

TACITUS

THE
ANNALS

Translated, with Introduction and Notes, by

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ABBREVIATIONS AND REFERENCES

The following list explains the abbreviations used in the footnotes to the translation and in the appendices:

- Braund D. C. Braund, *Augustus to Nero: A Sourcebook on Roman History 31 BC–AD 68* (London and Sydney 1985)
- CAH² *Cambridge Ancient History*, 2nd ed. (references are invariably to Vol. 10, ed. A. K. Bowman, E. Champlin and A. Lintott, Cambridge 1996)
- EJ V. Ehrenberg and A. H. M. Jones, *Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius* (2nd ed., repr., Oxford 1976)
- OCD *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (3rd ed., ed. S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth, Oxford 1996)
- SCPP *Senatus Consultum de Cn. Pisone Patre* (“Senate’s Decision Concerning Cn. Piso the Elder”: references are to the English translation by M. Griffin, *Journal of Roman Studies* 87 (1997) 250–3)
- Sherk R. K. Sherk, *The Roman Empire: Augustus to Hadrian* (Translated Documents of Greece and Rome 6, Cambridge 1988)
- Tac. Rev. A. J. Woodman, *Tacitus Reviewed* (Oxford 1998)
- WM B. H. Warmington and S. J. Miller, *Inscriptions of the Roman Empire A.D. 14–117* (LACTOR 8, repr., London 1996)

In the cases of Braund, EJ, Sherk, and WM, references are to **items** rather than to pages, unless it is stated otherwise; in the case of SCPP, references are to **lines**.

It is conventional to refer to the text of the *Annals* by book number, chapter number, and (where appropriate) section number (e.g., 6.12 or 11.11.1). Since I have sometimes reparagraphed or repunctuated the text, chapter numbers and section numbers do not always coincide with the beginnings of paragraphs or sentences respectively.

Footnotes are numbered consecutively throughout each book of the *Annals*, but cross-references to footnotes usually take the form “1.16.2n.” or “6.32.3 and n.” and should be easy to follow up.

Dates are A.D. unless indicated otherwise.

CORNELIUS TACITUS

FROM THE PASSING OF DIVINE AUGUSTUS

BOOK 1

The City of Rome from its inception was held by kings; freedom and the consulship were established by L. Brutus.¹ Dictatorships were taken up only on occasion, and neither did decemviral power remain in effect beyond two years, nor the military tribunes’ consular prerogative for long.² Not for Cinna nor for Sulla was there lengthy domination, and the powerfulness of Pompeius and Crassus passed quickly to Caesar, the armies of Lepidus and Antonius to Augustus, who with the name of princeps took everything, exhausted as it now was by civil dissensions, under his command.³

The Roman people of old, however, had their successes and adversities recalled by brilliant writers; and to tell of Augustus’ times there was no dearth of deserving talents, until they were deterred by swelling sycophancy. The affairs of Tiberius and Gaius, as of Claudius and Nero, were falsified through dread while the men themselves flourished, and composed with hatred fresh after their fall. Hence my plan is the transmission of a mere few things about Augustus and of his final period, then of Tiberius’ principate and the remainder⁴—without anger and partiality, any reasons for which I keep at a distance.

1. The traditional dates of Rome’s foundation and of the first ever consulship are 753 and 509 B.C. respectively.

2. The decemvirs (3.27.1n.) traditionally operated c. 451–449 B.C.; from shortly thereafter until 367 B.C. military tribunes with consular power very often substituted for the consuls.

3. L. Cornelius Cinna held four successive consulships in 87–84 B.C.; L. Cornelius Sulla was appointed dictator in 82 B.C. but relinquished the office in 81 and died in 79; in 60/59 B.C. a coalition was formed between Pompey the Great, M. Licinius Crassus, and Julius Caesar, but Crassus was killed at the battle of Carrhae (53 B.C.) and Pompey after the battle of Pharsalus (48 B.C.); in 43 B.C. the triumvirate of M. Aemilius Lepidus, Mark Antony, and Octavian was established, but Lepidus was deposed in 36 B.C. and Antony was defeated in 31 B.C. at the Battle of Actium by Octavian, who in 27 B.C. took the name “Augustus” (Sherk 1B, p. 3). The civil wars, which had begun with Caesar’s crossing of the River Rubicon in January 49 B.C., were formally declared at an end in January 29 B.C.

4. T. has here listed the contents of the *Annals* under four headings: “a mere few things about Augustus” = 1.2.1–1.4.1; “his final period” = 1.4.2–1.5.4; “Tiberius’ principate” = 1.6.1–6.51.3; “the remainder” = Book 7 (no longer extant) to the end (also no longer

