerant ad paenitentiam inclinantibus missa legatio; nec apud duces Vitellianos dubitatum, quo minus pacem concederent. Legati paulisper retenti: ea res haesitationem attulit ignaris adhuc an impetrassent. Mox remissa legatione patuit vallum. Tum victi victoresque in lacrimas effusi, sortem civilium armorum misera laetitia detestantes; isdem tenitoriis alii fratrum, alii propinquorum vulnera fovebant: spes et praemia in ambiguo, certa funera et luctus, nec quisquam adeo mali expers, ut non aliquam mortem maereret. Requisitum Orfidii legati corpus
honore solito crematur; paucos necessarii ipsorum sepe-
livere, ceterum vulgus super humum relictum.

46 Opperiebatur Otho nuntium pugnae nequaquam tre-
pidus et consilii certus. Maesta primum fama, dein pro-
fugi e proelio perditas res patefaciunt. Non expectavit
militum ardor vocem imperatoris; bonum haberet ani-
mum iubeant: superesse adhuc novas vires, et ipsos
extrema passuros ausurosque. Neque erat adulatio: ire
in aciem, excitare partium fortunam furore quodam et
instinctu flagrabant. Qui procul adstiterant, tendere
manus, et proximi prensare genua, promptissimo Plotio
Firmo. Is praetorii praefectus identidem orabat, ne
fidissimum exercitum, ne optime meritos milites desereret:
maiore animo tolerari adversa quam relinqui; fortes et
strenuos etiam contra fortunam insistere spei, timidos et
ignavos ad desperationem formidine properare. Quas
inter voces ut flexerat vultum aut induraverat Otho,
clamor vel gemitus. Nec praetoriani tantum, proprius
Othonis miles, sed praemissi e Moesia eandem obstina-
tionem adventantis exercitus, legiones Aquileiam ingressas
nuntiabant, ut nemo dubitet potuisse renovari bellum
atrox lugubre incertum victis et victoribus.

47 Ipse aversus a consiliis belli 'Hunc' inquit 'animum,
hanc virtutem vestram ultra periculis obicere nimis grande
vitae meae pretium puto. Quanto plus spei ostenditis, si
vivere placeret, tanto pulchrior mors erit. Experti in
vicem sumus ego ac fortuna. Nec tempus computaveritis:
difficilius est temperare felicitati, qua te non putes diu
usurum. Civile bellum a Vitellio coepit, et ut de prin-
cipatu certaremus armis, initium illinc fuit: ne plus quam
semel certemus, penes me exemplum erit; hinc Othonem
posteritas aestimet. Fruetur Vitellius fratre coniuge
liberos: mihi non ultione neque solaciis opus est. Alii diutius imperium tuerint: nemo tam fortiter reliquerit. An ego tantum Romanae pubis, tot egregios exercitus sterni rursus et rei publicae eripi patiar? Eat hic mecum animus, tanquam perituri pro me fueritis, sed este superstites. Nec diu moremur, ego incoluitatem vestram, vos constantiam meam. Plura de extremis loqui pars ignaviae est. Praecipuum destinationis meae documentum habete, quod de nemine queror; nam incusare deos vel homines eius est qui vivere velit.'

Talia locutus, ut cuique aetas aut dignitas, comiter appellatos, iurent propere nee remanendo iram victoris asperarent, iuvenes auctoritate, senes precibus movebat, placidus ore, intrepidus verbis, intempestivas suorum lacrimas coercens. Dari naves ac vehicula abeuntibus iubet; libellos epistulasque studio erga se aut in Vitellium contumeliis insignes aboleat; pecunias distribuit parce nec ut peritus. Mox Salvium Cocceianum, frater filium prima iuventa, trepidum et maerentem ultras solutus est, laudando pietatem eius, castigando formidinem: an Vitellium tam inimitis animi fore, ut pro incolumi tota domo ne hanc quidem sibi gratiam redderet? Mereri se festinato exitu clementiam victoris; non enim ultima desperatione, sed poscente proelium exercitu remississe rei publicae novissimum casum. Satis sibi nominis, satis posteris suis nobilitatis quaesitum. Post Iulios Claudios Servios se primum in familiam novam imperium intulisse: proinde erecto animo capesseret vitam, neu patruum sibi Othonem fuisset aut oblivisceturum umquam aut nimium meminisset.

Post quae dimotis omnibus paulum requievit. Atque illum suprasmas iam curas animo volvantem repens

50 Origo illi e municipio Ferentio, pater consularis, avus praetorius; maternum genus inpar nec tamen indeco-rum. Pueritia ac iuventa, qualem monstravimus. Duobus facinoribus, altero flagitosissimo, altero egregio, tantundem apud posteros meruit bona famae quantum mala. Ut conquirere fabulosa et fictis oblectare legen-tium animos procul gravitate coepti operis crediderim, ita vulgatis traditisque demere fidem non ausim. Die, quo Bedriaci certabatur, avem invisitata specie apud Regium Lepidum celebri luco consedisse incolae memorant, nec
deinde coetu hominum aut circumvolitantium alitum territam pulsamve, donec Otho se ipse interficeret; tum ablatam ex oculis: et tempora reputantibus initium finemque miraculi cum Othonis exitu competisse.

In funere eius novata luctu ac dolore militum seditio, nec erat qui coërceret. Ad Verginium versi, modo ut recipieret imperium, nunc ut legatione apud Caecinam ac Valentem fungeretur, mimitantes orabant: Verginius per aversam domus partem furtim digressus inrumpentes frustratus est. Earum quae Brixelli egerant cohortium preces Rubrius Gallus tulit, et venia statim impetrata, concedentibus ad victorem per Flavium Sabinum iis copiis quibus praefuerat.

Posito ubique bello magna pars senatus extremum dis- crimine adiit, profecta cum Othone ab urbe, deinde Mutiniae relictæ. Illuc adverso de proelio adlatum: sed milites ut falsum rumorem aspernantes, quod infensum Othoni senatum arbitrabantur, custodire sermones, vultum habitumque trahere in deterius; convicis postremo ac probris causam et initium caedis quaerebant, cum alius insuper metus senatoribus instaret, ne praevalidis iam Vitellii partibus cunctanter excepisse victoriam crederentur. Ita trepidus et utrimque anxii coeunt, nemo privatim expedito consilio, inter multos societate culpae tutior. Onerabat paventium curas oras Mutinensis arma et pecuniam offerendo, appellabatque patres conscriptos intempestivo honore.

Notabile iurgium fuit, quo Licinius Caecina Marcellum Eprium ut ambigua disserentem invasit. Nec ceteri sentientiam aperiebant: sed invisum memoria delationum expositumque ad invidiam Marcelli nomen irritaverat Caecinam, ut novus adhuc et in senatum nuper adscitus
magnis inimicitiiis claresceret. Moderatione meliorum
direpti: et rediere omnes Bononiam, rursus consiliaturi;
simul medio temporis plures nuntii sperabantur. Bo-
noniae, divisis per itinera qui recentissimum quemque
percontarentur, interrogatus Othonis libertus causam
digressus habere se suprema eius mandata respondit;
ipsum viventem quidem relictum, sed sola posteritatis
cura et abruptis vitae blandimentis. Hinc admiratio et
plura interrogandi pudor, atque omnium animi in Vitellium
inclinavere.

54 Intererat consiliis frater eius L. Vitellius seque iam
adulantibus offerebat, cum repente Coenus libertus Neronis
atroci mendacio universos perculit, adfirmans superventu
quartae decumae legionis, iunctis a Brixello viribus, caesos
victores, versam partium fortunam. Causa fingendi fuit,
ut diplomata Othonis, quae neglegebantur, laetiore nuntio
revalescerent. Et Coenus quidem raptim in urbem vectus
paucos post dies iussu Vitellii poenas luit: senatorum
periculum auctum credentibus Othonianis militibus vera
esse quae adferebantur. Intendebat formidinem, quod
publici consilii facie discessum Mutina desertaeque partes
forent. Nec ultra in commune congressi sibi quisque
consulvere, donec missae a Fabio Valente epistulae de-
merent metum. Et mors Othonis quo laudabilior, eo
velocius audita.

55 At Romae nihil trepidationis; Ceriales ludi ex more
spectabantur. Ut cessisse Othonem et a Flavio Sabino
praefecto urbis quod erat in urbe militum sacramento
Vitellii adactum certi auctores in theatrum adtulerunt,
Vitellio plaurere; populus cum laurum ac floribus Galbae
imagines circum templo tuliit, congestis in modum tumuli
coronis iuxta lacum Curtii, quem locum Galba morsiens
sanguine infecerat. In senatu cuncta longis aliorum principatibus composita statim decernuntur; additae erga Germanicum exercitum laudes gratesque et missa legatio, quae gaudio fungeretur. Recitatae Fabii Valentinis epistulae ad consules scriptae haud immoderate: gratior Caecinae modestia fuit, quod non scripsisset.

Ceterum Italia gravior atque atrocius quam bello ad-56 flectabatur. Dispersi per municipia et colonias Vitelliani spoliare rapere, vi et stupris polluere: in omne fas nefasque avidi aut venales non sacro, non profano abstinebant. Et fuere qui inimicos suis specie militum interficerent. Ipsique milites regionum gnari refertos agros, dites dominos in praeadam aut, si repugnatum foret, ad exitium destinabant, obnoxii ducibus et prohibere non auis. Minus avaritiae in Caecina, plus ambitionis: Valens ob lucra et quaestus infamis eoque alienae etiam culpae dissimulato. Iam pridem attitis Italae rebus tanta peditum equitumque vis damnique et injuriae aegre tolerabuntur.

Interim Vitellius victoriae suae nescius ut ad integrum57 bellum reliquas Germanici exercitus vires trahebat. Pauci veterum militum in hibernis relictis, festinatis per Gallias dilectibus, ut remanentium legionum nomina supplerentur. Cura ripae Hordeonio Flacco permissa; ipse e Britannico exercitu selecta octo milia sibi adiunxit. Et paucorum dierum iter progressus prosperas apud Bedriacum res ac morte Othonis concidisse bellum accepit: vocata contione virtutem militum laudibus cumulat. Postulante exercitu ut libertum suum Asiaticum equestri dignitate donaret, inhonestam adulationem conescit; dein mobilitate ingenii, quod palam abnuerat, inter secreta convivii largitur, honoravitque Asiaticum anulis, foedum mancipium et malis artibus ambitiosum.
58 Isdem diebus accessisse partibus utramque Mauretaniam, interfecto procuratore Albino, nocte venere, Luceius Albinus a Nerone Mauretaniae Caesariensi praepositus, addita per Galbam Tingitanae provinciae administratione, haud sernendi viribus agebat. Decem novem cohortes, quinque alae, ingens Maurorum numerus aderat, per iatrocinia et raptus apta bello manus. Caeso Galba in Othonem pronus nec Africa contentus Hispaniae angusto freto dirempta inminebat. Inde Cluvio Rufo metus, et decumam legionem propinquare litori ut transiturus iussit; praemissi centuriones, qui Maurorum animos Vitellio conciliarent. Neque arduum fuit, magna per provincias Germanici exercitus fama; spargebatur insuper spreto procuratoris vocabulo Albinum insigne regis et Iubae nomen usurpare.

59 Ita mutatis animis Asinius Pollio alae praeefectus, e fidiissimis Albino, et Festus ac Scipio cohortium praefecti opprimuntur: ipse Albinus dum e Tingitana provincia Caesariensem Mauretaniam petit, in adpulsu litoris trucidatus; uxor eius cum se percussoribus obtulisset, simul interficta est, nihil eorum quae fieren Vitellio anquirente: brevi auditu quamvis magna transibat, inpar curis gravi- oribus.

Exercitum itinere terrestri pergere iubet: ipse Arare flumine devehitur, nullo principali paratu, sed vetere egestate conspicuus, donec Iunius Blaesus Lugudunensis Galliae rector, genere illustri, largus animo et par opibus, circumdaret principi ministeria, comitaretur liberaliter, eo ipso ingratus, quamvis odium Vitellius vernilibus blanditiis velaret. Praesto fuere Luguduni victriculum victarumque partium duces. Valentem et Caecinam pro contione laudatos curuli suae circumposuit. Mox uni-
versum exercitum occurrere infanti filio iubet, perlatumque et paludamento opertum sinu retinens Germanicum appellavit cinxitque cunctis fortunae principalis insignibus. Nimius honos inter secunda rebus adversis in solacium cessit.


Inter magnorum virorum discrimina, pudendum dictu, Mariccus quidam, e plebe Boiorum, inserere sese fortunae et provocare arma Romana simulacione numinum ausus est. Iamque adsertor Galliarum et deus (nam id sibi nomen indiderat) concitis octo milibus hominum proximos Aeduorum pagos trahebat, cum gravissima civitas electa iuventute, adiectis a Vitello cohortibus, fanaticam multitudinem disiecit. Captus in eo proelio Mariccus ac mox feris obiectus quia non laniabatur, stolidum vul-
gus inviolabilem credebat, donec spectante Vitellio inter-
fectus est.

62 Nec ultra in defectores aut bona cuiusquam saevitum:
rata fuere eorum qui acie Othoniana ceciderant testa-
menta, aut lex intestatis: prorsus, si luxuriae temperaret,
avaritiam non timeres. Epularum foeda et inexplebilis
libido: ex urbe atque Italia irritamenta gulae gestabantur,
strepentibus ab utroque mari itineribus; exhausti con-
viviorum apparatibus principes civitatum; vastabantur
ipsae civitates; degenerabat a labore ac virtute miles
adsuetudine voluptatum et contemptu ducis. Praemisit
in urbem edictum, quo vocabulum Augusti differret, Caes-
saris non recipetur, cum de potestate nihil detrahireret.
Pulsi Italia mathematici; cautum severe, ne equites
Romani ludo et harena polluerentur. Priores id principes
pecunia et saepius vi perpulerant, ac pluraque municipia
et coloniae aemulabantur corruptissimum quemque adu-
lescentium pretio inicere.

63 Sed Vitellius adventu fratris et inrepetibus domina-
tionis magistris superbior et atrocior occidi Dolabellam
iussit, quem in coloniam Aquinatem sepositum ab Othone
reptulumus. Dolabella audita morte Othonis urbem
introierat: id ei Plancius Varus praetura functus, ex in-
timis Dolabellae amicis, apud Flavium Sabinum praefec-
tum urbis obiecit, tanquam rupta custodia ducem se vic-
tis partibus ostentasset; addidit temptatum cohortem,
quae Ostiae ageret; nec ullis tantorum criminiu proba-
tionibus in penitentiam versus seram veniam post scelus
quaebat. Cunctantem super tanta re Flavium Sabinum
Triaria L. Vitellii uxor, ultra feminam ferox, terruit ne
periculo principis famam clementiae adeptaret. Sabinus
suopte ingenio mitis, ubi formido incessisset, facilis mutatu
et in alieno discrimine sibi pavens, ne adlevasse videretur, inpulit ruement.

Igitur Vitellius metu et odio, quod Petroniam uxorem eius mox Dolabella in matrimonium accepisset, vocatum per epistulas vitata Flaminiae viae celebritate devertere Interamnam atque ibi interfici iussit. Longum interfectori visum: in itinere ac taberna proiectum humi iugulavit, magna cum invidia novi principatus, cuius hoc primum specimen noscebatur. Et Triariae licentiam modestum e proximo exemplum onerabat, Galeria imperatoris uxor non inmixta tristibus; et pari probitate mater Vitelliorum Sextilia, antiqui moris: dixisse quin etiam ad primas filii sui epistulas ferebatur, non Germanicum a se, sed Vitellium genitum. Nec ullis postea fortunae inlecebris aut ambitu civitatis in gaudium evicta domus suae tantum adversa sensit.

66 Angebat Vitellium victarum legionum haudquaquam fractus animus. Sparsae per Italianam et victoribus permix-tae hostilia loquebantur, praecipua quartadecumanorum ferocia, qui se victos abnuebant: quippe Bedriacensi acie vexillariis tantum pulsis vires legionis non adfuisse. Remitti eos in Britanniam, unde a Nerone exciti erant, placuit atque interim Batavorum cohortes una tendere ob veterem adversus quartadecumanos discordiam. Nec diu in tantis armatorum odiis quies fuit: Augustae Taurinorum, dum opificem quendam Batavus ut fraudatorem insectatur, legionarius ut hospitem tuetur, sui cuique commilitones adregati a conviciis ad caedem transiere. Et proelium atrox arsisset, ni duae praetoriae cohortes causam quartadecumanorum secutae his fiduciam et metum Batavis fecissent: quos Vitellius agmini suo iungi ut fidos, legionem Grais Alpibus traductam eo flexu itiner-eris ire iubet, quo Viennam vitarent; namque et Vien-
nenses timebantur. Nocte, qua proficus ebatur legio, relictis passim ignibus pars Taurinae coloniae ambusta, quod damnum, ut pleraque belli mala, maioribus aliarum urbiur cladibus oblitteratum. Quartadecumani post-
quam Alpibus degressi sunt, seditiosissimus quisque signa Viennam ferebant: consensu meliorum compressi et legio in Britanniam transvecta.

67 Proximus Vitellio e praetorius cohortibus metus erat. Separati primum, deinde addito honestae missionis leni-
mento, arma ad tribunos suos deferebant, donec motum a Vespasiano bellum crebresceret: tum resumpta militia robur Flavianarum partium fuere. Prima classicorum legio in Hispaniam missa, ut pace et otio mitesceret, un-
decuma ac septima suis hibernis redditae, tertiadecumani struere amphitheatra iussi; nam Caecina Cremonae,
Valens Bononiae spectaculum gladiatorum edere parabant, numquam ita ad curas intento Vitellio, ut voluptatum oblivisceretur.


Postero die Vitellius senatus legatione, quam ibi operi iussērat, audita transgressus in castra ultro pietatem militum conludavit, frementibus auxiliis tantum ir-
punitatis atque adrogantiae legionariis accessisse. Babtavorum cohortes, ne quid truculentius auderent, in Germaniam remissae, principium interno simul externoque bello parantibus fatis. Reddita civitatibus Gallorum auxilia, ingens numerus et prima statim defectione intervenia belli adsumptus. Ceterum ut largitionibus affectae iam imperii opes sufficerent, amputari legionum auxiliorumque numeros iubet vetitis supplementis; et promiscae missiones offerebantur. Exitiable id rei publicae, ingratum militi, cui eadem munia inter paucos periculaque ac labor crebrius redibant: et vires luxu corrumpabantur, contra veterem disciplinam et instituta maiorum, apud quos virtute quam pecunia res Romana melius stetit.

70 Inde Vitellius Cremonam flexit et spectato munere Caecinae insistere Bedriacensis campis ac vestigia recentis victoriae lustrare oculis concupivit. Foedum atque atrox spectaculum intra quadragensimum pugnae diem: lacera corpora, trunci artus, putres virorum equorumque formae, infecta tabo humus, protritis arboribus ac frugibus dira vastitas. Nec minus inhumana pars viae, quam Cremonenses laurus rosaque constraverunt, extractis altaribus caesisque victimis regium in morem; quae laeta in praesens mox perniciem ipsis fecere. Aderant Valens et Caecina, monstrabantque pugnae locos: hinc inrupisse legionum agmen, hinc equites coortos, inde circumfusae auxiliorum manus: iam tribuni praefectique sua quisque facta exstollentes falsa vera aut maior vero miscebant. Vulgus quoque militum clamore et gudio deflectere via, spatia certaminum recognoscere, aggerem armqrum, strues corporum intueri mirari; et erant quos varia sors rerum lacrimaeque et misericordia subiret. At non
Vitellius flexit oculos nec tot milia insepultorum civium exhorruit: laetus uto et tam propinquae sortis ignarus instaurabat sacrum dis loci.

Exim Bononiae a Fabio Valente gladiatorum spectaculum editur, advecto ex urbe cultu. Quantoque magis pro-

pinquabat, tanto corruptius iter inmixitis histrionibus et spadonum gregibus et cetero Neronianae aulae ingenio; namque et Neronem ipsum Vitellius admiratione celebrabat, sectari cantantem solitus, non necessitate, qua honestissimus quisque, sed luxu et saginae mancipatus emptusque. Ut Valenti et Caecinae vacuos honoris menses aperiret, coartati aliorum consulatus, dissimulatus Marti Macri tanquam Othonianarum partium ducis; et Valerium Marinum destinatum a Galba consulem distulit, nulla offensa, sed mitem et iniuriam segniter laturum. Pedanius Costa omissitur, ingratus principi ut adversus Neronem ausus et Vergini extimulor, sed alias protulit causas; actaeque insuper Vitellio gratiae consuetudine servitii.

Non ultra paucos dies quamquam acribus initiis coeptum mendacium valuit. Extiterat quidam Scribonianum se Camerinum feren, Neronianorum temporum metu in Histria occultatum, quod illic clientelae et agri veterum Crassorun ac nominis favor manebat. Igitur deterrimo quoque in argumentum fabulae adsumpto vulgus credulum et quidam militum, errore veri seu turbarum studio, certatim adgregabantur, cum pertractus ad Vitellium interrogatusque, quisnam mortalium esset. Postquam nulla dictis fides et a domino noscebatur condicione fugitivus, nomine Geta, sumptum de eo supplicium in servilem modum.

Vix credibile memoratu est, quantum superbiae socor-
diaeque Vitellio adoleverit, postquam speculatores e Syria
Iudaeaeque adactum in verba eius Orientem nuntiaveri. 
Nam etsi vagis adhuc et incertis auctoribus, erat tamen in
ore famaque Vespasianus ac plerumque ad nomen eius
Vitellius excitabatur: tum ipse exercitusque, ut nullo
aemulo, saevitia libidine raptu in externos mores pro-
ruperant.

74 At Vespasianus bellum armaque et procul vel iuxta sitas
vires circumspectabat. Miles ipsi adeo paratus, ut pra-
euntem sacramentum et fausta Vitellio omnia precantem
per silentium audierint; Muciani animus nec Vespasianus
alienus et in Titum pronior; praefectus Aegypti Ti.
Alexander consilia sociaverat; tertiam legionem, quod e
Syria in Moesiam transisset, suam numerabat; ceterae
Illyrici legiones secuturae sperabantur; namque omnis
exercitus flammarerat adrogantia venientium a Vitellio
militum, quod truces corpore, horridi sermone ceteros ut
inpaes inridebant. Sed in tanta mole belli plerumque
cunctatio; et Vespasianus modo in spem erectus, ali-
quando adversa reputabat: quis ille dies foret, quo
sexaginta aetatis annos et duos filios iuvenes bello per-
mitteret? Esse privatis cogitationibus progressum, et
prout velint, plus minusve sumi ex fortuna: imperium
cupientibus nihil medium inter summa aut praecipitia.

75 Versabatur ante oculos Germanici exercitus robur,
notum viro militari: suas legiones civili bello inexpertas,
Vitellii victrices, et apud victos plus querimoniarum quam
virium. Fluxam per discordias militum fidem et pericu-
lum ex singulis: quid enim profuturas cohortes alasque, si
unus alterve praesenti facinore paratum ex diverso prae-
mium petat? Sic Scribonianum sub Claudio interfectum,
sic percussorem eius Volaginium e gregario ad summa
militiae provectum: facilius universos inpelli quam singularis vitari.

His pavoribus nutantem et alii legati amicique firma-76 bant et Mucianus, post multos secretosque sermones iam et coram ita locutus: 'Omnes, qui magnarum rerum consilia suscipiunt, aestimare debent, an quod incohatur rei publicae utile, ipsis gloriosum, an promptum effectu aut certe non arduum sit; simul ipse qui suadet considerandus est, adiciatne consilio periculum suum, et si fortuna coeptis adfuerit, cui summum decus adquiratur. Ego te, Vespasiane, ad imperium voco, quam salutare rei publicae, quam tibi magnificum, iuxta deos in tua manu positum est. Nec speciem adulantis expaveris: a contumelia quam a laude propius fuerit post Vitellium eligi. Non adversus divi Augusti acerrimam mentem nec adversus cautissimam Tiberii senectutem, ne contra Gai quidem aut Claudii vel Neronis fundatam longo imperio domum exsurgeas; cessisti etiam Galbae imaginibus: torpere ultra et polluendam perdendamque rem publicam relinquere sopor et ignavia videretur, etiam si tibi quam inhonesta, tam tuta servitus esset. Abiit iam et transvectum est tempus, quo posses videri concupisse: confugiendum est ad imperium. An excidit trucidatus Corbulo? splendidior origine quam nos sumus, fateor, sed et Nero nobilitate natalium Vitellium antebat. Satis clarus est apud timentem quisquis timetur. Et posse ab exercitu principem fieri sibi ipse Vitellius documento, nullis stipendiis, nulla militari fama, Galbae odio provectus. Ne Othonem quidem ducis arte aut exercitus vi, sed praepropera ipsius desperatione victum, iam desiderabilem et magnum principem fecit, cum interim spargit legiones, exarmat cohortes, nova cotidie bello semina ministrat. Si quid ardoris ac
ferociae miles habuit, popinis et comissationibus et prin-
cipis imitatione deterior: tibi e Iudaea et Syria et Ae-
gypto novem legiones integrae, nulla acie exhaustae, non
discordia corruptae, sed firmatus usu miles et belli domitor
externi; classium alarum cohortium robora et fidissimi
reges et tua ante omnis experientia.'

77 'Nobis nihil ultra adrogabo, quam ne post Valentem
et Caecinam numeremur: ne tamen Mucianum socium
spreveris, quia aemulum non experiris. Me Vitellio ante-
pono, te mihi. Tuae domui triumphale nomen, duo
iunvenes, capax iam imperii alter et primis militiae annis
apud Germanicos quoque exercitus clarus. Absurdum
fuerit non cedere imperio ei, cuius filium adoptaturus
essem, si ipse imperarem. Ceterum inter nos non idem
prosperarum adversarumque rerum ordo erit: nam si
vincimus, honorem, quem dederis, habebo: discrimen ac
pericula ex aequo patiemur. Immo, ut melius est, tu
tuos exercitus rege, mihi bellum et proeliorum incerta
trade. Acriore hodie disciplina victi quam victores agunt.
Hos ira odium ultionis cupiditas ad virtutem accendit:
illi per fastidium et contumacia hebescunt. Aperiet et
recludet connecta et tumescentia victricium partium vul-
nera bellum ipsum; nec mihi maior in tua vigilantia par-
simonia sapientia fiducia est quam in Vitellii torpore in-
scitia saevitia. Sed meliorem in bello causam quam in
pace habemus; nam qui deliberant, desciverunt.'

78 Post Muciani orationem ceteri audentius circumsistere
hortari, responsa vatum et siderum motus referre. Nec
erat intactus tali superstitione, ut qui mox rerum dominus
Seleucum quendam mathematicum rectorem et praescium
palam habuerit. Recursabant animo vetera omena:
cupressus arbor in agris eius conspicua altitudine repente
prociderat ac postera die eodem vestigio resurgens procera et laetior virebat. Grande id prosperumque consensu haruspicum et summa claritudo iuveni admodum Vespasiano promissa, sed primo triumphalia et consulatus et Iudaicae victoriae decus inplese fidem ominis videbantur: ut haec adeptus est, portendi sibi imperium credebat. Est Iudaeam inter Syriamque Carmelus: ita vocant montem deumque. Nec simulacrum deo aut templum (sic tradidere maiores); ara tantum et reverentia. Illic sacrificanti Vespasiano, cum spes occultas versaret animo, Basilides sacerdos inspectis identidem extis 'Quidquid est' inquit, 'Vespasiane, quod paras, seu domum extruere seu prolatare agros sive ampliare servitia, datur tibi magna sedes, ingentes termini, multum hominum.' Haec ambages et statim exeperat fama et tunc aperiabat; nec quicquam magis in ore vulgi. Crebriores apud ipsum sermones, quanto sperantibus plura dicuntur. Haud dubia destinatione discersere Mucianus Antiochiam, Vespasianus Caesarem: illa Syriae, hoc Iudaeae caput est.

Initium ferendi ad Vespasianum imperii Alexandriæ coeptum, festinante Tiberio Alexandro, qui kalendis Iuliiis sacramento eius legiones adegit. Isque primus principatus dies in posterum celebratus, quamvis Iudaicus exercitus quinto nonas Iulias apud ipsum iurasset eo ardore ut ne Titus quidem filius expectaretur, Syria remeans et consiliorum inter Mucianum ac patrem nuntius. Cuncta impetu militum acta non parata contione, non coniunctis legionibus.

Dum quaeritur tempus locus quoque in re tali difficilim est, prima vox, dum animo spes timor, ratio casus obversantur, egressum cubiculo Vespasianum pauci milites, solito adsistentes ordine ut legatum salutaturi, impera-

Illuc Mucianus cum legatis tribunisque et splendidissimo quoque centurionum ac militum venit, et e Iudaico exercitu lecta decora: tantum simul peditum equitumque et aemulantium inter se regum paratus speciem fortunae principalis effecerat.

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

Mucianus cum expedita manu, socium magis imperii quam ministrum agens, non lento itinere, ne cunctari videretur, neque tamen properans, gliscere famam ipso spatio sinebat, gnarus modicas vires sibi et maiora credi de absentibus; sed legio sexta et tredecim vexillariorum
milia ingenti agmine sequabantur. Classem e Ponto Byzantium adigi iusserat, ambiguus consiliis, num omissa Moesia Dyrrachium pedite atque equite, simul longis navibus versum in Italian mare clauderet, tuta pone tergum Achaia Asiaque, quas inermes exponi Vitellio, ni praesidiis firmarentur; atque ipsum Vitellium in incerto fore, quam partem Italiae protegeret, si Brundisium Tarentumque et Calabriae Lucaniaeque litora infestis classibus peterentur.

84 Igitur navium militum armorum paratu strepere provinciae, sed nihil acque fatigabet quam pecuniarum conqueditio: eos esse belli civilis nervos dictitans Mucianus non ius aut verum in cognitionibus, sed solam magnitudinem opum spectabat. Passim delationes, et locupletissimus quisque in praedam correpti. Quae gravia atque intoleranda, sed necessitate armorum excusa ati etiam in pace mansere, ipso Vespasiano inter initia imperii ad optimendas iniquitates haud perinde obstinante, donec indulgentia fortunae et pravis magistris didicit aususque est. Propriis quoque opibus Mucianus bellum iuvit, largus privatim, quo avidius de re publica sumeret. Ceteri conferendarum pecuniarum exemplum seuti, rarissimius quisque eandem in recuperando licentiam habuerunt.

85 Adcelerata interim Vespasiani coepta Illyrici exercitus studio transgressi in partes. Tertia legio exemplum ceteris Moesiae legionibus praebuit: octava erat ac septima Claudiana, inbutae favore Othonis, quamvis proelio non interfuissent. Aquileiam progressae, proturbatis qui de Othone nuntiabant laceratisque vexillis nomen Vitellii praefrentibus, rapta postremo pecunia et inter se divisa, hostiliter egerant. Unde metus et ex metu consilium, posse inputari Vespasiano quae apud Vitellium excusanda
erant. Ita tres Moesicae legiones per epistulas adlicie-bant Pannonicum exercitum aut abnuenti vim parabant. In eo motu Aponius Saturninus Moesiae rector pessimum facinus audet, misso centurione ad interficiendum Tettium Iulianum septimae legionis legatum ob simulatae, quibus causam partium praetendebat. Iulianus comperto dis-crimine et gnavis locorum adscitis per avia Moesiae ultra montem Haemum profugit; nec deinde civili bello inter-fuit, per varias moras susceptor ad Vespasianum iter trahens et ex nuntiis cunctabundus aut properans.

At in Pannonia tertia decuma legio ac septima Galbiana, dolorem iramque Bedriacensis pugnae retinentes, haud cunctanter Vespasiano accessere, vi praecipua Primi Antonii. Is legibus nocens et tempore Neronis falsi dam-natus inter alia belli mala senatorium ordinem recipera-verat. Praepositus a Galba septumae legioni scriptitasse Othoni credebatur, ducem se partibus offerens; a quo neglectus in nullo Othoniani belli usu fuit. Labantibus Vitellii rebus Vespasianum secutus grande momentum addidit, strenuus manu, sermone promptus, serendae in alios invidiae artifex, discordii et seditionibus potens, raptor largitor, pace pessimus, bello non spernendus. Iuncti inde Moesici ac Pannonici exercitus Delmaticum militem traxere, quanquam consularibus legatis nihil turbantibus. Tampius Flavianus Pannoniam, Pompeius Silvanus Delmatiam tenebant, divites senes; sed procurator aderat Cornelius Fuscus, vigens aetate, claris natalibus. Prima iuventa quaestus cupidine senatorium ordinem exuerat; idem pro Galba dux coloniae suae, eaque opera procurationem adeptus, susceptis Vespasiani partibus acerrimam bello facem praetulit: non tam praemiis periculorum quam ipsis periculis laetus pro certis et olim par-
tis nova ambigua ancipitia malebat. Igitur movere et quatere, quidquid usquam aegrum foret, adgreidiuntur. Scriptae in Britanniam ad quartadecumanos, in Hispaniam ad primanos epistulae, quod utraque legio pro Othone, adversa Vitellio fuerat; sparguntur per Gallias litterae; momento te temporis flagrabit ingens bellum, Illyricis exercitibus palam descenditibus, ceteris fortunam secuturis.

87 Dum haec per provincias a Vespasiano ducibusque partium geruntur, Vitellius contemptior in dies segniorque, ad omnis municipiorum villarumque amoenitates resistent, gravi urbem agmine petebat. Sexaginta milia armatorum sequabantur, licentia corrupta; calonum numerus amplior, procacissimis etiam inter servos lixarum ingeniiis; tot legatorum amicorumque comitatus inhabilis ad parendum, etiam si summa modestia regetur. Onerabant multitudinem obvii ex urbe senatores equitesque, quidam metu, multi per adulationem, ceteri ac paulatim omnes, ne aliiis profiscientibus ipsi remanerent. Adgregabantur et plebe flagitiosa per obsequia Vitello cogniti, securae histriones aurigae, quibus ille amicitiarum dehonestamentis mire gaudebat. Nec coloniae modo aut municipia congestu copiarum, sed ipsi cultores arvaeque maturis iam frugibus ut hostile solum vastabantur.

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

Ipse Vitellius a ponte Mulvio insigni equo, paludatus accinctusque, senatum et populum ante se agens, quo minus ut captam urbem ingrederetur, amicorum consilio deterritis, sumpta praetexta et composito agmine incessit. Quattuor legionum aquilæ per frontem totidemque circa e legionibus aliis vexilla, mox duodecim alarum signa et post peditum ordines eques, dein quattuor et triginta cohortes, ut nomina gentium aut species armorum forent, discretae. Ante aquilas praefecti castrorum tribunique et primi centurionum candida veste, ceteri iuxta suam quisque centuriam, armis donisque fulgentes; et militum phalerae torquesque splendebant: decora facies et non Vitellio princepe dignus exercitus. Sic Capitolium ingressus atque ibi matrem complexus Augustæ nomine honoravit.

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

91 Apud civitatem cuncta interpretantem funesti ominis loco acceptum est, quod maximum pontificatum adeptus Vitellius de caerimoniiis publicis XV kalendas Augustas edixisset, antiquitus inausto die Cremerensi Alliensique cladibus: adeo omnis humani divinique iuris expers, pari libertorum amicorum socordia, velut inter temulentos agebat. Sed comitia consulum cum candidatis civiliter celebrans omnem infimae plebis rumorem in theatro ut spectator, in circo ut fator affectavit: quae grata sane et popularia, si a virtutibus proficiscerentur, memoria vitae prioris indecora et vilia accipiebantur. Ventitabat in senatum, etiam cum parvis de rebus patres consulerentur. Ac forte Priscus Helvidius praetor designatus contra studium eius censuerat. Commotus primo Vitellius, non tamen ultra quam tribunos plebis in auxilium spretae potestatis advocavit; mox mitigantibus amicis, qui altiorem iracundiam eius verebantur, nihil novi accidisse respondit, quod duo senatores in re publica dissentirent; solitum se etiam Thraseae contra dicere. Inrisere plerique inpudentiam aemulationis; aliis id ipsum placet, quod neminem ex praepotentibus, sed Thraseam ad exemplar verae gloriae legisset.

92 Praeposuerat praetorianis Publilium Sabinum a praefectura cohortis, Iulium Priscum tum centurionem: Priscus Valentis, Sabinus Caecinale gratia pollebant; inter discordes Vitellio nihil auctoritatis. Munia imperii Caecina ac Valens obibant, olim anxii odiis, quae bello et castris male dissimulata pravitas amicorum et fecunda

Ceterum non ita ducibus indulsit Vitellius, ut non plus militi liceret. Sibi quisque militiae sumpsere: quamvis indignus, si ita maluerat, urbanae militiae adscriebatur; rursus bonis remanere inter legionarios aut alares volentibus permissum. Nec deerant qui vellent, fessi morbis et intemperiem caeli incusantes; robora tamen legionibus alisque subtracta, convulsum castrorum decus, viginti milibus e toto exercitu permixtis magis quam electis.

Contionante Vitellio postulantur ad supplicium Asiaticus et Flavus et Rufinus duces Galliarum, quod pro Vindice bellassent. Nec coercerat eius modi voces Vitellius: super insitam animo ignaviam conscius sibi instare donativum et deesse pecuniam omnia alia militi largiebatur. Liberti principum conferre pro numero mancipiorum ut tributum iussi: ipse sola perdendi cura stabula aurigis extruere, circum gladiatorum ferarumque spectaculis opplere, tanquam in summa abundantia pecuniae inludere.

civitas, eodem anno Othonem Vitellium passa, inter Vinios Fabios, Icelos Asiaticos varia et pudenda sorte agebat, donec successere Mucianus et Marcellus et magis alii homines quam alii mores.

Prima Vitello tertiae legionis defectio nuntiatur, missis ab Aponio Saturnino epistulis, ante quam is quoque Vespasiani partibus adgregaretur; sed neque Aponius cuncta, ut trepidans re subita, perscripserat, et amici adulantess mollius interpretabantur: unius legionis eam seditionem, ceteris exercitus constare fidem. In hunc modum etiam Vitellius apud milites disseruit, praetorianos nuper exactus toratos insectatus, a quibus falsos rumores dispersi, nec ullum civilis belli metum adseverabat, suppresso Vespasiani nomine et vagis per urbem militibus, qui sermones populi coèrcerent. Id praecipuum alimentum famae erat.

palam epistulis edictisque Vitellium, occultis nuntiis Vespasianum fovens et haec illave defensurus, prout in-
valuissent.

Deprehensi cum litteris edictisque Vespasiani per Rae-
tiam et Gallias militum et centurionum quidam ad Vitel-
lium missi necantur; plures febellere, fide amicorum aut
suomet astu occultati. Ita Vitellii paratus noscebantur,
Vespasiani consiliorum pleraque ignota, primum socordia
Vitellii, dein Pannonicae Alpes praesidiis insessae nuntios
retinebant. Mare quoque etesiarum flatu in Orientem
navigantibus secundum, inde adversum erat.

99 Tandem inruptione hostium atrocibus undique nuntiis
exterritus Caecinam ac Valentem expedire ad bellum
iubet. Praemissus Caecina, Valentem e gravi corporis
morbo tum primum adsurgentem infirmatas tardabat.
Longe alia proficiscentis ex urbe Germanici exercitus
species: non vigor corporibus, non ardor animis; lentum
et rarum agmen, fluxa arma, segnes equi; inpatiens solis
pulveris tempestatum, quantumque hebes ad sustinen-
dum laborem miles, tanto ad discordias promptior. Ac-
cedebat hic Caecinae ambitio vetus, torpor recens, nimia
fortunae indulgentia soluti in luxum, seu perfidiam medi-
tanti infringere exercitus virtutem inter artes erat.
Credidere plerique Flavii Sabini consiliis concussam
Caecinae mentem, ministro sermonum Rubrio Gallo: rata
apud Vespasianum fore pacta transitionis. Simul odiorum
invidiaeque erga Fabium Valentem admonebatur, ut inpar
apud Vitellium gratiam viresque apud novum principem
pararet.

100 Caecina e complexu Vitellii multo cum honore digressus
partem equitum ad occupandam Cremonam praemisit.
Mox vexilla primae quartae quintaedecumae sextae-
decumae legionum, dein quinta et duo et vicissima secutae; postremo agmine una et vicissima Rapax et prima Italica incessere cum vexillariis trium Britannicarum legionum et electis auxiliis. Profecto Caecina scripsit Fabius Valens exercitui, quem ipse ductaverat, ut in itinere opperiretur: sic sibi cum Caecina convenisse. Qui praesens eoque validior mutatum id consilium finxit, ut ingruenti bello tota mole occurreretur. Ita adcelerare legiones Cremonam, pars Hostiliam petere iussae: ipse Ravennam debitae praetexto classem adloquendi; mox Patavi secretum componenda pridem quisque ad causas, iniquam iracundiam flagitiosa perfida ulciscetur. Nec sciri potest traxeritne Caecinam, an, quod evenit inter malos, eadem illos pravitas inpulerit. Scriptores temporum, qui potiente rerum Flavia domo monimenta bellarum quamvis compulerent, curam pacis et amorem rei publicae, corruptas in adulationem causas, tradidere: nobis super insitam levitatem et prodito Galba vilem mox fidem aemulatione etiam invidiaque, ne ab aliis apud Vitellium anteirentur, pervertisse ipsi Vitellium videntur. Caecina legiones adsecutus centurionum militumque animos obstinatos pro Vitellio variis artibus subrubbat: Basso eadem molienti minor difficultas erat, lubrica ad mutandam fidem classe ob memoriam recentis pro Othoni militiae.
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1–3. Preface: defects of previous historians,—Tacitus will be impartial, 1; sketch of the period to be covered, 2–3.

1. initium: a history of the Flavian dynasty (69–96 A.D.) of necessity included the circumstances which brought Vespasian to the throne. January, 69, was an eventful month both in Rome and on the Rhine,—Galba assassinated, and succeeded by Otho, shortly after Vitellius had been proclaimed emperor in Germany; Intr. 4.—iterum: he had been consul in 33, under Tiberius, who then predicted that he would be emperor; Ann. 6, 20.—viginti: in a less rhetorical context the exact number might have been given, viz. 821 (753 + 68); cf. 4, 58, 74 (820 and 800).—auctores: in the silver Latin and modern sense = scriptores.—res populi Romani: republican period contrasted with imperial; cf. Ann. 1, 1 veteris populi Romani prospera vel adversa.—eloquentia ac libertate: emphasized by the word-order, as qualities which presently disappeared (postquam, etc.); join with rettulerunt.—bellatum: Intr. 24.—apud Actium: he does not mean that the magnus ingenium came abruptly to an end in 31 B.C., which would exclude Livy. In Ann. 1, 1 also the decline of honest history begins with Augustus.—potentiam: not potestatem, which would be legitimate authority; cf. 2 fin., 13 init.; 2, 65, 92.—pluribus: without comparative force = compluribus, a rare word in Tac.; cf. 2, 4.—insciitia: lacks the sense of blame attached to this word in Cicero; cf. 2, 77 fin. with 88 fin.—mox = postea, as very freq. in Tac.—libidine: cf. 90 ex libidine servitii; 12 libidine talia loquendi.—inter infensos: the inter-phrase summarizes a situation with the greatest brevity; cf. 34 fin.; 50; 2, 92, 95; Agr. 32 inter male parentes et iniuste imperantes.—ambitionem: partiality, motivated by the desire to advance one’s self.—averseris: indef. 2d sing.; cf. quae velis, below; cf. 16 si velis; 83 ni . . . adhibeas.—obrectatio, etc.: cf. 34 facilius de odio creditur.—dignitatem:
Intr. 2. — abnuerim: more polite than the blunt indic.; cf. Dial. 26 equidem non negaverim; ib. 32 paene dixerim; Hist. 1, 83 fin. crediderim (2, 50), 2, 37 concesserim. — incorruptam = incorruptible, as in Horace’s incorrupta Fides, C. 1, 24, 7; cf. Ann. 1, 1 sine ira et studio, quorum causas procul habeo. — amore: Intr. 13. — dicendus: the affirmative quisque, or unus quisque, is to be supplied from neque . . . quisquam; cf. 2, 52 fin.; Hor. Sat. 1, 1, 1–3. For dicere = commemorare cf. 2, 8; Ann. 1, 1. — securiorem: i.e. less thorny; the danger is not from the emperor, but from the friends of those whom he must mention; cf. Hor. C. 2, 1, 6–8. — seposui: Intr. 4 fin.

2. opus adgredior: chaps. 2 and 3 give an intensely vivid impressionistic picture of the period to be covered by the Histories, — its sombre side in 2, its brighter lights in 3. On the style of the passage, cf. Intr. 22. — discors: the time is personified, and its epithets then transferred to opus. — pace: under the tyranny of Domitian. — quattuor: Galba, slain in the Forum, Jan., 69 (cf. 41); Otho, by his own hand, Apr., 69 (2, 49); Vitellius, by the mob, Dec., 69; (3, 85) Domitian, assassinated Sept., 96. — trina: i.e. three times over, three distinct; not a mere substitution of distrib. for cardinal. — civilia: Otho against Vitellius, Vitellius against Vespasian (both 69), Domitian against his governor of Upper Germany, L. Antonius Saturninus (winter of 88–89). — permixta: civil war and foreign campaign at the same time, esp. the Jewish War (cf. prosperae in Oriente res), and that between Vespasian and Vitellius. The war with Civilis also (70) was at once foreign and domestic; cf. 2, 69 interno simul externoque bello. — turbatum: by the revolt of the legions to Vespasian. — Illyricum: the provinces of Pannonia, Dalmatia, and Moesia; cf. 9, 76; 2, 32. — nutantes: an incident of the Batavian revolt under Civilis was the establishment of an ephemeral imperium Galliarum; 4, 59. — perdomita: by Agricola, the father-in-law of Tac., in 78–84; but his northern conquests were promptly given up (missa = omissa; cf. Intr. 17) by Domitian; Agr. 18–38. — Sarmatarum, etc.: the bellum Suebicum et Sarmaticum of 92, from which Domitian returned, Jan., 93. A less important affair with a Sarmatian tribe, below, 79. — falsi Neronis: this pretender appeared twenty years after the death of Nero; Suet. Nero 57. For another
“Nero” cf. 2, 8 f. — hausta: he probably refers both to the earthquake of 63 and the eruption of Vesuvius in 79. — incendiis: besides the burning of the Capitol, 69, there was a great fire in 80, under Titus. — consumptis: cf. Intr. 7, 12. — Capitolio . . . incenso: during the riots of Vitellius’ last days (3, 71); rebuilt by Vespasian (4, 53). — caerimoniae: i.e. Vestals proved false to their vows. — magna = in high life. — exiliis: for exulibus; Intr. 15; the gen. would be the regular const. with plenus. — scopuli: rocky islets off the west coast of Italy or in the Aegean, much used for political prisoners. — omissi: Intr. 11; the refusal of an office could be distorted into an evidence of disaffection. — procurationes: the procurators were fiscal agents of the emperor in the provinces, and governors of some of the smallest provinces, e.g. Judæa, the Maritime Alps, Noricum, Mauretania; cf. 7, 11 f., 58, 70; 2, 12, 58. — agerent verterent: Tacitus varies the common phrase ferre agere by changing the order and substituting vertere (= evertere) for ferre, thus completing the idea of ruin. — odio = by arousing hatred. — per amicos: cf. 2, 63 for an instance.

3. sterile: with gen. on the analogy of its opposite fertilis. — coniuges: e.g. Fannia, the friend of Pliny (Ep. 7, 19, 4), daughter of one famous irreconcilable (Thrasea Paetus) and wife of another (Helvidius Priscus). — supremae . . . necessitates: i.e. the situation of men who have been sentenced to death, or have received notice to commit suicide (as in 72). — antiquorum: e.g. Socrates, Demosthenes, Cato the Younger. — caelo terraque: like terra marique; Sall. Jug. 17, 5. — laeta tristia: a special use of these words in augury, etc.; cf. 27 init.; for the double asyndeton cf. 10 luxuria, etc.; 2, 80 spes timor ratio casus. — iustis = complete, satisfactory. — securitatem = peace of mind.

4–11. Introduction: general sketch of conditions in the city since the death of Nero, 4–7; in the provinces and armies, 8–11.

4. repetendum: repetere = recall, is very freq.; cf. 50; 2, 27; very rarely to repeat (of words). — habitus = attitude, condition; cf. 8 and 28 habitus animorum. — fortuiti, etc.: the element of chance, prominent in single occurrences (casus eventusque), becomes less conspicuous when attention is called to interrelations and causes (ratio causaque). — ut . . . ita = though . . . yet, as very freq.; e.g. 6 fin., 7, 52; 2, 37, 50. — laetus: active sense, as
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71 fin. — gaudentium: i.e. of joy; but Tac. prefers the more dramatic effect of the ptep. used as a subst. Cf. Intr. 15. — urbanum militem: the whole garrison, not merely the praetorians. — legiones: still under the influence of apud (usually repeated); cf. 46 bella civilia. — imperii = of the succession; cf. 64 (accession); 14; 76 fin. — posse: with arcano. — ut erga principem: a freq. use of ut in a comparison suggested, but not fully expressed; one may supply fieri solet, but the ellipse was probably unconscious; cf. 34 med., 55 fin., 90 fin.; 2, 34, 73; Agr. 11 ut inter barbaros; cf. tanquam, 8 init. — absentem: some three months probably elapsed before Galba arrived from Spain. — primores = illustres; i.e. such knights as had the senatorial census, and were potentially senators. — integra: contrasted with sordida, below. — circo . . . sueta: cf. 2, 32 Italicæ sueta. — per: circumstance, not means — to the shame of Nero.

