no means obsessed with contemporary or practical politics, but open to all that appeals to an intelligent and educated man: character, habits, institutions, folk-lore, natural history, comparative religion.

The second suggestion is still narrower. No one reading the *Germania* simply, without a thesis to defend, would find in it merely an academic scoff at civilisation and a professional or professorial eulogy of savages or backwoodsmen. Intermingled with the sarcasms at the expense of Rome are other sarcasms, not less biting, at the expense of the gambling, drinking, shiftless hunter or Boer. And side by side with each style of sarcasm is a great deal of straightforward, simple description of "cities of men and manners, councils, climates, governments," in which there is not a shadow of satire. Besides, the *Agricola* shows how strongly Tacitus sympathised with the statesman and distrusted both the moralist pure and simple and also his next-door neighbour, the political philosopher and doctrinaire. A moral tract, if it appealed to Tacitus the rhetorician, would, on the other hand, to Tacitus the statesman and son-in-law of Agricola be too suggestive of Thrasea Paetus and Helvidius Priscus, of fanaticism and Stoic martyrolatry.

An historian—it is the commonest of commonplaces to-day—must write of life, not of battles only and kings. Tacitus is not unacquainted with that much-vaunted discovery of the moderns, and he is beginning his historical studies by a sketch of Germany, added to a biography of *Agricola*.

(D) *Value*

The *Germania*, from the nature of the subject, is less brilliant and epigrammatic than the *Agricola*.

Almost necessarily it has some of the same defects: the geography is still vague, even though vagueness be less pardonable; the constitutional history and political science have something of the same quality; the writer's account of German monarchies and German republics, of the relations of *pagus* and *vicus* (canton and village), of chief and retainer, of the different assemblies of the German tribes, of the organisation of the army, of the judges and assessors, of the different clothing of different ranks, of the relations of master and slave, of land-tenure in the village-community, of the symbolism of German marriage, will not satisfy severe students of comparative institutions, of constitutional history, and of ancient law.

At first sight, then, it may seem that he has fallen between two stools: that his book is too serious for the frivolous lover of rhetoric, too rhetorical and satirical for the scientific student of history. It would be fairer to say that it is, like Massilia in the *Agricola*, a happy mixture of Greek humanity and provincial simplicity; written, that is, for the average Roman of education, who is neither the fatigued *raconteur* of high society nor the fatiguing scholar and tedious theorist of an academic circle. The cultivated man of the world, orator, and moralist, is here breaking new ground in that field of history which on various occasions since has been claimed as the province of dryasdust antiquarianism or of constitutional law, but which has never been wholly given up to these or any other "inhumanities."

If there are other disturbing causes, besides vagueness and sketchiness, which diminish the value of the *Germania* in technical details, they ultimately go back to the same root of the humanities. The

satirist and moralist in Tacitus disturb his judgment when he comes to write, for example, of marriage and dower: he cannot keep his eyes off the Roman bride when he describes her simpler and more "German" sister: he is living in an age of feminism when marriage for many women involves neither responsibility, duty, nor danger, and here (chs. 18 and 19), no less than in the *Agricola* (ch. 6), he takes his fling at the age. Such passages breathe the defects of his qualities.

Again, the *Agricola* and *Germania* are the works of Tacitus' experimental stage: the dyer's hand is not yet subdued to what it works in. We cannot expect in them the vivid or the lurid pictures which haunt the readers of his later and stronger history: the picture of a falling Emperor who "tries the barred door and shudders in the empty chambers" (*Histories*, III. 84); of another victim who "runs the gauntlet of the staring streets"; or the picture of the end of that Tiberius himself, in whose case alone perhaps it may fairly be said that Tacitus becomes captious, academic, and hypercritical: "and now was life leaving Tiberius, life and strength; dissimulation lingered" (*Annals*, VI. 50).

Scenes like these are the characteristic product of the gloomy imagination which had gradually discarded, under the depressing experiences of mature life, all its earlier creed for the one sombre article, "There is a God who punishes" (*Histories*, I. 3)—the same article to which the Swedish realist Strindberg also ultimately reverted after all other doctrines had gone by the board in the wreckage of his life.

The pictures of the *Agricola* and the *Germania* are of a tamer order, and yet they are powerful and

impressive beyond the measure of the writings of other Roman historians.

They lose in power and impressiveness only when they desert history for any branch of philosophy, natural or moral.

It has been said of an English historian, moralist, and biographer that his style is "desiccated by science and soured by moralism." If the *Germania* does not suggest the same reflections on Tacitus' style, it may be said indirectly to support the same general thesis; for if Tacitus' science enlivens rather than desiccates his narrative, if his sarcastic moralising spices rather than sours his history, it is only because the science is naive and Roman and out of date even for his time (see ch. 45), and the moralising at once ironical and wistful, especially in the last chapter. The squalid misery of the poor Lapps seems an unpromising subject for the moralist, but there is but a step between the sublime and the ridiculous; and so there strays even from the dirty, rain-soaked Lapp tepee a gleam of the ideal, if not to the consciousness of the half-human occupant, yet to the sensitive, susceptible onlooker, the Roman man of letters.

(E) *Style and Language*

As for the actual language of the *Germania*, the mannerism of alliteration is constant, as in the *Agricola*: it is not always possible to preserve the device in an English translation. I have endeavoured to do so where I have noticed it: if I have missed some instances, I have in compensation interpolated others not quite supererogatory.

There is the same love of epigram as in the *Agricola*, so far as the subject permits: for example,

the picture of the indolent fighting German (ch. 15), "with the curious incongruity of temperament which makes the same man at once love sleep but hate quiet"—a variation of that typical Irishman who said, "I love action, but I hate work"; or in ch. 25, "the disabilities of the freedman are the evidence of freedom"; or in ch. 30, "other Germans you may see going to battle; the Chatti go to war"; or in ch. 34, "it was voted more religious and more reverent to believe in the works of Deity than to comprehend them"; or in ch. 37, "the Germans have gratified us with more triumphs than victories"; or in ch. 43, "in every battle, after all, the eye is conquered first"; or, finally, the somewhat cryptic epigram on the Finns, "among them the woman rules: to this extent they have fallen lower not merely than freemen but even than slaves."

M. H.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

See Bibliography to "Agricola," pp. 161–2

Cornelii Taciti de Germania. Quartum recognovit. Carolus Halm. Leipsic, 1890.

Cornelii Taciti de Germania. Edited, with introduction, notes, and map, by Henry Furneaux. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1894.

The edition on which this translation is based.

The Germania of Tacitus. With ethnological dissertations and notes by R. G. Latham. London, 1851.

P. Corneli Taciti Germania. Edited, with notes, introduction, and critical appendix, by R. F. Davis, B.A. London: Methuen & Co., 1894.

GERMANIA

DE GERMANIA

LIBER

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

2 Ipsos Germanos indigenas crediderim minimeque aliarum gentium adventibus et hospitiis mixtos, quia nec terra olim, sed classibus advehebantur qui mutare sedes quaerebant, et inmensus ultra utque sic dixerim adversus Oceanus raris ab orbe nostro navibus aditur.

1 That is, Germany beyond the Rhine as distinguished from Germany west of the Rhine, which has already been divided into two Roman provinces: Germania Superior and Germania

GERMANY

Undivided Germany[1] is separated from the Gauls, Rhaetians, and Pannonians by the rivers Rhine and Danube: from the Sarmatians and Dacians by mutual misgivings or mountains: the rest of it is surrounded by the ocean, which enfolds wide peninsulas and islands of vast expanse, some of whose peoples and kings have but recently become known to us: war has lifted the curtain.

The Rhine, rising from the inaccessible and precipitous crest of the Rhaetian Alps, after turning west for a reach of some length is lost in the North Sea. The Danube pours from the sloping and not very lofty ridge of Mount Abnoba, and visits several peoples on its course, until at length it emerges by six of its channels into the Pontic Sea: the seventh mouth is swallowed in marshes.

As for the Germans themselves, I should suppose them to be indigenous and very slightly blended with new arrivals from other races or alliances; for originally people who sought to migrate reached their destination in fleets and not by land; whilst, in the second place, the leagues of ocean on the further side of Germany, at the opposite end of the world, so to

[1] Inferior. Tacitus is imitating the opening of Caesar's *Gallic War*, where "all Gaul" means Gaul as an undivided unit and distinct from the Roman province of Gallia Narbonensis.

quis porro, praeter periculum horridi et ignoti maris, Asia aut Africa aut Italia relicta Germaniam peteret, informem terris, asperam caelo, tristem cultu aspectuque, nisi si patria sit?

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

3 Fuisse apud eos et Herculem memorant, primumque omnium virorum fortium ituri in proelia canunt. sunt illis haec quoque carmina, quorum relatu, quem

1 *Adversus* is sometimes translated "Antipodean." Tacitus cannot mean as much as that: there is no "Antipodes" in his geography: he means at the further side of the flat earth from Italy. See the Introduction to the *Agricola*, sect. (E).

speak, from us,[1] are rarely visited by ships from our world. Besides, who, apart from the perils of an awful and unknown sea, would have left Asia or Africa or Italy to look for Germany? With its wild scenery and harsh climate it is pleasant neither to live in nor look upon unless it be one's home.

Their ancient hymns—the only style of record or history which they possess—celebrate a god Tuisto, a scion of the soil, and his son Mannus as the beginning and the founders of their race. To Mannus they ascribe three sons, from whose names the tribes of the sea-shore are to be known as Ingaevones, the central tribes as Herminones, and the rest as Istaevones. Some authorities, using the licence which pertains to antiquity, pronounce for more sons to the god and a larger number of race names, Marsi, Gambrivii, Suebi, Vandilii: these are, they say, real and ancient names, while the name of "Germany" is new and a recent addition.[2] The first tribes in fact to cross the Rhine and expel the Gauls, though now called Tungri, were then styled Germans: so little by little the name—a tribal, not a national, name—prevailed, until the whole people were called by the artificial name of "Germans," first only by the victorious tribe in order to intimidate the Gauls, but afterwards among themselves also.

They further record how Hercules appeared among the Germans, and on the eve of battle the natives hymn "Hercules, the first of brave men." They have also those cries by the utterance of which—

[2] The Romans thought it a Roman word, meaning the "genuine" Celts as distinguished from the degenerate Celts of Gaul. It is more likely a Gallic word, used by Gauls of Germans, whatever be its meaning (see Latham, p. 27).

baritum [1] vocant, accendunt animos futuraeque pugnae fortunam ipso cantu augurantur; terrent enim trepidantve, prout sonuit acies, nec tam vocis ille quam virtutis concentus videtur. adfectatur praecipue asperitas soni et fractum murmur, obiectis ad os scutis, quo plenior et gravior vox repercussu intumescat. ceterum et Ulixen quidam opinantur longo illo et fabuloso errore in hunc Oceanum delatum adisse Germaniae terras, Asciburgiumque, quod in ripa Rheni situm hodieque incolitur, ab illo constitutum nominatumque; aram quin etiam Ulixi consecratam, adiecto Laërtae patris nomine, eodem loco olim repertam, monumentaque et tumulos quosdam Graecis litteris inscriptos in confinio Germaniae Raetiaeque adhuc extare. quae neque confirmare argumentis neque refellere in animo est: ex ingenio suo quisque demat vel addat fidem.

4 Ipse eorum opinioni accedo, qui Germaniae populos nullis aliarum nationum conubiis infectos propriam et sinceram et tantum sui similem gentem extitisse arbitrantur. unde habitus quoque corporum, quamquam in tanto hominum numero, idem omnibus: truces et caerulei oculi, rutilae comae, magna corpora et tantum ad impetum valida: laboris atque operum non eadem

[1] baritum, *Naples MS.*; barditum, *other MSS.*, *F.*, *H.*

"barritus"[1] is the name they use—they inspire courage; and they divine the fortunes of the coming battle from the circumstances of the cry. Intimidation or timidity depends on the concert of the warriors; it seems to them to mean not so much unison of voices as union of hearts; the object they specially seek is a certain volume of hoarseness, a crashing roar, their shields being brought up to their lips, that the voice may swell to a fuller and deeper note by means of the echo.