* * *

- 2 When after the slaughter of Brutus and Cassius there were no more republican armies and Pompeius had been overwhelmed off Sicily and, with Lepidus cast aside and Antonius killed, not even the Julian party had any leader left but Caesar, he, putting aside the name of triumvir, presented himself as consul and as content with his tribunician prerogative for protecting the plebs;⁵ but, when he had enticed the soldiery with gifts, the people with food, and everyone with the sweetness of inactivity, he rose up gradually and drew to himself the responsibilities of senate, magistrates, and laws—without a single adversary, since the most defiant had fallen in the battle line or by proscription and the rest of the nobles, each in proportion to his readiness for servitude, were being exalted by wealth and honors and, enhanced by the revolution, preferred the protection of the present to the perils of old. Nor did the provinces reject that state of affairs, the command of senate and people having become suspect owing to the contests of the powerful and the greed of magistrates (there being no effective assistance from the laws, which had been disrupted by violence, intrigue, and finally money).
- 3 Nevertheless, as buttresses for his domination, Augustus promoted Claudius Marcellus, his sister's son and just a juvenile, by means of a pontificate and curule aedileship, and M. Agrippa, ignoble in status but good at soldiering and his partner in victory, by means of twin consulships, and subsequently after Marcellus' decease took him as son-in-law.⁶ Tiberius Nero and Claudius Drusus, his stepsons, he enhanced with the name of "commander," even though his own house was still then intact: for he had brought Agrippa's progeny, Gaius and Lucius, into the family of the Caesars and, though the praetexta of boyhood was not yet put aside, despite a display of reluctance he had had a burning desire that they be called Principes of the Youth and marked out as consuls. But, when Agrippa had departed from life, both L. Caesar, while traveling to the Spanish armies, and Gaius, while retiring from Armenia and weakened by a wound, were carried off by fatefully early deaths or by the guile of their stepmother Livia; and, with Drusus' life extinguished previously, Nero alone of the stepsons was left.⁷ Every-

extant). It follows from this listing that the present sentence concludes the formal preface to the *Annals*.

5. Brutus and Cassius committed suicide at the Battle of Philippi in 42 B.C.; Sextus Pompeius (son of Pompey the Great) was defeated at the battle of Naulochus in 36 and killed in 35 B.C.; for Lepidus and Antony see above (1.1.1n.). "Caesar" is Octavian/Augustus, who was consul continuously between 31 and 23 B.C., when he took tribunician power instead (see App. A).

6. Marcellus, son of Octavia, was aedile in 23 B.C., the year of his death; Agrippa, one of Augustus' great ministers, held twin consulships in 28–27 B.C. and married Julia (1.53.1n.) in 21 B.C.

7. Agrippa died in 12 B.C. (see Sherk 12 = Braund 73), Claudius Drusus (Tiberius'

thing inclined in his direction: he was enlisted as son, colleague in command, and sharer in the tribunician power,⁸ and through all the armies he was put on exhibition—not through his mother's dark practices, as before, but openly with her encouragement. For she had so shackled the elderly Augustus that he deported his one and only grandson, Agrippa Postumus, to the island of Planasia—raw, certainly, in terms of good behavior, and in his physical strength stupidly defiant, but discovered in no outrage.⁹ Yet, as Hercules is my witness, he installed Germanicus, Drusus' offspring, over the eight legions on the Rhine and ordered him to be affiliated by Tiberius through adoption, notwithstanding that there was a young son in Tiberius' house, but so that there would be more bulwarks on which to depend.¹⁰

As for war, none survived at that time except against the Germans, more to erase the infamy of the army lost with Quintilius Varus¹¹ than through any desire of extending the empire or for some worthy prize. At home things were calm, magistrates had the same designations. But the younger men had been born after the Actian victory, and the majority even of the elderly in the course of the citizens' wars: what size was the remaining proportion, who had seen the republic? As a result, along with the changed state of the community, nowhere did any aspect of old-time convention remain untouched: with equality cast aside, all looked to the orders of the princeps, with no alarm for the present, while Augustus had the strength and years to support both himself and his household and peace.

Yet, when his old age, already advanced, had started to be exhausted by physical illness too, and the end was approaching, and with it new hopes, a few people discussed pointlessly the advantages of freedom, more panicked about war (others desired it), but by far the greatest number spread various rumors of the masters looming over them: Agrippa was callous and blazing from ignominy, unequal

brother, son of Livia by her marriage to Ti. Claudius Nero) in 9 B.C., Lucius Caesar in A.D. 2 (Braund 62), Gaius Caesar in A.D. 4 (see Sherk 19 = Braund 63 = WM 1). "Nero" is Tiberius.

8. The reference seems principally to be to A.D. 4, though the details are disputed.

9. Agrippa Postumus, son of Agrippa and Julia (Augustus' daughter) and brother of Gaius and Lucius Caesar, was banished in A.D. 7.

10. Germanicus was adopted by Tiberius, his uncle, in A.D. 4 and given the Rhine command c. A.D. 13. In *Annals* 1–2 he is the major figure apart from Tiberius himself; for his death in A.D. 19 see 2.72.2. The "young son" of Tiberius and his first wife (Vipsania, daughter of Agrippa) is Drusus Caesar, who was born c. 13 B.C. and will die in A.D. 23 (4.8.1–2).

