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A
TREATISE
ON THE
SITUATION, MANNERS, AND INHABITANTS,
OF
GERMANY;
AND
THE LIFE OF AGRICOLA;
BY
C. CORNELIUS TACITUS;
" "
TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH
BY JOHN AIKIN.
WITH COPIOUS NOTES.

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PREFACE.

A SMALL volume which I offered some time ago to the public, consisting of Tacitus's *Life of Agricola*, in the original and in an English translation, was principally designed to furnish youth, either at a place of education, or in their private studies, with an agreeable specimen of that excellent author, in a form which might encourage them to commence an acquaintance with his works. The attempt was honoured with a reception which produced a demand for a republication. But, in the mean time, the admirable edition of Tacitus lately published at Paris by

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M. Brotier* falling into my hands, I was led to consider the subject in a different view ; and could not but wish to make such use of the valuable materials before me, as might adapt my translation to the purposes of a higher class of readers. Upon this plan, I thought it would be unnecessary to reprint the Latin ; and that its place might be advantageously supplied by adding another piece of the same author, equally detached and complete with the *Life of Agricola*, and perhaps still more instructive and interesting. The *Treatise on the Manners of the Germans* has ever been esteemed as one of the most precious relics of the political or historical writings of antiquity ; and by the course of events has been rendered

* In Four Volumes 4to. The first edition is dated 1771.

more important to modern times than its author probably expected, who could scarcely foresee that the government, policy, and manners of the most civilized parts of the globe, were to originate from the woods and desarts of Germany. It is unnecessary to enlarge upon the merits of a work, the great value and authority of which are sufficiently manifested by the use which some of the most eminent modern writers have made of it. A defect under which it labours is, that the conciseness both of matter and style which characterizes its author, prevails in it to such a degree as to render in many places either the sense less clear, or the information less perfect than might have been wished. No part of Tacitus, therefore, stood so much in need of a learned and judicious commentator; and such an one in the fullest extent it has found in M. Brotier, from whose excellent notes

I have liberally borrowed whatever seemed necessary as an explanation, or useful as an illustration of the text.

Still further convinced of the preference due to close and accurate translation, whenever the matter of the original is singular or important, I have aimed at nothing so much as clearly and precisely to reflect the author's meaning. The *Treatise on Germany*, indeed, from the nature of its subject effectually precluded any attempts at ornamental language or harmonious period. And even in the more rhetorical *Life of Agricola*, accuracy appeared to me of so much greater importance than the elegant flow of a sentence, that in order to obtain it I have very frequently deviated from my former translation. So numerous, indeed, are the alterations, that the correctness of my first attempt will probably be

much impeached by them. For this deficiency, the only apology I have to offer is the want at that time of such an edition as M. Brotier's, which, besides its many ingenious comments on difficult passages, suggests several happy emendations of the mutilated text.

The reader will please to observe that all the notes to both treatises are extracted from M. Brotier, except a few, to which a particular signature is annexed.

A

TREATISE

ON THE

SITUATION, MANNERS, AND INHABITANTS

OF

GERMANY^{1.}.

GERMANY² is separated from Gaul, Rætia³, and Pannonia⁴, by the rivers Rhine and Danube; from Sarmatia and Dacia, by mountains⁵ and mutual dread. The rest is surrounded by an ocean, forming extensive bays, and including vast insular

^{1.} THIS Treatise was written in the year of Rome 851, and in that from the birth of Christ 98; during the fourth consulate of the emperor Nerva, and the third of Trajan.

^{2.} The Germany here meant is that beyond the Rhine. The *Germania Cisrhænana*, divided into the Upper and Lower, was a part of *Gallia Belgica*.

^{3.} Rætia comprehended the country of the *Grisons*, with part of *Suabia* and *Bavaria*.

^{4.} *Lower Hungary*, and part of *Austria*.

^{5.} The *Crapack mountains* in *Upper Hungary*.

tracts⁶, in which our military expeditions have lately discovered various nations and kingdoms⁷. The Rhine, issuing from the inaccessible and precipitous summit of the Rætic Alps⁸, after a moderate flexure to the West, flows into the Northern Ocean. The Danube, poured from the easy and gentle elevation of the mountain Abnoba⁹,

⁶ *Scandinavia* and *Finland*, of which the Romans had a very slight knowledge, were supposed to be islands.

⁷ This circumstance is well illustrated by an inscription on a monument now extant at *Ponte Lugano* near *Trivoli*, of Plantius Ælianus, proprietor of Mæsia, who is mentioned as having “brought over and made tributary above 100,000 of the Transdanubians, with their wives, children, chiefs, and kings; repressed a beginning revolt of the Sarmatians; influenced certain kings, before unknown or hostile to the Roman people, to adore the Roman standards on the bank which he guarded; restored to the kings of the Bastarnæ and Rhoxolani their sons, to those of the Dacians their brothers, taken prisoners or carried off by their enemies; received hostages from others, by whose means he had secured and promoted the peace of the province.”

⁸ The mountains of the *Grisons*. That in which the Rhine rises is at present called *Vogelberg*.

⁹ Now called *Schwartz-wald*, or the *Black Forest*. Count Marsili, in 1702, traced the origin of the Danube, which had long been unknown, to this place. The

visits several nations in its course, till at length it disembogues by six channels into the Pontic Sea¹: a seventh is swallowed up in marshes.

I should imagine that the people of Germany are indigenous², without having received any mixture from the emigrations or visits of foreigners³.] For the emigrants-

lower part of the Danube was anciently called *Ister*; which name, according to Pliny, was applied to the river as soon as it reached Illyricum.

¹ Now the *Black Sea*. A Jesuit, in a letter from Constantinople written in 1713, relates, that the current of the Danube, distinguished by its peculiar colour, flows from the Black Sea quite to the Mediterranean, so that ships in entering the sea of Marmora from the Archipelago, have the full stream of the river against them. Something similar is mentioned by Pliny, L. iv. 12. who says, that "each of the mouths of the "Danube is so large, that the sea is overpowered by "the river for the space of forty miles, and tastes sweet."

² The ancient writers called all nations *indigenous*, and as it were sprung from the earth, of whose origin they were ignorant. Increased knowledge, and particularly the more accurate investigation of different languages, has taught the moderns better: and all the learned now agree, that the Germans are of Scythian derivation.

³ Tacitus himself, on the other hand, in this Treatise, mentions the Gauls, Gothini, and Osi as foreigners. The learned in Germany, however, suppose that the

of former ages performed their expeditions not by land, but by water⁴; and that immense, and, if I may so call it, hostile ocean, is rarely navigated by ships from our world⁵. Then, besides the dangers of a boisterous and unknown sea, who would relinquish Asia, Africa, or Italy, to settle in Germany; a land rude in its surface, rigorous in its climate, cheerless to the beholder and cultivator, unless it were his native country? In their ancient songs⁶, which are their only records or annals, they celebrate the god

Germans were by no means mixed with these visitors and emigrants, but always kept the national rights within themselves, and considered the others only as a sort of aliens.

⁴ On the contrary, the first emigrations were by land; and it was not till the arts had made considerable progress, that nations embarked in fleets in search of new settlements.

⁵ Drusus, father of the emperor Clandius, was the first Roman general who navigated the German Ocean. The difficulties and dangers which Germanicus met with from the storms of this sea, are related in Tacitus's Annals, ii. 23.

⁶ All barbarous nations, in all ages, have applied verse to the same use, as is still found to be the case among the N. American Indians. Charlemagne, as we are told by Eginhart, "wrote out and committed to memory barbarous verses of great antiquity, in which the actions and wars of ancient kings were recorded."

Tuisto⁷, sprung from the earth, and his son Mannus, as the fathers and founders of their race. To Mannus they ascribe three sons, from whose names⁸ the people bordering on the ocean are called Ingævones; those inhabiting the central parts, Hermiones; the rest, Istævones. Some⁹, however, assuming the licence of antiquity, affirm, that there were more descendants of

⁷ The learned Leibnitz supposes this Tuisto to have been the Teut or Teutates so famous throughout Gaul and Spain, who was a Celto-Seythian king or hero, and subdued and civilized a great part of Europe and Asia. Various other conjectures have been formed concerning him and his son Mannus, but most of them extremely vague and improbable. Among the rest, it has been thought that in Mannus and his three sons an obscure tradition is preserved of Adam, and his sons Cain, Abel, and Seth; or of Noah, and his sons Shem, Ham, and Japhet.

⁸ Conringius intrerprets the names of the sons of Mannus into *Ingäff*, *Istäf*, and *Hermin*.

⁹ Pliny, iv. 14. embraces a middle opinion between these, and mentions five capital tribes. The Vindili, to whom belong the Burgundiones, Varini, Carini, and Guttones; the Ingævones, including the Cimbri, Teutoni, and Chauci; the Istævones, near the Rhine, part of whom are the midland Cimbri; the Hermiones, containing the Suevi, Hermunduri, Catti, and Cherusci; and the Peucini and Bastarnæ, bordering upon the Dacians.

the god, from whom more appellations were derived ; as those of the Marsi, Gambivii, Suevi, and Vandali¹ ; and that these are the genuine and original names².—That of Germany, on the other hand, they assert to be modern, and lately applied³ :—for that those who first crossed the Rhine, and expelled the Gauls, and are now called Tungri, were then named Germans ; which appellation of a particular tribe, not of a whole people, gradually prevailed ; so that the title of Germans, first assumed by the victors in order to excite terror, was after-

¹ The Vindili of Pliny. These are they who carried terror into Gaul, Spain, Africa, and Italy, and were at length cut off in Africa. Of the above names, that of the Suevi is the only one now remaining.

² That is, those of the Marsi, Gambivii, &c. Those of Ingævones, Istævones, and Hermiones, were not so much names of the people, as terms expressing their situation. For, according to the most learned Germans, the Ingævones are *die Innwohner*, those dwelling inwards, towards the sea ; the Istævones, *die Vestwohner*, the inhabitants of the western parts ; and the Hermiones, *die Herrumwohner*, the midland inhabitants.

³ It is however found in an inscription so far back as the year of Rome 531, before Christ 222, recording the victory of Claudio Marcellus over the Galli Insubres, and their allies the Germans, at Clastidium, now *Chiastezzo* in the *Milanese*.

wards adopted by the nation in general⁴. They have likewise the tradition of a Hercules⁵ of their country; whose praises they sing before those of all other heroes as they advance to battle.

A peculiar kind of verses are also current among them, by the recital of which, termed *barding*⁶, they stimulate their

⁴ This is illustrated by a passage in Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.* ii. 4. where, after mentioning that several of the Belgæ were descended from the Germans who had formerly crossed the Rhine and expelled the Gauls, he says, “the first of these emigrants were the Condrusii, Eburones, Cœresi, and Pœmani, who were called by the common name of Germans.” The derivative of German is *Wehr mann*, a warrior, or man of war. This appellation was first used by the victorious Cisrheneane tribes, but not by the whole Transrheneane nation, till they gradually adopted it, as equally due to them on account of their military reputation. The Tungri were formerly a people of great name, the relics of which still exist in the extent of the district now termed the ancient diocese of *Tongres*.

⁵ Almost every warlike nation has had its Hercules, or person famous for bodily strength and great exploits, of whom it has boasted. Some learned men, too, suppose, that the leaders of those Asiatic colonies which occupied the various countries of Europe, had all the common appellation of Hercules.

⁶ This term is supposed to be expressive of the bellowing of the stag, an animal familiar to the German

courage ; while the sound itself serves as an augury of the event of the impending combat. For according to the nature of the cry proceeding from the line, terror is inspired or felt : nor does it seem so much a musical exercise, as the chorus of valour. A harsh, piercing note, and a broken murmur, are chiefly effected ; which they render more full and sonorous by applying their mouths to their shields⁷. Some imagine

and Gallic hunters. Hence is derived the word Bard, the minstrels of those people, who recited their verses in a tone resembling that noise. These celebrated personages are finely commemorated by Lucan, in the following passage.

Vos quoque, qui fortes animas, belloque peremptos,
Laudibus in longum vates dimittitis ævum,
Plurima securi fudistis carmina Bardi.

LIB. i. 447.

You too, ye Bards ! whom sacred raptures fire,
To chaunt your heroes to your country's lyre ;
Who consecrate, in your immortal strain,
Brave patriot-souls in righteous battle slain ;
Securely now the tuneful task renew,
And noblest themes in deathless songs pursue.

ROWE.

The North American war-whoop appears to be very similar to the ancient German battle-cry.

⁷ In the following passage of the Life of Sir Ewen Cameron, *Pennant's Tour*, 1760, Append. p. 363, is a very curious coincidence with the ancient German opinion concerning the prophetic nature of the war-cry

that Ulysses, in the course of his long and fabulous wanderings, was driven into this ocean, and landed in Germany; and that Asciburgium^s, a place situated on the Rhine, and at this day inhabited, was founded by him, and named *Asciwugyia*. They pretend that an altar was formerly discovered here, consecrated to Ulysses, with the name of his father Laertes sub-

or song. At the battle of Killicrankie, just before the fight begun, "he (Sir Ewen) commanded such of the "Camerons as were posted near him to make a great "shout, which being seconded by those who stood on "the right and left, run quickly through the whole "army, and was returned by the enemy. But the "noise of the muskets and cannon, with the echoing "of the hills, made the Highlanders fancy that their "shouts were much louder and brisker than those of "the enemy; and Lochiel cried out, 'Gentlemen, "take courage, the day is our's: I am the oldest com- "mander in the army, and have always observed "something ominous and fatal in such a dull, hollow, and "feeble noise as the enemy made in their shout, which "prognosticates that they are all doomed to die by our "hands this night; whereas our's was brisk, lively, and "strong, and shews we have vigour and courage.' "These words spreading quickly through the army, "animated the troops in a strange manner. The event "justified the prediction: the Highlanders obtained a "complete victory."

^s Now *Asburg* in the county of *Meurs*.

joined ; and that certain monuments and tombs, inscribed with Greek characters⁹, are still extant upon the confines of Germany and Rætia. These allegations I shall neither attempt to confirm nor to refute : let every one believe concerning them as he is disposed.

I concur in opinion with those who suppose the Germans never to have inter-married with other nations ; but to be a people peculiar, unmixed, and resembling one another alone. Hence the same constitution of body pervades the whole, though their numbers are so great :—fierce blue eyes ; ruddy hair ; large bodies¹, powerful in sudden exertions, but less firm under

⁹ The Greeks, by means of their colony at *Marseilles*, introduced their letters into Gaul, and the old Gallic coins have many Greek characters in their inscriptions. The Helvetians also, as we are informed by Cæsar, used Greek letters. From thence they might easily pass by means of commercial intercourse to the neighbouring Germans. Count Marsili and others have found monuments with Greek inscriptions in Germany, but not of so early an age.

¹ The large bodies of the Germans are elsewhere taken notice of by Tacitus, and also by other authors. It would appear as if most of them were at that time at least six feet high. They are still accounted some of the tallest people in Europe.

toil and labour, least of all capable of sustaining thirst and heat. Cold and hunger they are accustomed by their climate and soil to endure.

The land, though somewhat varied in its aspect, is yet universally shagged with forests, or deformed by marshes : moister on the side of Gaul, more exposed to wind on the side of Noricum and Pannonia². It is sufficiently productive of grain, but unfavourable to fruit trees³. It abounds in flocks and herds, but in general of a small breed. Even the beeve kind are destitute of their usual stateliness and dignity of head⁴. They are, however, numerous,

² *Bavaria and Austria.*

³ The greater degree of cold when the country was overspread with woods and marshes, made this observation more applicable then, than at present. The same change of temperature from clearing and draining the land, has taken place in North America. It may be added, that the Germans, as we are afterwards informed, paid attention to no kind of culture but that of corn.

⁴ The cattle of some parts of Germany are at present remarkably large ; so that their former smallness must have rather been owing to want of care in feeding them and protecting them from the inclemencies of winter, and in improving the breed by mixtures, than to the nature of the climate.

and form the most esteemed, and, indeed, the only species of wealth. [Silver and gold, the gods, I know not whether in their indulgence or displeasure, have denied to this country⁵. Not that I would assert that no veins of these metals are generated in Germany; for who has made the search? The people are not in the same manner affected towards the use and possession of them as we are. Vessels of silver are, indeed, to be seen among them, which have been presented to their ambassadors and chiefs; but they are held in no higher estimation than earthenware.] The borderers, however, set a value on gold and silver for the purposes of commerce, and have learned to distinguish several kinds of our coin, some of which they prefer to others: the remoter inhabitants continue the more simple and ancient usage of bartering commodities. The money preferred by the Germans is the old and well known species, such as the *Serrati* and *Bigati*⁶.

⁵ Mines both of gold and silver have since been discovered in Germany; the former, indeed, inconsiderable; but the latter, valuable.

⁶ As vice and corruption advanced among the Romans, their money became debased and adulterated.

They are also better pleased with silver than gold⁷; not on account of any fondness for that metal, but because the smaller money is more convenient in their common and petty merchandize.

Even iron is not plentiful⁸ among them;

Thus Pliny, L. xxxiii. 3. relates that “ Livius Drusus “ during his tribuneship mixed an eighth part of brass “ with the silver coin ;” and, *ibid.* 9. “ that Antony “ the triumvir mixed iron with the denarius : that some “ coined base metal, others diminished the pieces, and “ hence it became an art to prove the goodness of the “ denarii.” One precaution for this purpose was cutting the edges like the teeth of a saw, by which means it was seen whether the metal was the same quite through, or was only plated. These were the *Serrati*, or serrated Denarii. The *Bigati* were those stamped with the figure of a chariot drawn by two horses, as were the *Quadrigati* with a chariot and four horses. These were old coin, of purer silver than those of the emperors. Hence the preference of the Germans to certain kinds of species was founded on their apprehension of being cheated with false money.

⁷ The Romans had the same predilection for silver coin, and probably on the same account originally. Pliny, in the place above cited, expresses his surprise that “ the Roman people had always imposed a tribute “ in silver on conquered nations; as at the end of the “ second Punic war, when they demanded an annual “ payment in silver for fifty years, without any gold.”

⁸ Iron was in great abundance in the bowels of the earth; but this barbarous people had neither patience

as may be inferred from the nature of their weapons. Swords or broad lances are seldom used ; but they generally carry a spear (called in their language *framea*⁹), which has an iron point, short and narrow, but so sharp and manageable that, as occasion requires, they employ it either in close or distant fighting¹. This spear and a shield are all the armour of the cavalry. The foot have, besides, missile weapons, several to each man, which they hurl to an immense distance². They are either skill, nor industry, to dig and work it. Besides, they made use of weapons of stone, great numbers of which are found in ancient tombs and barrows.

⁹ This is supposed to take its name from *pfriend* or *priem*, the point of a weapon. Afterwards, when iron grew more plentiful, the Germans chiefly used swords.

¹ It appears, however, from Tacitus's *Annals*, ii. 14. that the length of these spears rendered them unmanageable in an engagement among trees and bushes.

² Notwithstanding the manner of fighting is so much changed in modern times, the arms of the ancients are still in use. We, as well as they, have two kinds of *swords*, the sharp-pointed, and edged (*small sword* and *sabre*). The *broad lance* subsists in the *halberd*; the *spear* and *framea* in the *long pike* and *spoonoon*; the *missile* weapons in the *war hatchet*, or North American *tomahawk*. There are, besides, found in the old German barrows, perforated stone balls, which they threw by means of thongs passed through them.

naked, or lightly covered with a *sagum*; and have no pride in equipage: their shields only are ornamented with the choicest colours³. Few are furnished with a coat of mail⁴; and scarcely here and there one with a casque or helmet⁵. Their horses are neither remarkable for beauty nor swiftness, and are not taught the various

³ This decoration at first denoted the valour, afterwards the nobility of the bearer; and in process of time gave origin to the armorial ensigns so famous in the ages of chivalry. The shields of the private men were simply coloured; those of the chieftains had the figures of animals painted on them.

⁴ Plutarch, in his life of Marius, describes somewhat differently the arms and equipage of the Cimbri. "They wore (says he) helmets representing the heads of wild beasts, and other unusual figures, and crowned with a winged crest, to make them appear taller. They were covered with iron coats of mail; and carried white glittering shields. Each had a battle axe; and in close fight they used large heavy swords." But the learned Eccard justly observes, that they had procured these arms in their march; for the Holsatian barrows of that age contain few weapons of brass, and none of iron; but stone spear-heads, and instead of swords, the wedge-like bodies vulgarly called thunderbolts.

⁵ Casques (*cassis*) are of metal; helmets (*galea*) of leather. ISIDORUS.

movements and rotations practised with us⁶. The cavalry either bear down strait forwards, or wheel once to the right⁷, in so

⁶ The manner in which the Roman horses were trained and taught the *manege*, is most beautifully described by Virgil, in his third *Georgic*, where the following lines give a lively idea of the complex movements alluded to by Tacitus.

Carpere mox gyrum incipiat, gradibusque sonare
 Compositis, sinuetque alterna volumina crurum,
 Sitque laboranti similis.

L. 191.

Teach him to run the ring, with pride to prance;
 The plain in measured steps and time to beat,
 And in alternate paces shift his feet.
 Oft let him seem to spring with labour'd might.

WARTON.

In this last line the translator has not, I think, given an adequate interpretation of the “laboranti similis,” which, probably, refers to the laborious pacing motion between the pillars, in which the horse is made to lift his legs with great effort. J. A.

⁷ Here is a difficulty which the commentators pass over without notice. That the cavalry should always wheel to the *right* is inconceivable, since in some positions this would make them present their rear, instead of their front, to the enemy. Possibly, the phrase “dextros agunt” might be intended to signify the *dexterity* with which they performed this single evolution; since the compactness which they preserved in doing it, is immediately remarked. J. A.

compact a body that none is left behind the rest. Their principal strength, on the whole, consists in their infantry: hence, in an engagement they are intermixed with the cavalry⁸, with whom they are well qualified, from their agility, to act. For this purpose, a select body is drawn from the whole youth, and placed in the front of the line. The number of these is determined; a hundred from each canton⁹; and

⁸ This mode of fighting is admirably described by Cæsar. “The Germans engaged after the following manner. There were 6000 horse, and an equal number of the swiftest and bravest foot; who were placed man by man, by the cavalry, for their protection. By these they were attended in battle; to these they retreated; and these, if they were hard pressed, joined them in the combat. If any fell wounded from their horses, by these they were covered. If it were necessary to advance or retreat to any considerable distance, such agility had they acquired by exercise, that supporting themselves by the horses manes, they kept pace with them.” *Bell. Gall.* i. 48.

⁹ To understand this it is to be remarked, that the Germans were divided into *nations* or *tribes*; these into *cantons*; and these into *districts* or *townships*. The cantons (*pagi* in Latin) were called by themselves *Gowen*. The districts or townships (*vici*) were called *Hunderte*; whence the English *Hundreds*. The name

they are distinguished at home by a name expressive of this circumstance ; so that what at first was only an appellation of number, becomes thenceforth a title of honour. Their line of battle is disposed in wedges¹. To give ground, provided they rally again, is considered rather as a prudent stratagem, than cowardice. They carry off their slain even in dubious fights. The greatest disgrace that can befall

given to these select youth, according to the learned Dithmar, was *die hunderte*—hundred-men. From the following passage in Cæsar it appears that in the more powerful tribes a greater number was selected from each canton. “The nation of the Suevi is by far the greatest and most warlike of the Germans. They are said to inhabit a hundred cantons ; from each of which a thousand men are sent annually to make war out of their own territories. Thus neither the employments of agriculture, nor the use of arms are interrupted.” *Bell. Gall.* iv. 1. The warriors were summoned by the *heribannum*, or army-edict ; whence is derived the French *arriere-ban*.

¹ A wedge is described by Vegetius (iii. 19.) as a body of infantry, narrow in front, and widening towards the rear, by which disposition they were enabled to break the enemy’s ranks, as all their weapons were directed to one spot. The soldiers called it a *boar’s head*.

them is to have quitted their shields². A person branded with this ignominy is not permitted to join in their religious rites, or enter their assemblies; so that many, after escaping from battle, have put an end to their infamy by the halter.

In the election of kings they have regard to birth; in that of military commanders³, to valour. Their kings have not an abso-

² It was also considered as the height of injury to charge a person with this unjustly. Thus by the *Salic law*, tit. xxxiii. 5. a fine of 600 denarii (about £9.) is imposed upon “every free-man who shall accuse another of throwing down his shield, and running away, without being able to prove it.”

³ Vertot (*Mem. de l' Acad. des Inscript.*) supposes that the French *Maires du Palais* had their origin from these German military leaders. If the kings were equally conspicuous for valour as for birth, they united the regal with the military command. Generally, however, several kings and generals were assembled in their wars. In this case the most eminent commanded and obtained a common jurisdiction in war, which did not subsist in time of peace. Thus Cæsar (*Bell. Gall.* vi.) says, “in peace they have no common magistracy.” A general was elected by placing him on a shield, and lifting him on the shoulders of the bystanders. The same ceremonial was observed in the election of kings.

lute or unlimited power⁴; and their generals command less through the force of authority, than of example. If they are daring, adventurous, and conspicuous in action, they procure obedience from the admiration they inspire. None, however, but the priests⁵ are permitted to chastise delinquents, to inflict bonds or stripes; that it may appear not as a punishment, or in consequence of the general's order, but as the instigation of the god whom they suppose present with warriors. They also carry with them to battle, images and standards taken from the sacred groves⁶.

⁴ Hence Ambiorix, king of the Eburones, declared that “the nature of his authority was such, that the people had no less power over him, than he over the people.” Cæsar *Bell. Gall.* v. The authority of the North American chiefs is almost exactly similar.

⁵ The power of life and death, however, was in the hands of magistrates. Thus Cæsar: “when a state engages either in an offensive or defensive war, magistrates are chosen to preside over it, and exercise power of life and death.” *Bell. Gall.* vi. The infliction of punishments was committed to the priests, in order to give them more solemnity, and render them less invidious.