To return. Ulysses also—in the opinion of some authorities—was carried, during those long and legendary wanderings, into this ocean, and reached the countries of Germany. Asciburgium, which stands on the banks of the Rhine and has inhabitants to-day, was founded, they say, and named by him; further, they say that an altar dedicated by Ulysses, who coupled therewith the name of his father Laertes, was once found at the same place, and that certain monuments and barrows, inscribed with Greek letters, are still extant on the borderland between Germany and Rhaetia. I have no intention of furnishing evidence to establish or refute these assertions: every one according to his temperament may minimise or magnify their credibility.

Personally I associate myself with the opinions of those who hold that in the peoples of Germany there has been given to the world a race untainted by intermarriage with other races, a peculiar people and pure, like no one but themselves; whence it comes that their physique, in spite of their vast numbers, is identical: fierce blue eyes, red hair, tall frames, powerful only spasmodically, and impatient at the same time of labour and hard work, and by no means

[1] See Appendix I, p. 345.

patientia, minimeque sitim aestumque tolerare, frigora atque inediam caelo solove adsueverunt.

5 Terra etsi aliquanto specie differt, in universum tamen aut silvis horrida aut paludibus foeda, umidior qua Gallias, ventosior qua Noricum ac Pannoniam aspicit; satis ferax, frugiferarum arborum inpatiens, pecorum fecunda, sed plerumque improcera. ne armentis quidem suus honor aut gloria frontis: numero gaudent, eaeque solae et gratissimae opes sunt. argentum et aurum propitiine an irati di negaverint dubito. nec tamen adfirmaverim nullam Germaniae venam argentum aurumve gignere: quis enim scrutatus est? possessione et usu haud perinde adficiuntur. est videre apud illos argentea vasa, legatis et principibus eorum muneri data, non in alia vilitate quam quae humo finguntur; quamquam proximi ob usum commerciorum aurum et argentum in pretio habent formasque quasdam nostrae pecuniae adgnoscunt atque eligunt: interiores simplicius et antiquius permutatione mercium utuntur. pecuniam probant veterem et diu notam, serratos bigatosque. argentum quoque magis quam aurum sequuntur, nulla adfectione animi, sed quia numerus argenteorum facilior usui est promiscua ac vilia mercantibus.

6 Ne ferrum quidem superest, sicut ex genere telorum colligitur. rari gladiis aut maioribus lanceis utuntur:

habituated to bearing thirst and heat; to cold and hunger, thanks to the climate and the soil, they are accustomed.

There are some varieties in the appearance of the country, but broadly it is a land of bristling forests and unhealthy marshes; the rainfall is heavier on the side of Gaul; the winds are higher on the side of Noricum and Pannonia.

It is fertile in cereals, but unkindly to fruit-bearing trees; it is rich in flocks and herds, but for the most part they are undersized. Even the cattle lack natural beauty and majestic brows. The pride of the people is rather in the number of their beasts, which constitute the only wealth they welcome.

The gods have denied them gold and silver, whether in mercy or in wrath I find it hard to say; not that I would assert that Germany has no veins bearing gold or silver: for who has explored there? At any rate, they are not affected, like their neighbours, by the use and possession of such things. One may see among them silver vases, given as gifts to their commanders and chieftains, but treated as of no more value than earthenware. Although the border tribes for purposes of traffic treat gold and silver as precious metals, and recognise and collect certain coins of our money, the tribes of the interior practise barter in the simpler and older fashion. The coinage which appeals to them is the old and long-familiar: the denarii with milled edges, showing the two-horsed chariot. They prefer silver to gold: not that they have any feeling in the matter, but because a number of silver pieces is easier to use for people whose purchases consist of cheap objects of general utility.

Even iron is not plentiful among them, as may be gathered from the style of their weapons. Few have

hastas vel ipsorum vocabulo frameas gerunt angusto et brevi ferro, sed ita acri et ad usum habili, ut eodem telo, prout ratio poscit, vel comminus vel eminus pugnent. et eques quidem scuto frameaque contentus est, pedites et missilia spargunt, pluraque singuli, atque in inmensum vibrant, nudi aut sagulo leves. nulla cultus iactatio; scuta tantum lectissimis coloribus distingunt. paucis loricae, vix uni alterive cassis aut galea. equi non forma, non velocitate conspicui. sed nec variare gyros in morem nostrum docentur: in rectum aut uno flexu dextros agunt, ita coniuncto orbe, ut nemo posterior sit. in universum aestimanti plus penes peditem roboris; eoque mixti proeliantur, apta et congruente ad equestrem pugnam velocitate peditum, quos ex omni iuventute delectos ante aciem locant. definitur et numerus: centeni ex singulis pagis sunt, idque ipsum inter suos vocantur, et quod primo numerus fuit, iam nomen et honor est. acies per cuneos componitur. cedere loco, dummodo rursus instes, consilii quam formidinis arbitrantur. corpora suorum etiam in dubiis proeliis referunt. scutum reliquisse praecipuum flagitium, nec aut sacris adesse aut concilium inire ignominioso

swords or the longer kind of lance : they carry short spears, in their language "frameae," with a narrow and small iron head, so sharp and so handy in use that they fight with the same weapon, as circumstances demand, both at close quarters and at a distance. The mounted man is content with a shield and framea : the infantry launch showers of missiles in addition, each man a volley, and hurl these to great distances, for they wear no outer clothing, or at most a light cloak.

There is no bravery of apparel among them : their shields only are picked out with choice colours. Few have breast-plates : scarcely one or two at most have metal or hide helmets. The horses are conspicuous neither for beauty nor speed ; but then neither are they trained like our horses to run in shifting circles : they ride them forwards only or to the right, with but one turn from the straight, dressing the line so closely as they wheel that no one is left behind. On a broad view there is more strength in their infantry, and accordingly cavalry and infantry fight in one body, the swift-footed infantryman, whom they pick out of the whole body of warriors and place in front of the line, being well-adapted and suitable for cavalry battles. The number of these men is fixed—one hundred from each canton : and among themselves this, "the Hundred," is the precise name they use ; what was once a number only has become a title and a distinction. The battle-line itself is arranged in wedges : to retire, provided you press on again, they treat as a question of tactics, not of cowardice : they carry off their dead and wounded even in drawn battles. To have abandoned one's shield is the height of disgrace ; the man so disgraced cannot be present at religious rites, nor attend a council : many

fas; multique superstites bellorum infamiam laqueo finierunt.

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

8 Memoriae proditur quasdam acies inclinatas iam et labantes a feminis restitutas constantia precum et obiectu pectorum et monstrata comminus captivitate, quam longe impatientius feminarum suarum nomine timent, adeo ut efficacius obligentur animi civitatum, quibus inter obsides puellae quoque nobiles imperantur. inesse quin etiam sanctum aliquid et pro-

survivors of war have ended their infamy with a noose.

They take their kings on the ground of birth, their generals on the basis of courage: the authority of their kings is not unlimited or arbitrary; their generals control them by example rather than command, and by means of the admiration which attends upon energy and a conspicuous place in front of the line. But anything beyond this—capital punishment, imprisonment, even a blow—is permitted only to the priests, and then not as a penalty or under the general's orders, but as an inspiration from the god whom they suppose to accompany them on campaign: certain totems, in fact, and emblems are fetched from groves and carried into battle. The strongest incentive to courage lies in this, that neither chance nor casual grouping makes the squadron or the wedge, but family and kinship: close at hand, too, are their dearest, whence is heard the wailing voice of woman and the child's cry: here are the witnesses who are in each man's eyes most precious; here the praise he covets most: they take their wounds to mother and wife, who do not shrink from counting the hurts and demanding a sight of them:[1] they minister to the combatants food and exhortation.

Tradition relates that some lost or losing battles have been restored by the women, by the incessance of their prayers and by the baring of their breasts; for so is it brought home to the men that the slavery, which they dread much more keenly on their women's account, is close at hand: it follows that the loyalty of those tribes is more effectually guaranteed from whom, among other hostages, maids of high birth have been exacted.

[1] See Appendix II, p. 346.

vidum putant, nec aut consilia earum aspernantur aut responsa neglegunt. vidimus sub divo Vespasiano Velaedam diu apud plerosque numinis loco habitam; sed et olim Albrunam et compluris alias venerati sunt, non adulatione nec tamquam facerent deas.

9 Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt, cui certis diebus humanis quoque hostiis litare fas habent. Herculem ac Martem concessis animalibus placant. pars Sueborum et Isidi sacrificat: unde causa et origo peregrino sacro, parum comperi, nisi quod signum ipsum in modum liburnae figuratum docet advectam religionem. ceterum nec cohibere parietibus deos neque in ullam humani oris speciem adsimulare ex magnitudine caelestium arbitrantur: lucos ac nemora consecrant deorumque nominibus appellant secretum illud, quod sola reverentia vident.

10 Auspicia sortesque ut qui maxime observant: sortium consuetudo simplex. virgam frugiferae arbori decisam in surculos amputant eosque notis quibusdam discretos super candidam vestem temere ac fortuito spargunt. mox, si publice consultetur, sacerdos civitatis, sin privatim, ipse pater familiae, precatus

---

1 The Germans recognised divine inspiration when they saw it; the Romans "manufactured" goddesses out of very inferior clay.

2 *i.e.* to the local god, whom the *interpretatio Romana*

Further, they conceive that in woman is a certain uncanny and prophetic sense: they neither scorn to consult them nor slight their answers. In the reign of Vespasian of happy memory we saw Velaeda treated as a deity by many during a long period; but in ancient times also they reverenced Albruna and many other women—in no spirit of flattery, nor for the manufacture of goddesses.[1]

Of the gods, they give a special worship to Mercury,[2] to whom on certain days they count even the sacrifice of human life lawful. Hercules and Mars[3] they appease with such animal life as is permissible. A section of the Suebi[4] sacrifices also to Isis: the cause and origin of this foreign worship I have not succeeded in discovering, except that the emblem itself, which takes the shape of a Liburnian galley, shows that the ritual is imported.[5]

Apart from this they deem it incompatible with the majesty of the heavenly host to confine the gods within walls, or to mould them into any likeness of the human face: they consecrate groves and coppices, and they give the divine names to that mysterious something which is visible only to the eyes of faith.

To divination and the lot they pay as much attention as any one: the method of drawing lots is uniform. A bough is cut from a nut-bearing tree and divided into slips: these are distinguished by certain runes and spread casually and at random over white cloth: afterwards, should the inquiry be official the priest of the state, if private the father of the family

identified with Mercury, viz. Wuodan or Odin: compare our Wednesday with the French Mercredi.

[3] See Appendix III, p. 347.

[4] See ch. 38 and Appendix IX, p. 350.

[5] See Appendix IV, p. 347.

deos caelumque suspiciens ter singulos tollit, sublatos secundum impressam ante notam interpretatur. si prohibuerunt, nulla de eadem re in eundem diem consultatio; sin permissum, auspiciorum adhuc fides exigitur. et illud quidem etiam hic notum, avium voces volatusque interrogare: proprium gentis equorum quoque praesagia ac monitus experiri. publice aluntur isdem nemoribus ac lucis, candidi et nullo mortali opere contacti; quos pressos sacro curru sacerdos ac rex vel princeps civitatis comitantur hinnitusque ac fremitus observant. nec ulli auspicio maior fides, non solum apud plebem, sed apud proceres; sacerdotes enim ministros deorum, illos conscios putant. est et alia observatio auspiciorum, qua gravium bellorum eventus explorant. eius gentis, cum qua bellum est, captivum quoquo modo interceptum cum electo popularium suorum, patriis quemque armis, committunt: victoria huius vel illius pro praeiudicio accipitur.

11 De minoribus rebus principes consultant, de maioribus omnes, ita tamen, ut ea quoque, quorum penes plebem arbitrium est, apud principes praetractentur. coëunt, nisi quid fortuitum et subitum incidit, certis diebus, cum aut inchoatur luna aut impletur; nam

in person, after prayers to the gods and with eyes turned to heaven,[1] takes up one slip at a time till he has done this on three separate occasions, and after taking the three interprets them according to the runes which have been already stamped on them: if the message be a prohibition, no inquiry on the same matter is made during the same day; if the message be permissive, further confirmation is required by means of divination; and even among the Germans divination by consultation of the cries and flight of birds is well known, but their special divination is to make trial of the omens and warnings furnished by horses.