11. P. Quintilius Varus had been consul in 13 B.C. along with Tiberius: both had married daughters of Agrippa named Vipsania. The loss of Varus and Legions XVII, XVIII, and XIX in A.D. 9 was one of the greatest disasters in Roman history (P. S. Wells, *The Battle That Stopped Rome: Emperor Augustus, Arminius, and the Slaughter of the Legions in the Teutoburg Forest* [New York 2003]) and is often returned to in Book 1 of the *Annals*. For a monument to one of the centurions who perished see Sherk 23 (= Braund 49).

to so great a task in both age and experience of affairs; Tiberius Nero was mature in years and proved in war, but with the old and endemic haughtiness of the Claudian family; and many indications of his savagery, despite attempts at their suppression, kept breaking out. From his earliest infancy he had been brought up in the royal house; as a young man he had been heaped with consulships, triumphs; not even during his years on Rhodes,¹² when in a show of seclusion he had acted as an exile, had he contemplated anything other than anger and deception and secret lusts. In addition, they said, there was his mother, with her womanly unruliness: his enslavement to the female would be compulsory, and to two juveniles as well, who for a while would oppress the state and at some time tear it apart.¹³

As men were churning over such things as these, there was a deterioration in Augustus' health, and some suspected crime on the part of his wife. A rumor had started that a few months previously, with only a select number as accessories and with Fabius Maximus as his one companion,¹⁴ Augustus had traveled to Planasia to visit Agrippa; many had been the tears and signs of affection there on both sides, and as a result there was hope that the young man would be restored to his grandfather's hearth, something which Maximus had disclosed to his wife Marcia, and she to Livia; that in turn had become known to Caesar, and, with Maximus' life extinguished not long afterward (it being in doubt whether he had sought his own death), Marcia's groans had been heard at his funeral, accusing herself of having been the cause of her husband's extermination.

Whether or not that was the case, Tiberius had scarcely entered Illyricum when he was summoned by a hasty letter from his mother; but it has not been satisfactorily uncovered whether at the city of Nola he discovered Augustus still breathing or lifeless. For Livia had cordoned off the house and streets with fierce guards, and from time to time favorable news was published until, after provision for what the occasion demanded, a single report carried the simultaneous announcement that Augustus had passed away and that Nero was in control of affairs.¹⁵

The first act of the new principate was the slaughter of Postumus Agrippa, unawares and unarmed, whom a centurion, despite bracing himself in spirit, dispatched only with difficulty. Tiberius did not speak about the matter in the senate: he was pretending there were orders from his father, in which he had written in advance to the tribune assigned to the guard that the latter should not hesitate in putting Agrippa to death whenever he himself consummated his final day. Now there is no doubt that Augustus had often made savage complaints about

12. Tiberius' retirement to Rhodes in 6 B.C.–A.D. 2 is another topic to which T. frequently returns (e.g., 3.48.1, 4.15.1, 4.57.2).

13. The "two juveniles" are his biological son, Drusus, and his adopted son, Germanicus.

14. Paullus Fabius Maximus had been consul in 11 B.C. and became proconsul of Asia in the following year.

15. Augustus died on 19 August A.D. 14.

the young man's behavior and had ensured that his exile was sanctioned by a senate's decision; but he never hardened himself to execute any of his own relatives, nor was it credible that death had been inflicted on his grandson for the sake of his stepson's security: more likely, Tiberius and Livia—the former through dread, the latter through stepmotherly hatred—had speeded the slaughter of a suspected and resented young man. But to the centurion's announcement (in the manner of the military) that the action which he had commanded had been taken, Tiberius replied that he had given no command and that an account of the action would have to be rendered in the senate. When this was discovered by Sallustius Crispus, a partner in the secret (it was he who had sent the note to the tribune),¹⁶ he dreaded that he might be supplied as a defendant (it being equally perilous whether he produced a fabricated or a true statement) and he warned Livia that the mysteries of the household, the advice of friends and the services of soldiers should not be made public and that Tiberius should not dissipate the essence of the principate by calling everything to the attention of the senate: it was a condition of commanding that the account would not balance unless it were rendered to a single individual.

But at Rome there was a rush into servitude from consuls, fathers, equestrians. The more illustrious each was, the more false and frantic, and, with their looks composed to avoid delight at the passing—and too much gloom at the commencement—of a princeps, they blended tears with joy and mourning with sycophancy. Sex. Pompeius and Sex. Appuleius as consuls were the first to swear allegiance to Tiberius Caesar, and in their presence Seius Strabo and C. Turranius, the former being prefect of the praetorian cohorts, the latter of the food supply;¹⁷ next came the senate, soldiery, and people. And in fact Tiberius' entire start was through the consuls, as though in the old republic;¹⁸ and, being ambivalent about commanding, even when he posted the edict by which he summoned the fathers to the curia, he headed it only with the tribunician power received under Augustus. The words of the edict were few and of delimited purport: he would consult about his parent's honors and was staying close by the body, and that was his sole appropriation of a public responsibility. Yet on Augustus' decease he had issued, like a Commander, the password to the praetorian cohorts; there were lookouts, arms, and the other trappings of court: soldiery accompanied him to the forum, soldiery to the curia; he sent a letter to the armies as though the

16. For Sallustius see further 2.40.2, 3.30.1–3.

17. Seius Strabo was father of the notorious Sejanus (4.1.1–3); Turranius is not mentioned again until A.D. 48 (11.31.1).

18. The punctuation here is mine; others read "as though in the old republic and ambivalent about commanding" and begin a new sentence thereafter. In my view too the statement "Tiberius began everything through the consuls" is a forward reference to the formal motion which the consuls placed before the senate at its *second* meeting (1.13.4) and is equivalent in meaning to "Tiberius began his whole reign through the consuls." See *Tac. Rev.* 66–8.

6 principate were acquired—in no respect reluctant except when he spoke in the
 7 senate.¹⁹ (The principal reason was alarm lest Germanicus—who wielded so
 many legions, untold allied auxiliaries, and remarkable goodwill among the
 8 people—should prefer to hold rather than to wait for command. He was also
 conceding to public opinion that he should be seen to have been summoned and
 chosen by the state rather than to have crept in through wifely intrigue and an
 elderly adoption. Afterward it was recognized that his hesitancy had been brought
 on to gain an insight into the attitudes of the aristocracy too: he stored away their
 language and looks, twisting them into an accusation.)