5. longo = diuturno = immemorial; cf. 21 longo exilio; 89 longo bello; 2, 76 longo imperio. — arte: the pretense that Nero was deserting them, and the false promise of money (sub nomine Galbae). — undem: sc. esse. — praeeventam: i.e. præoccupatam; cf. 53 praeventus. — legionibus: Galba was the first emperor created by the legions, viz. VI VICTRIX, X GEMINA, and the new VII Galbiana, — all Spanish. — Nymphidius: a creature of Nero, claiming to be a son of Caligula; as prefect since 65 he forced his colleague Tigellinus to retire; cf. 72. — oppressus: on coming to the camp to be hailed imperator he was slain by the praetorians. — quamvis: with ablato, silver Latin with ptep.; cf. 18. — plerisque = many; not in the Ciceronian sense of most; cf. 13 fin., 27 fin. For the superl. Tac. uses plurimi. — senium: he was 73 according to 49 below, and Plut. Galba 8 (72, Suet. 23). — severitas = strictness. — verebantur = reverebantur; Intr. 17. — aniceps-critical. — legi: cf. Suet. 16 legere se mitem, non emere consuesse. — formam: we should say up to this standard, after this stamp. Cf. 18 fin.

6. Vinius: for his life and character, cf. 48. — Laco: made praefectus praetorio by Galba; cf. 13 f., 19, 39, 46 fin. — flagitiorum: takes up deterrimus, as inertiae repeats the thought of ignaviissimus. Vinius' vices were a heavy load for Galba to carry; with Laco's inertia added (cf. 24 fin.), they completed his ruin. — iter:
he probably left Spain about the beginning of July, spending some two months on the way. — Cingonius: he was said to have written a speech for Nymphidius to deliver to the praetorians (Plut. Galba 14). — P. Petronius Turpilianus: cos. 61; gov. of Britain 61–64; commanded Nero’s army against Galba; brother-in-law of Vitellius. — inauditi atque indefensi: cf. 2, 10 indefensum et inauditum; Dial. 16. — introitus: near the Milvian Bridge (cf. 87) Galba was met by a body of marines clamoring that he enroll them also among the legions, as Nero had formed the 1st Classica (v. below). Galba, offended at the breach of discipline, ordered them to be cut down; decimation and imprisonment followed; cf. 37, 87; 2, 11 fin. — Hispana: i.e. VII Galbiana (later Gemina), recruited in Spain by Galba; soon sent to Pannonia; cf. 2, 86; 3, 7, 10. — e classe: v. on introitus above; under Galba it became I Adiutrix; cf. 31 legio classica; on 82 praefecto legionis; 2, 11, 43, 67. — numeri = detachments; cf. 87 in numeros legionis; Agr. 18; comprehensive term for any of the subdivisions of the legion, cohort, or ala, including also vexilla (cf. on 31 s. v.). — Caspiarum: sc. portarum. The Albani occupied the eastern end of the Caucasus, down to the Caspian. The pass (more correctly called portae Caucasiae, according to Pliny) led northward to the Sarmatian Alani, here confused with the Albani. — opprimendis: this purpose constr., very limited in class. Latin, becomes common in Tacitus’ latest work; cf. 41. — C. Iulius Vindex: a Gaul, of a royal Aquitanian family. His father became a Roman senator, and he was himself governor of Gallia Lugudunensis (or perhaps Belgica). In March, 68, he headed a rebellion against Nero, calling upon Galba to assume the leadership. Verginius Rufus, governor of Upper Germany, led the Rhine legions against the Gallic insurgents, and while the generals were negotiating at Vesontio (Besançon) the legionaries routed the militia of Vindex, who thereupon took his own life (May, 68). — ut . . . ita: cf. on 4 ut . . . ita. — unum aliquem: cf. 82 neminem unum. — prono favore: abl. qual. balanced by parata; Intr. 13.

7. congruerat: a single ut-clause is made to include both terms of the coincidence. — L. Clodius Macer: legatus of the IIIId legion Augusta in Numidia. Apparently the proconsul of Africa was forced to flee, and Macer, usurping his powers, at first claimed
to act in the name of the senate, and minted coins under the republican title of propraetor Africae, cf. 73. — Fonteius Capito: cos. ord. 67, then governor of Lower Germany; cf. 8, 52, 58; 3, 62. — procurator: cf. on 2 procurationes; the procurator was the natural enemy of the governor; cf. 12. — Valens: becomes very prominent in the story of Vitellius’ rise to power; cf. on 52. — legati: in the time of Julius Caesar the change took place from the six tribunes to the single legatus in command. — ut . . . maculosum: sc. fuisse; although the clause is logically subordinate (cf. 4 ut . . . ita), symmetry prevails, — a usage of Livy and Tacitus; cf. 17. — foedum ac maculosum: cf. the same, 2, 30; 1, 72 foeda pueritia. — nequiverint: for the pluperf.; cf. 34 vulgaverint; 2, 41 coeptaverint. — dolum = insidias; cf. 58. — ultro: accompanies an act of aggression, or one which is unexpected, showing firmness, enterprise, or insolence; cf. 32, 62, 71, 74, 82 fin.; 2, 35, 42, 60, 65, 70 fin.; sometimes where one falls into his own trap, e.g. 2, 25 — an = sive; a rare use in Cicero and Livy, but frequent in Tacitus; cf. 28. — servorum: contemptuous for libertorum; cf. 2, 92 fin. servilia ingenia. — subitis: circumstantial abl., neuter, in place of rebus subitis; cf. 10, 69; 3, 64. — aetas: cf. on 5 senium. — forma: so Pliny the Younger speaks of the populace as praising Nero because he was formosus (Pan. 2).

8. Et . . . quidem: frequent in résumés; cf. 5, 16 fin., 63. — tantquam . . . multitudine: since the sentence is an epitome of 4–7, the point turns on the great diversity of sentiment, — a matter of course in a city of such size. Cf. on 4 ut erga principem. Plut. Galba 26, has the equivalent, ὅλα ὃ ἐν πλῆθε ρεσοβρῇ. — Hispaniae: sc. Tarraconensis; until recently the province of Galba. It had two legions, VI Victrix and X Gemina; cf. 2, 58. — Cluvius Rufus: the lost historian, probably one of Tacitus’ chief sources for this period. He was cos. under Caligula; in 67 he acted as herald for Nero on his concert-tour of Greece. Under Vitellius he governed his Spanish province still, but in absentia. Cf. 2, 58, 65; 1, 76. — pacis artibus: abl. qual. with a gen. in place of adj. He was orator as well as historian (4, 43). — bellis: for the abl., cf. 2, 75 bello inexpertas. — inexpertas: passively, untried; cf. 2, 4 fin. — super = praeter, as often in Livy; cf. 51 super avaritiam et adrogantiam; 2, 8 super similitudinem oris; 44
super cladem; 94 super . . . ignaviam; Agr. 17 super virtutem hostium. — Vindicis: cf. on 6 fin. for his relations with Galba, who profited by the support of those who had been attached to Vindex. — recenti: Galba conferred full citizenship upon all members of those Gallic communities which had supported Vindex and himself. A limited number of primores had been so honored 20 years before by Claudius, but for which act Vindex would not have been a Roman senator. — in posterum: cf. 44 fin., 87. — levamento: the amount is given in 51. — civitates: cf. 53 fin.; they had taken sides with Verginius against Vindex. Trèves (Trier) and Lyons were among the sufferers. — finibus: cf. 53 damno finium. — quod: sc. est; the danger arose from the fact that they were both solliciti (metu) and irati (superbia). They had not been sufficiently rewarded for their service against Vindex. — tanquam . . . fovissent = on the ground that, — a real reason from their point of view; often in the belief that; a frequent use in Tacitus; cf. 18 fin., 20 fin., 48, 52, 58, 80; 2, 47, 63, 65, 93; velut 2, 8; so even quasi in the Annals. — L. Verginius Rufus: cos. 63, 69, and 97; governor of Upper Germany in 68, when the uprising under Vindex took place (cf. on 6 fin.). Although a novus homo (cf. 52 fin.), he enjoyed later the credit of having three times refused the empire, when the soldiers wished to raise him to the throne: (1) after the death of Vindex; (2) on the news of Nero's death; (3) after the suicide of Otho, Apr. 69. His epitaph in Pliny, Ep. 6, 10; (cf. 9 fin.; 2, 51, 68; Plut. Galba 6, 10; Otho 18). Tacitus himself, as cos., delivered his funeral oration (Plin. Ep. 2, 1, 6). — an: Tacitus regarded it as a matter of real uncertainty; an does not intimate his own belief; cf. 2, 45 ignaris . . . an impetrassent. — Fonteium: cf. 7 init. — reum: probably not an actual fact, but suspected by the soldiers. — suum = against themselves.

9. exercitus: at Moguntiacum (Mainz), the capital of the province, the IVth legion Macedonica and the XXIId Primigenia had their headquarters; at Vindonissa (Windisch, near the Swiss Baden) was the station of the XXIst Rapax; cf. 55. Until 58 there had been four legions. — legatum = commander-in-chief, governor (i.e. legatus consularis). — Hordeonius Flaccus: successor of Verginius, an insignificant figure, inexperienced in affairs;
cf. 52, 56; 2, 57, 97; etc.; killed by his soldiers, 4, 36. — debilitate pedum: avoiding the medical word, podagra; cf. Intr. 20.
—ne . . . quidem . . . adeo: an occasional correlation in silver Latin, where two terms are strongly contrasted, — here quieta and furentes; adeo (all the more) thus marks that which goes without saying; cf. 3, 64; 4, 39 (3, 39; 4, 80). — retinentis: of attempted action; cf. 17 fin.; 45 med.; 2, 18; sc. se. — legiones: I Germanica at Bonna (Bonn); XVI Gallica at Novaesium (Neuss, about 20 miles below Cologne, i.e. Colonia Agrippinensis, the chief town; cf. on 56); V Alaudae and XV Primigenia at Vetera (Xanten, about 35 m. p. below Neuss), the military headquarters. — consulari: sc. legato; cf. above legisium; for Capito’s death cf. 7 init. — A. Vitellius: the future emperor (Apr. 69–Dec.); a favorite of Tiberius at Capri, of Caligula, Claudius, and Nero; cos. 48; pros. of Africa, 60–61(?); for his assumption of the purple, cf. 52 ff.; his character, 3, 86; his mother, 2, 64. — aderat: only here does Tacitus use donec with imperf. indic.; had he chosen to use adventire, he would have said advenire. — L. Vitellius: cos. 34, 43 (with Claudius as colleague), 47 (do.); censor 47 (do.) and 48; governor of Syria 35 ff.; acted as Claudius’ representative at Rome, 43, when that emperor invaded Britain; cf. 52 fin. — id: i.e. the appointment of any man of distinguished family, regardless of special claims. — Britannico: the legions were: II Augusta, IX Hispana, XX Valeria Victrix, — the last at Deva (Chester). — divisa: sc. erant; a frequent ellipsis in the causal clause; cf. 2, 12. — Illyrico: large, but scattered, forces were stationed in the provinces east of the Adriatic: XIII Gemina and, presently, VII Galbiana in Pannonia; XI Claudia and, temporarily, XIV Gemina (from Britain) in Dalmatia; VII Claudia, VIII Augusta and, for the time, III Gallica (from Syria) in Moesia. — excita: to oppose Vindex, and perhaps Galba. — cunctantur: apparently some of these legions, or detachments from them, reached Italy, but were not mobilized, and soon returned separately at Galba’s command; cf. 70 acciti . . . ac tum in Italia manentes. — Verginium: the time is probably after the death of Nero, and before V.’s second refusal became known; cf. on 8. — quod: appositive to nec vitis . . . miscelbantur. — miscelbantur: cf. Agr. 25 mixti copios et laetitia, with the same idea of sharing, combining.
10. inmotus: cf. Intr. 16. — legiones: IV Scythica, VI Ferrata, XII Fulminata; the IIIId Gallica also belonged to Mucianus' command, but was now in Moesia, having been ordered to the west by Nero shortly before his death. — C. Licinius Mucianus: cos. once under Nero, twice early in the reign of Vespasian, whose minister he became in 69; governor (legatus consularis) of Syria from 67, and one of the leading figures in book 2; cf. 2, 4 f., 7, 74 ff. — secundis: cf. on 7 subitis. — secretum Asiae = the seclusion of Asia (Minor); one of Tacitus' extensions of the partitive gen. — sepositus: applied to a man who was not formally banished, but effectually removed, often under the guise of an official appointment; cf. 13, the case of Otho; cf. 46 fin., 88 init. He was probably offered an inferior position in Asia; and later Nero made him legatus of Lycia; cf. Ann. 4, 44 fin. — a principe: he was to Vespasian what Maecenas and Agrippa had been to Augustus. — luxuria: cf. on 3 laeta tristia; the good and bad qualities are arranged in a chiastic order; the same figure also in the second member of the sentence. — mixtus: would naturally agree with artibus (qualities; cf. 45); but cf. Agr. 4 Massiliam. . . . locum Graeca comitate et provinciali parsimonia mixtum. — vacaret: subjv. of repeated action. Latin of the golden age regularly preferred the indic. in such clauses, but the subjv. imperf. or pluperf. is found in Caesar (e.g. B. C. 2, 15, 2), and common in Livy and Tac.; cf. 49 incidisset; 62 incederet; 66 fin. deesset, etc. — expedierat: absolute; cf. 88 secum expedire iubet; 2, 99 expedire ad bellum. — palam: condensed for quae palam agebat. — laudares: potential of past time, indef. 2d person; cf. 45 crederes; 57 seires; 2, 62 non timeres. — collegas: i.e. governors of neighboring provinces, e.g. Vespasian. — expeditius = facilius. — obtinere: not obtain, but keep, maintain; the thought is that Mucianus did gain the imperium potentially, but only to transfer it to another (tradere). — T. Flavius Vespasianus: the future emperor, son of a Sabine tax farmer and money lender; first distinguished himself as legatus of the IIId legion in the conquest of Britain under Claudius, 43; cos. 51; procors. of Africa (cf. 2, 97); legatus of Judaea, 67 ff.; cf. 2, 4 ff., 74 ff. — legionibus: i.e. V Macedonica, X Fretensis, XV Apollinaris (5, 1). The Jewish War required this great force, and the province, formerly ruled by a proc...
rator, now had a legatus consularis. — Titus: he had served with his father as tribune in Germany and Britain; had brought the Vth and Xth legions from Alexandria (Alexandretta?); was now legatus legionis; succeeded his father as emperor in 79. — suo loco: 2, 1. — occulta fati: credidimus here has two objects: (1) occulta fati, and (2) an oratio obliqua; cf. 19, 22 fin.; for the gen. cf. 26 incerta noctis; 85 secreta domuum. Tac. has a great variety of similar phrases influenced by the Greek. — ostentis: cf. 2, 78. — fortunam: for its special application to the throne, cf. 15 med. dignus hac fortuna.

11. copias: the legions were III Cyrenaica and XXII Deiotariana; cf. 5, 1. — a divo Augusto: on account of the ease with which Egypt could be held by a usurper, and its vast grain supply withheld from the Roman market, Augustus placed the country on a different basis from all other provinces. Neither senators nor equites illustres (cf. on 4 sub fin.) could enter Egypt without permission, and the governor was a praefect, of equestrian rank, standing next in rank to the praefectus praetorio; cf. 3, 8. — regum: the line of the Ptolemies, ending with Cleopatra. — domi: i.e. Egypt was treated as a private estate of the emperors, to be managed as they managed their other lands. — Tib. Iulius Alexander: a Jew who had discarded his nationality; procurator of Judaea under Claudius; with Corbulo in the war against Armenia, 63 (Ann. 15, 28); made prefect of Egypt by Nero; played an important part in the elevation of Vespasian (cf. 2, 74, 79) and was rewarded by the post of praef. praetorio to Titus before Jerusalem. — legio: the IIId Augusta. Another legion was formed by Macer, and named I Liberatrix Macriana, as his coins show, but it was soon disbanded by Galba; cf. 2, 97; on 7 init. — domini minoris = a petty tyrant. — Mauretaniae: i.e. the greater part of Algiers and Morocco; they had been organized as provinces, each under a procurator, by Claudius in 42; cf. Plin. N. H. 5, 11; Dio 60, 9. At present both were under the same governor; cf. 2, 58 f. — Raetia: included the eastern half of Switzerland, Tyrol, and the southern part of Bavaria, to the Danube on the north, and the Inn on the east. — Noricum: between Raetia and Pannonia, from the Alps north of Venice to the Danube. — Thracia: including also modern East Rumelia and southern Bulgaria.
**BOOK I**

**aliae:** sc. *provinciae.* — *procuratoribus:* dative of agent; very frequent in Tacitus; cf. 14 *cui . . . exercita;* 27 *emi sibi;* in Cicero the dative is frequent with ptcp. and cpd. tenses, and is also used with *quaero* and *sumo,* etc., but the idea of interest predominates.

— *ut cuique exercitui:* the military provinces nearest to Mauretania, etc., were Africa, Upper Germany, Pannonia, Moesia, respectively. — *inermes:* the senatorial provinces, except Africa; cf. on 7 init. — *cuicumque = qualicumque;* cf. 15 fin. — *exposita:* silver Latin for *obiecta;* cf. 2, 30 *expositos.* — *cessurae:* cf. 70 fin. *in cetera victoriae praemia cessuros.* — *hic fuit:* the sentence recalls the opening words of chap. 1, and thus effectively marks the close of the introduction.

12–20. The rebellion of the legions of Upper Germany leads Galba to name a successor by adopting Piso, 12–19; financial matters, 20.

12. *Propinquus:* put to death by Vitellius; cf. 58. — *procuratoris:* to be distinguished from the type of procurator meant in 11; in such a province as Gallia Belgica the procurator simply represented the imperial treasury; cf. 7. The two Germanies were then administered less as distinct provinces than as military districts of Belgic Gaul; hence an officer of the latter would report disturbances in the former. Tacitus’ own father had possibly been procurator of Belgica (Intr. 1). — *legiones:* cf. on 9; 16, 18. — *rupta:* from its use with *foedus, ius,* etc., the word is extended to such objects as *fides, religio, reverentia.* — *arbitrium eligendi:* the phrase has a Ciceronian ring, while its equivalent, the one word *electio,* would be more Tacitean; cf. 19 *electionem . . . permiserat.* — *de adoptione:* for Galba’s precedents in the matter, cf. 15. The same method of choice gave the empire to Trajan, under whom Tacitus was writing. — *menses:* probably ever since his arrival in Rome, September (?), 68; cf. *iam pridem* above. — *licentia ac libidine:* may be hendiadys (*unbridled passion,* or a pair of synonyms; the latter is more characteristic of the early writings, the former of the *Histories* and *Annals;* cf. 1 *libidine adsentandi;* 32 *adulandi licentia.* — *hunc vel illum:* among others named was Titus (2, 1). — *ambitiosis:* i.e. self-interest was the motive in their choice; cf. on 83 *ambitioso;* on 2, 49 *ambitiosis.*
— in . . . odium: the simpler phrase Titi Vini odio (abl. cause) has been set aside for an expression more novel and striking; cf. 77 in solacium, etc. Purpose, direction, tendency, result, destiny, may all be indicated by in and acc.; here = ad and gerundive (explendum). — eodem actu: a mere substitute for tanto [actus in the sense of impulse, impetus, motion is rarely figurative]. — facilitas: cf. 6 init., 49. — intendebat = augebat, as often in Tac.; cf. 24.

13. potentia: cf. on 1 potentiam. — divisa in: no writer before Tacitus appears to use this construction with persons in the acc., except where an apportionment is meant; cf. 3, 58 in consules partitur (Vitellius). — Vinium . . . Laconem: cf. 6 init.; asynedeton between names, classical for colleagues in office only, is frequent in Tacitus; cf. 2, 16, 81, 92. — anulis: the plur. was frequently used for the single gold ring worn as a class distinction by the knights; cf. 2, 57 fin.; 4, 3; cf. the legal ius anulorum. — rebus minoribus: cf. 7 subitis. — circa = in regard to; common in this sense in silver Latin from Seneca on; cf. Germ. 28 circa affectationem Germanicae originis. — M. Salvius Otho: who was to succeed Galba, — but not by adoption (cf. 21 ff.), — was born in 32. His grandfather, a knight, became senator by the favor of the empress Livia; the father attained the consulship (33), was proconsul of Africa, and was raised to patrician rank by Claudius. For Otho’s character, see below, and 2, 50. — unum aliquem: as in 6 fin. — fovebant: cf. 14 fovebat. — transmittenium: substantive use of the ptcp.; cf. 4 gaudentium, 33 terentium. — vidua: the corresponding feminine to caelebs. — curam: cf. 50 cura rei publicae. — subisse: absolute; cf. 2, 70 quos varia sors rerum . . . et misericordia subiret; 3, 31 fin. subit recordatio. The reference is to Galba. — incuriuse: cf. 4, 28 incuirosius agentes; not before Livy. — luxus: as usual, in the worse sense; cf. Ann. 13, 45 iuventa et luxu (of Otho). — Poppea: Nero’s second wife, whom he married after divorcing Octavia, 62. She was the granddaughter of C. Poppaeus Sabinus, cos. 9 a.d., a distinguished provincial governor. Her father, T. Ollius, had been cut short in his career by Sejanus, 31, while her mother, Poppaea Sabina, was forced to commit suicide in 47. She died in 65, by an angry kick from Nero; cf. Ann. 11, 2; 13, 45; 16, 6. — principale scortum = imperial mistress. — deposuerat:
sc. Nero; Suetonius also uses the legal figure of a *depositum* (Otho 3). The narrative in *Ann.* 13, 45 f. represents her as lawfully married to Otho. — Claudia Octavia: she was the daughter (b. 42 or 43) of Claudius and Messalina, and sister of Britannicus. At the age of eleven or twelve she married Nero, who was sixteen (53); but he divorced her in 62, banished her to the island of Pandateria, and soon ordered her death. Her youthful innocence, her unhappy life and tragic death made her the subject of a tragedy, *Octavia*, which has come down to us with the dramas of Seneca; cf. *Ann.* 12, 3, 58; 13, 12; 14, 60, 63 f. — Lusitania: roughly speaking, the modern Portugal, with the addition of Estremadura and Salamanca. It was usually governed by an ex-praetor; but Otho had not risen higher than the quaestorship. — *specie legationis*: since the *legatus* was in reality a virtual exile there for ten years (59–68); cf. 21 *alterius exitii honorem*. — comitia: cf. Agr. 16 *comitate quadam curandi provinciam tenuit*; Suet. *Otho* 3 fin. says, *moderationes atque abstinentia singulares*; *Ann.* 13, 46 fin. *integre sanctaeque egit [Otho].* — in partes: as of Agricolae, *statim in partes [Vespasiani] transgressus est* (Agr. 7). — *donec = so long as = dum or quoad*: in prose a silver Latin use of the word; cf. 37 (w. future); 4, 74 *vitia erunt, donec homines [erunt]*; for Augustan poetry, cf. Hor. *C.* 1, 9, 17; 3, 9, 1. — *rapiebat*: as in the phrase *rapere occasionem* (Hor. *Epod.* 13, 3), or *rapere viam*: *faventibus . . . prona*: cf. Intr. 7.

14. sed: reverts to 12 init. after a digression on the circumstances leading up to the adoption. — *quonam = in what direction*, or perhaps better, to *what lengths, how far*. — *quod . . . rebatur*: affirmative relative clause with the following. — *remedium*: cf. 20 fin., 29, 83; Germ. 16 *adversus casus ignis remedium*; the figure loses itself in the general meaning *measure* or *resource*. — *comitia*: this word was used of the election of a consul, even after the right of election (on the emperor's nomination) had passed to the senate in 14 A.D. — *imperii*: i.e. of a successor; cf. 4 *imperii arcano*. — Marius Celsus: six years before this he had commanded a legion (XVth) from Pannonia on the eastern expedition of Corbulo; chiefly noted for his loyal devotion, first to Galba, and then to Otho, whom he served as general in the campaign against Vitellius; cf. esp. 45, 71; 2, 23 *ff.*, 33, 39 f., 60; his consulship was
ultimately the gift of Vitellius (77), — a part of the year 69. —
Ducenius Geminus: a consular as early as in 62, but of no histo-
rical importance. — praefecto urbis: the office, temporarily revived
by Augustus, was made permanent by Tiberius; cf. Ann. 6, 11;
Hist. 1, 46; 2, 63. — L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi Licinianus: a Piso
by adoption, and the son of M. Licinius Crassus Frugi, cos. 27 A.D.
(himself a Piso by birth); his brothers, Cn. Pompeius Magnus and
M. Licinius Crassus Frugi, were victims of Claudius and Nero
respectively; cf. 48; Piso had been long in exile (21, 48). — cui:
for the dat., cf. on 11 procuratoribus. — apud: i.e. they usually
met at Rubellius' house. — Rubellius Plautus: his father, C. Ru-
bellius Blandus, had married the princess Julia, daughter of Drusus,
son of Tiberius. As a possible rival, Nero had forced Plautus to
retire to Asia, 60 A.D., where he was put to death in 62; Ann. 6,
27; 14, 22 and 57–59. — Scribonia: she was evidently the daugh-
ter of Pompeia, and granddaughter of Sextus Pompey and his
wife, Scribonia (niece of Augustus' wife of the same name). Both
of Piso's parents were victims of Claudius. — vultu habituque: cf.
17; 2, 52; habitus is not limited to physique, but refers also to
bearing, mien; or includes both. — moris antiqui: cf. 2, 64 anti-
qui moris. — severus . . . tristior: corresponding, as usual, to the
Roman virtue of strictness, and its excess, severity, respectively;
cf. Agr. 9; below, 48 severe; 2, 11 severis ducibus. — interpre-
tantibus: the ptcp. is used for variety after the prepositional
phrase; Intr. 13. — quo suspexctor: the correlative term would
naturally be eo magis placebat; but Tacitus (in Hist. and Ann.
only) uses great freedom in relaxing the formalism of these sym-
metrical clauses, omitting eo, tanto, etc., and returning to the
positive degree; cf. 12 fin.; 2, 11 quo plus virium . . . tarditas;
99 quantumque hebes . . . tanto . . . promptior. The regular
correlation is found, but more rarely (e.g. 1, 45; 2, 47), except
in the minor works.

15. igitur: this position is regular with Sall., frequent in Livy
and Tac. — privatus: in emphatic contrast with ad imperium
 vocatum below. — lege curiata: adoption of an adult (ad rogatio)
required this ancient form of the so-called comitia curiata, already
in Cicero's time a fictitious assembly, consisting of one lictor for
each of the thirty curiae; but the real functionaries were the
pontifices. It was by this method that Augustus adopted Agrippa Postumus and Tiberius. Galba omitted the shadowy lex curiata, and, as pontifex maximus, formally pronounced the adoption accomplished (cf. 17 f.). — moris est: a favorite phrase with Tacitus; the gen. is possessive; cf. Germ. 13, 21; Agr. 33, 39, 42. — egregium erat: classical use of the indic. in such a phrase, even in the unreal condition; cf. 16 init. dignus eram. — in penates: adoption involved formal abandonment of the cult of the one family (sacrorum detestatio), in favor of the household gods of the other; but Galba uses penates rather in the sense of home. — Sulpiciae: sc. gentis, a rare ellipsis; it is also possible to supply nobilitatis. He was descended from the orator Ser. Sulpicius Galba, cos. 144. — Lutatiae: Galba’s mother, Mummia Achaica, was the granddaughter of the celebrated Q. Lutatius Catulus, who completed the Capitoline temple, 69 B.C. (cf. 3, 72 fin.). — adiecisse: not different in time from adsciscere, above. — nunc—as it is, the return to reality; cf. 16 init.; 37 fin.; frequent in Livy. — maiores: Galba’s family was Caesarian; Piso’s connections were with the party of his great-great-great-grandfather, Pompey. — sororis: Octavia. — Marcellus: husband of Augustus’ daughter Julia, but died 23 B.C., aged 20. — Agrippa: the trusty general and minister of Augustus, second husband of Julia. He was not adopted. — nepotes: Gaius and Lucius Caesar, sons of Agrippa and Julia, adopted by Augustus, 17 B.C. Both died early, however, Gaius in 2 A.D. at Massilia, Lucius in 4 A.D. in Asia. — Tiberius: son of Livia, the second wife of Augustus; adopted 4 A.D., and made colleague (consort) in 13. — non quia: the reason stated for the purpose of denying it requires the subjv., usually with non quo or non quod. — sit: the emphatic predicate documento prevails over the plural subject. — et = etiam. — frater: Crassus Scribonianus; cf. 47 fin., 48. — fortuna: cf. below, cum fortuna nostra; 1, 10 fin.; 2, 1 med. — excusandum habeas: in golden Latin habeas quo quod excuses; cf. 4, 77; ger. or gerundive with habeo is esp. freq. in Dial., e.g. 37 dicendum habeas. — adversam: his father and mother had also been put to death by Claudius. — obsequium = servility. — blanditia: the rare singular abstract, while the plural is concrete. — et: inserted because the third term in the series is modified by the appositive pessimum
... venenum; cf. 51 fin. — utilitas = self-interest. — quemcumque: cf. on 11 fin. cui cumque.

16. dignus eram: cf. on 15 egregium erat. — res publica: in contrast with the empire; cf. 50. — nunc: cf. on 15 nunc. — eo necessitatis: cf. 60 eoque discordiae. — familiae: the Julian-Claudian family, which treated the state as a kind of private hereditas. — fuimus: Galba speaks as a citizen, but in eligi coepimus as emperor (not coepit sumus, the classical usage; cf. 3, 34 occidi coepere; 4, 46 distrahi coepere). — ultra: i.e. beyond the fact of birth. — Vindex: cf. on 6. — legione: i.e. the VIth Victrix; cf. on 8 Hispaniae. — bello ... adscitio: in contrast with hereditary claims, as expressed in longa Caesarum serie. — cum invidia: i.e. there will be no escape from invidia. — quamvis = no matter how; cf. 26 fin., 38. — fueris: for sis. — si: in place of the regular quod, in order to weaken the disagreeable statement. — legiones: at Mainz; cf. 18 and on 9 init. — ne ipse quidem = I also ... did not; cf. 29 fin. — temporis huius: possess. gen., but hardly distinguishable from gen. qual., i.e. opportune. — bene: modifying te elegi as a phrase; the point is the excellence of the choice. — dilectus = modus deligendi, i.e. criterion. — regnatur: cf. Intr. 16. — et ... quidem: cf. on 8 init. — faceret: incomplete action, in the intent of Galba, whereas the others thought the adoption a fait accompli.

17. intuentibus: dative, as also connectis ... oculis, though on the principle of variety the latter might be abl. abs. — omnium: probably not the great crowd, but those within the palace who first heard of the adoption. — se: for ipso; as though Piso were subject. — vultu: cf. on 14 vultu habituque. — pro rostris = from the rostra; cf. 29 pro gradibus. — castris: the praetorian camp established by Tiberius northeast of the city; the site is now occupied by the garrison of the modern Rome. — quorum = et (or nam) eorum; hence the following infinitives. — ut: cf. on 7 ut ... maculosum. — male adquiri: for the emphasis on the adv. cf. 16 bene. — artes = means, methods. — expectatio: abstract for concrete with a striking personification; Intr. 15. — male = non satis, parum; the usual weakening effect of male upon an adj. or ptcpl. of positive meaning; cf. 52 male fidas provincias; 2, 92 male dissimulata pravitas. — supprimentes: conative; cf. 9 retinentis.
18. *foedum*: as in *Agr. 12 caelum . . imbribus . . foedum.* — *et caelestes minae*: not in addition to *tonitrua* and *fulgura*; *et* is epexegetic; English commonly expresses the same relation by simple apposition; *cf. on 19 ac.* — *observatum*: a concessive (or adversative) clause is here reduced to a ptep. with its modifiers. — *quo minus*: for *quin*, as often in Tac.; *cf. 40 fin.; 2, 40, 45.* — *seu . . non vitantur*: the briefer form of explanation by mere apposition (*contemptorem*) is abruptly abandoned in favor of an entire clause; *cf. on 76 sed *erat*. — *imperatoria = soldierly, not imperial.* — *exemplo*: cf. 15 *exemplo divi Augusti.* — *more militari*: this cannot refer merely to an old custom of levying troops by coöperation, but more explicitly to the choice of an *optio*, e.g. by a centurion, to assist him and to take his place in case of disability; *cf. 25 init.* — *dissimulata*: conditional. — *in maius*: this phrase for exaggeration was used by Sallust, repeatedly by Tacitus; *cf. 52*; the underlying idea is result. — *ultro = actually*, i.e. he went so far as to say; *cf. on 7 ultro.* — *legiones*: Tac. prefers this usage instead of the more usual *legio quarta et duoetvicensima*; both are classical, however; *cf. 55; 2, 91, 100.* — *in officio*: *cf. Ann. 1, 48 maiores . . partem in officio vident; 3, 42 plures in officio manser.* — *tanquam*: i.e. realizing *that*, etc.; *cf. on 8 tanquam . . fovissent.* — *usurpatam*: since the accession of Claudius. — *liberalitate*: abstr. for concrete *largitione*; *cf. 20 liberalitas*; Intr. 15.

19. *inde*: ellipsis is very frequent in Tacitus with such adverbs; *cf. Intr. 24.* — *patrum favor aderat*: *cf. 17 fin. circumstetetar . . publica expectatio*. Tac. considers this an equivalent for *patres aderant baudores*, and proceeds with an appositive *multi*, as if he had actually written *aderant*. For the interchange of abstract with concrete *cf. Intr. 15*; *cf. on 29 adfertur rumor*, etc. — *medii = neutral, indifferent*; *cf. 4, 8 fin. medius patrum.* — *ac = namely, that is to say*, epexegetic; *cf. 25 vulgus et ceteros*; 89 init.; *obvio*: of that which goes to meet, *ready, responsive* (not *trite, banal*). — *privatas*, etc.: *cf. 90 fin. privata cuique stimulatio*, etc. — *quadrirudo*: Jan. 11–14 inc., neglecting both the day of the *adopto* and that of the *caedes*. — *et Piso*: the proposal was to add Piso to the embassy already voted before his adoption (*censuerant*). — *praetextu = distinction, solemnity*; *cf. 76 praetexto senatus.* — *illi*: 
in condensing the reason assigned into participial phrases, Tac. assumes that his readers have mentally expanded *et Piso* into *non senatores solum sed etiam Piso*, and boldly proceeds with his antithesis (*illi . . . hic*) in apposition. — *dignationem = dignitatem.* — Caesaris = heir-apparent, crown prince, the usual title. — placebat: the tense itself shows that the proposal came to nothing. — *inconstantia:* i.e. on Galba’s part, while *ambitu* describes their “wire-pulling.” Those actually sent were recalled by Otho; cf. 74. — *aut . . . vel:* on the free use of conjj. cf. 2, 1 *aut . . . vel.*

20. *proxima:* the financial question had been in Galba’s mind for months, as a problem second only in importance to that of the succession. As Tac. excluded the year 68 from his *Histories,* the subject is mentioned here only to deepen the impression of Galba’s growing unpopularity. — *bis,* etc.: i.e. 2200 million sesterces = *circa* 115 million dollars. — *appellari:* they were to appear before the commission mentioned below. — *relictas:* this aoristic use of the ptcps., contemporaneous with the main verb, not antecedent to it, is esp. freq. both in Livy and Tac., when the abl. abs. follows the main verb; cf. Intr. 12. — *super . . . erant:* rare thesis; only here in Tac. — *isdem:* the absol. constr. gives the reason, i.e. “having been equally lavish.” — *faenus:* here capital, not interest. — *instrumenta vitiorum:* as *instrumentum belli* is outfit for the war (88 sub fin.), so *instrumenta vitiorum* cover all kinds of luxurious appointments for the table and other indulgences, including silverware, rugs, costly slaves, etc. The attempt to convert these into money all at once would, of course, greatly reduce prices. — *triginta:* Suet. makes it *quinquaginta* (Galb. 15). — *ambitu:* i.e. much influence was brought to bear upon the commissioners to favor this or that person. — *numero:* i.e. of those summoned to disgorge (cf. *ubique*), both original recipients and also, in many cases, others who had come into possession. — *onerosum:* to the commissioners. — *hasta:* the place of a public auction was indicated by setting up a spear (originally associated with military booty). In Italy *sell at auction* is still *vendere all’ asta.* — *sector:* the purchasers of property at public auctions were a despised class, but feared and hated; cf. 90 *Neronianarum sectionum.* — *actionibus:* litigation naturally followed the attempt to recover. — *urbanis:* ranking below the nine praetorian cohorts
were the cohortes urbanae, three in number in the city (numbered X, XI, XII), under command of the praefectus urbi; cf. 89; 2, 93; 3, 64. — Aemilius Pacensis: restored to favor and promoted by Otho; cf. 87; 2, 12; 3, 73 (his death). — vigilibus: the seven cohortes vigilum, composed of freedmen and peregrini, were commanded by the praefectus vigilum; cf. 46, 72; each cohort discharged the duties of firemen and policemen for two “regions” of the city. — Fronto: appears again, 2, 26. — tanquam: cf. on 8 tanquam . . . fovissent. — per artem . . . formidine: Intr. 13.

21–49. Otho conspires against Galba, who is assassinated in the Forum, together with Piso and Vinius, 21–47; sketches of the victims, 48–49.

21. in turbido: cf. Intr. 13; more usually in Tac. such phrases serve as predicate, e.g. 37 in incerto. — inopia: his immense debts are mentioned also by Suet. Oth. 5 and Plut. Galba 21; nihilque referre ab hoste in acie an in foro sub creditorisibus caderet (Suet. I.c.). — fingebat: i.e. in talking with his friends; note the oratio obliqua following without further introduction; it is not a soliloquy. — Lusitaniam: cf. above, 13 sub fin. — destinaretur: cf. 12 destina-bant. — trucem: cf. 14 fin. tristior. — exilio: cf. 48 exul. — occidi Othonem posse: Otho speaks of himself in the third person also (with less vanity) in his last speeches, on the eve of his suicide, 2, 47 f. — proinde: in speeches, etc., especially of generals to their men, proinde introduces the concluding summons to be up and doing. Cf. 56 fin.; 2, 32 fin. — agendum: cf. Livy 22, 53, 6 audendum atque agendum; ib. 14, 14; 25, 16, 19 and 23, 15; 26, 7, 6. — fluxa: sc. esset; the nearness of coaluisset in the same constr. justifies the omission; cf. 40 depulsuri (essent); 79 fin. felix bello (fuisset); cf. on 85 ne . . . silentium. — coaluisset: the prefix is simply intensive; cf. Sall. Iug. 93, 4 grandis iles coaletur inter saxa; Tac. Hist. 4, 55 coalita libertate. — transitus: cf. the use of transferre in 25 and 29 (res sine discordia translatas). — rerum = power, as in phrase just cited. — vel = aut; Tac. uses great freedom in conjunctions; cf. on 19 fin. — maneat: the only case of manere trans. in Tac.; cf. 18 quae fato manent. — merito perire: the adverb has the emphasis; the phrase = mereri mortem (cf. Germ. 14 fin. vulnera mereri), with the thought that brave deeds bring their fit reward in a brave man’s death.
22. corpori, etc.: tanto Othonis animo nequaquam corpus aut
habitus competit, Suet. Oth. 12. — et = in addition (persuasion of
others added to his own determination). — quam in: an innovation
for quam pro. — luxus: the general idea is added to the
specific (aulam Neronis); for the plur. of the abstr. noun cf.
libidines below; 39 fin. diffugia; 46 latrocinia et raptus; 51, 83
raptus; 2, 12 metus; 76 pavoribus, etc. — matrimonia: i.e. rapid
changes — divorces and marriages, after the manner of Caligula
and Claudius. — quiescenti: for variety the conditional ptep.
balances si auderet (absolutely used; cf. concupisceret, 21); Intr.
13. — aliena: i.e. forfeited to another, enjoyed by another.
— urgentibus: Intr. 7. — mathematicis: the Babylonian astro-
logers, also known as Chaldaei; cf. 2, 78. — dum: not merely
temporal, but with added notion of cause; cf. 2, 21 dum . . .
regerunt. — novos motus: i.e. civil commotions or revolutions,
transitus rerum, 21; for res novas; cf. 80. — vetabitur: they were ex-
pelled under Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius, and Vitellius; cf. 2,
62; Dio 49, 43. — et retinebitur: a similar epigram, Ann. 12, 52
de mathematicis Italia pellendis factum senatus consultum atrox et
inritum. — secreta: the boudoir of Poppaea, including figuratively
the persons who gathered there. — Poppaea: cf. 13. — matrimonii:
i.e. household, housekeeping, but it is hardly possible to render the
scorn with which Tac. implies that a new empress brings such
worthless retainers with her into the palace. — instrumentum —
furniture, — her salon incomplete without them; conversely honest
friends are the best instrumentum an emperor can have, 4, 7;
Ann. 12, 66 inter instrumenta regni. — Othoni: dative with a
noun of agency, instead of genitive — a frequent Graecism in
Tac. (rare before Livy); cf. 71 (with duces), 88 (ministros); 2, 36
(rectorem). — postquam . . . fides: sc. fuit; Intr. 24; cf. 2, 72
fin. — peritia: Otho believes in the science of Ptolemy. — obscura
= mysteries. — deerat: a favorite word with Tac. — here its mg.
is completed by a noun of agency (instinctor); cf. 36 nec deerat
. . . adorare; 51 nec deerat pars Galliarum, etc.

23. incertum an = probably not, hardly; in Cicero it would have
inclined to the affirmative side; cf. nescio an. — repens = recens,
a Tacitean use. — in itinere: the march from Spain with Galba;
to make a more definite picture he adds in agmine, in stationibus,
referring respectively to daily marches and guard duty at night. — vocans ac . . . appellando: Intr. 13. — Neroniani comitatus: Tac. forgets — or for artistic reasons ignores — the fact that Nero's praetorians remained at Rome, awaiting the arrival of Galba with his troops from Spain. — turbamenta: very rare word, probably coined by Sallust; cf. hortamenta, 4, 18. — lacus: Avernus and the Lucrine Lake near Baiae. The praetorians had accompanied Nero on such trips, as also on his concert tours to Naples and Greece. — spafia: joined by zeugma to eniterentur.

24. Tigellinus: C. Ofonius Tigellinus had succeeded Burrus as praefectus praetorio (in 62), having won the favor of Nero through his interest in the circus. He was deprived of his post by Nymphidius (cf. 5; Plut. Galba 8); for his vicious character and death, cf. 72. — per speciem convivii: i.e. as a pourboire. It was a common custom to give a sum of money (sportula) to clients, soldiers, etc., in place of inviting them to a dinner. Maevius takes care that the sportula shall be at least three times that doled out to an ordinary client. — epularetur: cf. on 10 vacaret. — intendebat: cf. on 12 fin. — speculatori: picked men of the praetorians, forming a garde de corps, were called speculatores, and often employed on special duty, as couriers, etc.; cf. 25, 27, 31, 35; 2, 11, 33, 73. — praefecti: Laco; cf. 13.

25. tum: with this the reader's attention is recalled to the days following the adoption of Piso. — tesserarium: an under officer whose duty it was to procure from the tribune (or other commander) the wooden tablet (tessera) on which was written the watchword or other orders of the commanding officer. — optionem: a centurion (or, in the cavalry, a decurion) chose his own assistant (optio), who also acted as a substitute in case of absence; cf. on 18 more militari. — perductos: i.e. before Otho. — susceperes . . . transtulerunt: note the effective placing of the verb — the undertaking and its accomplishment — at beginning and end of the sentence; Intr. 9. The change from the -ere form to that in -erunt is probably due to the love of variety and euphony. It has been thought by so methat Tac. preferred -ere for the hist. perf. and -erunt for the perf. definite (cf. Gild.-Lodge 131, 4 (b), 5); but the many instances of narrative -erunt make this very doubtful. — manipulares: contemptuous use of the
regular term for privates (gregarii) and officers of the lowest ranks (the primores militum of the next sentence); cf. 46. — per beneficia: connect with suspectos; the promotions, etc., received from Nymphidius might arouse the suspicions of Galba and Piso; cf. 5. — et ceteros — that is (in other words), all the rest; et is explanatory; cf. on 19 ac. — in commune: for class. communiter; cf. 36 fin., 85; 2, 54. — mutandae militiae: they might be degraded by transfer from the praetorian cohorts to the legions on the frontier.

26. legionum: strictly speaking only one entire legion (I Classica; cf. 36) was at Rome at the time, Galba's favorite legion of Spaniards (VII Galbiana) having been ordered away to Pannonia, perhaps as a demonstration of security on Galba's part. Other legions, however, were represented by detachments (vesilla). — postquam: the clause depends upon motas, hence the pluperf., which is not infrequent in Tac. — Germanici: cf. 12. — dissimulatio — indifference; cf. 73 dissimulantis; 28 fin. — postero: the 14th Jan.; the unusual reckoning, as compared with the normal method, 27 init., to avoid sameness. For the constr. cf. postridie (pridie) eius diei, and 2, 70 intra quadragesimum pugnae diem. — rapturi fuerint: i.e. in castra; the regular mood and tense when the conclusion of an unreal condition is itself a dependent clause with ut, ne, etc.; for rapio in this mg. cf. 27 fin., 29. — incerta noctis; cf. on 10 occulta fati. — castra: for the temporary quarters of troops in porticoes, etc., cf. 31. — nec: the negation belongs to facilem alone (= et haud). — cura: very loosely connected with timent; their fears (and consequent self-control) were not influenced by any rei publicae cura. — multa . . . indicia: not only on the 14th, but on the previous days also, since the adoption. — elusit: i.e. pooh-poohed, lit. parried. — militarium animorum: i.e. of the soldiers as such; he appears to have had no military experience before he became praefectus praetorio.

27. aede: the great temple built by Augustus on the Palatine; dedicated 28 B.C. (Hor. C. 1, 31). It had survived the fire of Nero, 64, when the adjoining palace, the Domus Augustana, was destroyed. — Umbricius: cited by Pliny as the chief authority in that day on this form of divination, the Etrusca disciplina; N. H. 10, 19. — tristia: cf. 3 fin. laeta tristia, and below laetum.
— domesticum hostem = an enemy in his own household; cf. 3, 38 in urbe ac sinu cavendum hostem. — praedicit: governing exta also, by an easy zeugma. — requirentibus: probably neither Tac. nor his first readers concerned themselves with the question whether this is dat. w. finxisset (= ficta respondisset), or the vague impersonal abl. abs. used especially by Livy; cf. 85 conversis. — sibi: regular use of dat. with pass. of emere, for the person chiefly concerned, i.e. the purchaser. — praedia = a house; in Roman law the word comprehends buildings as well as land; cf. Suet. Otho 6 venalem domum; for the plur. cf. 2, 29 tabernacula. — Tiberianam: Tiberius, not satisfied with the palace of Augustus, had built another, reaching the western edge of the Palatine. Only the substructions and a long corridor (cryptoporticus) remain. Otho takes care not to start at once in the direction of the praetorian camp. — Velabrum: the busy, unsavory quarter at the foot of the Palatine, beneath the west front of the Domus Tiberiana. — miliarium: the ideal central point of the entire system of Roman roads, erected by Augustus, 20 B.C., at the N.W. end of the Forum. The upper part was of gilt bronze, inscribed with the names of important cities in Italy and the provinces with their distances (measured, however, from the gates of the “Servian” Wall, not from the Golden Milestone itself). — speculatores: cf. on 24. — sellae: a covered sedan; cf. Suet. Otho 6 additus propere in muliebri sella. — festinanter: they feared, perhaps, to give him time to reconsider. — mucronibus: poetical meton. for gladiis; cf. 2, 41; 3, 85. — miraculo = curiosity; cf. 3. 25 fin.; 5, 23. — clamore et gaudiis: hendiadys,—the species in which the second term defines the first; et is really epexegetic. The love of variety shows itself in the change of number, as also in alii ... plerique ... pars; Intr. 13. Cf. 2, 70 clamore et gudio.—sumpturi: the fut. ptcp. may indicate destiny, as well as purpose and result; cf. 32 postulaturis; 78 mansura.

26. stationem: cf. 29; Martialis was in command of the camp at the time; cf. 82. — magnitudine ... et ... metuens: abl. cause paired with pres. ptcp., cf. Intr. 13; 2, 9 nutantes seu dolo. — an: cf. on 7 an. — corrupta: one clause of fearing is condensed into corrupta latius castra, another into the single word exitium. We are left to infer that Martialis admitted Otho’s
party without delay. — praesentia: symmetry would require the addition of et turpia, but its omission was probably deliberate. — pauci, etc.: parallelism, varied by chiasmus.