In the same groves and coppices are fed certain white horses, never soiled by mortal use: these are yoked to a sacred chariot and accompanied by the priest and king, or other chief of the state, who then observe their neighing or snorting. On no other divination is more reliance placed, not merely by the people but also by their leaders: the priests they regard as the servants of the gods, but the horses are their confidants.

They have another method of taking divinations, by means of which they probe the issue of serious wars. A member of the tribe at war with them is somehow or other captured and pitted against a selected champion of their own countrymen, each in his tribal armour. The victory of one or the other is taken as a presage.

On small matters the chiefs consult; on larger questions the community; but with this limitation, that even the subjects, the decision of which rests with the people, are first handled by the chiefs. They meet, unless there be some unforeseen and

[1] See Appendix V, p. 348.

agendis rebus hoc auspicatissimum initium credunt. nec dierum numerum, ut nos, sed noctium computant. sic constituunt, sic condicunt: nox ducere diem videtur. illud ex libertate vitium, quod non simul nec ut iussi conveniunt, sed et alter et tertius dies cunctatione coëuntium absumitur. ut turbae [1] placuit, considunt armati. silentium per sacerdotes, quibus tum et coërcendi ius est, imperatur. mox rex vel princeps, prout aetas cuique, prout nobilitas, prout decus bellorum, prout facundia est, audiuntur, auctoritate suadendi magis quam iubendi potestate. si displicuit sententia, fremitu aspernantur; sin placuit, frameas concutiunt: honoratissimum adsensus genus est armis laudare.

12 Licet apud concilium accusare quoque et discrimen capitis intendere. distinctio poenarum ex delicto. proditores et transfugas arboribus suspendunt, ignavos et imbelles et corpore infames caeno ac palude, iniecta insuper crate, mergunt. diversitas supplicii illuc respicit, tamquam scelera ostendi oporteat, dum puniuntur, flagitia abscondi. sed et levioribus delictis pro modo poena: equorum pecorumque numero convicti multantur. pars multae regi vel civitati, pars

[1] turbae, *MSS.*; turba, *F.*, *H.*

sudden emergency, on days set apart—when the moon, that is, is new or at the full : they regard this as the most auspicious herald for the transaction of business. They count not by days as we do, but by nights : [1] their decisions and proclamations are subject to this principle : the night, that is, seems to take precedence of the day.

It is a foible of their freedom that they do not meet at once and when commanded, but a second and a third day is wasted by dilatoriness in assembling : when the mob is pleased to begin, they take their seats carrying arms. Silence is called for by the priests, who thenceforward have power also to coerce : then a king or a chief is listened to, in order of age, birth, glory in war, or eloquence, with the prestige which belongs to their counsel rather than with any prescriptive right to command. If the advice tendered be displeasing, they reject it with groans ; if it please them, they clash their spears : the most complimentary expression of assent is this martial approbation.

At this assembly it is also permissible to lay accusations and to bring capital charges. The nature of the death penalty differs according to the offence : traitors and deserters are hung from trees ; cowards and poor fighters and notorious evil-livers are plunged in the mud of marshes with a hurdle on their heads : the difference of punishment has regard to the principle that crime should be blazoned abroad by its retribution, but abomination hidden. Lighter offences have also a measured punishment : those convicted are fined in a number of horses and cattle : part of the fine goes to the king or the state ; part is paid to the

[1] Compare our words "fortnight," "se'nnight," the relics of the same principle.

ipsi, qui vindicavit,[1] vel propinquis eius exsolvitur. eliguntur in isdem conciliis et principes, qui iura per pagos vicosque reddunt; centeni singulis ex plebe comites consilium simul et auctoritas adsunt.

13 Nihil autem neque publicae neque privatae rei nisi armati agunt. sed arma sumere non ante cuiquam moris, quam civitas suffecturum probaverit. tum in ipso concilio vel principum aliquis vel pater vel propinqui scuto frameaque iuvenem ornant: haec apud illos toga, hic primus iuventae honos; ante hoc domus pars videntur, mox rei publicae. insignis nobilitas aut magna patrum merita principis dignationem etiam adulescentulis adsignant: ceteris[2] robustioribus ac iam pridem probatis adgregantur, nec rubor inter comites adspici. gradus quin etiam ipse comitatus habet, iudicio eius quem sectantur; magnaque et comitum aemulatio, quibus primus apud principem suum locus, et principum, cui plurimi et acerrimi comites. haec dignitas, hae vires, magno semper electorum iuvenum globo circumdari, in pace decus, in bello praesidium. nec solum in sua gente cuique, sed apud finitimas quoque civitates id nomen, ea gloria est, si numero ac virtute comitatus emineat; expetuntur enim legationibus et muneribus ornantur et ipsa plerumque fama bella profligant.

14 Cum ventum in aciem, turpe principi virtute vinci,

1 vindicavit, *Vatican MS.* (*B*); vindicatur, *other MSS., F., H.*
2 ceteris, *MSS., F.*; ceteri, *H. after Lipsius.*

person himself who brings the charge or to his relatives. At the same gatherings are selected chiefs, who administer law through the cantons and villages: each of them has one hundred assessors from the people to be his responsible advisers.

They do no business, public or private, without arms in their hands; yet the custom is that no one take arms until the state has endorsed his competence: then in the assembly itself one of the chiefs or his father or his relatives equip the young man with shield and spear: this corresponds with them to the toga, and is youth's first public distinction: hitherto he seems a member of the household, now a member of the state. Conspicuously high birth, or signal services on the part of ancestors, win the chieftain's approbation even for very young men: they mingle with the others, men of maturer strength and tested by long years, and have no shame to be seen among his retinue. In the retinue itself degrees are observed, depending on the judgment of him whom they follow: there is great rivalry among the retainers to decide who shall have the first place with his chief, and among the chieftains as to who shall have the largest and keenest retinue. This means rank and strength, to be surrounded always with a large band of chosen youths—glory in peace, in war protection: nor is it only so with his own people, but with neighbouring states also it means name and fame for a man that his retinue be conspicuous for number and character: such men are in request for embassies, and are honoured with gifts, and often, by the mere terror of their name, break the back of opposition in war.

When the battlefield is reached it is a reproach

turpe comitatui virtutem principis non adaequare. iam vero infame in omnem vitam ac probrosum superstitem principi suo ex acie recessisse : illum defendere, tueri, sua quoque fortia facta gloriae eius adsignare praecipuum sacramentum est : principes pro victoria pugnant, comites pro principe. si civitas, in qua orti sunt, longa pace et otio torpeat, plerique nobilium adulescentium petunt ultro eas nationes, quae tum bellum aliquod gerunt, quia et ingrata genti quies et facilius inter ancipitia clarescunt magnumque comitatum non nisi vi belloque tueare : exigunt enim *a* principis sui liberalitate illum bellatorem equum, illam cruentam victricemque frameam ; nam epulae et quamquam incompti, largi tamen apparatus pro stipendio cedunt. materia munificentiae per bella et raptus. nec arare terram aut exspectare annum tam facile persuaseris quam vocare hostem et vulnera mereri. pigrum quin immo et iners videtur sudore adquirere quod possis sanguine parare.

15 Quotiens bella non ineunt, multum [1] venatibus, plus per otium transigunt, dediti somno ciboque, fortissimus quisque ac bellicosissimus nihil agens, delegata domus et penatium et agrorum cura feminis senibusque et infirmissimo cuique ex familia : ipsi hebent, mira diversitate naturae, cum idem homines sic ament inertiam et oderint quietem. mos est civitatibus ultro

[1] multum, *Lipsius* ; non multum, *MSS.*, *F.*, *H.*

for a chief to be surpassed in prowess; a reproach for his retinue not to equal the prowess of its chief: but to have left the field and survived one's chief, this means lifelong infamy and shame: to protect and defend him, to devote one's own feats even to his glorification, this is the gist of their allegiance: the chief fights for victory, but the retainers for the chief.

Should it happen that the community where they are born be drugged with long years of peace and quiet, many of the high-born youth voluntarily seek those tribes which are at the time engaged in some war; for rest is unwelcome to the race, and they distinguish themselves more readily in the midst of uncertainties: besides, you cannot keep up a great retinue except by war and violence, for it is to the free-handed chief that they look for that war-horse, for that murderous and masterful spear: banquetings and a certain rude but lavish outfit take the place of salary. The material for this free-handedness comes through war and foray. You will not so readily persuade them to plough the land and wait for the year's returns as to challenge the enemy and earn wounds: besides, it seems limp and slack to get with the sweating of your brow what you can gain with the shedding of your blood.

When they are not entering on war, they spend much time in hunting, but more in idleness—creatures who eat and sleep, the best and bravest warriors doing nothing, having handed over the charge of their home, hearth, and estate to the women and the old men and the weakest members of the family: for themselves they vegetate, by that curious incongruity of temperament which makes of the same men such lovers of slumber and such haters of quiet.

ac viritim conferre principibus vel armentorum vel frugum, quod pro honore acceptum etiam necessitatibus subvenit. gaudent praecipue finitimarum gentium donis, quae non modo a singulis, sed et publice mittuntur, electi equi, magna arma, phalerae torquesque; iam et pecuniam accipere docuimus.

16 Nullas Germanorum populis urbes habitari satis notum est, ne pati quidem inter se iunctas sedes. colunt discreti ac diversi, ut fons, ut campus, ut nemus placuit. vicos locant non in nostrum morem conexis et cohaerentibus aedificiis: suam quisque domum spatio circumdat, sive adversus casus ignis remedium sive inscitia aedificandi. ne caementorum quidem apud illos aut tegularum usus: materia ad omnia utuntur informi et citra speciem aut delectationem. quaedam loca diligentius inlinunt terra ita pura ac splendente, ut picturam ac liniamenta colorum imitetur. solent et subterraneos specus aperire eosque multo insuper fimo onerant, suffugium hiemis et receptaculum frugibus, quia rigorem frigorum eius modi loci molliunt, et si quando hostis advenit, aperta populatur, abdita autem et defossa aut ignorantur aut eo ipso fallunt, quod quaerenda sunt.

17 Tegumen omnibus sagum fibula aut, si desit, spina consertum: cetera intecti totos dies iuxta focum atque ignem agunt. locupletissimi veste distinguuntur, no

It is the custom in their states to bestow upon the chief unasked and man by man some portion of one's cattle or crops: it is accepted as a compliment, but also serves his needs. The chiefs appreciate still more the gifts of neighbouring tribes, which are sent not merely by individuals but by the community—selected horses, heavy armour, bosses and bracelets: by this time we have taught them to accept money also.

It is well known that none of the German tribes live in cities, that even individually they do not permit houses to touch each other: they live separated and scattered, according as spring-water, meadow, or grove appeals to each man: they lay out their villages not, after our fashion, with buildings contiguous and connected; every one keeps a clear space round his house, whether it be a precaution against the chances of fire, or just ignorance of building. They have not even learned to use quarry-stone or tiles: the timber they use for all purposes is unshaped, and stops short of all ornament or attraction: certain buildings are smeared with a stucco bright and glittering enough to be a substitute for paint and frescoes. They are in the habit also of opening pits in the earth and piling dung in quantities on the roof, as a refuge from the winter or a root-house, because such places mitigate the rigour of frost, and if an enemy come, he lays waste the open; but the hidden and buried houses are either missed outright or escape detection just because they require a search.

For clothing all wear a cloak, fastened with a clasp, or, in its absence, a thorn: they spend whole days on the hearth round the fire with no other covering. The richest men are distinguished by the wearing of under-clothes; not loose, like those of Parthians and

fluitante, sicut Sarmatae ac Parthi, sed stricta et singulos artus exprimente. gerunt et ferarum pelles, proximi ripae neglegenter, ulteriores exquisitius, ut quibus nullus per commercia cultus. eligunt feras et detracta velamina spargunt maculis pellibusque beluarum, quas exterior Oceanus atque ignotum mare gignit. nec alius feminis quam viris habitus, nisi quod feminae saepius lineis amictibus velantur eosque purpura variant, partemque vestitus superioris in manicas non extendunt, nudae brachia ac lacertos; sed et proxima pars pectoris patet. quamquam severa illic matrimonia, nec ullam morum partem magis laudaveris. nam prope soli barbarorum singulis uxoribus contenti sunt, exceptis admodum paucis, qui non libidine, sed ob nobilitatem pluribus nuptiis ambiuntur.