8 Nothing did he allow to be discussed on the first day of the senate except the
 last rites of Augustus, whose will, brought in by Vesta's Virgins, had Tiberius and
 Livia as his heirs; Livia was enlisted in the Julian family and the Augustan name.
 For secondary bequests he had written down his grandsons and great-grandsons,
 2 and in the third rank leaders of the community—most of them the objects of his
 resentment, but for vaunting and glory among posterity. His legacies did not go
 beyond the limits of an ordinary citizen, except that he gave 43,500,000 sester-
 ces to the people and plebs, individual donations of a thousand to the soldiers of
 the praetorian cohorts, and three hundred a man to the legionaries and the co-
 horts consisting of Roman citizens.²⁰

3 Next there was a debate about his honors, of which Gallus Asinius and L.
 Arruntius proposed those seen⁺ as particularly distinctive, respectively that the
 funeral should be led through the triumphal gate and that at its head should be
 carried the titles of his legislation and the designations of the races conquered by
 4 him.²¹ Messala Valerius added that the oath in Tiberius' name should be renewed
 annually; and, when asked by Tiberius whether it was on his instruction that he
 had produced such a suggestion, he responded that he had spoken spontaneously
 and that in matters which pertained to the state he would resort to no one's coun-
 sel but his own, even at the risk of offense.²² (That was the only display of syco-
 5 phancy left to be tried.) The fathers shouted unanimously that the body should
 be carried to the pyre on the shoulders of senators; but Caesar relieved them with

19. The reference here is to the *first* meeting of the senate (1.8.1 below), the date of which is unknown (4 September has been suggested). The "reluctance" in question is Tiberius' refusal to speak, at this first meeting, about the formalization of his own position; three reasons for this reluctance are given in the following parenthesis. See *Tac. Rev.* 53–9.

20. Nearly all auxiliary cohorts were formed of noncitizens (see App. B), but in emergencies Roman citizens (usually volunteers) could be enrolled as auxiliaries, and their units were designated as by T. here. Cf. 1.31.4 and n.

21. C. Asinius Gallus, consul in 8 B.C. and proconsul of Asia two years later, was son of C. Asinius Pollio (1.12.4n.) and in the Tiberian books is mentioned more than any other individual apart from members of the imperial family and Sejanus. L. Arruntius was consul in A.D. 6 and is also prominent in Books 1–6. See esp. 1.13.1–3 below.

22. M. Valerius Messalla Messalinus (consul in 3 B.C.) was son of the famous orator M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus (3.34.2).

arrogant restraint and warned the people by edict that, whereas they had once disrupted the funeral of Divine Julius by their excessive enthusiasm, they should not prefer Augustus to be cremated in the forum rather than the Plain of Mars, his appointed resting-place.²³

On the day of the funeral soldiers stood as if forming a garrison, much to the derision of those who had seen personally or who had heard from their parents about that day of still undigested servitude and of freedom served up again unsuccessfully, when the slaughter of the dictator Caesar seemed to some the worst of acts, to others the finest. Now, they said, an elderly princeps, despite the longevity of his power, and having even provided the state with resources in the form of heirs, would evidently require protecting by military assistance to ensure that his burial was peaceful!

Afterward there was much conversation about Augustus himself, with the majority in empty wonder that the day of his first receiving command all that time ago was the same as the last of his life, and that he had ended his life in the same bedroom of the house at Nola as his father, Octavius. Also celebrated was the number of his consulships, in which he had equaled Valerius Corvus and C. Marius jointly;²⁴ the continuation of his tribunician power for thirty-seven years; the name of "commander," acquired twenty-one times;²⁵ and his other honors, whether multiplied or novel.

Among the perspicacious, however, his life was variously extolled or criticized. The former said that, because of devotion to his parent and the requirements of the state, in which at that time there had been no place for law, he had been driven to civil war, which could be neither prepared for nor maintained by good behavior. He had made many concessions to Antonius while avenging himself on the killers of his father, many to Lepidus; after the latter had aged from apathy, and the former had been sunk by his lusts, there had been no other remedy for his disaffected fatherland than that it be ruled by one man. Yet it was neither on kingly rule nor dictatorship but on the name of "princeps" that the state had been based. The empire was cordoned by the sea of Ocean or distant streams; legions, provinces, fleets, everything was interconnected; there was legality among citizens, restraint among allies; the City itself was magnificent in its apparel; just a few things had been handled by force to ensure peace for the rest.

It was said on the other side that devotion to his parent and the times in the state had been taken up as a screen; in reality it was in a desire for domination that veterans had been mustered by his lavishness, an army procured by a juvenile in his private capacity, a consul's legions bribed, and support for the Pom-

23. Augustus' famous mausoleum (see App. C) was in the Plain of Mars.

24. M. Valerius Corvus (4th cent. B.C.) was traditionally a six-times consul, C. Marius was consul seven times between 107 and 86 B.C.