⁶ This was in order further to enforce the same idea

It is a principal incentive to their courage, that their squadrons and battalions are not formed by men fortuitously collected, but by the assemblage of families and clans. Near them are ranged the dearest pledges of their affection: so that they have within hearing the yells of their women, and the cries of their children. These, too, are the most respected witnesses, the most liberal applauders, of the conduct of each. To their mothers and wives they bring their wounds; and these are not shocked⁷ at counting, and even requiring⁷ them. They also carry food and encouragement⁸ to those who are engaged.

of a divine presence. The images were of wild beasts, the types and ensigns of their national religion (see Tacitus's *Hist.* iv. 22.): the standards were such as had been taken from the enemy, and were hung up in their groves to the deity of the place.

⁷ Instead of the Latin word answering to this *exigere*, some read *exsugere*, “to suck the wounds.” This, however, is an unauthorized reading, and less in the manner of the author. The word “requiring” strongly expresses the savage fortitude of the German women, who would even receive their husbands and children with reproaches, if they left the field unwounded.

⁸ *Cibos et hortamia*: “Food and encouragement”—

Tradition relates, that armies beginning to give way have been brought again to the charge by the women, through the earnestness of their entreaties, the opposition of their bodies², and the pictures they have drawn of imminent slavery¹; a calamity which these people bear with more impatience on their women's account than their own; so that those states who have been obliged to give among their hostages.

one of the *points*, frequently to be met with in Tacitus, like the “mountains and mutual dread” in the first sentence of this treatise.. Some annotators, not entering into this mark of character in the historian's style, have interpreted *hortamina* “refreshments”; and as food was before related, have supposed it to mean wine or ale. J. A.

² They not only interposed to prevent the flight of their husbands and sons; but, in desperate emergencies, themselves engaged in battle. This happened on Marius's defeat of the Cimbri (hereafter to be mentioned); and Dio relates, that when Marcus Aurilius overthrew the Marcomanni, Quadi, and other German allies, the bodies of women in armour were found among the slain.

¹ Thus, in the army of Ariovistus, the women, with their hair dishevelled, and weeping, besought the soldiers not to deliver them captives to the Romans. Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.* i.

the daughters of noble families, are the most effectually engaged to fidelity². They even suppose somewhat of sanctity and prescience to be inherent in the female sex; and therefore neither despise their counsels³, nor disregard their responses⁴.

² Relative to this, perhaps, is a circumstance mentioned by Suetonius in his life of Augustus. "From some nations he attempted to exact a new kind of hostages, women; because he observed that those of the male sex were disregarded." *Aug.* xxi.

³ See the same observations with regard to the Celtic women, in Plutarch *on the virtues of women*. The North Americans pay a similar regard to their females.

⁴ A remarkable instance of this is given by Cæsar. "When he inquired of the captives the reason why Ariovistus did not engage, he learned, that it was because the matrons, who among the Germans are accustomed to pronounce, from their divinations, whether or no a battle will be favourable, had declared that they would not prove victorious, if they should fight before the new moon." *Bell. Gall.* i. The cruel manner in which the Cimbrian women performed their divinations, is thus related by Strabo. "The women who follow the Cimbri to war, are accompanied by grey-haired prophetesses, in white vestments, with canvas mantles fastened by clasps, a brazen girdle, and naked feet. These go with drawn swords through the camp, and striking down those of the prisoners that they meet, drag them to a brazen kettle, holding

We have beheld, in the reign of Vespasian, Veleda⁵ long reverenced by many as a deity. They formerly also venerated Aurinia, and several others; but without adulation, or as if they intended to make them goddesses⁶.

Of the gods, Mercury is the principal object of their adoration⁷; whom, on

"about twenty amphoræ. This has a kind of stage
"above it, ascending on which, the priestess cuts the
"throat of the victim, and from the manner in which
"the blood flows into the vessel, judges of the future
"event. Others tear open the bodies of the captives
"thus butchered, and from inspection of the entrails,
"presage victory to their own party." *Lib. vii.*

⁵ She was afterwards taken prisoner by Rutilius Gallicus. Statius in his *Sylvæ*, i. 4. refers to this event. Tacitus has more concerning her in his *History*, iv. 61.

⁶ Because at that period, the superstition which made deities of them, did not prevail. Thus Tacitus in his account of Veleda—"according to the ancient custom of the Germans, which attributed a prophetic character to many of their women, and as superstition advanced, regarded them as divinities." *Hist. iv. 61.* They were afterwards so immoderately addicted to this opinion, that, among the monuments of German antiquity, altars and inscriptions occur, to the matrons of the Suevi, Treveri, Aufani, &c.

⁷ Tacitus here seems to disagree with Cæsar, who

certain days, they think it lawful to propitiate even with human victims. To

says, “ They reckon those alone in the number of gods “ which are the objects of their perception, and by “ whose attributes they are visibly benefited; as the “ Sun, the Moon, and Vulcan. The rest they have not “ even heard of.” *Bell. Gall.* vii. If the different periods, however, are considered, there will not be the least disagreement between the two authors. In the time of Cæsar, the Germans had those deities which are common to almost all uncivilized nations, the Sun, the Moon, and Vulcan, or Fire; which, whether elicited from flint—excited by the violent attrition of two pieces of wood, as at this day practised by the American savages—felt in thermal waters—or seen amidst the roar of thunders in lightning—was equally the object of their admiration and reverence. Afterwards, by their connection with the Gauls and Romans, they received Mercury, Mars, and Hercules, the worship of whom prevailed in the age of Tacitus. In process of time, Neptune, and the rest of the heathen deities, arrived in Germany. With respect to Mercury, the Germans worshipped him on the same accounts as the Gauls are said to do by Cæsar. “ Among the gods, they principally “ adore Mercury, of whom the most images are to be “ seen. Him they regard as the inventor of all arts; “ the patron of roads and journeys; and the most potent “ in bestowing gain of money or merchandize.” *Bell. Gall.* vi. Hence, when in ancient times there was great commercial intercourse at the Aquæ Helvetiæ, now called *Baden*, and this was the road into Helvetia, Mer-

Hercules and Mars they offer the animals usually allotted for sacrifice⁸; and some of the Suevi also perform sacred rites to Isis⁹.

cury was worshipped there with peculiar reverence, in a neighbouring mountain and wood.

⁸ It is probable that human sacrifices were also occasionally offered to these. With respect to Mars, the fact is undoubted, at least in time of war. Thus, in the *Annals*, xiii. 57. Tacitus relates that the Catti “de-“ voted the opposite army to Mars and Mercury; in “consequence of which vow, men, horses, and every “thing belonging to the vanquished, are given up to “utter destruction.” Procopius, also, in his *Gothic War*, B. ii. mentions instances of men being sacrificed to Mars. As the Germans were of Scythian origin, they retained much of the religion of their Scythian ancestors, concerning which see *Herodotus*, iv. 59, &c. Lucan, enumerating the Gallic nations who followed Cæsar, speaks of those

----- quibus immitis placatur sanguine diro
Teutates, horrensque feris altaribus Hesus.
Et Taranis Scythicæ non mitior ara Dianæ.

LIB. I. 444.

----- where Hæsus' horrid altar stands,
Where dire Teutates human blood demands;
Where Taranis by wretches is obey'd,
And vies in slaughter with the Scythian Maid.

ROWE.

⁹ The religious rites of Ægypt spread over Europe and Asia. Inscriptions have been found in Germany, not only to Isis, but to Serapis; and the learned Schoepflin, in his *Alsatia Illustrata*, exhibits various

What was the cause and origin of this foreign worship, I have not been able to discover; further than that her being represented by the figure of a galley, seems to indicate a religion brought from abroad¹. They conceive it unworthy the grandeur of celestial beings to confine their deities within walls, or to represent them under a human similitude²: woods and groves are

other remains of Ægyptian superstition among the Germans. The representation of Isis under the figure of a galley is illustrated by Muratori, in his *Thesaur. Inscript. Tom. i.* p. 25; where the goddess Clathra, who is the same with Isis, is exhibited, holding in her right hand a *sistrum* and serpent; in her left, an instrument to measure the rise of the Nile; with a *calathus* upon her head; and a galley in the back ground. As the Germans did not represent their deities under human forms, the Suevi worshipped Isis in the figure of a galley; for that they, who inhabited the banks of the Elbe and Danube, should borrow from merchants, or the Romans, the worship of this patron-deity of navigators, is not at all wonderful.

¹ As the Romans in their ancient coins, many of which are now extant, recorded the arrival of Saturn by the stern of a ship; so other nations have frequently denoted the importation of a foreign religious rite by the figure of a galley on their medals.

² They afterwards changed their opinions in this respect, and erected temples and statues to their deities.

their temples; ³ and they affix names of divinity to that secret power, ⁴ which they behold with the eye of adoration alone.

No people are more addicted to the

In a coin of Posthumus, a temple is represented, in the vestibule of which Hercules is placed, with the inscription, “To the Deusonensian Hercules.” Deusone is beyond the Rhine. The temple of Tanfana is mentioned even by Tacitus, *Annal.* i. 51.

³ Several of these sacred groves are mentioned in different parts of Tacitus. Claudian, in his praises of Stilicho, mentions the forests being freed from barbarous superstitions, and restored to pleasure and utility.

Ut procul Hercyniæ per vasta silentia sylvæ
Venari tuto liceat, lucosque vetusta
Relligione truces, et robora numinis instar
Barbarici, nostræ feriant impune secures.

I. 228.

Through the deep silence of Hercynian wilds
Safe roams the hunter; and the gloomy groves,
Horrid with antique rites; and frowning oaks,
Gods of the forest, by our daring steel
Fall unreveng'd.

⁴ Seneca, in his 41st epistle, thus expresses this idea. “ If you walk in a grove, thick-planted with ancient trees of unusual growth, the interwoven boughs of which exclude the light of heaven; the vast height of the wood, the retired secrecy of the place, the deep unbroken gloom of shade, impress your mind with the conviction of a present deity.” Pliny (xii. 1.) briefly observes, “ Groves, and the very stillness which reigns in them, are objects of our adoration.”

methods of divining by omens and lots. The latter is performed in the following simple manner. They cut a twig⁵ from a fruit-tree, and divide it into small pieces, which, distinguished by certain marks, are thrown promiscuously upon a white garment. Then, the priest of the state, if the occasion be public; if private, the master of the family; after an invocation of the gods, with his eyes lifted up to heaven, thrice takes out each piece, and, as they come up, interprets their signification according to the marks fixed upon them. If they prove unfavourable, they are no more consulted on the same affair that day: if propitious, a confirmation by omens is still required. In common with other nations,

⁵ The Scythians are mentioned by Herodotus, and the Alans by Ammianus Marcellinus, as making use of these divining rods. The German Method of divination with them is illustrated by what is said by Saxo-Grammaticus (*Hist. Dan.* xiv. 288.) of the inhabitants of the isle of Rugen in the Baltic sea. “ Throwing “ by way of lots, three pieces of wood, white in one part, “ and black in another, into their bosoms, they foretold “ good fortune by the coming up of the white; bad, by “ that of the black.”

the Germans are acquainted with the practice of auguring from the voices and flight of birds ; but it is peculiar to them also to derive admonitions and presages from horses⁶. Certain of these animals, milk-white, and untouched by earthly labour, are pastured at the public expence in the sacred woods and groves. These, yoked to a consecrated chariot, are accompanied by the priest, and king, or chief person of the community, who attentively observe their manner of neighing and snorting ; and no kind of augury is more credited, not only among the populace, but the nobles and priests. For they consider themselves [during this ceremony] as the ministers of the gods ; and the horses, as conscious to

⁶ The Persians had also this practice, as appears from Herodotus. Darius was elected king by the neighing of a horse ; sacred white horses were in the army of Cyrus ; and Xerxes, retreating after his defeat, was preceded by the sacred horses, and consecrated chariot. Justin (i. 10.) mentions the cause of this superstition ; viz. that “ the Persians believed the sun to be the only “ God, and horses to be peculiarly consecrated to him.” The priest of the isle of Rugen also took auspices from a white horse, as may be seen in *Saxo-Grammaticus*.

the divine will. Another kind of divination by which they explore the event of momentous wars, is to oblige a prisoner, taken by any means whatsoever from the nation with whom they are at variance, to fight with a picked man of their own, each with his own country arms ; and, according as the victory falls, they presage success to one or the other party ⁷.

On affairs of smaller moment, the chiefs consult ; on those of greater importance, the whole community ; yet with this circumstance, that what is referred to the decision of the people, is maturely discussed by the chiefs ⁸. They assemble, unless upon some sudden emergency, upon stated days, either at the full or change of the

⁷ Hence *duelling*, that monument of ferocity and superstition, was long considered as an appeal to the judgment of Heaven.

⁸ This remarkable passage, so curious in political history, is commented on by Montesquieu in his *Spirit of Laws*, vi. 11. That celebrated author expresses his surprise at the existence of such a balance between liberty and authority in the forests of Germany ; and traces the origin of the English constitution from this source. Tacitus again mentions the German form of government in his *Annals*, iv. 33.

moon, which they account the most auspicious season for beginning any enterprise². Nor do they, in their computation of time, reckon, like us, by the number of days, but of nights. In this form all their resolutions and summonses run ; so that with them, the night seems to lead the day¹. An inconvenience produced by their liberty is, that they do not all assemble punctually to the same time, as if it were in obedience to a command ; but two or three

² No superstition was more ancient and widely diffused, than the notion of lunar influence over human affairs ; which, in this age of light and knowledge, is not totally eradicated. The extravagant powers attributed to the moon may be seen in Pliny's *Nat. Hist.* ii. 99.

¹ The high antiquity of this mode of reckoning appears from the book of Genesis. “The evening and “the morning were the first day.” The Gauls, we are informed by Cæsar, “assert that, according to the “tradition of their Druids, they are all sprung from “Father Dis ; on which account they reckon every “period of time according to the number of nights, not “of days ; and observe birth-days and the beginning of “months and years in such a manner, that the day “seems to follow the night.” *Bell. Gall.* vi. 18. The vestiges of this method of computation still appear in the English language, in the terms *se'might* and *fortnight*.

days are lost in the delays of convening. When the number appears sufficient; they sit down armed². Silence is proclaimed by the priests, who have also on this occasion a coercive power. Then the king, or chief, with such as are conspicuous for age, birth, military renown, or eloquence³, are heard ; and gain attention rather from their ability to persuade, than their authority to command. If a proposal displease, the assembly reject it by an inarticulate murmur ; if it prove agreeable, they clash their javelins⁴: for the most honourable expression of assent among them is the sound of arms.

² And in an open plain. Vast heaps of stone still remaining, denote the scenes of these national councils. See Mallet's *Introduct. to Hist. of Denmark*. The English *Stonehenge* has been supposed a relick of this kind. In these assemblies are seen the origin of those which under the Merovingian race of French kings were called *the fields of March* : under the Carlovingian, *the fields of May* ; then, *the plenary courts of Christmas and Easter* ; and lastly, *the States General*.

³ The power of eloquence is great among all uncivilized people. Remarkable instances of it occur among the North American savages.

⁴ The speech of Civilis was received with this expression of applause. Tacitus *Hist.* iv. 15.

Before this council, it is likewise allowed to present accusations, and to prosecute capital offences. Punishments are varied according to the nature of the crime. Traitors⁵ and deserters are hung upon trees⁶: cowards, effeminate persons⁷, and

⁵ Thus Tassilo, Duke of Bavaria, being convicted of treachery, was condemned to death by the Franks, Bavarians, Lombards, Saxons, and others assembled in council; but through the clemency of Charlemagne, his head was shaved, and he was thrown in a monastery. Eccard, *De rebus Franciæ Orientalis*, Tom. i. p. 725.

⁶ Gibbeted alive. Heavy penalties were denounced against those who should take them down, alive or dead. These are particularized in the Salic law.

⁷ It has been seen before, p. 19. that cowardly and effeminate persons were suffered to live, though with merited ignominy. Who then are they whose cowardice is made a capital crime? Probably those who having given their names to the military levies, refused to go to war. Cæsar (*Bell. Gall.* vi. 22.) mentions that those who refused to follow their chiefs to war, were considered as deserters and traitors. And afterwards the emperor Clothaire made the following edict, preserved in the Lombard law. “ Whatever freeman, “ summoned to the defence of his country by his Count, “ or his officers, shall neglect to go, and the enemy enter “ the country to lay it waste, or otherwise damage our “ liege subjects, he shall incur a capital punishment.” As the crimes of cowardice, treachery, and desertion

those guilty of unnatural practices⁸, are suffocated in mud under a hurdle. This difference of punishment has in view the principle, that villainy should be exposed while it is punished, but turpitude concealed. The penalties annexed to slighter offences⁹, are also proportioned to the delinquency. The culprits are fined in horses and cattle¹: part of the

were so odious and ignominious among the Germans, we find by the Salic law that penalties were annexed to the unjust imputation of them.

⁸ These were so rare and so infamous among the Germans, that barely calling a person by a name significant of them was severely punished.

⁹ Among these *slighter offences*, however, were reckoned homicide, adultery, theft, and many others of a similar kind. This appears from the laws of the Germans, and from a subsequent passage of Tacitus himself.

¹ These were at that time the only riches of the country, as was already observed in this treatise. Afterwards gold and silver became plentiful: hence all the mulcts required by the Salic law are pecuniary. Money, however, still bore a fixed proportion to cattle; as appears from the Saxon law, *Tet. xviii.* “The *Solidus* “is of two kinds; one contains two *tremisses*, that is a “beeve of twelve months, or a sheep with its lamb; the “other, three *tremisses*, or a beeve of sixteen months.

mulct² goes to the king or state; part to the injured person, or his relations. In the same assemblies chiefs³ are also elected, to administer justice through the cantons and

"Homicide is compounded for by the lesser *solidus*; other crimes by the greater."

² This mulct is frequently in the Salic law called *fred*, that is *peace*; because it was paid to the king or state as guardians of the public peace.

³ A brief account of the civil œconomy of the Germans will here be useful. They were divided into *nations*; of which some were under a regal government, others a republican. The former had *kings*, the latter *chiefs*. Both in kingdoms and republics, military affairs were under the conduct of the *generals*. The *nations* were divided into *cantons*; each of which was superintended by a *chief*, or *count*, who administered justice in it. The *cantons* were divided into *districts* or *hundreds*, so called because they contain a hundred *vills* or *townships*. In each hundred was a *companion*, or *centenary*, chosen from the people, before whom small causes were tried. Before the *count*, all causes, as well great as small, were amenable. The centenaries are called *companions* by Tacitus, after the custom of the Romans; among whom the titles of honour were, Cæsar, the *Legatus* or Lieutenant of Cæsar, and his *comites*, or companions. The courts of justice were held in the open air, on a rising ground, beneath the shade of an oak, elm, or some other large tree.

districts. A hundred *companions* chosen from the people attend upon each of them, to assist them as well with their advice as their authority.

Every affair, both public and private, is transacted by them armed⁴: but it is not customary for any person to assume arms till the state has approved his ability to use them. Then, in the midst of the assembly, either one of the chiefs, or the father, or a relation, equips the youth with a shield and javelin⁵. These are to them

⁴ Even judges were armed on the seat of justice. All the people of German origin still retain the custom of wearing swords as a part of their dress, when they appear in public. The Romans, on the contrary, never went armed but when actually engaged in military service.

⁵ These are the rudiments of the famous institution of chivalry. The sons of kings appear to have received arms from foreign princes. Hence, when Audoin, after overcoming the Gepidi, was requested by the Lombards to dine with his son Alboin, his partner in the victory, he refused: for, says he, “you know it is not customary with us for a king’s son to dine with his father, until he has received arms from the king of another country.” Warnefrid, *De gestis Langobardorum*, i. 23.

the *manly gown*⁶; this is the first honour conferred on youth: before this period they are considered as part of a private family; afterwards, of the state. The dignity of chieftain is bestowed even on youths, where their descent is eminently illustrious, or their fathers have performed signal services to the public. The rest are associated with those of mature strength and approved valour; nor is it disgraceful to be seen in the rank of *companions*⁷. For the state of

⁶ An allusion to the *toga virilis* of the Romans. The German youth were presented with the shield and spear probably at twelve or fifteen years of age. This early initiation into the business of arms, gave them that warlike character for which they were so celebrated. Thus, Seneca (*Epist. 46.*) says, “A native of Ger-
“many brandishes, while yet a boy, his slender javelin.” And again, in his book *on Anger*, i. 11. “Who are
“braver than the Germans? who more impetuous in the
“charge? who fonder of arms? in the use of which they
“are born and nourished; which are their only care:
“who more inured to hardships? insomuch that for the
“most part they provide no covering for their bodies, no
“retreat against the perpetual severity of the climate.”

⁷ The German word *Gesell* is peculiarly appropriated to these comrades in arms. So highly were they esteemed in Germany, that for killing or hurting them a fine was exacted treble to that for other freemen.

companionship itself has its several degrees, determined by the judgment of the patron ; and there is a great emulation among the companions, which shall possess the highest place in the favour of their chief ; and among the chiefs, which shall excel in the number and valour of their companions : It is their dignity, their strength, to be always surrounded with a large body of select youth, their ornament in peace; their defence in war. Nor at home alone; but among the neighbouring states, their fame and glory depend upon exceeding others in the number and bravery of their companions. Such are courted by embassies ; distinguished by presents ; and often by their reputation alone decide a war.

In the field of battle, it is disgraceful for the chief to be surpassed in valour ; it is disgraceful for the companions not to equal their chief ; but it is reproach and infamy during a whole succeeding life to retreat from the field surviving him^a. To aid, to

^a Hence, when Chonodomarus, king of the Alamanni, was taken prisoner by the Romans, “ his companions, two hundred in number, and three friends peculiarly attached to him, thinking it infamous to

protect him; to place their own gallant actions to the account of his glory; is their first and most sacred engagement. The chiefs fight for victory; the companions for their chief. If their native country be long sunk in peace and inaction, many of the young nobles repair to some other state, then engaged in war. For, besides that repose is ungrateful to their dispositions, and toils and perils afford them a better opportunity of distinguishing themselves; they are unable, without war and violence, to maintain a large train of followers. The companion requires from the liberality of his chief, the warlike steed, the bloody and conquering spear: and in place of pay, he expects to be supplied with a table, homely indeed, but plentiful⁹. The funds

“survive their prince, or not to die for him, surrendered themselves to be put in bonds.” *Ammianus Marcellinus.*

⁹ From hence Montesquieu (*Spirit of Laws*, xxx. 3.) justly derives the origin of *Vassalage*. At first, the prince gave to his nobles arms and provision; as avarice advanced, money, and then lands were required, which from benefices became at length hereditary possessions, and were called *fiefs*. Hence the establishment of the *feudal system*.

for this munificence must be in war and rapine; nor are they so easily persuaded to cultivate the earth, and await the produce of the seasons, as to challenge the foe, and hazard wounds; for they think it base and spiritless to earn by sweat, what they might purchase with blood.

During the intervals of war, they pass their time less in hunting than in indolent repose¹; given up to sleep and repasts. All the bravest of the warriors, committing the care of the house, the family affairs, and the lands, to the women, old men, and weaker part of the domestics, stupify themselves in inaction: so wonderful a contrast prevails in their nature, that they at the same time should thus love indolence, and

¹ Cæsar with less precision, says, "The Germans pass their whole lives in hunting and military exercises." *Bell. Gall.* vi. 21. The picture drawn by Tacitus is more consonant to the genius of a barbarous people; besides that, hunting being the employment but of a few months of the year, a greater part must necessarily be passed in indolence by those who had no other occupation. In this circumstance, and those afterwards related, the North American Savages exactly agree with the ancient Germans.

hate tranquillity². It is customary for the several states to present, of their own accord, and man by man³, cattle or grain⁴ to their chiefs; which contributions, accepted as honorary gifts, also serve as necessary supplies⁵. They are peculiarly pleased with

² This apparent contradiction is however perfectly agreeable to the principles of human nature. Among people governed by impulse more than reason, every thing is in the extreme: war and peace; motion and rest; love and hatred; none are pursued with moderation.

³ These are the rudiments of tributes; though the contributions here spoken of were voluntary, and without compulsion. The origin of exchequers is pointed out above, where “part of the mulct” is said to be “paid “to the king or state.” Taxation was taught the Germans by the Romans, who levied taxes upon them:

⁴ So in after-times, when tributes were customary, 500 oxen or cows were required annually from the Saxons by the French kings Clothaire I. and Pepin. See *Eccard*, tom. i. p. 84 and 480. Honey, corn, and other products of the earth were likewise received in tribute. *Ibid.* p. 392.

⁵ For the expences of war, and other necessities of state, and particularly the public entertainments. Hence, besides the *Steora*, or annual tribute, the *Osterstuopha*, or Easter cup, previous to the public assembly of the *fields of March*, was paid to the French kings.

presents from neighbouring nations, such as are offered not only by individuals, but the community at large; as fine horses, heavy armour, rich housings, and gold chains. We have now taught them also to accept of money⁶.

It is well known that none of the German nations inhabit cities⁷; or even admit of contiguous settlements. They dwell, scattered and separate, as each is determined to a particular spot by a spring, a field, or a grove. Their villages are laid out, not like ours in rows of joining buildings; but every one surrounds his house with a vacant space⁸, either by way of

⁶ This was a dangerous lesson, and which in the end proved ruinous to the Roman empire. Herodian says of the Germans in his time, “They are chiefly to be prevailed upon by bribes; being fond of money, and continually selling peace to the Romans for gold.” *Lib. vi.* 139.

⁷ This custom was of long duration; for there is not the mention of a single city in Ammianus Marcellinus, who wrote on the wars of the Romans in Germany. The names of places in Ptolemy (ii. 11.) are not therefore those of cities, but of scattered villages. The Germans had not even what we should call towns, notwithstanding Cæsar asserts the contrary.