18 Dotem non uxor marito, sed uxori maritus offert. intersunt parentes et propinqui ac munera probant, munera non ad delicias muliebres quaesita nec quibus nova nupta comatur, sed boves et frenatum equum et scutum cum framea gladioque. in haec munera uxor accipitur, atque in vicem ipsa armorum aliquid viro adfert: hoc maximum vinculum, haec arcana sacra, hos coniugales deos arbitrantur. ne se mulier extra virtutum cogitationes extraque bellorum casus putet,

Sarmatians, but drawn tight, throwing each limb into relief.

They wear also the skins of wild beasts, the tribes adjoining the river-bank in casual fashion, the further tribes with more attention, since they cannot depend on traders for clothing. The beasts for this purpose are selected, and the hides so taken are chequered with the pied skins of the creatures native to the outer ocean and its unknown waters.

The women have the same dress as the men, except that very often trailing linen garments, striped with purple, are in use for women: the upper part of this costume does not widen into sleeves: their arms and shoulders are therefore bare, as is the adjoining portion of the breast.

None the less the marriage tie with them is strict: you will find nothing in their character to praise more highly. They are almost the only barbarians who are content with a wife apiece: the very few exceptions have nothing to do with passion, but consist of those with whom polygamous marriage is eagerly sought for the sake of their high birth.

As for dower, it is not the wife who brings it to the husband, but the husband to the wife. The parents and relations are present to approve these gifts—gifts not devised for ministering to female fads, nor for the adornment of the person of the bride, but oxen, a horse and bridle, a shield and spear or sword; it is to share these things that the wife is taken by the husband, and she herself, in turn, brings some piece of armour to her husband. Here is the gist of the bond between them, here in their eyes its mysterious sacrament, the divinity which hedges it. That the wife may not imagine herself released from the practice of heroism, released

ipsis incipientis matrimonii auspiciis admonetur venire se laborum periculorumque sociam, idem in pace, idem in proelio passuram ausuramque: hoc iuncti boves, hoc paratus equus, hoc data arma denuntiant. sic vivendum, sic pereundum: accipere se quae liberis inviolata reddat, ac digna[1] quae nurus accipiant rursusque ad nepotes referantur.

19 Ergo saepta pudicitia agunt, nullis spectaculorum inlecebris, nullis conviviorum irritationibus corruptae. litterarum secreta viri pariter ac feminae ignorant. paucissima in tam numerosa gente adulteria, quorum poena praesens et maritis permissa: abscisis crinibus nudatam coram propinquis expellit domo maritus ac per omnem vicum verbere agit; publicatae enim pudicitiae nulla venia: non forma, non aetate, non opibus maritum invenerit. nemo enim illic vitia ridet, nec corrumpere et corrumpi saeculum vocatur. melius quidem adhuc eae civitates, in quibus tantum virgines nubunt et cum spe votoque uxoris semel transigitur. sic unum accipiunt maritum quo modo unum corpus unamque vitam, ne ulla cogitatio ultra, ne longior cupiditas, ne tamquam maritum, sed tamquam matrimonium ament. numerum liberorum finire aut quemquam ex adgnatis necare flagitium

[1] inviolata reddat, ac digna, *Acidalius*; inviolata ac digna reddat, *MSS.*, *F.*, *H.*

from the chances of war, she is thus warned by the very rites with which her marriage begins that she comes to share hard work and peril; that her fate will be the same as his in peace and in panic, her risks the same. This is the moral of the yoked oxen, of the bridled horse, of the exchange of arms; so must she live and so must die. The things she takes she is to hand over inviolate to her children, fit to be taken by her daughters-in-law and passed on again to her grandchildren.

So their life is one of fenced-in chastity. There is no arena with its seductions, no dinner-tables with their provocations to corrupt them. Of the exchange of secret letters men and women alike are innocent; adulteries are very few for the number of the people. Punishment is prompt and is the husband's prerogative: her hair close-cropped, stripped of her clothes, her husband drives her from his house in presence of his relatives and pursues her with blows through the length of the village. For prostituted chastity there is no pardon; beauty nor youth nor wealth will find her a husband. No one laughs at vice there; no one calls seduction, suffered or wrought, the spirit of the age. Better still are those tribes where only maids marry, and where a woman makes an end, once for all, with the hopes and vows of a wife; so they take one husband only, just as one body and one life, in order that there may be no second thoughts, no belated fancies: in order that their desire may be not for the man, but for marriage;[1] to limit the number of their children, to make away with any of the later children is held abominable,

[1] See Appendix VI, p. 348.

habetur, plusque ibi boni mores valent quam alibi bonae leges.

20 In omni domo nudi ac sordidi in hos artus, in haec corpora, quae miramur, excrescunt. sua quemque mater uberibus alit, nec ancillis aut nutricibus delegantur. dominum ac servum nullis educationis deliciis dignoscas: inter eadem pecora, in eadem humo degunt, donec aetas separet ingenuos, virtus adgnoscat. sera iuvenum venus, eoque inexhausta pubertas. nec virgines festinantur; eadem iuventa, similis proceritas: pares validaeque miscentur, ac robora parentum liberi referunt. sororum filiis idem apud avunculum qui apud patrem honor. quidam sanctiorem artioremque hunc nexum sanguinis arbitrantur et in accipiendis obsidibus magis exigunt, tamquam et animum firmius et domum latius teneant. heredes tamen successoresque sui cuique liberi, et nullum testamentum. si liberi non sunt, proximus gradus in possessione fratres, patrui, avunculi. quanto

1 An obvious reference to Roman race-suicide and infanticide and to the attempt made by the lex Papia Poppaea to stem these evils.

2 *Deliciis educationis* looks at first sight the Latin equivalent to τὰ πέριττα, τὰ κομψά in Greek (in Euripides' *Antiope*, 25–27, for instance), but it is not so: the Greek refers

and good habits have more force with them than good laws elsewhere.[1]

There then they are, the children, in every house, filling out amid nakedness and squalor into that girth of limb and frame which is to our people a marvel. Its own mother suckles each at her breast; they are not passed on to nursemaids and wet-nurses.

Nor can master be recognised from servant by any flummery [2] in their respective bringing-up: they live in the company of the same cattle and on the same mud floor till years separate the free-born and character claims her own.

The virginity of youth is late treasured and puberty therefore inexhaustible; nor for the girls is there any hot-house forcing; they pass their youth in the same way as the boys: their stature is as tall; when they reach the same strength they are mated, and the children reproduce the vigour of the parents. Sisters' children mean as much to their uncle as to their father: [3] some tribes regard this blood-tie as even closer and more sacred than that between son and father, and in taking hostages make it the basis of their demand, as though they thus secure loyalty more surely and have a wider hold on the family.

However, so far as heirship and succession are concerned, each man's children are his heirs, and there is no will; if there be no children, the nearest degrees of relationship for the holding of property are brothers, paternal uncles, and uncles maternal:

(as one would expect) to education in the narrower and more technical sense, and therein to "culture" subjects and to the "other frills" of education; but Tacitus only means that the children are all brought up without distinction, and without cosseting and pampering for the better born.

[3] See Appendix VII, p. 349.

plus propinquorum, quanto maior adfinium numerus tanto gratiosior senectus; nec ulla orbitatis pretia.

21 Suscipere tam inimicitias seu patris seu propinqui quam amicitias necesse est; nec inplacabiles durant: luitur enim etiam homicidium certo armentorum ac pecorum numero recipitque satisfactionem universa domus, utiliter in publicum, quia periculosiores sunt inimicitiae iuxta libertatem.

Convictibus et hospitiis non alia gens effusius indulget. quemcumque mortalium arcere tecto nefas habetur; pro fortuna quisque apparatis epulis excipit. cum defecere, qui modo hospes fuerat, monstrator hospitii et comes; proximam domum non invitati adeunt. nec interest: pari humanitate accipiuntur. notum ignotumque quantum ad ius hospitis nemo discernit. abeunti, si quid poposcerit, concedere moris; et poscendi in vicem eadem facilitas. gaudent muneribus, sed nec data imputant nec acceptis obligantur.

22 Statim e somno, quem plerumque in diem extrahunt, lavantur, saepius calida, ut apud quos plurimum hiems occupat. lauti cibum capiunt: separatae singulis sedes et sua cuique mensa. tum ad negotia nec minus saepe ad convivia procedunt armati. diem noctemque continuare potando nulli probrum. crebrae, ut inter vinolentos, rixae raro conviciis, saepius

[1] Tacitus scoffs at the courtship paid in Rome to *orbitas*, *i.e.* to the old and childless.

the more relations a man has and the larger the number of his connections by marriage, the more influence has he in his age; it does not pay to have no ties.[1]

It is incumbent to take up a father's feuds or a kinsman's not less than his friendships; but such feuds do not continue unappeasable: even homicide is atoned for by a fixed number of cattle and sheep, and the whole family thereby receives satisfaction, to the public advantage; for feuds are more dangerous among a free people.

No race indulges more lavishly in hospitality and entertainment: to close the door against any human being is a crime. Every one according to his property receives at a well-spread board: should it fail, he who had been your host points out your place of entertainment and goes with you. You go next door, without an invitation, but it makes no difference; you are received with the same courtesy. Stranger or acquaintance, no one distinguishes them where the right of hospitality is concerned. It is customary to speed the parting guest with anything he fancies. There is the same readiness in turn to ask of him: gifts are their delight, but they neither count upon what they have given, nor are bound by what they have received.

On waking from sleep, which they generally prolong into the day, they wash, usually in warm water, since winter bulks so large in their lives: after washing they take a meal, seated apart, each at his own table: then, arms in hand, they proceed to business, or, just as often, to revelry. To out-drink the day and night is a reproach to no man: brawls are frequent; naturally, among heavy drinkers: they seldom terminate with abuse, more often in wounds

caede et vulneribus transiguntur. sed et de reconciliandis invicem inimicis et iungendis adfinitatibus et adsciscendis principibus, de pace denique ac bello plerumque in conviviis consultant, tamquam nullo magis tempore aut ad simplices cogitationes pateat animus aut ad magnas incalescat. gens non astuta nec callida aperit adhuc secreta pectoris licentia ioci; ergo detecta et nuda omnium mens. postera die retractatur, et salva utriusque temporis ratio est: deliberant, dum fingere nesciunt, constituunt, dum errare non possunt.

23 Potui humor ex hordeo aut frumento, in quandam similitudinem vini corruptus: proximi ripae et vinum mercantur. cibi simplices, agrestia poma, recens fera aut lac concretum: sine apparatu, sine blandimentis expellunt famem. adversus sitim non eadem temperantia. si indulseris ebrietati suggerendo quantum concupiscunt, haud minus facile vitiis quam armis vincentur.

24 Genus spectaculorum unum atque in omni coetu idem. nudi iuvenes, quibus id ludicrum est, inter gladios se atque infestas frameas saltu iaciunt. exercitatio artem paravit, ars decorem, non in quaestum tamen aut mercedem: quamvis audacis lasciviae pretium est voluptas spectantium. aleam, quod mirere, sobrii inter seria exercent, tanta lucrandi perdendive

and bloodshed; nevertheless the mutual reconciliation of enemies, the forming of family alliances, the appointment of chiefs, the question even of war or peace, are usually debated at these banquets; as though at no other time were the mind more open to obvious, or better warmed to larger, thoughts. The people are without craft or cunning, and expose in the freedom of revelry the heart's previous secrets; so every mind is bared to nakedness: on the next day the matter is handled afresh; so the principle of each debating season is justified: deliberation comes when they are incapable of pretence, but decision when they are secure from illusion.