29. fatigabat: a frequent use of fatigare = importune in Sall., Livy, and the poets. In the hope of more favorable omens he offered one victim after another. — alieni: not only are the gods unfavorable, they have already given his throne to another; cf. Intr. 27. — cum adfertur: logically the main action (hence the indic.), after the scene or circumstances have been described by an imperf. (or pluperf.) ind. This form of narration, common in all the historians, is called cum inversum; cf. 43 fin., 54, 60, 66, 69; 2, 36, 41, 72. — adfertur rumor: cf. on 19 patrum favor aderat; there is in ut quisque, etc., a brusque transition from reports to their bearers, so that adferunt is to be supplied with aliī and quidam below. The picture of confusion is thus made more vivid. Cf. Intr. 15. — incertum quem = nescio quem = quemandam; cf. incertum quonam modo, Ann. 15, 51; immane quantum, Hist. 3, 62 and 4, 34; all consciousness of an indirect question is lost in these phrases. — aliī, etc.: instead of the symmetrical aliī ob formidinem maiora, aliī minora vero (sc. adferunt), Tac. increases the flutter of excitement by the unexpected turn formidine augentes, used absolutely. — igitur: cf. on 15 init. — integra: predicate, undiminished, intact. — servabatur: for reservabatur; cf. Intr. 17. — pro: i.e. from the highest step; cf. 17 pro rostris; cf. 36 fin. and 2, 26 pro vallo. — sextus: i.e. Jan. 10–15 incl. — et: the following thought must have formed itself in the writer's mind as an utrum . . . an question depending on ignarus, and hence logically connected with the preceding by et. As it is, the dependent question has given way to a mere disjunctive sive . . . sive; and still et is retained; it should be omitted in translation. — Caesar: cf. on 19 Caesaris. — quo . . . fato: the incomplete indirect question is made to modify ascitus sum, and at the same time serves as a subject to positum est. The idiom was very likely common in conversation; cf. 2, 76 quant salutare, etc. — meo nomine = on my account, from the language of bookkeeping. — paveam: trans., as in 50, 72. — adversas: cf. 48. — cum maxime = nunc ipsum; cum conjunction with maxime (just at the time when . . .) became a mere adverbial phrase = at the (this)
moment; cf. 84. — patris: gains added emphasis from the omission of sed following non quia; cf. on 83 nimia pietas. — vicem = nomine, causa; used esp. with verbs of feeling, such as doleo. — proximi motus: the fall of Nero and rise of Galba. — incruentam urbem: the bloodshed mentioned in 6 was as far out as the Milvian Bridge; cf. on 37 in oculis. — translatas: cf. 21 transitus rerum. — ne . . . quidem = also . . . not; cf. 16, 59 fin., 83; 2, 15, 44.

30. nobilitatis: best taken in the ordinary sense, noble birth; while modestiae suffices for moral character. — relatu: a very rare word, probably new in the time of Tac. (as distinct from the supine of refero); cf. Germ. 3. — imperatoris: sc. Neronis. — ageret: scornfully, of the rôle of a court favorite; cf. 2, 83. — meretetur: deliberative of past time. — volvit: cf. 54 fin. eadem acrius volvens; 64 bellum volvet; 2, 49 curas animo volutantem.

— artibus: cf. 17 per bonas artes. — vacua nomina: in 2, 32 senate and people are numquam obscura nomina. — ne, etc.: the normal constr. would be ut imperatorem haud pessimi faciant; but ne is justified by the idea of a negative wish, — an undesirable result. — legionum: Piso is made to play upon the pride of the praetorians, and their contempt for the legionaries. — audita est: cf. 76 prior auditus; 2, 6 auditi . . . Caesares; 65 audito Vitellii et Othonis principatu; Ann. 2, 68 audita regis fuga. — et . . . quoque: to justify the preceding statement, in the face of an apparent exception. Tac. occasionally adds quoque to et; cf. Agr. 24 et Gallico quoque mari opportuna. — triginta: in spite of the conflict of rumors (cf. 29), Tac., having given the exact number in 27, allows himself the liberty of representing Piso as fully informed. — eligentes: condensed condition; so also innocentibus below. — transcendent: it was convenient to forget the part of the Spanish legions in the accession of Galba. — pertinebunt: cf. 89 ad rem publicam pertinuere. — perinde . . . quam = just as, precisely as; Tac. prefers quam with perinde to the older ac, atque; cf. 2, 27, 35, 39 fin.; perinde alone, 2, 68.

31. turbidis rebus = riot, mutiny; cf. 83 init.; the clause, of course, qualifies the following. — et nullo = nequeullo: Tac. is particularly fond of et with a negation; e.g. Dial. 12 et nullis contacta vitiiis; Germ. 10 et nullo mortali opere contacti; Ann. 1, 38 fin. et nihil ausos; Hist. 2, 32 et . . . non; ib. et nullo; 38 et
nunquam. — rapit: cf. 38 rapta statim arma. — signa: each of the three maniples had its own signum. — missus et: et must refer back to 29 consultantibus placuit, etc. Piso having discharged his task, we come now to those assigned to the consul designate and the rest. — Celsus: cf. on 14. — electos: ordered out by Nero for his eastern expedition; cf. 6. — Vipsania in porticu: along the east side of the Via Lata (the Corso). Begun by Agrippa; finished, together with the adjoining park, by Augustus. — tendentes = quartered; no tents would be needed in the porticus; cf. 55, 59 fin.; 2, 66, 93. — primipilaribus: i.e. retired first centurions; some continued in the service, often with equestrian rank. — Germanicos: v. below. — Libertatis atrio: the headquarters of the censors, and seat of the first public library in Rome, founded by Asinius Pollio. Its site is unknown; probably near the Fora of Julius and Augustus. — legioni classicae: cf. on 6 e classe. They did not venture to send any message to these troops. — caedem: cf. on 6 introitus. — si . . . flecteretur: cf. 3, 30 iubet, si . . . traherentur; 52 explorari placuit, si . . . adirentur, — i.e. to see whether; not unclassical. — et necdum = ncedum or et nondum; cf. on et nullo, above. — non ordine militiae: abl. cause; the corresponding term would be sed Galbae amicitia, but for Tac.’s love of variety. The others were simply performing a military duty; Longinus had a further motive, and hence was more roughly handled. — vexilla: detachments and auxiliary cavalry carried a banner called vexillum, and the word was often applied to the body of men; cf. 6 numeri = vexilla = electi; cf. also 70 med. According to Suetonius, none of those summoned to Galba’s aid obeyed, except the vexillation from Germany, but these troops lost their way and came too late (Galba 20). — Alexandriam: cf. 70. Along with Nero’s Oriental projects there was to be a campaign in Aethiopia. — inde rursus: either of these words would have sufficed; together they emphasize the weary voyage; join with longa navigatione. — aegros: seasickness had probably been but one of their maladies.

32. servitiis: the word has passed over from abstract to concrete, the intermediate step (found even in Ciec.) being the collective, i.e. slaves as a class; cf. servitia below. — ludicrum: on the
sporting instincts of the Roman populace, as shown when the troops of Vespasian fought their way into the city, cf. 3, 83. — judicium: i.e. sober estimate of Galba vs. Otho. — veritas = sincerity. — diversa . . . postulaturis: viz. 45; on the ptep. cf. on 27 fin. sumpturi. — pari certamine: cf. 57 ingenti certamine. — tradito more: the verb to be supplied is fiebat or agebatur; Intr. 26. For the sense cf. 2, 90 vulgus . . . sine falsi verique discrimine solitas adulationes edoctum. — licentia adclamationum: cf. 12 licentia . . . loquendi. — distinebant: i.e. drew him in opposite directions. — ultero: cf. on 7 ultro. — ratio sit = should be wise; cf. 3, 22 ratio fuit.

33. terentium: cf. on 13 transmittentium. — expectandum ut: the clause usually embodies a desired result. — compositis: cf. 21 compositis rebus; 89 res Caesarum composuit. — prospectante: if Otho went to the Capitol to offer sacrifice (cf. 47), the greater part of the proceedings could be seen from the Domus Tiberiana. — dum . . . cludit: Tac. often inserts a dum-clause in or. obl. with its original mood, — one of the means by which he gives such animation to quoted speeches; cf. 3, 38 fin., 70; Dial. 32 fin. — egregius: the irony is continued in fortibus, nimium, praeclarum. iana, etc.: i.e. not venturing beyond his threshold; cf. Agr. 10 litore tenus adscrecere; Ann. 3, 5 porta tenus. — elanguescat: cf. 46 elanguerat; 4, 42 fin.; much more freq. Tac. uses elanguesce. — perinde = iuxta = equally. — vel = even. — invidosius: the caedes Galbae did inspire terror and odium towards Otho; cf. 2, 31.

34. nec: with diitius cunctatus; cf. 71 nec Otho, etc. — speciosiora: cf. 57 speciosis S.P.Q.R. nominibus; 2, 20 fin. speciosis et inritis nominibus; Ann. 1, 81 fin. — praemissus: Galba was to go to the camp later. — infensus: the sending of Piso would be thought by the praetorians to prove a decline in the influence of their bête noire, Vinius. — irati: i.e. esp. Laco and Icelus. — et = et vero or et sane; cf. 48 et Claudius, 59; 2, 10 sub fin. — vagus, etc.: cf. 2, 73 vagis adhuc et incertis auctoribus. — ut in . . . mendaciis: cf. on 4 ut erga principem. — inter gaudentes: cf. on 1 inter infenso. — arbitrabantur: not at the time, but soon afterwards; in multi he has in mind his sources.

35. plebs: cf. 4 fin. plebs sordida; 82 populus . . . plebs; 36. — in plausus: the verb is found in ruere in the figurative sense
(burst out), while the lit. sense is required with intus. — plerique: cf. on 5 plerisque. — intus: here used for intro; confusion of the two words was reckoned a solecism by Quintilian (1, 5, 50), but, if the text is sound, Tac. thought better of popular usage. — ausurus: cf. on 27 fin. sumpturi. — nimii verbis: sc. esse; cf. 3, 75 sermonis nimius. The plural after quisque and a superl. is not rare; cf. 2, 66 fin., 84 fin. — thorace: danger apart, Galba would have donned the thorax (= lorica) in any case, to appear before the praetorians. — insigni animo: the abl. qual. is particularized in the following adj. — minantibus: dat., while its counterpart is a prep. phrase; cf. Intr. 13. — incorruptus = incorruptible; cf. Ann. 3, 75 incorrupta libertate; Agr. 22 incorruptum . . . testem.

36. agmine et corporibus: abl. with contenti; the whole idea that they bore him on their shoulders in procession is condensed into three words. Cf. Suet. Otho 6 succollatus et . . . imperator consalutatus, inter faustas adclamationes strictosque gladios ad principia devenit. — in suggestu: cf. 55 fin. suggestu locutus; Ann. 1, 44 reus in suggestu . . . ostendebatur. — signa: each praetorian cohort had its own standard. — vexillis: the speculatores (cf. 27) are represented by their vexilla (cf. on 31 vexilla). — populo ac plebe: cf. 35, 40. — variis: i.e. lacking in uniformity, — no common spirit. — segni adulatione: abl. cause with variis. — armis: probably from armi rather than arma; cf. Verg. Aen. 12, 433. Most of the soldiers were at the moment without weapons (cf. 38 fin.); yet the speculatores of 27 were armed, and were, no doubt, the most conspicuous now. — praere: usually, of the officer who dictates the formula for the soldiers to repeat; cf. 2, 74 praeuentem sacramentum; Plin. Ep. 10, 52 praeivimus et commilitonibus ius iurandum. — deerat: cf. on 22 fin. — omnia serviliter: an adverb, adverbial phrase, etc., may suggest an unexpressed verb; cf. on 65 crebrius infestiusque; 52 plura ambitione; Intr. 26. — classicorum: they had joined the praetorians without delay, 31. — acceptit: the actual taking of the oath is meant; cf. 2, 6. — singulos . . . in commune: chiasmus; for in commune, cf. on 25 fin. — pro vallo: he has left the tribunal, to take his place on the wall; cf. 29 pro gradibus; 2, 26 pro vallo.

sustinuit. — in incerto: cf. 47 in incerto fuit; 2, 33 fin. in incerto reliquerat; 45 in ambiguo (also Agr. 5); frequent in Livy (in dubio, in facili, etc.). — auditisme: imagined hearing, of course; no such cries in or about the Forum could be distinctly heard at the camp (1½ miles away). — ut: this interrog. clause is more freq. after video. — poena mea: cf. 32 caedem Othonis. — cuius lenitatis est = qua lenitate est, ironical; cf. 2, 37 qua prudentia fuit. — tot milia: cf. on 6 introitus; Otho naturally exaggerates the numbers. — feralem = ghastly; applied in various senses to anything connected with death. — in oculis = in conspectu; cf. 2, 35 fin.; 50 fin. ex oculis = e conspectu. The Milvian Bridge (87) is more than 2½ miles from the Capitol. — Obultronius: aerarit quae tor in 56; cf. Ann. 13, 28.—L. Cornelius Marcellus: probably commander of a legion in Spain, previously procos. of Sicily (CIL. X, 7192). — Betuus: unknown. — Fonteius Capito: cf. on 7, where Macer is also mentioned; cf. 11. — Cingunius, Turpilianus: cf. on 6. — Nymphidius: cf. on 5. — remedia: cf. Ann. 1, 49 non medicinam illud . . . sed cladem appellans. — falsis nominibus: cf. Agr. 30 fin. auferre, trucidare, rapere, falsis nominibus imperium . . . appellant. — severitatem = strictness; cf. on 14. — saevitia = severity. — septem: from June 9, 68. — Icelus: cf. 13. — Polycliti, etc.: typical plural, — a Polyclitus, or the Polycliti; cf. 2, 95. A freedman of great influence, Polyclitus was sent by Nero to Britain with extraordinary powers after the revolt of Boadicea, in 61; Ann. 14, 39; put to death by Galba. — Vatinius: a buffoon from Beneventum, who gained great power over Nero. Tac. reckons him as one of the foedissima ostenta of the court (Ann. 15, 34). — Aegialus: not mentioned elsewhere. — perdiderunt = squandered; cf. 30 perdere iste sciet. — nunc: cf. on 15 nunc. — una illa domus: sc. T. Vinii; others understand Icelus’ house to be meant; but the thrust at Vinius is no mere parenthesis. — exprobratur = obicitur; Galba had made their requests a matter for reproach; cf. 5 fin.

38. ab exilio: cf. 48, 21. — tristitia: cf. 14 fin. tristior; the quality meant is an exaggeration of severitas (cf. on 37), showing itself in a man’s whole bearing. — tempestate: cf. 18 imbrisbus . . . tonitura, etc. — voco: cf. 2, 76 ad imperium voco. — omnium: Otho omits to make exception of the legions on the
Rhine, the news of whose uprising under Vitellius was being suppressed as far as possible by Galba; cf. 50. — nec . . . defendit = et . . . haud defendit. — una cohors: cf. 29, 31. — togata: i.e. without armor, as the praetorians did not actually wear the toga. — detinet: implying that otherwise Galba would flee. — signum = watchword, given out by the imperator to the tribune commanding the cohort on guard; cf. Ann. 1, 7 signum praetorius cohortibus ut imperator dederat (sc. Tiberius); Nero's first signum was Optimà mater, ib. 13, 2. — mihi plurimum imputet = shall lay me under the greatest obligation; lit. set down the highest charge against me; cf. 55 fin., 71; 2, 60, 85. — peractum: cf. Intr. 27. — armamentarium: for the arsenal in the praetorian camp cf. 80. The tombstone of its architect (temp. Vespas., Domit.) has been found near Rome; CIL. VI, 2725. — ut . . . distinguueretur: the clause expands and explains more et ordine militiae; cf. on 2, 23 ne . . . tolerarent. — insignibus = emblems, designations (on the armor). — miscenetur: i.e. armed themselves indiscriminately; the arsenal contained weapons and armor for all kinds of troops; some contented themselves with the accouterments of auxiliaries.

39. in urbem usque: the camp (cf. 17) was separated from the "Servian" Wall and Agger by an open campus, the distance from the porta praetoria of the camp to the Porta Viminalis of the city being less than one third of a mile. Piso may have gone as far as the city gate (cf. 34). — adsecutus erat: perhaps near the temple of Vesta; cf. 2, 65 adsequitur. — retulerat: from the troops at the Porticus Vipsania; cf. 31. — redire . . . petere: for the usual ut-clause; an infin. constr. with censere is found also in Sall. and Livy; cf. 1ug. 21, 4 velle et censere eos ab armis discedere; Livy 21, 20, 4 censere . . . ipsos id avertere in se, etc.; 45, 16, 1 censuere . . . fieri . . . et Macedoniam Illricumque eodem . . . obtiner. With the passive also; cf. 2, 10 dari . . . censebant. — plerique: cf. on 5 plerisque. — rostra: in front of the Temple of Concord. — occupanda: by its derivation the word retains the thought of a rival or enemy, to be outwitted or anticipated by prompt action; so in 56 occupari . . . fortunam; 62 occupandum urbem; 84 nationes . . . occupavit. — plures = Ciceronian plerique; cf. 41, 52. — Laco: cf. 13. — initio . . . orto: even
Tac. employs this pleonasm, common everywhere in Latin; cf. 2, 79 initium... coetum. — diffugia: plur. abstract; cf. trans fugia, 2, 34; effugia, Ann. 3, 42, etc. No other extant writer uses diffugia. Cf. on 22 luxus. — alaces: cf. 35.

40. agebatur: in his sella, 35; he is now in the Forum. — basilicis: on the right (N.) the Basilica Aemilia, on the left the Basilica Iulia, begun by Julius Caesar. These great buildings, divided by rows of columns or pillars into aisles (five in number in the case of the Iulia), served at the same time the purposes of law courts, exchanges, and public lounging places. From their second stories (over the side aisles and porches) they commanded a view of the open area of the Forum. — templis: of Castor and Pollux, Saturn, Concord, the Curia. — prospectu: i.e. the scene upon which they looked down. — plebis: cf. 35 init. — vox... aures... tumultus: for the style of this description cf. Intr. 23. — quale, etc.: i.e. tale silentium, quale. — occupare = anticipate, forestall; cf. on 39 occupanda. — Vologaesus I: (generally Volo gaeses in Ann.), king of Parthia in Claudius’ and Nero’s time, and through most of Vespasian’s reign; Ann. 12, 14 fin., etc. — Pacorus: brother of Vologaesus, and viceroy of Media; Ann. 15, 2, 14. — depulsuri: sc. essent; cf. on 21 fluxa. — rapidi = raptim vecti; cf. 2, 40 citus equo; only a part of the praetorians were mounted. — irruptunt: with the constr. of invadunt; cf. 61, 82; they had probably come by the Vicus Patricius from the Porta Viminalis, entering the Forum by the Argiletum, between the Curia and the Basilica Aemilia; Plut. Galba 26. — templorum: here including those on the Capitoline also. — religio = sanctity; cf. 43. — terruerere: with the const. of deterruerere; cf. 2, 63. — quo minus: cf. on 18 quo minus. — ultor: cf. 44 fin.

41. comminus = approaching; adv. with the force of adj. or ptcp.; cf. comminus pugnam, Ann. 2, 20; comminus captivitate (i.e. impending), Germ. 8. — vexillarius = signifer; for signum and vexillum are often interchangeable; cf. 44 inter signa cohortium. — cohortis: cf. 29. — imaginem: a medallion, probably of gold, attached to the shaft in the midst of the (horizontal) wreaths, and other emblems, which had been presented to this cohort. — Curtii lacum: a celebrated spot, near the center of the Forum, connected by different legends with Mettius Curtius, the Sabine
king (Livy 1, 13), and with the youth M. Curtius who leaped into a chasm, which thereupon closed over him (id. 7, 6). It was entirely dry in the time of Augustus (Ovid, F. 6, 403). The existing remains, found in 1904, consist chiefly of an irregular enclosure, ca. 10 × 6 metres, containing a dodecagonal base, etc.—

ferentium: subst. use of the ptcp., esp. freq. for a noun of agency, even in the Dial.; e.g. 6 dicentium = oratorum; ib. orantibus = oratoribus; 41 medentis = medici; ib. cognoscentis = iudicis. —

mali = crime (not its punishment). — meruisset = fecisset, or commisisset, as in 4, 72. — deprecatum: stronger than precatum; on the “aoristic” use of ptcp. cf. Intr. 12; cf. Ann. 11, 35 non moras temptavit, precatus ut mors acceleraretur. — agerent: i.e. hoc agerent (as in Suet. Galba 20), from the sacrificial formula (hoc age), which called attention to the beginning of the ceremonies. —

evocatum: i.e. he had completed his term in the ranks, and now enjoyed the special favors of the evocati, who served as volunteers, employed mainly in civil functions. Galba also gave this name to a bodyguard of knights; Suet. Galba, 10.—

quintae decumae: cf. on 9 legiones.—

hausisse = perfodisse: used by soldiers when a man was killed by a side-thrust (Serv. on Aen. 10, 314); but the historians and poets in thus using the word, no doubt consciously imitated Homer’s διαφόρον (e.g. Il. 13, 507 f.). Cf. Lucr. 5, 1324; Ov. Met. 5, 126 latus hausit; Liv. 7, 10, 10; Claud. Quad. ap. Gell. 9, 13, 17. —

tegebatur: sc. thorace, 35.

42. et ipso: simply also (with reference to 41 varie prodidere, to non satis constat, etc.). This use of et ipse = he also, very rare in Cic., is lacking in Caes. and Sall., freq. in Livy, seldom in Tac.; cf. 2, 33 fin. — conscientiam: i.e. to claim knowledge of Otho’s instructions was to inculpate himself. Trustworthy accounts of Vinius’ conduct during the final scene were lacking. If he was privy to the conspiracy, Tac. lets him overdo the part of Galba’s friend, to the complete neglect of his own safety. —

huc: cf. Ann. 14, 2 fama huc inclinat. — ut . . . fuerit: the supposition takes the form of a subst. clause in apposition with huc. Similar brachylogy is not rare even in Cic.; cf. Leg. 2, 11; Fin. 1, 14; N. D. 1, 21.—

aedem: the Temple of the Divus Iulius was built by Augustus at the east end of the Forum, on the spot where Julius had erected new rostra, and where his body
was burned. The foundation remains. — iacuit = cecidit. — in poplitem: by zeugma with transverbatus.

43. insignem . . . virum: cf. Aen. 1, 10 insignem pietate virum. — Sempronius: in Plutarch (Galba 26) and Dio (64, 6) he loses his life while protecting Galba. — custodiae: for his projected visit to the camp. — exprobrans ac . . . vertendo: cf. Intr. 13. — quanquam: used like quamvis with a ptcp.; cf. 60 fin., 63, 76; 2, 15, 72, 86. — aedem Vestae: a circular temple, close to the Aedes Divi Iulii and the Castor temple; the remains are insignificant. — publici: the sacristan, or aedituus, was a slave of the state. — contubernio: cf. 3, 74; the house of the aedituus must have adjoined the Atrium Vestae, or palace of the Vestals; there could be no concealment within the temple. — caerimoniiis: (i.e. loci) = hallowed character, syn. with religione; cf. 40 fin.; of a spring, potus sacros et caerimoniam loci, Ann. 14, 22 fin. — cum advenere: cf. on 29 init. — nominatinim: explained by 44 init. — Britannicis: cf. 6 numeri e . . . Britannia.

44. levata = freed, relieved. — vacare gaudio: not merely have time to rejoice, but give itself wholly to rejoicing. — recordatio . . . confuderat: this stands logically in a concessive or adversative relation to Pisonis . . . credebat, but the members are merely coördinated. — imagine: i.e. associations. — legionis: sc. classicae, cf. 31 and 36. — qui interfuerant: they had taken pains to stain their hands too. — iactabant: sc. caedem; cf. 51 iactabant. — libellos = petitions. — postea: after the short reign of Otho. — honori: instead of ad honorem; cf. Ann. 2, 7 fin. honori patris; also with dare, cf. 77 honori datum. — munimentum . . . ul-tionem: explanatory apposition to the sentence, — regularly acc. when the verb denotes activity. The purpose, or result, is then briefly expressed by mere apposition, or the writer adds in this form his own comment; cf. 46 fin. rem . . . utilem; 72 effugium in futurum, 3, 31 extremum malorum; 4, 19 causam seditioni; Ann. 1, 27. Note in the present case the chiasmus and variety in prepositions; cf. Intr. 8, 13. — ad praesens: cf. 85 init. ad praesens. — in posterum: in case of their own assassination their successors would maintain the tradition of vengeance; cf. 40 fin.

45. aliquum: cf. 2, 90 alterius civitatis senatum populumque; Plut. Galba 28 καθάπερ ἄλλοι γεγονότες. — crederes: cf. on 10
laudares. — proximos: the acc. has become the usual constr. with anteire in Tac.; cf. 87 fin.; on 2, 3 stirpem; 2, 5, 30. — exosculari: this silver Latin cpd. has the mg. of an intensive; cf. 2, 49 exosculantes. — falsa: cf. 19 effusus qui noluerat. — avidum: in what direction, is shown by praevarum inicium below. — temperans: conative, cf. 9 retinentis. — Celsus: cf. 31, 39. — artibus qualities, as in 10 malis bonisque artibus. — iubere: sc. scelus. — iussum: translate having ordered, etc.; not depending upon adfirmans. — et: connecting iussum with adfirmans, in spite of the difference of voice and agreement, — a freedom borrowed from the Greek; not rare in Livy; cf. Ann. 3, 11 (-que); Intr. 13. — exitio subtraxit: he was later pardoned by Otho; cf. 71.

46. deinde = from this time on. — Plotius Firmus: cf. 82; he appears again as a devoted friend of Otho, at the latter's death, 2, 46, 49. — mahipularibus: cf. on 25 manipulares. — vigilibus: cf. on 20 fin. vigilibus. — Licinius Proculus: cf. 82, 87; 2, 33, 39 f., 44, 60. — fovisse: cf. 4, 34 fin. suspicatus bellum malle; Ann. 2, 57 dissentire manifestus; a usage borrowed from the poets. — Flavius Sabinus: elder brother of Vespasian (cf. on 10), with whom he served in the conquest of Britain; governor of Moesia, prefect under Nero; cf. 2, 55, 63, 99; 3, 59 et passim, esp. 75 (his necrology). — vacationes: here by meton. the sum paid for exemption from duty (vacationes munerum). It was an old abuse; cf. Ann. 1, 17, 35. — pendebat: sc. vacationes. — dum = dummodo. — genus quaestus: explained by latrocinia, etc. — pensi = importance, consideration (lit. weight); gen. of price, as Dial. 29 pensi habet, and Val. Max. 2, 9, 3 nec pensi duxerat; cf. Ann. 13, 15; developed out of the partitive use of pensi with nihil and quicquam in Sall. and Livy. — latrocinia et raptus: for the pair of synonyms, cf. Intr. 14; for the plur. abstract, cf. on 22 luxus. tum = ad hoc = moreover. — fatigari: here the hist. inf. standing alone; cf. 50 maerere; 52 instigare; 2, 11 fin. ire; 19 laudari; 23 fin. miscere cuncta. — elanguerat: cf. 33 elanguescat. — bella civilia: the force of ad (with seditiones) is still felt; cf. on 4 legiones. — vulgi: obj. gen.; cf. on 2, 72 veri. — fiscum: as distinguished from the senatorial treasury, aerarium, the imperial treasury was called fiscus. It was charged with the maintenance of the army, the military provinces, etc. — annuas: i.e.
the centurions annually received from the *fiscus* a fixed sum, in place of the *pretia vacationum.* — *rem:* for the apposition cf. on 44 *munimentum.* — *principibus:* also by Vitellius, 58 init. — Laco: cf. 13. — *praefectus:* in contrast with *in libertum* below. — *tamquam:* i.e. he and others were given to understand that he was to be imprisoned on an island (cf. 2 *plenum exiliis mare*). Grammatically this clause should depend on a perf. ptcpr., e.g. *amotus* (cf. Ann. 16, 9 *tamquam Naxum devehetur, Ostiam amotus*); but such a word is merely implied in the *praec of praemiserat.* — *confossus:* at the island. — *libertum:* now a freedman of Otho, as successor to Galba; for the *liberti Caesaris,* cf. 37, 58; 2, 92 fin., 94, etc. — *animadversum:* i.e. he was tortured and crucified; cf. on 2, 72 fin.; 4, 11 fin. The place of execution was a building (Sessorium) to the east of the Esquiline. It was later inclosed in an angle of the Wall of Aurelian, at S. Croce in Gerusalemme; cf. Plut. *Galba* 28 fin.; Ann. 15, 60; 2, 32 fin.

47. *vocat:* by their position the verbs of this passage emphasize the indecent haste. — *praetor urbanus:* both consuls being dead, the duty devolved *more maiorum* upon the *praetor urbanus.* — *Augusti:* most conspicuous of the imperial titles, first given to Octavian in 27 B.C. Vitellius accepted it reluctantly, 2, 90 fin. — *honores:* the titles *imperator* and *Caesar,* the office of pontifex maximus, etc. The consulship also was of course awarded to Otho, an office upon which he entered Jan. 26, with his brother as colleague; cf. 77. — *sensit:* Tac. does not doubt that Otho remembered the *convicia,* but no one suffered the consequences (*sensit).* — *in incerto:* cf. on 37 *in incerto;* Ann. 6, 45 *omiserit receptivit, in incerto fuit ob propinquum vitae finem.* — *in Capitolium:* in order to make a thank-offering. — *concedi . . . permisit:* silver Latin constr.; cf. Ann. 14, 12 *cineres reportari sepulcrumque extrui permisit; Hist. 4, 22 rapi permiserit;* so with *oro, impetro,* etc., Ann. 11, 10 fin. *permitte . . . orabant;* 12, 27 *deduci impetrat.* The tautology may be reproduced from the official language of the *acta diurna.* — *Verania:* daughter of a governor of Britain, Q. Veranius, cos. 49. An anecdote about her is told by Pliny, *Ep.* 2, 20. Her epitaph (with her husband’s) was found some years ago near the Via Salaria (*Bull. Com.* XIII, 1885, p. 102; *CIL.* VI, 31723). — *Scribonianus:*
Crassus Scribonianus, cf. 15 est tibi frater. There was also a sister,Licinia Magna, wife of another Piso (L.). — Crispina: cf. 13 vidua filia; 72 servatam ab eo filiam.

48. explebat — had not yet completed; cf. 3, 86; usually agebat. — Magnus: Cn. Pompeius Magnus, had married Claudius’ daughter Antonia; was with the emperor in Britain, but put to death ca. 47 with his parents; cf. on 14; Suet. Claud. 27, 29; Sen. Apoc. 11, 2, 5. — Crassus: M. Licinius Crassus Frugi, cos. ord. 64; accused by the notorious Regulus and put to death; cf. 4, 42; Plin. Ep. 1, 5, 3. — interfecerant: instead of the sing. required by class. usage for the independent, or contrasted, action of two subjects; cf. 76 adegere; 2, 24 sumpser.; and on 2, 30 in-ridebant; Tac. regularly prefers the plur. — exul: cf. 21 exilio. — quadrir duo: cf. on 19 quadrir duo. — Caesar: cf. on ib. Caesaris. — properata: properare, like festinare, is used trans. by Tac.; cf. 76 fin.; 2, 57; 3, 40. — prior occideretur: from this it is evident that Scribonianus also was put to death later on, perhaps by Domitian. — variis: explained by what follows. — avus: perhaps the T. Vinius who was proscribed by the triumvirs (Dio 47, 7). If so, the name must have been assumed in consequence of adoption, or a will. — legatum: cf. on 9; the province meant was Pannonia, in the time of Caligula. — C. Calvisius Sabinus: cos. 26; narrowly escaped death for maiestas in 32 (Ann. 4, 46; 6, 9). On returning from Pannonia he and his wife were both accused, but anticipated trial by suicide in 39. Seneca (Ep. 27, 5 ff.) pointedly says that he had both the wealth and the character of a freedman. Cf. Dio 59, 18. — habuerat: Vinius was probably tribunus militum at the time. — uxor: Cornelia; cf. Dio, l.c.— lascivia: no word is too strong to express Tac.’s abhorrence of such trifling, most repugnant to Roman feeling. Tiberius was highly incensed at Agrippina’s familiarity with the camp; Ann. 1, 69; cf. ib. 2, 55. — principis = headquarters, the open space before the general’s tent (praetorium); here were the standards, the tribunal, and an altar. — mutatione: i.e. the accession of Claudius. — inoffenso: i.e. he encountered no further obstacles. — respersus: only here in Tac. in a figurative sense. — tanquam . . . furatus: the charge takes the form of a ptcp. clause with tanquam. Tac.’s use of tanquam does not carry with it a judg-
ment as to the truth or falsity of the statement; cf. on 8 tan-
quam . . . foviessent. — et: cf. on 34 et. — fictilibus: a calix fictilis
quaes triumviratu iussaret. — Gallia Narbonensis: a senatorial prov-
ince conquered 121 B.C. (and enlarged by the territory of Massilia,
49 B.C.). It extended from the Pyrenees to the Lake of Geneva.
Its chief cities were Narbo (Narbonne), Tolosa (Toulouse), Ne-
mausus (Nîmes), Arelate (Arles), Massilia (Marseilles), Valentia
(Valence), Vienna, the capital (Vienne), Cularo (Grenoble), and
Genava (Geneva). Cf. 76, 87. — severe: a complimentary term;
 cf. on 14 severus. — intendisset: cf. on 10 vacaret. — paupertas:
not poverty.
49. neglectum — uncared for, unprotected. — dispensator —
steward, cashier, in charge of accounts, etc., an important post in
any large slave-household. — hortis: beyond the Janicum, on
the Via Aurelia (Suet. Galba 20). — lixas = sulera; cf. 2, 87; 3,
33. — calones = camp-servants, unarmed slaves; cf. on 2, 87. —
suffixum: cf. Suet. Galba 20 qui hasta suffixum (sc. caput) non
sine ludibrio circum castra portarunt. — Patrobius: his character
may be inferred from 2, 95 Polycritos Patrobios et vetera odiorum
nomina. — punitus: i.e. executed. — tribus: this would give 5
— principes: Augustus to Nero inc. — emensus: with the figure
of a road traversed. — suo: his reign was nine months and twelve
days, from Apr. 3, 68, when he was hailed imperator in Spain,
seven months six days from the death of Nero. — ingenium —
character. — extra: both extra and citra are used in silver Latin
in place of sine; cf. Agr. 1 citra fudem; ib. 8 extra invidiam nec
extra gloriam erat. — appetens . . . avarus: climax. — incidisset:
 cf. on 10 vacaret. — forent = essent; also subjv. of indefinite fre-
quency; cf. 2, 5 si res posceret; only one case with si has been
cited from Cicero (de Orat. 1, 232), and that open to another
explanation. — natalium = generis; a silver Latin innovation; cf.
2, 76 nobilitate natalium; 86 claris natalibus; Agr. 6 splendidis
natalibus. — obtentui = excuse, more lit. mantle; cf. Ann. 1, 10
obtentui sumpta; in Hist. 2, 14 fin. mantle = protection. — sa-
pientia: cf. Agr. 6 gnarus sub Nerone temporum, quibus inertia pro
sapientia fuit. — apud Germanias: the colloquial use of apud for
NOTES

in (apud forum, etc.), found in the comedy, in official language, once or twice in Cic., became very common in the later writers; of countries, first in Tac. Galba was governor of Upper Germany under Caligula, and won high credit as a commander; Suet. Galba 6. He also went to Britain on the staff of Claudius in 43; Suet. ib. 7.—Africam: cf. Suet. ib. Africam pro consule biennio optimi (a more usual expression than Tac.'s continuit) ... ordinavtique magna severitatis ac iustitiae cura, etiam in parvulis rebus.—maior privato, etc.: cf. Intr. 27.

50–70. The rise of Vitellius. Made emperor in Germany, he sends two armies over the Alps.

50. simul ... simul: Cic. or Caes. would have used cum ... tum or et ... et, etc. A single example of simul ... simul is cited from Caes. (B.G. 4, 13, 5); freq. in Vergil, Livy, and Tac. —paventem: cf. on 29 paveam.—Vitellio: cf. 14 init.—suppress: cf. 16 si duae legiones ... nondum quiescent.—credetur: in place of the class. constr. (acc. with infin.) with the pass. of credo, Tac. regularly prefers, as here, the personal constr. —nom. with infin.; cf. 78 creditus est ... agitavisse; 4, 67 interisse creditus; but cf. 90 Othonem uti credebatur.—maerere: cf. on 46 fatigari.—recentia: under Nero.—saevae pacis: cf. 2 init.—repertita, etc.; cf. Ann. 15, 46 iam Spartacum et vetera mala rumouribus ferente populo.—exercitibus: the (inferior) agent, treated as mere means, the responsibility resting with their commanders. Cf. 79 fin. suis ducibus, etc.—Pharsalian: the district around Pharsalus; cf. 2, 38; the names are so arranged that the great battles at a distance are paired (asynedetically), while the lesser battles, of even more terrible memory, on Italian soil form a second pair (with polysyndeton). Euphony and alliteration were further reasons for deserting the chronological order (Pharsalus, 48, Mutina, 43, Philippi, 42, Perusia, 41).—imperium: note the contrast with rem publicam, below (on the latter cf. 16 init.).—Pompeio: the opposite view of Pompey (Tac.'s own opinion) is given in 2, 38.—ituros: rhetorical question; ibimus in oratio recta; cf. 2, 48 an Vitellium ... fore; 75 quid enim profuturas, etc.—inter: cf. on 1 inter infensos.—deteriorem: even if the lesser villain should be victorious, success would make
him a worse man than his rival in infamy. The thought was perhaps a Stoic commonplace. A parallel is cited from Sen. Ep. 14, 13: shall it be Caesar or Pompey? — a question of no moment to Cato: *quid tua [sc. referat], uter vincat? potest melior vincere, non potest non peior esse, qui vicerit.* — *arma Orientis:* cf. 2, 1 *arma Vitellii;* Intr. 19. — ut . . . ita: cf. on 4 ut . . . ita. — *ambigua:* for his *avaritia,* cf. 2, 5; Suet. Vesp. 16 *sola est, in qua merito culpetur, pecuniae cupiditas.* — *omnium,* etc.: this illogical inclusion of himself among those with whom he is compared, appears to have arisen from a misunderstanding of Homer’s ἰξυ-μορώτατος ἄλλως, where the gen. was not part. but ablatalval, marking “the starting point of the comparison” (Seymour on Il. 1, 505). Cf. Agr. 34 *ceterorum Britannorum fugacissimi;* Milton’s “fairest of her daughters,” and two similar cases in the same context, P.L. 4, 321–324. — *ante se:* in attributive position; a Graecism, in place of *superiorum.*

51. *Vindex:* cf. on 6. — *ditissimi:* the wealth and prosperity of Gaul in this period were almost proverbial. King Agrippa asked the Jews whether they thought themselves richer than the Gauls; Josephus B.I. 2, 16, 4; Mommsen R. P. I, 115. Nero had at first rejoiced (?) at the news of Vindex’ revolt as an opportunity spoliandarum iure belli opulentissimarum provinciarum, Suet. Nero 40; cf. Ann. 3, 46; 11, 18. — *aciem:* *volebat* is in mind, but becomes *malebat* as the remainder of the sentence takes on a different form. — *ingenio = natura;* even of things; cf. 2, 4 ob *ingenium montis.* — *supererant:* cf. Germ. 26 *et superest ager;* 6 ne *ferrum quidem superest;* below, 83 *egregie supersunt.* — *seque et:* freq. in Tac., usually with a pronoun for the first term; also in Sall. and Livy; cf. Agr. 18 *seque et arma.* — *quaerere:* cf. on 46 *fatigari.* — *hostes:* sc. *Gallos* (from *Gallias*). — *deerat:* cf. on 22 fin. *deerat.* — *pars Galliarum:* i.e. esp. the Treveri and Lingones, 53 fin. — *instigatrix:* only here in Tac. — *Vindice = Vindicis nomine;* i.e. they ceased calling them *Vindiciani* in contempt. — *indiderant:* sc. *iis.* — *Sequani:* their territory (later included in Upper Germany) lay between the Arar (Saône) and the Jura; capital Visontio (or Vesontio) = Besançon. — *Aedui:* in Gallia Lugudunensis, west of the Sequani, between the Liger (Loire) and the Arar; capital Augustodunum = Autun, which replaced
Caesar’s Bibracte. — deinde: instead of reliquis or ceteris. — raptus penatium: cf. 46 raptus. — super: cf. on 8 super. — publice: the gifts were to communities, not individuals; cf. 66 publice . . . multitati. — in ignominiam: equiv. to a purpose clause; cf. on 12 in . . . odium. — iactabant: cf. 44 iactabant. — vulgatum: the neuter subst. takes the place of a clause (the fact that, etc.), as subj. of accessit. — Lugudunensis: Lugudunum (Lyons) had many reasons for attachment to the Julian-Claudian house. It was especially favored in its unique position as capital of the three Gauls; had a mint, and a garrison, — 1200 men, — the only troops stationed in Gaul; cf. on 64; Josephus B. I. 2, 16, 4; Strabo 4, 186, 192. It had contributed 4,000,000 sest. to the rebuilding of Rome after the fire of 64, and had received from Nero the like sum in 65, when Lyons had suffered in the same way still more disastrously; Ann. 16, 13; Sen. Ep. 91; Mommsen R. P. I, 95 ff. — fecunda: here with abl., as in 2, 92; but with gen. above, 11 annonaec fecundam. — et: the asyndeton could not be continued on account of the insertion of a modifier (here a clause); cf. 56; 2, 1 med.; 92, 95 med.; with aut 2, 80.

52. Vitellius: for his previous career cf. on 9. — plura: sc. egerat; cf. on 36 omnia serviliter. — ambitione: cf. on 1 ambitionem. — sordes: cf. 60 per avaritiam ac sordes. — Fonteius: cf. on 7. — integre: cf. 48 fin.; Agr. 7 integreque ac strenue versatum. — mensura: nom., sc. erat; others take it as abl. — in maius: as in 18 med. — ut . . . ita: cf. on 4 ut . . . ita; cf. sicut . . . ita below. — humilis: in a bad sense, common, vulgar; cf. 2, 23 fin. humillimo cuique. — faventes = fautores. — sine modo: cf. 76 fin. — imperi dandi: cf. Ann. 15, 52 imperium . . . daturis; 12, 64 fin. filio dare imperium; 14, 7 illo sibi die dari imperium. — modesti = orderly, well-disciplined; cf. on 60 modestia; 2, 12 modestiam disciplinae; 87 summa modestia; Agr. 20 laudare modestiam. — A. Caecina Alienus: cf. 53; one of the leading figures in the story from this point on; cos. suff. in 69; cf. 2, 71, 99–101; 3, 8–9, 13–14, 37. He conspired against Vespasian in 79, and was put to death by Titus as prefect of the city; Suet. Tit. 6. — C. Fabius Valens: cf. 7, 57, 61, etc.; legatus of the 1st legion, at Bonn; the rival of Caecina in the struggle for the control of Vitellius; cos. suff. with Caecina; cf. 2, 71 et passim; his
death as a prisoner at Urbinum, 3, 62. — tanquam: cf. on 8 tan-
quam . . . fovissent. — detectam a se = his disclosure of, etc., and
similarly oppressa; Intr. 11. — cunctationem: cf. 8 nec statim,
etc. — instigare: cf. on 46 fatigari. — ipsum: sc. Vitellium.—
Flaccus: cf. on 9. — male: cf. on 17 fin. male. — precarium: not
precarious, but held on sufferance; those who gave (i.e. the legions)
could also take away. The expression is from the Roman law,
which recognized in precarium a specific form of loan or lease
that could be recalled at will, as being a matter of pure benevo-
lence. Cf. Dig. 43, 26, 1, 2 qui precario concedit, sic dat quasi
tunc recepturus, cum sibi libuerit precarium solvere. — sinum: cf.
3, 69 in Vespasiani sinum. — equestri familia: without the virum
or hominem of classical usage, cf. 53 scito sermone; so the
gen. qual. 69 notae facundiae (cf. note). — patris consulatus, etc.:
cf. on 9. — dignationem: cf. on 19 dignationem. — his: neut.;
cf. Tac.'s formula his atque talibus, Agr. 16; Ann. 11, 17, 24, etc.
— concupisceret: cf. 2, 76 quo posses videri concupisse.

53. iuventa: cf. 4, 1 procerum . . . iuventa; the word is always
abstr. in Tac., while iuventus is concrete. — animi: this loc. gen.
is freq. in Tac. (found also in Sall. and Liv.); cf. 2, 23 promptus
animi; 3, 58 aeger animi; Ann. 1, 69 ingens animi. — scito =
clever; cf. Ann. 6, 20 scitum . . . dictum (of a bon mot). —
iuvenem: predicate apposition. — Baetica: the southern, and
most thoroughly Romanized, province in Spain, governed by a
proconsul; chief cities Corduba (Cordova), Gades (Cadiż), His-
palis (Seville). — compertum . . . avertisse: for the constr. cf.
Ann. 4, 22 accusata inieciisse; ib. 31 convictus pecuniam . .
cepisse; so Sall., Livy. — passus: used absolutely; but 67 aegre
id passi. — miscere cuncta: cf. 2, 23 fin.; 4, 29 misceri cuncta;
Dial. 36 mixtis omnibus. — universus: cf. 51 contractae legiones,
etc. — vexillis: cf. on 31 vexilla. — praeventus: trans.; cf. 5
praeventam. — Treveri: in the Moselle valley; chief town Augusta
Treverorum (Trèves, Trier), one of the most important cities of
Gallia Belgica, in the 4th century a capital of the empire. —
Lingones: west of the upper Saône (Arar), about the sources of
the Seine and Marne (Sequana and Matrona); chief town An-
dematunnunum (Langres, mediev. Langoinne), on the through road
from the Rhine via Trèves to Lyons. — atrocibus: i.e. threatening;
cf. 2, 40 fin. — damno finium: cf. 8 finibus ademptis. — miscen-
tur: of dealings or relations with, etc.; cf. 74 antequam legionibus
miserentur. — pagonas = civilians; cf. 2, 88 adversus pagonas. —
favor: cf. on 8 Verginius. — profuturus: of that which was
naturally to be expected; cf. 11 fin. cessurae erant.

54. civitas: i.e. Andematunnun; cf. on 53 Lingones; cf. 64 in
civitate Leucorum; ib. proxima Liconum civitas. — dextras: as in
2, 8 dextrae, concordiae insignia; clasped hands, in bronze, proba-
bly. A specimen has been preserved at Lyons. — in squalorem:
cf. Agr. 42 in adrogantiam compositus; cf. 2, 9 in maestitiam com-
positus. — principia: cf. on 48 principii; the scene of this story
is Moguntiacum (Mainz), cf. on 9 init. — praemia: cf. on 8 re-
centi, and 51 remissam . . . publice donatos. — pronis . . . auri-
bus: as in 1 pronis auribus. — cum: on the cum inversum cf. on
29 cum adsertur. — per . . . inscitiam: darkness and ignorance
on the part of their commiliones are brought together under the
same preposition as being contributory causes; cf. 3, 22 per iram
ac tenebras. — circumdatis: this arrangement was a reversion to
the older camp plan as described by Polybius. The legions now
commonly surrounded the auxiliaries, as this passage shows. —
volvens: cf. 64 bellum volvebat; omitting the usual animo, in
animo, etc.

55. sollemni = customary; the sacramentum was renewed each
1st Jan. — adactae: adigere was the term for administering the
oath; it was done by the highest available officers. Cf. 76 Ves-
pastianus . . . Mucianus sacramento . . . adegere; 2, 55 (the praefer-
tus urbi); 79 (governor of Egypt); cf. 2, 14. — primorum ordinum:
probably = the front rows. Others understand the first centurions
(ten to each legion). The former interpretation is perhaps favored
by raris. Cf. 18 proximi militum. — sequi: a kind of apposition to
natura; cf. 2, 20 insita mortalibus natura . . . introspicere. —
primani, etc.: for the stations of the legions, cf. on 9 legiones;
below, 57 init. — iecerin: the usual neglect of tense-sequence in
a result-clause; cf. 60 perfugierit. — legiones: on the plur. cf. on
18 legiones. — hibernis: cf. on 9 exercitus; 54. The omission of
the prep. is esp. freq. in military Latin; cf. 2, 22 and Agr. 25
isdem castris; 2, 45 isdem tenctoris; but also 2, 50 celebri luco. —
tendentes: cf. 31 tendentes. — reverentiam: cf. 12 rupta sacra-
menti reverentia (on this same occasion); Germ. 29 imperii reverentiam. — exuere: cf. 3, 5 ne . . . ius fasque exuerent. — senatus populique: cf. 12 senatui ac populo Romano arbitrium eligendi permittere. — ut in tumultu: cf. on 4 ut erga principem; 8 tanquam . . . multitudine. — suggestu: usually with pro, de, or e, but if the text is correct, Tac. has preferred to match the prep. phrase in modum by simple abl.; cf. Ann. 3, 5 fin. toro; 14, 20 theatra; 16, 5 sedilibus; Dial 13 fin. tumulo; Intr. 13. — cui inputaretur = whom they could lay under obligations; cf. on 38 mihi plurimum inputet.