⁸ This space, surrounding the house, and fenced in

security against fire ⁹, or through ignorance of the art of building. For, indeed, they are unacquainted with the use of mortar and tiles; and for every purpose employ rude unsightly materials, void of all ornament. They bestow more than ordinary pains in rubbing over some places with a kind of earth ¹, so pure and shining that it gives the appearance of painting. They also dig subterranean caves ², and cover them

by hedges, was that celebrated *Salic land*, which descended to the male line, exclusively of the female.

⁹ The danger of fire was particularly urgent in time of war; for as Cæsar informs us, these people were acquainted with a method of throwing red hot clay bullets from slings, and burning javelins, on the thatch of houses. *Bell. Gall.* v. 42.

¹ This earth, which must have been either a chalk or a white clay, was probably dug from their own mountains. Some might be brought from Britain, which, as appears from certain inscriptions, at that time had a trade in exporting chalk.

² Thus likewise Mela, ii. 1. concerning the Sarmatians. “On account of the length and severity of their winters, they dwell under ground, either in natural or artificial caverns.” At the time that Germany was laid waste by a forty years’ war, Kircher saw many of the natives who, with their flocks, herds, and other possessions, took refuge in the caverns of the

over with a great quantity of dung. These they use as winter-retreats, and granaries³; for the severity of the cold is mitigated in them: and upon an invasion, when the open country is plundered, these recesses remain undiscovered, either because the enemy is ignorant of them, or because he will not trouble himself with the search.

The clothing common to all is a *Sagum*⁴, fastened by a clasp, or, in want of that, a

highest mountains. For many other curious particulars concerning these and other subterranean caves, see his *Mundus Subterraneus*, viii. 3. p. 100.

³ Near Newbottle, the seat of the Marquis of Lothian, are some subterraneous apartments and passages cut out of the live rock, which had probably served for the same purposes of winter-retreats and granaries as those dug by the ancient Germans, *Pennant's Tour in 1769*. 4to. p. 63.

⁴ This was a kind of mantle of a square form, called also *Rheno*. Thus Cæsar (*Bell. Gall.* vi. 21.) “They use skins for clothing, or the short *Rhenones*, and leave the greatest part of the body naked.” Isidore, xix. 23. describes the *Rhenones* as “garments covering shoulders and breast, as low as the navel, so rough and shaggy that they are impenetrable to rain.” Mela, iii. 3. speaking of the Germans, says, “The men are clothed only with the sagum, or the bark of trees, even in the depth of winter.”

thorn. With no other covering, they pass whole days on the hearth, before the fire. The more wealthy are distinguished by a vest, not flowing loose, like those of the Sarmatians and Parthians⁵ but girt close, and exhibiting the shape of every limb. They also wear the skins of beasts, which the people near the borders are less curious in selecting or preparing than the more remote inhabitants, who cannot by commerce procure other clothing. These make choice of particular furs, which they variegate with spots, and pieces of the skins of marine animals⁶, the produce of the exte-

⁵ This flowing habit of the Sarmatians and Parthians is expressed in many ancient coins. It was imitated by the Cisrheneane Vangiones, as appears from Lucan, i. 430.

Et qui te laxis imitantur, Sarmata, bracois,
Vangiones.

Vangiones, like loose Sarmatians drest,
Who with rough hides their brawny thighs invest.

ROWE.

⁶ All savages are fond of variety of colours; hence the Germans spotted their furs with the skins of other animals, of which those here mentioned were probably of the seal kind. This practice is still continued with

rior ocean, and seas to us unknown⁷. The dress of the women does not differ from that of the men ; except that they more frequently wear linen⁸, which they stain with purple⁹ ; and do not lengthen their upper garment into sleeves, but leave exposed the whole arm, and part of the breast.

The matrimonial bond is nevertheless strict and severe among them ; nor are their manners in any respect more deserving of praise¹. Almost singly among the barbarians², regard to the ermine, which is spotted with black lamb's-skin.

⁷ *The Northern Sea and Frozen Ocean.*

⁸ Pliny testifies the same thing ; and adds that “ the women beyond the Rhine are not acquainted with any more elegant kind of clothing.” xix. 1.

⁹ Not that rich and costly purple in which the Roman nobility shone ; but some ordinary material, such as the *vaccinium*, which Pliny says was used by the Gauls as a purple die for the garments of the slaves. xvi. 18.

¹ The chastity of the Germans, and their strict regard to the laws of marriage, are witnessed by all their ancient codes of law. The purity of their manners in this respect afforded a striking contrast to the licentiousness of the Romans in the decline of the empire ; and is exhibited in this light by Salvian, in his treatise *De Gubernatione Dei*, L. vii.

² The Hurons in North America are said by Charlevoix to afford the same example of continence.

they content themselves with one wife ; a very few of them excepted, who not through incontinence, but because their alliance is solicited on account of their rank³, practise polygamy. The wife does not bring a dowry to her husband, but receives one from him⁴. The parents and relations interpose, and pass their approbation on the presents—presents not adapted to please a female taste, or decorate the bride ; but a yoke of oxen, a caparisoned steed, a shield, spear, and sword. By virtue of these, the wife is espoused ; who on her part also makes a present of armour to her

³ Thus we find in Cæsar (*Bell. Gall.* i. 53.) that Ariovistus had two wives. Others had more. This indulgence proved more difficult to abolish, as it was considered as a mark of opulence, and an appendage of nobility.

⁴ The Germans purchased their wives, as appears from the following clauses in the Saxon law *concerning marriage*. “ A person who espouses a wife shall pay to her parents 300 *solidi* (about £180. *sterling*) : but if the marriage be without the consent of the parents, the damsel, however, consenting, he shall pay 600 *solidi*. If neither the parents nor damsel consent, that is, if she be carried off by violence, he shall pay 300 *solidi* to the parents, and 340 to the damsel, and restore her to her parents.”

husband. This they consider as the firmest bond of union ; these, the sacred mysteries, the conjugal deities. That the woman may not think herself excused from exertions of fortitude, or exempt from the casualties of war, she is admonished by the very ceremonial of her marriage, that she comes to her husband as a partner in toils and dangers ; an equal both to suffer and to dare, in peace and in war : this is indicated by the yoked oxen, the harnessed steed, the offered arms. Thus she is to live ; thus to die. She receives what she is to return inviolate⁵ and merited to her children ; what her daughters-in-law are to receive, and again transmit to her grandchildren.

They live, therefore, in a state of well-guarded chastity ; corrupted by no seducing spectacles⁶, no convivial incitements. Men

⁵ Thus in the Saxon law, *concerning dowries*, it is said, “ The Ostfali and Angrarii determine, that if a woman have male issue, she is to possess the dower she received in marriage during her life, and transmit it to her sons.”

⁶ Seneca speaks with great force and warmth on this subject. “ Nothing is so destructive to morals as loiter-

and women are alike ignorant of the secret methods of corresponding by letters⁷. Adultery is extremely rare among so numerous a people. Its punishment is instant, and at the pleasure of the husband⁸. He

"ing at public entertainments; for vice more easily
 "insinuates itself into the heart when softened by pleasure.
 "What shall I say!—I return from them more
 "covetous, ambitious, and luxurious." *Epist. vii.*

⁷ The Latin is, simply, *literarum secreta*, "the secrets of letters." But the Germans were acquainted with the use of letters, as appears from the epistles of Maroboduus and Agandestrius in Tacitus's *Annals*, ii. 63. and 88. The arts of stolen correspondence by the secret conveyance of love-letters, may therefore be here meant. It may be observed, however, that the knowledge of letters was extremely rare among this rude and warlike people; and remained so, even among those of the highest rank, for many ages, in all the nations of German origin.

⁸ Thus in the law of the Visigoths it is provided, that,
 "If a woman commit adultery, and be not taken in the
 "fact, her husband shall accuse her before the judge,
 "by competent evidence. And if her crime appear
 "manifest, both the adulterer and the adulteress shall
 "be delivered to the husband, to do with them what he
 "shall think fit." Also, "If an adulterer and adulteress
 "be put to death by the husband or person to whom
 "the woman is betrothed, he shall not be held guilty
 "of homicide." The Burgundian law is somewhat

cuts off the hair⁹ of the offender, strips her, and in presence of her relations expels her from his house, and pursues her with stripes through the whole village¹. Nor

different. “ If a husband detect his wife in adultery, “ he may put to death both the adulterer and adulteress. “ But it is to be observed that he must kill both; otherwise, if he kill but one, he shall pay that compensation “ which the preceding laws have established.” The design of this rule seems to have been, to prevent a murder from any other cause of quarrel being attributed to this.

⁹ The Germans had a great regard for the hair, and looked upon cutting it off as a heavy disgrace; so that this was made a punishment for certain crimes, and was resented as an injury if practised upon an innocent person.

¹ From an epistle of St. Boniface, Archbishop of Mentz, to Ethelbald, King of England, we learn, that among the Saxons the women themselves inflicted the punishment for violated chastity. “ In ancient Saxony “ (now *Westphalia*) if a virgin pollute her father’s house, “ or a married woman prove false to her vows, sometimes she is forced to put an end to her own life by the halter, and over the ashes of her burned body her seducer is hanged; sometimes a troop of females assembling lead her through the circumjacent villages, lacerating her body, stripped to the girdle, with rods and knives; and thus bloody and full of minute wounds, she is continually met by new tormentors, who in their zeal for chastity do not quit her till she is dead, or

is any indulgence shewn to a prostitute. Neither beauty, youth, nor riches, can procure her a husband: for none there looks on vice with a smile, nor calls mutual seduction the way of the world. Still more exemplary is the practice of those states² in which none but virgins marry, and the expectations and wishes of a wife are at once brought to a period. Thus they take one husband as one body and one life; that no thought, no desire, may reach beyond him; and he may be loved not only as their husband, but as their marriage³. To limit

" scarcely alive, in order to inspire a dread of such offences." See Michael Alford's *Annales Ecclesiæ Anglo-Saxon.* and Eccard.

² A passage in Valerius Maximus renders it probable that the Cimbrian states were of this number. "The wives of the Teutones besought Marius after his victory that he would deliver them as a present to the Vestal virgins; affirming that they should henceforth equally with themselves abstain from the embraces of the other sex. This request not being granted, they all strangled themselves the ensuing night." *Lib. vi. No. 3.*

³ Some nations carried this idea so far, that the wife refused to survive her husband, but killed herself in order to be burnt on the same funeral pyre with him. St. Boniface, in the epistle above-cited, relates this of

the increase of children⁴, or put to death any of the husband's blood⁵, is accounted infamous: and virtuous manners have there more efficacy than good laws elsewhere⁶.

the Winedi; and Procopius of the Heruli. Some of the East-Indian tribes, it is well known, practise the same to this day.

⁴ This expression may signify as well the murder of young children, as the procurement of abortion; both which crimes were severely punished by the German laws.

⁵ “*Quenquam ex Agnatis.*” The Adgnati were those who by a relationship on the father's side became part of the family. Thus, among the Romans, adoption is said to confer not the right of blood, but of *agnation*.

⁶ Justin has a similar thought concerning the Scythians. “Justice is cultivated by the dispositions of the ‘people, not by the laws.’” ii. 2. How inefficacious the good laws here alluded to by Tacitus were in preventing enormities among the Romans, appears from the frequent complaints of the Senators, and particularly of Minucius Felix. “I behold you, exposing ‘your babes to the wild beasts and birds, or strangling ‘the unhappy wretches with your own hands. Some ‘of you, by means of drugs, extinguish the newly-‘formed man within your bowels, and thus commit ‘parricide on your offspring before you bring them ‘into the world.’” *Octavius*, ch. 30. So familiar was this practice grown at Rome, that the virtuous Pliny apologizes for it, alledging that “the great fertility of

In all their houses they grow up in nakedness⁷ and filth to that bulk of body and limb which we behold with wonder. Every mother suckles her own children, and does not deliver them into the hands of servants and nurses. The master and slave are not to be distinguished by any delicacy in bringing up. They lie together amidst the same cattle, upon the same ground, till age⁸ separates, and va-

[“] some women may require such a licence.” xxix. 4.
sect. 37.

⁷ Thus Mela, iii. 3. “They go naked in the greatest cold before they arrive at puberty ; and the period of childhood among them is of long duration.”

⁸ This age appears at first to have been twelve years ; for then a youth became liable to the penalties of law. Thus in the Salic law it is said, “if a child under twelve commit a fault, *fred*, or a mulct, shall not be required of him.” Afterwards the term was fifteen years of age. Thus in the Ripuary law, “A child under fifteen shall not be responsible.” Again, “If a man die, or be killed, and leave a son ; before he have completed his fifteenth year, he shall neither prosecute a cause, nor be called upon to answer in a suit : but at this term, he must either answer himself, or chuse an advocate. In like manner with regard to the female sex.” The Burgundian law provides to the same effect. This then was the term of *majority*, which, in later times, when heavier armour was used, was still longer delayed.

lour⁹ marks out, the free-born. The youths partake late of venereal pleasures¹, and hence pass the age of puberty unexhausted: nor are the virgins brought forward; the same maturity, the same full growth, is required: the sexes unite equally matched², and robust; and the children inherit the vigour of their parents. Children are regarded with equal affection by their

⁹ In like manner, king Theodoric, in Cassiodorus, (*Variarum, Ep. i.* 38.) determines the age of majority by military virtue. “It is an indignity that those of “our youth who are approved as fit to serve in the “army, should be called incapable of regulating their “own lives; and should be thought unable to govern “their families, and yet qualified for the business “of war. Among the Goths, valour constitutes “legitimacy of age; and he who has strength to pierce “his foe, ought to repress the attack of every vice.”

¹ This is illustrated by a passage in Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.* vi. 21. “They who are the latest in proving “their virility are most commended. By this delay “they imagine the stature is increased, the strength “improved, and the nerves fortified. To have know- “ledge of the other sex before twenty years of age, is “accounted in the highest degree scandalous.”

² Equal not only in age and constitution, but in condition. Many of the German codes of law annex penalties to those of both sexes, who marry persons of inferior rank.

maternal uncles³ as by their fathers : some even consider this as the more sacred bond of consanguinity, and prefer it in the requisition of hostages, as if it held the mind by a firmer tye, and the family by a more extensive obligation. A person's own children, however, are his heirs and successors ; and no wills are made. If there are no children, the next in order of inheritance are brothers, paternal and maternal uncles⁴. The more numerous are

³ Hence, in the history of the Merovingian kings of France, so many instances of regard to sisters and their children appear, and so many wars undertaken on their account.

⁴ The following rules of succession are established by the Salic law.

- I. " If a person die and leave no children, his father and mother, if living, inherit.
- II. " If he have no father or mother, his brothers and sisters succeed.
- III. " In default of these, the mother's sister inherits.
- IV. " And next to her, the father's sister.
- V. " After these, their issue in like manner, the next of kin of the paternal line inheriting.
- VI. " But of the *Salic land*, no part of the inheritance descends to females, but it belongs to the male sex ; that is, the sons succeed to it. When,

a man's relations and kinsmen, the more comfortable is his old age ; nor is it any advantage to be childless ⁵.

Every one is obliged to adopt the enmities ⁶ of his father or relations, as well as their friendships : these, however, are not

however, a controversy arises among grandchildren or great-grandchildren, after a long period, concerning the allodial property of the land, it is divided not according to stocks, but numbers of individuals."

To understand this last rule, it is to be observed, as the learned Eccard remarks, that at this remote period the Germans had each their house, called *Sal*, with a space about it, called *Salbuck*, the Homestead. This ground, together with the house, was the *Seliland*, or Salic land, which appertained to the male issue exclusively ; a regulation not unreasonable, as the daughters by marriage were transferred to another house and Salic land.

⁵ The court paid at Rome to rich persons without children, by the *Hæredipctæ*, or legacy-hunters, is a frequent subject of censure and ridicule with the Roman writers.

⁶ Avengers of blood are mentioned in the law of Moses, *Numb.* xxxv. 19. In the Roman law also, under the head of " those who on account of unworthiness are deprived of their inheritance," it is pronounced that " such heirs as are proved to have neglected revenging the testator's death, shall be obliged to restore the entire profits."

irreconcileable or perpetual; for even homicide is atoned⁷ by a certain fine in cattle and sheep; and the whole house accepts the satisfaction—an accommodation useful to the public, since quarrels are most dangerous in a state of liberty. No people are more addicted to social entertainments, or more liberal in the exercise of hospitality⁸. To refuse any human creature admittance under their roof, is accounted flagitious⁹. Every one according to his

⁷ It was a wise provision that among this fierce and warlike people revenge should be commuted for a payment. That this intention might not be frustrated by the poverty of the offender, his whole family were conjointly bound to make compensation. In some of the North American tribes, the village to which the murderer belongs is laid under this obligation.

⁸ All uncivilized nations agree in this property, which becomes less necessary as a nation improves in the arts of civil life.

⁹ Thus Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.* vi. 23. “They think it unlawful to offer violence to their guests, who, on whatever occasion they come to them, are protected from injury, and considered as sacred. Every house is open to them, and provision every where set before them.” Mela, iii. 3. says of the Germans, “They make right consist in force, so that they are not ashamed of robbery: they are only kind to their guests, and merciful to suppliants. The Burgundian

ability feasts his guest ; when his provisions are exhausted, he who was late the host, is now the guide and companion to another hospitable board. They enter the next house uninvited, and are received with equal cordiality. No difference is made, with respect to the rights of hospitality, between a stranger and an acquaintance. On the departure of the guest, it is customary to present him with whatever he may ask for ; and with the same freedom a boon is desired in return. They are pleased with presents ; but think no obligation incurred either when they give or receive¹.

² [Their manner of living with their guests is easy and affable.] As soon as

" law lays a fine of three *solidi* on every man who refuses
" his roof or hearth to the coming guest." The Salic
law, however, rightly forbids the exercise of hospitality
to atrocious criminals ; laying a penalty on the person
who shall harbour one who has dug up or despoiled the
dead, till he has made satisfaction to the relations.

¹ This is a striking picture of the manners of savages. Their only wish, their only concern, is Freedom.

² The clause here put within hooks is probably misplaced ; since it does not connect well either with what goes before, or what follows. J. A.

they arise from sleep, which they generally protract till late in the day, they bathe, usually in warm water³, as cold weather chiefly prevails there. After bathing they sit down to meat, each on a distinct seat, and at a separate table⁴. Then they proceed, armed, to business; and not less frequently to entertainments; where it is no disgrace to pass days and nights, without intermission, in drinking. The frequent quarrels that arise amongst them when intoxicated, terminate not so often in abusive language, as in blood and slaughter⁵. In their feasts, they generally de-

³ The Russians are at present the most remarkable among the northern nations for the use of warm bathing. Some of the North American tribes also have their hypocausts, or stoves.

⁴ Eating at separate tables is generally an indication of voracity in feeding. Traces of it may be found in Homer, and other writers who have described ancient manners. The same practice has lately been observed among the people of Otaheite; who occasionally devour vast quantities of food.

⁵ The following article in the Salic law shews at once the frequency of these bloody quarrels, and the laudable endeavours of the legislature to restrain them.
“ If at a feast where there are four or five men in

liberate on the reconcilement of enemies, on family alliances, on the appointment of chiefs, and finally on peace and war ; conceiving that at no time the soul is more opened to sincerity, or warmed to heroism. These people, naturally void of artifice or disguise, disclose the most secret emotions of their hearts in the freedom of festivity. The minds of all being thus displayed without reserve, the subjects of their deliberation are again canvassed the next day⁶ ; and each time has its advantages. They consult when unable to dissemble ; they determine when not liable to mistake.

Their drink is a liquor prepared from barley or wheat⁷ corrupted into a certain

“ company, one of them be killed, the rest shall either
 “ convict one as the offender, or shall jointly pay
 “ the composition for his death. And this law shall
 “ extend to seven persons present at an entertain-
 “ ment.”

⁶ The same custom is related by Herodotus, i. p. 63. as prevailing among the Persians.

⁷ Of this liquor, Beer or Ale, Pliny speaks in the following passage. “ The western nations have their “ intoxicating liquor, made of steeped grain. The “ Ægyptians, also, invented drinks of the same kind. “ Thus drunkenness is a stranger in no part of the

resemblance of wine. Those who border on the Rhine also purchase wine. Their food is simple ; wild fruits, fresh venison⁸, or coagulated milk⁹. They satisfy hun-

“ world ; for these liquors are taken pure, and not
 “ diluted as wine is. Yet, surely, the Earth thought
 “ she was producing corn. Oh, the wonderful sagacity
 “ of our vices ! we have discovered how to render even
 “ water intoxicating.” xiv. 22.

⁸ Mela says, “ Their manner of living is so rude
 “ and savage, that they eat even raw flesh ; either fresh
 “ killed, or softened by working with their hands and
 “ feet, after it has grown stiff in the hides of tame or
 “ wild animals.” iii. 3. Floris relates that the ferocity of the Cimbri was mitigated by their feeding on bread and dressed meat, and drinking wine, in the softest tract of Italy. iii. 3.

⁹ This must not be understood to have been cheese ; although Cæsar says of the Germans, “ Their diet
 “ chiefly consists of milk, cheese, and flesh.” *Bell. Gall.* vi. 22. Pliny, who was thoroughly acquainted with the German manners, says, more accurately, “ It
 “ is surprising that the barbarous nations who live on
 “ milk should for so many ages have been ignorant of,
 “ or have rejected, the preparation of cheese ; especially
 “ since they thicken their milk into a pleasant tart
 “ substance, and a fat butter ; this is the scum of milk
 “ of a thicker consistence than what is called the whey.
 “ It must not be omitted that it has the properties of
 “ oil, and is used as an unguent by all the barbarians,
 “ and by us for children.” xi. 41.

ger without regard to the elegancies and delicacies of the table. In quenching their thirst they are not equally temperate. If their propensity to drunkenness¹ be gratified by supplying them as plentifully as they choose, they may be subdued by their vices as easily as by arms².

They have only one kind of public spectacle, which is exhibited in every company. Young men, who make it their diversion, dance naked amidst drawn swords and presented spears. Practice has conferred skill at this exercise, and skill has given grace; but they do not exhibit for hire or gain; the only reward of this pastime, though a hazardous one, is the pleasure of the spectators. What is extraordinary, they play at dice, when

¹ Drunkenness is a vice common to all uncivilized nations, and irremediable. Janus Taddeus, as a commentary upon this passage of Tacitus, wrote a treatise *on the love of drinking among the ancient Germans*; in which he does not so much clear *them* from the charge, as extend it to other nations.

² This policy has been practised by the Europeans with regard to the North American savages, some tribes of which have been almost totally extirpated by it.

sober, as a serious business ; and that with such a desperate venture of gain or loss, that, when every thing else is gone, they set their liberties and persons on the last throw. The loser goes into voluntary servitude ; and though the youngest and strongest, patiently suffers himself to be bound and sold³. Such is their stedfast-

³ St. Ambrose has a remarkable passage concerning this spirit of gaming among a barbarous people. " It is said that the Huns, who continually make war upon other nations, are themselves subject to usurers, with whom they run in debt at play ; and that while they live without laws, they obey the laws of the dice alone ; playing when drawn up in line of battle ; carrying dice along with their arms ; and perishing more by each other's hands than by the enemy. In the midst of victory they submit to become captives, and suffer plunder from their own countrymen, which they know not how to bear from the foe. On this account they never lay aside the business of war, because, when they have lost all their booty by the dice, they have no means of acquiring fresh supplies for play, but by the sword. They are frequently borne away with such a desperate ardour, that when the loser has given up his arms, the only part of his property which he greatly values, he sets the power over his life at a single cast to the winner or usurer. It is a fact, that a person, known to the Roman

ness in a bad practice—They themselves call it honour. The slaves thus acquired are exchanged away in commerce, that the winner may get rid of the scandal of his victory.

The rest of their slaves have not, like our's, particular employments in the family allotted them. Each is the master of a habitation and household of his own. The lord requires from him a certain quantity of grain, cattle, or cloth, as from a tenant; and so far only the subjection of the slave extends ⁴. His other domestic offices are performed by his own wife and children. It is unusual to scourge a slave, or punish him with chains of hard labour. They are sometimes killed by their masters; not through severity of chastisement,

“ emperor, paid the price of a servitude which he had
“ by this means brought upon himself, by suffering
“ death at the command of his master.”

⁴ The condition of these slaves was the same as that of the vassals, or serfs, who a few centuries ago made the great body of the people in every country in Europe. The Germans, in after-times, imitating the Romans, had slaves of inferior condition, to whom the name of slave became appropriated; while those in the state of rural vassalage were called *Lidi*.

but in the heat of passion, like an enemy ; with this difference, that it is done with impunity⁵. Freedmen⁶ are little superior to slaves ; seldom filling any important office in the family ; never in the state, except in those tribes which are under regal government⁷. There, they rise above the free-born, and even the nobles : in the rest, the inferior condition of the freedmen is a proof of freedom.

Lending money upon interest, and in-

⁵ A private enemy could not be slain with impunity, since a fine was affixed to homicide ; but a man might kill his own slave without any punishment. If, however, he killed another person's slave, he was obliged to pay his price to the owner.

⁶ A slave who acquired his liberty by manumission, was called a *freedman*, but always continued in a class different from the *freemen*. When the use of money prevailed, the form of manumitting a slave was by striking a *denarius* out of his hand, in the presence of the king or state ; whence this order of men were called *denariati*. Among the Germans, if a *denariatus* died without children, his property went to the treasury, as appears from the Ripuary law.

⁷ The amazing height of power and insolence to which freedmen arrived by making themselves subservient to the vices of the prince, is a striking characteristic of the reigns of some of the worst of the Roman emperors.

creasing it by usury⁸, is unknown amongst them ; and this ignorance more effectually prevents the practice than a prohibition would do. The lands are occupied by townships⁹, in allotments proportional to the number of cultivators ; and are afterwards parcelled out among the individuals of the district, in shares according to the rank and condition of each person¹. The

⁸ In Rome, on the other hand, the practice of usury was, as our author terms it, “an ancient evil, and a ‘perpetual source of sedition and discord.’” *Annals*, vi. 16.