For drink they use the liquid distilled from barley or wheat, after fermentation has given it a certain resemblance to wine. The tribes nearest the river also buy wine. Their diet is simple: wild fruit, fresh venison, curdled milk. They banish hunger without sauce or ceremony, but there is not the same temperance in facing thirst: if you humour their drunkenness by supplying as much as they crave, they will be vanquished through their vices as easily as on the battlefield.[1]

Their shows are all of one kind, and the same whatever the gathering may be: naked youths, for whom this is a form of professional acting, jump and bound between swords and upturned spears. Practice has made them dexterous and dexterity graceful; yet not for hire or gain: however daring be the sport, the spectator's pleasure is the only price they ask. Gambling, one may be surprised to find, they practise in all seriousness in their sober hours, with such

[1] Tacitus does not mean that such was the deliberate policy of Rome, but rather a possible result of the weakness of primitive races.

temeritate, ut, cum omnia defecerunt, extremo ac novissimo iactu de libertate ac de corpore contendant. victus voluntariam servitutem adit: quamvis iuvenior, quamvis robustior adligari se ac venire patitur. ea est in re prava pervicacia; ipsi fidem vocant. servos condicionis huius per commercia tradunt, ut se quoque pudore victoriae exsolvant.

25 Ceteris servis non in nostrum morem, discriptis per familiam ministeriis, utuntur: suam quisque sedem, suos penates regit. frumenti modum dominus aut pecoris aut vestis ut colono iniungit, et servus hactenus paret: cetera domus officia uxor ac liberi exsequuntur. verberare servum ac vinculis et opere coërcere rarum: occidere solent, non disciplina et severitate, sed impetu et ira, ut inimicum, nisi quod impune est. liberti non multum supra servos sunt, raro aliquod momentum in domo, numquam in civitate, exceptis dumtaxat iis gentibus quae regnantur. ibi enim et super ingenuos et super nobiles ascendunt: apud ceteros impares libertini libertatis argumentum sunt.

1 *Colonus* came in time to mean "serf," which seems to suit the context here; but Tacitus is either anticipating the later meaning of *colonus* or is suggesting a false analogy between

recklessness in winning or losing that, when all else has failed, they stake personal liberty on the last and final throw : the loser faces voluntary slavery : though he be the younger and the stronger man, he suffers himself to be bound and sold ; such is their persistence in wrong-doing, or their good faith, as they themselves style it. Slaves so acquired they trade, in order to deliver themselves, as well as the slave, from the humiliation involved in such victory.

Their other slaves are not organised in our fashion : that is, by a division of the services of life among them. Each of them remains master of his own house and home: the master requires from the slave as serf[1] a certain quantity of grain or cattle or clothing. The slave so far is subservient ; but the other services of the household are discharged by the master's wife and children. To beat a slave and coerce him with hard labour and imprisonment is rare : if they are killed, it is not usually to preserve strict discipline, but in a fit of fury, like an enemy, except that there is no penalty to be paid.

Freedmen are not much above slaves : rarely are they of any weight in the household, never in politics, except at least in those states which have kings : then they climb above the free-born and above the nobles : in other states the disabilities of the freedman are the evidence of freedom.

To charge interest and to extend the same to usury[2] is unknown, and the principle accordingly better observed than if there had been actual prohibition.

the *colonus* of his time and the German "serf." The passage illustrates his carelessness about legal and constitutional technicalities.

[2] The word "usury" seems here to be used precisely in the popular sense which it bears to-day, of extravagant rates of interest.

26 Faenus agitare et in usuras extendere ignotum; ideoque magis servatur quam si vetitum esset. agri pro numero cultorum ab universis vicis [1] occupantur, quos mox inter se secundum dignationem partiuntur; facilitatem partiendi camporum spatia praestant. arva per annos mutant, et superest ager. nec enim cum ubertate et amplitudine soli labore contendunt, ut pomaria conserant et prata separent et hortos rigent: sola terrae seges imperatur. unde annum quoque ipsum non in totidem digerunt species: hiems et ver et aestas intellectum ac vocabula habent, autumni perinde nomen ac bona ignorantur.

27 Funerum nulla ambitio: id solum observatur, ut corpora clarorum virorum certis lignis crementur. struem rogi nec vestibus nec odoribus cumulant: sua cuique arma, quorundam igni et equus adicitur. sepulcrum caespes erigit: monumentorum arduum et operosum honorem ut gravem defunctis aspernantur. lamenta ac lacrimas cito, dolorem et tristitiam tarde ponunt. feminis lugere honestum est, viris meminisse.

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

28 Validiores olim Gallorum res fuisse summus aucto-

1 vicis, *one MS.* (*Bamberginensis*), *F.*; [vices], *Vatican MS.* (*C*) *and H.*; in vices, *Vatican MS.* (*B*).

Land is taken up by a village as a whole, in quantity according to the number of the cultivators: they then distribute it among themselves on the basis of rank, such distribution being made easy by the extent of domain occupied. They change the arable land yearly, and there is still land to spare, for they do not strain the fertility and resources of the soil by tasking them, through the planting of vineyards, the setting apart of water-meadows, the irrigation of vegetable gardens. Grain is the only harvest required of the land; accordingly the year itself is not divided into as many parts as with us: winter, spring, summer have a meaning and name; of autumn [1] the name alike and bounties are unknown.

In burial there is no ostentation: the single observance is to burn the bodies of their notables with special kinds of wood. They build a pyre, but do not load it with palls or spices: to each man his armour; to the fire of some his horse also is added. The tomb is a mound of turf: the difficult and tedious tribute of a monument they reject as too heavy on the dead. Weeping and wailing they put away quickly: sorrow and sadness linger. Lamentation becomes women: men must remember.

So much in general we have ascertained concerning the origin of the undivided Germans and their customs. I shall now set forth the habits and customs of the several races, and the extent to which they differ from each other; and explain what tribes have migrated from Germany to the Gallic provinces.

That the fortunes of the Gaul were once higher

[1] Similarly, our own words for the seasons are all native words, except autumn, which is Latin; "fall," now American, was not English before (or after) the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Similarly, "herbst" is said to be late German.

rum divus Iulius tradit; eoque credibile est etiam Gallos in Germaniam transgressos: quantulum enim amnis obstabat quo minus, ut quaeque gens evaluerat, occuparet permutaretque sedes promiscuas adhuc et nulla regnorum potentia divisas? igitur inter Hercyniam silvam Rhenumque et Moenum amnes Helvetii, ulteriora Boii, Gallica utraque gens, tenuere. manet adhuc Boihaemi nomen significatque loci veterem memoriam quamvis mutatis cultoribus. sed utrum Aravisci in Pannoniam ab Osis an Osi ab Araviscis in Germaniam commigraverint, cum eodem adhuc sermone institutis moribus utantur, incertum est, quia pari olim inopia ac libertate eadem utriusque ripae bona malaque erant. Treveri et Nervii circa adfectationem Germanicae originis ultro ambitiosi sunt, tamquam per hanc gloriam sanguinis a similitudine et inertia Gallorum separentur. ipsam Rheni ripam haud dubie Germanorum populi colunt, Vangiones, Triboci, Nemetes. ne Ubii quidem, quamquam Romana colonia esse meruerint ac libentius Agrippinenses conditoris sui nomine vocentur, origine

[1] According to Latham (*Germania*, p. 92), Boihaemum rather represents the modern Bavaria than Bohemia.

[2] The Romans explain the name "Germani" as meaning

than the German is recorded on the supreme authority of Julius of happy memory, and therefore it is easy to believe that the Gauls even crossed over into Germany: small chance there was of the river preventing each tribe, as it became powerful, from seizing and taking in exchange new land, still held in common, and not yet divided into powerful kingdoms: accordingly the country between the Hercynian forest and the rivers Rhine and Moenus was occupied by the Helvetii, and the country beyond by the Boii, both Gallic races: the name Boihaemum [1] still subsists and testifies to the old traditions of the place, though there has been a change of occupants.

Whether, however, the Aravisci migrated into Pannonia from the Osi, or the Osi into Germany from the Aravisci, must remain uncertain, since their speech, habits, and type of character are still the same: originally, in fact, there was the same misery and the same freedom on either bank of the river, the same advantages and the same drawbacks.

The Treveri and Nervi conversely go out of their way in their ambition to claim a German origin, as though this illustrious ancestry delivers them from any affinity with the indolent Gaul.[2]

On the river bank itself are planted certain peoples indubitably German: Vangiones, Triboci, Nemetes. Not even the Ubii, though they have earned the right to be a Roman colony and prefer to be called "Agrippinenses," from the name of their founder, blush to own their German origin: they originally came from

the pure or undemoralised Germans, as distinct from the demoralised Germans of Gaul; it seems, however, only a difference of degree to the mind of Tacitus, who dwells also on the indolence of the German.

erubescunt, transgressi olim et experimento fidei super ipsam Rheni ripam collocati, ut arcerent, non ut custodirentur.

29 Omnium harum gentium virtute praecipui Batavi non multum ex ripa, sed insulam Rheni amnis colunt, Chattorum quondam populus et seditione domestica in eas sedes transgressus, in quibus pars Romani imperii fierent. manet honos et antiquae societatis insigne; nam nec tributis contemnuntur nec publicanus atterit; exempti oneribus et collationibus et tantum in usum proeliorum sepositi, velut tela atque arma, bellis reservantur. est in eodem obsequio et Mattiacorum gens; protulit enim magnitudo populi Romani ultra Rhenum ultraque veteres terminos imperii reverentiam. ita sede finibusque in sua ripa, mente animoque nobiscum agunt, cetera similes Batavis, nisi quod ipso adhuc terrae suae solo et caelo acrius animantur.

Non numeraverim inter Germaniae populos, quamquam trans Rhenum Danuviumque consederint, eos qui decumates agros exercent: levissimus quisque Gallorum et inopia audax dubiae possessionis solum

1 Modern Hesse; the names Hesse and Chatti are the same.
2 The *limes* was the artificial frontier joining the gap

beyond the river, and were placed in charge of the bank itself, after they had given proof of their loyalty, in order to block the way to others, not in order to be under supervision.

Of all these races the most manly are the Batavi, who occupy only a short stretch of the river bank, but with it the island in the stream: they were once a tribe of the Chatti,[1] and on account of a rising at home they crossed the river for those lands which were to make them part of the Roman Empire. Their distinction persists and the emblem of their ancient alliance with us: they are not insulted, that is, with the exaction of tribute, and there is no tax-farmer to oppress them: immune from burdens and contributions, and set apart for fighting purposes only, they are reserved for war, to be, as it were, our arms and weapons. Equally loyal are the tribe of the Mattiaci; for the greatness of the Roman nation has projected the awe felt for our Empire beyond the Rhine, and beyond the long-established frontier. So by site and territory they belong to their own bank, but by sentiment and thought they act with us, and correspond in all respects with the Batavi, except that hitherto both the soil and climate of their land of themselves stimulate to greater animation.

I should not count among the people of Germany, though they have established themselves beyond the Rhine and Danube, the tribes who cultivate "the tithe-lands." All the wastrels of Gaul, plucking courage from misery, took possession of that debateable land: latterly, since the frontier line has been driven [2] and the garrisons pushed forward, these lands have been

between the two natural frontiers, the Rhine and the Danube: it was a narrow path planted with a barricade in which at set intervals were forts.

occupavere; mox limite acto promotisque praesidiis sinus imperii et pars provinciae habentur.

30 Ultra hos Chatti: initium sedis ab Hercynio saltu incohatur, non ita effusis ac palustribus locis, ut ceterae civitates, in quas Germania patescit: durant siquidem colles, paulatim rarescunt, et Chattos suos saltus Hercynius prosequitur simul atque deponit. duriora genti corpora, stricti artus, minax vultus et maior animi vigor. multum, ut inter Germanos, rationis ac sollertiae: praeponere electos, audire praepositos, nosse ordines, intellegere occasiones, differre impetus, disponere diem, vallare noctem, fortunam inter dubia, virtutem inter certa numerare, quodque rarissimum nec nisi Romanae disciplinae concessum, plus reponere in duce quam in exercitu. omne robur in pedite, quem super arma ferramentis quoque et copiis onerant: alios ad proelium ire videas, Chattos ad bellum. rari excursus et fortuita pugna. equestrium sane virium id proprium, cito parere victoriam, cito cedere: velocitas iuxta formidinem, cunctatio propior constantiae est.

---

1 See Ch. 38 and Appendix IX, p. 350; they seem to be the Suebi of Caesar, *i.e.* Caesar uses the generic name which the Gauls gave to various German peoples on the Rhine; their

counted an outlying corner of the Empire and a part of the Roman province.