25. Here "commander" refers to military acclamations (see App. A) and not to Augustus' title as "emperor."

2 peian party pretended.²⁶ Subsequently, when by a decree of the fathers he had assailed the fasces and prerogative of a praetor, after the slaughter of Hirtius and Pansa (whether they had been carried off by the enemy, or Pansa by poison poured into a wound and Hirtius by his own soldiers and by Caesar's engineering of guile) he had taken over the forces of both.²⁷ The consulship had been extorted from an unwilling senate, and the arms which he had been given to deal with Antonius were turned against the state. The proscription of citizens and distributions of land had not been praised even by those who did them. Of course the ends of Cassius and the Bruti had been a concession to paternal antagonisms (although it was proper to forgo private hatreds for the public good); but Pompeius had been deceived by a phantom peace, Lepidus by a display of friendship; and subsequently Antonius, enticed by the Tarentine and Brundisian treaties and by a wedding to his sister,²⁸ had paid the penalty of a guileful relationship with his death. Peace there had been without doubt after that, but gory: there had been the Lollian and Varian disasters, and the killing at Rome of Varrones, Egnatii, and Iulli.²⁹

5 Nor was there any abstention from family matters. Nero's wife had been abducted from him, and there was the mockery of consulting pontiffs on the question whether it was right for her to wed after conceiving but before producing a child.³⁰ [. . .] and Vedius Pollio's luxuriousness.³¹ Finally there was Livia, her burden on the state as a mother being matched by that on the Caesars' family as a stepmother.³² Nothing was left with which to honor the gods, since he wished himself to be worshiped with temples and with the likenesses of a divinity by

6 flamines and priests. Not even Tiberius had been adopted as successor through any affection or any concern for the state, but, because he had had insight into the man's arrogance and savagery, by the basest of comparisons he had sought glory for himself. (Indeed a few years before, when Augustus was again demand-

26. The references are to 44 B.C.

27. The reference is to the battle of Mutina in 43 B.C., in which the consuls A. Hirtius and C. Vibius Pansa participated.

28. The "phantom peace" is the treaty of Misenum in 39 B.C.; the "display of friendship" is the triumvirate (above, 1.1.1n.). The treaties of Tarentum and Brundisium were in 37 and 40 B.C. respectively, Antony's marriage to Octavia being an element of the latter.

29. M. Lollius' disaster in Germany was 16 B.C.; for Varus' see 1.3.6n. Varro Murena and Egnatius Rufus were executed for conspiracy in 22 and 19 B.C.; Iullus Antonius was forced to commit suicide in 2 B.C. for adultery with Julia.

30. Ti. Claudius Nero was compelled to divorce Livia in 39 B.C. so that Octavian could marry her (see further 5.1.1–2).

31. This sentence begins with a textual corruption which may perhaps hide another proper name or may be a sign that something more extensive has been omitted by mistake. Vedius Pollio was a friend of Augustus and noted for his wealth and cruelty.

32. She had given birth to Tiberius and was allegedly responsible for the deaths of Gaius and Lucius Caesar (1.3.3) and Agrippa Postumus (cf. 1.6.3).

ing tribunician power from the fathers for Tiberius, despite an honorific speech he had tossed out some comments on his demeanor, lifestyle, and habits in order to decry what he seemed to defend.)

As for his burial, once it had been completed according to custom, a temple and heavenly rituals were decreed.³³ Prayers were then redirected toward Tiberius; and he for his part began to talk variously about the magnitude of command and his own limitations: only Divine Augustus had been mentally capable of such a great undertaking on his own; having himself been summoned by Augustus for partnership in his cares, he had learned by experience how steep, how exposed to fortune, was the burden of ruling everything. Accordingly, in a community supported by such numbers of illustrious men, it should not be the case that they tendered all things to a single individual: several would more easily carry out the responsibilities of state by sharing the labors.

More in such a speech was impressive than credible; and Tiberius' words, even on matters which he was not for concealing, were—whether by nature or habit—always weighed and dark; but on that occasion, when he was striving to hide his feelings deep down, their extra complication led to uncertainty and ambiguity. But the fathers, whose one dread was that they seemed to understand,³⁴ poured out complaints, tears, and vows; they were stretching out their hands to the gods, to Augustus' likeness, to the man's own knees, when he ordered a booklet to be produced and read out. Its contents were the public resources, what numbers of citizens and allies under arms, how many fleets, kingdoms and provinces, taxes and revenues, and also necessary expenses and lavishments—all of which Augustus had listed in his own hand, and had added the counsel of confining the empire within its boundaries (whether in dread or through resentment being uncertain).

With the senate meanwhile prostrating itself in the basest protestations, Tiberius by chance said that, although he was unequal to the state as a whole, he would undertake the protection of whatever part was entrusted to him. Thereupon Asinius Gallus said, "My question, Caesar, is which part of the state you wish to be entrusted to you." Shocked by the unforeseen question, he fell silent for a while; then, collecting himself, he replied that it was not at all consistent with his reserve to choose or avoid any element of that from which he preferred to be excused totally. Gallus in turn (he had inferred offense from his look) said that the purpose of his question had not been that the princeps should divide what could not be separated but that by his own admission it should be proved that the body of the state was one and needed to be ruled by the mind of one individual. He added praise of Augustus and reminded Tiberius himself of his

33. On 17 September (Sherk 1L, p. 4), at the senate's second meeting of Tiberius' principate.

34. I.e., they thought they understood what Tiberius had said and were therefore singularly afraid (so *Tac. Rev.* 48–9); the usual interpretation is that the senators had indeed understood Tiberius but were afraid lest they should seem to him to have understood.