⁹ All the copies read *per vices*, “by turns,” or alternately ; but the connection seems evidently to require the easy alteration of *per vicos*, which has been approved by many learned commentators, and is therefore adopted in this translation. J. A.

¹ Cæsar has several particulars concerning this part of German polity. “They are not studious of agriculture, the greater part of their diet consisting of milk, cheese, and flesh ; nor has any one a determinate portion of land, his own peculiar property ; but the magistrates and chiefs allot every year to tribes and clanships forming communities, as much land, and in such situations, as they think proper, and oblige them to remove the succeeding year. For this practice they assign several reasons : as lest they should be led, by being accustomed to one spot, to exchange the toils of war for the business of agriculture ; lest they should acquire a passion for

wide extent of plain facilitates this partition. The arable lands are annually changed, and a part left fallow: nor do they attempt to vie with the fertility and extent of their country by their own industry in planting orchards, enclosing meadows, and watering gardens. Corn is the only product required from the earth: hence their year is not divided into so many seasons as our's: for while they know and distinguish by name Winter, Spring, and Summer, they are unacquainted equally with the appellation and bounty of Autumn².

" possessing extensive domains, and the more powerful
 " should be tempted to dispossess the weaker: lest they
 " should construct buildings with more art than was
 " necessary to protect them from the inclemencies of
 " the weather: lest the love of money should arise
 " amongst them, the source of faction and dissensions:
 " and in order that the people, beholding their own
 " possessions equal to those of the most powerful,
 " might be retained by the bonds of equity and mo-
 " deration." *Bell. Gall.* vi. 21.

² The Germans, not planting fruit-trees, were ignorant of the proper products of Autumn. They have now all the autumnal fruits of their climate; yet their language still retains a memorial of their ancient deficiencies, in having no term for this season of the year, but one denoting the gathering in of corn alone—*Herbst*, Harwest.

Their funerals are without pomp or state³. The only circumstance to which they attend, is to burn the bodies of eminent persons with some particular kinds of wood. Neither vestments nor perfumes are heaped upon the pile⁴: the arms of the dead, and sometimes his horse⁵, are

³ In this respect, as well as many others, the manners of the Germans were a direct contrast to those of the Romans. Pliny mentions a private person, C. Cæcilius Claudius Isidorus, who ordered the sum of about £10,000. *sterling* to be expended in his funeral: and in another place, he says, “ intelligent persons asserted “ that Arabia did not produce such a quantity of spices “ in a year as Nero burned at the obsequies of his “ Poppæa.” xxxiii. 10. and xii. 18.

⁴ The following lines of Lucan, describing the last honors paid by Cornelia to the body of Pompey the Great, happily illustrate the customs here referred to.

Collegit vestes, miserique insignia Magni,
Armaque, et impressas auro, quas gesserat olim
Exuvias, pictasque togas, velamina summo
Ter conspecta Jovi, funestoque intulit igni. Lib. ix. 175.

There shone his arms, with antick gold inlaid,
There the rich robes which she herself had made,
Robes to imperial Jove in triumph thrice displayed:
The reliks of his past victorious days,
Now this his latest trophy serve to raise,
And in one common flame together blaze. ROWE.

⁵ Thus, in the tomb of Childeric, king of the Franks, were found his spear and sword, and also his horse's head, with a shoe, and gold buckles and hous-

given to the flames. The tomb is a mound of turf⁶. They contemn the elaborate and costly honours of monumental structures as burthensome to the deceased. They soon dismiss their lamentations and tears ; slowly, their sorrow and regret. They think it the women's part to bewail their loss, the men's to remember it⁷.

This is what we have learned concerning the origin and manners of the Germans in general. I now proceed to mention those particulars in which they differ from each other ; and likewise to relate what nations

ings. A human scull was likewise discovered, which perhaps was that of his groom.

⁶ The German manner of burial, and the structure of their “mounds of turf” or barrows, is well illustrated by a particular description of some Caledonian or Danish *cairns* or barrows, *Pennant's Tour 1769*, 4to. p. 138 and seq. Further information on this subject may be procured from the *Voyage to the Hebrides*, Part i. p. 52, 181, 182, 185, 297. Part. ii. p. 10.

⁷ Thus it is an usual saying among the North American savages, “Tears disgrace a man;” and when going on a military expedition they address their friends only with “Remember us.” The women, on the other hand, mourn their husbands or children for a whole year, and during this period continually call upon them, morning, noon, and night, with the most dismal howlings. *Charlevoix.*

have migrated from Germany into Gaul. That first of writers, the deified Julius, asserts that the Gauls were formerly a more powerful people than at present⁸; whence it is probable that some of them even passed over into Germany: for how small an obstacle would a river be, to prevent any nation, as it arrived at strength, from occupying or changing settlements as yet lying in common, and unappropriated by the power of monarchies? Accordingly, the country betwixt the Hercynian forest and the Rivers Rhine and Maine was possessed by the Helvetii⁹; and that beyond

⁸ Cæsar's account is as follows. "There was formerly a time when the Gauls surpassed the Germans in bravery, and made war upon them; and, on account of their multitude of people and scarcity of land, sent colonies beyond the Rhine. The most fertile parts of Germany, adjoining to the Hercynian forest, (which) I observe, was known by report to Eratoshenes and others of the Greeks, and called by them Orcinia) were accordingly occupied by the Volcæ and Tectosages, who settled there. These people still continue in the same settlements, and have a high character as well for the administration of justice, as military prowess: and they now remain in the same state of penury and content as the Germans, whose manner of life they have adopted." *Bell. Gall.* vi. 24.

⁹ The inhabitants of Switzerland, then extending further than at present towards Lyons.

by the Boii¹; both Gallic tribes. The name of Boiemum still remains, a memorial of the ancient settlement, though its inhabitants are now changed². But whether the Aravisci³ migrated into Pannonia from the Osi⁴, a German nation; or the Osi

¹ A nation of Gauls, bordering on the Helvetii, as appears from Strabo and Cæsar. After being conquered by Cæsar, the Ædui gave them a settlement in the country now called the *Bourbonnois*. The name of their German colony, Boiemum, is still extant in *Bohemia*. The æra at which the Helvetii and Boii penetrated into Germany, is not ascertained. It seems probable, however, that it was in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus; for at that time, as we are told by Livy, Ambigatus, king of the Bituriges (people of *Berry*) sent his sister's son Sigovesus into the Hercynian forest, with a colony, in order to exonerate his kingdom which was overpeopled. *Liv.* v. 33 & seq.

² In the time of Augustus, the Boii, driven from Boiemum by the Marcomanni, retired to Noricum, which from them was called Boioaria, now *Bavaria*.

³ This people inhabited that part of Lower Hungary, now called the *Palatinate of Pilis*.

⁴ Towards the end of this treatise, Tacitus seems himself to decide this point, observing that their use of the Pannonian language, and acquiescence in paying tribute, prove the Osi not to be a German nation. They were settled beyond the Marcomanni and Quadi, and occupied the northern part of Transdanubian Hungary; perhaps extending to Silesia, where is a place

into Germany from the Aravisci, the language, constitution, and manners of both being still the same, is a matter of uncertainty ; for in their pristine state of equal indigence and equal liberty, the same advantages and disadvantages were common to both sides of the river. The Treveri⁵ and Nervii⁶ are ambitious of being thought of German origin ; as if the reputation of this descent would distinguish them from the Gauls, whom they resemble in person and effeminacy. The Vangiones, Triboci, and Nemetes⁷, who inhabit the banks of the Rhine, are without doubt German tribes. Nor do the Ubii⁸, although

called *Ossen* in the *Dutchy of Oels*, famous for salt and glass works. The learned Pelloutier, however, contends that the Osi were Germans ; but with less probability.

⁵ The inhabitants of the modern *Diocese of Treves*.

⁶ Those of *Cambresis* and *Hainault*.

⁷ Those of the *Dioceses of Worms, Strasburg, and Spires*.

⁸ Those of the *Diocese of Cologne*. The Ubii, migrating from Germany to Gaul, on account of the enmity of the Catti, and their own attachment to the Roman interest, were received under the protection of Marcus Agrippa, in the year of Rome 717. *Strabo*, iv. p. 194. Agrippina the wife of Claudius, and mother

they have been thought worthy of being made a Roman colony, and are pleased in bearing the name of Agrippinenses from their founder, blush to acknowledge their origin from Germany ; from whence they formerly migrated, and for their approved fidelity were settled on the banks of the Rhine, not that they might be guarded themselves, but that they might serve as a guard against invaders.

Of all these people, the most famed for valour are the Batavi ; whose territories comprise but a small part of the banks of the Rhine, but consist chiefly of an island within it². These were formerly a tribe of the Catti ; but, on account of a domestic sedition, removed to their present settlements, in order to become a part of the Roman empire. They are still in possession of this honour, as well as of a memorial of their ancient alliance¹ ; for they are

of Nero, who was born among them, obtained the settlement of a colony there, which was called after her name.

² Now the *Betuwe*, part of the provinces of *Holland* and *Gelderland*.

¹ Hence the Batavi are termed, in an ancient inscription, “ the brothers and friends of the Roman people.”

neither insulted by taxes, nor oppressed by farmers of the revenue. Exempt from burthens and contributions, and kept apart for military use alone, they are reserved, like a magazine of arms, for the purposes of war. The nation of the Mattiaci² is under a degree of subjection of the same kind: for the greatness of the Roman people has carried a reverence for the empire beyond the Rhine and the ancient limits. The Mattiaci, therefore, though occupying a settlement and borders³ on

² This nation inhabited part of the countries now called the *Weteraw*, *Hesse*, *Isenburg*, and *Fulda*. In this territory was *Mattium*, now *Marpurg*, and the *Fontes Mattiaci*, now *Wisbaden*, near *Mentz*.

³ The several people of Germany had their respective borders, which they defended by preserving them in a desert and uncultivated state. Thus Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.* iv. 3. “They think it the greatest honour to a nation “to have as wide an extent of vacant land around their “dominions as possible; by which it is indicated, that “a great number of neighbouring communities are “unable to withstand them. On this account, the “Suevi are said to have, on one side, a tract of 600 “(some learned men think we should read 60) miles “desert for their boundaries.” In another place, Cæsar mentions as an additional reason for this policy, that they think themselves thereby rendered secure from the danger of sudden incursions. *Bell. Gall.* vi. 13.

the opposite side of the river, act from inclination and attachment with us ; resembling the Batavi in every respect, except that, still enjoying the soil and air of their own country, they receive from them a superior degree of vigour⁴. I would not reckon among the people of Germany those who possess the Decumate lands⁵, although inhabiting between the Rhine and Danube. Some of the most unsteady of the Gauls, rendered daring through indigence, seized upon this district of uncertain property. Afterwards,

⁴ The difference between the low situation and moist air of Batavia, and the high and dry country of the Mattiaci, will sufficiently justify this remark, in the opinion of those who allow any thing to the influence of climate.

⁵ Now *Swabia*. When the Marcomanni, towards the end of the reign of Augustus, quitting their settlements near the Rhine, migrated to Bohemia, the lands they left vacant were occupied by some unsettled Gauls among the Rauraci and Sequani. They seem to have been called Decumates, (*Decimated*,) because the inhabitants, liable to the incursions of the Germans, paid a tithe of their products to be received under the protection of the Romans. Hadrian defended them by a rampart, which extended from *Neustadt*, a town on the Danube near the mouth of the river *Altmühl*, to the *Neckar* near *Wimpfen*; a space of sixty French leagues.

our boundary line being advanced, and a chain of fortified posts established, it became a skirt of the empire, and part of the province⁶.

Beyond these are the Catti⁷, whose settlements, beginning from the Hercynian forest, are in a tract of country less open and marshy than those of the other wide-extended states of Germany; for it consists of a continued range of hills, which gradually decline; and the Hercynian forest⁸

⁶ Of Upper Germany.

⁷ The Catti possessed a large territory between the Rhine, Mayne, and Sala, and the Hartz forest on this side the Weser; where are now the countries of *Hesse*, *Thuringia*, part of *Paderborn*, of *Fulda*, and of *Francia*. It is to be remarked, that learned writers have frequently noted, that what Cæsar, Florus, and Ptolemy have said of the Suevi, is to be understood of the Catti. Leibnitz supposes the Catti were so called from the active animal which they resemble in name, the German for cat being *Catte*, or *Hessen*.

The Catti are supposed to have made a settlement in the part of Scotland called *Cathness*; the *Cattu* of the Highlanders. *Pennant's Tour* 1769. 4to. p. 168.

⁸ Pliny, who was well acquainted with Germany, gives a very striking description of the Hercynian forest.
“ The vast trees of the Hercynian forest, untouched for
“ ages, and as old as the world, by their almost immortal
“ destiny exceed common wonders. Not to mention

both accompanies and leaves behind its Catti⁹. This people are distinguished by the firmness of their bodies, the compactness of their limbs, the fierceness of their countenances, and the superior vigour of their minds¹. Compared with the rest of the Germans, they have a considerable share of understanding and address: they appoint select persons to commands, and obey them when appointed; know their stations; discern advantages; repress un-

"circumstances which would not be credited, it is
 "certain that hills are raised by the repercussion
 "of their meeting roots; and where the earth does
 "not follow them, arches are formed as high as the
 "branches, which, struggling, as it were, with each
 "other, are bent into the form of open gates, so wide,
 "that troops of horse may ride under them." xvi. 2.

⁹ This personification, though appearing harsh in the English, I thought proper to preserve in the translation, since otherwise the reader would not have a proper idea of the boldness and vigour of Tacitus's style. J. A.

¹ A fine description of the form of body proper for a soldier, resembling this, but more particular, is given by Vegetius, i. 6. "Let the youth devoted to the labours of Mars, have vigilant eyes, an erect neck, a broad chest, muscular shoulders, strong fingers, long arms, a belly of moderate bulk, rather slender legs, with the calves, and feet, not distended with superfluous flesh, but hard with compacted sinews."

timely ardour; distribute properly the business of the day; intrench themselves against the night; account fortune dubious, and valour only secure; and what is extremely rare, and only a consequence of discipline, depend more upon the general than the army². Their force consists entirely in infantry; who, besides their arms, are obliged to carry tools and provisions. Other nations appear to go to a battle; the Catti, to war. Excursions and casual encounters are rare among them. It is, indeed, peculiar to cavalry soon to obtain, and soon to yield the victory. Speed borders upon timidity; slow movements are more akin to steady valour.

A custom followed among the other German nations only by a few individuals, of a more daring spirit than the rest, is adopted by general consent among the Catti. From the time they arrive at years of maturity, they let their hair and beard grow³;

² Florus, ii. 18. well expresses this thought by the sentence “*Tanti exercitus, quanti imperator.*” “An ‘army is worth so much as its general is.’”

³ Thus Civilis is said by our author (*Hist.* iv. 61.) to have let his hair and beard grow in consequence of a private vow. Thus, in Paul Warnefrid's *History of*

and do not lay aside this votive badge, consecrated to valour, till they have slain an enemy. Over blood and spoils they unveil the countenance, and declare that “they have at length paid the debt of existence, and have proved themselves worthy of their country and parents.” The cowardly and effeminate continue in their squalid disguise. The bravest among them wear also an iron ring¹ (a mark of igno-

the Lombards, iii. 7. it is related, that “Six thousand “ Saxons who survived the war, vowed that they would “never cut their hair nor shave their beards till they “had been revenged of their enemies, the Suevi.” A later instance of this custom is mentioned by Strada (*Bell. Belg.* vii. p. 344.) of William Lume, one of the Counts of Marc, “who bound himself by a vow not to “cut his hair till he had revenged the deaths of Egmont “and Horn.”

¹ The iron ring seems to have been a badge of slavery. This custom was revived in later times, but rather with a gallant than a military intention. Thus, in the year 1414, John, Duke of Bourbon, in order to ingratiate himself with his mistress, vowed, together with sixteen knights and gentlemen, that they would wear, he and the knights a gold ring, the gentlemen a silver one, round their left legs, every Sunday for two years, till they had met with an equal number of knights and gentlemen to contend with them in a tournament. *Vertot Mem. de l' Acad. des Inscr. Tom. ii. p. 595.*

miny in that nation) as a kind of chain, till they have released themselves by the slaughter of a foe. Many of the Catti choose this distinction, and grow hoary under such *insignia*, marked out both to foes and friends. By these, in every engagement, the attack is begun: their's is the front of the battle, offering a new spectacle of terror. Even in peace they do not relax the severity of their appearance. They have no house, land, or domestic cares: they are maintained by whomsoever they visit; lavish of another's property, regardless of their own; till the languor of old age renders them unequal to such a rigid course of military virtue⁵.

Next to the Catti, on the banks of the Rhine, where, now settled in its channel, it is become a sufficient boundary, the Usipii and Tencteri⁶, inhabit. The Tenc-

⁵ It was this nation of Catti, which, about 150 years afterwards, uniting with the remains of the Cherusci on this side the Weser, the Attuarii, Sicambri, Chamavi, Bructeri, and Chauci, entered into the Francic league, and conquering the Romans, siezed upon Gaul. From them are derived the name, manners, and laws of the French.

⁶ These two tribes, united by a community of wars

teri, besides the usual military reputation, are famed for excelling in the discipline of their cavalry ; nor is the infantry of the Catti in higher estimation than the horse of the Tencteri. Their ancestors established it, and were imitated by posterity. Horsemanship is the sport of their children, the point of emulation of their youth, and the exercise in which their old men persevere. Horses are solemnly bequeathed by parents along with the domestics, the household goods, and the rights of inheritance: they do not, however, like other things, go to the eldest son, but to the bravest and most warlike.

Contiguous to the Tencteri were formerly the Bructeri⁷; but we are now in-

and misfortunes, had formerly been driven from their settlements on the Rhine a little below *Mentz*. They then, according to Cæsar, (*Bell. Gall.* iv. 1. & seq.) occupied the territories of the Menapii on both sides the Rhine. Still proving unfortunate, they obtained the lands of the Sicambri, who, in the reign of Augustus, were removed on this side the Rhine by Tiberius : these were the present *counties of Berg, Mark, Lipp, and Waldeck*; and the *bishopric of Paderborn*.

⁷ Their settlements were between the rivers Rhine, Lippe (Luppia), and Ems (Amisia), and the province of Frizeland; now the countries of *Westphalia*, and

formed that the Chamavi and Angrivarii⁸, migrating into their country, have expelled and entirely extirpated them⁹; with the concurrence of the neighbouring nations, induced either by hatred of their arrogance¹,

Over-Issel. Alting (*Notit. German. Infer.* p. 20.) supposes they derived their name from *Broeken*, or *Bruchen*, marshes, on account of their frequency in that tract of country.

⁸ Before this migration, the Chamavi were settled on the Ems, where at present are *Lingen* and *Osnabrug*; the Angrivarii, on the Weser (*Visurgis*), where are *Minden* and *Schawenburg*. A more ancient migration of the Chamavi to the banks of the Rhine is cursorily mentioned by Tacitus, *Annal.* xiii. 55. The Angrivarii were afterwards called Angrarii, and became part of the Saxon nation.

⁹ They were not so entirely extirpated that no relics of them remained. They were even a conspicuous part of the Francic league, as before related. Claudian, also, in his panegyric on the fourth consulate of Honorius, v. 450, mentions them.

Veni accola sylvæ
Bructerus Hercyniæ.

"The Bructerian, borderer on the Hercynian forest, came." After their expulsion, they settled, according to Eccard, between *Cologne* and *Hesse*.

¹ The Bructeri were under regal government, and maintained many wars against the Romans. Hence their arrogance and power. Before they were destroyed by their countrymen, Vestricius Spurinna terrified them

love of plunder, or the favour of the gods towards the Romans. For they even gratified us with the spectacle of a battle, in which above sixty thousand Germans were slain, not by Roman arms, but, what was still greater, by mutual hostilities, as it were for our pleasure and entertainment². May these nations retain and perpetuate, if not an affection for us, yet an animosity against each other; since, while the fate of the empire is thus urgent³, fortune can

into submission without an action, and had on that account a triumphal statue decreed him. Pliny the younger mentions this fact, *Book ii. Epist. 7.* “Spurinna settled the king of the Bructeri in his kingdom by force of arms; and obtained the noblest kind of victory over this ferocious people, subduing them by the mere terror of his military preparations.”

² An allusion, probably, to gladiatorial spectacles. This slaughter happened near the canal of Drusus, where the Roman guard on the Rhine could be spectators of the battle. The account of it came to Rome in the first year of Trajan.

³ As this treatise was written in the reign of Trajan, when the affairs of the Romans appeared unusually prosperous, some critics have imagined that Tacitus wrote *vigentibus* “flourishing” instead of *urgentibus* “urgent.” But it is sufficiently evident, from other passages, that the causes which were operating gradually, but surely, to the destruction of the Roman empire, did

bestow no higher benefit upon us, than the discord of our enemies.

The Angrivarii and Chamavi are terminated backwards by the Dulgibini, Chasaurii⁴, and other nations less known⁵. In front, the Frisii⁶ succeed; who are distinguished by the appellations of greater

not escape the penetration of Tacitus, even when disguised by the most flattering appearances. The common reading is therefore, probably, right. J. A.

⁴ These people first inhabited near the head of the Lippe; and then removed to the settlements of the Chamavi and Angrivarii, who had expelled the Bructeri. They appear to have been the same with those whom Velleius Paterculus, ii. 105. calls the Attuarii, and by that name entered into the Francic league. Strabo calls them Chattuarii.

⁵ Namely, the Ansibarrii and Tubantes. The Ansibarrii or Amsibarrii are thought by Alting to have derived their name from their neighbourhood to the river Ems (Amisia); and the Tubantes, from their frequent change of habitation, to have been called *Tho Benten*, or the wandering troops, and to have inhabited where now is *Drente in Over-Issel*. Among these nations, Furstenburg (*Monum. Paderborn.*) enumerates the Ambrones, borderers upon the river Ambrus, now *Emmeren*.

⁶ The Frizlanders. The lesser Frisii were settled on this side, the greater, on the other, of the Flevum (*Zuyder-zee.*)

and lesser, from their proportional power. The settlements of both stretch along the borders of the Rhine to the Ocean ; and include, besides, vast lakes ⁷, which have been navigated by Roman fleets. We have even explored the Ocean itself on that side ; and fame reports that columus of Hercules ⁸ are still remaining on that coast ; whether that Hercules was ever there in reality, or that whatever great and magnificent is any where met with, is, by common consent, ascribed to his renowned name. The attempt of Drusus Germanicus ⁹ to make

⁷ In the time of the Romaus this country was covered by vast meers, or lakes ; which were made still larger by frequent inundations of the sea. Of these, one so late as 1530 overwhelmed 72 villages ; and another, still more terrible, in 1569, laid under water great part of the sea-coast of Holland, and almost all Frizeland, in which alone 20,000 persons were drowned.

⁸ Wherever the land seemed to terminate, and it appeared impossible to proceed farther, maritime nations have feigned there were pillars of Hercules. These celebrated by the Frisians must have been at the extremity of Frizeland, and not in Sweden and the Cimmerian promontory, as Rudbeck supposes.

⁹ Drusus, the brother of Tiberius, and father of Germanicus, imposed a tribute on the Frisians, as men-

discoveries in these parts was sufficiently daring; but the Ocean opposed any further inquiry into itself and Hercules. None have since repeated it; and it has been thought more pious and reverential to believe the actions of the gods, than to investigate them.

Hitherto we have traced the Western-side of Germany. It turns from thence with a vast sweep to the North: and first occurs the country of the **Chauci**¹, which,

tioned in Tacitus's *Annals*, iv. 72. and performed other eminent services in Germany, whence he was himself styled **Germanicus**.

¹ The Chauci extended along the sea-coast from the *Ems* to the *Elbe* (*Albis*); whence they bordered on all the fore-mentioned nations, between which and the Chernisci they came round to the Catti. The Chauci were distinguished into greater and lesser. The greater, according to Ptolemy, inhabited between the *Weser* and *Elbe*; the lesser, between the *Weser* and *Ems*; but Tacitus (*Annals*, xi. 19.) seems to reverse this order. Alting supposes the Chauci had their name from *Kauken*, signifying persons eminent for valour and fidelity, which agrees with the character Tacitus gives them. Others derive it from *Kauk*, an owl, with a reference to the enmity of that animal to cats (Catti). Others, from *Kaiten*, daws, of which there are great numbers on their coast. Pliny has admirably described the country and manners of the maritime Chauci, in his

though it begins immediately from Frisia, and occupies part of the shore, yet stretches so far as to border on all the nations

account of people who live without any trees or fruit-bearing vegetables. “ In the North are the nations of “ the Chauci, who are divided into greater and lesser. “ Here, the Ocean, having a prodigious flux and reflux “ twice in the space of every day and night, rolls over “ an immense tract, leaving it a matter of perpetual “ doubt whether it is a part of the land or sea. In this “ spot, the wretched natives, occupying either the tops “ of hills, or artificial mounds of turf, raised out of “ reach of the highest tides, build their small cottages ; “ which appear like sailing vessels when the water “ covers the circumjacent ground ; and like wrecks “ when it has retired. Here from their huts they pursue “ the fish, continually flying from them with the waves. “ They do not, like their neighbours, possess cattle, “ and feed on milk ; nor have they a warfare to maintain “ against wild beasts ; for every fruit of the earth is far “ removed from them. With flags and sea-weed they “ twist cordage for their fishing-nets. For fuel they use “ a kind of mud, taken up by hand, and dried, rather “ in the wind than the sun : with this earth they heat “ their food, and warm their bodies, stiffened by the “ rigorous North. Their only drink is rain-water col-“ lected in ditches at the thresholds of their doors. Yet “ this miserable people, if conquered to day by the “ Roman arms, would call themselves slaves. Thus it “ is, that fortune spares many to their own punish-“ ment.” *Hist. Nat.* xvi. 1.

before-mentioned, till it winds round so as to meet the territories of the Catti. This immense tract is not only possessed, but filled, by the Chauci ; a people the noblest of the Germans, who choose to maintain their greatness by justice rather than violence. Without ambition, without ungoverned desires, quiet and retired, they excite no wars, they are guilty of no rapine or plunder ; and it is a principal argument of their power and bravery, that the superiority they possess has not been acquired by injuries. Yet all have arms in readiness² ; and, if necessary, an army is soon raised : for they abound in men and horses ; and maintain their military reputation even in inaction.