56. consularis: the word emphasizes the fact that he was commander of both legions, as governor of the province — an officer of the highest rank, but only spectator flagitti. — ruentes . . . dubios . . . bonos: anticlimax in form, but a climax of condemnation for Hordeonius. — et: cf. on 51 fin. et. — prioris sacramenti: to Galba, administered by Verginius Rufus, June, 68. — unde = a qua parte; from the expression ab aliquo stare = to stand up for a man (take sides for him) comes the use of unde, etc., with stare and esse; cf. Livy 21, 10, 9 unde ius stabat, ei victoriam dedit; id. 24, 45, 3 aliunde stet semper, aliunde sentiat. For the omission of correlative inde cf. 3, 17; 4, 29. — fuere: note the effect of the tense after erant. — colonia Agrippinensis: capital of Germania Inferior = Cologne, Köln. The younger Agrippina, who was born there during the German campaigns of her father, Germanicus, induced her husband, Claudius, to establish a colony of veterans at Oppidum Ubiorum A.D. 50, and gave her name to the new city; Ann. 12, 27; Hist. 4, 20, 25, etc. — aquilifer: he had 120 miles to cover between Mainz and Cologne. — occupari: cf. on 39 occupanda. — legiones: i.e. inferioris Germaniae, at Bonna (57), Novaesium, and Vetera (on 9). — proinde: cf. on 21 proinde. — minore discrimine: emphatic, — it was less dangerous; cf. 2, 46 maiore animo tolerari. — sumi: i.e. to take some one ready to hand, which could mean only Vitellius.

57. hiberna: at Bonna (Bonn); the camp was just north of the modern city. — Valens: he was now legatus of the 1st legion; cf. on 52. — cum equitibus legionis: the 120 cavalrymen attached regularly to the legion; his auxiliary cavalry would be more numerous; cf. Josephus B. I. 3, 6, 2. — speciosis: cf. 34 speciosiora.
— scires: cf. on 10 laudas. — penes = at the disposal of, under the orders of; res publica is personified. — Agrippinenses: cf. on 56. — Treveri, etc.: cf. on 53. — ingenio = ability, in various directions, — any kind of available talent, executive, inventive, etc. — ex affluenti: used as pred.; cf. 3, 49 satis factum bello radius et cetera ex facili (sc. fore); cf. Agr. 15 ex facili, used as simple adv., and so ex aequo frequently, e.g. 2, 77. — viatica: i.e. savings. — balteos = shoulder belts, over the left shoulder, supporting the sword at the right side; often adorned with silver bullae, etc., and given as rewards of valor. — phaleras: large disks of silver, with heads, etc., in relief. If a soldier had received several of these decorations, he wore them on a kind of harness across the breast; also used on the trappings of horses. — insignia: apposition with balteos, phaleras. — decora = ornata. — instinctu, etc.: the first et connects a pair of synonyms, the second after a slight pause, and with an unexpected sarcasm, adds a further motive, in some cases, i.e. cool calculation of large returns from their present investment.

58. igitur: cf. on 15 igitur. — ministeria: Vitellius, having no body of freedmen trained in accounts and affairs, was forced to make an innovation which was not regularly adopted by his successors until Hadrian. In Claudius’ reign the imperial freedmen, Narcissus, Pallas, etc., were virtually ministers, or cabinet secretaries, each with his special department (a rationibus, ab epis- tulis, etc.). — vacationes: the policy of Otho too; cf. 46. — ploingue = multos: cf. on 5 ploisue. — simulatione: Otho had done the same, 45 fin., 71. — Pompeius Propinquus: his offense was that he had been the first to inform Galba of the events of Jan. 1 at Mainz; cf. 12. — procurator: cf. on 2 fin. procuraciones; a Cornelius Tacitus, perhaps the father of the historian, had held this office in Gallia Belgica; Plin. N. H. 7, 76; Intr. 1. — classis: the Rhine fleet was first organized by Drusus, 12 B.C., and had played an important part in the campaigns of Tiberius and Germanicus. — tanquam: cf. on 8 tanquam . . . foveire. — Fontieio: cf. 8. — occidere . . . licebat: cf. 45 fin., of Otho’s similar embarrassment. — sanguine: is is omitted for reasons of euphony at the beginning; cf. 2, 86 prima iuventa.

59. Iulius Civilis: the politic mercy of Vitellius unexpectedly
gave the Germans an able leader in the serious war which broke out this same year, and was put down by Vespasian in 70; cf. 4, 13 et passim. — periculo: dat.; cf. 2, 93 periculo exemitter; 3, 4 discrimini exemptum; 3, 10 fin.; the class. constr. was abl. with ex or de (simple abl. also in Livy). — Batavi: at the mouths of the Rhine; cf. 4, 12. — ferox = warlike, eager for battle; cf. 68 ferores; 2, 43 ferox; Britain is a ferox provincia in Agr. 8. — et = et sane, as 34; i.e. such regard for the Batavians had its obvious explanation. — civitate Lignonum: cf. on 53. — Batavorum cohortes: after long service in Germany they were sent to Britain by Nero just after the revolt of Boadicea in 61; cf. 4, 12; Ann. 14, 38. They join Valens on his southward march through Gaul; cf. 64; 2, 27, 66, 69. — quartae decumae: it had shared in the conquest of Britain by Claudius, and the suppression of the rebellion of 61; recalled with the Batavian auxiliaries by Nero, 68; was in Dalmatia at the time of his death, or soon after; part of the legion fought for Otho at Bedriacum; sent back to Britain by Vitellius; cf. Ann. 14, 34; Hist. 1, 64; 2, 11, 27, 43, 66, etc. — inclinassent: not subjv. of repeated action (cf. on 10 vacaret), but an informal ind. discourse, representing the fut. perf. indic. in the mind of Vitellius, as he weighs the chances; in lieu of a principal clause we have merely apposition (momentum); cf. 76 and 2, 86 grande momentum. — supra: i.e. 56. — fidei crimine: cf. 71 servatae . . . fidei crimen. — desciscentes: cf. 31 fidus . . . et desciscendentibus spectactor. — Valerius Asiaticus: cos. designatus in Dec. of this year (4, 4); an inscription seems to show that he died before entering upon his office (CIL VI, 1528). He was probably son of the Valerius Asiaticus who owned the gardens of Lucullus (Pincian), and was forced to suicide by Claudius; cf. Ann. 11, 1, 3. — generum: the daughter in question afterwards received an ample dowry and a husband of rank from Vespasian; cf. 75 fin.; Suet. Vesp. 14. — Iunius Blaesus: he received Vitellius in state, 2, 59; poisoned in the autumn of this year, 69, through the machinations of Vitellius' brother, 3, 38 f. — rector = governor, — a broad, non-technical term; formally he was legatus Augusti pro praetore. — Italica: prima Italica, a legion organized by Nero, and with the ala Tauriana temporarily stationed at Lyons; cf. on 51 Lugudunensis; also 64, 74; 2, 41. — Tauriana:
doubtless owed its name to a Statilius Taurus; cf. Ann. 12, 59. — tendentibus: cf. 31 tendentes. — Raeticis: cf. 68 Raeticae alae cohortesque; cf. on 11 Raetia. — ne . . . quidem = also not, not . . . either; cf. on 29 fin. — dubitatum: i.e. the legions in Britain promptly took the sacramentum to Vitellius.

60. M. Trebellius Maximus: colleague of the philosopher Seneca as cos. suff. in 56 (or 55); engaged in a census in Gaul in 61 (Ann. 14, 46); governor of Britain, 63–69; in the Agr. 16 Tac. describes his administration in rather more favorable terms. — per, etc.: i.e. the means by which he had won the contempt and hatred of the soldiers; an innovation upon the usual expression of cause with propter (ob in Tac.; cf. on 65 propter). — M. Roscius Coelius: cos. suff. 81; his successor in Britain was Tac.'s father-in-law; Agr. 7 fin. — vicemensiae: cf. on 9 Britannico. — olim = for some time; cf. 67 quod olim Helvetii, etc.; 2, 7 olim mixtis consiliis; 92 olim anxii odiis; Agr. 3 res olim dissociabiles (i.e. from time immemorial). — proruperant: the other party, Trebellius, had been suggested by discors. — spoliatas: cf. per avaritiam, above. — cum interim: a special type of cum inversum, cf. on 29 eum adfertur. — modestia = discipline, good order; cf. on 52 modesti; 64 modestia certavere; 83 modestia; 2, 27 init. ad modestiam. — eoque discordiae: cf. 16 eo necessitatis. — cohortibus: i.e. of auxiliaries; cf. 54, 61 cohortibus alisque; 68 and 2, 11 alae cohortesque. — perfugerit: cf. on 55 iecerint. — quanquam: cf. on 43 quanquam. — consulari: cf. 9 sine consulari [sc. legato]. Vitellius sent Vettius Bolanus in place of Trebellius; 2, 65.

61. adiuncto: figuratively, connecting with 59 fin., since 60 is a digression. Only detachments (vexilla) actually came from Britain; cf. 2, 57; 3, 22. — Cottianis Alpibus: usually Cottiis. The longer route was via Trèves (cf. 53), up the Moselle valley, past Metz (63), Toul (64); then via Langres (54) and Dijon (Dibio) to the Saône, and so to Lyons (51); down the Rhone to Valence (Valentia); up the Drôme and the Durance to the pass, Mt. Genèvre (Alpis Cottia, later Matrona, 1860 metres), and down to Turin (Augusta Taurinorum). Distance, Cologne to Turin, ca. 690 Roman miles. — inrumpere: cf. on 40 irrupunt. — Poeninis iugis: the usual route from Germany led up the Rhine to Basel (Augusta Rauricorum), thence over the eastern end of the Jura
(Mons Vocetius, 68), to Windisch (Vindonissa; cf. on 1, 9; 4, 61, 70), up the Aar, and past the Lake of Morat, via Avenches (Aventicum, 68), to the Lake of Geneva at Vevey (Viviscea); up the Rhone to Martigny (Octodurus), over the Great St. Bernard pass (Alpis Poenina, 2428 metres), and down via Aosta (Augusta Praetoria). Distance, Mainz to Milan, ca. 460 Roman miles. — electi: i.e. a vexillum each from the 1st, XVth, and XVIth legions. — aquila: here by meton. for the main body; cf. the use of vexillum, e.g. 31 fin.; 2, 89 aquilae . . . vexilla . . . signa. — quintae: from Vetera; cf. on 9. — cohortibus: cf. 60 fin. — data: takes its gender from the appositive; cf. 86 fin. — ducebat: strictly speaking, not until he had passed Vindonissa, at the junction of the Reuss with the Aar, the station of XXI (cf. on 9; 2, 43). In addition to this legion he had detachments from the IVth and XXIIId legions at Moguntiacum. The rest of XXII evidently went to Italy with Vitellius; cf. on 2, 57 Germanici exercitus. — tota mole belli: cf. 2, 16 tanta mole belli; 74, 100. The phrase represents rather the potential than the actual strength of Vitellius' third army; it would be impossible to withdraw all the troops from Germany and Britain; cf. 2, 32.

62. instare: the eagerness of the soldiers is reproduced in the animated style of this sentence, — hist. infin., primary sequence (except esset), abrupt lapse into indirect quotation (at dum, etc.). All this in contrast with the leaden torpebat Vitellius. — cunctentur: for the sudden defection of Spain, cf. 76. — hiemem: Caecina did cross hibernis adhuc Alpibus, but not in January; 70 fin. — moras: i.e. inertia. — occupandam: cf. on 39 occupanda. — fortunam — high rank; cf. 10 fin. — praesumebat — enjoyed in advance; cf. Agr. 18 praesumpta . . . quites. — medio diei: the freq. use in Tac. of neut. subst. with gen.; cf. 3, 11 init.; 2, 53 medio temporis; 2, 14 fin. obscurum noctis. — sagina: contemptuous; cf. 2, 71 luxu et saginae mancipatus emptusque (of Vitellius); 95 fin. — cum tamen: cum, with imperf. in both clauses, marks the coincidence, tamen the contradiction. — uto: cf. on 7 uto. — munia: the form regularly preferred by Tac. in this mg. — addito: aoristic; cf. on 20 relictu. Formally the senate alone could confer the title. — Caesarem: he also declined at first the title Augustus; 2, 62, 90. — prohibuit: with acc. and pass. infin. even in Cic.
and Caes. — augurium: this kind of nom. apposition is to be distinguished from the acc. apposition, for which cf. on 44 muni-
mentum; the former allows greater freedom of position; cf. 4,
57 flagitium incognitum; Ann. 2, 17 pulcherrimum augurium.—
profectionis: i.e. from Cologne. — meatu = volatu. — incederet: 
 cf. on 10 vacaret.

63. Et . . . quidem: i.e. the omen had immediate fulfillment;
cf. 8. — Treveros: cf. on 53 Treveri. — Divodurum = Metz, which
is derived from Mediomatrici, corrupted into Mettis as early as the
sixth century (Venant. Fort.); next to Trèves the most important
place in the Moselle valley. — quanquam: cf. on 43 quanquam.—
raptis: cf. Intr. 7; the very loose abl. abs. displaces a result
clause (adeo terruit, ut, etc.). — ob prae
dam . . . cupidine: on the
variety cf. Intr. 13. — et causis incertis: et does not exactly cor-
respond with the preceding et (which rather = -que); cf. on 57
fin. instinc
tu. — eoque: the use of -que between ablative phrases
which we place in quite different categories shows that Tac. drew
no such hard and fast lines. — cum magistratibus et precibus:
may be taken as hendiadys (= cum magistratibus deprecantibus);
but it is unlikely that Tac. meant to limit the preces to the magis-
trates; and elsewhere he pairs things which do not strictly admit
of such treatment; cf. 2, 3 precibus et igne puro; 3, 22 per iram
ac tenebras, etc. — quaeque . . . tendebantur: for the loose con-
nection of this type of clause with a preceding abl. abs. cf. 2, 4
init. — placenta: i.e. other gifts, and olive-branches, fillets,
etc.; cf. 66 velamenta et infusula praeferentes.

64. imperio = accession: cf. on 4 imperi. — civitas Leucorum
= Tullum, now Toul, on the upper Moselle, west of Nancy.
The Leuci occupied the territory south of the Mediomatrici, north
of the Lingones, i.e. west of the Vosges Mts. — accepit: the news
must have reached this part of Gaul within twelve to fifteen
days; the date is then about the end of January. — in gaudium:
for the variety, — prep. phrase and abl., cf. Intr. 13. — volve-
bat: cf. 54 fin. volvens. — ex Vitellio: cf. Agr. 16 ex legato timor;
2, 67 e praetoriiis cohortibus metus erat; classical metus, etc. ab
aliquo. — Lingonum civitas: now Langres; cf. on 54 init. — mo-
destia: cf. on 60 modestia. — cohortium: the Batavians of 59. —
supra: 59. — iurgia: subj. of exsarsere, no ellipsis. — studia mili-
tum: cf. Cic.'s studia iuventutis = interested young men, Cato M. 28; cf. 17 publica expectatio. — exarsere: after prope it was unnecessary to write exarsissent. — animadversione = supplicio. — imperii = authority; gen. ἄφος κοινοῦ with oblivos and admonuisset. — Aeduos: cf. on 51 Aeduis. — Lugudunenses: cf. on ib. Lugudunensis. — gaudio: in Gaul and Germany Vitellius, having claimed the throne before the death of Galba, was considered the avenger of Nero. Elsewhere Otho profited by the same reaction. — Italica: cf. on 59 Italica. — ala: cf. ib. — duodevicensimam: for about fifty years at least the garrison of Lugudunum had consisted of a single cohort of a thousand men (Ann. 13, 41; 21 A.D.; 1200 men in Josephus B. I. 2, 16, 4), stationed there partly on account of the mint (moneta, cf. on 51). Cf. the tombstone (found at Vichy) of a soldier coh (ortis). XVII. LVGVDVNIENSIS. AD. MONETAM (CIL. XIII, 1499). By the year 69 the 17th cohort had been transferred to Ostia (below, 80), and the 18th had come in its place. They were probably reckoned among the cohortes urbanæ, of which three only were stationed at Rome. — solitis sibi: cf. Ann. 3, 51 Tiberius solitis sibi ambagibus; Hist. 4, 23 machinas etiam, insolitum sibi, ausi. — T. Manlius Valens: as legatus of a legion in Britain he was defeated A.D. 50 (Ann. 12, 40). At the age of 90 he became cos. in 96.

65. Vienenses: Vienna (Vienne) on the Rhone below Lyons, the chief town of the Allobroges. Even in the time of Claudius it was ornatissima colonia valentissimamque Vienensium, as that emperor himself describes it in an oration preserved in part on a bronze tablet at Lyons (CIL. XIII, 1668). Vienne was the seat of the senatorial governor of Gall. Narb. — bellum: the uprising headed by Vindex, governor of Gall. Lugud.; cf. on 6 and 8. Lyons remained loyal to Nero. — in vicem: attributive position; cf. Agr. 24 magnis in vicem usibus; Germ. 37 multa in vicem damna. — crebrius infestiusque: the ellipsis of fieri (here factae erant), agere, etc. was frequent in letters, rare in the historians, except Tac.; cf. 36 omnia serviliter, and note ad loc; 84 vos quidem istud pro me; Agr. 19 nihil per libertos. — propter: the only occurrence of causal propter in Tac., except Dial. 21; on the other hand he does not use his favorite ob of persons. — irae: i.e. to satisfy his anger; obj. gen.; or like 60 occasiones
civilium armorum, subj. gen. — discretis: Vienne is on the left bank, while Roman Lyons was on the right bank of the Saône, directly opposite the tongue of land between Rhone and Saône. The cities were in reality 16 miles apart, but fact is sacrificed to epigram. Note the chiasmus and antithesis. — conexum odium: i.e. a link of hatred. — nuper — more recently; i.e. after the fall of Vindex. — externa: supporting Vindex could be made to appear evidence of anti-Roman feeling. — coloniam: Vienne was also a Roman colony (cf. 66), but of more recent organization as such (Caligula, Claudius), than Lyons (43 B.C., Octavian). — partem exercitus: Lyons alone among Gallic towns had a Roman garrison; cf. on 64. — contra daret: as the judge, who decides in favor of one of the parties was said secundum aliquem dare, fortune here gives an unfavorable decision; the same phrase, Ann. 15, 13.

66. in eundem modum: attributive; Tac.'s usual phrase is his atque talibus; cf. 2, 2; 1, 16 fin. — cum: cf. on 29 cum adferatur. — velamenta et infulas: olive branches wound with woolen fillets; cf. Verg. Aen. 11, 101 velati ramis oleae veniamque rogantes; 7, 154 ramis velatos Palladis; Plaut. Amph. 257 velatis manibus orant. — vestigia: substituted for pedes partly for reasons of euphony; note the crescendo effect. — tum = tum demum; after their humiliation; cf. 82. — vetustas, etc.: cf. on 65 init. — aquis: cf. pronis auribus 1 and 54. — publice: i.e. as a community; cf. 51 publice donatos. — promiscuis = of every kind; omit et in translating. — fama constans: cf. Agr. 43 constans rumor. — inopi iuventa: causal abl.; or circumstantial abl. illogically connected with senex prodigus for the sake of the chiasmus. — Allobroges: their territory was partly inclosed (insula Allobrogum) between the Rhone and the Isère, but extended also to the Lake of Geneva and Mt. Blanc; chief towns Vienna, Cularo (Grenoble), Genava (Geneva). — Voconti: south of Grenoble, chiefly in the mountains of southern Dauphiné; principal towns Vasio (Vaison) and Lucus (v. below). — stativorum: it was a lentum agmen, lingering in stativa, until sufficient inducements tempted them to move on. — adversus: unusual for cum, when the phrase modifies a subst. — minaciter: join with venditante; his bargaining was not without threats of violence. —
Lucus: on the river Drôme, in Dauphiné, now Luc. — quotiens
... deeset: cf. on 10 vacaret. — Alpes: sc. Cottias; cf. on 61
Cottianis Alpibus.

67. haspit: zeugma, of that form in which the lit. and fig.
mg. of a word are combined; cf. below, tuebantur. — turbidum:
i.e. fiery; cf. 4, 38 nequaquam turbidus ingenio. — Helvetii:
Caesar, B.G. 1, 2 gives their boundaries as the Jura (N. and
W.), the Lake of Geneva and upper Rhone (S.), and upper Rhine
(N. and E.). — olim: before Caesar’s conquest, 58 b.c. The
greatest fame had been achieved by the canton of the Tigurini,
who under the lead of Divico had joined the Cimbri, 107 b.c.,
defeated a Roman army on the Garonne, had later invaded
Italy by the Brenner pass, 102, and returned to their homes the
next year after the great defeat of the Cimbri (Caes. l.c. 7 and
12; Livy, per. 65). — de caede ... ignari: instead of the gen.;
yet Tac. does not avoid two gen. depending on each other; cf.
70 init. — initium bello: a favorite use of the dat. with Tac.;
cf. 2, 1 initia ... imperio; 4, 19 causam seditioni; Ann. 2, 21
finem bello; ib. 64 fin. causas bello; Hist. 2, 19 sedem bello; 3,
8 quaes sedes bello legeretur. — unaetvicensimae: cf. on 61
ducebat. — rapuerant: i.e. before Caecina reached Vindonissa.
— castelli: cf. on locus, below; the nearness of the German frontier
accounts for the castellum, garrisoned and maintained by the
Helvetii. — olim: for the mg. cf. on 60 olim. — tuebantur: with
the usual mg. (with militibus) is combined that of maintained
(with stipendii); cf. above, haspit. Cf. Ann. 3, 54 nos ... nemora
nostreque villae tuebantur; Germ. 14 tueare. — epistulis = lit-
teris; i.e. a single letter, as often in Tac. and Pliny’s Ep.; cf.
2, 54 fin., 55 fin., 64, etc. — municipii: i.e. the vicus had grown
and prospered, until it might be mistaken for a municipium.—
locus = Aquae Helvetiorum, or vicus Aquensis, now Baden, east
of Vindonissa. The Roman interest in watering-places is shown
by the fact that the Antonine Itinerary contains the names of
more than thirty Aquae, and seventy others are known from
inscrr., etc. — amoeno: adds the idea of the picturesque situation.
— Raetica auxilia: cf. 59 fin.

68. ferores: cf. on 59 ferox; a common characteristic of the
Celts; cf. Caesar, B.G. 3, 19, 6 ad bella suscipienta Gallorum
alacer ac promptus est animus. — quanquam: with ind., uncommon in Tac.; cf. 2, 92 fin. — Claudium: many provincials in Gaul and the Rhine provinces bore the emperor Claudius’ name. The popularity of Julius Caesar was shown in the same way; cf. 68 fin. Iulium Alpinum; 69 Claudius Cossus; 4, 13 Iulius Civilis; 33, 55, etc. — non arma nascere — armis uti nescire. — ordines sequi: cf. Germ. 30 nosse ordines. — in unum: cf. 4, 70 in unum consulere; 2, 5 in medium consulueru; Agr. 12 in commune non consulant. — veteranos: the modern use of the word; not in the strict sense. — obsidio: from the standpoint of the besieged. — inde: preferred by Tac. to illinc as correlative to hinc; cf. 84 hinc . . . inde; 2, 6, 15, etc. — Raeticae: cf. 59 fin. — iuventus: i.e. militia. — exercita = trained, drilled; cf. 2, 4 exercitae bello. — medio: between the legion and the forces from Raetia; on the omission of in, cf. 3, 16 vacuum medio relinquit iter; Ann. 1, 64 medio montium et paludum. — vagi: to avoid the monotony of vagantes . . . palantes. Cf. Sall. Iug. 18, 2 vagi palantes; Liv. 5, 44, 5 vagique per agros palantium; 21, 61, 2 vagos palantisque per agros. — mons Voceti: now Bözberg, at the eastern end of the Jura. — cohorte Thracum: several cohorts of Thracians on the Rhine are known from inscriptions; one had its station at Neuwied. — sub corona: cf. Caelius Sabinus (the jurist) ap. Gell. 6, 4, 3 antiquitus mancipia iure belli capta coronis induta veniebant et idcirco dicebantur “sub corona” ventre; Ann. 13, 39 fin.; Livy 5, 22, 1, etc. — Aventicum: now Avenches, near the Lake of Morat; chief town of the Tigurini; cf. on 67 init. olim. — concitorem: cf. 4, 56 and Ann. 4, 25 concitores belii.

69. civitatis: i.e. Aventicum; cf. 54 init. — verbis ac minis: not necessarily hendiadys; Vitellius no doubt mingled reproaches with threats. — temperabat: here with dat. of that from which one refrains; cf. 3, 53 sermonibus; Ann. 13, 3 risui; 14, 37 neci; the class. constr. a and abl., above, 63 ab excidio; 2, 88 ab innoxiis; cf. on 2, 47 felicitati. — cum: cf. on 29 cum adfertur. — notae facundiae: for the gen. qual. connected directly with the name, cf. 4, 15 stolidae audaciae Brinno, claritate natalium insigni; 49 Valerius Festus, sumptuosae adul.Resolve the equation. 2x + 3y = 12, 3x - 2y = 11

For the
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abl. qual. so used, cf. on 52 equestri familia. — ut est mos: cf. 7 fin. ut est mos vulgi; 80 vulgus, ut mos est; Ann. 1, 39 uitque mos vulgo. — subitis: cf. on 7 subitis. — effusis: cf. 2, 45 in lacrimas effusi. — inpetraver: distance from the collective subj. vulgus, accounts for the plural.

70. Vitellii: he may have reached Trèves by this time. For his journey down the Saône and arrival at Lyons (April) cf. 2, 59. — alem Silianam: cf. 2, 17 on their reasons; this alem may have owed its name to C. Silius, governor of Upper Germany under Tiberius (Ann. 1, 31); it was in Pannonia under Domitian, in Dacia in the time of Trajan. — pro consule: Africa was a senatorial province of the first rank, governed by an ex-consul.

— Vitellium: cf. on 9. — in Aegyptum: on Nero’s plans cf. on 31 fin. — Vindicis: cf. 51 init. — revocati: cf. 9 excita a Nerone legiones. — decurionum: commanders of the turmae, — 30 men and more — in the alem or centuria equitata. — obstricti = under obligations, attached; cf. 2, 37 fin.; Ann. 14, 7 praetorianos toti Caesarum domui obstrictos. — Germanici exercitus: added for rhetorical reasons, partly emphasis, partly symmetry, — the Latin love of balanced phrases; cf. 2, 21 legionum et Germanici exercitus robur. — principi: with donum (cf. 3, 61 donum victori; 5, 22 fin. donum Velaedae), but also vaguely felt with adiunzere. — transpadanae: Augustus’ XIth region of Italy, reaching as far east as Lake Como and its outlet the Adda (Addua). — Mediolanum = Milan; the other towns, now Novara, Ivrea, Vercelli, were the first three stations on the highroad from Milan to Aosta and the Great and Little St. Bernard passes (cf. on 61). — ipsos: i.e. legati of the towns, accompanying messengers sent by the Silians; cf. Germ. 2 ipsos Germanos; Agr. 13 ipsi Britanni. — Italiae pars: i.e. the whole country north of the Po; for between the XIth region and the Xth (Venetia) there was no boundary that could assume military importance. — Lusitanorum, etc.: cf. on 13 Lusitaniam; various cohorts of Lusitani and Britons are known from inscriptions. — vexillis: i.e. cavalry, each alem having its own vexillum; cf. on 31 vexilla; 2, 11 equitum vexilla. — alem Petriae: owed its name perhaps to the T. Pomponius Petra of Ann. 11, 4, in the time of Tiberius. Mainz seems to have been its present station; in Britain after the Civil War; at the Wall of
Hadrian down to the end of the third century. — cunctatus est: with the constr. of dubitare = deliberate; only here in Tac. — num: introducing that alternative which one at first inclines to prefer; cf. 2, 83 ambiguum consilii, num, etc. — Raeticis iugis: i.e. from the Rhine valley above the Lake of Constance over into the upper valley of the Inn. — Noricum: cf. on 11 Noricum. — flexeret: for the absol. use cf. 2, 70 Cremonam flexit. — Petronius Urbicis: he appears as proc(urator) August(i) on an inscr. at Klagenfurt, CIL. III, Suppl. 11551. — procuratorem: cf. on 2 procurationes. — alasque: i.e. the Germanorum vexilla and ala Petriana. — foret = esset; cf. 49 forent. — cessuros: cf. 11 fin. in pretium belli cessurae erant. — Poenino: cf. on 61 Poeninis iugis. — subsignatum militem: i.e. legionaries, with the standards of their maniples, and the eagle of the XXIst (61 fin.); cf. 4, 33 subsignano milite. — et: explanatory = id est; in English the second member would naturally take the form of a mere appositive to the first. The unnecessary fullness of speech (cf. on Germanici exercitus, above) adds to the impression of a heavy column with baggage, in contrast to the light-armed advance guard. — legi- onum: a generic use of the plural, where one complete legion (cf. 61) is mentioned along with detachments of others; so also 2, 22, 25.

71–90. Otho as emperor. Having arranged his affairs at Rome in the midst of various alarms, he finally sets out to meet the armies of Vitellius.

71. Otho: by a tactful change of scene Tac. recalls his readers from the Vitellian armies in the Alps, and the impending invasion of Italy, to Rome and the new government of Otho. — non... torpescere: in contrast with his rival, — torpebat Vitellius, 62. — dilatae voluptates, etc.: cf. Intr. 23. — reditura: i.e. which might be expected to return; cf. 27 fin. sumpturi. — Marius Celsus: cf. on 14. — speciem, etc.: cf. 58 simulatone vinculorum. — titu- lus: with the figure of a eulogistic inscription, for the reputation itself; cf. 75 fin. clementiae gloriam. — fidei crimen: sarcastic, as 59 damnatos fidei crimine. — ultro: cf. on 7 ultro. — imputavit: i.e. he went so far (ultro) as to set it down to his own credit, as an example of fidelity; cf. on 38 mihi plurimum inpetet; 2, 60 pro- ditionem ultro inpetabant. — nec: to be joined with ignoscere;

72. Tigellinus: cf. on 24. — virilia scelera: cruelty and avarice are regarded as virilia scelera, in contrast with the effeminate immorality, vitia, which had commended him to Nero; cf. Ann. 14, 51. For his cruelty cf. tot interfectis, below. — desertor ac proditor: cf. Intr. 14. — diverso = opposite; cf. 83 diversis militum animis. — Vinii potentia: cf. 13 init. — filiam: i.e. Crispina; cf. 47 fin.; her life must have been endangered by some delator. — quippe: with abl. abs. in place of the classical quippe qui-clause, a constr. which Tac. has but once (Agr. 18). — effugium: for the acc. apposition, cf. on 44 munimentum; Intr. 8; here more noteworthy as parallel to an abl. cause. — pavens: trans., cf. 29 paveam. — vices impunitatis = mutual immunity; the thought springs over from cause to effect desired (and produced). — fora: north of the Forum Romanum there were at this time the Forum Iulium and Forum Augustum; near the Tiber were the older Forum Boarium and Forum Holitorium. — Sinuessanas aquas: medicinal springs at Sinuessa, on the Appian Way, beneath the Mons Massicus, on the border between Latium and Campania, — now Mondragone; cf. Ann. 12, 66; Liv. 22, 13, 10; Mart. 6, 42; Plin. N.H. 31, 8. — supremae necessitatis: euphemism; cf. 3 supremae . . . necessitates.

73. Calvia Crispinilla: prominent among those who used the favor of Nero for plunder; Dio 63, 12. — frustrationibus: circumst. abl.; so also adversa . . . fama. — dissimulantis: cf. 26 dissimulatio; but here it is a studied indifference, wilful blindness; cf. 2, 29 fin. — magistra libidinum: as Petronius was Nero's elegantiae arbiter, and Tigellinus prided himself on his scientia voluptatum; Ann. 16, 18. — transgressa: after Nero's death, fearing the vengeance of Galba. — Clodius Macer: cf. on 7. — famem: by preventing the exportation of grain from Africa, to the embarrassment of Galba's government; cf. 3, 48 on Egypt and
Africa as *annonae subsidia*. — **matrimonio**: her husband is unknown. Tac. disdains to mention him. — **orbitate**: i.e. she received many attentions from the will-hunters (*capiatores*). — **bonis**: even in Augustus’ time, and in spite of his rigorous legislation, there were great advantages in having no heirs; cf. *Ann.* 3, 25 *praevalida orbitate*. — **malisque**: for Nero’s time cf. *Ann.* 15, 19, where the orbi get everything *multa securitate, nullis oneribus*. For the epigram cf. *Intr.* 27.

**74. muliebrisbus**: i.e. such as appeal to the effeminate; cf. 75 ut *bello impares*. — **ab Othone ad Vitellium**: prep. phrases in the attributive position, as in Greek; cf. 76 *primus . . . ex Illyrico nuntius*; 4, 86 *occultis ad Cerialem nuntius*; *Ann.* 13, 9 ad *Volgo-gaesen regem nuntius*. — **offerebant**: under conditions so obvious that they are left unexpressed; cf. 3, 63, the offer made in Vespasian’s name to Vitellius, *si positis armis seque ac liberos suos Vespasiano permisisset*. — **quietis locis**: such e.g. as Baiae; cf. 3, l.c. *secreta Campaniae; 66 beatos Campaniae sinus*. — **mollius**: grammatically with *ostentabat*, but in thought applying also to Otho, as *utrimque shows*. — **in vicem**: for the class. *inter se*, as 75 in *vicem gnaris*; 2, 47 *experti in vicem sumus*; *Agr.* 37 *vita-bundi in vicem*. — **miserat**: cf. 19. — **Italicam**: cf. on 59 *Italica*. — **specie**: i.e. he pretends to write in the name of the senate. — **officii**: i.e. *escort*; but the real motive was that these praetorians might influence the soldiers of Vitellius. — **ultro**: cf. on 7 *ultro*. — **tanto**: in actual fact Vitellius’ precedence amounted to 13 days (12 for the upper province); cf. 55–57. — **vertissent**: Tac. seeks novelty by avoiding the usual verb, *deferre*.

**75. ut**: introduces the subjective reason: each felt that he was *bello impar*; cf. 8 *tannquam . . . fovissent*. — **neque = neque tamen**. — **sed**: one would expect *sed et = moreover*, as often in Tac. (cf. *Germ.* 17 *sed et proxima pars pectoris palet*). — **frustra**: regular use of the adv. as pred. to *esse* in the phrase *frustra est*; so *contra*, 2, 97 *fin., aliter*, etc. — **fallentibus = escaping notice.** — **in vicem**: cf. on 74 *in vicem*. — L. *Salvius Otho Titianus*: Otho’s older brother, was cos. ord. in 52; cos. suff. 69 (cf. 77); proconsul Asiae 63–64, with Agricola as his quaestor (*Agr.* 6); cf. 1, 90 *fin.*; 2, 23, etc., esp. 60. — **filio**: i.e. Salvius Coccelianus; cf. 2, 48. — **incolumnes**: cf. 2, 1 *incoli**i . . . *Galba*. — **mater**: Sextilia, an
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old-fashioned Roman matron (antiqui moris, 2, 64); received the title Augusta from her son, 2, 89; died, fessa aetate, a few days before his fall, 3, 67. — liberi: both by his second wife, Galeria Fundana, viz. — (1) a son, whom the father paraded as Germanicus, 2, 59; put to death by Mucianus, 4, 80; cf. 3, 66; (2) a daughter, betrothed to Valerius Asiaticus; cf. on 59 generum. — incertum an — perhaps; cf. on 23 init.

76. ex Illyrico nuntius: cf. on 74 ab Othone; on Illyricum and the legions there, cf. on 2, and on 9 Illyrico. — in eum: condensed from the usual in verba eius. — Moesia: cf. on 79 init. — Hispania: for the legions of Spain cf. on 8 Hispaniae. — Cluvius Rufus: cf. on 8. — Aquitania: an imperial province of the second (praetorian) class; besides the southwest it also included a large part of central France, south and west of the Loire (Liger); chief cities, Burdigala (Bordeaux) and Avaricum (Bourges). — quanquam: cf. on 43 quanquam. — Q. Iulius Cordus: inscriptions show that he was proconsul of Cyprus in the time of Claudius; CIG. 2631, 2632. — manavit: sc. in fide. — huc illuc: even Cicero has this asyndeton once (ad Att. 9, 9, 2 fin.); frequent in Tac.; cf. 3, 3, 73; but huc aique illuc, Agr. 10 fin. — Narbonense: cf. on 48 Gallia Narbonensis. — dirimitur: i.e. from Italy; cf. 2, 6 quidquid castrorum Armeniis praetenditur; ib., quantum insularum mari cingitur. — sed erat: the real reason is given in an independent clause; similar abrupt change of form with primum . . . deinde, cf. on 2, 5 dein.; cf. also on 1, 18 seu . . . non vilantur. — grande momentum: cf. 59 grande momentum sociae aut adversae. — praetesto: cf. 19 maiore praetextu; as the nomen urbis may be conjured with, so, at a respectful distance, the senate wears a halo; cf. Otho’s argument, 84 fin. — prior auditus: sc. Otho; he had preempted their affections by the mere fact that they had heard about him first. For the use of the verb cf. on 30 audita est; on the ptcn. cf. 2 omissi gestique honores; auditus differs from most of the ptcpp. so used in the fact that it can carry a predicate (prior); Livy 6, 2, 9 tantum Camillus auditus imperator terroris intulert; Intr. 11. — Iudaicum exercitum: cf. on 10 legionibus. — Syriae legiones: cf. on 10 init. legiones. — adegere: cf. 55 sacramento pro Galba adactae; for the fact cf. 2, 6 init.; for the plur. on 48 interfecerant. — C. Vipstanus Apronianus:
cos. ord. 59 with Fonteius Capito (7); mentioned often in the *acta* of the Arvals; died 86. — *partem* . . . *rei publicae*: i.e. they play a political rôle; cf. Germ. 13 *ante hoc domus pars videntur, max rei publicae* (speaking of the German youth). On the influential position of freedmen cf. on 58 *ministeria*; Ann. 14, 39 (Polyclitus sent as special agent to Britain). — *pleraque* . . . *festinavit*: the trans. use of *festinare* begins in prose with Sall. (e.g. Iug. 73, 1 *cuncta parat festinatique*); cf. 2, 57 *festinatis* . . . *dilectibus*; 82 *festinabantur*. — *sine modo*: cf. 52 *sine modo, sine iudicio*.

77. *in multa pace*: so in 3, 71; 4, 35 *velut multa pace*; Cicero’s expression was *summam in pace*, Verr. 2, 159. — *quaedam* . . . *pleraque*: further objects of *obibat*, while *properando* is absolutely used, — *making unseemly haste, with unseemly haste*; on the abl. ger. of manner (freq. in Livy) cf. 23 *appellando* . . . *inserendo*. — *consul*: from the 26th Jan. to 1st March, after an interim of eleven days following the death of Galba and Vinius on the 15th.

— *Verginius*: cf. 8 fin., 53 fin. — L. Pompeius *Vopiscus*: named in the Arval inscriptions; he must have been a native of Vienne, or otherwise closely linked with that city. — *Vennensium*: cf. 65. — *honorii*: for *honorii* alone cf. 44 fin.; with *dare*, Ann. 13, 49 fin. *patrum honorii dare*. — *ceteri consulari*: in these Otho made no change; they were to have been held for four months each, and so would have filled out the year. But Vitellius reduced their terms to two months, to make room for his generals, Valens and Caecina, 1st Sept.–1st Nov., while the remainder of the year was assigned to Quinctius Atticus and Caecilius Simplex; cf. 2, 71; 2, 60; 3, 68, 73. Caecina was deposed on the last day of his term (31st Oct.), and Rosius Regulus took his place for that one day; cf. 3, 37. — Cn. Arulenus *Caecilius Sabinus*: a well-known jurist in the time of Vespasian; cf. Dig. 1, 2, 2, 53. — Flavius *Sabinus*: cos. II in 72 with Mucianus; cf. 2, 36, 51; not to be confused with Vespasian’s brother Flavius Sabinus. Had he been related, Tac. could scarcely have failed to mention it. — *Iulias*: for *kalendas Iulias*. — T. Arrius *Antoninus*: maternal grandfather of the emperor Antoninus Pius. Pliny writes letters to him, one of them beginning *Quod semel atque iterum consul fuisti similis antiquis, quod proconsul Asiae*, etc. — the prelude to extravagant praises of Arrius’ Greek verses (Ep. 4, 3). — Marius *Celsus*: cf.
on 14. — honoribus: cf. on ceteri consulatus, above. — pontificatus auguratusque: regularly bestowed by the senate, upon nomination by the emperor. Consular rank was usually a necessary condition; cf. Agr. 9 fin. adiecto pontificatus sacerdotio. — honoratis = honoribus perfunctis. — recens: the unclassical adv. recens; found, however, even in Plaut., Sall., Livy, always with perf. ptcp. until the Annals, where Tac. uses it also with an adj. with verbal force, e.g. 12, 63 fin. recens fessos. — in solacium = as a compensation, cf. on 12 in . . . odium, and on the sense 2, 59 fin. — C. Cadius Rufus: proconsul of Bithynia and Pontus in the time of Claudius (before 48), and in 49 damnatus . . . lege repetundarum . . . accusantibus Bithynias; Ann. 12, 22 fin. His name appears on coins of Nicaea. — Pedius Blaesus: proconsul of Crete and Cyrene; accused by the Cyrenians of corrupt practices and temple robbery, he was ejected from the senate in 59; Ann. 14, 18. — Scaevinius Propinquus: the cognomen remains doubtful owing to a corrupt abbreviation in the Laurentian Ms. No other Scaevinius Propinquus is known. Proculus, Priscus, Porcius, and other conjectures have been made. — ceciderant: for the figure cf. 4, 6 si caderet Marcellus, agmen reorum sternebatur. — maiestatem: the full expression was crimen laesae maiestatis. The vagueness of the law against treason had been turned to such account by the informers (delatores) that trials on this charge became intensely unpopular. Hence the pretence that these men had been victims of maiestas won them popular favor. — bona leges: i.e. against fraud, etc., of which they had really been guilty.

78. Hispalis: Seville, a colony of Julius Caesar in the senatorial province of Baetica (cf. on 53 Baetica). — Emerita: Augusta Emerita, now Merida, in the imperial province of Lusitania (cf. on 13 Lusitaniam); a colony of Augustus, 25 B.C., and residence of the governor; Otho had thus a personal interest in Emerita. — familiarum adictiones: this would mean the adscriptio novorum colonorum, to increase the population of these colonies; cf. Livy, 35, 9, 8. In both cases Otho took the step before receiving news of the defection of Spain. — Lingoibus: Otho could not have heard yet of their decision to support Vitellius; cf. 64. — Maurorum civitates: towns on the opposite coast of Africa, Tingi (Tangier) and others; this also before Spain went over to Vitel-
lius. — ostentata, etc.: i.e. hardly granted before they were taken away by Vitellius. — mansura: cf. on 27 fin. sumpturi. — inter quae . . . excusata: except here, inter quae is a formula in Tac. (= in terea), e.g. 4, 46, 49. — Poppaea: cf. on 13 Poppaea. — creditus est: cf. on 50 crederetur. — tanquam, etc.: their actual belief; cf. on 8 tanquam . . . fovissent. — Neroni: dat. with adclamavit, instead of quoting the exclamation exactly; cf. Suet. Otho 7 ab infima plebe appellatus Nero. — in suspenso tenuit: cf. id. ib. nullum indicium recusantis dedit. According to Cluvius Rufus he used “Nero Otho” on diplomata sent to Spain; cf. Plut. Otho 3; Suet. l.c.

79. sine cura habebantur = were neglected; cf. Ann. 11, 8 sine cura haber. — Rhoxolani: a powerful Sarmatian people north of the Crimea. — priore hieme: with caesis only. — Moesia: corresponded very nearly to Servia and Bulgaria, with the Danube for its northern boundary, and extending to the Black Sea. — ferocia et successu: may be taken as hendiadys, but as they had ferocia before, it is better to class this with such examples as ira et victoria, Agr. 16, where also a subjective element of longer standing is intensified by pairing it with the objective of recent occurrence. — tertia legio: temporarily stationed in Moesia, by transfer from Syria about the end of Nero’s reign; cf. on 9 Illy rico; 10 legiones; Suet. Vesp. 6. — lubrico itinerum: for the part. gen. with a neut. subst. having no idea of quantity cf. Ann. 1, 65 lubrico paludum; 1, 61 umido paludum; Hist. 2, 88 lubrico viae. — mirum: pred.; the subj. is the ind. quest., ut, etc. — ad: i.e. when it comes to, in case of; cf. 2, 97 ad obsequium; 3, 33 viles ad praedam. — die: i.e. weather; cf. 86 sereno et immoto die. — quos prae longos =which, on account of their length; for obvious reasons the adj. is included in the relative clause. — usui: for the omission of erant with a dat. (not of a person) cf. 4, 17 clara ea victoria in praesens, in posterum usui; Ann 12, 11 neque usui crebras mutationes. — catafractarum: the καταφράκτης, as explained below, was a suit of scale armor. Trajan, on whose column men and horses so equipped are represented, had cata fractarrii as auxiliaries; under Hadrian they found a regular place in the Roman army. — nobilissimo cuique: Tac. no doubt has in mind something like the comitatus of the German chiefs (Germ.
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13. — ut . . . ita; cf. on 4 ut . . . ita. — inhabile: cf. Ann. 3, 43 inferendis icibus inhabiles. — facilis = expeditus, or agilis; for the phrase cf. Germ. 6 sagulo leves. — lanceis: probably carried by auxiliary troops only. — posceret: cf. on 10 vacaret. — defendi: middle sense; so also abderentur; cf. 81 dispergi, detegi. — fodiebat: for transfodiebat; Intr. 17. — saevitia hiemis: cf. 4, 38 saevita hiemis; saeva vulnera is cited from Ovid Met. 7, 849, and from Priap. 11, 2. — M. Aponius Saturninus: cos. suff. under Nero (year unknown). Later on, under Vespasian, he was pro-cons. of Asia (an inscr. found in Phrygia, and pub. in Amer. Journ. Archaeol. I, 1st ser., 148); cf. 2, 85, 96; 3, 5, 9 ff. — T. Fulvius Aurelius: cos. ord. 85 with Domitian, and again later (date uncertain), and praef. urbi (do.); paternal grandfather of Antonius Pius (cp. on 77 Arrio Antonino); he was now commander of the IIIId legion Gallica, — himself of Gallic birth (Nemausus = Nimes). — Tettius Julianus: cos. suff. 83; probably the same Julianus who in 86 led a successful campaign into the heart of Dacia. At present he commanded the VIIth Claudiana; cf. 2, 85; his praetorship, 4, 39–40. — Numisius Lupus: commander of the VIIIth Augusta; cf. 3, 10. — felix bello: sc. fuisset; cf. on 21 fluza. — suis ducibus: abl. means; generals are mere instruments in the hands of an emperor. Cf. on 50 exercitibus.

80. unde: i.e. from the praetorians, of whose loyalty Otho felt most confident. — septumam decumam: on this cohort cf. on 64 duodevicensimam. — armandae: the arsenal of the praetorians served also for the cohortes urbaneae, and other troops in the vicinity of the city; cf. on 38 armamentarium. — vacuus = at his ease. — causa in crimen: i.e. the reason assigned (the arming of coh. XVII) was distorted into a charge; cf. below tanquam familiae, etc. — evaluit: zeugma. — visa . . . arma = the sight of arms; cf. on 76 prior auditus; Intr. 11. — tanquam: i.e. in the belief that; cf. on 8 tanquam . . . fovissent. — in occasionem: cf. in spem, 4, 42 and Agr. 24; in occasionem, Agr. 1.c. — ut mos est: cf. 69 ut est mos, vulgus, etc. — motus novi: cf. 22 novos motus. — nox: personified; cf. 4, 36 pudorem nox ademerat. — abstulerat: of that which has been made utterly impossible; cf. 3, 84 fin. misericordiam abstulerat. — insidentes equis: cf. 40 rapidi equis; each praetorian cohort had but a single turma of cavalry (24 men), so
that in this mutiny comparatively few could have found horses.

81. celebre: with abl., as a word denoting fullness. — primori-
bus: of the senatorial order, of course; cf. below, discrimine
senatus. — dispergi . . . detegi: middle sense; cf. 79 defendi and
105, 4 qui timetur timet; Oed. 706 timet timentes. — praefectos:
they had been appointed by the praetorians themselves, 46; cf.
82. — comitum: i.e. their clients. — diversa = devia. — rari = pauci;
cf. 2, 84 fin. rarissimus quisque. — incertas = ignotas; cf. Ann. 3,
42 fin. incertis latebris.

82. convivium: by meton. the dinner is put for the dining-
room, triclinium. — inrumpenter: on the acc. constr. cf. on 40
irrumpunt. — tribuno: cf. 28 Iulius Martialis tribunus (of a
praetorian cohort). — praefecto legionis: in the absence of a
legatus, the regular commander of a legion, his place was taken
by the praefectus castrorum (cf. on 2, 26); cf. Ann. 14, 37 Poenius
Postumius, praefectus castrorum secundae legionis (temporarily in
command). It is probable that this new legion, formed by Nero
out of marines, and hence known at first as I Classica, had not
yet received a legatus; cf. on 6 e classe. — lymphatis: cf. Ann. 1,
32 repente lymphati dextris gladiis in centuriones invadunt. —
neminem unum: cf. 6 fin. in unum aliquem; "so in Caes. B.C. 3,
18, 2 eo mortuo ad neminem unum summa imperii redit; Ann. 14,
45 nemo unus contra ire ausus est. — poscentibus: the subj. to be
supplied from above; cf. 4, 25 fin. poscentibus; 27 minitantibus.
— neque innocentes: not without such disorder as alarmed the
citizens. — populus . . . plebs: as 35 init.; 76 fin. plebi . . .
populus. — nummum: i.e. sesterti(or)um; by the gold standard of
the empire the sum amounts to about $260. — tum = tum demum,
as in 66, with the same sarcastic turn. — insigiaibus: the insignia
which they threw down were no doubt the gold ring of the trib-
une, and the vitis, rod (cut from a vine) of the centurion. —
otiun: i.e. discharge; no one wished to command mutinous
troops. — invidiam = slur, discredit. — ultro: cf. on 7 ultro.