own victories and of the exceptional actions which he had performed in the toga over so many years.³⁵ But Gallus did not thereby assuage the other's anger, since he had long been resented on the grounds that, having taken in marriage Vipsania (M. Agrippa's daughter, who had once been Tiberius' wife), he had intentions beyond those of an ordinary citizen and retained the defiance of Pollio Asinius, his father.³⁶

After this L. Arruntius caused similar offense with a speech not very different from that of Gallus, although Tiberius felt no inveterate anger toward Arruntius; but, as the man was rich, always at the ready, and of exceptional qualities with a matching reputation publicly, he was suspected. For Augustus in his closing conversations—when he was handling the question of those who, though likely competent, would decline to acquire the princeps's position; those who, though no match for it, would want it; and those who were both able and desirous—had said that M. Lepidus was capable but would spurn it,³⁷ Gallus Asinius greedy and inferior, and L. Arruntius not unworthy and, if the chance were given, likely to dare it. (About the former two there is a consensus; instead of Arruntius some have transmitted Cn. Piso,³⁸ and indeed all of them besides Lepidus were trapped by various subsequent charges set up by Tiberius.)

Q. Haterius and Mamercus Scaurus also grated on his suspicious mind, Haterius when he had said "How long will you allow yourself, Caesar, not to attend as head of the state?" Scaurus because he had said that, since the princeps had not intervened against the consuls' motion by the prerogative of his tribunician power, there was hope that the senate's pleas would not be unavailing.³⁹ Against Haterius he inveighed at once; Scaurus, for whom his ire was more implacable, he passed over in silence. And, exhausted by the shouting of everyone and the solicitations of individuals, he gradually changed tack—not to the point of admitting that he was undertaking command, but to that of ceasing to refuse and to be asked. (It is agreed that, when Haterius had entered the Palatium to beg forgiveness and was groveling at the knees of Tiberius as he walked along, he was almost killed by soldiers because Tiberius, whether by accident or being fettered by the man's hands, had lurched forward. Yet not even the danger to such a man did anything to soften him, until Haterius appealed to Augusta and was protected by her highly concerned pleas.)

35. The toga symbolized peace as opposed to war (cf. 11.7.3).

36. The famous and multitalented C. Asinius Pollio had been consul in 40 B.C.

37. M. Aemilius Lepidus, consul in A.D. 6, features prominently in T's Tiberian narrative: see esp. 4.20.2.

38. This is T's first reference to Cn. Calpurnius Piso (consul in 7 B.C.), the opponent of Germanicus (2.43.2–4 onward) and subject of the "Senate's Decision Concerning Cn. Piso the Elder" (above, page xv).

39. Q. Haterius had been suffect consul in 5 B.C.; Mamercus Aemilius Scaurus would become suffect consul in A.D. 21.

There was considerable sycophancy from the fathers toward Augusta too. Some proposed calling her "Mother of the Fatherland," others its "Parent," but the majority that "Son of Julia" be an extra title to Caesar's name. But he for his part—insisting that honors for females should be limited and that he would employ the same control with those which were bestowed on himself, but in reality tense with resentment and interpreting her womanly elevation as depreciation of himself—allowed not even a lictor to be decreed for her and forbade an Altar of Adoption and other things of this type. Yet for Germanicus Caesar he requested proconsular command, and legates were dispatched to tender it and at the same time to offer condolences on his sorrowfulness at the passing of Augustus. (The reason why the same was not demanded on behalf of Drusus was that Drusus was consul designate and present.)

He nominated twelve candidates for the praetorship, the number transmitted by Augustus; and, when the senate urged him to augment it, he pledged on oath that he would not exceed it. It was then that elections were first transferred from the Plain to the fathers.⁴⁰ (Up to that day, although the most important were at the princeps's discretion, some were nevertheless subject to the support of the tribes.) The people for their part did not complain at being deprived of their prerogative, except in hollow rumor, and the senate, released as it was from lavishments and sordid appeals, gladly grasped it, while Tiberius limited himself to recommending no more than four candidates to be designated without objection and canvassing.

Meanwhile the tribunes of the plebs sought to produce, at personal expense, games which, as additions to the *fasti*, would be called "Augustal" from Augustus' name. But the money was decreed from the treasury, and in the circus triumphal clothing should be worn;⁴¹ riding in a chariot was not permitted. Subsequently as an annual celebration they were transferred to the praetor who was allotted jurisdiction between citizens and foreigners.

★

This was the condition of City affairs when mutiny befell the Pannonian legions, not from any novel causes except that it was a change of princeps which offered the license for disruption and, resulting from civil war, the hope of prizes.

40. The Plain of Mars was the meeting-place for the "centuriate assembly," responsible for the election of consuls and praetors. T's reference to "tribes" in the next sentence suggests an allusion to the "tribal assembly," which met in the forum and was responsible for the election of lesser magistrates. But the precise significance of his remarks here is highly controversial. For the technical terms see *OCD* 372–3 s.v. *comitia*.

41. I.e., by the tribunes. The term "*fasti*" (above) designates either (as here) a calendar of annual festivals, from which Ovid's poem *Fasti* takes its name, or (as at 3.17.4–18.1) a list of officeholders, especially consuls. See further *OCD* 588.