Bordering on the Chauci and Catti, are the Cherusci³ ; who, for want of an enemy,

² On this account, fortified posts were established by the Romans to restrain the Chauci ; who by Lucan are called Cayci in the following passage :

Et vos crinigeros bellis arcere Caycos

Opposi.

PHARS. i. 463.

You too, tow'rs Rome advance, ye warlike band,

That wont the shaggy Cauci to withstand. ROWE.

³ The Cherusci, at that time, dwelt between the Weser and the Elbe, where now are Luneburg, Bruns-

long cherished a too lasting and enfeebling peace: a state more flattering than secure; since the repose enjoyed amidst ambitious and powerful neighbours is treacherous; and when matters come to be decided by force, moderation and probity are names appropriated by the stronger party. Thus, the Cherusci, who formerly bore the titles of *just* and *upright*, are now charged with cowardice and folly; and the good fortune of the Catti who subdued them has grown into wisdom. The ruin of the Cherusci involved that of the Fosi¹, a neighbouring

wick, and part of the *Marche of Brandenburg* on this side the Elbe. In the reign of Augustus they occupied a more extensive tract; reaching even on this side the Weser, as appears from the accounts of the expeditions of Drusus, given by Dio and Velleius Paterculus: unless, as Dithmar observes, what is said of the Cherusci on this side the Weser, relates to the Dulgibini, their dependents. For, according to Strabo, Varus was cut off by the Cherusci, and the people subject to them. The brave actions of Arminius, the celebrated chief of the Cherusci, are related by Tacitus in the 1st and 2nd book of his *Annals*.

¹ Cluver, and several others, suppose the Fosi to have been the same with the ancient Saxons; but since they bordered on the Cherusci, the opinion of Leibnitz is nearer the truth, that they inhabited the banks of the

tribe, equal partakers of their adversity, although they had enjoyed an inferior share of their prosperity.

In the same quarter of Germany, adjacent to the Ocean, the Cimbri⁵ inhabit; a small⁶ state at present, but great in renown⁷; of which extensive vestiges still remain, in encampments and lines on either

river Fusa, which enters the *Aller* (*Allera*) at Cellæ; and were a sort of appendage to the Cherusci, as *Hildesheim* now is to *Brunswick*. The name of *Saxons* is later than Tacitus, and was not known till the reign of Antoninus Pius, at which period they poured forth from the Cimbrian Chersonesus, and afterwards, in conjunction with the Angles, seized upon Britain.

⁵ The name of this people still exists; and the country they inhabited is called the *Cimbrian Chersonesus*, or Peninsula; comprehending *Jutland*, *Sleswig*, and *Holstein*. The renown and various fortune of the Cimbri is briefly, but accurately, related by Mallet, in the *Introduction to the History of Denmark*.

⁶ Though at this time they were greatly reduced by migrations, inundations, and wars; they afterwards revived: and from this *storehouse of nations* came forth the Franks, Saxons, Normans, and various other tribes, which brought all Europe under Germanic sway.

⁷ Their fame spread through Germany, Gaul, Spain, Britain, Italy, and as far as the Sea of Azoph (*Palus Mœotis*), whither, according to Posidonius, they penetrated, and called the Cimmerian or Cimbrian Bosphorus after their own name.

shore⁸, from the compass of which the strength and numbers of the nation may still be computed, and credit derived to the account of so prodigious an army. It was in the 640th year of Rome that the arms of the Cimbri were first heard of, under the consulate of Cæcilius Metellus and Papirius Carbo ; from which æra to the second consulate of the emperor Trajan⁹, is a period of near 210 years. So long has Germany been in conquering. During this long interval many mutual wounds have been inflicted. Not the Samnite, the Cartha-

⁸ This is usually, and probably rightly, explained as relating to both shores of the Cimbric Chersonesus. Cluver and Dithmar, however, suppose that these encampments are to be sought for either in Italy, upon the river Athesis (*Adige*), or in Narbonnensian Gaul near Aquæ Sextiæ (*Aix in Provence*), where Florus, iii. 3. mentions that the Teutoni defeated by Marius took post in a valley with a river running through it. Of the prodigious numbers of the Cimbri who made this terrible irruption we have an account in Plutarch, who relates that their fighting men were 300,000, with a much greater number of women and children. *Plut. Marius*, p. 411.

⁹ Nerva was consul the 4th time, and Trajan the 2nd, in the 851st year of Rome; in which Tacitus composed this treatise.

ginian, Spain, Gaul, or Parthia, have given more frequent alarms ; for the liberty of the Germans is more vigorous than the monarchy of the Arsacidæ. What has the East, which has itself lost Pacorus, and suffered an overthrow from Ventidius¹, to boast against us, but the slaughter of Crassus ? But the Germans, by the defeat or capture of Carbo², Cassius³, Scaurus

¹ After the defeat of P. Decidius Saxa, lieutenant of Syria, by the Parthians, and the seizure of Syria by Pacorus, son of king Orodes, P. Ventidius Bassus was sent there, who vanquished the Parthians, killed Pacorus, and entirely restored the Roman affairs.

² The *Epitome* of Livy informs us, that “ in the year of Rome 640, the Cimbri, a wandering tribe, made a prædatory incursion into Illyricum, where they routed the consul Papirius Carbo with his army.” According to Strabo, it was at Noreia, a town of the Taurisci, near Aquileia, that Carbo was defeated. In the succeeding years, the Cimbri and Teutoni ravaged Gaul, and brought great calamities on that country ; but at length, deterred by the unshaken bravery of the Gauls, they turned another way ; as appears from Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.* vii. 17. They then came into Italy, and sent ambassadors to the senate, demanding lands to settle on. This was refused ; and the consul M. Junius Silanus fought an unsuccessful battle with them, in the year of Rome 645. *Epitome of Livy*, lxv.

³ “ L. Cassius, the consul in the year of Rome 647,

Aurelius⁴, Servilius Cæpio and Cneius Manlius⁵, deprived the Roman peo-

" was cut off with his army in the confines of the
 " Allobroges, by the Tigurine Gauls, a canton of the
 " Helvetians (now the *cantons of Zurich, Appenzell,*
 " *Schaffhausen, &c.*) who had migrated from their
 " settlements. The soldiers who survived the slaughter,
 " gave hostages for the payment of half they were
 " worth to be dismissed with safety." *Ibid.* Cæsar
 further relates that the Roman army was passed under
 the yoke by the Tigurini. " This single canton, mi-
 " grating from home, within the memory of our fathers,
 " slew the consul L. Cassius, and passed his army
 " under the yoke." *Bell. Gall.* i. 12.

⁴ M. Aurelius Scaurus, the consul's lieutenant (*or rather consul, as he appears to have served that office in the year of Rome 646*) was defeated and taken by the Cimbri; and when, being asked his advice, he dissuaded them from passing the Alps into Italy, assuring them the Romans were invincible, he was slain by a furious youth, named Boiorix. *Epit. Livy*, lxvii.

⁵ Florus, in like manner, considers these two affairs separately. " Neither could Silanus sustain the first onset of the barbarians; nor Manlius, the second; nor Cæpio, the third." iii. 3. Livy joins them together. " By the same enemy (*the Cimbri*) Cn. Manlius the consul, and Q. Servilius Cæpio the proconsul, were defeated in an engagement, and both dispossessed of their camps." *Epit. lxvii.* Paulus Orosius relates the affair more particularly. " Manlius the consul, and Q. Cæpio proconsul, being sent against the Cimbri, Teutones, Tigurini, and Ambronæ, Gaulish

ple⁶ of five consular armies; and afterwards took from Augustus himself Varus with three legions⁷. Nor did Caius Marius⁸

"and German nations, who had conspired to extinguish
"the Roman empire, divided their respective provinces
"by the river Rhone. Here, the most violent dissensions prevailing between them, they were both overcome, to the great disgrace and danger of the Roman name. According to Antias, 80,000 Romans and allies were slaughtered. Cæpio, by whose rashness this misfortune was occasioned, was condemned, and his property confiscated by order of the Roman people."

Lib. v. 16. This happened in the year of Rome 649; and the anniversary was reckoned among the unlucky days.

⁶ The republic; in opposition to Rome when governed by emperors.

⁷ This tragical catastrophe so deeply affected Augustus, that, as Suetonius informs us, "he was said to have let his beard and hair grow for several months; during which, he, at times, struck his head against the doors, crying out, *Varus, restore my legions!* and ever after kept the anniversary as a day of mourning." *Aug. xxiii.* The finest history piece, perhaps, ever drawn by a writer, is Tacitus's description of the army of Germanicus visiting the field of battle, six years after, and performing funeral obsequies to the scattered remains of their slaughtered countrymen. *Annal. i. 61.*

⁸ "After so many misfortunes, the Roman people thought no general so capable of repelling such formidable enemies, as Marius." Nor was the public opinion falsified. In his 4th consulate, in the year of

in Italy, the deified Julius⁹ in Gaul, or

Rome 652, “Marius engaged the Teutoni beyond the “Alps near Aquæ Sextiæ (*Aix in Provence*), killing, “on the day of battle and the following day, above “150,000 of the enemy, and entirely cutting off the “Teutonic nation.” *Velleius Paterculus*, ii. 12. Livy says there were 200,000 slain, and 90,000 taken prisoners. The succeeding year, he defeated the Cimbri who had penetrated into Italy and crossed the Adige, in the Raudian plain, where now is *Rubio*, killing and taking prisoners upwards of 100,000 men. That he did not, however, obtain an unbought victory over this warlike people, may be conjectured from the resistance he met with even from their women. We are told by Florus, iii. 3. that “he was obliged to sustain an engagement with their wives, as well as themselves; who, entrenching themselves on all sides with waggons and cars, fought from them, as from towers, with lances and poles. Their death was no less glorious than their resistance. For when they could not obtain from Marius what they requested by an embassy, their liberty, and admission into the Vestal priesthood (which, indeed, could not lawfully be granted); after strangling their infants, they either fell by mutual wounds, or hung themselves on trees or the poles of their carriages in ropes made of their own hair. King Boiorix was slain, not unrevenged, fighting bravely in the field.” On account of these great victories, Marius, in the year of Rome 652, triumphed over the Teutoni, Ambroni, and Cimbri.

⁹ In the 596th year of Rome, Julius Cæsar, defeated

Drusus¹, Tiberius, or Germanicus² in their own country, defeat them without loss. The subsequent mighty threats of Caligula terminated in ridicule. Then succeeded tranquillity; till seizing the occasion of our discords and civil wars, they forced the winter-quarters of the legions³, and even aimed at the possession of Gaul; and again expelled from thence, they have in latter times been rather triumphed over⁴ than vanquished.

We are now to speak of the Suevi⁵; who

Ariovistus, a German king, near *Dampierre* in the *Franche-Comte*, and pursued his routed troops with great slaughter thirty miles towards the Rhine, filling all that space with spoils and dead bodies. *Bell. Gall.* i. 33 and 52. He had before chastized the Tigurini, who, as already mentioned, had defeated and killed L. Cassius.

¹ Nero Claudius Drusus, who, on account of his exploits in Germany, obtained the surname of Germanicus.

² These princes, one, the brother, the other, the son of Drusus, both acquired great reputation by their wars in Germany.

³ In the war of Civilis, related by Tacitus, *Hist.* iv. and v.

⁴ By Domitian, as is more particularly mentioned in the *Life of Agricola*.

⁵ The Suevi possessed that extensive tract of country

do not consist of a single tribe, like the Catti or Tencteri ; but occupy the greatest part of Germany, distributed into different names and nations, although all bearing the common appellation of Suevi. It is a characteristic of this people to wreath their hair and tie it up in a knot. By this mark the Suevi are distinguished from the rest of the Germans ; and the freemen of the Suevi from the slaves⁶. Among other nations, this mode, either on account of some relationship with the Suevi, or, as is usual, from the force of imitation, is sometimes adopted ; but rarely, and only during the period of youth. The Suevi, even till they are hoary, turn back their bristling locks, and often tie it upon the top of the head only. The chiefs dress it with still greater care : and in this respect they study orna-

lying between the Elbe, the Vistula, the Baltic Sea, and the Danube. They formerly had spread still farther, reaching even to the Rhine. Hence, Strabo, Cæsar, Florus, and others, have referred to the Suevi what related to the Catti.

⁶ Among the Suevi, and also the rest of the Germans, the slaves seem to have been shaven ; or at least cropped so short that they could not twist or tie up their hair in a knot.

ment; though of a kind which does not injure them. For their design is not to inspire love: they decorate themselves in this manner as they proceed to war, in order to appear taller and more terrible; and dress for the eyes of their enemies.

The Semnones⁷ assert themselves to be the most ancient and noble of the Suevi; and their pretensions to antiquity are confirmed by religion. At a stated time, all the people of the same lineage assemble by their delegates in a wood consecrated by the auguries of their forefathers and ancient terror; and there, by the public slaughter of a human victim, celebrate the horrid origin of their barbarous rites. Another kind of reverence is paid to the grove. No person enters it without being bound with a chain, as an acknowledgement of his inferior nature, and the power of the deity residing there. If he accidentally fall, it is not lawful for him to rise, but he must roll along the ground: and the whole of their

⁷ The Semnones inhabited both banks of the Viadrus (*Oder*); the country which is now part of *Pomerania*, of the *Marche of Brandenburg*, and of *Lusatia*.

superstition has this import; that from this spot the nation derives its origin; that here is the residence of the supreme Governor of all⁸, and that every thing else is subject and subordinate to him. These opinions receive additional authority from the power of the Semnones, who inhabit a hundred cantons, and from the great body they compose, consider themselves as the head of the Suevi.

The Langobardi⁹, on the other hand, are ennobled by the smallness of their

⁸ This idea of a God the governor and lord of all, is the original religious faith of mankind; which shines the clearest and brightest, the more ancient and pure are the memorials of nations. It was peculiarly so among the Scythians, of whom the Germans were a branch.

⁹ In the reign of Augustus, the Langobardi dwelt on this side the Elbe, between *Luneburg* and *Magdeburg*. When conquered and driven beyond the Elbe by Tiberius, they occupied that part of the country where are now *Prignitz*, *Ruppin*, and part of the *Middle Marche*. They afterwards founded the *Lombard* kingdom in Italy; which, in the year of Christ 774, was destroyed by Charlemagne, who took their king Desiderius, and subdued all Italy. The laws of the Langobardi are still extant, and may be met with in *Lindenbrog*. The Burgundians are not mentioned by Tacitus, probably

numbers ; since, though surrounded by many powerful nations, they derive security, not from obsequiousness, but from war and daring. The neighbouring Reudigni¹, and the Aviones², Angli³, Varini, Eudoses, Suardones, and Nuithones⁴, are

because they were then an inconsiderable people. Afterwards, joining with the Langobardi, they settled on the Decuman lands and the Roman boundary. They from thence made an irruption into Gaul, and seized that country which is still named from them *Burgundy*. Their laws are likewise extant.

¹ From Tacitus's description, the Reudigni must have dwelt in part of the present *Dutchy of Mecklenburg*, and of *Lauenburg*. They had before been settled on this side of the Elbe, on the *sands of Luneburg*.

² Perhaps the same people with those called by Mærtinus, in his Panegyric on Maximian, the Chaibones. From their vicinity to the fore-mentioned nations, they must have inhabited part of the *Dutchy of Mecklenburg*. They had formerly dwelt on this side the Elbe, on the banks of the river Ilmenavia in *Luneburg*; which is now called *Ava*; whence, probably, the name of the people.

³ Inhabitants of what is now part of *Holstein* and *Sleswick*; in which tract is still a district called *Angeln*, between *Flensburg* and *Sleswick*. In the fifth century, the Angles, in conjunction with the Saxons, migrated into Britain, and perpetuated their name by giving appellation to *England*.

⁴ From the enumeration of Tacitus, and the situation

defended by rivers or forests. Nothing remarkable occurs in any of these; except that they unite in the worship of Herthum⁵ or Mother Earth; and suppose her to interfere in the affairs of men, and visit the different nations. In an island⁶ of the Ocean stands a sacred and unviolated grove, in which is a consecrated chariot,

of the other tribes, it appears, that the Eudoses must have occupied the modern *Wismar* and *Rostock*: the Suardones, *Stralsund*, Swedish *Pomerania*, and part of the *Hither Pomerania*, and of the *Uckerane Marche*: Eccard, however, supposes these nations were much more widely extended; and that the Eudoses dwelt upon the *Oder*; the Suardones, upon the *Warte*; the Nuitrones, upon the *Netze*.

⁵ The ancient name of the goddess *Herthum*, still subsists in the German *Erde*, pronounced *Erdt*, and in the English *Earth*. Almost all idolatrous nations have made the Earth an object of worship. Thus, among the Romans, we find that Sempronius, after subduing the Picentines, “propitiated the goddess Tellus (*Earth*) ‘by a temple which he had vowed.’” *Florus*, i. 19.

⁶ Many suppose this island to have been the *isle of Rugen* in the Baltic sea. It is more probable, however, that it was an island near the mouth of the Elbe, now called the *isle of Helgeland*, or *Heilegeland*; (Holy island). Besides the proof arising from the name, the situation agrees better with that of the nations before enumerated.

covered with a veil, which the priest alone is permitted to touch. He perceives when the goddess enters this secret recess ; and with profound veneration attends the vehicle, which is drawn by yoked cows. At this season ⁷ all is joy ; and every place which the goddess deigns to visit is a scene of festivity. No wars are undertaken ; arms are untouched ; and every hostile weapon is shut up. Peace and repose are then only known ; then only loved : till at length the same priest reconducts the goddess, satiated with mortal intercourse, to her temple ⁸. The chariot, with its covering, and, if we may believe it, the goddess herself, then undergo ablution in a secret lake. This office is performed by slaves,

⁷ Olaus Rudbeck contends that this festival was celebrated in winter, and still continues in Scandinavia under the appellation of *Julifred*, the peace of Juul. (*Yule is the term used for Christmas season in the old English and Scottish dialects.*) But this feast was solemnized not in honour of the Earth, but of the Sun, called by them *Thor* or *Taranim*. The festival of *Herthum* was held later, in the month of February ; as may be seen in Mallet's *Introduct. to the Hist. of Denmark.*

⁸ The grove before-mentioned.

whom the same lake instantly swallows up. Hence proceeds a mysterious horror ; and a holy ignorance of what that can be, which is beheld only by those who are about to perish.

Towards this quarter, the Suevi extend into the interior parts of Germany. And first (to follow the course of the Danube, as we before did that of the Rhine) occur the Hermunduri⁹; a people faithful to the Romans¹, and on that account the only Germans who are admitted to commerce, not on the banks alone, but within our

⁹ It is supposed that this people, on account of their valour, were called *Heermanner*; corrupted by the Romans into *Hermunduri*. They were first settled between the Elbe, the Sala, and Bohemia; where now are *Anhalt*, *Voightland*, *Saxony*, part of *Misnia*, and of *Franconia*. Afterwards, when the Marcomanni took possession of Bohemia, from which the Boii had been expelled by Marobodus, the Hermunduri added their settlements to their own, and planted in them the Suevian name, whence is derived the modern appellation of that country, *Suabia*.

¹ They were so at that time; but afterwards joined with the Marcomanni and other Germans against the Romans in the time of Marcus Aurelius, who overcame them.

territories, and in the flourishing colony ^{*} established in the province of Rætia. They pass and repass at pleasure, without being attended by a guard ; and while we exhibit to other nations our arms and camps alone, to these we lay open our houses and country seats, which they behold without coveting. In the country of the Hermunduri rises the Elbe [†] ; a river formerly celebrated and known among us, now only heard of.

Contiguous to the Hermunduri are the

^{*} Augusta Vindelicorum, now Augsburg ; a famous Roman colony in the province of Rætia, of which Vindelica was then a part.

[†] Tacitus is greatly mistaken if he confounds the source of the *Egra*, which is in the country of the Hermunduri, with that of the *Elbe*, which rises in Bohemia. The *Elbe* had been formerly, as Tacitus observes, well known to the Romans by the victories of Drusus, Tiberius, and Domitius ; but afterwards, when the increasing power of the Germans kept the Roman arms at a distance, it was only indistinctly heard of. Hence its source was probably inaccurately laid down in the Roman geographical tables. Perhaps, however, the Hermunduri, when they had served in the army of Maroboduus, received lands in that part of Bohemia in which the *Elbe* rises ; in which case there would be no mistake in Tacitus's account,

Narisci¹; and next to them, the Marcomanni² and Quadi³. Of these, the Marcomanni are the most powerful and renowned; and have even acquired the country which they inhabit by their valour in expelling the Boii⁴. Nor are the Narisci and Quadi inferior in bravery⁵; and

¹ Inhabitants of that part of *Bavaria* which lies between Bohemia and the Danube.

² Inhabitants of *Bohemia*.

³ Inhabitants of *Moravia*, and the part of *Austria* between it and the Danube. Of this people, Ammianus Marcellinus, in his account of the reign of Valentinian and Valens, thus speaks. “A sudden commotion arose among the Quadi; a nation at present of little consequence, but which was formerly extremely warlike and potent, as their exploits sufficiently evince.” xxix. 15.

⁴ Their expulsion of the Boii, who had given name to Bohemia, has been already mentioned in page 72. Before this period, the Marcomanni dwelt near the sources of the Danube, where now is the *Dutchy of Wurtemburg*; and, as Dithmar supposes, on account of their inhabiting the borders of Germany, were called *Marcmanner*, from *Marc* (the same with the old English *March*) a border, or boundary.

⁵ These people justified their military reputation by the dangerous war which, in conjunction with the Marcomanni, they excited against the Romans, in the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

this is, as it were, the van of Germany as far as it is bordered by the Danube. Within our memory the Marcomanni and Quadi were governed by kings of their own nation, of the noble line of Maroboduus⁹ and Tudrus. They now submit even to foreigners; but all the power of their kings depends upon the authority of the Romans¹. We seldom assist them with our arms, but frequently with our money.

Not inferior in strength are the interior nations of the Marsigni², Gothini³, Osi⁴, and Burii⁵, who enclose the Marcomanni and Quadi behind. Of these, the Marsigni

⁹ Of this prince, and his alliance with the Romans against Arminius, mention is made by Tacitus, *Annal.* ii.

¹ Thus Vannius was made king of the Quadi by Tiberius. Tacitus, *Annal.* ii. 63. At a later period, Antoninus Pius (as appears from a medal preserved in Spanheim) gave them Furtius for their king. And when they had expelled him, and set Ariogæsus on the throne, Marcus Aurelius, to whom he was obnoxious, refused to confirm the election. *Dio*, lxxi.

² These people inhabited what is now *Glatz*, *Jagendorf*, and part of *Silesia*.

³ Inhabitants of part of *Silesia*, and of *Hungary*.

⁴ Inhabitants of part of *Hungary* to the *Danube*.

⁵ These were settled about the *Crapack mountains*, and the sources of the *Vistula*.

and Burii in language⁶ and manners resemble the Suevi. The Gothini and Osi prove themselves not to be Germans, the first, by their use of the Gallic, the second, of the Pannonian tongue; and both, by their submitting to pay tribute; which is levied on them, as aliens, partly by the Sarmatians, partly by the Quadi. The Gothini, to their additional disgrace, work iron mines⁷. All these people inhabit but a small proportion of champaign country; their settlements are chiefly among forests, and summits of hills. For Suevi is divided by a continued ridge of

⁶ It is probable that the Suevi were distinguished from the rest of the Germans by a peculiar dialect, as well as by their dress and manners.

⁷ Ptolemy mentions iron mines in or near the country of the Quadi. I should imagine that the expression *additional disgrace* (or, more literally, *which might make them more ashamed*) does not refer merely to the slavery of working in mines, but to the circumstance of their digging up *iron*, the substance by means of which they might acquire freedom and independence. This is quite in the manner of Tacitus. The word *Iron* was figuratively used by the ancients to signify military force in general. Thus Solon, in his well-known answer to Cræsus, observed to him that the nation which possessed more iron would be master of all his gold. J. A.

mountains⁸; beyond which are various distinct nations. Of these, the Lygian⁹ is the most extensive, and diffuses its name through several communities. It will be sufficient to name the most powerful of them—the Arii, Helvecones, Manimi, Elysii, and Naharvali¹. In the country of the latter is a grove, consecrated to religious rites of great antiquity. A priest presides over them, dressed in woman's apparel; but the gods worshipped there are said, according to the Roman interpretation, to be Castor and Pollux. Their attributes are the same; their name, Alcis². No images, indeed,

⁸ The mountains between *Moravia*, *Hungary*, *Silesia*, and *Bohemia*.

⁹ The Lygii inhabited what is now part of *Silesia*, of the *New Marche*, of *Prussia* and *Poland* on this side the *Vistula*.

¹ These tribes were settled between the *Oder* and *Vistula*, where now are part of *Silesia*, of *Brandenburg*, and of *Poland*. The Elysii are supposed to have given name to *Silesia*.

² The Greeks and Romans, under the name of the *Dioscuri*, or Castor and Pollux, worshipped those meteorous exhalations, which, during a storm, appear on the masts of ships, and are supposed to denote an approaching calm. A kind of religious veneration is still paid to this phænomenon by the Roman Catholics, under the appellation of the fire of St. Elmo. The Naharvali

or vestiges of foreign superstition appear in their worship; but they are revered under the character of young men and brothers. The Arii, fierce beyond the superiority of strength they possess above the other just enumerated people, improve their native ferocity of aspect by artificial helps. Their shields are black; their bodies painted³: they choose the darkest nights for engaging; and strike terror by the dismal gloom of their funereal army—no enemy being able to sustain their singular, and, as it were, infernal appearance; since in every combat, the eyes are the first part subdued. Beyond the Lygii are the Gothones⁴, who are under a regal govern-

seem to have affixed the same character of divinity on the *ignis fatuus*; and the name *Alcis* is probably the same with that of *Alff* or *Alp*, which the northern nations still apply to the fancied Genii of the mountains. The Sarmatian deities *Lebus* and *Polebus*, the memory of whom still subsists in the Polish festivals, had, perhaps, the same origin.