83. quamquam: unclassical use with the circumstantial abl.;
= cf. 4, 18 quamquam rebus trepidis; 2, 39 quamquam verno tempore
anni; with prep. phrase 2, 3 fin.; with adj. simply, 2, 68 quam-
quam . . . pavidos. Cf. 2, 73 etsi (with abl. abs.), — turbidis
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rebus: cf. 31 init. — diversis: explained by the following cum-
clauses. — remedium: cf. 14. — et plures = that is, the majority;
et explanatory, as in 25 et ceteros; cf. on 39 plures. — ambitioso:
the ambitio meant is that of the commander who courts popu-
larly with his subordinates; cf. 2, 12 ambitioso imperio regebat;
on 1, 12 ambitiosus. — raptus: cf. on 46 latrocinia, etc.—modestia =
discipline; cf. on 60 modestia. — supersunt: cf. 51 supererant. —
veni: transferred from its proper position with the neque ut-
clauses to the second and affirmative member of the sentence, as
of more consequence; cf. Ann. 6, 29 nihil hunc amicitia Seiani,
sed labefecit ... Macronis odium. Such freedom of disposition
suggests Horace. — ne ... quidem = also not; cf. 29 fin. — aut
— and; the regular use of aut instead of et in continuing the
negative (also in questions implying a negative); cf. 88 metu aut
periculo. — nimia pietas: adverisive asyndeton; cf. on 29 patris;
2, 3 fin., 12 med. — pietas: the relation of soldier to general was
comparable to that of son to father (and conversely); cf. 2, 69
pietatem militum. — considerate: the classical rule would require
considerarius after acrius quam; so 2, 24 consuls; 4, 40 hones-
tius; 65 cauatus; but Agr. 4 fin. caute. — rerum causas = motives.
— adhibeas: cf. on 1 averseris. — ratio rerum = the logic of the
situation. — occasionum: i.e. required by an opportunity. — ita
se ... habet, etc. = such is the nature of, etc.; on the general
sense cf. 3, 20 sed divisā inter exercitum ducesque munia, etc.—
liceat ... intercidet: the certainty of an undesirable conse-
quence is marked by the fut. ind. in apodosis; cf. 84 optabunt.
The Ms. intercidit would be a weak use of the present of general
truth. — illic: i.e. in the field. — unus alterve: one or two, two or
three, the indefinite small number; cf. Agr. 40 fin. uno aut
altero amicorum comitatus; Dial. 9 intra unum aut alterum diem;
Ann. 3, 47 si una alterave civitas turbet. — plures: he actually
punished but two; cf. 85. — consternatione: cf. 2, 49 consterna-
tione ac licentia militum. — crediderim: for the potential cf. 2, 50,
and Germ. 45 crediderim; Ann. 4, 67; Hist. 2, 37 conesserim;
cf. on 1 abnuerim.

84. istud: cf. on 65 crebrius infestiusque; ellipsis heightens
the antithesis pro me ... adversus me. — si ... detur: cf.on
83 liceat, etc. — satellitibus: contemptuous; cf. 4, 58 vobis satel-
litibus Civilem et Classicum Italiam invasuros. — discordiam: cf. 3, 10 hostium potius exercitibus illum furorem, illum discordiam inicerent, orabat. — ne . . . ne . . . ut: continuing the supposed wish of the enemy, as an amplification of seditionem et discordiam. — res militares: for the more usual singular. — duorum: cf. 85 init. — nec = neve: as in 2, 47 (two examples); 76 nec speciem adulantis expaveris; Dial. 32 nec quisquam respondeat, etc. — caput imperii: that the senate was really the caput imperii, none of Otho's hearers would have been blind enough to suppose. — decora: concrete; each senator is a decus; cf. 2, 81 fin., e Judaico exercitu lecta decora (i.e. elite). — provinciarum: since provincials rose through local offices into the senate. — cum maxime: cf. on 29 cum maxime. — Germani: i.e. auxiliaries, regularly serving in the Roman army. — audeant: potential; cf. depoposcerint, below. — Italiae alumni: since praetorians and cohortes urbanae were recruited in Italy; in 2, 21 fin. they scorn the legionaries as peregrini and externi. — obscuritatem: i.e. of birth. — occupavit: cf. on 39 occupanda. — promisca: this rare form of the word is found also in Ann. 1, 48; 4, 16; once in Livy (5, 13, 7 Mss.); the use of the plur. personal constr. is a Graecism for promiscum est. — rerum: i.e. rule, power, the empire; cf. 29 fin. res sine discordia translatas. — auspicato: one of the few words in which the imper. abl. abs. had appeared even in Cicero; Tac., following Livy, has many in the Annals, a few in the Hist.; cf. 2, 49 and 3, 20 explorato; 3, 72 auspicato; 4, 36 comperto.

85. ad perstringendos, etc.: not satisfied with a very free use of gerundive phrases with adjj. (e.g. aptus, idoneus, facilis, oppor tutus, etc.). Tac. goes a step further and, omitting such adjj., joins the phrase attributively to a noun; cf. 3, 70 domum inminentem foro et inritudinis hominum oculis; in Cic. limited to nouns of agency, such as auctor, or dux. But Cic. and Caes. have gen. gerund with nouns, to indicate the design of a thing. — ad praesens: as in 44 fin.; but 2, 4 in praesens. — ut . . . ita: cf. on 4 ut . . . ita. — in commune: cf. on 25 fin. — occulto habitu = in disguise; cf. 4, 36 fin. servili habitu . . . ignoratus. — cura = interest, curiosity. — aliqua: the generalizing use of aliquis (in short any, any other). — secreta domuum = the privacy of the home; cf. on 10 occulta fati; 3, 63 secreta Campaniae (not part.
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78. vestibulo: not of the temple, but the entrance to the Area Capitolina, or the Area itself. — bigae: gen.; the singular belongs to silver Latin; quadriga, singular, had more classical authority. Victoria: for another portent from a Victory cf. Ann. 14, 32 (at Camulodunum in Britain, — the revolt of Boadicea). — cella: for the simple abl. cf. 4, 34 omnibus portis prorumpit; Ann. 13, 44 cubiculogque prorumpit; 12, 7 erumperent curia. — Iunonis: in the center was the cella of Jupiter, on either side those of Juno and Minerva. — humana: cf. 5, 13 maior humană vox; with quam, 4, 83 maiore quam humană specie. — Tiberini amnis: the usual formula in religious language, derived from the worship of pater Tiberinus, Livy 2, 10, 11; 1, 3, 8. — immoto: Plutarch understood this to refer to the absence of an earthquake (Otho 4), but Pliny has serenus dies et inmotus of calm weather (Ep. 2, 17, 16). — die: for dies of the weather cf. 79 umido die. — in orientem: this could only be interpreted as meaning Vespasian. — observata: cf. 18 observatum. — in metu: i.e. in times of danger; cf. 2, 12 adversum metus. — audiuntur: cf. 3, 58 in metu consilia prudentium et vulgi rumor iuxta audiuntur; and on the general thought 4, 26 quod in pace fors seu natura, tunc fatum et ira deum vocabatur. — futuri: sc. exitii; the gen. is loosely joined by et to praecipuus as another attributive. Their fear was not
merely of future floods, but also of the unknown danger portended by the present inundation. — ponte sublicio: the ancient wooden bridge, often rebuilt; the exact location is uncertain, but somewhere below the island, near the Forum Boarium. — strage = wreckage, i.e. of the bridge. — refusus = dammed up; cf. 5, 14 cuius objectu revolutus amnis, etc.; and for a similar description, Ann. 1, 76 continuis imbribus auctus Tiberis plana urbis stagnaverat; relabentem (= remerentem) secuta est aedificiorum et hominum strages. — sed: for sed etiam; cf. 2, 19 fin. non arma modo, sed obsequium, etc.; Ann. 1, 60. — secura . . . casuum: Tac. follows Verg. in using a gen. with securus; cf. Agr. 43 securus iam odio; Ann. 3, 28 potentiae securus. — rapti, etc.: cf. Intr. 23. — plerique: cf. on 5 plerisque. — plures: here the true comparative; not as in 39 plerique . . . plures. — in vulgus: cf. 71 fin. — insularum: blocks of buildings of which the ground floor was let for shops, and the upper floors as dwellings; they were surrounded by streets, hence the name. In contrast the homes of the wealthy were domus; cf. Ann. 6, 45 exsolutis domuum et insularum pretiis; 15, 41 domuum et insularum et templorum . . . numerum. — via Flaminia: always the chief route for the north, crossing the Tiber at the Pons Mulvius (87) and again to the north of Mt. Soracte, then via Narnia, Mevania, Fulginium, through the Umbrian Apennines, down the Metaurus to Fanum, and along the coast to Ariminum; cf. 2, 64; 3, 79, 82. — esset obstructum: by attraction to the appositive iter; cf. 61 data. With the Campus Martius flooded, that part of the Flaminia nearest to the Ponte Molle (Milvio, cf. 87), and beyond, in the meadows of the Tiber, would be entirely under water. — prodigium: Suet. Otho 8 fin. adds another, — ad vicemimum etiam lapidem ruina aedificiorum praeclausam viam offendit; but this had nothing to do with the flood, for the twentieth milestone was some 270 metres above the sea, and about 6 m.p. back from the river (near Morlupo).

87. Iustrata: the appearance of portents was regularly followed by ceremonies of expiation, to avert the supposed anger of the gods (cf. procurare, expiare); among other forms was the lustratio, involving an amburbium, a procession conducting the victims around the city, following the line of the pomerium. A
detailed description is given by Lucan 1, 592 ff. Mox iubet et
totam pavidis a civibus urbem | ambiri; et festo purgantes moenia
lustro, | longa per extremos pomeria cingere fines | pontifices, etc.
Frequently mentioned in Livy after a list of prodigies, e.g. 21,
62, 7; 35, 9, 5; 39, 22, 4; Ann. 13, 24. — Poeniae, etc.: on the
routes over the Great St. Bernard and Mt. Genève cf. on 61. —
Narbonensem: cf. on 48 Galliam Narbonensem; 2, 12 ff. — classe:
besides Misenum, the chief station of the fleet on the west coast
of Italy, there was an important naval station at Forum Iulii
(Fréjus, the birthplace of Agricola), on the coast of Gaul, where
Augustus had constructed a war-harbor; cf. 2, 14 in colonia
Foro Iuliensi. — reliquos caesorum: instead of the usual phrase,
reliquias caedis; cf. Livy 22, 56, 2; 41, 12, 9; 43, 10, 8; below, 90
init. — caesorum: cf. on introitus 6 med., 37. — Mulvium: cf. on
86 esset obstructum; 2, 89; 3, 82; four of its ancient arches still
remain. — numeros: cf. on 6 numeri; they had been organized
as centuries and maniples of a future legion. — ceteris: i.e. of the
marines. — honoratorios: service in the fleet was always looked
don upon both by legionaries and praetorians; hence it was a
promotion to be admitted to the legionaria militia (3, 50). —
urbanas: cf. on 20 urbanis. — plerosque: cf. on 5 plerisque. — viris
et robur; cf. 2, 11 plus virium ac roboris. — Antonius Novellus:
cf. 2, 12, otherwise unknown. — T. Suedius Clemens: cf. ib.;
inscriptions at Pompeii and in Egypt show that he was later
tribune (doubtless of praetorians), and in 79 praefectus castrorum,
in Egypt, where there were no legati; CIL X, 1018; III, 33. —
primipilaribus: cf. on 31 primipilaribus. — Aemilius Pacensis:
cf. on 20. — immutatus: a repetition of the thought of retinebat,
but the form of the sentence is thereby improved. — peditum,
etc.: in distinction from the troops assigned for the naval expedi-
tion; for the forces which marched from Rome to the plains of
the Po, and the legions, etc., from Dalmatia and Pannonia, cf. 2,
11. The operations of the army of Suetonius, etc., were to have
taken place also in Gall. Narb., or at least along the Alpine routes,
but the promptness of Caecina compelled Otho to change his
plans, and make the Po his front. — C. Suetonius Paulinus:
one of the most eminent generals of the early empire; in 42 as
legatus in Mauretania he fought the Mauri and was the first

88. sepositus — interned; cf. on 10 sepositus. — Cn. Cornelius Dolabella: probably son of P. Cornelius Dolabella, who was cos. 10 A.D., proc. Asiae, etc. His name was suggested to Galba for adoption, who accordingly regarded him as a rival; so also Vitellius, who caused his death; 2, 63 f.; Suet. Galba 12; Plut. Galba 23, Otho 5. — colonia Aquinæ = Aquinum, now Aquino, on the Via Latina in southern Latium; birthplace of Juvenal and of S. Thomas Aquinas. — neque obscura: i.e. he suffered no indignity. — propinquitate Galbae: how he was related to Galba is unknown. — monstratus: i.e. kept before the public eye, prominent; cf. Agr. 13 fin. et monstratus fatis Vespasianus. — bello: on the dat. cf. 71 fin. bello inter duces. — expedire = take the field; cf. 10 expederat. — quis = quibus, as often in Tac.; Cic. or Caes. would have said in his. — L. Vitellius: cos. suff. 48 (succeeding his brother); proc. Africae (also in succession to his brother), ca. 61–62; cf. 2, 54, 63; 3, 37 f., 55, 76 f.; 4, 2 fin. dein L. Vitellius interficitur, par vitis fratri, in principatu eius vigilantior. — eodem . . . cultu: i.e. there was nothing to distinguish him from the rest of the consulares in the retinue of Otho; the circumst. abl. is loosely joined to expedire. — motae . . . vacuus, etc.: cf. Intr. 23. — metu aut periculo: hendiadys; but for the negative, the conj. would be et; cf. on 83 aut. — quanto: the tanto with manifestius is omitted; cf. 2, 78 crebriores . . . quanto sperantibus plura dicuntur. — occultare et abdere: on the synonyms cf. Intr. 14. — quidam: one expects either a separate sentence, added later, viz. quidam . . . mercabantur, or quique . . . mercarentur. — apparatus conviviorum: cf. the celebrated silver service of a Roman general in Germany, probably

89. et = namely, that is; epexegetic use of the conj.; cf. Agr. 43 vulgus quoque et hic aliud agens populus; Dial. 7 fin. vulgus . . . et tunicatus hic populus; cf. on 19 ac. — magnitudine nimia: in contrast with an earlier day, when the interests of the state were less complex; for the abl. cf. 28 magnitudine subiti sceleris. — expers: cf. 1 inscitia rei publicae ut alienae; 50 non senatus modo et eques, quis aliqua pars et cura rei publicae, sed vulgus, etc.; 2, 90 vulgus . . . vacuum curis. — intentis = auctis; cf. 12 fin., 24 intendebat. — quae: sc. mala, but meanwhile mala has been explained by conversa . . . pretios. — motu Vindiciis: for the temporal abl. cf. 48 proconsulatu; 2, 5 exitu . . . Neronis; 4, 69 Vindiciis motu. — perinde: cf. 30 fin. perinde . . . quam. — attrive-rant: cf. 10 attritis opibus; 2, 56 attritis Italiae rebus. — nam: to account for the choice of the uprising under Vindex as a comparison. No mention of previous wars was necessary, for they did not seriously alarm any one. A recognized elliptical use of nam in the figure called praeeritio. — res = rule or power; cf. 84 fin. aeternitas rerum. — pacis adversa: e.g. the execution or exile of innocent victims of tyranny, the terrors of delation, etc. — pertinuere: cf. 30 fin. ad nos scelerum exitus, bellorum ad vos pertinebunt. — L. Arruntius Camillus Scribonianus: also known as Furius Camillus Scribonianus; cos. 32; he was probably a great-grandson of Pompey; as legatus of Dalmatia, he rebelled against Claudius, summoning him to abdicate. But the soldiers refused their support, and Scribonianus was assassinated; cf. 2, 75; Suet. Claud. 35; Dio 60, 15; Plin. Ep. 3, 16, 7 ff. — coërcita: cf. Suet. Claud. 13 verum intra quinquum diem oppressus est. — tum = but now. — urbanus miles: i.e. the cohortes urbanae; cf. on 20 ur-banis. — a tergo = in reserve. — aliis: i.e. fortioribus or melioribus. longo: cf. on 5 longo. — moras . . . adferrent: cf. Ann. 3, 46 paulum morae attulere; Hist. 4, 72 moram victoribus attulerit; 1, 39 and 2, 45 haesitationem attulit. — religionemque = and scruples. — conditorum ancillum: the twelve sacred shields were kept in
curia Saliorum (quae est in Palatio, Cic. de Div. 1, 30), but during the month of March they were repeatedly carried in procession by the Salii, who performed solemn dances in armor. By the end of the month they were restored to their proper places (cf. condere); Livy 1, 20, 4; 37, 33, 6; per. 68; Suet. Otho 8. — aspernatus: the Roman reader, brought up on Livy, would see in this contempt of religious tradition a hint of impending disaster. — ut: i.e. in Otho’s opinion. — Caecina... transgressus: i.e. the fact that Caecina, etc.; the objective fact in baldest form takes the place of the subjective impression; cf. Intr. 11.

90. pridie, etc.: this is the date of Otho’s departure for the north. Suetonius (Otho 8) makes it the 24th, die quo cultores deum Matris lamentari et plangere incipiunt (it was called dies sanguis), but Tac. is more trustworthy. — sectionum: cf. 20 sector; property confiscated and ordered to be sold under Nero was restored by Otho to the owners, recalled from exile by Galba. But in most cases the fiscus had already received the proceeds of the auctions, so that Otho’s apparently liberal gift was usu sterile. — pro se: with consensum; cf. 51 fin. pertinaci pro Nerone fide. — modeste: cf. moderatio, below. — P. Galerius Trachalus: cos. ord. 68; a celebrated advocate; as an orator he was distinguished by extraordinary vocal powers and delivery; Quint. 12, 5, 5 f. Vitellius spared him, as a relative (probably) of his wife Galeria, 2, 60 fin. — credebatur: here with the class. constr.; cf. on 50 credetur. — fori usu: i.e. practice in the courts. — latum = fluent; yet other orators of the period were even copiosiores according to Quintilian, i.e. — ex libidine servitii: cf. 1 libidine adsentandii. — ut: cf. on 4 ut erga principem. — privata cuique stimulatio: cf. 19 privatlas spes agitantes sine publica cura; 15 sua cuique utilitas. — praefectus: 14th March; cf. on pridie, above. — Titiano: cf. on 75; 2, 23 fin. Plutarch in this context mentions only Flavius Sabinus, praef. urbi (Otho 5).
Book II


1. diversa: as contrasted both with Italy (Otho), and with Gaul and Germany (Vitellius). — imperio = dynasty, i.e. of the three Flavian emperors; the dat. is with initia causaque; cf. on 1, 67 initium bello. — varia sorte: cf. 95 fin. varia et pudenda sorte agebat. — laetum: i.e. under the good rule of Vespasian and Titus. — atroc: under Domitian, who was assassinated (cf. exitio). — vel: correlated with aut; cf. 10 potens vel inops ... infirmum aut validum; 68 vel ... aut; 1, 19 fin. aut ... vel. — exitio: for this form of variety cf. Intr. 13. — Titus: cf. on 1, 10. — incolumi = alive; cf. 1, 75 incolumnes. — patre: for Vespasian cf. on 1, 10. — officium: Titus’ errand was mentioned 1, 10 fin. (ad venerationem cultumque eius, sc. Galbae). — maturam: he was nearly thirty. — honoribus: he had been quaestor, and was now legatus legionis, an appointment usually given only to those who had been praetors. — ferebat = praeferebat; cf. 26 ferebat; Intr. 17. — intertemperantia: on the gossip about the adoption cf. 1, 12 med. — destinandi: cf. 1, 12 destinabant (sc. imperio). — fortunae: cf. on 1, 10 fin.; below, 61 init. — praesaga: Intr. 16. — responsa: cf. 1, 10 fin. ostentis ac responsis; below, 78. — et: cf. on 1, 51 fin. et. — Achaiae urbe: inserted not to give information (quite unnecessary in the case of Corinth), but by dwelling on the location to mark distinctly the point at which he turned back; cf. Piraeum Atticae orae, Ann. 5, 10. — arma: not syn. with bellum, but = revolt; cf. 1, 50 fin. arma Orientis. Cf., however, 2, 74 bellum armaque. — paucis amicorum: Tac. is fond of pauci with the gen.; cf. 22 fin. cum paucis equitum; 3, 12 paucis resistentium; Ann. 2, 57 and 3, 10 fin. paucis familiarium adhibitis; beginning as a partitive the constr. was used even where one cannot speak of whole and part. — sive: for sive ... sive; cf. 9 seu; Ann. 1, 6 ficta seu vera. — fore: notice that the verb is carried on as far as excusatum, although it is esse that is suppressed with incertam.
2. vicit: in the contest between hope and fear, for the possession of Titus, the former was the winner. — Berenice: great-granddaughter of Herod the Great, daughter of Herod Agrippa I (the Herod of Acts 12), sister of Herod Agrippa II, with whom she had heard Paul’s defense (Acts 26), eight or nine years before. “A Cleopatra on a small scale” (Mommsen, R. P. II, 238), she had deserted her third husband, Polemo, prince of a part of Cilicia, and lived with her brother Agrippa, who was now with Titus at Corinth, but went on to Rome (cf. 81). In 75 she came to Rome and lived with Titus; but he sent her away, as also in 79, invitus invitam (Suet. Tit. 7). Cf. Dio 66, 15, 18. — reginae — princess. — laeva maris: i.e. the Aegean, as lying to the left of his course through the Cyclades to Rhodes; the gen. is part.; cf. 69 inania belli. — praeventus = praetervecutus; cf. Ann. 2, 6 qua Germaniam praevetitur (sc. Rhenus). — spatiis = stretches. — incessit: with the constr. of invasit; cf. 5, 23 Civilem cupido incessit; so also in Sall. and Livy. — Paphiae: Paphos, at the S. W. end of Cyprus, was a colony of the Phoenicians and an ancient seat of the worship of Aphrodite. — fuerit longum: the stereotyped classical phrase was longum est; but Tac. prefers the potential; cf. Ann. 4, 65 haud fuerit absurdum; below, 77 absurdum fuerit. — ritum: i.e. ceremonies. — habetur: haberi in Sall. and Tac. is often little more than esse; cf. 3, 12 fin. inter duces habebatur = unus e duobus erat; Agr. 28 rectores habebantur = rectores erant. — disserere: Cic. would have said de inuis . . . pauca disserere.

3. Aërias: cf. Ann. 3, 62 fin., where the Cyprians speak of him as their founder (auctor), and ascribe to him the establishment of this their most venerable shrine. Cyprus itself was called Aëria. — Cinyras: mentioned once in Homer as having given Agamemnon a cuirass (II. 11, 19 f.). According to the most popular legend he was the father of Adonis (Ovid Met. 10, 298–514). — conceptam: (i.e. natam); she was the sea-born goddess, ἀναδύομενη, ἀφρογένεια. — accitam = imported; explained by the following et epexegetic. — posteri: i.e. both Cinyradae (the regium genus) and Tamiradae. — stirpes: silver Latin use of the acc. after antecellere, as in nondum omnes fortuna antecellis, Ann. 14, 55 fin.; cf. on 1, 45 proximos. — hostiae: in this case for divination only, not for sacrifice; see below, and 4. — fibris: the
BOOK II

word is here a syn. for exta, as in the poets, Plin. and Suet.; when a techn. term of haruspicina it means lobe (of liver or lungs). — vetitum: for the imper. constr. cf. 4, 65 fin. coram adire adlo- quique Vefaedam negatum. — altaria: an altar at Paphos was mentioned in the Odyssey 8, 363, a passage imitated by Verg. Aen. 1, 415 ff., who has centum aerae. — adolentur: as a techn. term of sacrifice adolere = combustere; it was then extended from the victim to the altar and place of sacrifice, and may be translated cherish, honor; cf. Lucr. 4, 1237 adolentque altaria donis; Verg. Aen. 1, 704 flammis adolere penates; 7, 71 adoleb . . . al- taria taedis; Ann. 14, 30 fin. cuore captivo adolere aras. — im- brihus: so Pliny N.H. 2, 210 fanum . . . in cuius quandam aream non impluit. — quanquam: with prep. phrase, as in 20 quanquam in nullius inturiam; cf. with abl. circumst. 1, 83. — simulacrum: a primitive sacred stone, conical in shape, and white (not a meteorite, as has sometimes been thought). It is rep- resented on some coins of Paphos; cf. Head Hist. Num. p. 628. Cf. Encycl. Biblica, col. 2979 f. — continuus orbis: cf. Intr. 20; on the omission of the adversative cf. on 1, 83 nimia pietas; 1, 29 patris.

4. opulentia: sc. templi. — quaeque alia: objects linked with the name of some historical or mythological personage, including apocryphal inscriptions. — vetustati addinxit: i.e. fictis narra- tionibus vetustati attribuit. — pandi: middle sense = patere. — caesis . . . hostis: on the abl. abs. at end of sentence cf. Intr. 7. — ubi . . . videt: the classical use of hist. pres. with ubi (and postquam) with a verb of perceiving. — magnis consultis: cf. Suet. Tit. 5 addique Paphiae Veneris oraculo, dum de navigacione consulti, etiam de imperii spe confirmatus est. — respondens: aoristic use of the ptcp.; i.e. it is not felt as a present; in golden Latin it would be cum respondisset; yet rare examples are found even in Cicero (Brut. 180; pro Lip. 7). — secreto = private interview; cf. 100 secretum . . . quasitum; 4, 49 secreto eorum nemo adfuit. — fiducia: on the abstr. for concret. cf. Intr. 15; for the apposition cf. 23 incitamenta; 24 fin. cumulus . . . subsidium. — profigaverat = paene confecerat, a regular meaning of the word; cf. Livy 21, 40, 11 committere ac profigare bellum . . . commissum ac profigitum con- ficere; Augustus. Mon. Ancyr. 20 coepit profigataque opera a patre meo perfeci (CIL. III, 2, p. 780); Cic. Ep. 12, 30, 2 profigato bello
ac paene sublato; Hist. 3, 50; Germ. 13 fin. — bellum Judaicum: cf. 5, 10; the completion of the war and destruction of Jerusalem were narrated in book 5, but the Ms. ends abruptly, and most of the story, as told by Tacitus, is lost. — ingenium: cf. on 1, 51 ingenio; 5, 14 camporum suopte ingenio umentium. — montis: collectively for several colles; cf. 5, 11. — quam quo . . . superesset: the real reason has preceded in the condensed form ob ingenium montis (= quod mons natura praeruptus erat); cf. Sall. Cat. 14, 7 sed ex aliis rebus magis, quam quod . . . compertum foret; Livy 43, 21, 8 magis quia . . . poterat, quam quod . . . esset; Cic. Ep. 10, 3, 4 amore magis impulsum . . . quam quo te arbitraver, etc.; Caes. B. G. 4, 2, 1 magis eo, ut . . . quam quo ullam rem . . . desiderent. — supra: i.e. 1, 10. — exercitiae: cf. 1, 68 exercita. — quattuor Mucianus: cf. on 1, 10 init. — discrimina . . . labor: Intr. 14. — inexperti: passive; cf. 1, 8; Ann. 1, 59 inexperta . . . supplicia, nescia (= ignota) tributa. — inexperti belli rubor: cf. 22 pudore coeptae temere obpugnationis. — cohortium, etc.: cf. 76 fin. classium alarum cohortium roborae et fidissimi reges. — classes: there were galleys (Liburniae) in the Black Sea, ordered to Byzantium by Mucianus (cf. 83; 3, 47); also a fleet-station at Seleucia, the port of Antioch; another in Egypt. — reges: the three whom Tac. names (cf. on 81; 5, 1) are: (1) Agrippa, i.e. Herod Agrippa II, brother of Berenice, and prince of Galilee and of Batanaea, east of the Lake of Galilee and the Jordan; (2) Antiochus IV, King of Commagene, north of Syria, and of a part of Cilicia; later, deposed by Vespasian (in 72), he lived in exile at Sparta and then at Rome. (3) Sohaemus, ruler of Sophene, on the left bank of the Euphrates, bordering on Armenia. All three had been socii reges in the campaigns of Corbulo under Nero (Ann. 13, 7 f.).

5. Vespasianus, etc.: on the style of this passage cf. Intr. 24. — acer militiae: cf. on 1, 87 fin. impiger. — anteire agmen: cf. on 1, 45 proximos. — diu: an old Latin abl., obsolete, except for Sallust, Tacitus, and Fronto. — posceret: cf. on 1, 49 forent; 1, 79 ubi res posceret. — prorsus: used by Sall. and Tac. at the end of a series for denique, i.e. in a word; cf. 62 prorsus, si luxuriae temperaret, etc.; Sall. Iug. 23, 1 prorsus intentus cuncta parare; Cat. 15, 5, etc. — abesse: imperf. for pluperf. in a purely speculative condition; cf. 62 temperaret for temperasset. — Mucianus: for a fuller account of
him cf. 1, 10. — cuncta . . . supergressa: cf. Intr. 11. — sermone: on his command of Greek also cf. 80 satis decorus eiam Graecam facundiam. — dispositu: the abl. with peritus is very rare in golden Latin; cf. Cic. pro Cluent. 107 iure peritor. — miserentur: for the tense cf. on abesset, above. — vicinis: vicinarum was avoided for reasons of euphony. — exitu: for the abl. cf. on 1, 89 motu Vindicis. — in medium: cf. 37 in medium consultarent; 1, 68 in unum consulere. — dein: instead of proceeding with per Titum, etc., Tac. recasts the thought in the form of a main clause; so 98 fin.; cf. on 1, 76 sed erat. — fides: for the apposition cf. 4 Titus . . . fiducia. — aboleverat: not anterior to consulere; the pluperf. denotes prompt and successful action, as in 25 cinxerat; 73 fin. pro-ruperant; 80 transierat. — arte . . . compositus: cf. Livy 26, 19, 3 sed arte quoque quadam . . . in ostentationem earum (sc. virtutum) compositus.

6. praecipitibus: in a weaker sense than in 41 praecipites exploratores, and 1, 40 ire praecipites. — ut adsolet: the comparison is not with everyday news, but with that of extraordinary events. — mole . . . belli: cf. 16 tanta mole belli; 74 in tanta mole belli plerumque cunctatio; in a different sense 1, 61 fin. tota mole belli. — Gallia: sc. Cisalpina. — auditi: cf. on 1, 30 audita est. — inspecti = aspecti. Augustus had repeatedly visited the East, but since the death of Germanicus, 19 A.D. at Antioch, no emperor or prince had been seen in the eastern provinces. — vario eventu: in speaking of the same events Tac. makes Corbulon say multa Romanis secunda, quaedam Parthis evenisse, Ann. 15, 27 (63 A.D.).— bello: the revolt of Vindex and of Galba; cf. on 1, 6 fin. — aliis: best taken as masc.; cf. 7 bellantibus aliis. — raptum ire: cf. 1, 67 ultum ibat; Ann. 4, 1 raptum ierit; ib. 66 perditum ibat. — circumspicere: cf. 74 bellum armaque et . . . vires circumspectat. — septem legiones: the beginning of an enumeratio; Intr. 23. — inde: cf. on 1, 68 inde. — duaeque legiones: cf. on 1, 11 copiasque. — Pontus: a new province on the S. E. coast of the Black Sea, until 63 the kingdom of Polemo; cf. Suet. Nero 18; below, 8. — Armenis: south of Pontus lay Lesser Armenia, separated from Armenia proper (in part) by the upper Euphrates. — praetenditur: cf. 14 minaci fronte praetenderetur. — tutum: owing to their control of the fleets; cf. 4 fin.
7. aliis: made definite in the next sentence. — bellorum civilium victores: cf. Ann. 1, 19 ne civilium quidem bellorum victores. — ignaviām = lack of energy; more characteristic of Vitellius than of Otho; but cf. 38 fin. ignaviā principum. — luxuriēm: for Otho’s abandonment of his usual luxus cf. 11 fin. — distulēre, etc.: for the order cf. 52 coeunt, nemo, etc. — nuper: i.e. six months before, — exitō Neronis, 5 med. — olim: cf. on 1, 60 olim. — mixtis: as in Agr. 38 miscere ... consilia, dein separare (consilia); cf. below, 74 consilia sociaverat; Caesar’s word was communicare, e.g. B. G. 6, 2 fin. — optimus quisque: sc. id agebat. — multōs: instead of continuing the previous constr. Tac. abruptly abandons the active for the passive voice. — ambiguæ domi res: cf. Juvenal’s res angusta domi (3, 165; 6, 357); cf. 1, 88 fin. multi adfecta fide, etc.

8. velūt = in the belief that, by the report that; cf. on 1, 8 languam ... foviisset. — super = de; this was colloquial in Cicero’s time, hence found only in his Letters to Atticus (e.g. 16, 6, 1 hac super re); accepted by Sall., Livy, Tac. — exitū: there were persistent reports that he had only disappeared; the people who decked his tomb with flowers even produced edicta quasi viventis et brevi magno inimicorum malo reversuri (Suet. Nero 57). — ceterorum: cf. 1, 2 falsi Neronis ludibrio. In the Annals we meet a false Agrippa Postumus and a pretender Drusus (2, 39; 5, 10). — in contextu operis: but the books in question have perished. — Pontus: cf. on 6 Pontus. — super similitudinem: for super = praeter cf. on 1, 8 super; 2, 30 super benignitatem animi. — prōnior ... fides: fides is here the confidence which others had in him, and by which he profited (illī, dat. poss.); cf. 1, 87 plurīma fides Līcinio Proculo; 2, 33 fin. Otho, cui uni apud militem fides. For prōnior ad cf. ib. Otho prōnus ad decertandum; fides is half-personified. — Cythnus: one of the Cyclades, with hot springs. — commeantium: i.e. they were on leave; the verb is given a special mg. to correspond with commeatus = furlough. — dextrās: cf. on 1, 54 dextrās. — ad celebritatem nominis: from the notion in reference to the reader supplies for himself that of cause or occasion; cf. below, 36 laeto milite ad mutationem ducum; 73 ad nomen eius Vitellius excitabatur; 68 ad omnes suspiciones pavidus. — gliscēntem: the word is Tac.’s favorite synonym for crescere; cf. 83 gliscere famam ... sinebat.
9. Galatia: in spite of mountains and distance between this inland province and Pamphylia, on the S. coast of Asia Minor (W. of Cilicia), the two were sometimes under one provincial governor. — Misenensi: the principal naval station was behind the promontory of Misenum, at the entrance to the bay of Naples. Next in order came the station at Ravenna, for the Adriatic fleet; cf. 100. — is: the pretender. — in maestitiam: cf. 1, 54 in squa-lorem maestitiamque compositi. — eum: the substitution of eum for se, if it prevents an ambiguity without creating another, was admitted even by the best writers; cf. below, 64 init. eius for suam. — in Syria: one would expect in Syriam, but the poets had preferred the abl. phrase with sistere. — nutantes . . . dolo: cf. Intr. 13. — firmaverunt = adfirmaverunt, cf. Intr. 17. — Romam: the incident is cleverly used to bring the reader back to Rome and the West.


Q. Vibius Crispus: of Vercellae (near Turin), a celebrated orator and accuser; cos. suff. under Nero, then curator aquarum 68–71, proconsul of Africa ca. 71–72; held two more consulships, and died (over eighty) in the time of Domitian; cf. 4, 41 f.; Dial. 8, 13; Plin. N. H. 19, 4; Frontin. 102. — ingenio: on his oratory cf. the judgment of Quint., compositus et iucundus et delectationi natus, etc. (10, 1, 119). — factitaverat: for the use of this word of a trade or profession cf. Quint. 7, 2, 26 medicinam factitasse; Cic. Brut. 130 accusationem factitaverit; cf. below, 10 fin. accusationes cum praemio exercisse. — recenti: i.e. early in Galba’s reign (not recent). — iactatum = treated, handled, executed; varie is explained by the following, et being epexegetic (that is); cf. on 1, 89 init. — vel . . . aut: cf. on 1 vel. — incubuerat: with inf. as in Verg. (Georg. 4, 249), for the Ciceronian ad pervertendum. — fratis sui: i.e. L. Vibius Secundus: an earlier condemnation for extortion, as procurator of Mauretania (60 a.p.), is mentioned Ann. 14, 28 fin. — indefensum et inauditum: cf. 1, 6 inauditi atque indefensi. — aequo . . . quam: after a negative Tac. prefers this to class. aequo ac. — potentia: cf. on 1, 1 potentiam. — dari . . . censebant: in place of the usual ut clause, Livy uses acc. and inf. of the 2d periphr. or acc. and pres. inf. with censeo, and Tac. follows his example; cf. 1, 39 rostra occupanda censerent. — et = et vero; cf. on 1, 34 et. — moribus: i.e. conduct; cf. 1, 48 variis moribus.
11-26. First period of the war between Otho and Vitellius; favorable, in general, to the former; of the latter's two armies only that under Caecina has yet reached the plains of the Po.

11. motis: for the march into North Italy. — Delmatia Pannoniaque: for the legions in these provinces cf. on 1, 9 Illyrico. — bina milia: i.e. a detachment (vezillum) of 2000 men from each legion was sent in advance. — ipsae: in contrast with their vexilla. — a Galba conscripta: cf. on 1, 6 Hispana; this new legion is to be distinguished from VII Claudia (or Claudiana) in Moesia; cf. 85. — quartadecumani: XIV Gemina Martia Victrix had formed part of the force with which Aulus Plautius conquered Britain for Claudius, 43 A.D.; had especially distinguished itself under Suetonius Paulinus in the suppression of the revolt of Boadicea in 61 (rebellione Britanniae compressa) — hence their proud epithet domitores Britanniae, 5, 16. They were ordered to Dalmatia by Nero. A detachment fought for Otho at Bedriacum, below, 43, 66. — eligendo: probably for his eastern campaign (1, 6 fin.). Apparently they had gone no further than Dalmatia when the uprising under Vindex led to a change of orders. A detachment at least had been summoned to Rome by Nero (l.c.). — fides: but the Batavian auxiliaries attached to this legion were against Nero; cf. below 27. — studia: Otho is to them the avenger of Nero. — tarditas: symmetry would require the insertion of eo maior before tarditas; on this form of variety cf. on 1, 14 fin. quo suspectior; 2, 99 quantum . . . tanto, etc. — alae cohortesque: i.e. their regular auxiliaries; cf. on 1, 60 cohortibus. — praeveniebant = antecedebant; only here in Tac.; but cf. Ann. 1, 63 fin. militia cum antevenisseset. — ex ipsa urbe: the ellipsis of veniebat is hardly felt after praeveniebant. — equitum: i.e. praetorians. — vexilla: by meton. for alae, as freq., e.g. 1, 70 vexillis. — prima: cf. on 1, 6 e classe; below, 23 legionem primam; 43 prima Adiutrix. — severis ducibus: so by Decimus Brutus in the campaign of Mutina; cf. App. B. C. 3, 49 fin. L. Antonius also had gladiators at Perusia; ib. 5, 33 fin. On the dat. cf. on 1, 11 procuratoribus. — Annius Gallus: cf. on 1, 87. — Vesticius Spurinna: well known from the letters of the Younger Pliny; accomplished as a writer of lyrics; cos. twice or three times; governor of Lower Germany, apparently, under Nerva or Trajan; Plin. Ep. 2, 7; 3, 1, etc. For his
courage in the defense of Placentia cf. below, 18 ff. — prima consiliorum: the expedition into Gallia Narbonensis, 1, 87. — transgresso, etc.: cf. 1, 89 fin. et Caecina iam Alpes transgressus extimulabat. — Alpes: by the Great St. Bernard, 1, 61, 70 fin. — speraverat: sc. Otho, implied in consiliorum. — speculatorum: cf. on 1, 24 speculatori. — lecta corpora: cf. Intr. 19; Verg. Aen. 2, 18 delecta virum sortiti corpora; 9, 272 lectissima matrum corpora; Livy's phrase is robora virorum, 21, 54, 3, or lecta robora virorum, 7, 7, 4. — ceteris: the speculatores formed one of the five cohorts (see above, quinque . . . cohortes). — e praetorio: cf. 1, 20 e praetorio. — classicorum: the marines had demanded organization as a legion; cf. on 1, 6 introitus; and 1, 87 numeros. — ferrea: not the more comfortable lintea. — ire: for the single hist. inf. cf. on 1, 46 fatigari. — famae: followed by Juvenal in his gibe at Otho's mirror, — speculum civilis sacrina belli, 2, 103.

13. iras: for the plur. of the abstr. cf. 76 his pavoribus; 5, 24 luctus; Ann. 1, 55 fin. incitamenta irarum. — Albintimilium — Album Intimitium — Ventimiglia, now the nearest town in Italy (Liguria) to the French frontier. It was here that Agricola’s mother was among the innocent victims, — Agr. 7 nam classis Othoniana licenter vaga dum Intimitium . . . hostiliter populatur, matrem Agricola in praeditis suis interfecit, etc. — capi: i.e. that they might be sold into slavery. — auxit invidia — bad feeling was increased by, etc.

14. adactae: cf. on 1, 55 adactae; 2, 73; 2, 6 sacramentum Othonis acceperat. The submission of Gall. Narb. to Vitellius was mentioned, 1, 76. — Fabio Valenti: at some point on his march towards the Cottian Alps; cf. 1, 66. — coloniarum: of the numerous colonies in Gall. Narb. the only places in serious danger from the fleet and marines of Otho were Forum Iulii (Fréjus), Arelate (Arles), and Narbo Martius (Narbonne), — possibly also Aquae Sextiae (Aix) and Nemausus (Nîmes). Massilia was a civitas libera. — Tungri: in Lower Germany, now Belgium, around Liège. These cohorts served in Britain under Agricola (Agr. 36), and remained there to the end of the Roman occupation. — Treverorum: cf. on 1, 53; this ala of cavalry appears again on the lower Rhine in the war against Civilis, in which it deserted with its commander Clas- sicus; cf. 4, 18, 55. — Iulius Classicus: of the royal family of the Treveri; went over to the side of Civilis in 70; cf. 4, 55, 57 ff.; 5, 19 ff. — misit: they probably marched down the Rhone to Avennion (Avignon), and then via Aquae Sextiae (Aix). — colonia Foroiuliensis: Forum Iulii, a colony and naval station, now Fréjus, with many remains of its harbor works, amphitheater, and aqueduct; cf. 3, 43. It was the patria of Agricola; cf. Agr. 4. — lector: i.e. a detachment (vexillum, 1, 31 fin.). — Ligurum cohaors: numerous tombstones show that its regular station was Cemenelum (Cimiez); cf. on 12 init. — vetus loci: vetus in the sense of prudens or ex- pertus takes a gen. in Tac.; cf. 4, 20 veteres militiae; 76 veterem ex- pertumque bellici; Ann. 1, 20 fin. vetus operis ac laboris. — nondum sub signis: i.e. recruits awaiting organization as a cohort; mean- time they would have a vexillum. — acies: i.e. Othonianorum, as the mention of classici shows. — classicorum: cf. 11 fin. classicorum ingens numerus. — paganis = peasants, as in 4, 20, compelled by
the Othonians to fight on their side (cf. 1, 53 fin. *paganos = civilians*). — *colles*: the word hardly suggests the wild character of that coast. The scene of the battle must be placed somewhere about Monaco or Menton; cf. 15 fin. — *praetorianus miles*: a detachment of praetorians, assigned to duty with the fleet; cf. 1, 87. — *conversa*: i.e. with the *prora* towards the shore, — the opposite of the usual position. — *praetenderetur*: *sc. litori*. — *Alpinos = Ligures or Ligurum cohortem*. — *cohortes*: used for the *lecti e cohortibus*, etc. (above); as *legiones* sometimes for detachments from different legions (cf. on 22 *legionum*). — *contra*: opposed to *a latere*. — *veteranus miles*: the praetorians. — *obscurum noctis*: cf. 4, 50 *obscuro . . . lucis*; *Ann. 2*, 39 fin. *obscuro diei*; cf. on 1, 62 *medio diei*. — *obtentui*: cf. on 1, 49 *obtenui*; the dative does duty in place of a relative clause, *quod obtentui erat*.

15. *quanquam victi*: cf. on 1, 43 *quanquam*. — *accitis*: no doubt from their base, at Fréjus; cf. 14. — *sidente = residente*: cf. *Intr. 17*. — *iuxta = iuxta sito = vicino*: for the attributive use of the adv. cf. *Agr. 25 universarum ultra gentium*; below, 16 *Liburnicarum ibi navium*; so also prep. phrases, e.g. 93 *crebrae in vulgus mortes*; cf. 1, 50 fin. *ante se*; 2, 54 *a Brixello*; 76 fin. *ante omnis*; *Germ. 37 multa in vicem damna*. — *Tungrarum*: here used as adj., cf. *Ann. 4*, 47 fin. *Sugambrae cohortis*. — *ne . . . quidem = also . . . not*: cf. on 1, 29 fin. — *quorum . . . secutos*: for the part. gen. with ptep. cf. *Agr. 11* fin. *Britannorum olim victis*. — *hinc . . . inde*: cf. on 6 *inde*. — *retro*: if with *revertère*, there is a pleonasm; it may belong, however, only with the first member, — *retro Antipolum (cessere)*. — *Antipolis*: a Massilian colony on the coast, now Antibes, 12 m. west of Nice. — *Albingaunum*: Albenga, also on the coast, but 64 m. east of Nice, — a distance which makes *interioris* appropriate. — *interioris Liguriae*: the gen. is attached in the Greek fashion directly to the town name, — a use found, however, even in Caesar; cf. *B. G. 1*, 10 fin. *in finis Vocontiorum ulterioris provinciae*; *Ann. 5*, 10 *Piraeum Atticae orae*. He means a town of Liguria, some distance from the frontier.

16. *tenuit = retinuit*: cf. *Intr. 17*. — *procuratoris*: Corsica was probably no longer administratively connected with Sardinia, but had its own procurator, and for garrison a small body of sailors and marines from the fleet at Misenum; cf. *CIL. X*, 2, p. 838. — *tanta*
mole belli: cf. on 2, 6 mole . . . belli. — in summam — for the general cause (ultimate issue): cf. Ann. 13, 38 nihil in summam pacis proficiebatur. — provenisset: this figure for success is taken from the thriving of crops; cf. 20 fin. ut initia belli provenissent. — trierarchum: usually the commander of a trireme or galley (cf. 9), — here in command of a small squadron. — Liburnicarum: galleys of this type had won the day at Actium for Octavian; originally employed by the Liburnian pirates of Illyricum (Croatia and Dalmatia); cf. 35. — ibi: position gives it attributive force; cf. on 15 iuxta; 34 validis utrimque trabibus; 39 tot circum amnibus. — Quintium: for the asyndeton cf. on 1, 13 Vinium . . . Laconem. — qui aderant: other officials, or notables, in contrast with turba. — inconditos: in its common opposition to disciplined soldiers, as Ann. 3, 46 inconditique ac militiae nescii oppidani; ib. 4, 47 magna vis armata, at incondita. — longe: for the ellipsis of abesse cf. Intr. 26. — vastatos: transferred from cities and countries to their inhabitants; cf. 87 fin. ipsi cultores arvaque . . . vastabantur; Agr. 22 vastatis nationibus; Ann. 14, 23 fin., 38; not found before Livy (23, 42, 5 devastati). — aperta vi: sc. egere; cf. Intr. 26. — aptum tempus: on adversative asyndeton after negative cf. on 12 tanquam. — balineis: for the local abl. without prep. cf. 5, 5 urbibus . . . templis; Intr. 18; it may also be explained as circumstantial, i.e. at the hour of the bath (as ludis, gladiatoribus, etc.). — conlueix rerum = confusion of the times. — permixtos: and hence lost sight of.

17. aperuerat: in the sense of opening the way for conquest, as in Curt. 7, 1, 3 primus Asiam aperuerat regi; cf. Hist. 3, 2 fin. iam reseratam Italiam . . . audietis. In Agr. 22, Germ. 1, i is used of discovering new regions. — supra: i.e. 1, 70. — apud quemquam: referring to the inhabitants of the region in general, not merely to the Siliani. — nec quia: for non quo (cf. quam quo, 4). — occupantibus: i.e. the first to take possession. — meliornibus: masc. as is shown by its contrast with occupantibus; here the unusual dat. with incuriosus, in place of gen. (1, 49 famae nec incuriosus). The full expression would be eligendis melioribus incuriosos; cf. Ann. 14, 38 serendis frugibus incuriosos. — quantum, etc.: Tac. leaves out of account all the country east of about Verona. In that quarter the Othonians were as yet unopposed.
urbium: four were mentioned in 1, 70. — praemissae . . . co-
hortes: cf. ib. — Pannoniorum: this cohort was previously in
Germany, at Bingerbrück; later probably in Britain; cf. CIRh.
740, 743. — Cremona: near the left bank of the Po, 19 m.p. below
Placentia. — Placentia = Piacenza, a short distance from the
right bank of the Po. — Ticinum = Pavia, on the left bank of the
Ticinus (Ticino), near its mouth, ca. 35 m.p. from Placentia. —
quin etiam: postpositive, as regularly in Tac., except in the Dial.
— a poetic freedom of order; cf. 64 fin. — Batavos: they were eager
to display their skill in swimming; cf. 4, 12 fin. praecipuo nandi
studio; Agr. 18 patrius nandi usus, etc. — falsi: for this middle
(or passive) sense cf. Sall. Iug. 85, 20 illi falsi sunt, qui, etc.; ib.
10, 1 neque ea res falsum me habuit.