Beyond these people are the Chatti:[1] the front of their settlements begins with the Hercynian forest. The land is not so low and marshy as the other states of the level German plain; yet even where the hills cover a considerable territory they gradually fade away, and so the Hercynian forest, after escorting its Chatti to the full length of their settlement, drops them in the plain. This tribe has hardier bodies than the others, close-knit limbs, a forbidding expression, and more strength of intellect: there is much method in what they do, for Germans at least, and much shrewdness. They elect magistrates and listen to the man elected; know their place in the ranks and recognise opportunities; reserve their attack; have a time for everything; entrench at night; distrust luck, but rely on courage; and—the rarest thing of all, which only Roman discipline has been permitted to attain—depend on the initiative of the general rather than on that of the soldier.[2] Their whole strength lies in their infantry, whom they load with iron tools and baggage, in addition to their arms: other Germans may be seen going to battle, but the Chatti go to war. Forays and casual fighting are rare with them: the latter method no doubt is part of the strength of cavalry—to win suddenly, that is, and as suddenly to retire; for the speed of cavalry is near allied to panic, but the deliberate action of infantry is more likely to be resolute.

[1] geographical position in Hesse favours their identity with Caesar's Suebi.

[2] Tacitus is implicitly contrasting the initiative and self-reliance of the native or colonial trooper with the machine-like discipline of the Roman legionary; his verdict is in favour of the discipline of the regulars and against the colonials.

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

32 Proximi Chattis certum iam alveo Rhenum, quique terminus esse sufficiat, Usipi ac Tencteri colunt. Tencteri super solitum bellorum decus equestris disciplinae arte praecellunt; nec maior apud Chattos peditum laus quam Tencteris equitum. sic instituere maiores: posteri imitantur. hi lusus infantium, haec

The ceremony, practised by other German peoples only occasionally, and by individual hardihood, has with the Chatti become a convention, to let the hair and beard grow when a youth has attained manhood, and to put off that facial garb which is due and dedicate to manliness only after an enemy has been slain: standing above the sanguinary spoil, they dismantle their faces again, and advertise that then and not before have they paid the price of their birth-pangs, and are worthy of their kin and country. Cowards and weaklings remain unkempt. The bravest also wear a ring of iron—the badge of shame on other occasions among this people—in token of chains, until each man frees himself by the slaughter of an enemy: this symbolism is very popular, and men already growing grey still wear this uniform for the pointing finger of friend and foe. Every battle begins with these men: the front rank is made up of them and is a curious sight. Nay, even in peace they allow no tamer life to enervate them. None of them has house or land or any business: wherever they present themselves they are entertained, wasteful of the substance of others, indifferent to personal possessions, until age and loss of blood make them unequal to heroism so hardy.

Next to the Chatti come the Usipi and Tencteri, on the Rhine banks where the river has ceased to shift its bed and has become fit to serve for a frontier. The Tencteri, in addition to the general reputation of the race as warriors, excel in the accomplishments of trained horsemen. The fame of the Chattan infantry is not greater than that of *their* cavalry: their ancestors established the precedent; succeeding generations vie with them: here lies the diversion

iuvenum aemulatio: perseverant senes. inter familiam et penates et iura successionum equi traduntur; excipit filius, non ut cetera, maximus natu, sed prout ferox bello et melior.

33 Iuxta Tencteros Bructeri olim occurrebant: nunc Chamavos et Angrivarios inmigrasse narratur, pulsis Bructeris ac penitus excisis vicinarum consensu nationum, seu superbiae odio seu praedae dulcedine seu favore quodam erga nos deorum; nam ne spectaculo quidem proelii invidere. super sexaginta milia non armis telisque Romanis, sed quod magnificentius est, oblectationi oculisque ceciderunt. maneat, quaeso, duretque gentibus, si non amor nostri, at certe odium sui, quando vergentibus[1] imperii fatis nihil iam praestare fortuna maius potest quam hostium discordiam.

34 Angrivarios et Chamavos a tergo Dulgubnii et Chasuarii cludunt aliaeque gentes haud perinde memoratae, a fronte Frisii excipiunt. maioribus minoribusque Frisiis vocabulum est ex modo virium. utraeque nationes usque ad Oceanum Rheno praetexuntur ambiuntque immensos insuper lacus et Romanis classibus navigatos. ipsum quin etiam Oceanum illa temptavimus; et superesse adhuc Her-

[1] vergentibus, *Lipsius*; urguentibus, *Vatican MS.* (*B*), *F.*, *H.*; in urguentibus, *Vatican MS.* (*C*).

of infancy, the rivalry of youth, and the abiding interest of age. Horses descend with servants, house, and regular inheritance; but the heir to the horse is not, as in other things, the eldest son, but the confident soldier and the better man.

Originally next the Tencteri one came across the Bructeri: the Chamavi and Angrivarii are said to have trekked thither recently, after the Bructeri had been expelled or cut to pieces by the conjoint action of neighbouring peoples, whether from disgust at their arrogance or from the attractions of plunder, or because Heaven leans to the side of Rome. Nay, Heaven did not even grudge us a dramatic battle: over sixty thousand men fell, not before the arms and spears of Rome, but—what was even a greater triumph for us—merely to delight our eyes. Long may it last, I pray, and persist among the nations, this—if not love for us—at least hatred for each other: since now that the destinies of the Empire have passed their zenith, Fortune can guarantee us nothing better than discord among our foes.[1]

The Angrivarii and Chamavi are closed to the south by the Dulgubnii and the Chasuarii and other tribes not so well known to history. To the north follow the Frisii: they are called the Greater or Lesser Frisii according to the measure of their strength: these two tribes border the Rhine down to the ocean, and also fringe the great lakes which the fleets of Rome navigate. Nay, in that quarter we have essayed the ocean itself, and beyond our range rumour has published the existence of pillars of Hercules:[2]

[1] See Appendix VIII, p. 350. The battle here referred to cannot be identified; the date must have been after A.D. 70 (*F.*).

[2] All boulders rising from the sea at critical places, such as straits, were ascribed to the active hands of Hercules, the first builder of natural lighthouses.

culis columnas fama vulgavit, sive adiit Hercules, seu quidquid ubique magnificum est, in claritatem eius referre consensimus. nec defuit audentia Druso Germanico, sed obstitit Oceanus in se simul atque in Herculem inquiri. mox nemo temptavit, sanctiusque ac reverentius visum de actis deorum credere quam scire.

35 Hactenus in occidentem Germaniam novimus; in septentrionem ingenti flexu recedit. ac primo statim Chaucorum gens, quamquam incipiat a Frisiis ac partem litoris occupet, omnium quas exposui gentium lateribus obtenditur, donec in Chattos usque sinuetur. tam immensum terrarum spatium non tenent tantum Chauci, sed et implent, populus inter Germanos nobilissimus, quique magnitudinem suam malit iustitia tueri. sine cupididate, sine impotentia, quieti secretique nulla provocant bella, nullis raptibus aut latrociniis populantur. id praecipuum virtutis ac virium argumentum est, quod, ut superiores agant, non per iniurias adsequuntur; prompta tamen omnibus arma ac, si res poscat, exercitus,[1] plurimum virorum equorumque; et quiescentibus eadem fama.

36 In latere Chaucorum Chattorumque Cherusci nimiam ac marcentem diu pacem inlacessiti nutrierunt: idque iucundius quam tutius fuit, quia inter inpotentes

[1] ac, si res poscat exercitus, *MSS.*; ac, si res poscat [exercitus] plurimum, *&c., F., H.*

whether it be that Hercules visited those shores, or because we have agreed to enter all marvels everywhere to his credit. Nor did Drusus Germanicus lack audacity, but Ocean vetoed inquiry alike touching itself and touching Hercules; and soon the attempt was abandoned, and it was voted more religious and more reverent to believe in the works of Deity than to comprehend them.

Hitherto we have been inquiring into Western Germany. At this point the country falls away with a great bend towards the north, and first of all come the Chauci. Though they start next the Frisii and occupy part of the seaboard, they also border on all of the tribes just mentioned, and finally edge away south as far as the Chatti. This vast block of territory is not merely held by the Chauci, but filled by them. They are the noblest of the German tribes, and so constituted as to prefer to protect their vast domain by justice alone: they are neither grasping nor lawless; in peaceful seclusion they provoke no wars and despatch no raiders on marauding forays; the special proof of their sterling strength is, indeed, just this, that they do not depend for their superior position on injustice; yet they are ready with arms, and, if circumstances should require, with armies, men and horses in abundance; so, even though they keep the peace, their reputation does not suffer.

Bordering the Chauci and the Chatti are the Cherusci.[1] For long years they have been unassailed and have encouraged an abnormal and languid peacefulness. It has been a pleasant rather than a sound policy: with lawlessness and strength on either side

[1] Occupying the modern Brunswick. Under Arminius they defeated Varus and his legions in A.D. 9.

et validos falso quiescas : ubi manu agitur, modestia ac probitas nomina superioris[1] sunt. ita qui olim boni aequique Cherusci, nunc inertes ac stulti vocantur : Chattis victoribus fortuna in sapientiam cessit. tracti ruina Cheruscorum et Fosi, contermina gens, adversarum rerum ex aequo socii sunt, cum in secundis minores fuissent.

37 Eundem Germaniae sinum proximi Oceano Cimbri tenent, parva nunc civitas, sed gloria ingens. veterisque famae lata vestigia manent, utraque ripa castra ac spatia, quorum ambitu nunc quoque metiaris molem manusque gentis et tam magni exitus fidem. sescentesimum et quadragesimum annum urbs nostra agebat, cum primum Cimbrorum audita sunt arma Caecilio Metello et Papirio Carbone consulibus. ex quo si ad alterum imperatoris Traiani consulatum computemus, ducenti ferme et decem anni colliguntur : tam diu Germania vincitur. medio tam longi aevi spatio multa in vicem damna. non Samnis, non Poeni, non Hispaniae Galliaeve, ne Parthi quidem saepius admonuere : quippe regno Arsacis acrior est Germanorum libertas. quid enim aliud nobis quam

1 superioris, *F.*; superiori, *H.*

---

[a] Tacitus perhaps means farthest to the north of this peninsula, in modern Denmark. The name Cimbri was once identified with Cymry, as though the race were Celts, although opinion in antiquity was divided.

of you, you will find peacefulness vanity; where might is right, self-control and righteousness are titles reserved for the stronger. Accordingly, the Cherusci, who were once styled just and generous, are now described as indolent and blind, while the good luck of the victorious Chatti has been counted to them for wisdom. The fall of the Cherusci dragged down the Fosi also, a neighbouring tribe: they share the adversity of the Cherusci on even terms, though they had only been dependents in their prosperity.

This same "sleeve" or peninsula of Germany is the home of the Cimbri, who dwell nearest the ocean"—a small state to-day, but rich in memories. Broad traces of their ancient fame are still extant—a spacious camp on each bank (of the Rhine), by the circuit of which you can even to-day measure the multitudes and manual skill of the tribes and the evidences of that mighty "trek."

Our city was in its six hundred and fortieth year when the Cimbrian armies were first heard of, in the consulship of Caecilius Metellus and Papirius Carbo. If we count from that date to the second consulship of the Emperor Trajan, the total amounts to about two hundred and ten years: for that length of time has the conquest of Germany been in process. Between the beginning and end of that long period there have been many mutual losses: neither Samnite nor Carthaginian, neither Spain nor Gaul, nor even the Parthians have taught us more lessons. The German fighting for liberty has been a keener enemy than the absolutism of Arsaces. What taunt, indeed, has the East for us, apart from the overthrow of Crassus—the East

caedem Crassi, amisso et ipse Pacoro, infra Ventidium deiectus Oriens obiecerit? at Germani Carbone et Cassio et Scauro Aurelio et Servilio Caepione Gnaeoque Mallio fusis vel captis quinque simul consulares exercitus populo Romano, Varum trisque cum eo legiones etiam Caesari abstulerunt; nec impune C. Marius in Italia, divus Iulius in Gallia, Drusus ac Nero et Germanicus in suis eos sedibus perculerunt: mox ingentes Gai Caesaris minae in ludibrium versae. inde otium, donec occasione discordiae nostrae et civilium armorum expugnatis legionum hibernis etiam Gallias adfectavere; ac rursus inde pulsi proximis temporibus triumphati magis quam victi sunt.