³ No custom has been more universal among uncivilized people than painting the body, either for the purpose of ornament, or that of inspiring terror.

⁴ Inhabitants of what is now *Farther Pomerania*, *the New Marche*, and *the Western part of Poland*, between the *Oder* and *Vistula*. They were a different

ment, somewhat more strict than that of the other German nations, yet not to a degree incompatible with liberty. Adjoining to these, are the *Rugii*⁵ and *Lemovii*⁶, situated on the sea-coast:—all these tribes are distinguished by round shields, short swords, and submission to regal authority.

Next occur the communities of the *Suiones*⁷,

people from the Goths, though, perhaps, in alliance with them.

⁵ These people were settled on the shore of the Baltic, where now are *Colberg*, *Cassubia*, and *Farther Pomerania*. Their name is still preserved in the town of *Rugenwald*, and *isle of Rugen*.

⁶ These were also settlers on the Baltic, about the modern *Stolpe*, *Dantzig*, and *Lavenburg*. The *Heruli* appear afterwards to have occupied the settlements of the *Lemovii*. Of these last no farther mention occurs; but the *Heruli* made themselves famous throughout Europe and Asia, and were the first of the Germans who founded a kingdom in Italy under Odoacer.

⁷ The *Suiones* inhabited *Sweden*, and the *Danish* isles of *Funen*, *Langland*, *Zeeland*, *Laland*, &c. From them and the *Cimbri* were derived the *Normans*, who, after spreading terror through various parts of the empire, at last seized upon the fertile province of *Normandy* in France. The names of Goths, Visigoths, and Ostrogoths, became still more famous, being the nations who accomplished the ruin of the Roman empire. The laws of the Visigoths are still extant; but they depart much from the usual simplicity of the German laws.

seated in the very Ocean⁸, who, besides their strength in men and arms, are also powerful by sea⁹. The form of their vessels differs from our's in having prows at each end¹, so that they are always ready to advance. They make no use of sails, nor have regular benches of oars at the sides: they row, as is practised in some rivers, without order, sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other, as occasion requires. These people pay respect to

⁸ The Romans, who had but an imperfect knowledge of this part of the world, imagined here those "vast insular tracts" mentioned in the beginning of this treatise. Hence Pliny, also, says of the Baltic sea, (*Codanus sinus*) that "it is filled with islands, the most famous of which, Scandinavia, (*now Sweden and Norway*) is of an undiscovered magnitude; that part of it only being known which is occupied by the Hilleviones, a nation inhabiting five hundred cantons; who call this country another globe." *Lib. iv. 13.* The memory of the Hilleviones is still preserved in the part of Sweden named *Halland*.

⁹ Their naval power continued so great, that they had the glory of framing the nautical code, the laws of which were first written at *Wisby*, the capital of the isle of *Gothland*, in the 11th century.

¹ This is exactly the form of the Indian canoes, which, however, are generally worked with sails as well as oars.

wealth²; for which reason they are subject to monarchical government, without any limitations³, or precarious conditions of allegiance. Nor are arms allowed to be kept promiscuously, as among the other German nations; but are committed to the charge of a keeper, and he, too, a slave. The pretext is, that the Ocean defends them from any sudden incursions; and men unemployed, with arms in their hands, readily become licentious. In fact, it is a part of regal policy not to entrust a noble, a freeman, or even an emancipated slave, with the military power.

² The great opulence of a temple of the Suiones, as described by Adam of Bremen (*Eccl. Hist. ch. 233.*) is a proof of the wealth that at all times has attended naval dominion. "This nation," says he, "possesses a "temple of great renown, called Ubsola, (now *Upsal*) "not far from the cities Sictona and Birca (now *Sigtuna* "and *Bioerkoe*). In this temple, which is entirely "ornamented with gold, the people worship the statues "of three gods; the most powerful of whom, Thor, is "seated on a couch in the middle; with Woden on one "side, and Fricca on the other." From the ruins of the towns Sictona and Birca arose the present capital of Sweden, *Stockholm*.

³ Hence Spener (*Notit. German. antiqu.*) rightly concludes that the crown was hereditary and not elective, among the Suiones.

Beyond the Suiones is another sea, sluggish and almost void of agitation¹, by which the whole globe is imagined to be girt and enclosed, from this circumstance, that the last light of the setting sun continues so vivid till its rising, as to obscure the stars². Popular belief adds, that the sound of his emerging³ from the ocean is also heard; and the forms of deities⁴ with

¹ It is uncertain whether what is now called the *Frozen Ocean* is here meant, or the northern extremities of the *Baltic Sea*, the *Gulfs* of *Bothnia* and *Finland*, which are so frozen every winter as to be unnavigable.

² The true principles of astronomy have now taught us the reason why, at a certain latitude, the sun, at the summer solstice, appears never to set; and at a lower latitude, the evening twilight continues till morning.

³ The true reading here is, probably, *immerging*; since it was a common notion at that period that the descent of the sun into the ocean was attended with a kind of hissing noise, like red hot iron dipped into water. Thus Juvenal, *Sat. xiv.* 280.

Audiet Herculeo stridentem gurgite solem.

"Hear the sun hiss in the Herculean gulf."

⁴ Instead of *formas deorum*, "forms of deities," some, with more probability, read *equorum*, "of the horses" which are feigned to draw the chariot of the sun.

the rays beaming from his head, are beheld. Only thus far, if fame say true, nature extends⁸. On the right shore of the Suevic sea⁹ the tribes of the *Æstii*¹ inhabit, whose habit and customs are the same with those of the Suevi, but their language more resembling the British². They worship the mother of the gods³; and as the badge of their superstition, they carry about them the figures of wild boars⁴. This serves them in place of armour and every other defence: it renders the votary of the god-

⁸ Thus Quintus Curtius, speaking of the Indian Ocean, says, “ Nature itself can proceed no farther.”

⁹ The *Baltic sea*.

¹ Now, the *Kingdom of Prussia*, the *Dutchies of Samogitia and Courland*, the *Palatinates of Livonia, and Esthonia*, in the name of which last the ancient appellation of these people is preserved.

² Because the inhabitants of this extreme part of Germany retained the Scythico-Celtic language, which long prevailed in Britain.

³ A deity of Scythian origin, called *Frea*, or *Fricco*. See Mallet’s *Introduct. to Hist. of Denmark*.

⁴ Many vestiges of this superstition remain to this day in Sweden. The peasants, in the month of February, the season formerly sacred to *Frea*, make little images of boars in paste, which they apply to various superstitious uses. See *Eccard*.

des safe even in the midst of foes. Their weapons are chiefly clubs, iron being little used among them. They cultivate corn and other vegetables with more industry than German indolence generally exerts⁵. They even explore the sea; and are the only people who gather amber, which by them is called *Glese*⁶, and is collected among the shallows and upon the shore. With the usual indifference of savages, they have neglected to inquire into the nature of this substance, and the manner of its production. It long lay disregarded⁷

⁵ The cause of this was, probably, their confined situation, which did not permit them to wander in hunting and plundering parties, like the rest of the Germans.

⁶ From its transparency. *Glas* in Germany has the same import as Glass with us. Pliny speaks of the production of amber in this country as follows. "It is certain that amber is produced in the islands of the Northern Ocean, and is called by the Germans *gless*. One of these islands, by the natives named Austravia, was on this account called *Glessaria* by our sailors in the fleet of Germanicus." *Lib. xxxvii. 3.*

⁷ Insomuch that the Guttones, who formerly inhabited this coast, made use of amber as fuel, and sold it for that purpose to the neighbouring Teutones. *Plin. xxxvii. 2.*

amidst other things thrown up by the sea, till our luxury⁸ gave it a name. Useless to them, they gather it in the rough ; bring it unwrought ; and wonder at the price they receive. It would appear, however, to be a juice flowing from trees ; since terrestrial, and even winged animals are usually seen shining through it, which, entangled in it while in a liquid state, became enclosed as it hardened⁹. I should therefore imagine that, as the fertile woods and groves in the secret recesses of the East exude frankincense and balsam, so there are the same in the islands and continents of the West ; which, acted upon by the near rays of the sun, drop their liquid juices into the subjacent sea, whence, by

⁸ Various toys and utensils of amber, such as bracelets, necklaces, rings, cups, and even pillars, were to be met with among the luxurious Romans.

⁹ Amber is now in general looked upon as a fossil bitumen, since mines of it have been found in Prussia, where it is dug in considerable quantity. It is difficult, however, to conceive how the insects which are almost universally found in it should get there, if it had always been a subterraneous substance. For a particular account of its nature and the methods of procuring it, see *Neumann's Chemistry*. J. A.

the force of tempests, they are thrown out upon the opposite coasts. If the nature of amber be examined by the application of fire, it kindles like a torch, with a thick and odorous flame; and presently resolves into a glutinous matter resembling pitch or resin. The several communities of the Sitones¹ succeed those of the Suiones; to whom they are similar in other respects, but differ in being under a female sovereign: so far have they degenerated, not only from liberty, but even from slavery. Here Suevia terminates.

I am in doubt whether to reckon the Peucini, Venedi, and Fenni among the Germans or Sarmatians²; although the Peucini³, who are by some called Bastarnæ,

¹ *Norwegians.*

² All beyond the Vistula was reckoned Sarmatia. These people, therefore, were properly inhabitants of Sarmatia, though from their manners they appeared of German origin.

³ Pliny also reckons the Peucini among the German nations. “The fifth part of Germany is possessed by “the Peucini and Bastarnæ, who border on the Dacians.” iv. 14. From Strabo it appears that the Peucini, part of the Bastarnæ, inhabited the country about the mouths of the Danube, and particularly the island Peuce, now *Piczina*, formed by the river.

agree with the Germans in language, apparel, and habitations⁴. All of them live in filth and laziness. The intermarriages of their chiefs with the Sarmatians have debased them by a mixture of the manners of that people. The Venedi⁵ have drawn much from this source; for they over-run in their prædatory excursions all the woody and mountainous tracts between the Peucini and Fenni. Yet even these are rather to be referred to the Germans, since they build houses, carry shields, travel on foot, and excel in swiftness; in all which par-

⁴ The habitations of the Peucini were fixed, whereas the Sarmatians wandered about in their waggons.

⁵ The Venedi extended beyond the Peucini and Eastarnæ as far as the Baltic sea; where is the Sinus Venadicus, now the *Gulf of Dantzig*. Their name is also preserved in *Wenden*, a part of *Livonia*. When the German nations made their irruption into Italy, France, and Spain, the Venedi, also called Winedi, occupied their vacant settlements between the Vistula and Elbe. Afterwards they crossed the Danube, and seized Dalmatia, Illyricum, Istria, Carniola, and the Noric Alps. A part of Carniola still retains the name of *Windismarck* derived from them. This people, on account of their nobility and renown, were called Slavi; and their language, the *Sclavonian*, still prevails through a vast tract of country.

ticulars they totally differ from the Sarmatians, who pass their time in waggons and on horseback⁶. The Fenni⁷ live in a state of amazing savageness and squalid poverty. They are destitute of arms, horses, and settled abodes: their food is herbs⁸; their cloathing, skins; their bed, the ground. Their only dependence is on their arrows,

⁶ This is still the manner of living of the successors of the Sarmatians, the *Nogai Tartars*.

⁷ Their country is called by Pliny *Eningia*; now *Finland*. Warnefrid (*De Gest. Langobard.* i. 5.) thus describes their savage and wretched state. “The Scritobini, or Scritofinni, are not without snow in the midst of summer; and, being little superior in sagacity to the brutes, live upon no other food than the raw flesh of wild animals, the hairy skins of which they use for cloathing. They derive their name, according to the barbarian tongue, from *leaping*; because they hunt wild beasts by a certain method of leaping or springing with pieces of wood bent in the shape of a bow.” Here is an evident description of the snow-shoes or raquets in common use among the North American savages, as well as the inhabitants of the most northern parts of Europe.

⁸ As it is just after mentioned that their chief dependence is on the game procured in hunting, this can only mean that the *vegetable* food they use consists of *wild* herbs, in opposition to the *cultivated* products of the earth. J. A.

which, for want of iron, are headed with bone; and the chase is the support of the women as well as the men, who wander with them in the pursuit, and demand a share of the prey. Nor do they provide any other shelter for their infants from wild beasts and storms, than a covering of branches twisted together. This is the resort of youth; this is the receptacle of old age. Yet even this way of life is in their estimation happier than groaning over cultivated lands; toiling in the erection of houses; subjecting their own fortunes and those of others to the agitations of alternate hope and fear. Secure against men, secure against the gods⁹, they have attained that most difficult point, not to need even a wish.

All our further accounts are intermixed with fable; as, that the Hellusii and Oxioni¹ have the countenances of men, with the

⁹ Thus Seneca, *Epist. xvii.* commends poverty, "because it promises perpetual liberty, without any apprehensions from man or God."

¹ People of *Lapland*. The origin of this fable was probably the manner of cloathing in these cold regions, where the inhabitants bury themselves in the thickest furs, scarcely leaving any thing in the form of a human creature.

bodies and limbs of wild beasts. This, as a matter concerning which nothing authentic has reached us, I shall leave without discussion ².

² It is with true judgment that this excellent Historian forbears to intermix fabulous narrations with the very interesting and instructive matter of this Treatise. Such a mixture might have brought an impeachment on the fidelity of the account in general; which, notwithstanding the suspicions professed by some critics, contains nothing but what is entirely consonant to truth and nature. Had Tacitus indulged his invention in the description of German manners, is it probable that he could have given so just a picture of the state of a people under similar circumstances, the savage tribes of North America, as we have seen them within the present century? Is it likely that his relations would have been so admirably confirmed by the codes of law still extant of the several German nations; such as the Salic, Ripuary, Burgundian, English, and Lombard? or that after the course of so many centuries, and the numerous changes of empire, the customs, laws, and manners he describes should still be traced in all the various people of German derivation? As long as the original constitution and jurisprudence of our own and other European countries are studied, this Treatise will be regarded as one of the most precious and authentic monuments of historical antiquity.

THE
L I F E
OF
AGRICOLA.

THE
LIFE
OF
AGRICOLA.

THE ancient custom of transmitting to posterity the actions and manners of famous men, has not been neglected by the present age, though incurious of its own affairs, whenever any exalted and noble degree of virtue has triumphed over that false estimation of merit, and envy, by which great and small states are equally infested. In former times, however, as there was a greater propensity, and freer scope, for the performance of actions worthy of remembrance; so every person of distinguished abilities was induced through conscientious

¹ This work was composed in the year of Rome 850, and in that from the birth of Christ 97; during the third consulate of the emperor Nerva, and the third of Verginius Rufus.

motives alone, without regard to private favour or interest, to record examples of virtue.\ And many considered it rather as the honest confidence of integrity, than a culpable arrogance, to become their own historians. Of this Rutilius² and Scaurus³

* Publius Rutilius Rufus, consul in the year of Rome 649, is called by Velleius Paterculus "the best man not only of his own, but of every preceding age." ii. 13. He acted with vigour against the friends of Tiberius Gracchus; but afterwards, "he was opposed by the senate in those very things which he was attempting in their favour; and being prosecuted for illegal exactions, was condemned, to the great grief of the city." *Ibid. c. 7.*

³ Marcus Æmilius Scaurus was consul in the year of Rome 639. Cicero, in his book *De Claris Oratoribus*, c. 29. mentions him in the following honourable terms. "He was a person of wisdom and integrity, accompanied with great gravity, and a kind of native authority. There are extant of his, orations, and memoirs of his own life, in three books, inscribed to Fusidius; a work of great utility, which, however, nobody reads. Yet the life and institutions of Cyrus are universally read; an excellent performance, indeed, but neither so applicable to the affairs of our country, nor superior in merit to that of Scaurus." After his consulate he was *prince of the senate*. This great and worthy person had a son infamous for his debauchery and luxury; whose ædileship is said by Pliny (xxxiii. 15. n. 7.) to have exceedingly corrupted the public morals;

were instances; who were yet never censured on this account, nor was the fidelity of their narration called in question: so much more candidly are virtues always estimated, in those periods which are the most favourable to their production! For myself, however, who have undertaken to be the historian of a person deceased, an apology seemed necessary; which I should not have made, had my course lain through times less savage and hostile to virtue!

We read that when Arulenus Rusticus published the praises of Pætus Thrasea, and Herennius Senecio those of Priscus Helvidius, it was construed into a capital crime⁵; and the rage of tyranny was let

and he therefore calls it a greater evil than the cruel proscriptions of his father-in-law Sylla.

* Those of Domitian.

⁵ A passage in Dio excellently illustrates the fact here referred to. "He (Domitian) put to death Rusticus Arulenus because he studied philosophy, and had given Thrasea the appellation of holy; and Herennius Senecio, because, although he lived many years after serving the office of quæstor, he solicited no other post, and because he had written the life of Helvidius Priscus." lxvii. p. 765. With less accuracy, Suetonius, in his life of Domitian, (Sect. x.) says, "He put to death Junius Rusticus, because he had

loose not only against the authors, but against their writings ; so that those monuments of exalted genius were burnt at the place of election in the forum by triumvirs appointed for the purpose. In that fire they thought to consume the voice of the Roman people, the freedom of the senate, and the conscious emotions of all mankind ; crowning the deed by the expulsion of the professors of wisdom ⁶, and the banishment of every liberal art, that nothing generous or honourable might remain. We gave, indeed, a consummate proof of our patience ; and as remote ages saw the very utmost degree of liberty, so we, deprived by inquisitions of all the intercourse of conversation, experienced the utmost of

" published the panegyrics of Pætus Thrasea and Hel-
 " vidius Priscus, and had styled them most holy persons ;
 " and on this occasion he expelled all the philosophers
 " from the city, and from Italy." Arulenus Rusticus
 was a Stoic ; on which account he was contumeliously
 called by M. Regulus " the ape of the Stoicks, marked
 " with the Vitellian scar." *Plin. Epist.* i. 5. Thrasea,
 who killed Nero, is particularly recorded in Tacitus's
Annals, Book xvi.

⁶ The expulsion of the philosophers, mentioned in the passage above quoted from Suetonius.

slavery. With language we should have lost memory itself, had it been as much in our power to forget, as to be silent.

Now our spirits begin to revive. But although at the first dawning of this happy period⁷, the emperor Nerva united two things before incompatible, monarchy and liberty; and Trajan is now daily augmenting the felicity of the empire; and the public security⁸ has not only assumed hopes and wishes, but has seen those wishes arise to confidence and stability; yet, from the nature of human infirmity, remedies are more tardy in their operation than diseases; and, as bodies slowly increase, but quickly perish, so it is more easy to suppress industry and genius, than to recal them. For indolence itself acquires a sweetness; and sloth, however odious at first, becomes at length engaging. During

⁷ This truly happy period began when, after the death of Domitian, and the revision of his acts, the imperial authority devolved on Nerva, whose virtues were emulated by the successive emperors, Trajan, Hadrian, and both the Antonines.

⁸ *Securitas publica* “the public security” was a current expression and wish, and was frequently inscribed on medals.

the space of fifteen years⁹, a large portion of mortality, how great a number have fallen by casual events, and, as was the fate of all the most distinguished, by the cruelty of the prince; while we, the few survivors, not of others alone, but, if I may be allowed the expression, of ourselves, find a void of so many years in our lives, which has silently brought us from youth to maturity, from mature age to the very verge of life! Still, however, I shall not regret having composed, though in rude and artless language, a memorial of past servitude, and a testimony of present blessings¹.

The present work, in the mean-time, which is dedicated to the honour of my father-in-law, may be thought to merit praise, or at least excuse, from the piety of the intention.

CNAEUS JULIUS AGRICOLA was born at the ancient and illustrious colony of Fo-

⁹ The term of Domitian's reign.

¹ It appears that at this time Tacitus proposed to write not only the books of his *History* and *Annals*, which contain the "memorial of past servitude," but an account of the "present blessings" exemplified in the occurrences under Nerva and Trajan.

rumjulii². Both his grandfathers were imperial procurators³, an office which confers the rank of equestrian nobility. His father, Julius Græcinus⁴, of the senatorian order, was famous for the study of eloquence and philosophy; and by these accomplishments he drew on himself the

² There were two Roman colonies of this name; one in Umbria, supposed to be the place now called *Friuli*; the other in Narbonnensis Gaul, the modern name of which is *Trejus*. This last was probably the birth-place of Agricola.

³ Of the procurators who were sent to the provinces, some had the charge of the public revenue. others, not only of that, but of the private revenue of the emperor. These were the imperial procurators. All the offices relative to the finances were in the possession of the Roman knights; of whom the imperial procurators were accounted noble. Hence the equestrian nobility of which Tacitus speaks. In some of the lesser provinces, the procurators had the civil jurisdiction, as well as the administration of the revenue. This was the case in Judæa.

⁴ Seneca bears a very honourable testimony to this person. "If," says he, "we have occasion for an example of a great mind, let us use that of Julius Græcinus, an excellent person, whom Caius Cæsar put to death on this account alone, that he was a better man than could be suffered under a tyrant." *De Benef.* ii. 21. His books concerning *Vineyards* are commended by Columella and Pliny.

displeasure of Caius Cæsar⁵; for, being commanded to undertake the accusation of Marcus Silanus, on his refusal, he was put to death. His mother was Julia Procilla, a lady of exemplary chastity. Educated with tenderness in her bosom⁶, he

⁵ Caligula.

⁶ Of the part the Roman matrons took in the education of youth, we have the following elegant and interesting account, in the *Dialogue concerning Orators*, usually attributed to Tacitus. The speaker is comparing the method of education formerly pursued, with that in his time practised, among the great families in Rome. “And first,” says he, “every child, the offspring of a chaste parent, was brought up, not in the cottage of a hired nurse, but in the bosom of his mother, whose chief praise it was, to manage her domestic affairs, and devote herself to her children. An elderly female relation was then fixed upon, whose known and approved virtues rendered her fit to be entrusted with the charge of all the children of the family; before whom they should neither dare to speak what was improper to be spoken, nor do what was unbecoming to be done; and who should not only superintend their studies and serious occupations, but should temper even their sports and relaxations with a certain purity and decorum. Thus Cornelia presided over the education of the Gracchi, Aurelia over that of Cæsar, and Atia over that of Augustus—thus they brought up their children to the rank of princes. It was the whole scope of this strictness of

passed his childhood and youth in the attainment of every liberal art. He was preserved from the allurements of vice, not only by a naturally good disposition, but by being sent very early to pursue his studies at Massilia⁷; a place where the Grecian politeness and the provincial frugality are happily united. I remember he was used to relate, that in his early youth he should have engaged more deeply in the studies of philosophy and law than was suitable to a Roman and a senator, had not the discretion of his mother restrained the warmth and vehemence of his disposition: for his high spirit, inflamed by the charms of glory and exalted reputation, led him to the pursuit with more eagerness than judgement. Reason and riper years mitigated his ardour; and, what is a most

" discipline, that the mind, in its native simplicity and
 " purity, warped by no vicious habits, should imbibe
 " with the utmost avidity every worthy object of
 " pursuit; and that whether the youth inclined to a
 " military life, the study of the laws, or the practice of
 " eloquence, he should attend to that alone, and take
 " it in in its full extent." *Sect. xxviii.*

⁷ Now *Marseilles*. This was a colony of the Phœcœans, whence it derived that Grecian politeness for which it was long famous.

difficult task, he preserved a medium in wisdom itself.

He learned the rudiments of war in Britain, under Suetonius Paullinus, an active and prudent commander, who manifested his approbation by choosing him for a companion in his own tent⁸. In this situation, he did not, like most young men, convert the service into a scene of licentiousness; nor, after spending his time in pleasures and absence from duty, content himself with bringing back a tribunitial rank⁹ with ignorance: but he employed himself in gaining a knowledge of the country, cultivating an acquaintance with the army, learning from the experienced, and imitating the best; neither pressing to be employed through vain glory, nor de-

⁸ It was usual for generals to admit young men of promising characters to this honourable companionship; which resembled the office of an *aid de camp* in the modern service. Thus Seutonius informs us that Cæsar made his first campaign in Asia as tent-companion to Marcus Thermus the prætor.

⁹ The military tribuneship, which, on account of the number who solicited it, was sometimes continued only for six months. Thus Pliny, in an epistle to Sossius (B. iv. Ep. 4.) begs him to confer on Calvisius the honour of a six-month's tribuneship.

clining it through timidity ; and conducting himself with equal solicitude and spirit. That province, indeed, had never been in a state of greater alarm and danger. Our veterans slaughtered, our settlements burnt¹, our armies hemmed in—we were then contending for safety, afterwards for victory. During this period, although every thing was transacted under the conduct and direction of another, and the chief command, as well as the glory of recovering the province, fell to the general's share, yet the young Agricola was improved and animated ; and the passion for military glory entered his mind ; a passion ungrateful to the times², in which eminence was unfavourably construed, and a great reputation was no less dangerous than a bad one.

Departing from hence to undertake the offices of magistracy in the city, he married Domitia Decidiana, a lady of splendid descent, from which connection he derived

¹ This was the fate of the colony of veterans at Camulodunum, now *Colchester*. A particular account of this revolt is given in the 14th book of Tacitus's *Annals*.

² Those of Nero.

credit and support in his pursuit of greater things. They lived together in admirable harmony and mutual affection ; each consulting the other's happiness more than their own ; a conduct equally meritorious in both, except that a greater degree of praise is due to a good wife, in proportion as a bad one deserves the greater censure. By the lot of quæstorship³ he obtained Asia for his province, under the proconsul *Salvius Titianus*⁴ : and although the province was wealthy and open to plunder, and the proconsul, from his rapacious disposition, would readily have agreed to a mutual concealment of crimes, yet he remained untainted by both. His family was there increased by the birth of a daughter, who was both the support of his house, and his consolation ; for he lost an elder born son at a very early age. The interval between his serving the office of quæstor and

³ The office of quæstor was the entrance to all public employments. The quæstors and their secretaries were distributed by lot to the several provinces, that there might be no previous connexions between them and the governors, but they might serve as checks upon each other.