18. certum erat: followed by acc. and inf. of the fact of which
he was certain, and also two infinitives expressing his resolution. —
Spurinna: cf. on 11. — necdum = et nondum, connecting with et
. . . nec. — propinquaret: cf. Intr. 17; Tac. seems to have
avoided adpropinquare, using it but three times; cf. 1, 39. —
vexillarios: cf. on 1, 31 fin. vexilla; a part of the 8000 mentioned
in 11 init. — vexillis: i.e. of the cavalry, and that of the detach-
ment of 1000; cf. 11 equitum vexilla. — retinenti: for the conative
use cf. on 1, 9 retinentis.

19. in conspectu: as there is no intimation that they crossed
the Po in the face of the German auxiliaries (17 fin.), we must
assume that they marched up the valley. At 8 m.p. from the
city they probably reached the river, at a point where it bends
away to the north. The sight of the river recalled the recent at-
tack of the Batavians, and added to their sense of insecurity. —
metum ac discrimen: i.e. the danger to be feared; a form of hen-
diadys, linking subjective effect with objective cause; cf. on 47
solaciis. — circumfudisset: the ind. quotation of circumfuderit
(fut. perf.). — laudari: for the isolated hist. inf. cf. on 11 fin. ire. —
validam: with gen. — not found before Tac.; cf. Ann. 4, 21
orandi validus. — robur ac sedem = as a strong base; hendiadys,
cf. Agr. 3 fiduciam ac robur; for sedes bello cf. 3, 8 quae sedes bello
legeretur; Ann. 14, 33 an illum sedem bello deligeret. — bello: cf.
on 1, 67 initium bello. — rationem: cf. on 1, 83 ratio rerum; 2, 25
cum ratione; 80 spes timor, ratio casus. — haud paeniteret: i.e.
they had no reason to be dissatisfied with, etc.; cf. Agr. 33 neque me militum neque vos ducis paenituit.

20. saevitia, etc.: the reference is to his harsh treatment of the Helvetii, 1, 67 f. — versicolori: after the Gallic style; cf. 5, 23 sagulis versicoloribus. — bracas: for the poetic acc. constr. with indutus cf. Intr. 19; only here in Tac.; it is found also in Livy (27, 37, 12). The Mss. add the appositive barbarum tegmen, probably a gloss. Roman soldiers were beginning to wear bracas when on service in northern countries. — quanquam . . . veheretur: cf. on 1, 68 quanquam. — in nullius injuriam: emphatic; although no one was injured by the fact that, etc. A striking example of condensation; cf. on 46 maiore animo. — ostro: i.e. a purple cloth on which she sat. — gravabantur: trans. as Ann. 3, 59 fin. gravaretur aspectum civium, and 5, 8 spem ac metum iuxta gravatus. — insita mortalibus natura: as in 1, 55, with the same inf. constr. — nullis: substantive (rare, but class.). — nulli, Ann. 2, 77 fin. — speciositas et inritis: the contrast between the two adjj. makes an adversative conj. unnecessary. This is a favorite grouping with Tac., often with a touch of satire; cf. 3, 56 fin. iucundum et laesurum; 4, 33 fin. maior numerus et imbelliore; Ann. 12, 52 senatus consultum atrox et inritum. — iactata sunt: neut. verb with feminine subjects, as frequently in Sall. (e.g. Jug. 38, 8; Cat. 20, 2); cf. 3, 70 pacem et concordiam victis utilia, victoribus tantum pulchra esse; 4, 64 ut amicitia societasque . . . rata sint. — provenissent: cf. on 16 provenisset; on 19 circumfudisset; cf. Agr. 18 prout prima cessisset, terrorem ceteris fore.

21. impetu . . . transactus: contrast 1, 47 exacto per scelera die. — aperti: i.e. without waiting to construct vineae, plutei, etc., cf. below. — amphitheatral: it must have been largely constructed of wood, like that at Fidenae, which collapsed in 27 A.D., when 50,000 (?) were killed or injured; Ann. 4, 62 f. — dum: cf. 3, 71 ambigitur, ignem tectis obpugnatores ineicerint, an obsessi, . . . dum nitentes ac progressos depellunt (of the burning of the Capitol). — glandes = fire-balls, of iron or clay, heated; cf. Caes. B. G. 5, 43 ferventis fusili ex argilla glandis. — missilem ignem: cf. Caes. ib. fervefacta iacula; also known as falaricae, Liv. 21, 8, 10; another kind was the malleolus, Liv. 42, 64, 3 faces taedamque et malleolos suppaes initos pice. — tam capax: this was, of course,
before the building of the Flavian amphitheater at Rome (Colosseum). That of Verona is of much later date. — forset = esset; cf. 88, 100, etc. — in levi habitum: not differing in sense from leve habitum; cf. Ann. 3, 54 in levi habendum; Germ. 5 in pretio habent. — ceterum: returning from the digression. — assumpta: cf. Agr. 21 sequens hiems saluberrimis consiliis assumpta; Ann. 2, 8 plures dies efficiendis pontibus assumpti. — pluteos: the pluteus was a kind of shield on wheels; it was made of planks with a sharp angle, or in its semicircular form, of wicker covered with hides. — crates = fascines, similar to the wicker plutei, but without the hides. — vineas: with their hide-covered roofs and sides the vineae furnished protection to a whole squad. — perfringendis: Tac. has in mind the vineae and testudines, but strains a point in letting the word agree with hostibus; cf. on 16 vastatos. — pudor: their honor was at stake; they were ashamed to give way. — gloria = gloriae cupido, as Ann. 1, 43 pudor et gloria. — legionum . . . exercitus, etc.: on the style of this passage cf. Intr. 14. — attollentium: loosely connected with exhortationes, in order to provide a government for robur and decus. — peregrinum: whereas praetorians were recruited in Italy; cf. 1, 84 Italiæ alumni. — uberioribus . . . probris: cf. 30 fin. quamvis uberrima conviciorum in Vitellium materia.

22. die = luce; cf. Intr. 19. — plena . . . fulgentes: cf. Intr. 23. — legionum: on the use of the plur. where there was but one legion and detachments cf. on 1, 70 fin. legionum; 2, 25; cf. on 14 cohortes. — sagittis aut saxis: i.e. eminus. — fluxa: a favorite word with Tac., to express the idea of decay, decline, etc.; cf. 32 fluxis corporibus. — cantu truci: i.e. the barditus of Germ. 3; cf. 4, 18 ut virorum cantu, feminarum ululatu sonuit acies, etc. (Civilis and his Germans). — nudis: either lightly clad, or bare to the waist; cf. Germ. 6 nudi aut sagulo leves. — subruit, etc.: the vivid effect of the hist. pres. is often increased by its position in advance of its object. — molitur: conative. — ingenti pondere: abl. manner, but to be translated as abl. qual. — confixo: i.e. by ordinary weapons, which did not need to be mentioned. — exsangues = bleeding to death. — infracta . . . fama: a serious loss for the dreaded armies of the Rhine; cf. 24 init.; 27 reciperandi decoris cupidine. — isdem castris: abl.; cf. on 1, 55 hibernis. — intendit:
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NOTES

cf. 12 fin. arcere . . . intendit. — Iulius Briganticus: son of Civilis’ sister. But he was an enemy of the Batavian leader (ut ferme acerrima proximorum odia sunt, 4, 70), and died fighting for Rome, 5, 21. — primipilars: cf. on 1, 31 primipilarios. — ordines duxerat = centurio fuerat; cf. 4, 5.

23. acta: sc. essent; cf. 42 ignaris quae causa salutandi. Omission of the subj. in ind. quest. is frequent; cf. on 1, 85 ne . . . silentium. — Annius Gallus: cf. 11; 1, 87. — legionem primam: cf. on 11 prima. — ne . . . tolerarent: an expansion of diffusus; cf. on 1, 38 ut . . . distinguereetur; 2, 26 fin. — pergere: the re-
pulse at Placentia caused no retreat, or abandonment of his general plan of campaign. — Bedriacum: 22 m.p. east of Cremona, according to the Tabula Peutingeriana; the village occupied a position of strategic importance at the junction of the Via Postumia with a direct road to Verona. The former led from Placentia through Cremona to Mantua, and perhaps via Hostilia to Patavium and Aquileia; cf. 24 viae and aggerem viae; 41 via; 3, 21 viae Postumiae aggere. Probably near the left bank of the Ollius, at Calvatone; cf. CIL. V, 1, p. 411. The distance to Cremona was given as 20 m.p. (vicesimo lapide) by Pompeius Planta, a contemporary of Tac., but this is probably a round number; cf. Schol. on Iuv. 2, 99. —

duabus . . . cladibus: both in this same year, viz. that of 14th April, in which the Vitellians gained the victory (cf. 41–44), and that in October, in which they succumbed to the troops of Ves-
pasian (3, 16–25). Both battles might have been named from Cremona, rather than Bedriacum. — notus infastusque: observe the Latin method of converting noted into notorious by adding another adj., a form of hendiadys. — Martius Macer: he had com-
mmanded the IVth and Vth legions in Germany, and had governed Moesia (under Claudius) and then Achaia. His cursus honorum is found on an inscr. at Arezzo, CIL. XI, 1835; cf. below, 71. —

animi: cf. on 1, 53 animi (inmodicus). — gladiatores: cf. 11. —
adversam: i.e. the left, or north, bank. — Cremonam: at present the headquarters of the Vitellians. — repressus: by the Othonian generals; see below. — animo: added to balance ore in the chiasmus. — eos quoque: referring to Paulinus and Celsus only. As Gallus alone has been mentioned lately (11, 23), the reader might forget the other commanders named in 1, 87. — incitamento:
appositive to interfectoris; cf. on 4 fiducia. — miscere cuncta: cf.
1, 53 miscere cuncta; and on 2, 11 fin. ire. — humillimo: cf. on 1, 52
humilis. — inter adverse: on the variety cf. Intr. 13. — Titianus:
he had been left behind as Otho's representative at Rome, 1, 90
fin. It was a strange act of blindness on Otho's part to relieve
the able trio named above, and give the command to his incom-
petent brother.

24. interea: it was some time before Titianus could arrive.—
coepta: i.e. the fact that, etc.; Intr. 11. — nuper: by the gladiators
of Martius Macer, 23. — crebra . . . proelia: in apposition with
concursum, which is not limited to a single encounter. — digna
memoratu: cf. Livy 4, 43, 1 nihil dignum memoratu; 27, 41, 5
certamina haud satis digna dictu; but in Caesar dignum memoria,
B. G. 7, 25, 1. — Valens: cf. 14; he reaches Ticinum (Pavia) at
chap. 27. — illuc = in illum, as 4, 18 illuc (= in illos) incubuere
Germani. — ad duodecumum: sc. lapidem; cf. 39 ad quartum a
Bedriaco; the distance from Bedriacum would be ten miles; cf. on
23 Bedriacum. — locus Castorum: cf. Suet. Otho 9 ad Castoris,
quod loco nomen est; some shrine of Castor and Pollux (the Castores)
gave its name to the spot. — viae: sc. Postumiae; cf. on 23 Bedri-
acum. — inagitato proelio: the usual expression was hostes proelio
(abl.) lacessere; cf. Caes. B. G. 1, 15, 3. — insidia: one would
expect ex insidiis, as in Livy 21, 34, 6 ex insidiis barbari . . .
coerti. — coerentur: but the plan failed, and they did not wait
for the approach of the Othonians; cf. 25 Vitelliani temere unsur-
gentes. — Paulinus . . . Celsus: while Annius Gallus remained
in charge at Bedriacum, where reënforcements were daily arriving.
Possibly he had already met with the accident mentioned at 33
init. — sumpsero: for the plural cf. on 1, 48 interfecerant. — vexil-
num: the 2000 who had preceded the body of the legion; cf. 11
init.; cf. 1, 31 fin. vexilla. — aggerem: the elevated, paved central
portion of the road, a familiar feature of every Roman road in a
flat country; cf. 42 fin.; 3, 21 in ipso viae Postumiae aggere.—
altis ordinibus: i.e. in column. Although not explicitly stated, it
is probable that the legionaries and auxiliaries were also in col-
umns at first, on account of the lack of unobstructed ground; cf.
25 pandi aciem; and in vineas . . . modica silva, etc. — cumulus:
for the apposition cf. 4 fiducia; 23 incitamenta; for the sense, 1,
77 pontificatus . . . cumulus dignitatis addidit.
25. prudens = acquainted with (in advance), as in Agr. 19 animorum provinciae prudens. — suos: i.e. the cavalry; cf. 24. exsurgentes: i.e. ex insidiis.  — ultro: of the biter bitten; cf. on 1, 7 ultro. — in insidiis: the auxiliary cohorts had advanced more rapidly than the legionaries and praetorians in the center, so that Paulinus’ formation was now en échelon. Celsus in retiring passed through the center, drawing the Vitellians into a trap. — legionum: cf. on 22 legionum. The praetorians are not mentioned, because the change of formation explained above reduced them to the position of a reserve. — discursu: i.e. separating to right and left. — cinxerat: cf. on 5 fin. abolverat. — eques: the praetorian and auxiliary cavalry which had at first been held in reserve (24 fin., 25 fin.). — cum ratione: i.e. that were logical; cf. 19 rationem. — fossas: some were for irrigation, others for drainage. — aperiri: cf. the obstacles mentioned just below. — traducum = vine-layers, trained from tree to tree, — the method still practiced in that region. — et = besides. — ausi: in a pregnant sense; cf. 71 fin. adversus Neronem ausus; 5, 11 longius ausuri. — equitum: cf. on eques, above. — rex = prince. — Epiphanes: son of Antiochus IV of Commagene (cf. on 4 fin. reges; 81); later he served under Titus against Jerusalem. After Vespasian annexed Commagene to Syria, Antiochus and Epiphanes were permitted to live at Rome; cf. Joseph. B. I. 5, 11, 3; 7, 7, 1–3. — pugnam ciens: cf. Ann. 3, 41 pugnam pro Romanis ciens; Hist. 4, 78 pugnam ciebant; as in Livy 1, 12, 2; 3, 18, 8.

26. erupit: until now they had taken no active part in the battle. — protrita: cf. 4, 17 protritos Aeduos Arvernosque. — simul: i.e. all at once; cf. below, non universi. — in castris: before Cremona. — praefectus castrorum: his duties included general charge of the camp and the guard, of tents, baggage-train, artillery, hospital, wood, straw, etc., and often fortification, road-making, etc.; cf. on 1, 82 praefecto legionis; 2, 29. — tanquam: cf. on 1, 48 tanquam ... furatus. — fratri = in gratiam fratris. — Iulius Fronto: cf. 1, 20 fin. — fugientes occursantes, etc.: for the asyndeton of contrasted terms cf. 41 fin. adcurrentium vocantum; 42 comminus eminus; 70 falsa vera; 1, 3 fin. laeta tristia, etc. — occursantes = qui subveniebant, above. — pro vallo: cf. on 1, 36 fin. pro vallo; the panic extends even to those on guard at the

27-51. Second period of the war, following the arrival of Valens and culminating in the first battle of Bedriacum and suicide of Otho.

27. perinde . . . quam: cf. on 1, 30 fin. perinde . . . quam. — modestiam = good discipline; cf. on 1, 60 modestia. — nec solum . . . quoque: without the adversative; cf. non modo . . . etiam, Ann. 3, 19; 4, 35; 16, 26 non solum Cassianum aut Eprium . . . superesse qui, etc. — Ticinum: cf. on 17. His route to the Cottian Alps was given, 1, 66. The march thence via Turin to Pavia is left undescibed. — recipendam decors: they had lost credit by the defeat in the Maritime Alps (14 f.) and by a mutiny (see below). — alloquim = ceterum or at; see abundant examples, esp. from Plin. Sr. and Quint. in the Thesaurus I, 1593. — repetam: cf. on 1, 4 repetendum. — bello Neronis: the uprising of Vindex in Gaul and Galba in Spain, with the general disorder to which they gave rise. Neronis is obj. gen. — digressas: in Dalmatia; cf. on 11 eligendo. — restruimus: 1, 59, 64. — ten- toria: the acc. without ad, as 3, 24 ut quoque . . .接入serat; Ann. 14, 35 ut quamque nationem接入serat; cf. Sall. Jug. 62, 1 Jugurtham . . . accidit; Verg. Aen. 1, 201, 307; with ad, Hist. 1, 16 (figurative mg.). — accessissent: on the iterative subjv. cf. on 1, 10 vacaret. — ablatae . . . Italicam: they claimed that, but for them, the XIVth would have marched to the rescue, and Italy would have remained loyal to Nero. — aut = modo . . . modo; here connecting things both of which are true, but at different times; cf. 92 offensis aut . . . blanditiis. Cf. 1, 64 iurgia primum, max rixa. — spectabat: the modern sense appears first in Tac.; cf. 3, 82 omnem prolactionem . . . spectabat; Ann. 11, 16 potentiam eius spectantes.

28. nuntio adlati: the news probably reached him somewhere between the pass (Mt. Genèvre = Alpis Cottia; cf. 1, 61) and Turin, or at the latter. — pulsam, etc.: cf. 14 f. — praevalides: the conclusion of si . . . forent. — tot bellorum victores: the
same phrase, 4, 58; cf. Ann. 4, 18 Sacroviriani bellii victor. —
column — culmination; the figure is from the highest point of
a building, apex of a gable, ridge of the roof, etc. The other
sense, pillar, prop, support is inappropriate here, as conflicting
with the idea of motion in the verb. — verteretur = hinged upon,
depended upon, rested with; cf. Verg. Aen. 10, 528 f. non hic vic-
toria Teucrum | vertitur, a passage which Tac. may have had in
mind; cf. Livy 4, 31, 4 poscere dictatore; in eo vertit spes civi-
tatis; 37, 7, 8 totum id vertitur in voluntate Philippi. — ut: omit
in translation.

29. iactando = iactantibus; cf. 48 laudando . . . castigando;
manner, rather than means, very freq. in Livy. — spolia Gallia-
rum, etc.: cf. 1, 63 fin., 64. — Vienensium aurum: cf. 1, 66. —
pretia: cf. Ann. 15, 12 non vicos aut oppida Armeniorum, sed
castra Romana . . . pretium laboris peti; Agr. 12 aurum et argen-
tum . . . pretium victoriae. — tabernacula: for the plur. cf. 1,
27 praedia, and the regular use of aedes. — lanceis: cf. on 1, 79
lanceis. — Alfenus Varus: cf. 43 fin.; Vitellius made him praec-
fector praetorio, 3, 36 fin.; cf. 3, 55, 61; 4, 11. — praefectus
castrorum: cf. on 26 praefectus castrorum. — deflagrante —
flagrare desinentes; cf. Livy 40, 8, 9 deflagrare iras vestras . . .
posse. — consilium: explained by the following abl. abs., instead
of vetui enim, etc. — obire = to make the rounds. — deformis:
referring esp. to the servilis vestis, above. — gaudium: cf.
Intr. 23. — favor = applause. — versi: cf. 63 in paenitentiam
versus; 3, 62 in desperationem versi. — gratantes = gratulantem,
the latter being very rare in Tac.; cf. Ann. 6, 50 multo gratantem
concursu; 12, 7 Claudius . . . praebet se gratantibus. — circum-
datum, etc.: so of Otho, 1, 36. — aquilis: i.e. of V Alaudae and I
Italica; cf. 1, 61, 64. — dissimulans: i.e. if he took no notice; cf.
on 1, 73 dissimulantis. — paucos incusavit: so Otho, 1, 84 f.

30. Ticinum: cf. 27 and on 17. — adversa . . . pugna: that
— fraude = malitia. — cunctationibus: by hendiadys the motive
assigned and objective conduct are linked together; cf. on 47 solacii.
— anteire signa: cf. on 1, 45 proximos. — iunguntur: i.e. at Cre-
mona. — expositos: silver Latin for obiectos; cf. 1, 11 fin. ex-
posita; 2, 53 expositum; 83 exponi Vitellio; 3, 5 ne . . . barbaria
nationibus exponerentur. — tanto pauciores: Caecina’s 30,000, as against Valens’ ca. 45,000, i.e. 40,000 plus I Italica and the ala Tauriana (added at Lyons), minus the troops sent to Gall. Narb.; cf. 1, 61, 64; 2, 14. — in suam excusationem: for the coordination of prepositional phrase with ptcp. (attollentes) cf. Intr. 13. — duplicatus, etc.: exaggerated as to the total (cf. on tanto pauciores, above), but underestimating Valens’ superiority in legionaries. — legionum: i.e. complete legions (two), and detachments from others (three). Caecina had one legion and vexilla of two others. Cf. 1, 61, 64. — super: cf. on 8 super similitudinem. — promptior — more complaisant; cf. Ann. 4, 60 fin. Agrippina promptior Neroni erat. — vigore aetatis: cf. 1, 53, where he was decorus invenita. — inani = unfounded, i.e. not to be explained by the character or gifts of Caecina; cf. ib. — ut foedum: note the ellipse of Valientem, as of Caecinam before ut tumidum. — foedum ac maculosum: the same, 1, 7; Valens’ vices were described at 1, 66; cf. 3, 41. — inridebant: for the plur., instead of class. sing. cf. on 1, 48 interfecerant; cf. also 2, 24 sumpsere; 31 meruere (but ib. Vitellius . . . Otho . . . ducabant); 67 fin. parabant; 78 fin. discessere; 86 tenebant; 92 pollebant. — utilitatem: i.e. the cause of the Vitellians. — quamvis: a very rare use with the superl.; in Tac. only here and 3, 28 quamvis pessimo flagitio. With compar. Ann. 3, 52 quamvis graviora and Germ. 24 quamvis iuvenior, quamvis robustior.


32. fama: for the achievements of Suetonius Paulinus cf. on 1, 87. — callidior: with gen. on the analogy of peritus; cf. Ann. 4, 33 callidi temporum. — censere = to give his opinion. — universum: Paulinus is not ignorant of the fact that five legions, reduced by detachments, had been left behind (cf. on 1, 61), not to mention auxiliaries; but argues that the present army represents all the troops Vitellius can venture to withdraw from the frontier. — a tergo: sc. esse. — et . . . non: for neque, but with a reason, since
non conducat — was inexpedient; cf. 34 et . . . non occultabat (failed to conceal); 56 et prohibere non ausis; cf. below, et nullo. — inrupturus: the abl. abs. with fut. ptcp. begins with Livy; cf. 86 fin. ceteris fortunam secuturis; 3, 56 peritissimis centurionum . . . vera dicturis; 4, 39 haud defutura consciorum manu. — Britannicum: Vitellius called out 8000 legionaries from Britain; cf. 57, 100. — hoste et mari distineri: zeugma. — Hispaniae: cf. on 1, 8 for the legions in Spain. — et nullo: cf. on 1, 31 et nullo. — nullo maris subsidio: abl. qual. Otho's Adriatic fleet, with its station at Ravenna, cut off all approach to Transpadane Italy by sea. — iam — iam vero — moreover. — tracto: conditional in force. — fluxis corporibus: in place of a causal clause; for the mg. cf. Livy on the Gauls, — 10, 28, 4 Gallorum . . . corpora intolerantissima laboris atque aestus fluere; 34, 47, 5 labor et aestus molia et fluida corpora Gallorum . . . cum decedere pugna coegisset. Cf. 22 aevi fuxa; also on 99 fuxa; Germ. 4 fin. minimusque sitim aestumque tolerare, etc. — taedia: produced by the morae; contrast fraude et cunctationibus, 30 (v. note). — opulenta: in a wide sense — abounding in resources. — caput rerum: cf. Ann. 1, 47 non omittere caput rerum. — obscura — empty, meaningless; cf. 1, 30 vacua nomina; 1, 55 oblitterata iam nomina. — Italiae sueta: for the dat. cf. 1, 4 fin. theatris sueta; 4, 17 suetus regibus Oriens; 5, 14 fin. Germanos fluminibus suetos. — aestibus: i.e. a warm climate, etc., the use of the plural being like that of frigus, e.g. Agr. 12 asperitas frigorum abest; Germ. 16 fin. rigorem frigorum. — oblacere: from above Placentia to Cremona and below. Further down the Othonians held both banks, and Suetonius does not suggest that they should retire to the south bank. — defensione: rare in this literal mg., — only here in Tac. — exploratum: sc. esse; a principal clause introduced by a relative. — proinde: cf. on 1, 21 proinde. — ducet: sc. Otho, who was, of course, presiding. — quartam decumam: cf. 11. — adfore: the three legions from Moesia (III Gallica, VII Claudia, VIII Augusta) had already reached the Adriatic at Aquileia; cf. 46 fin. — certatos: the subj. is left indefinite (not se alone; in oratio recta we should have certabitur); cf. 44 fin. perituros.

33. idem: the unanimity of his three most experienced generals did not prevent Otho from foolishly risking a battle at once. —
Titianus: recently arrived from Rome, to take over the chief command; cf. 23 fin. — praefectus: for Proculus' appointment by the praetorians themselves cf. 1, 46; he was an intimate friend of Otho (ib.). — imperitia: abl. cause; cf. 34 imprudentia rueret. — numen: a conveniently ambiguous term, which to some would mean only the genius (δαιμον); to others — the flatterers — it would suggest the divinity of the emperor. In the latter sense the word was strictly applicable only to a dead emperor who had been deified; but at Rome the Augustan poets started the fashion of applying it to the living ruler; cf. Hor. C. 4, 5, 34 f. — neu: for et ne of class. prose, since the connection is between main clauses, while the negative belongs to the subordinate. — adulationem: their reference to his numen, among other flatteries. — postquam . . . placitum: sc. est; cf. 1, 1 postquam bellatum apud Actium. — seponi: i.e. should be kept at a safe distance. — dubitavere = deliberavere; cf. 37 dubitasse exercitus, num, etc.; 39 ibi de proelio dubitatum. — oblectare: cf. Ann. 2, 5 ut . . . Germanicum dolo simul et casibus obiectaret; usually in the sense of exprobrare. — Brixellum = Brescia, on the right bank of the Po, 30 m.p. from Cremona, 40 from Regium Lepidum. It was on the road from Parma to Mantua. — concederet: he had come from Brixellum to attend the council of war, and now returned; cf. 39 init.; Suet. Otho 9 nec ulli pugnae affuit substititque Brixelli; Plut. Otho 10 πάλιν εἰς Βρίξσαλλον ἀνεχώρησε. — summae rerum = supreme authority; cf. 3, 70 de summa rerum Italic certaret (i.e. for the imperial power); for a different mg. cf. 2, 81. — imperii: added to give clearer definition to the idea of the chief command. — se ipsum: emphasized for contrast with Titianus and the rest. — speculatorum: cf. on 1, 24 speculatori. — descessit: they had come with Otho from Brixellum. — et ipse: cf. on 1, 42 et ipso.

34. ut: cf. on 1, 4 ut erga principem. — transfugiis: for the abstract cf. on 1, 39 fin. diffugia. — et . . . non: cf. on 32 et . . . non. — diversa: the mg. is fixed by the contrast with sua; cf. 75 ex diverso. — imprudentia: cf. 33 imperitia properantes. — ponte: below the mouth of the Adua, and ca. 5 m.p. above Cremona. — gladiatorum: those commanded by Martius Macer, on the right bank; cf. 23. — ac ne: for coordination of simulantes with a ne-clause cf. Intr. 13. — segne otium: at first a poetical
metaphor, but also employed by orators. Quint. compares it with praeceps ira and hilaris adolescentia (8, 6, 27); cf. 4, 5 segne otium; 4, 70 segne plerumque otium trahens; Ann. 14, 39 fin. honestum pacis nomen segni otio imposuit. — utrimque: on the adv. with attributive position and force cf. on 15 iuxta; he means at bow and stern. — adversum . . . dirigebantur — were headed upstream. — super: in the sense of supra = upstream; others take it in the sense of insuper. — extenti = taut. — turris: so Caesar, wishing to prevent the use of his second Rhine bridge by the Germans, broke down 200 feet of it, nearest the right bank, and erected a four-story tower at the end, — in extremo ponte turrim tabulorum quattuor constituit, B.G. 6, 29, 3. Caecina and Valens have no immediate intention of completing the bridge; cf. above, transitum Padi simulantes; but cf. also 41 init. — tormentis ac machinis: cf. 3, 20 fin. advectis tormentis machinisque. — faces: according to Plutarch Otho 10, the Othonians succeeded in setting fire to the Flavians’ boats, which capsized in the panic, — evidently pontoons to lengthen the bridge, but not yet in position.

35. insula: above Cremona, but below the mouth of the Adua (— Adda); probably above the bridge of boats. — navibus: in contrast with nando. — molientes: i.e. toiling at their oars; contrasted with the ease implied in praelabebantur, from which vehebantur is to be supplied by zeugma. — praelabebantur: i.e. praeveniebant. The Germans — mostly Batavians (cf. 17), and expert swimmers — crossed obliquely, no doubt, from a point considerably above the island, while the gladiators tried to steer directly across the current. — plures transgressos: translate by a temporal clause. — Liburnicus: cf. on 16 Liburnicarum. — militibus: i.e. soldiers in general. — perinde . . . quam: cf. on 27 init. — nutantes: general, like militibus, — i.e. men rocking in boats. — stabili gradu: i.e. men who have a firm footing on the bank; but not abl. qual. (as in Boeth. Cons. 1, 1, 22 stabili non erat ille gradu); with the abl. phrase a ptcp. would be expected, — here boldly omitted; cf. Livy 6, 12, 8 obnizos . . . stabili gradu. Cf. Curt. 8, 11, 13 instabili et lubrico gradu praecipites recidebant. — vulnera: poetic for ictus; cf. Intr. 19; Aen. 10, 140 vulnera derigere; 5, 433 inter se vulnera iactant. — propug-
natores: the gladiators. — ultro: for its use of one who takes the offensive cf. on 1, 7 ultro. — comminus: i.e. manibus. — in oculis: sc. acta; cf. 1, 37 in oculis. — utriusque exercitus: meaning, however, only detachments, for the main body of the Vitellians and Othonians were at Cremona and Bedriacum respectively. — auctorem: i.e. Macer; cf. 36.

36. ad exitium poscebatur: a frequent occurrence in the disorders of the revolution year; cf. 3, 10 iam pridem invisus turbinem quodam ad exitium poscebatur. — cum: on cum inversum cf. on 1, 29 init. — Flavius Sabinus: cf. on 1, 77; distinguished from Vespasian’s brother, the praefectus urbi, by the addition of consulem designatum. — copiis: cf. on 1, 22 Othoni. — ad: cf. on 8 fin. ad celebritatem nominis. — ducibus: note the chiasmus, which balances militae with militiam. — infestam = dangerous, threatening; i.e. the command of tam infesti milites. — militiam = service, i.e. command. The collective sense of militia (= milites) is so very rare that its use here is improbable, tempting as it is, in view of infestam and the chiasmus.

37. invenio: observe the elaborate, periodic style of this chapter, in marked contrast with the narrative. It suggests the style of the Dialogus; Intr. 7 and 14. — auctores: the same (source, or) sources were used by Plut. Otho 9. — dubitasse = deliberasse; cf. on 33 dubitavere. — num = whether they should not; cf. 83 num . . . clauderet. — in medium: cf. 5 in medium consulvere. — senatui, etc.: cf. 1, 12 senatui ac populo Romano arbitrium eligendi permittere. — vetustissimus: it was 27 years since his first consulship; on his career in general, his achievements in Britain, etc., cf. on 1, 87. — ut . . . ita = though . . . yet; cf. on 1, 4 ut . . . et; with potential subjv., 2, 50. — concesserim: for the potential subjv. cf. on 1, 83 fin. crediderim. — pacem bellii amore, etc.: this rhetorical figure (antimetabole) is very rare in Tac.; cf. 3, 33 quo minus stupra caedis, caedes stupris miscerentur; Sen. Ep. 104, 26 non quia difficilia sunt, non audemus, sed quia non audemus, difficilia sunt. — passuros: sc. fuisset; a frequent ellipse in the Annals; cf. Ann. 4, 18 neque mansurum [fuisset] Tiberio imperium, si . . . fuisset.

38. vetus, etc.: in this chapter also Tac. and Plut. (Otho 9) must have drawn from the same source. Tac. has in mind the language
of Sall. Cat. 10 init. and Hist. l.c. below; also Thuc. 3, 82. — aequalitas: so in a similar digression on the origin of laws, Ann. 3, 26 at postquam exui aequalitas et pro modestia ac pudore ambitio et vis incedebat, etc. — urbibus: such as Carthage and Corinth. — regibus: as those of Macedonia, Syria, etc. — vacuum fuit: imitated from Sall. Hist. 1, fr. 12 M. postquam remoto metu Punico simulantes exercere vacuum fuit, plurimae turbae, seditiones et ad postremum bella civilia orta sunt, etc. — inter patres plebemque: Tac. passes over the older struggles of patricians and plebeians to speak of the far more serious clash of interests between rich and poor, retaining, however, the old party names. Cf. S. Augustine, C. D. 1, 30. — turbulenti tribuni: the Gracchi, Saturninus, Drusus; cf. Ann. 3, 27 hinc Gracchi et Saturnini, turbatores plebis, nec minor largior . . . Drusus. — consules praevaldi: e.g. L. Opimius, cos. 121, who is said to have caused the death of three thousand partisans of C. Gracchus, and then rebuilt the Temple of Concord! Cf. Plut. C. Gracch. 17 fin., 18; App. B.C. 1, 26.— temptamenta: i.e. prelude, meaning the struggles precipitated by the Gracchi. — plebe infima: in agreement both with Plut. Marius 3, and Vell. 2, 128 ignotae originis. In Vell. 2, 11 the Mas. read natus equestri loco, but the emendation agresti is sustained by the following phrase, hirtus atque horridus. — et nunquam = nec unquam; cf. on 32 et nullo. — quaesitum = certatum; cf. Ann. 2, 74 inter Vibium Marsum et Cn. Sentium diu quaesitum. — in Pharsalia: cf. on 1, 50 Pharsaliam. — posituri bellum: ponere bellum (= deponere) is the opposite of sumere bellum (on the analogy of sumere arma); cf. Livy 8, 4, 3 bellis . . . ponendis sumendisque; Hist. 2, 52 posito ubique bello; 3, 31 cum bellum posuissent; 4, 70, 72; 3, 43 bellum sponte sunebant; 4, 66 bellum sumpsimus. — ignavia: cf. on 7 ignaviam; cf. 60 pietate et ignavia excusatus; 94 super insitam animo ignaviam. — venio: the usual formulas of return after digression have redeo; cf. Ann. 12, 40 fin. ad temporum ordinem redeo; ib. 4, 33 fin. sed ad inceptum redeo. Here Tac. appears to have purposely departed from stereotyped phraseology.

39. profecto: cf. on 33 concederet. — prætendebantur: the figure is from a cloak or other covering; translate were scapegoats for, etc. — ambi gui: not wavering, or divided (since the quod-clause presupposes a certain agreement), but not to be depended upon; cf. 3, 35
ne . . . ambigue [i.e. dubia fide] agerent; 4, 56 inter ambiguos milites et occultos hostes. — interpretari: i.e. criticise. — ad quartum: sc. lapidem; cf. 24 ad duodecumanum. — a Bedriaco: cf. on 23 Bedriacum. But the old camp was still maintained, with Gallus in command; cf. 44. — quanquam: cf. on 1, 83 quanquam. — verno tempore: the middle of April. — circum: on the attributive position and use cf. on 15 iuxta. — fatigarentur: naturally not on the same day; cf. PAPA. XL, lxv fin. — dubitatum = deliberatum; cf. on 33 dubitavere. — trans Padum agentes: the troops with Otho, and the gladiators now commanded by Flavius Sabinus; cf. 33, 36.

40. ad bellandum: i.e. with all their baggage. It was the next day (Plut. Otho 11). Titianus and Proculus seem to have assumed that the Vitellians, hindered by the enmity of Caecina and Valens, were not ready to fight. As for themselves, they did not plan a battle on this day, until after Otho's messenger arrived (see below). — confluentes Padi et Aduae: the Adua (or Addus, now Adda) empties into the Po about 7 m.p. above Cremona. — XXV inde milium; the Mss. have sedecim, probably a confusion of XXV with XVI, the latter figure being irreconcilable with the rest of the narrative. The position at the mouth of the Adda was strategic, if the Vitellians were to be inclosed, and their communications with the north and west severed; but it could not be safely occupied, and the inclosure begun, with the present troops of the Othonians; and they were too impatient to wait for the reinforcements already approaching. Titianus and Proculus were ready to carry out their rash plan to march past Cremona, when the arrival of Otho's messenger decided them to attack the enemy instead. — abnentibus: i.e. before they broke camp. — quo minus: for quin, as often in Tac.; cf. 1, 18; Agr. 20 nihil . . . quietum pati, quo minus, etc.; ib. 27 fin. nihil ex adrogantia remittere, quo minus, etc. The subordinate clause is really of equal importance with the main clause, to which it stands in an adversative relation. Cf. below, 45 nec . . . dubitatum, quo minus; Ann. 1, 21. — vix quattor milia: i.e. the assumed radius of the semicircle which the Othonians would describe in passing from the Via Postumia around to the north of Cremona and the Vitellian lines. At any point along that semicircle they would be liable to a flank attack. — vallum: i.e. at the confluence of the Adda and the Po. Paulinus and Celsus are conceding
for the sake of argument that the reckless flank-march has actually been accomplished. — vincerentur: for the iterative subj. cf. on 1, 10 vacaret. — aderat: while they were still debating; cf. Plut. Otho 11. — citus equo: cf. 1, 40 rapiidi equis. — atrocibus = summary, threatening; cf. 1, 53 atrocibus edictis. According to Plut. l.c. Otho ordered them to attack the enemy at once. — spei in-patien: cf. 99 inpieni solis, etc.; Ann. 4, 3 inpieni aemuli; ib. 72 obsequii inpatientes; 12, 30 obsidionis inpatientes.

41. eodem die: 14th April. — pontis: cf. on 34 ponti. — cum: on the cum inversum cf. on 1, 29 init. — vel: subordinated to an; i.e. the second member of the ind. quest. offers alternatives: if not treachery towards Otho, they may have planned something that was not dishonorable. — coeptaverint: the sequence is what would be expected if incertum est had preceded, i.e. the mind passes from the contemporary view to the judgment of history; cf. on 1, 7 nequi verint; 2, 46 fin. dubiet. — revectus: he had five or six miles to ride. — in castra: the main camp, east of Cremona; cf. 3, 26. — agminis: they were to march out and then form their acies, but position in the column would determine that in the line. — equites prorupere: the battle opens with a charge by the Vitellian cavalry, brilliantly repulsed by the Othonians. According to a speech in 3, 2, duae tunc Pannonicae ac Moesicae alae perrupere hostem (sc. equites Vitellianos). — Italicae: cf. on 1, 59 Italica; this legion was evidently at the head of the agmen, marching out. It does not seem to have had a place in the acies, but probably formed a reserve. In the center along the Via Postumia were German auxiliaries, with XXI Rapax on the right, and V Alaudae on the left (cf. 42 fin., 43). The cavalry, after their first rout, no doubt took their position on the wings. — arbusitis: cf. the obstacles at locus Castorum, 25; also 42 per locos arboribus ac vineis inpeditos. — vehicula: having broken camp at the 4th milestone from Bedriacum (cf. 39), they had brought their baggage train. — lixae: cf. on 1, 49 lizas. — via: sc. Postumia; cf. 24 viae, and on 23 Bedriacum. — signa: the incomplete formation of the Othonian line appears to have been this: in the center the praetorians, along the Postumia, with German auxiliaries in reserve; on the right the XIIIth legion, with a vexillum of the XIVth, and probably other detachments; on the left, towards the Po, the Ist Adiutrix, with further legionaries; cf.
43 f. — adcurrentium: cf. on 26 fugientes occasantes. — ut cuique, etc.: with the threefold antithesis contrast Livy's animus suus cuique ante aut post pugnandi ordinem dabat, 22, 5, 8 (at the Trasimene).

42. falsum gaudium = an unfounded joy = a disappointment; cf. 4, 38 falsos pavores; 4, 46 false timori. The three states of mind — terror, gaudium, languor — swiftly succeed one another. — dispersus: for the omission of sit in ind. quest. cf. on 23 acta. — ultro: cf. on 1, 7 ultro. — plerisque . . . ignaris: dat., as in 86 his fiduciam et metum Batavis fecissent. — quae causa: sc. esset; cf. on dispersus above. — impeditos: cf. 25 fin. — facies: i.e. species; cf. 1, 85 facies belli; 2, 89 fin. decora facies. — comminus minus: cf. on 41 fin. adcurrentium. — catervis: abl. manner = per catervas, etc.; cf. 3, 29 dum nituntur cuneis; Ann. 4, 51 catervis decurrentes; cuneus is here loosely used for a column. — in aggere viae: sc. Postumiae; cf. 24 fin. aggerem viam; here apparently were the praetorians at first (cf. on 41 signa), opposite German auxiliaries, who were armed with secures (cf. below). But according to Plut. Otho 12 fin. the praetorians (whose position neither he nor Tac. states) did not wait for the enemy to come to close quarters, but fled incontinently. The gap was probably filled by Otho's German auxiliaries from Rome, who recognized former comrades among their antagonists. — noscentes inter se: this could not apply to praetorians, nor to other than German auxiliaries.

43. patenti campo: cf. the 2d battle of Bedriacum, when the XIIIth legion was in ipso viae Postumiae aggere and VII Galbiana stood patenti campo (3, 21). — duaie legiones: according to Plut. Otho 12, the only legions which fought in regular formation for any length of time. — unaevicensima: cf. on 1, 61 ducebat. — prima: cf. on 1, 6 e classe. — non ante, etc.: in the engagement at locus Castorum (24) this legion had a position dextra fronte, but there was no chance for serious fighting. — ferox: cf. on 1, 59 ferox. — principis = primis ordinibus. — interfecto: on the aoristic ptp. cf. on 1, 20 relicta; Intr. 12. — C. Orfidius Benignus: cf. 45 fin.; Plut. Otho 12. — a parte alia: on the Othonian right, beyond the road. — tertia decuma: at locus Castorum (24) only a vexillum was present, but by this time probably the rest of the legion had arrived with the legatus, Vedius Aquila (44). Suetonius' father was
at the time a tribune of this legion, and present at this battle, Otho
10. — quartadecumani: i.e. a vexillum only; that the body of the
legion had not yet arrived is proved by 66 vexillariis tantum pulsis
vires legionis non adfuisse. — subsidii: referring mainly, perhaps,
to I Italica; cf. on 41 Italicae. — Varus: cf. 29. — Batavis: cav-
alry; cf. Plut. Otho 12. — fusa gladiatorum manu: not to be con-
fused with the story of 35. — latus: naturally that nearer to the
river, the left flank, i.e. I Adiutrix; for the acc. with invehi cf. 1, 40
forum irrumpunt.

44. media acie: i.e. the German auxiliaries who had taken the
position of the routed praetorians; cf. on 42 in aggere viae. — pas-
sim — pell-mell (but all in the same direction). — Bedriacum: the
nearer camp at the 4th milestone had been dismantled; cf. 40 init.
— immensum: assuming that the battle was fought within four
miles of Cremona, the distance would be about 18 m.p.; cf. on 23
Bedriacum. — neque . . . in praedam vertuntur: since there is no
market for such slaves; cf. 3, 34 fin. — diversis = different; natu-
really they would keep away from the Postumia. — Vedius Aquila:
he is still legatus of this legion in 3, 7. — inconsultus: in contrast
with the prudence of Paulinus and Proculus. — manibus: meton.
— desertorem proditoremque: cf. Intr. 14; ut would be expected.
— crinum . . . obiectantes: for the variety cf. Intr. 13. — Annius
Gallus: still in command of the camp at Bedriacum, doubtless be-
cause he had not yet recovered from his fall; cf. 33 init. — super —
praeter; cf. on 1, 8 super. — suismet ipsi: the frequent substitution
of ipsi (ipse, etc.) for the logical ipsorum; common in Livy, and
found even in Cic., e.g. de Orat. 2, 8 ex scriptis . . . ipsi suis. Cf.
Hist. 3, 16 fin. suomet ipsi metu. — non virtute, etc.: cf. Agr. 27
non virtute se, sed occasione et arte ducis vicis rati. — proditio:
referring perhaps to the incident mentioned in 42 omissae pugnae
ardore . . . metum prodictionis fecere. The metus prodictionis has
now become proditio. — ne . . . quidem = not . . . either; cf.
on 1, 29 fin. — pulso: cf. 41. — rapta . . . aquila: cf. 43.
militum quod . . . fuerit: cf. 55 quod erat in urbe militum; 4, 15
et quod militum; Ann. 14, 32 fin. legionem, et quod peditem inter-
fecit; possibly Germ. 15 vel armentorum vel frugum quod . . . sub-
venit; found in Caes. and Livy. — trans Padum: cf. 33, 39 fin. —
Moesicas legiones: cf. 32 fin. — magnam . . . partem: besides
the camp garrison, no doubt uncommonly large, since Bedriacum was the base of operations, there were probably fresh arrivals from Pannonia and Dalmatia, perhaps the detachments of VII Galbiana and XI Claudia; cf. 11. — si ita ferret: a very rare expression; class. Latin would require a subject, res or foro; cf. Ann. 3, 15 sociam . . . et, si ita ferret comitem. — perituros: the subj. is indefinite, i.e. se and the others (not hos); cf. 32 fin. certaturos. — ad . . . in: cf. Intr. 13.

45. ad quintum: this respectful distance is explained by the fact that they were to bivouac in the open plain. — castrorum: by this time the camp at Bedriacum must have been thoroughly fortified. — sperabatur: in class. Latin it would have been deditionem sperabant. — expeditis, etc.: hence without the necessary tools for fortification. — dubitatum, quo minus: one would expect quin, or, if the personal constr. had been used, the inf.; cf. on 40 quo minus. For a typical example of adversative quin cf. Livy 33, 36, 12 nec ultra sustinuere certamen Galli, quin terga vererent, etc.; Ter. Phorm. 972. For quo minus cf. Ann. 5, 5 nec ultra deliberatum, quo minus, etc. — legati: Celsus and Gallus according to Plut. Otho 13. — an: cf. on 1, 8 an. — in lacrimas effusi: cf. Ann. 3, 23 effusi in lacrimas; Livy 44, 31, 13 ad preces lacrimasque effusus; Suet. Aug. 98 in iocos effusus est; Cal. 32 effusus subito in cachinnos. — misera laetitia: oxymoron. The whole pass. is highly rhetorical. — idem tentorii: cf. on 1, 55 hibernis. — in ambiguo, certa: note chiasmus combined with variety; Intr. 13; for in ambiguo cf. on 1, 37 in incerto. — Orfidi legati: cf. 43. — super humum = humi.

46. opporibatur: at Brixellum (cf. 39), only 30 m.p. from Cremona. The news must therefore have reached him the same evening (14th Apr.). Tac. gives no indication of time until the next evening, 49 vesperascente die; but we may assign 46–47 to the evening of the 14th, 48–49 init. to the night and the next morning. — consili certus: cf. Ann. 12, 32 destinationis certum; Dial. 13 incertus futuri; poetic and silver Latin; cf. below, 83 ambiguous consili. — maesta: poetic personification of fama. — militum: for the troops with Otho cf. 33 fin. — haberet: for the class. habere; old Latin had iubeo with subjv. paratactic; cf. Ter. Haut. 737 iube maneat. — ire . . . flagrabant: for the poetic constr. cf. Intr. 16. — furore . . . et instinctu: not hendiadys, though the translator may treat
it as such; cf. 1, 57 fin. instincu et impetu; Ann. 14, 16 non impetu et instincu. — Plotius Firmus: cf. 1, 46; he is in command at Brixellum. — fidissimum: it is still night; in the morning (15th) they were ready to desert Otho. — maiore animo: for the emphasis on the opening phrase cf. on 1, 56 fin. minore discrimine; 2, 20 in nullius iniuriam. — ut = prout; cf. 10 prout potens, etc. — flexerat: an intimation that he might yield to persuasion. — clamor = applause. — praetoriani: sc. ita perseverabant — a telescoping of the first clause with the second; cf. Intr. 26 fin. — legiones: cf. 32 fin. — dubitet: sequence is necessarily violated, to introduce the judgment of history; cf. 41 coepserunt. As matters stood that night, the war could have been renewed. But the surrender of the troops at Bedriacum the next day (45) without consulting Otho, precluded any such possibility. — potuisse: the acc. and inf. is used with non dubitare even in the Dial. (18). Though avoided by Cic. and Caes. it is found in letters, e.g. from Trebonius to Cic. (12, 16, 2), from Cic. jr. to Tiro (16, 21, 2), in Nepos, Hirtius, and freq. in Livy.