2 need or injuries. C. Plinius, the writer of the Germanic wars,⁸⁹ transmits that she
 3 stood at the head of the bridge, extending praise and gratitude to the returning
 4 legions. That made an unusually deep penetration into Tiberius' mind: it was not
 the case that her concerns were straightforward, he reflected, nor was it with the
 aim of opposing foreigners that she was seeking the soldiers' affections⁺; nothing
 was left for commanders when a female visited the maniples, inspected the
 standards, experimented with lavishness—as though she did too little canvassing
 when she carried around the leader's son in a trooper's dress and wanted him
 called Caesar Caligula! Already Agrippina was more influential with the armies
 5 than legates, than leaders: the woman had suppressed a mutiny which the princeps's
 name had been unable to stop. These thoughts were kept burning and piled high
 by Sejanus, who, with his experience of Tiberius' behavior, sowed hatreds for the
 distant future, to be stored away and brought out when grown.

70 As for Germanicus, of the legions which he had brought by ship, he transferred
 the Second and Fourteenth to P. Vitellius for leading on an overland journey,
 so that the fleet would be lighter when floating on the shallows or running
 2 aground at the ebb.⁹⁰ At first Vitellius had a peaceful journey, the ground being
 dry or the incoming tide only moderate; but later under the onslaught of the
 north wind, coinciding as it did with the constellation of the equinox (when the
 Ocean's swell is greatest),⁹¹ his driving column was caught and driven about. In
 fact the land was covered over: strait, shore, and plains all had the same appearance,
 3 nor could unstable parts be differentiated from firm, shoal from deep. They
 were knocked over by billows, swallowed up by maelstroms; baggage—animals,
 packs, lifeless bodies flowed past or bumped into them. The maniples became
 thoroughly mixed up among themselves, sometimes protruding as far as the
 chest, sometimes only the face, and on occasion, with the ground swept from under
 them, scattered or overwhelmed. No voice or mutual encouragements gave help
 in the onrushing waves; nothing distinguished the energetic from the shirker,
 the wise from the incautious, calculation from chance: everything was engulfed
 in equal violence.

4 Eventually Vitellius, struggling out to higher ground, led his column up to the
 same place. They passed the night without comestibles, without fire, many with
 their bodies naked or mauled, no less pitiable than men invested by an enemy:
 for then one still has the resort of an honorable death, whereas theirs was an
 5 inglorious extermination. Daylight restored the land, and they penetrated as far as

89. The elder Pliny was a prolific author (see further 13.20.2n.) and uncle of T.'s friend, the younger Pliny. According to the latter (*Letters* 3.5.4) the exact title of his uncle's work was *Bella Germaniae* or "Wars in Germany," which T. typically avoids.

90. Vitellius was uncle of the future emperor and a member of Germanicus' entourage (see 2.6.1); he will feature prominently in the trial of Cn. Piso (see 2.74.2, 3.10.1, 13.2, 19.1). For his death see 5.8.1–2.

91. Some associated the autumn equinox with a particular constellation responsible for storms.

the stream for which Caesar had been making with his fleet. Thereupon the legions were embarked, with the report spreading that they had been drowned; nor was there any belief in their safety until it was seen that Caesar and his army had returned.

Already Stertinius, sent ahead to receive Segestes' brother Segimerus in surrender, had led the man and his son to the community of the Ubii. Pardon was given to each, easily to Segimerus, more hesitatingly to the son, because he was said to have made sport of the body of Quintilius Varus. As for replenishing the army's losses, the Galliae, the Spains, and Italy competed in offering what each of them had ready: arms, horses, gold. Praising their enthusiasm, Germanicus took for the war only arms and horses, using his own money to help the soldiers. And in order to assuage the memory of the disaster by affability also, he went around the injured and extolled the actions of individuals; examining their wounds, he used hope with one, glory with another, and dialogue and concern with everybody to stiffen them both for his own sake and for battle.

★

Decreed in that year were triumphal insignia to A. Caecina, L. Apronius, and C. Silius for their achievements alongside Germanicus. Tiberius rejected the name "Father of the Fatherland," which had been thrust upon him quite often by the people; nor, despite its proposal by the senate, did he allow the swearing of obedience to his enactments,⁹² insisting that all the affairs of mortals were uncertain and that, the more he acquired, the more slippery his ground. Yet he did not thereby engender belief that he was citizenlike in spirit: he had brought back the law of treason.

This had the same name in the time of the ancients, but different matters came to court, such as the impairment of an army by betrayal or of the plebs by sedition or, in fine, of the sovereignty of the Roman people by maladministration of the government. Actions were prosecuted, talk had impunity. Augustus was the first to handle a trial of defamatory documents under the category of that law, being roused by the passion with which Cassius Severus had defamed illustrious men and ladies in provocative writings;⁹³ subsequently Tiberius, consulted by the praetor Pompeius Macer on the question whether legal proceedings would be allowed in cases of treason, replied that the laws should be enforced. He too had been stung by the publication of poems, of uncertain authorship, against his savagery and haughtiness and his disaffected relations with his mother.

It will not be irksome to record the charges brought in the test cases of Faianus and Rubrius, modest Roman equestrians, in order to become acquainted

92. The oath to uphold the enactments of a princeps (and of his predecessors) became a regular ritual on 1 January each year: see further 4.42.3, 13.11.1, and 16.22.3.