⁴ Brother of the emperor Otho.

tribune of the people, and even the year of the latter magistracy, he passed in repose and inactivity; well knowing the temper of the times under Nero, in which indolence was wisdom. He maintained the same tenor of conduct when prætor; for the judiciary part of the office did not fall to his share⁵. In the exhibition of public shows, and the idle trappings of dignity, he consulted propriety, and the measures of his fortune; by no means approaching to extravagance, yet not inattentive to his honour. When he was afterwards appointed by Galba to manage an inquest concerning the offerings which had been presented to the temples, by his strict

⁵ At the head of the prætors, the number of whom was different at different periods of the empire, were the *Prætor Urbanus*, and *Prætor Peregrinus*. The first administered justice among the citizens, the second among strangers. The rest presided at public debates, and had the charge of exhibiting the public games, which were celebrated with great solemnity for seven successive days, and at a vast expence. This, indeed, in the times of the emperors, was almost the sole business of the prætors, whose dignity, as Tacitus expresses it, consisted in the idle trappings of state: whence Boethius justly terms the prætorship “an empty name, and a grievous burthen on the senatorian rank.”

attention and diligence he preserved the state from any further sacrilege than what it had suffered from Nero⁶.

The following year⁷ inflicted a severe wound on the peace of his mind, and his domestic concerns. The fleet of Otho, roving in a disorderly manner on the coast⁸, made a hostile descent on Intemelii⁹, a part of Liguria, in which the mother of Agricola was murdered at her own estate, her lands were ravaged, and a great part of her effects, which had invited the assassins, was carried off. As Agricola upon this event was hastening to perform the duties of filial piety, he was overtaken by the news of Vespasian's declaring for the empire¹, and

⁶ Nero had plundered the temples for the supply of his extravagance and debauchery. See Tacitus's *Annals*, xv. 45.

⁷ This was the year of Rome 822; from the birth of Christ, 69.

⁸ The cruelties and depredations committed on the coast of Italy by this fleet are described in lively colours by Tacitus, *Hist.* ii. 12 and 13.

⁹ Now the county of *Vintimiglia*. The attack upon the municipal town of this place, called *Albium Intemelium*, is particularly mentioned in the passage above referred to.

¹ In the month of July, of this year.

immediately went over to his party. The first acts of power, and the government of the city, were entrusted to Mucianus ; Domitian being at that time very young, and making use of his father's advancement only as an instrument of licentiousness. Mucianus, having approved the vigour and fidelity of Agricola in the service of raising levies, gave him the command of the twentieth legion², which had appeared backward in taking the oaths, as soon as he had heard of the seditious practices of its commander³. This legion had been unmanageable and formidable even to the consular lieutenants⁴; and its late commander of prætorian rank had not sufficient authority to keep it in obedience ; though it was uncertain whether from his own disposition, or that of his soldiers. Agricola was therefore appointed as his successor

² The twentieth legion, surnamed the victorious, was stationed in Britain, at Deva, the modern *Chester*, where many inscriptions and other monuments of Roman antiquities have been discovered.

³ Roscius Cælius. His disputes with the governor of Britain, Trebellius Maximus, are related by Tacitus, *Hist.* i. 60.

⁴ The governors of the province, and commanders in chief over all the legions stationed in it.

and avenger ; but, with an uncommon degree of moderation, he chose rather to have it appear that he had found the legion obedient, than that he had made it so.

Vettius Bolanus was at that time governor of Britain ⁵, and ruled with a more pacific sway than was suitable to so turbulent a province. Under his administration, Agricola, accustomed to obey, and taught to unite what was prudential with what was honourable, tempered his ardour, and restrained his enterprising spirit. His virtues had soon a larger field for their exertion, from the appointment of Petilius Cerialis ⁶,

⁵ The following list of the successive governors of Britain from the year of Rome 796, A.D. 43, to the year of Rome 838, A.D. 85, is extracted from this work, and other parts of Tacitus.

- Aulus Plautius.
- Ostorius Scapula.
- Aulus Didius Gallus.
- Q. Veranius.
- Suetonius Paullinus.
- Petronius Turpilianus.
- Trebellius Maximus.
- Vettius Bolanus.
- Petilius Cerialis.
- Julius Frontinus.
- Cnæus Julius Agricola.

⁶ He had formerly been commander of the ninth legion.

a man of consular dignity, to the government. At first he only shared the fatigues and dangers of his general; but was presently allowed to partake of his glory. Cerealis frequently entrusted him with part of his army, as a trial of his abilities; and from the event sometimes enlarged his command. On these occasions, Agricola was never ostentatious in assuming to himself the merit of his exploits; but always, as a subordinate officer, gave the honour of his good fortune to his superior. Thus by his spirit in executing orders, and his modesty in recounting his success, he avoided envy, yet did not fail of acquiring glory.

On his return from commanding the legion, he was called by Vespasian to the patrician order, and then invested with the government of Aquitania⁷, a distinguished promotion, both in respect to the office itself, and the hopes of the consulate to which it destined him. It is a common supposition that military men, habituated to the direct and informal processes of camps, where things are chiefly effected by

⁷ The province of Aquitania extended from the Pyrenean mountains to the river Liger (*Loire*).

force, are deficient in that address and subtilty of genius requisite in civil proceedings. Agricola, however, by his natural prudence was enabled to act with facility and precision even among men of the robe. He distinguished the hours of business from those of relaxation. When the court or tribunal demanded his presence, he was grave, intent, awful, yet generally inclined to lenity. When the duties of his office were over, the man of power was instantly laid aside. Nothing of sternness, arrogance or rapaciousness appeared ; and, what was a singular felicity, his affability did not impair his authority, nor his severity render him less beloved. To mention integrity and freedom from corruption in such a man would be an affront to his virtues. He did not even court reputation, an object to which men of worth frequently sacrifice, by ostentation or artifice : equally avoiding competition with his colleagues⁸, and contention with the procurators. To overcome in such a contest he thought inglorious ; and to be trampled on, a disgrace. Some-what less than three years were spent in this

⁸ The governors of the neighbouring provinces.

office, when he was recalled to the immediate prospect of the consulate; while at the same time a popular opinion prevailed that the government of Britain would be conferred upon him; an opinion not founded upon any suggestions of his own, but upon his being thought equal to the station.

Common fame does not always err, sometimes it even directs a choice. When consul⁹, he contracted his daughter, a lady of the happiest expectations, to myself, then a very young man; and after his office was expired I received her in marriage. He was immediately appointed governor of Britain, and the pontificate¹ was added to his other dignities.

The situation and inhabitants of Britain have been described by many writers²; and I shall not add to the number with the view of vying with them in accuracy and inge-

⁹ Agricola was consul in the year of Rome 830, A. D. 77. along with Domitian. They succeeded, in the calends of July, the consuls Vespasian and Titus, who began the year.

¹ He was admitted into the Pontifical College, at the head of which was the Pontifex Maximus.

² Julius Cæsar, Livy, Strabo, Fabius Rusticus, Pomponius Mela, Pliny, &c.

nuity, but because it was first thoroughly subdued in the period of the present history. The circumstances which, while yet unascertained, they embellished with their eloquence, I shall simply relate from the evidence of real discoveries. Britain, the largest of all the islands which have come within the knowledge of the Romans, is extended on the East towards Germany, on the West towards Spain³, and on the South towards Gaul. Its Northern extremity is not opposed to any land, but is washed by a vast and open sea. Livy, the most eloquent of ancient, and Fabius Rusticus of modern writers, have resembled the figure of Britain to an oblong target, or a two-edged axe⁴. And this is in reality its appearance, exclusive of Caledonia; whence it has been popularly attributed to the whole island. But that tract of country, irregularly stretching out to an immense length towards the extremity of the land,

³ Thus Cæsar. “One side of Britain inclines towards Spain, and the setting sun; on which part Ireland is situated.” *Bell. Gall.* v. 13.

⁴ These, as well as other resemblances suggested by ancient geographers, have been mostly destroyed by the greater accuracy of modern maps.

is gradually contracted in form of a wedge⁵. The Roman fleet, at this period first sailing round this remotest coast, gave certain proof that Britain was an island; and at the same time discovered and subdued the Orcades⁶, islands till then unknown. Thule⁷ was also descried, which winter

⁵ This is so far true, that the northern extremity of Scotland is much narrower than the southern coast of England.

⁶ The *Orkney* islands. These, although now first thoroughly known to the Romans, had before been heard of, and mentioned by authors. Thus Mela, iii. 6. “There are thirty of the Orcades, separated from each other by narrow straits.” And Pliny, iv. 16. “The Orcades are forty in number, at a small distance from each other.” In the reign of Claudius the report concerning these islands was particularly current, and adulation converted it into the news of a victory. Hence Hieronymus in his *Chronicon* says, “Claudius triumphed over the Britons, and added the Orcades to the Roman empire.”

⁷ Camden supposes the *Shetland* islands to be meant here by Thule; others imagine it to have been one of the *Hebrides*. Pliny, iv. 16. mentions Thule as the most remote of all known islands; and by placing it but one day’s sail from the Frozen Ocean, renders it probable that *Iceland* was intended. Procopius (*Bell. Goth.* ii. 15.) speaks of another Thule, which must have been *Norway*, which many of the ancients thought to be an island.

and eternal snow had hitherto concealed. The sea is reported to be sluggish and difficult for oars; and even to be scarcely agitated by winds. The cause of this stagnation I imagine to be the deficiency of land and mountains where tempests are generated; and the difficulty with which such a mighty mass of waters, in an uninterrupted main, is put in motion^a. It is not the business of this work to investigate the nature of the ocean and the tides; a subject which many writers have already undertaken. I shall only add one circumstance; that the dominion of the sea is no where more extensive: for it forces up and carries back with it the waters of rivers; and its ebbings and flowings are not confined to the shore, but it penetrates into the heart

^a As far as the meaning of this passage can be elucidated, it would appear as if the first circumnavigators of Britain, to enhance the idea of their dangers and hardships, had represented the Northern sea as in such a thickened half solid state, that the oars could scarcely be worked, or the water agitated by winds. Tacitus, however, rather chooses to explain its stagnant condition from the want of winds, and the difficulty of moving so great a body of waters. But the fact, taken either way, is erroneous; as this sea is never observed frozen, and is remarkably stormy and tempestuous. J. A.

of the country, and works its way among hills and mountains, as in its native bed⁹.

Who were the first inhabitants of Britain, whether indigenous¹ or emigrants, is a question involved in the obscurity usual among barbarians. Their temperament of body is various, whence deductions are formed of their different origin. Thus, the ruddy hair and large limbs of the Caledonians², point out a German derivation. The swarthy complexion and curled hair of the Silures³, together with their situation opposite to Spain, render it probable that a colony of the ancient Iberi⁴ possessed

⁹ The great number of firths and inlets of the sea which almost cut through the northern parts of the island, as well as the height of the tides on the coast, render this observation peculiarly proper.

¹ Cæsar mentions that the interior inhabitants of Britain were supposed to have originated in the island itself. *Bell. Gall.* v. 12.

² Caledonia, now *Scotland*, was at that time overspread by vast forests. Thus Pliny, iv. 16. speaking of Britain, says, that “for thirty years past the Roman “arms had not extended the knowledge of the island “beyond the Caledonian forest.”

³ Inhabitants of what are now the counties of *Glamorgan, Monmouth, Brecknock, Hereford, and Radnor*.

⁴ The Iberi were a people of Spain, so called from their neighbourhood to the river Iberus, now *Ebro*.

themselves of that territory. They who are nearest Gaul⁵ resemble the inhabitants of that country; which may be imputed either to the duration of hereditary influence, or to that similarity of climate, proceeding from the mutual approach of the coasts⁶, which occasions similarity of constitution. On a general survey, however, it appears probable that the Gauls originally took possession of the neighbouring coast. The sacred rites and superstitions⁷ of these people are discernible among the Britons. The languages of the two nations do not greatly differ⁸. The same audacity in

⁵ Of these, the inhabitants of Kent are honourably mentioned by Cæsar. “ Of all these people, by far the most civilized are those inhabiting the maritime country of Cantium, who differ little in their manners from the Gauls.” *Bell. Gall. v. 14.*

⁶ From the obliquity of the opposite coasts of England and France, some part of the former runs further south than the northern extremity of the latter.

⁷ Particularly the mysterious and bloody solemnities of the Druids.

⁸ This similarity still subsists between the Welsh language and that of Bretagne; a dialect of which is but just extinct in Cornwall. It was however chiefly from Belgium that the Gallic emigrations into Britain were made. See Cæsar, *Bell. Gall. v. 12.*

provoking danger, and irresolution in facing it when present, is observable in both. The Britons, however, have more ferocity⁹, not being yet softened by a long peace: for it appears from history that the Gauls were once renowned in war, till, losing their valour with their liberty, languor and indolence entered amongst them. The same change has also taken place among those of the Britons who have been long subdued¹; but the rest continue such as the Gauls formerly were.²

Their military strength consists in foot: some nations also make use of chariots in war; in the management of which, the most honourable person guides the reins, while his dependents fight from the chariot. The Britons were formerly governed by kings³, but at present they are divided in

⁹ The children were born and nursed in this ferocity, Thus Solinus, c. 22. speaking of the warlike nation of Britons, says, "When a woman is delivered of a male child, she lays its first food upon the husband's sword, " and with the point gently puts it within the little one's " mouth, praying to her country deities that his death " may in like manner be in the midst of arms."

¹ In the reign of Claudius.

² Thus the kings Cunobelinus, Caractacus, and Pra-

factions and parties among their chiefs; and this want of union for concerting some general plan is the most favourable circumstance to us, in our designs against so powerful a people. It is seldom that two or three communities concur in repelling the common danger; and thus, while they engage singly, they are all subdued. The sky in this country is deformed by clouds and frequent rains; but the cold is never extremely rigorous³. The length of the days greatly exceeds that in our part of the world⁴. The nights are bright, and, at the extremity of the island, so short, that the close and return of day is scarcely distinguished by a perceptible interval. It is even asserted that, when clouds do not intervene, the splendour of the sun is visible during the whole night, and that it does

sutagus, and the queens Cartismandua and Boadicea, are mentioned in different parts of Tacitus.

³ Cæsar says of Britain, “the climate is more temperate than that of Gaul, the cold being less severe.” *Bell. Gall. v. 12.* This certainly proceeds from its insular situation, and the moistness of its atmosphere.

⁴ Thus Pliny, ii. 75. “The longest day in Italy is of fifteen hours: in Britain of seventeen, where in summer the nights are light.”

not appear to rise and set, but to move across. The cause of this is, that the extreme and flat parts of the earth casting a low shadow do not elevate the darkness, and night falls beneath the sky and the stars⁵. The soil, though improper for the olive and vine, and other productions of warmer climates, is yet fertile, and suitable for corn. Growth is quick, but maturation slow; both from the same cause, the great humidity of the ground and the atmosphere⁶. The earth yields gold and

⁵ The words of the author are here rendered as exactly as possible; but it is difficult to say upon what astronomical principles any sense can be made of the passage. The real cause of this phænomenon is now well known to all astronomers. J. A.

⁶ Mr. Pennant has a pleasing remark concerning the soil and climate of our island, well agreeing with that of Tacitus. “The climate of *Great Britain* is above all others productive of the greatest variety and abundance of wholesome vegetables, which, to crown our happiness, are almost equally diffused through all its parts: this general fertility is owing to those clouded skies, which foreigners mistakenly urge as a reproach on our country: but let us cheerfully endure a temporary gloom, which cloaths not only our meadows, but our hills, with the richest verdure.” *Br. Zool.* 4to. i. 15.

silver⁷ and other metals, the rewards of victory. The ocean produces pearls⁸, but

⁷ Strabo, iv. 138. testifies the same. Cicero, on the other hand, asserts that not a single grain of silver is found in this island. *Ep. ad Attic.* iv. 16. If we have recourse to modern authorities, we find Camden mentioning gold and silver mines in *Cumberland*, silver in *Flintshire*, and gold in *Scotland*. Dr. Borlase (*Hist. of Cornwall*, p. 214) relates that so late as the year 1753 several pieces of gold were found in what the miners call *stream tin*; and silver is now got in considerable quantity from several of our lead ores. See *Preface to Br. Zool.* A curious paper concerning the *Gold Mines of Scotland*, is given by Mr. Pennant in *Append.* No. x. to his second Part of *A Tour in Scotland in 1772*.

⁸ Camden mentions pearls being found in the counties of *Caernarvon* and *Cumberland*, and in the British sea. Mr. Pennant in his *Tour in Scotland in 1769*, takes notice of a considerable pearl fishery out of the fresh-water muscle, in the vicinity of *Perth*, from whence £10,000. worth of pearls were sent to London from 1761 to 1764. It was, however, almost exhausted when he visited the country. Origen, in his *Comment. on Matthew*, p. 210, 211, gives a description of the British pearl, which, he says, was next in value to the Indian. "Its surface is of a gold colour, bat it is "cloudy, and less transparent than the Indian." Pliny speaks of the British unions as follows. "It is certain "that small and discoloured ones are produced in "Britain; since the deified Julius has given us to "understand that the breastplate which he dedicated to

of a cloudy and livid hue ; which some impute to unskilfulness in the gatherers ; for in the Red Sea the fish are plucked from the rocks alive and vigorous, but in Britain they are collected as the sea throws them up. For my own part, I can more readily conceive that the defect is in the nature of the pearls, than in our avarice.

The Britons cheerfully submit to levies, tributes, and the other services of government, if they are not treated injuriously ; but such treatment they bear with impatience, their subjection only extending to obedience, not to servitude. For Julius Cæsar⁹, the first Roman who entered Britain with an army, although he terrified the inhabitants by a successful engagement, and became master of the shore, yet appears rather to have transmitted the knowledge than the possession of the country to posterity. The civil wars soon succeeded ; the arms of the great were turned against

"Venus Genetrix and placed in her temple, was made
"of British pearls." ix. 35.

⁹ Cæsar's two expeditions into Britain were in the years of Rome 699 and 700. He himself gives an account of them, and they are also mentioned by Strabo and Dio.

each other ; and a long neglect of Britain ensued, which continued even after the establishment of peace.¹ This Augustus attributed to policy ; and Tiberius to the injunctions of his predecessor.² It is certain that Caius Cæsar³ meditated an expedition into Britain ; but his temper, precipitate in forming schemes, and unsteady in pursuing them, together with the ill success of his mighty attempts against Germany, rendered the design abortive. Claudio^s accomplished the undertaking, transporting his legions and auxiliaries, and associating Vespasian in the direction of affairs, which laid the foundation of his future fortune. In this expedition, the several nations were subdued, their kings made captive, and Vespasian was held forth to the fates.

¹ It was the wise policy of Augustus not to extend any farther the limits of the empire ; and with regard to Britain, in particular, he thought the conquest and preservation of it would be attended with more expence than it could repay. *Strabo*, ii. 79. and iv. 138. Tiberius, who always professed an entire deference for the maxims and injunctions of Augustus, in this instance, probably, was convinced of their propriety.

² Caligula.

³ Claudio invaded Britain in the year of Rome 796, A. D. 43.

Aulus Plautius, the first consular governor, and his successor Ostorius Scapula⁴, were both eminent for military abilities. Under them, the nearest part of Britain was gradually reduced into the form of a province, and a colony of veterans⁵ was settled. Certain districts were bestowed upon king Cogidunus, a prince who continued in perfect fidelity within our own memory. This was done agreeably to the ancient and long established practice of the Romans, to make even kings, the instruments of servitude.⁶ Didius Gallus, the next governor, preserved the acquisitions of his predecessors, and added a very few fortified posts in the remoter parts, for the reputation of enlarging his province. Veranius succeeded, but died within the year. Suetonius Paullinus then commanded with success for two years, subduing various nations, and establishing garrisons. In the confidence with which this inspired

⁴ In the parish of *Dinder*, near Hereford, are yet remaining the vestiges of a Roman encampment, called *Oyster-hill*, as is supposed from this Ostorius. *Camden's Britan. by Gibson*, p. 589.

⁵ That of *Camulodunum*, now *Colchester*.

him, he undertook an expedition against the island Mona⁶, which had furnished the revolters with supplies ; and thereby exposed the settlements behind him to a surprize.

For the Britons, relieved from present dread by the absence of the governor, began to hold conferences, in which they painted the miseries of servitude, compared their several injuries, and mutually inflamed each other with such representations as these. ‘ That the only effects of their patience were more grievous impositions upon a people who submitted with such facility. Instead of their former subjection to a single king, they now groaned under a double yoke, that of the governor, who tyrannized over their persons, and of the procurator, who lorded it over their properties⁷; whose union or discord⁸

⁶ The Mona of Tacitus is the isle of *Anglesea*; that of Cæsar is the isle of *Man*, called by Pliny *Monapia*.

⁷ The avarice of Catus Decidianus the procurator is mentioned as the cause by which the Britons were forced into this war, by Tacitus, *Annal. xiv. 32.*

⁸ Julius Classicianus, who succeeded Decidianus, was at variance with the governor, but was no less oppressive to the province.

‘ was equally fatal to those subjected to them,
‘ while the officers of the one, and the cen-
‘ turions of the other, joined in oppressing
‘ them by all kinds of violence and con-
‘ tumely ; so that nothing remained unvio-
‘ lated by their lust and rapine. In battle
‘ it was the strongest who were the pil-
‘ lagers; but those whom *they* suffered to
‘ seize their houses, force away their chil-
‘ dren, and exact levies, were, for the most
‘ part, the cowardly and effeminate; as if
‘ the only lesson of suffering of which they
‘ were ignorant was how to die for their
‘ country. Yet how inconsiderable would
‘ the number of invaders appear, did the
‘ Britons but compute their own forces?
‘ From considerations like these, Germany
‘ had thrown off the yoke ⁹, though a river¹,
‘ and not the ocean was its barrier. The
‘ welfare of their country, their wives and
‘ their parents called *them* to arms, while
‘ avarice and luxury alone incited their
‘ enemies; who would retire as even the
‘ deified Julius had done, if the present
‘ race of Britons would emulate the valour
‘ of their ancestors, and not be dismayed

⁹ By the slaughter of Varus.

¹ The Rhine and Danube.

' at the event of the first or second engagement. Superior spirit and perseverance were always the share of the wretched ; and the gods themselves now seemed to compassionate the Britons, by ordaining the absence of the general, and the detention of his army in another island. The most difficult point, assembling for the purpose of deliberation, was already accomplished ; and there was always more danger from the discovery of designs like these, than from their execution.'

Instigated by such suggestions, they unanimously rose in arms, led by Boadicea², a woman of royal descent, (for they make no distinction between the sexes in succession to the throne) and attacking the soldiers dispersed through the garrisons, stormed the fortified posts, and invaded the colony³ itself, as the seat of slavery : nor was any species of cruelty

² Boadicea, whose name is variously written Boudicea, Bonduca, Voadicea, &c. was queen of the Iceni, or people of *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridgeshire*, and *Huntingdonshire*. A particular account of this revolt is given in Tacitus's *Annals*, xiv. 31 and seq.

³ Of Camulodunum.

omitted by the barbarians which rage and victory could inspire.' And had not Paulinus, on being acquainted with the commotion of the province, marched speedily to its relief, Britain would have been lost. The fortune of a single battle, however, reduced it to its former subjection ; though many still remained in arms, whom the consciousness of revolt, and particular dread of the governor had driven to despair. For Paullinus, although otherwise exemplary in his administration, treated those who surrendered with asperity ; and pursued rigorous measures, as if he was taking revenge for a personal injury.' He was therefore superseded by Petronius Turpilianus, who was more inclined to lenity, and being unacquainted with the enemy's delinquency, could more easily accept their penitence. After having attempted nothing further than to quiet the present commotions, he delivered the command to Trebellius Maximus. Trebellius, indolent, and inexperienced in military affairs, maintained the tranquillity of the province by affability and condescension ; for even the barbarians had now learned to pardon the agreeable and soothing vices ; and the

intervention of the civil wars also apologized for his inactivity. Sedition however infected the soldiers, who, instead of their usual military services, were rioting in idleness. Trebellius, after escaping the fury of his army by flight and concealment, dishonoured and abased, regained a precarious authority ; and a kind of mutual stipulation took place, of safety to the general, and licentiousness to the army. This mutiny was not attended with bloodshed. Vettius Bolanus, succeeding during the continuance of the civil wars, was unable to introduce discipline into Britain. The same inaction towards the enemy, and the same insolence in the camp continued ; except that Bolanus, irreproachable in his private conduct, and not obnoxious by any crime, in some measure substituted affection in the place of authority.

At length, when Vespasian received the possession of Britain together with the rest of the world, the great commanders and well appointed armies which were sent over abated the confidence of the enemy ; and Petilius Cerealis struck terror by an attack upon the Brigantes⁴, who are reputed

⁴ The Brigantes inhabited *Yorkshire, Lancashire, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Durham*.

to compose the most populous state in the whole province. Many battles were fought, some of them attended with much bloodshed; and the greater part of the Brigantes were either brought into subjection, or involved in the ravages of war.⁵ The conduct and reputation of Cerealis were so brilliant that they might have eclipsed the splendour of a successor; yet Julius Frontinus, a truly great man, supported the arduous competition, as far as circumstances would permit: He subdued the strong and warlike nation of the Silures⁶, where besides the valour of the enemy, he had the difficulties of the country to struggle with.

This was the state of Britain, and this had been the series of military transactions, when Agricola arrived in the middle of summer⁶; at a time when the Roman soldiers, supposing the expeditions of the year were concluded, were attending solely to their security; and the natives were intent upon improving the opportunity..