47. experti, etc.: the friendship of Nero, and then disgrace, the sudden rise to power, followed by a sudden fall, — all these experiences have left nothing more to be discovered, either by fortune as to his mettle, or by himself as to her favors. — nec = neve; cf. on 1, 84 nec; and nec below. — computaveritis: indef. subj. — felicitati: dat. with temperare = cum temperantia uti; cf. 3, 31 qui nuper Bedriacii victoriae temperassent; for another use of temperare with dat. cf. 1, 69. — civile bellum . . . coepit: the thought is then repeated in another form to give symmetry to the period (four members); cf. Intr. 14. — illinc = from that quarter; cf. Ann. 15, 33 inde initium fore; Hist. 3, 14 initio a quinta legione orto. — fratre, etc.: cf. 1, 88; 2, 64; 1, 75; the mother (1, 75; 2, 64) is omitted, as the most extravagant ultio would hardly extend to her. — solaciis: hendiadys with utione, i.e. the consolation of vengeance; the one term covers the external act, the other its subjective interpretation; cf. on 19 metum ac discriminem; on 30 cunctationibus. — tenuerint: concession. — reliquerit = may leave it; potential of present time; cf. 1, 79 obstiterit. — Romanae pubis: i.e. esp. the praetorians; cf. 1, 84 Romanae vere iuventus. — tanquam, etc.: here a substitute for the obliqua; cf. on 1, 8 tanquam . . . forissent.
pars — a proof; used several times by Tac. in this sense; cf. Agr. 21 fin. cum pars servitutis esset; Hist. 3, 46 fin. pars consilii pacisque erat. — nemine: instead of the usual nullo; the rare abl. of nemo is also found in Ann. 16, 27 nemine nominatim compellato.

48. irent . . . asperarent: governed by appellatos; with his kind words (comiter) were mingled words of counsel. — asperarent — exasperarent; cf. Intr. 17. — naves: to bear them down the Po, or across, on their way to Bedriacum. — libellus — petitions. — L. Salvius Otho Cocceianus: according to Plut. Otho 16, Otho planned to adopt his nephew after the war; for his fate see below. — ultro — actually; cf. on 1, 7 ultro. — laudando: cf. on 29 iactando. — an Vitellium . . . fore: rhetorical question; cf. on 1, 50 ituros. — tota domo: cf. 47. — poscente: true only of the praetorians and speculatores at Brixellum. But Otho is still unaware of the surrender of Titianus and the rest at Bedriacum. — Servius: meaning Galba, whose praenomen Servius was peculiar to the Sulpician family. — neu patrum, etc.: cf. Gibbon, Decline and Fall, chap. 40, “Hypatius and Pompey, two patri- cians, who could neither forget with honour, nor remember with safety, that they were the nephews of the emperor Anastasius,” — one of Gibbon’s many imitations of Tac. — nimium meminisset: according to Suet. he was put to death by Domitian, quod Othonis imperatoris patrui sui diem natalem celebraverat (Dom. 10). Tac. is fond of hinting at coming calamities; cf. 59 fin., 70 med. and fin., 90 fin.

49. post quae — postea; so inter quae — interea 4, 46, etc. — volutantem: cf. on 1, 30 volvit. — consternatione: cf. 1, 83 fin. consternatione proxima. — abeuntibus: who they were, is shown by iam profectos amicos, below. — Verginius: he is at present consul; cf. 1, 77; for his record cf. on 1, 8; below, 51. — digerentur: purpose. — vespascente die — vesperti; the verb is very rare; cf. Ann. 1, 65; 16, 34. By this time Otho must have been informed of the surrender of Titianus and the rest, but Tac. refrains from mentioning the fact, since the motive of self-renun- ciation is essential to his carefully constructed tragedy. — gelidae: i.e. ice-cold, a detail omitted by Plut. Otho 17, but preserved by Suet. 11. — duobus: without Ms. authority, but restored with certainty from utrumque, alterum, — also Plut. and Suet. ll.cc.
Cf. Suet. *Nero* 49. — capiti: cf. Intr. 20. — explorato: cf. 3, 20 nisi explorato; 1, 84 fin. auspico; this imper. abl. abs. with a whole clause was very rare before Livy; cf. 4, 36 corpore pecuniam . . . missam; for acc. and inf. with explorare cf. 4, 82 fin. explorat . . . afuisse; above, 32 fin. nullam . . . cessuram . . . exploratum [esse]. — luce prima: 16th April, — the second morning after the battle. — pectore: again avoiding too great precision; cf. Suet. *Otho* 11 infra laevam papillum. — ambitio = importune; the self-interest involved in ambitio has here to do with possible indignities to his remains; cf. Cic. *Ep.* 6, 12, 2 ambitiosae rogationes; Cod. Theod. 14, 3, 20 occultis vel ambitiosis . . . precibus; Quint. 6, 3, 68 qui provinciam ambitiosissime petierat. — exosculantes: cf. on 1, 45 exosculari. — noxa: i.e. a sense of guilt, of duty undone towards Otho. — ob metum: i.e. from the Vitellians. — promisc: cf. 1, 47 promisc tacea. — sepulchrum: at Brixellum; Plut. had seen it, and gives the brief inscription, *Otho* 18. Vitellus visited the tomb, and after insolently remarking dignum eo mausoleo [illum fuisse], sent the pugio to Cologne, to be placed in its temple of Mars; Suet. *Vit.* 10. — mansurum: i.e. on account of its modesty. — finem, etc.: the date of Otho's death (16th Apr.) is determined by Josephus' statement that he reigned three months and two days (i.e. from 16th Jan.; *B. I.* 4, 9, 9). Suet.'s "95th day" is reckoned to the date when the news reached Rome, *Otho* 11; cf. below, 55.

50. *Ferentum*: in Etruria, now Férento, north of Viterbo. That this is the correct form of the name is shown by inscriptions, e.g. *CIL.* XI. 2710 a, 3003. Among other extant remains is a primitive theater. Cf. Suet. *Otho* 1 oppido Ferentio. — pater: L. Salvius Otho, cos. suff. in 33; proc. Africae; cf. Suet. *Otho* 1, *Galba* 6. — avus: M. Salvius Otho, son of a knight, but was made senator by the favor of the empress Livia; Suet. *Otho* 1. — maternum genus: his mother, Albia Terentia, was evidently of the equestrian order; Suet. l.c. — monstravimus: viz. in 1, 13. — facinoribus: in the colorless sense. — egregio: not merely for the courage he displayed, but for his patriotism in forestalling any attempts to prolong the civil war. — ut . . . ita: cf. on 37 ut . . . iia; 1, 4. — crediderim . . . ausim: cf. on 1, 83 fin. crediderim. — Bedriaci: in spite of the distance at which the battle
took place Tac. uses the loc. instead of *apud B.* — *Regium Lepidum:* 17 m.p. S.E. of Brixellum, on the Via Aemilia, between Parma and Mutina (17 m.p. from the latter), now Reggio. — celebri luco: for the abl. alone cf. on 1, 55 hibernis. — deinde = from that time on; cf. 85 fin. nec deinde civili bello interfuit. — *ex oculis:* cf. on 1, 37 in oculis. — *reputantibus:* an extension of the use of the dat. in indicating directions (not in Cic.), e.g. left, or right, *intranti,* etc. Livy rarely uses the dat. of the person judging, reckoning, etc., but Tac. has it frequently; cf. *Agr.* 11 and *Germ.* 6 in universum aestimanti; *Hist.* 3, 8 reputantibus; 4, 17 vere reputantibus. This Graecism (?) never became common except with Tac. — *exitu:* the “passing of Otho” began with the morning of the battle. At that time the strange bird appeared, and remained until the morning of the 16th. For this wider sense of *exitus* cf. 5 *exitu demum* Neronis. — *competisse =* congruisse.

51. *novata:* cf. *Intr.* 17. — *dolore:* anger was no doubt now increased by news of the surrender at Bedriacum. — *modo:* nunc: the same variation 3, 85; cf. 2, 74 modo . . . aliquando. — *aversam . . . partem:* *Intr.* 20. — *Rubrius Gallus:* general of Nero against Galba, to whom he deserted (Dio 63, 27); for his leanings towards Vespasian cf. below 99. In 70 he was rewarded by the governorship of Moesia (Joseph. *B. I.* 7, 4, 3). — *concedentibus:* for the abl. abs. loosely appended cf. *Intr.* 7; here it is practically an unrelated fact. — *Flavius Sabinus:* cf. 36 fin.

52–73. Vitellius, still in Gaul, succeeds Otho. His first months are a *mélange* of lavish feasts, executions, pardons, appointments, a disgraceful progress into and through Italy, a revolting visit to the field of Bedriacum.

52. *posito:* cf. on 38 *positi bellum.* — *ubique:* Tac. evidently thought it unnecessary to mention the surrender of Placentia by Spurinna, which must have directly followed that of Bedriacum. — *ab urbe:* cf. 1, 88. — *Mutina =* Módena, 17 m.p. east of Regium, on the Aemilia, 25 m.p. from Bononia (Bologna). — vultum habitumque: cf. 1, 14 fin. *vultu habituque.* — in *deterius:* often equivalent to a result clause, a usage beginning with Sall. and Livy; cf. 3, 13 *omnia de Vitellio in detrueus;* 4, 68 *cuncta in detrueus audita.* — *conviciss . . . ac probris:* the same phrase 1, 47. —
utrimque: i.e. they have something to fear from both sides. — nemo, etc.: for this amplification after the verb cf. 7 arma . . . distulere, Vespasianus Mucianusque nuper, ceteri olim mixtis consiliis. — tutor: sc. unus quisque, to be supplied, as often, from nemo; cf. on 1, 1 dicendus. — ordo: the ordo decurionum, or municipal senate; they were sometimes even called senatores. The usual number was 100, and the list was revised every five years by the quinquennales, or local censors; cf. Pauly-W. IV, s.v. decurio. — intempestivo: the senators would gladly have posed as a mere company of friends, who had attended the emperor. Any official act of theirs as patres conscripti would compromise them either with the unruly Othonian soldiers or with the Vitellians.

53. P. Licinius Cæcina: lately admitted to the senate, probably by Galba; see below. He reached the praetorship later; cf. Plin. N. H. 20, 199. — T. Clodius Eprius Marcellus: a self-made man, eminent as an orator, but notorious as an informer. For accusing Pactus Thrasea and Helvidius Priscus he received from Nero 5,000,000 sesterces. He was praetor for one day under Claudius (48), governor of Lycia, twice cos. suff. (ca. 60 and 74), procos. Asiae (70–73); a friend of Vespasian, but for conspiring against him he was forced to commit suicide, 79. Cf. Dial. 5, 8; Ann. 12, 4 fin.; 13, 33 fin.; 16, 22 fin., 26 ff., 33; Hist. 4, 6 ff., 43; Dio 66, 16 fin.; CIL. X, 3853 (from Capua, his birthplace). — nec = not . . . either, like ne . . . quidem. — expositum ad: the poetical and silver Latin sense of exposere, for class. obicere; cf. on 30 expositos; Verg. Aen. 10, 693 f. obvia ventorum furtis expositaque ponto; for the use of ad cf. Cic. Ep. 6, 4, 3 ad omnis casus . . . objecti sumus. — claresceret: cf. Intr. 17. — Bononia — Bologna, on the Via Aemilia, S.E. of Mutina. — consiliarii: the rare but class. consiliari occurs chiefly in ptepp. — medio temporis: cf. on 1, 62 medio diei. — sperabantur, etc.: for the class. plures nuntios sperabant; cf. 45 sperabatur; 74 legiones secuturae sperabantur. — recentissimum quemque — every new arrival. — relictum: probably on the evening of the 15th. — sola . . . cura: abl. manner. — blandimentis: cf. Ann. 15, 64 blandimentis vitae evictam.

54. L. Vitellius: cf. 1, 88 for his departure from Rome with Otho. — cum . . . perculit: cf. on 1, 29 cum adventur. — atroci;
as reviving their fears and uncertainties. — quartae decumae: cf. 32 fin. — a Brixello: note the attributive position; cf. on 15 iuxta. — diplomatata: a folded sheet of papyrus, or parchment (esp. in later times, bearing the emperor's signature and seal, was called diploma; it entitled the bearer for a certain time to all the facilities afforded by the post (cursus publicus). As a rule such transportation was furnished only to officials. Cf. 65 eoque diplomatibus nullum principem praescripisset; Plin. Ep. 10, 45 f., etc. — neglegébantur — were no longer honored. — paucos post dies: in reality some time must have elapsed before Vitellius could hear of the incident, and his order reach Rome. It has been plausibly conjectured that what Tac. wrote was iniusus Vitellii (Spengel). — poenas luit: he no doubt had some deeper motive than the desire to travel rapidly at state expense. — publici consili: contrast with 52 fin. nemo privatim expedito consilio. — facie = specie; cf. 1, 13 specie legationis; 30 specie liberalitatis. — discessum: sc. foret (= esset) from forent. — in commune: cf. on 1, 25 fin. — epistulæ = litterae; cf. on 1, 67 epistulis.

55. Ceriales ludi: the Cerialia began on the 12th and culminated on the 19th with ludi circenses; cf. Ann. 15, 53 circensium ludorum die, qui Cereri celebratur; ib. 74; Ovid, Fast. 4, 679 f. It was on this final day of the feast that the news reached Rome. — cessisse: may be for the cpd. concessisse, — a freq. euphemism; cf. Intr. 17; Ann. 4, 38 quandoque concessero; 13, 30 fin. egregia fama concessit; euphemism was, of course, necessary at the festival. Or the verb may be used in the sense in which Tac. puts it into the mouth of Vitellius, when he proposed to abdicato, 3, 68 cedere se pacis et rei publicae causa. — Flavius Sabinus: the brother of Vespasian; cf. on 1, 46. — quod . . . militum: cf. on 44 militum quod . . . fuerit. — in theatrum: probably inexact for in circump, since no other entertainments were given while the sports of the circus were in progress. The news could not have reached Rome on the 18th (when there probably were plays in the theaters) unless a courier was dispatched on the day of the surrender (15th). — Galbae imagines, etc.: they felt that the death of Galba had now been avenged. — circum templà = from one temple to another. — congestis: cf. Intr. 7. — lacum Curtii: cf. on 1, 41. — cuncta: i.e. the titles and powers. The latter consisted of (a) the imperium
proconsulare; (b) the tribunicia potestas, requiring confirmation by
the popular assembly—given in this case on 30th Apr., as is shown
by the Arval inscr., CIL VI, 2051, 81: (c) various special powers
and privileges, formerly given piecemeal, but now in the lump.—
composita = constituta, decreta.— fungetur: as though their gaudi-
dium was an officium or munus.— epistulae: cf. on 54 fin.— scrip-
sisset: quoted reason; Caecina conformed to etiquette in not com-
mitting with the consuls; cf. 4, 4, where Mucianus gave offense
by writing to the senate.

56. ceterum Italia: in contrast with the tranquillity at Rome;
peace did not come even posito ubique bello; cf. 52 init.— vi et
stupris: the general term and the particular linked by hendiadys.
— fas nefasque: in formulas composed of opposites one term
may totally eclipse the other; cf. 3, 51 tantam . . . adversus fas
nefasque inreverentiam fuisse.— venales: i.e. offering their ser-
vices as assassins.— ipsi: in contrast with those who masqueraded
as soldiers (specie militum).— refertos agros = well-stocked estates.
— obnoxios = under obligations; cf. 1, 1 obnoxios.— infamis: cf.
1, 66, — his avarice while in Gaul.

57. integrum: i.e. not yet decided; cf. Ann. 15, 18 integro
adhuc bello; Sall. Iug. 73, 1 tamquam ad integrum bellum.— Ger-
manici exercitus: except for V Alaudae and XXI Rapax, Valens
and Caecina had brought from the Rhine legions only detach-
ments, vexilla, viz. of I Germanica, IV Macedonica, XV Prim-
genia, XVI Gallica, XXII Primigenia. Vitellius appears to have
brought with him the remainder of XXII, and further detach-
ments from I, IV, XV and XVI. Cf. 1, 61; 2, 89, 100 (XXII in
Italy).— trahebat: i.e. from their various stations, to meet, or
overtake him on his way from Trèves (Trier) to Lyons; cf. 59.—
festinatis: for the trans. use cf. on 1, 76 fin. pleraque . . . fes-
tinavit.— nomina = nominal strength; cf. 4, 14 inania legionum
nomina; contrast 2, 69 numeros = actual strength.— Hordeonius
Flaccus: cf. on 1, 9.— delecta, etc.: detachments from the three
legions then in Britain, viz. II Augusta, IX Hispana, XX Valeria
Victrix; cf. 3, 22 cum vexillis nonae secundaeque et vicensimae
Britannicarum legionum; cf. 1, 9.— Asiaticus: his vicious career
is given by Suet. Vit. 12; cf. below, 95, where he is said to have
ivaled the worst of Nero's freedmen; cf. Plut. Galba 20. He
was crucified by Mucianus, 4, 11 fin. — palam, etc.: cf. Intr. 13. — anulis: cf. on 1, 13 anulis. — mancipium: out of contempt the freedman is called a slave; so servorum manus in 1, 7.

58. Mauretania: cf. on 1, 11 Mauretaniae. — procuratore: i.e. procuratore pro legato, governing the province; cf. on 1, 2 fin. procurationes. — Luceceus Albinus: he had been procurator of Judaea, 62-65; cf. Joseph. B.I. 2, 14, 1; Ant. 20, 9, 1 ff. — Cæsariensis: Algeria, minus the greater part of Constantine. — Tingitana: Morocco. — haud spernendis viribus: abl. qual. as predicate; cf. 81 Sohaemus haud spernendis viribus; 11 haud spernendo manus. — agebat = erat or versabatur; cf. 3, 42 haud procul inde agebat; 3, 57 tum forte Mintentis agens. — decem novem: rare form of the numeral, but found even in Caesar, B. G. 1, 8, 1. — latrocinia, etc.: cf. on 1, 46 latrocinia et raptus. — manus: in app. with numerus only. — Hispaniae: it had at first declared for Otho, but soon went over to the side of Vitellius; cf. 1, 76. — Cluvius Rufus: cf. on 1, 8; as the senatorial province of Baetica had no troops to protect itself against the threatened invasion, the military responsibility fell on Cluvius, as imperial legatus of Tarraconensis. — decumam: i.e. Geminam; he had also VI Victrix; cf. on 1, 8 Hispaniae. — propinquare: cf. Intr. 17. — ut transmissurus: the feigned intention; cf. 80 ut legatum salutaturi. — arduum: cf. on 1, 85 arduus. — spargebatur: on the poetic word cf. Intr. 16. — Iuba: the name of numerous princes of Numidia. The last Juba, a descendant of Massinissa, had been made king of Mauretania, under a Roman protectorate by Augustus. Caligula had put Juba's son Ptolemy to death in 40, and Claudius established the provincial government; cf. on 1, 11 Mauretaniae.

59. Asinius Pollio: it is not known how he was related to the celebrated Pollio. As praefectus alae he could not have been higher in rank than an eques. Scipio and Festus are also mere names to us. — adpulsu litoris: for the free gen. cf. Livy 27, 30, 7 ut . . . portibus et litorum adpulsu arceret; Cic. Verr. 5, 85 aditus litorum . . . ademerunt. Tac. even has aditus with gen. for access to a person, e.g. Ann. 16, 1 principis aditus emercatus; ib. 10 aditu Neronis prohibebatur. In 1, 87 Galliarum aditus, the verbal force is lost, as often in Cic. aditus templi, etc. Cf. 72 errore veri. — quae fierent: i.e. in Mauretania. — brevi audito:
cf. Agr. 40 exceptusque brevi osculo; Ann. 14, 12 brevi adsensu. — inpar, etc.: cf. 3, 36 praetertita instantia futura pari oblivione dimiserat. — Arar = Saône (a corruption of the later name Sauconna). This journey by water was merely a stretch of ca. 75 m.p. between Cabillonum (Chalon-sur-Saône) and Lyons. — paratu = apparaatu; cf. 81 fin. — egestate: Suet. Vit. 7 gives the details of his egestas at the time he left Rome for his province. — Iunius Blaesus: cf. on 1, 59. — rector = legatus pro praetore; cf. on ib. rector. — par opibus = correspondingly wealthy. — ministeria: referring to the multitude of servants, with minutely divided duties, thought essential by Blaesus to imperial dignity. Vitellius had already appointed his ministers, or secretaries, from among the knights, 1, 58. — quamvis: with subjv., although of a fact; as often in silver Latin; cf. 79, 85; Dial. 2. — curuli: sc. sellae; cf. Ann. 1, 75 ne praetorem curuli depelleret. — infantii: in the later Roman law a child was infans up to the age of seven, and this was probably only the confirmation of long-standing usage. Suet. Vit. 6 says that the boy was almost dumb (prope mutum et elinguem), but it is inconceivable that Tac. should have used infans in that sense here, when describing a review. — filio: cf. on 1, 75 liberi; he had just been brought from Rome. — Germanicum: he had previously assumed this title himself, 1, 62. — rebus adversis: cf. Intr. 13; Tac. looks forward to the fall of Vitellius, and later the death of the boy, by order of Mucianus, 4, 80; cf. on 48 fin. nium meminisset. — in solacium cessit: not to the boy, of course, nor his father; but in the general judgment, what was at first styled nium honos, was later thought to offset, in part at least, the misfortunes which followed. For solacium = compensation, satisfaction, cf. 1, 77 in solacium; 2, 47 neque solaciis opus est. — cessit = came to be regarded; cf. Ann. 14, 54 fin. hoc quoque in tuam gloriam cedet; Germ. 36 in sapientiam cessit.

60. tum: Vitellius is at Lyons up to 65. — alienatio: practically = odium, and hence construed with in and acc.; cf. 4, 49 alienato erga Vespasianum animo fuisse. — Illyricos exercitus: cf. on 1, 9 Illyrico; the legions of Illyricum had furnished the majority of the combatants on Otho's side; cf. also 1, 76; 2, 11. — ceterae legiones: i.e. I Adiutrix (cf. 11 cum legione prima), and the legions of the East, — Syria, Judaea, Egypt. — contactu = contagious example.
tristi — cruel. — squalidos: the reference is, of course, to the usual squalor of ancient defendants, or suppliants who tried thus to excite sympathy; cf. Quint. 6, 1, 30 producere ipsos, qui periclitentur, squalidos atque deformes. — ultro: cf. on 1, 7 ultro. — imputabant: sc. sibi; i.e. they actually credited themselves with, etc.; cf. on 1, 71 imputavit, where in similar circumstances Marius Celsus dared to plead his fides as a defense. — spatium . . . itineris: cf. 40. — vehiculis: cf. 41 fin. — et: for the more logical adversative, i.e. in spite of the improbable tale, Vitellius believed. — fidel — their (previous) loyalty to Otho, but there is no small sarcasm in the juxtaposition of perfidia and fides. — absolvit: as though fides were the crime with which they were charged; so in 1, 59 damnatos fidei crimine. — ignavia: cf. on 7 ignaviam. — Marius Celsus: evidently he did not lower himself as Paulinus and Procclus did; cf. 1, 71. — consulatus: for July and August, 1, 77. — fama: abl. cause, i.e. quia fama vulgabatur. — Cn. Caecilius Simplex: proconsul of Sardinia, 66–67 (CIL. X, 7852); cos. suff. Nov. and Dec., 69; cf. 3, 68. — postea: the time referred to is that of the arrangements made in 71, below. — Trachalus: cf. on 1, 90. — Galeria Fundana: his second wife; her father had been praetor; cf. Suet. Vit. 6; cf. also below, 64.

61. pudendum dictu: cf. Agr. 32 pudet dictu (parenth. as here); above, 41 mirum dictu. From Tac.’s aristocratic standpoint this fanatical uprising was a very vulgar affair. — Boii: they had invaded Gaul with the Helvetii, but when the latter returned to their own country, the Aedui made room for the Boii in their territory. Their chief town was Gorgobin; cf. Caes. B. G., 1, 5, 4; 28, 5; 7, 9, 6. — inserere sese fortunae = thrust himself into the foreground; fortuna suggests the highest prominence, cf. 1 quantae cumque fortunae capax. For the Tacitean phraseology, cf. Dial. 10 nomen inserere . . . famae; Ann. 6, 2 ignobilitem suam magnis nominibus inserit. — numinum: i.e. of divine command or inspiration. — adsertor: this technical term of the law was associated with cases where the status of persons (whether free or slave) was in question; hence Mariccus is represented as a champion of Gallic freedom. — indiderat: cf. 1, 51 hoc enim nomen . . . indiderant. — Aeduorum: cf. on 1, 51 Aedui. — trahebat = was winning over; cf. 86 Delmaticum miliem traxere; 100 fin. traxeritine Caecinam. Others
translate was plundering, a sense which the verb has only where the context leaves no ambiguity, as e.g. Ann. 3, 74 ne Cirtensium pagi impune traherentur (with praedatio immediately preceding); so the cases in Sallust show trahere in company with ducere, rapere, excindere. — gravissima: the steadfast loyalty of the Aeduan state is contrasted with the levitas of Mariccus' supporters. — civitas: probably not limited to the city of Augustodunum; some action must have been taken by the Aeduan senate in the name of the whole tribe. — mox: i.e. at Lyons.

62. ultra: than has been narrated in 60–61. — defectores = rebels (not the rebels); the reader naturally refers this to the associates of Mariccus, but it is evidently meant in a wider sense, including also any others who had refused at first to acknowledge Vitellius. He of course defined rebellion from his own personal standpoint, claiming that he had been proclaimed emperor before the death of Galba; cf. 1, 74 fin. quod tanto ante traditum Vitellio imperium ad Othonem vertisset. — intestatis: their property fell to their natural heirs, or if they had none, to the fiscus; cf. Ann. 2, 48 bona Aemiliae Musae, locupletis intestatae, petita in fiscum. — prorsus: cf. on 5 prorsus. — temperaret: for temperasset; cf. on 5 abesset. — timeres: for the potential cf. on 1, 10 laudares; cf. Agr. 22 fin. ut silentium eius non timeres; Hist. 3, 75 innocentiam iustitiamque eius non argueres. In this indef. 2d person the potential subjv. may stand in the apodosis of a condition, as in the result clause (Agr. 1.c.). — epularum . . . libido: Suet. Vit. 13 gives the details ad nauseam. — irritamenta, etc.: cf. 1, 88 luxuriosos apparatum convivorum et irritamenta libidinum. — vastabantur: figu-rative. — Augusti . . . Caesaris: both had been conferred already by the senate; cf. 55; also 1, 62. The title of Augustus was assumed on his arrival at Rome, below, 90 fin.; later that of Caesar also, 3, 58. — differret: characteristic clause; cf. Cic. pro Quinct. 89 edictum, quod . . . vetaret; others make it equivalent to quo . . . se differre dicebat. — Italia: cf. Intr. 18; the bare abl. from which is freely used by Tac. of country names; but was more orthodox with certain words, e.g. abire, profugere, abscedere, excedere; cf. Suet. Vit. 14 urbe Italique mathematici excederent; Hist. 2, 65 fin. profugaret Britannia; Nipperdey on Ann. 2, 69; pellere Italia is freq. in Tac., e.g. Ann. 2, 32 de mathematicis . . . Italia pellendis
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senatus consulta. — mathematici: cf. on 1, 22 mathematicis and ib. vetabitur; Suet. l.c. — ludo: sc. gladiatorio, the necessary preparation for the arena. — id . . . perpulerant: pellere here has the construction of cogere, instead of ad id; cf. 4, 42 hoc certe Nero non coegit. — aemulabatur: here with an inf., on the analogy (in silver prose) of certare; only one other case is known, Vulg. 1 Cor. 14, 39 aemulamini prophetare.

63. fratris: i.e. L. Vitellius; cf. on 1, 88. — rettulimus: viz. 1, 88. — M. Plancius Varus: procos. of Bithynia in 70 or 71; in the latter year cos. suff.; procos. of Asia 78–79; our information is largely based upon coins. — ex . . . amicis: cf. 1, 31 e Gabiae amicis; 1, 24 e proximis Tigellini. — Flavius Sabinus: cf. on 1, 46. — praefectum urbis: the city prefect had jurisdiction within a radius of 100 miles, at first over cases affecting peace and order; but his powers were gradually enlarged. Cf. on 1, 14 praefecto urbis; Dig. 1, 12, 1, 4. — tanquam: cf. on 1, 48 tanquam . . . furatus. — cohortem: cf. 1, 80 septumam decumam cohortem e colonia Ostiensi, etc. — nec: the negative belongs with the abl. abs. — veniam: for Dolabella. — scelus: i.e. the betrayal of his friend. It has been understood of Vitellius' crime, the death of Dolabella; but as Tac. mentions various delays, it is more likely that Varus' repentance came earlier. — Triaria: cf. 64; she appears again in an unfavorable light, 3, 77. — terruit: with the constr. of deterrius; cf. 1, 40 fin. terruere quo minus; Intr. 17. — incessisset = had been excited; incedere often = come up, crop out, supervene, etc.; cf. Ann. 1, 55 spea incesserat; 3, 36 incedebat . . . licentia; ib. 71 incessit dein religio; 6, 21 suspicio incesserat; Hist. 3, 27 fin. incesserat cunctatio. For the subjv. of repeated action cf. on 1, 10 vacaret.

64. Petronia: the divorced first wife of Vitellius. Her father, P. Petronius, had been very prominent; was proconsul of Asia under Tiberius, made legatus of Syria by Caligula, and an intimate of Claudius (Ann. 3, 49). For her brother cf. 1, 6. Her social position would add to the pretensions of Dolabella, if he chose to conspire against Vitellius. — eius: to avoid the ambiguity of suam; cf. on 9 eum. — epistulas: cf. on 1, 67 epistulis. — Flaminiae: cf. on 1, 86 fin. — devertere: i.e. leaving the Flaminia at Narnia, and going up the valley of the Nar (N.E.). The Flaminia crossed the
Nar by a handsome bridge (now a picturesque ruin) and proceeded northwards through Umbria.—Interamna: in southern Umbria, now Terni, best known for the neighboring cascades. The form Interamnium also occurs, but rarely,—so here in the Medici Ms., but not at 3, 61, 63, the only other places where it is mentioned in Tac. It was the patria of the emperor Tacitus (275–276), and has without reason been accounted the birthplace of the historian also.—e proximo = close at hand.—Galeria: cf. 60 fin.—Sextilia: cf. 89 fin.; her death in December of this year, 3, 67. Nothing is known in regard to her family, beyond the vague statement of Suet. that she was not ignobilis (Vit. 3).—antiqui moris: cf. 1, 14 fin. moris antiqui (of Piso).—quin etiam: for the order cf. on 17 fin. quin etiam.—epistulas: cf. on epistulas above.—Germanicum: cf. 1, 62.—evicta: cf. Ann. 1, 57 evicta (or victa) in lacrimas; 11, 37 ad miserationem evicta erat.—tantum adversa: cf. 3, 67 nihil principatu fili adsecura nisi luctum et bonam famam.

65. Cluvius Rufus: cf. 58; on 1, 8; on 101 scriptores.—adsequitur: cf. 1, 39 adsecutus erat.—Hilarus: as Caesaris libertus shows, he must have been a freedman of Nero, or Galba, or Otho, passing to Vitellius with the rest of the imperial domus in succession to Otho (cf. suum, below). Probably his duties in Spain were in connection with the financial administration, or the secret service.—tanquam: cf. on 1, 8 tanquam . . . fovissent.—Vitellii et Othonis: Cluvius at first sided with Otho, but soon went over to Vitellius, and the province with him; cf. 1, 76.—potentiam: he was not content with his legitimate potestas; cf. on 1, 1 potentiam.—diplomatibus: cf. on 54 diplomatata. Cluvius found himself in an awkward position, not daring as yet to prefix the name of either of the rivals, while the omission of an emperor’s name at the head of the document was also open to a malicious interpretation.—contumeliosa . . . popularia: predicate use of the adjj.—ultró: cf. on 1, 7 ultró.—L. Arruntius: cos. 6 a.d.; governed Hispapia Tarraconensis, 25–34, in absentia, by his legati; cf. Ann. 1, 13; 6, 27; Suet. Tib. 63.—ob metum: cf. Suet. I.c. non ausus a sede dimittere, etc.—Trebellius Maximus: cf. on 1, 60.—Britannia: for the abl. cf. on 62 Italia.—Vettius Balanus: legatus of a legion in Armenia with Corbulo in 62; cos. suff. before 69 (else he could not have been legatus of Britain); governed Britain’69–71; later pro-
consul of Asia; cf. Ann. 15, 3; Agr. 8, 16; Hist. 2, 97; Statius, Silv. 5, 2, 54 ff. — e praesentibus: cf. 1, 13 fin. inter praesentes splendidissimus (of Otho at the court of Galba).

66. quartadecumanorum: cf. on 11 quartadecumani. — vexillariis: for their part in the battle cf. 43. — a Nerone, etc.: cf. 27 quas bello Neronis, etc.—tendere: cf. 1, 31 tendentes. — discordiam: cp. 1, 59 tum discordia temporum a legione digressae; 1, 64 mox rixa inter Batavos et legionarios; 2, 27. — Augusta Taurinorum — Turin; in republican times Taurasia. — hospitem: i.e. the man in whose house the soldier was quartered; cf. 3, 2 tantum hospitibus metuendos. — arsisset — exarsisset; Intr. 17. — quos: sc. Batavos. — Graias Alpibus: the Alpis Graia, Little St. Bernard, was reached from Augusta Taurinorum by way of Augusta Praetoria (Aosta). For the other passes cf. on 1, 61. — eo flexu itineris, etc.: from the Little St. Bernard there were two routes to Lyons, diverging at Montmélian, in the upper Isère valley: (1) via Chambéry (Leminecum) and Les Échelles (Labisco), down to the plains of the Rhone via Aoste (Augustum) to Vienne, and so to Lyons; (2) down the Isère valley, via Grenoble (Cularo) and Moirans (Morginnum), to Vienne and Lyons. Cf. map in CIL. XII. The former route was probably taken as far as Aoste, and thence a less frequented road down the Rhone to Lyons. Others understand that the seditiosi (below) wished to take route (2) and that the legion actually marched by way of Chambéry, the Lac de Bourget, and the Mont du Chat. — Viennam: cf. on 1, 65; 2, 29. — timebantur: explained by the conduct of Valens, 1, 66. — signa, etc.: the scene of this is much more reasonably placed in the plains of the Rhone, say at Aoste, than while they were still among the high Alps, at Montmélian. — ferebant: for quisque with plural cf. on 1, 35 nimiis verbis.

67. e . . . cohortibus: cf. on 1, 64 ex Vitellio. — honestae missionis: i.e. an anticipation of the honorable discharge, to which they would otherwise be entitled only after sixteen years of service, — with a bonus of 20,000 sesterces; cf. Dio 55, 23. — classicorum legio: cf. on 1, 6 e classe. — undecuma: its station was in Dalmatia; cf. on 1, 9 Illyrico; 2, 11; 3, 50. — septima: i.e. Galliana, from Pannonia, as was the XIIIth; cf. 11 and 86. — spectaculum: cf. 70. — parabant: cf. on 30 inridebant. — ad curas:
cf. 4, 2 ad curas intentus; 4, 18 in Gallias . . . intentus; but the regular constr. is the dat.; e.g. 1, 29, 79; 2, 41.

68. et . . . quidem: marking the contrast between his discreet measures as regards the defeated, and the lack of discipline on the side of the victors. As often, Tac. omits an adversative with the second member; cf. 36 init.; 1, 16 fin.; 1, 63 init.—modeste: i.e. without harsh treatment.—ludico initio: abl. abs.; it began in sport,—a certamen luctandi (cf. below).—ni = but for the fact that, etc. Tac. is fond of more or less elliptical conditions with nisi or ni. Beginning in sport, the whole thing would have been undeserving of mention, but for the fact, etc.—Ticinum: cf. on 17.—Verginius: cf. 51 and on 1, 8.—vel . . . aut: cf. on 1 vel.—tempestivis = beginning betimes; cf. Cic. Cat. 46 tempestivis quoque conviviiis delector; Arch. 13, etc.; Ann. 11, 37 tempestivis epulis deditus.—perinde: cf. on 1, 30 fin. perinde . . . quam.—intentus . . . licenter: cf. Intr. 13; intentus is the opposite of remissus.—pervigilis ac bacchanalibus: both terms are borrowed from religious enthusiasm, orgies, etc.—prociderat: for the pluperf. with postquam, cf. 1, 26 postquam vulgatum erat.—diductis: i.e. in favor of the one or the other.—quartam decumam: although ordered to Britain (cf. 66), this legion was thought capable of defying its orders.—coactores: only here for qui agmen cogeabant.—agniti: cf. Intr. 11.—quanquam: with adj. for quamvis; cf. on 1, 83 quanquam.—ad: cf. on 8 fin. ad celebritatem nominis.—ducis sui: as legatus of Upper Germany.—omnis seditio: cf. 49, 51.—fastiditi: he had declined to be saluted as imperator by them; cf. on 1, 8 Verginius.

69. legatione: for the sending of this embassy cf. 55 fin.—ibi: i.e. at Ticinum.—ultro: cf. on 1, 7 ultro.—pietatem: their devotion to him, in demanding vengeance for attempted (?) assassination.—frementibus: cf. Intr. 7.—impunitatis: Vitellius makes no attempt to punish the troops for the disturbances of chap. 68.—Batavorum: cf. 66.—in Germaniam: whereas their legion had been sent back to Britain, ib.; in Germany (Mainz) they were prominent in the great uprising of 69–70; cf. 4, 15, etc.—interno, etc.: the rebellion led by the Batavian Civilis involved revolted provincials and mutinous legions, as well as free Germans; cf. 4, 22, mixta belli civilis externique facie; 1, 2 plura [bella] externa ac
plerumque permixta. — bello: for the dat. cf. on 1 imperio. — defectione: from Galba’s standpoint. — inania belli: cf. Agr. 6 inania honoris; above, 2 laeva maris. The Gallic militia is contrasted with legionaries and regular auxiliaries. — numeros = actual strength; cf. on 57 nomina. — vetitis: Intr. 7, 12. — inter paucos: cf. on 1, 1 inter infensos. — virtute, etc.: cf. Ennius, moribus antiquis res stat Romana virisque (ap. Cic. Rep. 5, 1); Livy 4, 40, 9 pro virtute tua . . . qua una . . . res publica stetit. Two distinct statements are condensed into one, — apud quos potius virtute quam pecunia res Romana stetit, and apud quos res Romana melius stetit.

70. flexit: instead of taking the Via Aemilia at Placentia, Vitellius continued down the left bank of the Po by the Via Postumia to Cremona. — munere: for the preparations for this spectaculum gladiatorum cf. 67 fn. — quadragesimum: i.e. about the 23d May. — pugnae: for the gen. cf. on 1, 26 postero (iduum die). — lacera corpora: on the style of this description cf. Intr. 23. — frugibus = crops. — inhumana = revolting, of that which shocks the feelings; so of the indifference of the mob to bloodshed, etc., at the capture of Rome by the Vitellians, 3, 83 (inhumana securitas). — pars viae: sc. Postumiae, — from Cremona to the battlefield. — rosa: collective, as usual; the plur. is not found in classical prose. — extractis: cf. Intr. 7. — regium, etc.: such Oriental customs had been introduced by Caligula; cf. Suet. Cal. 13. — laeta, etc.: cf. 3, 6 laeta ad praesens male parta max in perniciem vertere. — perniciem: in October of this same year Cremona was destroyed by the troops of Vespasian; cf. 3, 32 f. For the anticipation of misfortune cf. on 48 fin. nium meminisset; and below, tam propinquae sortis ignarus. — locos = positions. — hinc inrupisse: cf. the similar passage in Ann. 1, 61 fin, where the survivors of Varus’ army point out to Germanicus the features of the disaster, — hic cecidisse legatos, illic raptas aquilas, etc. — falsa vera: for the adversative asyndeton cf. on 26 fugientes occursantes. — clamore et gudio: cf. on 1, 27 fin. clamore et gaudio. — aggerem: apparently the weapons had all been collected in one pile, as a kind of trophy; cf. Ann. 2, 18 struittque aggerem et in modum tropaeorum arma . . . imposuit; ib. 22 congeriem armorum struit. — intueri mirari: the asyndeton has a cumulative effect, as in 1, 2 fin. agerent vererent. — subiret: in a double sense (1) with sors it = in mentem veniret (cf. 3, 31
subit recordatio); (2) with lacrimae et misericordia it = came over, etc. (cf. 1, 13 curam subisse; 37 horror animum subit). — tot milia: the traditional figure was 40,000, no doubt exaggerated; cf. Dio 64, 10. — laetus ulro: cf. on 1, 7 ulro. Suet. Vit. 10 adds his disgusting remark (probably apocryphal): optime olere occisum hostem, et melius civem. — propinquae sortis ignarus: cf. on laeta and perriciem, above.

71. exin = exinde. — Bononia: cf. on 53. — spectaculum: cf. 67. — cultu = properties, esp. accouterments of the gladiators. — propinquabat = appropinquabat; cf. Intr. 17. — corruptius: i.e. there was no pretense of discipline; cf. 11 fin. corruptum luxus iter. — ingenio: a collective term for familiar figures or features (ingenium = natura). — cantantem: i.e. on his singing tours. — luxu: dat.; so senatu, Ann. 1, 10; commeatu, ib. 12, 62 fin., etc. — saginae: cf. 1, 62 temulentus et sagina gravis. — mancipatus: the figure is from the formal transfer of a slave, etc., to the new owner; cf. Cic. Cato M. 38 si nemini mancipata est [sc. senectus]; Hor. Epod. 9, 12 Romanus ... emancipatus feminae. — vacuos: proleptic. For the changes made by Vitellius cf. on 1, 77 ceteri consulatus. — menses: Sept. and Oct. — dissimulatus = ignored; cf. 82 dissimulans. — Martius Macer: cf. on 23. — P. Valerius Marinus: nothing more is certainly known of him than that he was an Arval in this year; cf. CIL. VI, 2051, 53, 62, etc. — mitem: the expected causal clause is condensed into a description of the man; so ingratus below. For the inconcininity cf. Intr. 13. — ausus ... extimulor: cf. Intr. ib.; ausus is absol., as in 25 fin. unde rursus ausi. — consuetudine servitii: cf. 1, 90 fin. ex libidine servitii. Similarly Agricola was obligated to thank Domitian for refusing him the proconsulship of Asia or Africa, Agr. 42. Under Nero every execution or exile was followed by a vote of thanks to the gods, Ann. 14, 64 fin.

72. quamquam: with coeptum; cf. on 1, 43 quamquam. — Scribonianus Camerinus: perhaps a son of M. Licinius Crassus Frugi, cos. 64, who was brother of Piso; cf. on 1, 48 Crassum. The wife of Crassus was Sulpicia Praetextata, to whose family Scribonianus owed his cognomen; cf. 4, 42. — Histria: modern Istria. — in argumentum fabulae: i.e. to help him in bringing out his comedy; argumentum = mise en scène (also plot). — veri
BOOK II

73. vix credibile, etc.: this chapter forms an effective transition to the story of Vespasian's rise to power, just when Vitellius' fears from that quarter have been silenced. — speculatores: cf. on 1, 24 speculatori; they had been sent by Mucianus (Antioch) and Vespasian (Caesarea). — etsi: with abl. abs.; found even in Caesar (e.g. B. C. 1, 67, 5). Cf. on 1, 83 quanquam (with circumstantial abl.). — vagis, etc.: cf. 1, 34 vagus primum et incertus rumor. — ad: cf. on 8 ad celebritatem nominis. — ut: cf. 1, 4 ut erga principem novum. — externos: i.e. Oriental luxury and depravity. — proruperant: pluperf. of prompt action; cf. on 5 fin. abolerat.

74–86. Vespasian, laying aside his hesitation and encouraged by Mucianus, declares himself against Vitellius, and is proclaimed emperor, first at Alexandria, then at Caesarea. Preparations for another civil war.

74. bellum armaque: cf. Agr. 30 proelium atque arma; above, 1 arma Vitellii bellumque, where, however, arma may have a different sense. — circumspectabat: cf. 6 vires suas circumspicere. — praeuentem: cf. on 1, 36 praieire. — fausta . . . omnia: cf. 4, 49 laeta Pisoni omnia tanquam principi continuare. Vespasian naturally used the familiar formulas wishing all prosperity to Vitellius, beginning quod bonum faustum felixque sit. — Mucianus: cf. on 1, 10. — in Titum: cf. 5 fin. — praefectus Aegypti: cf. on 1, 11; it was a post more important than many of the proconsuls; yet only knights were eligible. — Tiberius Alexander: cf. on 1, 11. It was he who first proclaimed Vespasian emperor; cf. 79. — sociaverat: i.e. with Vespasian. — tertiam legionem: cf. on 1, 79 tertia legio; it was the first of the legions in Illyricum to side with Vespasian; cf. below, 85. — ceterae: cf. on 1, 9 Illyrico. — secuturae sperabantur: the personal constr. of pass. verbs with nom. and infin. (or infin.) is very much extended by Tac. and other prose writers of the period; cf. on 1, 50 crederetur; Ann. 3, 8 fin. neque dubitabantur praescripta (esse); 16, 17 additur . . . ita
— mole belli: the point is here the colossal scale of the war; in a different sense 1, 61 fin. tota mole belli. — modo . . . aliquando: cf. 51 modo . . . nunc. — sexaginta: he completed his 60th year on the next 17th Nov., having been born five years before the death of Augustus (Suet. Vesp. 2). — progressum: i.e. an advance by successive steps at discretion, whereas the aspirant for empire may not pause; for him it is a single leap. Some editors insert esse regressum to balance the thought.

75. viro militari: cf. Agr. 41 tot militares viri; on his military career in Germany and Britain cf. on 1, 10; Suet. Vesp. 4. — bello inexpertas: cf. 1, 8 bellis inexpertus; Agr. 41 expertum bellis anim. — quid . . . profuturas: cf. on 1, 50 ituros. — praesenti: i.e. requiring no careful preparation, executed on the spot. — diverso: for diversus as applied to a rival party cf. 34 cura diversa sciscitandi; 3, 5 maiore ex diverso mercede. — sic . . . sic: the first example illustrates facinore, the second praemium. — Scribonianus: cf. on 1, 89. — ad summa militiae: Tac. probably means nothing higher than the rank of a centurio primi pilii, the ordinary limit of promotion for one who had risen from the ranks.

76. pavoribus: cf. on 13 iras. — coram = publicly; in this mg. coram appears first in the Augustan poets, e.g. Aen. 1, 520; Hor. C. 3, 6, 29; cf. Ann. 6, 8 quae coram habentur, and 13, 25 fin. coram prospectans (the only other examples in Tac.). — omnes, qui, etc.: the opening sentence is very similar to that of a passage in Sallust,— a letter of Mithridates (Hist. 4, fr. 69 M): Omnes, qui secundis rebus suis ad belli societatem orantur, considerare debent, liceatne tum pacem agere; dein, quod quaesistur, satisse pium tutum, gloriosum an indecorum sit. But the resemblance may be due to rhetorical scheme, rather than to direct imitation. — promptum effectu: cf. 1, 87 fin. facillimum factu. — arduum: cf. on 1, 85 arduus. — ipse . . . considerandum est: the personal constr. by prolepsis adds emphasis to the necessity of judging the adviser's motives. Out of the personal the impersonal considerandum est must be supplied with the next question. In the active voice prolepsis of this kind was very frequent in conversational Latin; in the passive it is rare; cf. Hor. C. 4, 14, 17 spectandum . . . quantis fatigaret ruinis; Ov. Met. 6, 208 an
dea sim, dubitor. — quam salutare: elliptical ind. quest. depending on what follows; cf. 1, 29 quo . . . fato, in vectra manu positum est. — nec = neve; cf. on 1, 84 nec. — a . . . propius: cf. 1, 10 prope ab exule. — longo = diurno; cf. on 1, 5 longo. — Galbae: Otho is calmly ignored. — abit, etc. = is past and gone. — transvectum = exactum; cf. Agr. 18 transvecta aetas. — posses videri: this phrase (esp. freq. in law Latin) gives the commonly accepted interpretation of an act, a term, etc., — it does not refer to mere appearances. Cf. Agr. 13 potest videri ostendisse posteris, non tradidisse. — concupisse: Vespasian’s ambition must have been quite generally known even before the death of Galba (cf. 5); but the rôle of a pretended has now become impossible, since the death of Otho has freed Vitellius’ hands to dispose of another rival. — excidit: sc. memoria. — trucidatus: for the use of the ptep. cf. Intr. 11.— Cn. Domitius Corbulo: the most illustrious of Nero’s generals; but having aroused his master’s jealousy, he was forced to commit suicide in 67 (Dio 63, 17). He was a brother of Caesonia, wife of Caligula; legatus of Lower Germany in 47; proconsul of Asia under Claudius; legatus of Cappadocia and Galatia; then of Syria; then of Cappadocia again; best known for his various Armenian campaigns, 57–66; cf. Ann. 13–15 passim; 11, 18 ff.; Hist. 3, 6; Dio 60, 30; 62, 19 ff.; Plin. N. H. 2, 72; 6, 23. — natalium = generis or originis; cf. on 1, 49 natalium. — Galbae odio: for the adversative asyndeton cf. on 1, 83 nimia pietas. — ne . . . quidem: the negation is limited to ducis arte . . . victum, — even Otho, who was not beaten by, etc. — exarmat: cf. 67. — principis imitatione: cf. 68. — novem: 3 in Syria, 1 Syrian legion now in Moesia, 3 in Judaea, 2 in Egypt; cf. on 1, 10, 11. — externi: i.e. the bellum Judaicum; cf. 4. — classium, etc.: cf. 4 fin. — reges: cf. 81. — ante omnis: the attributive position (cf. on 15 iuxta) shows that this is equivalent to qua omnis antecedis. More normal is the use of the phrase in such expressions as rex ante omnes maestus (Curt. 6, 6, 19); ante omnes insignis (Livy 41, 4, 6). Cicero would have said praetor ceteros.