93. Cassius Severus, one of the principal orators of the Augustan principate, had been exiled for treason in A.D. 8 or 12: see further 4.21.3.

with the initial phases from which, given the degree of Tiberius' skill, a form of extermination of the utmost severity crept in, was then suppressed, and finally flared up and gripped everything. Faianius' accuser hurled at him the charges that, among the worshipers of Augustus (who were maintained in every house in the manner of colleges),⁹⁴ he had affiliated one Cassius, a mime disgraced for his use of his body,⁹⁵ and that, when selling his garden, he had disposed of a statue of Augustus at the same time. Rubrius' charge was that he had violated the divinity of Augustus by perjury. When these matters became known to Tiberius, he wrote to the consuls that the reason for decreeing a place in heaven to his father had not been that the honor should be turned into the ruin of citizens: the actor Cassius, among others of the same profession, had been accustomed to attend the games which his own mother had consecrated to Augustus' memory; nor was it contrary to religion that likenesses of the latter should be included in the sales of gardens and houses in the same way as were the representations of other divinities. As for the oath, it should be valued exactly as if the man had sworn falsely by Jupiter: the gods' injuries were the gods' concern.

Not long afterward Granius Marcellus, praetor⁹⁶ of Bithynia, was arraigned for treason by his own quaestor, Caepio Crispinus, with the supporting signature of Romanus Hispo. (He⁹⁷ entered upon a form of life which afterward was made notoriously common by the wretchedness of the times and the boldnesses of men: needy, nameless, and restless as he wormed his way, using his secret documents, into the princeps's savagery, he subsequently made defendants of all the most brilliant people and, having achieved power in his dealings with one man and hatred in his dealings with everyone, set an example which was followed by those who, transformed into the rich and dreaded from being poor and contemptible, contrived ruin for others and, ultimately, themselves.) He incriminated Marcellus for having held malicious conversations about Tiberius—an inescapable charge, since the accuser selected the foulest of the princeps's habits and blamed their dissemination on the defendant (and in fact, because they were true, they were believed actually to have been spoken). Hispo added that Marcellus' statue had been sited higher than those of the Caesars and that on another statue Augustus' head had been sliced off and Tiberius' likeness imposed. At this Tiberius flared up to such an extent that, shattering his taciturnity, he announced that he too would express an opinion in the case, openly and on oath, so that the

94. In domestic houses there were evidently unofficial groups, as if modeled on the official colleges (for which see App.A), devoted to the cult of Rome's first emperor. We must remember that many such houses would have a substantial establishment.

95. Here "mime" means an actor in mimes, evidently a different form of entertainment from the pantomime (above, 1.54.2n.); see *OCD* 982. T.'s description of Cassius indicates a pathic homosexual.

96. An archaism for "proconsul": see further App.A.

97. Whether Hispo or Crispinus is meant is debated. But "He" at 1.74.3 below is Crispinus.

same constraint⁹⁸ should apply to the others. Even then there remained traces of dying freedom: so Cn. Piso said, "In what place will you vote, Caesar? If first, I shall have something to follow; if after everyone else, I am afraid lest I dissent improvidently." Shaken by these words, and passive from penitence at having boiled over too incautiously, he allowed the defendant to be released from the charges of treason; the question of extortion went to the recoverers.⁹⁹

Not sated with the trials held by the fathers, he sat in on the courts (at the edge of the tribunal, to avoid evicting the praetor from his curule chair), and in his presence many decisions were made in the face of bribery and the prayers of the powerful. But the contribution to truth was the corruption of freedom.

Meanwhile Pius Aurelius, a senator, complaining of subsidence to his house from a massive public road and an aqueduct, called upon the fathers' aid. On the resistance of the treasury praetors, Caesar came to his rescue and granted Aurelius the value of his house, desirous as he was of expending money honorably—a virtue which he retained long after he started to cast aside the rest. On Propertius Celer, a praetorian seeking exemption from his rank because of poverty, he lavished a million sesterces, once it had been sufficiently discovered that his straitened circumstances were hereditary. When others made similar attempts, he ordered them to prove their cases to the senate—his desire for strictness making him sour even in those matters where he acted with propriety. The rest therefore preferred silence and poverty to confession and generosity.

In the same year the Tiber, swollen by constant deluges, had flooded flat areas of the City; its recession was followed by the wreckage of buildings and people. Asinius Gallus therefore proposed appealing to the Sibylline books. Tiberius refused, his protective screen as much around divine affairs as human; but the remedy for confining the river was entrusted to Ateius Capito and L. Arruntius.¹⁰⁰ As for Achaëa and Macedonia, begging to be excused their burdens,¹⁰¹ it was decided that for the present they should be relieved of proconsular command and transferred to Caesar.

Drusus presided at a gladiatorial production which he had put on in the names of his brother Germanicus and himself—rejoicing excessively in albeit worthless blood, something which alarmed the public and which his father too was said to have criticized. As to why Tiberius himself kept away from the spectacle, there were various interpretations, some saying it was because of his aversion to gatherings, some his grimness of temperament and dread of comparison, because Augustus had attended affably. (I am not inclined to believe that his son was allowed

98. Viz. of taking an oath; the result would have been a collective judgment such as that mentioned at 4.21.3.

99. A board of assessors but still called by an old name which reflected their original function.

100. For Capito see 3.75.1n.; for Arruntius see 1.8.3n.

101. I.e., taxation.