38 Nunc de Suebis dicendum est, quorum non una, ut Chattorum Tencterorumve gens; maiorem enim Germaniae partem obtinent, propriis adhuc nationibus nominibusque discreti, quamquam in commune Suebi vocentur. insigne gentis obliquare crinem nodoque substringere: sic Suebi a ceteris Germanis, sic Sueborum ingenui a servis separantur. in aliis gentibus seu cognatione aliqua Sueborum seu, quod saepe accidit, imitatione, rarum et intra iuventae spatium; apud Suebos usque ad canitiem horrentem capillum retorquent, ac saepe in ipso vertice religant; principes et ornatiorem habent. ea cura formae, sed

1 In 38 B.C., and apparently on the same day and month on which, fifteen years before (June 9), Crassus had fallen at Carrhae. To fall at the feet of Ventidius was particularly humiliating, for he had risen from the ranks. Pacorus was the son of the Parthian king.

which itself fell at the feet of a Ventidius[1] and lost Pacorus?

But the Germans routed or captured Carbo and Cassius and Aurelius Scaurus and Servilius Caepio and Gnaeus Mallius, and wrested five consular armies in one campaign from the people of Rome, and even from a Caesar wrested Varus and three legions with him. Nor was it without paying a price that Marius smote them in Italy, and Julius of happy memory in Gaul, and Drusus, Nero, and Germanicus in their own homes. Soon after the prodigious tragedy advertised by Gaius Caesar turned into a farce; then came peace, until, on the opportunity offered by our dissensions and by civil war, they carried the legions' winter quarters by storm and even aspired to the Gallic provinces; finally, after being repulsed thence, they have even in recent years gratified us with more triumphs than victories.

Now I must treat of the Suebi,[2] in whom are comprised not one tribe only, as with the Chatti and the Tencteri; for they occupy the greater part of Germany, and are still distinguished by special national names, though styled in general Suebi. One mark of the race is to comb the hair back over the side of the face and tie it low in a knot behind: this distinguishes the Suebi from other Germans, and the free-born of the Suebi from the slave. In other tribes, whether from some relationship to the Suebi, or, as often happens, from imitation, the same thing may be found; but it is rare and confined to the period of youth. Among the Suebi, even till the hair is grey, they twist the rough locks backward, and often knot them on the very crown: the chieftains wear theirs somewhat more ornamentally, to this extent

2 See Appendix IX, p. 350.

innoxia; neque enim ut ament amenturve, in altitudinem quandam et terrorem adituri bella comptius hostium [1] oculis ornantur.

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

40 Contra Langobardos paucitas nobilitat: plurimis ac valentissimis nationibus cincti non per obsequium, sed proeliis ac periclitando tuti sunt. Reudigni deinde et Aviones et Anglii et Varini et Eudoses et Suardones et Nuitones fluminibus aut silvis muniuntur. nec

[1] comptius hostium, *Lachmann*, *F.*; compti ut hostium, *MSS.*; compti [ut] hostium, *H.*

interested in appearances, but innocently so. It is not for making love or being made love to; but men who are to face battle are—in the eyes of foemen—more decoratively adorned if they attain a certain terrifying height.

They describe the Semnones as the most ancient and best-born tribe of the Suebi: this evidence of their antiquity is confirmed by religion: at fixed seasons all the tribes of the same blood gather through their delegations at a certain forest—

> "Haunted by visions beheld by their sires and the awe of the ages" [1]

—and after publicly offering up a human life, they celebrate the grim "initiation" of their barbarous worship. There is a further tribute which they pay to the grove: no one enters it until he has been bound with a chain: he puts off his freedom, and advertises in his person the might of the deity: if he chance to fall, he must not be lifted up or rise—he must writhe along the ground until he is out again: the whole superstition comes to this, that it was here where the race arose, here where dwells the god who is lord of all things; everything else is subject to him and vassal. The prosperity of the Semnones enforces the idea: they occupy one hundred cantons, and from their weight it results that they consider themselves the head of the Suebi.

The Langobardi, conversely, are illustrious by lack of number: set in the midst of numberless and powerful tribes, they are delivered not by submissiveness, but by peril and pitched battle. Then come the Reudigni and the Aviones, and the Anglii, and the Varini, the Eudoses and Suardones and Nuithones.

[1] Tacitus writes or quotes (or slips into) an hexameter line

quicquam notabile in singulis, nisi quod in commune Nerthum, id est Terram matrem, colunt eamque intervenire rebus hominum, invehi populis arbitrantur. est in insula Oceani castum nemus, dicatumque in eo vehiculum, veste contectum; attingere uni sacerdoti concessum. is adesse penetrali deam intellegit vectamque bubus feminis multa cum veneratione prosequitur. laeti tunc dies, festa loca, quaecumque adventu hospitioque dignatur. non bella ineunt, non arma sumunt; clausum omne ferrum; pax et quies tunc tantum nota, tunc tantum amata, donec idem sacerdos satiatam conversatione mortalium deam templo reddat. mox vehiculum et vestes et, si credere velis, numen ipsum secreto lacu abluitur. servi ministrant, quos statim idem lacus haurit. arcanus hinc terror sanctaque ignorantia, quid sit illud, quod tantum perituri vident.

41 Et haec quidem pars Sueborum in secretiora Germaniae porrigitur: propior, ut, quo modo paulo ante Rhenum, sic nunc Danuvium sequar, Hermundurorum civitas, fida Romanis; eoque solis Germanorum non in ripa commercium, sed penitus atque in splendidissima Raetiae provinciae colonia. passim

These tribes are protected by forests and rivers, nor is there anything noteworthy about them individually, except that they worship in common Nerthus, or Mother Earth, and conceive her as intervening in human affairs, and riding in procession through the cities of men. In an island of the ocean is a holy grove, and in it a consecrated chariot, covered with robes: a single priest is permitted to touch it: he interprets the presence of the goddess in her shrine, and follows with deep reverence as she rides away drawn by cows: then come days of rejoicing, and all places keep holiday, as many as she thinks worthy to receive and entertain her. They make no war, take no arms: every weapon is put away; peace and quiet are then, and then alone, known and loved, until the same priest returns the goddess to her temple, when she has had her fill of the society of mortals. After this the chariot and the robes, and, if you are willing to credit it, the deity in person, are washed in a sequestered lake: slaves are the ministrants and are straightway swallowed by the same lake: hence a mysterious terror and an ignorance full of piety[1] as to what that may be which men only behold to die.

These sections of the Suebi extend into the more secluded parts of Germany; nearer to us—to follow the course of the Danube, as before I followed the Rhine—comes the state of the Hermunduri: they are loyal to Rome, and with them alone of Germans business is transacted not on the river bank, but far within the frontier in the most thriving colony of the province of Rhaetia. They cross the river everywhere without supervision; and while we let other peoples

[1] For the sardonic touch compare the close of ch. 34 Ignorance is the mother of piety, or piety the mother of ignorance—it is not clear which.

sine custode transeunt; et cum ceteris gentibus arma modo castraque nostra ostendamus, his domos villasque patefecimus non concupiscentibus. in Hermunduris Albis oritur, flumen inclutum et notum olim; nunc tantum auditur.

42 Iuxta Hermunduros Naristi ac deinde Marcomani et Quadi agunt. praecipua Marcomanorum gloria viresque, atque ipsa etiam sedes pulsis olim Boiis virtute parta. nec Naristi Quadive degenerant. eaque Germaniae velut frons est, quatenus Danuvio praecingitur. Marcomanis Quadisque usque ad nostram memoriam reges manserunt ex gente ipsorum, nobile Marobodui et Tudri genus (iam et externos patiuntur), sed vis et potentia regibus ex auctoritate Romana. raro armis nostris, saepius pecunia iuvantur, nec minus valent.

43 Retro Marsigni, Cotini, Osi, Buri terga Marcomanorum Quadorumque claudunt. e quibus Marsigni et Buri sermone cultuque Suebos referunt: Cotinos Gallica, Osos Pannonica lingua coarguit non esse Germanos, et quod tributa patiuntur. partem tributorum Sarmatae, partem Quadi ut alienigenis imponunt: Cotini, quo magis pudeat, et ferrum effodiunt. omnesque hi populi pauca campestrium, ceterum saltus et

[1] The "forward" policy at Rome had designed the Elbe for part of the frontier, and had explored it. But after the

see only our fortified camps, to them we have thrown open our houses and homes, because they do not covet them. Among the Hermunduri rises the River Albis—a river once known and famous ; now a name only.[1]

Next the Hermunduri are the Naristi and then the Marcomani and the Quadi. The fame and strength of the Marcomani are outstanding : their very home was won by prowess, through the expulsion in ancient times of the Boii. Nor are the Naristi and Quadi inferior to them : these tribes are, so to speak, the brow of Germany, so far as Germany is wreathed by the Danube. The Marcomani and the Quadi retained kings of their own race down to our time—the noble houses of Maroboduus and Tudrus : now they submit to foreign kings also ; but the force and power of their kings rest on the influence of Rome. Occasionally they are assisted by our armed intervention : more often by subsidies, out of which they get as much help.

Behind them are the Marsigni, Cotini, Osi, and Buri, enclosing the Marcomani and Quadi from the rear : among them the Marsigni and Buri in language and culture recall the Suebi : as for the Cotini and Osi, the Gallic tongue of the first and the Pannonian of the second prove them not to be Germans ; so does their submission to tribute. This tribute is imposed upon them as foreigners in part by the Sarmatae, in part by the Quadi. The Cotini, to their shame, have even iron-mines to work.[2] All these peoples have little level land, but occupy the defiles and summits and

destruction of Varus in A.D. 9 the frontier remained on the Rhine and Danube.

[2] And therefore ought to have been able to manufacture arms, instead of tamely paying tribute.

vertices montium iugumque insederunt. dirimit enim scinditque Suebiam continuum montium iugum, ultra quod plurimae gentes agunt, ex quibus latissime patet Lugiorum nomen in plures civitates diffusum. valentissimas nominasse sufficiet, Harios, Helveconas, Manimos, Elisios, Nahanarvalos. apud Nahanarvalos antiquae religionis lucus ostenditur. praesidet sacerdos muliebri ornatu, sed deos interpretatione Romana Castorem Pollucemque memorant. ea vis numini, nomen Alcis. nulla simulacra, nullum peregrinae superstitionis vestigium; ut fratres tamen, ut iuvenes venerantur. ceterum Harii super vires, quibus enumeratos paulo ante populos antecedunt, truces insitae feritati arte ac tempore lenocinantur: nigra scuta, tincta corpora; atras ad proelia noctes legunt ipsaque formidine atque umbra feralis exercitus terrorem inferunt, nullo hostium sustinente novum ac velut infernum adspectum; nam primi in omnibus proeliis oculi vincuntur.

44 Trans Lugios Gotones regnantur, paulo iam adductius quam ceterae Germanorum gentes, nondum tamen supra libertatem. protinus deinde ab Oceano Rugii et Lemovii; omniumque harum gentium insigne rotunda scuta, breves gladii et erga reges obsequium.

ridges of mountains. In fact, a continuous range parts and cuts Suebia in two.

Beyond the range are many races: the most widely diffused name is that of the Lugii, which extends over several states. It will be sufficient to have named the strongest: these are the Harii, Helvecones, Manimi, Elisii, Nahanarvali. Among the Nahanarvali is shown a grove, the seat of a prehistoric ritual: a priest presides in female dress; but according to the Roman interpretation the gods recorded in this fashion are Castor and Pollux: that at least is the spirit of the godhead here recognised, whose name is the Alci.[1] No images are in use; there is no sign of foreign superstition: nevertheless they worship these deities as brothers and as youths.

But to return. The Harii, apart from the strength in which they surpass the peoples just enumerated, are fierce in nature, and trick out this natural ferocity by the help of art and season: they blacken their shields and dye their bodies; they choose pitchy nights for their battles; by sheer panic and darkness they strike terror like an army of ghosts. No enemy can face this novel and, as it were, phantasmal vision: in every battle after all the eye is conquered first.