77. nobis: i.e. myself; cf. in Piso’s speech, 1, 30 nihil adrogabo mihi. — triumphale: Vespasian had not indeed received a triumph for his exploits in the conquest of Britain in 43; but while his superior, Aulus Plautius, was honored with an ovation, Ves-
pasian was awarded the *triumphalia ornamenta*; cf. 78; Suet. *Vesp.* 4. — *capax*: cf. 1 *maturam petendis honoribus iuventam*. — *apud Germanicos*, etc.: for Titus’ career cf. on 1, 10; Suet. *Tit.* 4 *tribunus militum et in Germania et in Britannia meruit*, etc. — *rerum*: for the gen. cf. next note. — *ordo = relations, relative position*; cf. Plaut. *Trin.* 451 *meorum . . . rerum . . . ordinem*. — *vincimus*: the present, in the midst of futures, adds a note of confidence; cf. Sall. *Cat.* 58, 9 *si vincimus, omnia nobis tuta erunt*, etc. — *discrimen . . . patiemur*: the expression is so unusual that many have preferred to read *partiemur* (Puteolanus), which gives a phrase hardly less difficult to parallel. It is more like Tacitus not to repeat in the verb the idea of sharing already suggested in *ex aequo*. For *patiemur* an illustration is cited from Livy 26, 13, 8 *ultima pericula . . . perpessi*. — *ex aequo*: cf. Germ. 36 fin. *adversarum rerum ex aequo soçii sunt*; cf. below 97; *Agr.* 20 fin. — *immo = or rather*. — *tu*: must be restored on account of the antithesis; cf. 3, 2 fin. *vos . . . legiones continete: mihi*, etc. — *tuos*: emphasizing Vespasian’s right to the chief command of all the armies, while Mucianus is to lead the expedition against Vitellius. — *hos . . . illi*: the pronouns reflect the feeling of expected friendship with the *victi*, and inevitable hostility towards the *victores*. — *per fastidium*, etc.: cf. *Intr.* 13. — *aperiet*, etc.: for the fullness of language in this pass. cf. *Intr.* 14. — *contecta*: the comparison is with wounds which have closed once, only to resume suppuration. — *vigilantia*, etc.: cf. 5. — *parsimonia*: naturally in a complimentary sense, as in *Agr.* 4, where Tac. commends the *provincialis parsimonia* of Massilia. — *torpore*: cf. 1, 62 *torpebat Vitellius*; 2, 99 *Caecinae . . . torpor recens*. — *inscitia*: cf. on 1, 1 *inscitia*. — *saevitia*: instances are given in 64, 70. — *qui deliberant, desciverunt*: cf. *Intr.* 27; a similar thought less pointedly expressed, *Agr.* 15 fin. *iam ipsos . . . deliberare. Porro in eius modi consiliis periculosius esse deprehendi quam audere*; cf. Plut. *Galba* 4 fin.

78. *responsa vatum*: cf. 1, 10 fin. *responsis*, etc.; 2, 4; Suet. *Vesp.* 5. — *Seleucus*: Suet. mentions a Seleucus *mathematicus* in connection with Otho, — the same person whom Tac. calls *Ptolemaeus* (1, 22; Suet. *Otho* 4, 6). An evident confusion on the part of Suet. For the *mathematici* cf. on 1, 22 *mathematicis*. —
rectorem — as his adviser. — vetera omina: detailed by Suet. Vesp. 5. — laetior: cf. Suet. i.c. arbor quoque cupressus in agro avito sine ulla vi tempestatis evulsa radicitus atque prostrata, sequenti die viridior ac firmior resurrexit. The Ms. latior is incompatible with the shape of a cypress. — triumphalia: cf. on 77 triumphale. — consulatus: in Nov. and Dec. 51; cf. Suet. Vesp. 4. — inter: this position of a disyllabic preposition between coördinated substantives is very rare before Tac.; cf. Livy 22, 3, 3 Faesulas inter Arretiumque; a disputed example in Caes. B. C. 3, 6, 3. Cf. Hist. 3, 19 (super); 4, 77 (inter); 5, 8 (penes); 5, 19 (inter). — Carmēlus: the mountain extends in a northwesterly direction, forming a great promontory 25 miles north of Caesarea. — tradidere: i.e. there never had been a temple or an image. — ara, etc.: adversative asyndeton; cf. on 1, 83 nimia pietas. — reverentia: cf. Germ. 9 fin. deorumque nominibus appellant secre-tum illud, quod sola reverentia vident. — Basilides: in itself an suspicious name. Another man of the same name at Alexandria, 4, 82. — quidquid, etc.: cf. Suet. Vesp. 5 apud Iudaeam Carmeli dei oraculum consulentem ita confirmavere sortes, ut quidquid cogitaret volveretque animo, quamlibet magnum, id esse proventurum pollicerentur. — extruere: here, as in 3, 72 of the later stages of construction or adornment, as the building (there the Capitol) approaches completion. Thus marbles for decoration are marmora ad exstuctionem domus (Dig. 30, 41, 4). — aperiebat: i.e. they now found the key, cf. Ann. 11, 34 aperiere ambages et veri copiam facere. — quanto; for the omission of tanto cf. on 1, 88 quanto. — Antiochia = Antioch, on the Orontes; about 300 m.p. north of Caesarea. — Caesarea: on the coast; named by Herod the Great in honor of Augustus; earlier known as Turris Stratonis. From the Jewish standpoint it was not Iudaee caput (cf. 5, 8 Hierosolyma genti caput). — illa . . . hoc: Tac. often neglects the usual attraction to the gender of the pred.; cf. 1, 49 quod se nitia erat; here he first neglects, and then observes, the older rule.


80. quaeritur: i.e. by Vespasian's friends. — spes timor, etc.:
cf. on 1, 3 fin. laeta tristia; 2, 26 fugientes occursantes. — ratio: cf. 19 rationem ostendens. — salutaturi: evidently the usual morning salute. — Caesarem: i.e. the title of Caesar, depending directly upon cumulare. Others understand a case of zeugma, and supply vocare, or salutare. — mens: esp. of those to whom dum quaeritur, etc., above refers. — fortunam: pregnant for confidence of success. — transierat: the instantaneous pluperf.; cf. on 5 fin. aboleverat. — aut: cf. on 1, 51 fin. et. — caliginem = dizziness. Livy has it in the literal sense, of men climbing scaling ladders at the siege of New Carthage: cum altitudo caliginem oculis offudisset, 26, 45, 3; of a wounded man Curt. 9, 5, 28 calagine oculis offusa. Tac. may have had in mind the Livy pass.; but the expression can hardly have been of Livy’s coinage. — laeta omnia: cf. 3, 54 cum . . . laeta omnia fingeret; Ann. 1, 42 fin. laeta omnia aliis e provinciis audienti; 11, 15 et laeta quidem in praesens omnia. — affluentia: there was nothing but good news, and abundance of it; cf. 1, 57 fin. ex affluenti. It would be several days before he could learn that he had been proclaimed at Antioch also. — id ipsum: i.e. the first news that the troops at Caesarea had hailed Vespasian imperator, — received perhaps three days after the event. — ubi illis, etc.: as Antioch was a Greek city, the custom of using the theater for public assemblies prevailed. So Timoleon veniebat . . . in theatrum (at Syracuse), cum ibi concilium populi haberetur, Nep. Tim. 4. — arte quadam ostentator: in this oft-quoted characterization, Tac. is probably condensing what Livy says of Africanus, — non veris tantum virtutibus mirabilis, sed arte quoque quadam ab iuventa in ostentationem earum compositus (26, 19, 3). Or he may have recalled Livy’s judgment of Romulus,—cum factis vir magnificus tum factorum ostentator haud minor (1, 10, 5). — nihil aequae: the omission of sed (cf. 84 sed nihil aequae) shows that Mucianus first made his statement in regard to the transfer of the legions at this assembly. — legionibus: for the dat. cf. on 1, 11 procuratoribus. — mutarentur: Suet. speaks of a rumor dissipatus, destinasse victorem Vitellium permutare hiberna legionum et Germanicas transferre in Orientem ad securiorem molioremque militiam (Vesp. 6 fin.). — militibus: cf. on legionibus, above.

81. Sohaemus: cf. on 4 fin. reges. Before his transfer to So-
phene, in 54, he had been prince of Emesa, on the upper Orontes, in Syria; Ann. 13, 7; Hist. 5, 1; Joseph. Ant. 20, 8, 4; B. I. 7, 7, 1. — haud spennendis viribus: as in 58. — Antiochus: cf. on 4 fin. reges; Ann. l.c.; 12, 55; 14, 26 fin.; Joseph. B. I. l.c.; etc. On the asyndeton, cf. on 1, 13 Vinium . . . Laconem. — M. Iulius Agrippa = Herodes Agrippa II; cf. on 2 Berenices, and on 4 fin. reges. On the death of his uncle, Herod of Chalcis, in 48, he received that kingdom; but in 53 Claudius gave him in exchange the districts known as Batanæa, Trachonitis, Abila, and Gaulanitis, while Nero added parts of Galilee and Peraea. He had gone with Titus on the errand mentioned above, 1; but when Titus turned back from Corinth, Herod went on to Rome. Cf. Joseph. Ant. 20, 5, 2; ib. 7, 1; 8, 4; 4, 9, 2; B. I. 2, 12, 1 and 8; ib. 13, 2; 18, 9; Acts 25–26. — Berenice: cf. on 2. — inermes: this does not exclude auxiliaries or militia; cf. 1, 11 fin. inermes provinciae. — legionibus: Cappadocia became a province under Tiberius, in 17, but was governed by procurators, until Vespasian, propter adsiduos barbarorum incursus, assigned two legions (XII Fulminata, XV Apollinaris) to the province, and a legatus consularis; Suet. Vesp. 8; Ann. 2, 42; Dio 57, 17 fin. — summa rerum = whole situation; cf. 3, 50 de summa rerum cunctantes; a different mg. above, 33. — Berytus = Beirut, on the coast of Phœnicia, north of Sidon; made a colony by Augustus; it became in late Roman times an educational center, especially for students of the Roman law. — splendidissimo: referring to their “decorations,” i.e. phalerae, torques, and other dona militaria; cf. 89 fin. — decora: cf. on 1, 84 decora; Intr. 15. — paratus = apparatus, as in 59 principali paratu.

82. revocare: i.e. ad signa, or ad arma. — signatur: some of these coins appear to have been preserved; cf. Eckhel Doctr. Num. VI, 320. — bonos, etc.: cf. Agr. 21 hortari . . . adiuovere . . . laudando promptos et castigando segnes. — dissimulans: cf. 71 dissimulatus. — praefecturis: in the auxiliaries or the cavalry. — procurationibus: cf. on 1, 2 fin. procurationes. — summa: i.e. high offices, esp. governorships of important provinces. — fortuna: wealth and rank were their only recommendation. — neque . . . ne . . . quidem: unusual correlation, to emphasize the second member; cf. Germ. 7 and 44 fin. neque . . . neque . . . ne . . . quidem; ib. 37 non . . . non . . . non . . . ne . . . qui-
dem. — ali in pace: while Sulla, Caesar, Octavian, etc., had given donatives to their armies in war time, Tiberius did the same upon his accession, but under the will of Augustus. Caligula imitated his example. With Claudius for the first time a donative seemed to be the price paid for the throne. Nero, of course, followed the precedent. Vespasian's donative was small, — only 25 denarii. Cf. Suet. Aug. 101; Claud. 10 fin.; Ann. 1, 8; 12, 41, 69; Dio 65, 22 fin. — firmus, etc.: cf. 1, 35 fin. adversus blandientes incorruptus. — militarem: equiv. to obj. gen. militum; cf. 1, 46 vulgi largitione. — exercitu meliore: abl. qual., — a general is known by the army he keeps; cf. Nepos, Eum. 3 fin. peditatu, quo erat detersiore. — obtinere = hold; cf. next note. — clastra Aegypti: i.e. Alexandria, on the west side of the delta, and Pelusium on the east. Vespasian's object was not so much a strong position in impregnable Egypt, as the opportunity to secure its revenues, and to hold back the grain supply upon which Rome depended for its daily bread; cf. 3, 8 Aegyptus, claustria annonae, etc.; Suet. Vesp. 7 ducibus copiosisque in Italiam praemissis, interim Alexandriam transiit, ut clastra Aegypti optineret. Cf. 3, 48 fin. where Vespasian plans to cut off another source of the annonae by invading Africa also. — nihil arduum fatis = the fact (or the belief) that nothing, etc.; cf. Intr. 11. — arduum: cf. on 1, 85 arduus. — reciprandae militiae: best taken as dat. of the end. The praemium was to be more substantial than mere restoration to the service. Cf. 67.

83. agens: cf. 1, 30 ageret, etc. — gliscere: cf. on 8 fin. gliscentem. — vires: he takes with him but one complete legion, and probably a detachment from each of the five remaining in Syria and Judaea. But he also counts upon large reinforcements from the Danube legions, especially III Gallica, now in Moesia, but formerly in Syria; cf. 74; 1, 79. — tredecim . . . milia: this number is reasonably assumed to represent five detachments of 2600 each. Cf. 57, where three legions contribute 8000. — vexillariorum: cf. on 1, 31 fin. vexilla. — classem: in reality not the whole fleet, but lectissimas Liburnicarum omnemque militem (i.e. marines), 3, 47. — ambiguus consili: cf. on 46 consili certus; Ann. 1, 7 ambiguus imperandi. — num: cf. on 37 num. — Moesia: cf. on 1, 79 Moesia. He did decide upon this route, up the Hebrus, the Margus, Danube, and Save (or Drave), and so to Aquileia at the
head of the Adriatic. Thus naval warfare was eliminated from the conflict. — Dyrrachium: in the province of Macedonia, on the coast, opposite Brundisium; western terminus of one of the most important roads in the empire, the Via Egnatia (the over-sea continuation of the Appia), leading to Thessalonica and Byzantium. In Greek times Epidamnus, now Durazzo. — clauderet: zeugma; supply peteret or occuparet with Dyrrachium. — exponi: cf. on 30 expositos. — in incerto: cf. on 1, 37 in incerto.

84. strepere: cf. 62 strepentinibus ab utroque mari itineribus; Livy 26, 51, 7 urbe ipsa strepebat apparatu belli fabris . . . in publica officina inclusis.—fatigabat: the obj. is readily supplied from provinciae.—nervos: the familiar proverb; cf. Cic. Phil. 5, 5; Imp. Pomp. 17; Plut. Cleom. 27.—verum = actual fact; the charges brought by the delatores were often groundless; others understand it in the sense of equity. — passim delationes: cf. 1, 20 ubicque hasta et sector; 1, 65 multae in vicem clades. Tac.’s Roman readers probably did not take the trouble to supply a verb. — quisque . . . correpti: for the plur. after quisque cf. on 1, 35 nimiis verbis. — optinendas: in place of its ordinary mg. maintain, the verb here has the sense of carry out, carry through, as in Ann. 3, 52 fin. indecorum adirectare, quod non obtineret. — haud perinde — haud ita; cf. Germ. 5 haud perinde adficiuntur. The comparison is merely implied. — magistris: cf. 63 inrepetibus dominationis magistris. — didicit: opinions differed as to whether Vespasian was naturally miserly (natura cupidissimus) or forced into extortion by the needs of the treasury (summa aerarii fiscique inopia, Suet. Vesp. 16; cf. ib. 23). — quo . . . sumeret: purpose clause; his generous contributions were not without the hope of ample returns. — in recipiendo: the abl. constr. enables Tac. to avoid another long gen. gerundive; euphony, rather than variety, is the motive.

85. tertia: cf. on 83 vires. — octava: i.e. Augusta. — Claudiana: the name is added to distinguish it from VII Galbiana, in Pannonia; cf. 86. It had been loyal to Claudius in the revolt of Scribonianus in Dalmatia (cf. 75; 1, 89). — inbutae: cf. 1, 5 longo Caesarum sacramento inbutus. — quamvis . . . interfulsens: cf. on 59 quamvis. — Aquileia: cf. 46 fin. — de Othone: they refused to believe him dead. — vexillis: i.e. they encountered only detach-
ments of the Vitellian legions; cf. on 1, 31 fin. vexilla. — ex metu consilium: according to Suet., who gives (Vesp. 6) a more detailed account of these doings at Aquileia in April, they planned to create an emperor for themselves, and (after rejecting the names of various other consular legates) at the instance of some men of the IIId legion (then in Moesia), they preferred Vespasian, nomenque eius vexillis omnibus sine mora inscripserunt. But the mutiny was suppressed for the time being. — inputari: i.e. could be set down to their credit with Vespasian; cf. 1, 35 quis mihi plurimum inputet. — Pannonicum exercitum: i.e. the XIIIth Gemina and VIIth Galbiana; cf. 86. — abuenti: conditional. — Aponius Saturninus: cf. on 1, 79; below, 96. — rector: cf. 1, 59 fin. Lugudunensis Galliae rector. — Tettius Iulianus: cf. on 1, 79 fin. — avia Moesiae: cf. 4, 70 avia Belgarum; Ann. 13, 37 avia Armeniae. — deinde: cf. on 50 deinde. — cunctabundus, etc.: cf. 83 init.

86. ter[a] decuma: stationed at Poetoio, now Pettau, on the Drave, in Styria; cf. 3, 1. They had returned to their old quarters after building the amphitheaters at Cremona and Bononia; cf. 67. — septima Galbiana: the Hispana of 1, 6, q.v. — M. Antonius Primus: a Gaul, born at Tolosa (Toulouse); the leading figure in Book 3, as the most active of the Flavian generals. In his later days a friend of the poet Martial. Cf. Suet. Vit. 18; Mart. 9, 99; 10, 23 and 32; Hist. 3, 2 et passim; 4, 2, 4; etc. — falsi damnatus: it was a case of witnessing a forged will, in the year 61; cf. Ann. 14, 40. The penalty was deportation and loss of all property for the principal (Dig. 48, 10, 1, 13), while the false witness might get off with ejection from the senate (Paul. 5, 15, 5). — inter alia, etc.: resembling an appositive phrase (cf. 1, 62 laetum augurium), or instead of an appositive clause, quod fuit inter alia belli malum. — in nullo . . . usu, etc.: i.e. found no employment. Of course he retained his command. — momentum: cf. 1, 59 grande momentum. — strenuus, etc.: observe the rhetorical form of this portrait of Antonius, esp. its antitheses. — artifex = a master. — iuncti: in the fig. mg. only as yet, — having reached an agreement. — Delmaticum militem: i.e. the XIth Claudia; for the XIVth Gemina Martia Victrix (cf. on 1, 9 Illyrico; 2, 11 quartodecimani) had returned to its former station in Britain; cf. 66 fin., 86 fin. — quanquam: cf. on 1, 43 quanquam.

— L. Tampius Flavianus: twice consul suffectus (ca. 46 and 74, or
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after); procos. of Africa and then legatus of Pannonia; cf. Plin. N. H. 9, 26; Hist. 3, 4, 10. — M. Pompeius Silvanus: cos. suff. in 45, and again ca. 74 with Tampius Flavianus; procos. of Africa, and then accused by the provincials, 58, but acquitted by Nero; legatus of Dalmatia, 69-70; cf. Ann. 13, 52; Hist. 3, 50. — tenebant: cf. on 30 inridebant. — Cornelius Fuscus: procurator of Pannonia; presently admiral of the Ravenna fleet; under Domitian praefectus praetorio, until he lost his life in the disaster of the 2d Dacian expedition, in 86; cf. 3, 4, 12, etc.; Suet. Dom. 6; Mart. 6, 76; Juv. 4, 111. — natalibus: cf. on 1, 49 natalium. — quaestus cupidine: both law and custom forbade a senator to engage in trade; cf. Livy, 21, 63, 4 quaestus omnis patribus indecorus visus. It was more profitable to become a procurator; cf. Ann. 16, 17 adquirendae pecuniae brevis iter credebat per procurationes administrandis principis negotiis (of Mela, brother of Seneca). — If the Ms. quietis is correct (which is highly improbable), then prima and idem are emphatic. — coloniae: it is not known to what town this refers. — facem: cf. flagrabit, below. In English we should more naturally say he was the chief firebrand. — aegrum = rotten, weak, i.e. disaffected. — adgrediuntur: i.e. Antonius and Fuscus. — quattuore decumanos: cf. 66 fin. — primanos: the classicorum legio, now known as I Adiutrix; cf. 67. — secuturis: cf. on 32 inrupturis; Intr. 7.


87. contumelior in dies: cf. 73 fin., the point at which the narrative is here resumed. — ad omnis... amoenitates = at every attractive town and villa. — resistens = consistens. — gravi... agmine: cf. 1, 70 fin. — calonum: cf. on 1, 49 calones. — lixarum: cf. ib. lixas; they were free, but acted insolently, even in comparison with (inter) the slaves. — modestia = discipline; cf. on 1, 52 modesti. — regetur: the tense is that of a general truth, narrative being abandoned for general observation; cf. 92 nec umquam satis fida potentia, etc. Most editors emend to regetur. — metu... per adulationem; cf. Intr. 13. — cogniti: viz. at the court of Nero; cf. 71. — amicitiarum dehonesta mentis = scandalous friendships; the genitive is epexegetic. — aut: in a negative statement aut
often stands where et would be used in an affirmotive statement; cf. 1, 63 non ob praedam aut spoliandi cupidine, sed furore et rabie. — cultores . . . vastabantur: cf. on 16 vastatos.

88. seditionem: cf. 68. — paganos: cf. on 1, 53 fin. paganos. — foret = esset; cf. 21; for the iterative subjv. cf. on 1, 10 vacaret. — consensu: the abl. abs. trails loosely after manente (with zeugma, for lack of a pres. ptcp. of esse); the whole is equivalent to a cum-clause. — ad septimum: on the Via Flaminia, in the Tiber meadows, about two m.p. nearer than Sars Rubra, and the well-known villa of the Empress Livia (Prima Porta; cf. 3, 79). The distance is from the Servian gate at the foot of the Capitoline (Via Lata). — saginam: cf. 1, 62 sagina gravis. — vernacula . . . urbanitate: i.e. it was only a practical joke; vernacula has its special mg. city-born, metropolitan; cf. Petron. 24 hominem acutum atque urbantatis vernaculae fontem. So in Ann. 1, 31 recruits from the city are vernacula multitudo; cf. Dial. 28 de urbe et his propriis ac vernaculis vitios. — balteis: cf. on 1, 57 fin. balteos. — an: silver Latin for num; cf. Ann. 2, 9 quae sitoque an Caesar venisset; Hist. 4, 86 fidem . . . temptavisse, an. — foret = esset, cf. above, foret. — Galba: in their own eyes the soldiers of Vitellius were the avengers of Galba, forgetting that they had at first revolted from him. — ipsi: i.e. the German auxiliaries. — tergis: for class. pellibus; so in Ann. 15, 44 the Christians are ferarum tergis contecti. But Germ. 17 gerunt et ferarum pelles. — inscitiam = awkwardness; cf. on 1, 1 inscitia. — lubrico viae: cf. 1, 79 lubrico itinerum. — terrore et . . . catervia: hendiadys, the feeling produced and the means of its production.

89. ponte Mulvio: cf. 1, 87. — deterritus: at some point between the Pons Mulvius and the Campus Martius he yields to persuasion, and gives up his plan of a triumphal entry. — praetexta: in place of the military paludamentum. — quattuor legionum: viz. the three that had accompanied Valens (I Italica, V Alaudae) and Caecina (XXI Rapax), and that of which the main body must have come with Vitellius (XXII Primigenia); cf. 1, 61, 64; 2, 100. Tac. was perhaps an eye-witness of this scene. — aquilae: i.e. legions with their eagles; so vexilla and signa, below. — per frontem = at the head of the column; usually applied to an acies, not often to vigmen (but cf. Ann. 12, 16). — totidem: Tac. overlooks the three
vexilla from Britain, mentioned in 100. — circa: forming parallel columns, but probably in close order, not as at the entry of the Flavians, 3, 82. — legionibus aliis: i.e. I Germanica, IV Macedonica, XV Primigenia, XVI Gallica; cf. 100. — alarum: of cavalry. — et: epexegetic, that is; cf. on 10 iactatum. — peditum . . . eques: Intr. 13. — forent = essent; cf. on 88 foret; for the subjv. cf. on 1, 10 vacaret. — praefecti: cf. on 26 praefectus castrorum. — phalerae: cf. on 1, 57 fin. phaleras. — torques: not worn as collars, but hanging down over the breast, like the phalerae. — facies: cf. 42 non una pugnae facies; 1, 85 facies bellii. — matrem: cf. 64.

90. alterius: often used in preference to alius; for the sense cf. 1, 45 alium crederes senatum, alium populum. — somno: fig. for desidia, ignavia. — vacuum curis = unconcerned, thoughtless. — Augusti: cf. 1, 47 nomen Augusti et omnes principum honores. — frustra: with reference to his impending fate; for the hint of approaching catastrophe cf. 48 fin., 59 fin. — recusaverat: more exactly, he had only postponed; cf. 62 editum, quo vocabulum Augusti differret.

91. funesti ominis loco: a common use of loco in place of a predicate; cf. 4, 26 prodigii loco accipiebatur. — XV kalendas Augustas: cf. Livy 6, 1, 11 diemque a.d. XV kal. Sextiles, duplici clade insignem, quo die ad Cremeram Fabii caesi, quo deinde ad Aliam cum exitio urbis foede pugnatum, a posteriore clade Aliensem appellantur insignemque religionem rei utilis publice privatimque agendae fecerunt. — Cremerensi: the slaughter of the Fabii by the Etruscans, 477 B.C.; Livy 2, 50. — Allieni: at the hands of the Gauls, 390; Livy 5, 38. — cladibus: Cic. would have written clade; cf. 1, 18 quartam et doceovicensimam legiones. — comitia consulum: the arrangements Vitellius had already made (cf. 71) required formal ratification by the senate under the transparent guise of an election. Tiberius had transferred the elections to the senate (Ann. 1, 15), but the assembly met to hear the formal renuntiatio of those who had been elected; cf. Abbott, Roman Political Institutions, § 503. — civilitet, etc.: he wished to give the impression that the old-time freedom had in part returned. In reality the emperor’s commendatio of his candidati was decisive; cf. Abbott, §§ 331, 416. — fautor: i.e. he favored that faction which happened to be most popular. They were dis-
tinfoiled by colors, — white, red, blue, green, i.e. albata, rustata, venetia, prasina, respectively. — consulenter: cf. on 1, 10 vacaret. — Helvidius Priscus: a well-known member of the opposition, born in Samnium, son of a first centurion, son-in-law of Thrasea (v. below), commander of a legion in Syria, 51, tribunus plebis, 56; re-elected by Nero in 66, he returned under Galba; was re-elected again and put to death by Vespasian. Tac. gives a portrait of him in 4, 5 f.; cf. Ann. 12, 49; 13, 28; 16, 33; Suet. Vesp. 15. — non . . . ultra quam = tantum; no verb need be supplied, for, while originally elliptical, the combination has come to be treated as an adverb, i.e. = tantummodo; so quid aliud quam, non aliud quam, nihil aliud quam (Thesaurus I, 1634, 34 f.), nihil amplius quam; cf. Ann. 4, 34; 13, 40 fin.; 15, 13; an idiom freq. in Livy, e.g. 27, 18, 11 nihil aliud quam via impediti. — potestatis: sc. tribuniciae, one of the most important of the powers conferred upon the emperor; cf. on 55 cuncta. — re publica = affair of state. — P. Clodius Thrasea Paetus: from Patavium, cos. suff. in 56; son-in-law of Caecina Paetus (a victim of Claudius); father-in-law of Helvidius Priscus; himself also a steadfast opponent of the emperors and a Stoic; forced to suicide in 66; cf. Ann. 16, 21 ff.; 14, 12, 48 f.

92. Publius Sabinus: nothing further is known about him, except his deposition a few months later, 3, 36 fin. — Iulius Priscus: cf. 3, 55, 61 fin.; his suicide, 4, 11 fin. For the asyndeton with names cf. on 1, 13 Vinium . . . Laconem. Both were eccentric promotions. — pollebant: cf. on 30 inridebant. — inter: cf. on 1, 1 inter infusion. — olim: cf. on 1, 60 olim. — fecunda gignendis inimiciiis: for the abl. cf. 1, 51 fin. fecunda rumoribus; Ann. 13, 57 flumen gignendo sale fecundum. — et: cf. on 1, 51 fin. et. — salutantium: i.e. at the morning call. — potentia: cf. on 1, 1 potentiam. — aut: equivalent here to modo . . . modo. — nobiliurn turba: Nero's exiles; cf. Otho's ineffectual measures for their relief, 1, 90 (empty honors, 1, 77). — gratum: cf. 95 laetum . . . quod. — adprobavit: translate by a passive. — iura libertorum = iura patronatus, the various rights which the patron had over his freedman. Exile extinguished such rights. For an impoverished patron the most important of these were (1) the privilege of support at the expense of the freedman, if the latter
had means; (2) the right to one-half the property of the freedman, if he died childless. Cf. Dig. 25, 3, 5, 19 ff.; 37, 14, 21; Inst. 3, 7, 1. — servilia ingenia: meaning freedmen; so servorum manus 1, 7. — corrumpabant — inritum faciebant. — occultos: i.e. of obscure, and hence unsuspected, persons. — ambitiosos: i.e. of very influential persons, into whose good graces the freedmen had wormed themselves per ambitionem. — sinus: the figure is from the folds of the toga. — in domum Caesaris, etc.: by naming the emperor their patron. For an example of a powerful libertus Caesaris cf. Galba's Icelus, 1, 13, 37 fin., 46 fin.; cf. 95.

93. castris: the permanent camp of the praetorians; cf. on 1, 17 castris. There were other barracks (perhaps included here) for the cohortes urbanae, vigiles, etc. — porticibus, etc.: cf. 1, 31. — principia: i.e. they had no rallying place, as in the principia of a camp, — the central part of the via principalis, and an open space before the praetorium. Cf. 3, 13 recurrens in principi miles. — imminebant: zeugma, resulting from the antithesis corpus . . . animum. — infamibus: i.e. notoriously unhealthy. The ancient reputation of the Vatican still remains. For the adj. cf. Hor. C. 1, 3, 20 infamis scopulos Acroceraunia; Livy 21, 31, 8 infames frigoribus Alpes. — tetendit: cf. on 1, 31 tendentes. — in vulgus: cf. on 15 iuxta. — obnoxia = exposed, as being not yet acclimated. Suetonius Paulinus had predicted this result, 32. — ordo militiae = the service, with its rules and conventions; cf. 1, 38 sine more et ordine militiae. — sedecim: a temporary enlargement, in place of the usual nine (though Nero had twelve, CIL. V, 7003). It was not continued by Vespasian. For the dismissal of the old praetorians cf. 67; for Vespasian's nine cf. CIL. III, p. 853. — quattuor: only three had heretofore been stationed in the city; cf. on 1, 20 fin. urbanis. Vespasian had four such cohorts, CIL. I.c. — scriebantur: cf. Intr. 17. — tanquam, etc.: cf. on 1, 8 tanquam . . . fovissent. — periculo: for the dat. cf. on 1, 59 periculo; for the occasion cf. 25 ff. — fluitasse: Caecina presently abandons the cause of Vitellius; cf. 100 f.; 3, 9, 13 ff.

94. militia: i.e. arm of the service. — urbanae militiae: including praetorians and cohortes urbanae under a single term; so 1, 4 f. urbanum militem, and miles urbanus. — alares: i.e. auxiliary cavalry. The extraordinary privilege of being enrolled in the
urbana militia was not extended to the auxiliary infantry; cf. legionibus alisque, below. — *castrorum*: sc. praetorianorum; by meton. for service among the praetorians. — *decus*; it had previously been a hard-earned honor to serve in the guard. — *contionante*: i.e. from the tribunal at the camp. — *pro Vindice*: cf on 1, 6 fin. — *super*: cf. on 1, 8 *super*. — *donativum*: cf. 1, 5; 18 fin. — *principum*: possibly Claudius, certainly Nero, Galba, Otho, probably Vitellius. — *ut tributum*: these exactions from the freedmen no doubt won popular favor for Vitellius. — *perdendi*: cf. 1, 30 *perdere iste sciet* (of Otho); 37 *quod Polycleti ... perdiderunt*. — *cura*: ironical. — *in ludere*: cf. Ann. 15, 42 *viribus principis in ludere*; Sall. Cat. 13, 2 *quibus mihi videntur ludibrio fuisse divitiæ.*

95. *natalem ... diem*: the 24th Sept. (or according to others the 7th); cf. Suet. *Vit.* 3. He was born 15 A.D. — *vicatim*: a *vicus* was a street, with the narrower streets or alleys opening into it, including the houses, — hence equivalent to *precinct*; e.g. Vicus Tuscus, Vicus Longus, Vicus Patricius. — *laetum*: cf. 92 *gratum ... quod*, etc. — *in campo Martio*: the tomb of Nero (the family tomb of the Domitii) was on the Pincio (Collis Hortorum), but visible from the Campus Martius; cf. Suet.'s description, Nero 50. — *inferias Neróni*: cf. Suet. *Vit.* 11 *et ne cui dubium foret*, *quod exemplar regendae rei publicae eligeret, medio Martio campo adhibita publicorum sacerdotum frequentia inferias Neróni dedit*. — *Augustales*: i.e. *sodales Augustales*, established by Tiberius soon after the death of Augustus. There were at first 21 regular *sodales*, and four representatives of the imperial family. They had at Bovillae, on the Appian Way, near Mt. Alba, a shrine which had long been associated with the ancestor worship of the *gens Iulia*; cf. Ann. 1, 54 (quoted below); 2, 41; *CIL. VI*, 1985 ff. (1986 is of the year 69). — *ut Romulus Tatio*: sc. *sacerdotium*; but in place of this more indefinite object, it is not unlikely that *Titios*, the proper designation, stood in the original text (after *Romulus*); cf. Ann. 1, 54 addito sodalium Augustalium sacerdotio, ut quondam T. Tatius retinendis Sabinorum sacris sodales Titios instituerat, — a passage which represents a different legend as to the foundation and purpose of the *Titii*. — *nondum ... et*: an imitation of Vergilian narration, with much the same effect as
that of a cum inversum (cf. on 1, 29 cum adfertur); cf. 1, 37 septem . . . menses sunt, et iam, etc.; Aen. 2, 692 vix ea fatus erat senior, subitoque fragore | intonuit, etc.; 5, 857 vix . . . laxaverat artus, | et, etc.; Georg. 2, 80 nec longum tempus, et, etc.—quartus: in reality quintus.—Asiaticus: cf. on 57.—Polyclitos: for the typical plural cf. on 1, 37 Polycliti; and below, Vintios Fabios, etc.—Patrobius: cf. 1, 49.—et: cf. on 1, 51 fin. et.—odiorum: abstr. for concr.; cf. Intr. 15.—prodigis epulis: cf. 62 epularum foeda et inexplebilis libido; Suet. Vit. 13.—sumptu ganeaque: the hendiadys balances the preceding adj. + noun; Intr. 13.—abunde: sc. esse; the adv. serves as pred.; cf. 97 fin. contra fuit; 1, 75 frustra fuit.—noviens miliens: sc. centena milia; 900 million sesterces = ca. 47 million dollars.—paucissimis: i.e. April to Dec.—sagina: cf. 71; on 1, 62 sagina.—Othonem Vitellium: i.e. an Otho, a Vitellius; for the asyndeton cf. on 1, 13 Vinium . . . Laconem.—inter: cf. on 1, 1 inter infensos.—Vinius: Galba’s colleague, 1, 1, etc.—Fabius: i.e. Valens, 1, 7, etc.—Icelus: Galba’s freedman, cf. 1, 13. The freedmen are paired together.—Marcellus: cf. on 53.

96. tertiae legionis: in Moesia; cf. 85.—Aponius Saturninus: legatus of that province; cf. 85.—epistulis: cf. on 1, 67 epistulis.—mollius: cf. 1, 12 quo seditio mollius acciperetur.—constare = was unshaken.—exauctoratos: cf. 67.—insectatus: for the aoristic use of the perf. ptcp. cf. Intr. 12.—vagis: under orders, of course. Translate by a while-clause. Cf. Intr. 7.—sermones, etc.: for a similar attempt, not long after, to suppress free speech cf. 3, 54.—alimentum, etc.: cf. 1, 17 fin. male coer-citam famam suppressentes augebant.

97. -que: the class. use, to pair together the provinces lying in the same general direction. Naturally Germania includes both Rhine provinces.—segniter et . . . dissimulans: cf. Intr. 13.—Hordeonius Flaccus: cf. on 1, 9.—bello: the uprising under Civilis, already feared; cf. 4, 12 ff.—Vettius Bolanus: cf. on 65 fin.—consulari: sc. legato. Cluvius Rufus was governing the province in absentia; cf. 65; 1, 8.—trium legionum: i.e. VI Victrix, X Gemina, I Adiutrix; the last had been sent thither by Vitellius; cf. 67.—prosperis . . . rebus: with conditional force.—certaturi: the ptcp. takes the place of a relative clause
containing the apodosis. For another silver Latin freedom with the fut. ptcp. cf. on 32 inrupturis. — ad obsequium: cf. 35 ad proelia. — ex aequo: cf. 77 ex aequo. — legio: III Augusta; cf. on 1, 11 legio. — Clodius Macer: cf. on 1, 7. — favorabiliem: so an oration which wins applause is a favorabilis oratio (Ann. 2, 36 fin.). — famosum: Suet., on the other hand, says that he governed Africa integerrime nec sine magna dignatione, and that he returned nihil opulentior, Vesp. 4. — contra: adverb as pred.; cf. 95 abunde.

98. C. Calpetanus Rantius Quirinalis Valerius Festus, related by marriage to Vitellius; legatus pro praetore exercitus Africæ, — a position much more influential than that of the ordinary legatus legionis (the case of Macer, above); in 70 he caused the murder of the proconsul, L. Piso; in 71 cos. suff. with Domitian; governor of Pannonia, 73, and Spain (Tarracosenis), 79–80; cf. 4, 49 f.; Plin. Ep. 3, 7, 12; best known from inscriptions in Spain and at Trieste, — CIL. II, 2477, 4802, etc.; V, 531. — cum fide = loyally. — invaluissent: representing the fut. perf. of direct discourse. — fefeller = escaped unnoticed, absolute; cf. 3, 41 and 5, 22 ad fallendum; Livy 10, 14, 6 non fefeller . . . in occultâ valle instructi. — socordiâ . . . dein: cf. on 5 dein. — Pannonicae Alpes: not a separate group of the Alps, but merely a term for the passes of the Julian Alps. The main route led from Aquileia, northeasterly, over the Alpis Iulia (830 m.), down into the valley of the Save at Emona (Laibach), and so to Poctovio (Pettau). — etesiarum: according to Pliny these began to blow on the 20th July, and lasted for 40 days (N. H. 2, 124). — inde: sc. navi-gantibus.

99. inruptione: the abl. (means) is with exterritus; others make it abl. of time, and nuntius means — atrocibus, etc.: cf. 1, 51 fin. undique atrocies nuntii. — expedire: as in 1, 10 and 88. — proficiscentis: cf. the entry into the city, 89. — species . . . vigor . . . ardor: for the style of this pass. cf. Intr. 23. — rarum = thinned, open; cf. 3, 25 rarioe iam . . . acie. — fluxa: i.e. held listlessly; not = fracta; for it is too much to assume that battered arms, or those in bad order, would have escaped inspection. Tac. is speaking merely of physical condition and its effects. — quantum . . . tanto: for a similar neglect of symmetry cf. on
BOOK II

1, 14 fin.; on 2, 11 tarditas. Tac. follows Livy in this balance of a positive against a comparative in a proportional sentence.—soluti . . . seu: the second term is an entire clause; cf. Intr. 13; 34 simulantes . . . ac ne, etc.—plerique: i.e. among the historians.—Flavius Sabinus: cf. on 1, 46; 2, 55.—Rubrius Gallus: cf. on 51.—erga: here in a hostile sense; cf. Ann. 2, 76 discordiam erga Germanicum; and so sometimes in Plaut., Ter., Nep. In Cic., Caes., Sall. it always denotes a friendly relation.

100. Caecina: the date of his departure is probably about the 1st Oct. —Cremona: cf. 17, 22, etc.— vexilla: cf. on 1, 31 fin. vexilla; below, vexillariis.—Britannicarum legionum: omitted in the enumeration of 89, q.v.; they were II Augusta, IX Hispana, XX Valeria Victrix.—exercitui: for the force composing Valens’ expedition cf. 1, 61, 64.—ductaverat: ducare exercitum was regarded as obsolete in the time of Quint., but sanctioned by the usage of Sall. and Tac.; cf. Quint. 8, 3, 44; Sall. Cat. 11, 5; Jug. 70, 2.—tota mole: cf. 1, 61 fin. tota mole belli.—legiones: from 3, 14 fin. we learn that I Italica and XXI Rapax were sent to Cremona.—pars: in reality this was the larger part of the force.—Hostilia: on the left bank of the Po, S. E. of Mantua; of strategic importance also, at the crossing of the Via Postumia (cf. on 23 Bedriacum) and the road from Bonna to Verona.—Ravenna: in the marshes, south of the Po delta; station of the fleet; cf. on 9 Misenensi.—Patavi: Patavium (Padua) lay between Verona and the Adriatic; the birthplace of Livy.—secretum: cf. on 4 secreto.—componendae proditionis: the gen. constr. limits secretum, and indicates the end which the interview was expected to serve. So even in golden Latin; e.g. Caes. B. G. 4, 17, 10 naves deiciendi operis; Cic. Cato M. 84 commorandi . . . deversorium. Silver Latin used such phrases more freely, even attaching them directly to the verb, as a substitute for the purpose clause; cf. 4, 25 vinciri iubet, magis usurpandi iuris, quam quia, etc.; Ann. 2, 59 Aegyptum proficiscitur cognoscendae antiquitatis.—Sex. Lucilius Bassus: cf. 3, 12, 36, 40; in 4, 3 he once more appears as a cavalry officer. There was nothing exceptional in his commanding a fleet. It was unusual, however, for the two fleets to be combined under one praefectus. Later he was legatus of Judaea; Joseph. B. I. 7, 6, 1, 6;
7, 8, 1. — praefecturam praetorii: cf. the recent promotion of Publilius Sabinus, 92. — foret = esset; cf. 88. — iracundiam . . . ulciscebatur: Tac. sarcastically puts the subjective feeling in the place of an objective injury. — quod evenit, etc.: cf. 1, 39 utque evenit in consiliis infelicibus; 56 quod in seditionibus accidit, etc.; 81 utque evenit inclinatis ad suspicionem mentibus.

101. scriptores: Pliny the Elder, Vipstanus Messalla, and Cluvius Rufus are the most obvious sources of Tacitus for this period. Pliny's work was a continuation of that of Aufidius Bassus, and hence known as A fine Aufidi Bassi libri XXXI; cf. Plin. Ep. 3, 5, 6; Hist. 3, 28. Vipstanus Messalla figured in this war as acting commander of a legion — the VIIth Claudiana; cf. 3, 9, 18, 25, 28. Tac. had made him one of the speakers in the Dialogus. For Cluvius Rufus cf. on 1, 8. — potiente rerum: here of the possession of power, not the acquisition of it; cf. 3, 74 potiente rerum patre. — corruptas . . . causas: causas is pred. appos., i.e. as the reasons (for the defection of Caecina and Bassus); but instead of adding, say a relative clause, to show that these reasons were fictitious, he condenses that thought into a phrase, corruptas in adulationem; cf. 1, 1. — super: cf. on 1, 8 super. — ab aliis: meaning esp. Valens; cf. 99 fin. — legiones: at Hostilia, on his arrival from Patavium. — subruebat: of the abortive attempt simply; for the sequel cf. 3, 13 f. — pro Othonе militiae: cf. 14 ff., 28. The second book ends, as the first had ended, with preparations for an impending conflict, the northward march of armies, ill-prepared in both cases, for a struggle which was to bring another usurper to the throne.
## APPENDIX

### VARIATIONS FROM THE TEXT OF HALM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Halm</th>
<th>This Edition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1, 2, 6 omissa</td>
<td>missa Med.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 urbs</td>
<td>et urbs Med.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3, 5 ipsa necessitas</td>
<td>omit b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 tolerata</td>
<td>toleratae b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9, 12 cunctatur</td>
<td>cunctantur Med. (Andr.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10, 8 se</td>
<td>omit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11, 5 domui</td>
<td>domi Med.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12, 2 a (misprint)</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13, 2 et dett.</td>
<td>omit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 segnis et, donec bellum fuit</td>
<td>donec bellum fuit, segnis et C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15, 24 blanditiae et</td>
<td>blanditia et W. Her.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16, 9 e (misprint)</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26, 4 Ian.</td>
<td>omit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31, 20 reversos</td>
<td>rursus Med.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33, 10 relanguescat</td>
<td>elanguescat Iac. Gronov.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35, 9 sistens</td>
<td>resistens Faernus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37, 24 Tigellini</td>
<td>Aegiali (egialii Med.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38, 12 aperiri</td>
<td>aperire Med.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39, 4 f. redire ... peteret et</td>
<td>redire ... petere Med. (Andr.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41, 9 et</td>
<td>omit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42, 7 ictu</td>
<td>ictus Meiser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43, 11 Statius</td>
<td>Statius Klebs (cf. CIL. IX, 3080)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 trucidatus est</td>
<td>trucidatur vulg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44, 13 honore</td>
<td>honori Nipp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48, 17 pro consule</td>
<td>proconsulatu Med.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49, 4 confixum (misprint)</td>
<td>suffixum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53, 6 id add. Heinsius</td>
<td>omit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55, 10 et (misprint)</td>
<td>ac</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1 Fourth edition, Leipzig, 1883; reprinted 1907. Differences of spelling are not included.

247
57, 7 tertium
terto ed. Spir.
proruperat Med. (Andr.)
60, 4 proruperat
relinquerent Med. (Andr.)
65, 16 relinquerentur
Caecina hausit Med. (Andr.)
67, 1 per Caecinam haustum
periculo
68, 1 pericula (misprint)
infesto (in sto Med.)
13 iusto
Tum, ut est
69, 7 ut est
omit Joh. Müller
6. et
acciti a
testes mutuae reconciliationis
70, 6 exciti
Nipp. (but prefixing deos)
71, 10 ne hostem metueret,
conciliationes
mox crudelitatem dett.
72, 5 crudelitatem mox
e quietis locum
74, 3 quietis locum
Scaevinio Propinquo Andr.
77, 16 Saevino P . . .
ostentata Ernesti, Andr., Her.
78, 5 ostentui
transfer to novem
79, 3 [ad]
ad novem Acidalius
4 novem
intercidet Heinsius
83, 23 intercidit
ut Med. (Andr.)
84, 6 hinc
omit
85, 1 apta
immutatus vulg.
87, 13 [immutatus]
expedire ab
88, 6 expediri

2, 1, 19 incerta adhuc victoria
certam adhuc victoriam dett.
4, 3 consultit (misprint)
consultuit
19 amor
rubor Andr.
6, 2 pernicibus
praecipitibus Beroaldus
7, 2 bello civili
bellorum civilium Ritter
5 discordiam
socordiam Pluygers
delationes
10, 5 delationem (misprint)
retinebat Med.
delationes
10 retinebatur
aliquid terroris Jacob
ad. adhuc terrori
etiam ora Italae
12, 2 maiore Italae parte
et Thomae
14, 11 est
acies Thomae
15, 1 bellum, quod
bellumque Med.
APPENDIX

20, 4 [barbarum tegmen]
21, 6 f. retorta ingerunt
  16 operibus
22, 4 fluxu (misprint)
28, 10 [sanitas sustentaculum]
32, 2 qua
35, 2 perlabeabantur
38, 18 redeo
40, 2 sedecim
46, 15 et gemitus
50, 1 Ferentino
55, 2 cecidisse
60, 1 interficti sunt
64, 3 Interamnium

65, 4 Hilarius
  12 hunc

66, 12 exarsisset
68, 5 proinde
74, 14 f. esse regressum (C. Her., Joh. Müll.)
76, 4 inchoaturi

77, 11 tu hos
78, 7 latior
81, 3 inservientium
83, 11 [sibi]
87, 8 regeretur
90, 2 ipso
93, 8 aviditas
  9 labefectit
  ìb. insuper confusus
94, 12 inerti
99, 2 expediri
100, 13 pruditioni
  19 [ut et similis sint]

omit
paria regerunt Meiser
omit
fluxa
omit
quia (Andr.)
praebabebantur Med.
venio Med. (Andr.)
XXV (cf. PAPA. XL, lxiv f.)
vel gemitus W. Her.
Ferentio Med.
cessisse Med.
interfecti vulg.
Interamnium Puteol. (as in 3, 61)
Hilarus Andr.

sed Arruntium Haase (Arruntium Ritter)
arsisset Med.
perinde dett.
omit
incohatur (inchoatur Med., Andr.)
tu tuos Th. Kiessling
laetior Trüller
servientium Novák
omit
regetur Med. (Andr.)
ipse Ritter
aviditate Med.
labefacta Meiser
confusus insuper Gerber
omit b', dett.
expedire Acidalius
pruditionis Med.
omit
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