Beyond the Lugii is the monarchy of the Gotones: the hand upon the reins closes somewhat tighter here than among the other tribes of Germans, but not so tight yet as to destroy freedom. Then immediately following them and on the ocean are the Rugii and Lemovii. The distinguishing features of all these tribes are round shields, short swords, and a submissive bearing before their kings.

[1] The Latin *Alcis* here may be nominative singular or dative plural. See Appendix X, p. 351.

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

45 Trans Suionas aliud mare, pigrum ac prope inmotum, quo cingi cludique terrarum orbem hinc fides, quod extremus cadentis iam solis fulgor in ortum edurat adeo clarus, ut sidera hebetet; sonum insuper emergentis audiri formasque equorum et radios cap-

---

1 Tacitus' Germany includes not merely Holland and Denmark (chs. 34, 35, and 37), but also Sweden (the Suiones).

2 Apparently like the lumbermen's "caravels" sometimes seen in the backwoods of Canada.

3 The Baltic. For the picture of it compare *Agricola*, ch. 10. The account of Tacitus comes through Strabo from Pytheas, the Greek of Marseilles, 330 B.C.

4 The halo round the sun's head or "the spikes of his

Beyond these tribes the states of the Suiones,[1] not on, but in, the ocean, possess not merely arms and men but powerful fleets: the style of their ships differs in this respect, that there is a prow at each end, with a beak ready to be driven forwards; they neither work it with sails, nor add oars in banks to the side: the gearing of the oars is detached as on certain rivers, and reversible as occasion demands, for movement in either direction.[2]

Among these peoples, further, respect is paid to wealth, and one man is accordingly supreme, with no restrictions and with an unchallenged right to obedience; nor is there any general carrying of arms here, as among the other Germans: rather they are locked up in charge of a warder, and that warder a slave. The ocean forbids sudden inroads from enemies; and, besides, bands of armed men, with nothing to do, easily become riotous: it is not to the king's interest to put a noble or a freeman or even a freedman in charge of the arms.

Beyond the Suiones is another sea,[3] sluggish and almost motionless, with which the earth is girdled and bounded: evidence for this is furnished in the brilliance of the last rays of the sun, which remain so bright from his setting to his rising again as to dim the stars: faith adds further that the sound of his emergence is audible and the forms of his horses visible, with the spikes of his crown.[4]

crown" are sometimes explained as interpretations of the Aurora Borealis. "The forms of his horses" rather tends to discredit such rationalism. The subjective element predominates, nor is it weakened, to say the least, if *deorum* (the reading of the MSS.) be substituted for the conjectural *equorum*; but the plural seems much more applicable to the horses than to the number of persons involved in the godhead of the sun.

itis adspici persuasio adicit. illuc usque, et fama vera, tantum [1] natura. ergo iam dextro Suebici maris litore Aestiorum gentes adluuntur, quibus ritus habitusque Sueborum, lingua Britannicae propior. matrem deum venerantur. insigne superstitionis formas aprorum gestant: id pro armis omnique tutela securum deae cultorem etiam inter hostis praestat. rarus ferri, frequens fustium usus. frumenta ceterosque fructus patientius quam pro solita Germanorum inertia laborant. sed et mare scrutantur, ac soli omnium sucinum, quod ipsi glaesum vocant, inter vada atque in ipso litore legunt. nec quae natura quaeve ratio gignat, ut barbaris, quaesitum compertumve; diu quin etiam inter cetera eiectamenta maris iacebat, donec luxuria nostra dedit nomen. ipsis in nullo usu: rude legitur, informe perfertur, pretiumque mirantes accipiunt. sucum tamen arborum esse intellegas, quia terrena quaedam atque etiam volucria animalia plerumque interiacent, quae implicata humore mox durescente materia cluduntur. fecundiora igitur nemora lucosque sicut Orientis secretis, ubi tura balsamaque sudantur, ita Occidentis insulis terrisque

[1] usque, et fama vera, tantum, *MSS.*, *F.*; usque, si fama vera, tantum, *H.*

So far (and here rumour speaks the truth), and so far only, does Nature reach.

Accordingly we must now turn to the right-hand shore of the Suebic Sea:[1] here it washes the tribes of the Aestii; their customs and dress are Suebic, but their language is nearer British.[2]

They worship the mother of the gods: as an emblem of that superstition they wear the figures of wild boars: this boar takes the place of arms or of any other protection, and guarantees to the votary of the goddess a mind at rest even in the midst of foes. They use swords rarely, clubs frequently. Grain and other products of the earth they cultivate with a patience out of keeping with the lethargy customary to Germans: nay, they ransack the sea also, and are the only people who gather in the shallows and on the shore itself the amber, which they call in their tongue "glaesum."

Nor have they, being barbarians, inquired or learned what substance or process produces it: nay, it lay there long among the rest of the flotsam and jetsam of the sea, until Roman luxury gave it a name. To the natives it is useless: it is gathered crude; is forwarded to Rome unshaped: they are astonished to be paid for it. Yet you may infer that it is the exudation of trees: certain creeping and even winged creatures are continually found embedded: they have been entangled in its liquid form, and, as the material hardens, are imprisoned. I should suppose therefore that, just as in the secluded places of the East, where frankincense and balsam are exuded, so in the islands

[1] See Appendix IX, p. 350. Latham assumes the chance identity of the adjective in "Suebic Sea" with the Suebic tribes of Silesia. Suebic in the former case he supposes to be from Suiones rather than from Suebi.

[2] See Appendix XI, p. 352.

inesse crediderim, quae vicini solis radiis expressa atque liquentia in proximum mare labuntur ac vi tempestatum in adversa litora exundant. si naturam sucini admoto igni temptes, in modum taedae accenditur alitque flammam pinguem et olentem; mox ut in picem resinamve lentescit.

Suionibus Sitonum gentes continuantur. cetera similes uno differunt, quod femina dominatur: in tantum non modo a libertate sed etiam a servitute degenerant.

46 Hic Suebiae finis. Peucinorum Venedorumque et Fennorum nationes Germanis an Sarmatis adscribam dubito, quamquam Peucini, quos quidam Bastarnas vocant, sermone cultu, sede ac domiciliis ut Germani agunt. sordes omnium ac torpor: ora procerum conubiis mixtis[1] nonnihil in Sarmatarum habitum foedantur. Venedi multum ex moribus traxerunt; nam quidquid inter Peucinos Fennosque silvarum ac montium erigitur latrociniis pererrant. hi tamen inter Germanos potius referuntur, quia et domos figunt et scuta gestant et pedum usu et pernicitate gaudent: quae omnia diversa Sarmatis sunt in plaustro equoque viventibus. Fennis mira feritas, foeda paupertas: non arma, non equi, non penates; victui herba, vestitui pelles, cubili humus: solae in sagittis opes,

[1] ora procerum conubiis mixtis, *F.*, *H.*; procerum conubiis mixtos, *MSS.*

and lands of the West there are groves and glades more than ordinarily luxuriant: these are tapped and liquefied by the rays of the sun, as it approaches, and ooze into the nearest sea, whence by the force of tempests they are stranded on the shores opposite: if you try the qualities of amber by setting fire to it, it kindles like a torch and feeds an oily and odorous flame, and soon dissolves into something like pitch and resin.

Adjacent to the Suiones come the tribes of the Sitones, resembling them in all other respects, and differing only in this, that among them the woman rules:[1] to this extent they have fallen lower not merely than freeman but even than slaves.

Here Suebia ends. As for the tribes of the Peucini, Venedi, and Fenni, I am in doubt whether to count them as Germans or Sarmatians. Though the Peucini, whom some men call Bastarnae, in language, culture, fixity of habitation, and house-building, conduct themselves as Germans, all are dirty and lethargic: the faces of the chiefs, too, owing to intermarriage, wear to some extent the degraded aspect of Sarmatians: while the Venedi have contracted many Sarmatian habits; they are caterans, infesting all the hills and forests which lie between the Peucini and the Fenni.

And yet these peoples are preferably entered as Germans, since they have fixed abodes, and carry shields, and delight to use their feet and to run fast: all of which traits are opposite to those of the Sarmatians, who live in wagons and on horseback.

The Fenni live in astonishing barbarism and disgusting misery: no arms, no horses, no fixed homes; herbs for their food, skins for their clothing, earth for their bed; arrows are all their wealth; for want of

[1] See Appendix XII, p. 353.

quas inopia ferri ossibus asperant. idemque venatus viros pariter ac feminas alit ; passim enim comitantur partemque praedae petunt. nec aliud infantibus ferarum imbriumque suffugium quam ut in aliquo ramorum nexu contegantur : huc redeunt iuvenes, hoc senum receptaculum. sed beatius arbitrantur quam ingemere agris, inlaborare domibus, suas alienasque fortunas spe metuque versare ; securi adversus homines, securi adversus deos rem difficillimam adsecuti sunt, ut illis ne voto quidem opus esset. cetera iam fabulosa : Hellusios et Oxionas ora hominum voltusque, corpora atque artus ferarum gerere : quod ego ut incompertum in medio relinquam.

iron they tip them with bone. This same hunting is the support of the women as well as of the men, for they accompany the men freely and claim a share of the spoil; nor have their infants any shelter against wild beasts and rain, except the covering afforded by a few intertwined branches. To these the hunters return: these are the asylum of age; and yet they think it happier so than to groan over field labour, be cumbered with house-service, and be for ever exchanging their own and their neighbours' goods with alternate hopes and fears. Unconcerned towards men, unconcerned towards Heaven, they have achieved a consummation very difficult: they have nothing even to ask for.[1]

Beyond this all else that is reported is legendary: that the Hellusii and Oxiones have human faces and features, the limbs and bodies of beasts: it has not been so ascertained, and I shall leave it an open question.

[1] Justin, II. 2, 9 (quoted by Professor Gudeman) imitates this passage.

APPENDICES

AGRICOLA

I

ON SOME ROMAN NAMES

In chs. 2 and 45 there seems a difficulty in the Tacitean use of proper names, a difficulty of order between nomen, praenomen, and cognomen.

Professor Gudeman insists that in these chapters Tacitus is transposing the surname or cognomen and writing it first, and that the names were—to write them in our familiar idiom and in our usual Latin order, *i.e.* praenomen, nomen, cognomen—as follows :

Lucius Iunius Rusticus Arulenus,
Publius Clodius Thrasea Paetus,
Helvidius Priscus,
Metius Carus,
Baebius Massa.

The only weak spot in his argument appears to be that on the same line of reasoning we ought to find in this second chapter *Senecioni Herennio* instead of *Herennio Senecioni*; yet even Professor Gudeman does not venture to say that the philosopher's name was in our idiom *Senecio Herennius* : even he assumes, *i.e.*, that in this one case Tacitus has followed the, to us, natural order, and has placed the cognomen *Senecio* last and the nomen or praenomen *Herennius* first.

Mr. Furneaux and Church and Brodribb write

Arulenus Rusticus,
Paetus Thrasea,
Priscus Helvidius,
Carus Metius ;

so far following Tacitus' order; but conversely Mr. Furneaux writes *Baebius Massa.* Church and Brodribb even retain *Massa Baebius,* but further show their uncertainty by writing *Helvidius Priscus* in their note, *Priscus Helvidius* in their translation.

Some further examination of the names seems necessary: what clues are there?

(*a*) *Paetus* is certainly a surname: it means, like *Strabo,* "squint-eyed," and is one of Rome's many grotesque cognomina (compare *Naevius, Naso, Cicero, Scrofa*—the man of warts, the man with the nose, garden stuff, swine). *Paetus* is, indeed, a widespread surname: we read of Publius Aelius Paetus, of Quintus Aelius Paetus, of Lucius Papirius Paetus, and this chapter gives us, I have no doubt, Thrasea Paetus; and in this case Professor Gudeman must be right, and *Thrasea* is a sort of praenomen, or "Christian name" as we used to call it, until this pagan age and the American continent abolished it for "first name." But if so, it is a second praenomen in addition to Publius, written *after* the nomen *Clodius,* as *Publius before* it: it may be a nickname, then: compare (*e*).

(*b*) In the case of *Baebius Massa* there is no strict praenomen. *Baebius* is a gentile name or nomen, and *Massa* is quite obviously the cognomen: here also Professor Gudeman is right.

(*c*) *Helvidius* is a praenomen probably; for *Priscus,*