⁵ Where these people inhabited is mentioned in p. 147, note 3.

⁶ This was in the year of Rome 831; of Christ, 78.

Not long before his arrival, the Ordovices⁷ had cut off almost an entire division of cavalry stationed in their frontiers; an event which excited the attention of the whole province, they who were impatient for war approving the example, while the rest waited to discover the disposition of the new governor. The season was now far advanced, the troops dispersed through the country, and possessed with the idea of being suffered to remain inactive during the rest of the year; circumstances which tended to retard and discourage any military enterprize; so that it was generally thought most advisable to be contented with defending the suspected posts: yet Agricola determined to march out and meet the approaching danger. For this purpose, he drew together the detachments from the legions, and a small body of auxiliaries; and when he perceived that the Ordovices would not venture to descend into the plain, he led an advanced party in person to the attack, in order to inspire the rest of his troops with an ardour

⁷ Inhabitants of *North Wales*, exclusive of the isle of *Anglesea*.

equal to the danger. The result of the action was almost the total extirpation of the Ordovices: when Agricola, sensible of the advantage of pursuing the reputation he had acquired, and that the future events of the war would be determined by the first success, resolved to make an attempt upon the island Mona, from the possession of which Paullinus had been summoned by the general rebellion of Britain, as before related⁸. The usual deficiency of an unforeseen expedition appearing in the want of transport vessels, the conduct and resolution of the general were exerted to supply this defect. A select body of auxiliaries, disengaged of their baggage, who were well acquainted with the fords, and accustomed, after the manner of their country, to direct their horses and manage their arms while swimming⁹, were ordered suddenly to plunge into the channel; by

⁸ A pass into the vale of Clwyd, in the parish of Llanarmon, is still called *Bwlch Agrible*, probably from having been occupied by Agricola, in his road to Mona. Mr. Pennant.

⁹ From this circumstance it would appear that these auxiliaries were Batavians, whose skill in this practice is related by Tacitus, *Hist.* iv. 12.

which movement, the enemy, who expected the arrival of a fleet, and a formal invasion by sea, were struck with terror and astonishment, conceiving nothing arduous or insuperable to troops who thus advanced to the attack. They were therefore induced to sue for peace, and make a surrender of the island ; while Agricola obtained universal reputation, since on the very entrance upon his province, at a time which is usually devoted to ostentatious parade, and the compliments of office, he had chosen to engage in toils and dangers.¹ Nor was he tempted, in the pride of success, to term that a victory, which was only bridling a vanquished enemy ; nor even to dignify his exploits with the honour of the laurel¹. But even this concealment of his glory served to augment it ; since men were led to entertain a high idea of the grandeur

¹ It was customary for the Roman generals to decorate with sprigs of laurel the letters in which they sent home news of any remarkable success. Thus Pliny, xv. 30. "The laurel, the principal messenger of joy and victory among the Romans, is affixed to letters, and to the spears and javelins of the soldiers." The *laurus* of the ancients was probably the bay-tree, and not what we now call laurel.

of his future views, when such important services were passed over in silence.

Well acquainted with the temper of the province, and taught by the experience of former governors how little proficiency had been made by arms, when success was followed by injuries; he next undertook to eradicate the causes of war.* And beginning with his own family, he first laid restrictions upon his domestics, a task no less arduous to most governors than the management of the province. He suffered no public business to pass through the hands of his slaves or freed-men. In advancing the soldiery² to attendance about his person, he was not influenced by private assiduities, or the recommendation of the centurions, but considered the most vir-

* The expression in the original “*milites adscire*” is not very clear, and might bear the import of promoting the soldiers in general. But besides the singularity of the phrase in this view, the sense I have given it will be rendered more probable, both by what is said in the preceding sentence of Agricola’s not employing slaves, and by the following passage from Ulpian, *Digest. Lib. i. tit. 16.* “None of the proconsuls can “have their own equerries; but instead of them, the “soldiery in the province must be employed in this “office.”

tuous as likely to prove the most faithful. He would be informed of every thing ; but did not treat every thing with particular notice.³ He could pardon small faults, and use severity to great ones ; yet did not always punish, but was frequently satisfied with penitence.⁴ He chose rather to confer offices and employments upon such as would not offend, than to condemn those who had offended. The augmentation⁴ of tributes and contributions he mitigated by a just and equal assessment, abolishing those private exactions which were more grievous to be borne than the taxes themselves. For the inhabitants had been compelled in an insolent and contemptuous manner to attend at the granaries where

³ In like manner Suetonius says of Julius Cæsar.
“ He neither noticed nor punished every crime ; but
“ while he strictly inquired into and rigorously punished
“ desertion and mutiny, he connived at other delinquen-
“ cies.” *V. Julii*, lxvii.

⁴ Many commentators propose reading “ exaction” instead of “ augmentation.” But the latter may be suffered to remain, especially as Suetonius informs us that “ Vespasian, not contented with renewing some “ taxes remitted under Galba, added new and heavy “ ones ; and augmented the tributes paid by the “ provinces, even doubling some.” *Vesv. xvi.*

their own corn was locked up, which they were obliged to sell and buy again at a stated price.⁵ Long and difficult journeys had also been enjoined them; for the several districts; instead of being allowed to supply the nearest military quarters, were forced to carry their corn to remote and devious places; by which means, what was easy to be procured by all, was converted into an article of gain to a few individuals.

By suppressing these abuses in the first year of his administration, he established a favourable idea of peace, which through the negligence or connivance of his predecessors had been no less dreaded than war. At the return of summer⁶ he assembled his army. On their march, he commended the regular and orderly, and restrained the stragglers; he marked out the encampments⁶, and explored in person the æstuaries⁷ and

⁵ In the year of Rome 832, A. D. 79.

⁶ Many vestiges of these or other Roman camps yet remain in different parts of Great Britain. Two principal ones, in the county of Annandale in Scotland, called *Burnsicwork* and *Middleby*, are described at large by Gordon in his *Itiner. Septentrion.* p. 16 and 18.

⁷ The expressive term *æstuary* has been frequently

forests. At the same time he perpetually harassed the enemy by sudden incursions; and after sufficiently alarming them, by an interval of forbearance he held to their view the allurements of peace. By this management, many states, which till that time had asserted their independence, were now induced to lay aside their animosity, and to deliver hostages. These districts were surrounded with castles and forts, disposed with so much attention and judgment, that no part of Britain, hitherto new to the Roman arms, escaped unmolested.

The succeeding winter was employed in the most salutary measures. In order, by a taste of pleasures, to reclaim the natives from that rude and unsettled state which prompted them to war, and reconcile them to quiet and tranquillity, he incited them, by private instigations and public encouragements, to erect temples, courts of justice, and dwelling-houses. He bestowed

used in the Latin signification by Mr. Pennant, to signify the wide mouths of rivers, which are fordable or very shallow at low water, but resemble arms of the sea at high tides. Such, on the western coast, are those of the *Dee*, the *Mersey*, the *Ribble*, *Morecambe Bay*, and *Solway Firth*.

commendations upon those who were prompt in complying with his intentions, and reprimanded such as were dilatory; thus promoting a spirit of emulation which had all the force of necessity. He was also attentive to provide a liberal education for the sons of their chieftains, preferring the natural genius of the Britons, to the studied acquirements of the Gauls; and his attempts were attended with such success, that they who lately disdained to make use of the Roman language, were now ambitious of becoming eloquent. Hence the Roman habit began to be held in honour, and the *toga* was frequently worn. At length they gradually deviated into a taste for those luxuries which stimulate to vice; porticos, and bagnies, and the elegancies of the table: and this, from their inexperience, they termed politeness, whilst, in reality, it constituted a part of their slavery.

The military expeditions of the third year⁸ laid open a new tract of country to the Romans, and their ravages extended as far as the æstuary of the Tay⁹. The

⁸ The year of Rome 833, A. D. 80.

⁹ Now the *firth of Tay*.

enemies were thereby struck with such terror that they did not venture to molest the army, though harassed by violent tempests; so that they had sufficient opportunity for the erection of fortresses¹. Persons of experience remarked that no general had ever shown greater skill in the choice of advantageous situations, than Agricola; for not one of his fortified posts was either taken by storm, or forced to surrender, or abandoned as indefensible. The garrisons made frequent sallies; for they were secured against a blockade by a year's provision in their stores. Thus the winter passed without alarm, and each garrison proved sufficient for its own defence; while the enemy, who were generally accustomed to repair the losses of the summer by the success of the winter, now equally unfortunate in both seasons, were baffled and driven to despair. In these transactions, Agricola never attempted to arrogate to himself the glory of others;

¹ The principal of these was at *Ardoch*, seated so as to command the entrance into two vallies, *Strathallan* and *Strathearn*. A description and plan of its remains, still in good preservation, are given by Mr. Pennant in his *Tour in Scotland in 1772*, Part ii. p. 101.

but always bore an impartial testimony to the meritorious actions of his officers, from the centurion to the commander of a legion. He was represented by some as rather harsh in reproof; as if the same disposition which made him affable to the deserving, had inclined him to austerity towards the worthless. But his anger left no relics behind; his silence and reserve were not to be dreaded; and he esteemed it more honourable to show marks of open displeasure, than to entertain secret hatred.

The fourth summer² was spent in securing the country which had been overrun; and if the valour of the army, and the glory of the Roman name had permitted it, our conquests would have found a limit within Britain itself. For the tides of the opposite seas, flowing very far up the æstuaries of Clota and Bodotria³, almost intersect the country; leaving only a narrow neck of land, which was then defended by a chain of forts⁴. Thus all the territory

² The year of Rome 834, A.D. 81.

³ The *firths* of *Clyde* and *Forth*.

⁴ The neck of land between these opposite arms of the sea is only about thirty miles over. About fifty-five years after Agricola had left the island, Lollius Urbicus,

on this side was held in subjection, and the remaining enemies were removed, as it were, into another island.

In the fifth campaign⁵, Agricola, crossing over in the first ship⁶, subdued, by frequent and successful engagements, several nations till then unknown; and stationed

governor of Britain under Antoninus Pius, erected a vast wall or rampart, extending from *Old Kirkpatrick* on the *Clyde*, or *Caeridden*, two miles west of *Abercorn*, on the *Forth*; a space of near thirty-seven miles, defended by twelve or thirteen forts. These are supposed to have been on the site of those of Agricola. This wall is usually called Graham's dike; and some parts of it are now subsisting. A noble canal from the *Forth* to the *Clyde* now making will, when completed, actually render the country beyond it another island; though by a beneficial exertion of the arts of peace, instead of the jealous policy of a conqueror.

⁵ The year of Rome 835, A. D. 82.

⁶ Crossing the *firth of Clyde*, or *Dumbarton bay*, and turning to the Western coast of *Argyleshire*, or the isles of *Arran* and *Bute*. Perhaps, however, Tacitus has erroneously connected Agricola's "crossing in a "ship," with his establishing posts in that part of Scotland opposite to Ireland; since the nearest land to that island is *Wigton* in *Galloway*, to which he might advance without crossing any channel or firth, and which lies at the extremity of a tract of country much more tempting to a conqueror than the barren hills of *Argyleshire*. J. A.

troops in that part of Britain which is opposite to Ireland, rather with a view of future advantage, than from any apprehension of revolt. For the possession of Ireland, situated between Britain and Spain, and lying commodiously to the Gallic sea, would have formed a very beneficial connection between the most powerful parts of the empire. This island is less than Britain, but larger than those of our sea⁷. Its soil, climate, and the manners and dispositions of its inhabitants are little different from those of Britain. Its ports and harbours are better known, from the concourse of merchants for the purposes of commerce. Agricola had received into his protection one of its petty kings, who had been expelled by a domestic sedition; and detained him under the semblance of friendship, till an occasion should offer of making use of him. I have frequently heard him assert, that a single legion and a few auxiliaries would be sufficient entirely to conquer Ireland and keep it in subjection. Such an event would also have been serviceable in our attempts against the Britons, by awing

⁷ The *Mediterranean.*

them with the prospect of the Roman arms all around, and as it were, banishing liberty from their view.

In the summer which began the sixth year⁸ of Agricola's administration, extending his views to the countries situated beyond Bodotria⁹, as a general insurrection of the remoter nations was apprehended, and the roads were thought to be rendered unsafe by the enemy's army, he caused the harbours to be explored by his fleet, which had from the first been employed as an occasional assistance, and now, while the war was at once pushed on by sea and land, made an advantageous impression by its appearance. The cavalry, infantry, and marines were frequently mingled in the same camp, and recounted with mutual pleasure their several exploits and dangers; comparing, in the boastful language of military men, the dreary wilds of woods and mountains, with the horrors of waves and tempests; and the land and the enemy subdued, with the conquered ocean. It

⁸ The year of Rome 836, A. D. 83.

⁹ The Eastern parts of Scotland, north of the *firth of Forth*; where now are the counties of *Fife*, *Kinross*, *Perth*, *Angus*, &c.

was also discovered from the captives that the Britons had been struck with consternation at the view of the fleet, conceiving the last refuge of the vanquished to be cut off, now the secret recesses of their seas were disclosed. The various inhabitants of Caledonia immediately took to arms, with great preparations, but augmented by report, as usual where the truth is not known; and by beginning hostilities and attacking our fortresses, they inspired terror as daring to act offensively; insomuch that some persons, disguising their timidity under the mask of prudence, advised instantly retreating on this side the firth, and relinquishing the country rather than waiting to be driven out. Agricola, in the mean time, being informed that the enemy intended to bear down in several bodies, distributed his army into three divisions, that his inferiority of numbers, and ignorance of the country, might not give them an opportunity of surrounding him.

When this was known to the enemy, they suddenly changed their design, and making a general attack in the night upon

the ninth legion, which was the weakest¹, in the confusion of sleep and consternation they slaughtered the centinels, and burst through the entrenchments. They were now fighting within the camp, when Agricola, who had received information of their march from his scouts, and followed close upon their track, gave orders for the swiftest of his horse and foot to charge the enemy's rear. Presently the whole army raised a general shout; and the standards now glittered at the approach of day. The Britons were distracted by opposite dangers; whilst the Romans in the camp resumed their courage, and secure of safety, began to contend for glory. They now in their turns rushed forwards to the attack, and a furious engagement ensued in the gates of the camp; till by the emulous efforts of both Roman armies, one to give assistance, the other to appear not to require it, the enemy was routed: and had

¹ This legion, which had been weakened by many engagements, was afterwards recruited, and then called *Gemina*. Its station at this affair is supposed by Gordon to have been *Lochore* in *Fifeshire*. Mr. Pennant, as will hereafter be mentioned, rather imagines the place of the attack to have been *Comerie* in *Perthshire*.

not the marshes and forests protected the fugitives, that day would have terminated the war.

The soldiers, elated with the honour acquired by this victory, fiercely exclaimed, that ‘nothing could resist their valour; ‘now was the time to penetrate into the ‘heart of Caledonia, and by a continued ‘series of engagements, at length to dis-‘cover the utmost limits of Britain:’ and those who had before recommended caution and prudence, were now rendered rash and boastful by success. It is the hard condition of military command, that a share in prosperous events is claimed by all, but misfortunes are imputed to one alone. The Britons too, attributing their defeat not to the superior bravery of their adversaries, but to accident, and the skill of the general, remitted nothing of their confidence; but proceeded to arm their youth, to send their wives and children to places of safety, and to ratify the confederacy of their several states by solemn assemblies and sacrifices. Thus the parties separated with minds mutually inflamed and irritated.
During the same summer, a cohort of

Usipii², which had been levied in Germany, and sent over into Britain, performed an extremely daring and remarkable action. After murdering a centurion and some soldiers who had been embodied with them for the purpose of instructing them in military discipline, they seized upon three light vessels, and compelled the masters to go on board with them. One of them however escaping, they killed the other two upon suspicion ; and before the affair was publicly known, they sailed away, as it were by miracle. They were presently driven at the mercy of the waves ; and had frequent engagements with various success with the Britons, who defended their property from plunder. At length they were reduced to such extremity of distress as to be obliged to feed upon each other ; the weakest being first sacrificed, and then such as were taken by lot. In this manner having sailed round the island, they lost their ships through want of skill ; and, being taken for pirates, were inter-

² For an account of these people see the foregoing Treatise, p. 81.

cepted, first by the Suevi, then by the Frisii. Some of them, after being sold for slaves, by the change of masters were brought to our side of the river³, and became notorious from the relation of their extraordinary adventures⁴.

In the beginning of the next summer⁵, Agricola received a severe domestic wound in the loss of a son, about a year old. He bore this calamity not with the ostentatious firmness which many great men have affected, nor yet with the tears and lamentations of feminine sorrow ; and war was one of the remedies of his grief. Having sent forwards his fleet to spread its ravages through various parts of the coast, in order to excite an extensive and dubious terror,

³ The Rhine.

⁴ This extraordinary expedition, according to Dio, set out from the Western side of the island. They therefore must have coasted all that part of Scotland, must have passed the intricate navigation through the *Hebrides*, and the dangerous strait of *Pentland firth*, and after coming round to the Eastern side, must have been driven to the mouth of the *Baltic sea*. Here they lost their ships ; and in their attempt to proceed homeward by land, were seized as pirates, part by the Suevi, and the rest by the Frisii.

⁵ The year of Rome 837, A. D. 84.

he marched with an army equipped for expedition, to which he had joined the bravest of the Britons, whose fidelity had been approved through a long peace ; and arrived at the Grampian hills, where the enemy was already encamped⁶. For the

⁶ The scene of this celebrated engagement is by Gordon (*Itin. Septent.*) supposed to be in *Strathern*, near a place now called the *Kirk of Comerie*, where are the remains of two Roman camps. Mr. Pennant, however, in his *Tour in 1772*, Part ii. p. 96, gives reasons which appear well founded for dissenting from Gordon's opinion. His account is as follows. " Near this place (*Comerie*) on a plain of some extent, is the famous camp which Mr. Gordon contends to have been occupied by Agricola, immediately before the battle of Mons Grampins ; and to which, in order to support his argument, he gives the name of *Galgachan*, as if derived from *Galgacus*, leader of the Caledonians, at that fatal engagement. This camp lies between the river of *Earn* and the little stream called the *Ruchel* : and on a plain too contracted for such a number of combatants, as Tacitus says there was, to form and to act in, or for their charioteers or cavalry to scour the field. There are indeed small hills at the foot of the greater, where the British forces might have ranged themselves before the battle : but the distance from the sea is an insuperable argument against this being the spot, as we are expressly informed that Agricola sent his fleet before, in order to distract and divide the attention of the enemy ; and

Britons, undismayed by the event of the former action, expecting revenge or slavery, " that he himself marched with his army till he arrived " at the Grampian mountain, where he found Galgacus " encamped. From the whole account given by Tacitus, " it should be supposed, *that* action was fought in an " open country, at the foot of certain hills, not in a " little plain amidst defiles, as the vallies about *Comerie* " consist of." Mr. Pennant then goes on to shew the greater probability of its having been the station in which the ninth legion was attacked, as before related. He observes that " —in the general insurrection of that gallant people in the sixth year of Agricola's command, " he divided his army into three parts; one might be at *Ardoch*; the other at *Strageth*; the third or the ninth legion might be sent to push up the defiles of *Comerie*, in order to prevent the enemy from surrounding him, or taking advantage of their knowledge of the country, or his inferiority of numbers. His three divisions lay so near, as to enable them to assist each other in case of an attack. The Caledonians naturally directed their force against the weakest of the three armies, the ninth legion, which probably had not fully recovered the loss it sustained in the bloody attack by Boadicia. The camp also was weak, being no more than a common one, such as the Romans flung up on their march. It has no appearance of ever having been stative; and it is probable that as soon as Agricola had, by an expeditious march, relieved this part of his army out of a difficulty they were fairly involved in, he deserted the place; and never hazarded his troops again amidst the narrows of this hostile country." J. A.

and at length taught that the common danger was to be repelled by union alone, had summoned the strength of all their tribes by embassies and confederacies. Upwards of thirty thousand men in arms were now despatched; and the youth, together with those of a hale and vigorous age, renowned in war, and bearing their several honorary decorations, were still flocking in; when Calgacus⁷, the most distinguished for birth and valour among the numerous chieftains, is said to have harangued the assembled multitude, eager for battle, after the following manner.

‘ When I reflect on the causes of the war, and the circumstances of our situation, I feel a strong persuasion that our united efforts on the present day will prove the beginning of universal liberty to Britain. For none of us are hitherto debased by slavery; and there is no land behind us, nor is even the sea secure, whilst the Roman fleet hovers around. Thus the use of arms, which is at all times honourable to the brave, now offers the only safety even to cowards. All the

⁷ The more usual spelling of this name is Galgacus; but the other is preferred as of better authority.

‘ battles which have yet been fought with
‘ various success against the Romans, had
‘ their resources of hope and aid in our
‘ hands ; for we, the noblest inhabitants of
‘ Britain, and therefore stationed in its
‘ deepest recesses, far from the view of
‘ servile shores, have preserved even our
‘ eyes unpolluted by the contract of
‘ subjection. We, at the farthest limits
‘ both of land and liberty, have been de-
‘ fended to this day by the remoteness of
‘ our situation and of our fame. The ex-
‘ tremity of Britain is now disclosed ; and
‘ whatever is unknown becomes an object
‘ of importance. But there is no nation
‘ beyond us ; nothing but waves and rocks,
‘ and the still more hostile Romans, whose
‘ arrogance we cannot escape by obsequi-
‘ ousness and submission. These plun-
‘ derers of the world, after exhausting the
‘ land by their devastations, are rifling the
‘ ocean : stimulated by avarice, if their
‘ enemy be rich ; by ambition, if poor :
‘ unsatiated by the East and by the West :
‘ the only people who behold wealth and
‘ indigence with equal avidity. To ravage,
‘ to slaughter, to usurp under false titles,

‘ they call empire ; and where they make
‘ a desert, they call it peace ⁸.

‘ Our children and relations are by the
‘ appointment of nature rendered the
‘ dearest of all things to us. These are
‘ torn away by levies to serve in foreign
‘ lands ⁹. Our wives and sisters, though
‘ they should escape the violation of hostile
‘ force, are polluted under names of friend-
ship and hospitality. Our estates and
‘ possessions are consumed in tributes ;
‘ our grain in contributions. Even our
‘ bodies are worn down amidst stripes and
insults in clearing woods and draining
marshes. Wretches born to slavery are
‘ once bought, and afterwards maintained
‘ by their masters : Britain every day buys,
‘ every day feeds her own servitude ¹. And

⁸ *Peace given to the world*, is a very frequent inscription on the Roman medals.

⁹ It was the Roman policy to send the recruits raised in the provinces to some distant country, for fear of their desertion or revolt.

¹ How much this was the fate of the Romans themselves, when, in the decline of the empire, they were obliged to pay tribute to the surrounding barbarians, is shewn in lively colours by Salvian. “ We call that
“ a gift which is a purchase, and a purchase of a con-
dition the most hard and miserable. For all captives,

' as among domestic slaves every new
' comer serves for the scorn and derision
' of his fellows; so, in this ancient house-
' hold of the world, we, as the newest and
' vilest, are sought out to destruction. For
' we have neither cultivated lands, nor
' mines, nor harbours, which can induce
' them to preserve us for our labours. The
' valour too and unsubmitting spirit of
' subjects only renders them more ob-
' noxious to their masters; while remoteness
' and secrecy of situation itself, in propor-
' tion as it conduces to security, tends to
' inspire suspicion. Since then all hopes
' of forgiveness are vain, let those at length
' assume courage, to whom safety, as well
' as to whom glory is dear. The Trino-
' bantes, even under a female leader, had
' force enough to burn a colony, to storm
' camps, and if success had not introduced
' negligence and inactivity, would have
' been able entirely to throw off the yoke;
' and shall not we, untouched, unsubdued,
' and struggling not for the acquisition,

"when they are once redeemed, enjoy their liberty:
"we are continually paying a ransom, yet are never
"free." *De Gubern. Dei*, vi.

‘ but the continuance of liberty, shew at
‘ the very first onset what men Caledonia
‘ has reserved for her defence ?

‘ Can you imagine that the Romans are
‘ as brave in war as they are licentious in
‘ peace ? Acquiring renown from our dis-
‘ cords and dissensions, they convert the
‘ errors of their enemies to the glory of
‘ their own army ; an army compounded
‘ of the most different nations, which as
‘ success alone has kept together, misfortune
‘ will certainly dissipate. Unless, indeed,
‘ you can suppose that Gauls, and Ger-
‘ mans, and (I blush to say it) even Britons,
‘ who though they lavish their blood to
‘ establish a foreign dominion, have been
‘ longer its foes than its subjects, will be
‘ retained by loyalty and affection ! Terror
‘ and dread alone are their weak bonds of
‘ attachment ; which once broken, they who
‘ cease to fear will begin to hate. Every
‘ incitement to victory is on our side. The
‘ Romans have no wives to animate them ;
‘ no parents to upbraid their flight. Most
‘ of them have either no home, or a distant
‘ one. Few in number, ignorant of the
‘ country, looking around in silent horror
‘ at woods, seas, and a heaven itself un-

‘ known to them, they are delivered by the
‘ gods, as it were imprisoned and bound,
‘ into our hands. Be not terrified with an
‘ idle shew, and the glitter of silver and
‘ gold, which can neither protect nor wound.
‘ In the very ranks of the enemy we shall
‘ find our own bands. The Britons will
‘ acknowledge their own cause. The Gauls
‘ will recollect their former liberty. The
‘ rest of the Germans will desert them, as
‘ the Usipii have lately done. Nor is there
‘ any thing formidable behind them: Un-
‘ garrisoned forts; colonies of old men;
‘ municipal towns distempered and dis-
‘ tracted between unjust masters, and ill
‘ obeying subjects. Here is a general; here
‘ an army. There, tributes, mines, and all
‘ the train of punishments inflicted on slaves;
‘ which, whether to bear eternally, or in-
‘ stantly to revenge, this field must deter-
‘ mine. March then to battle, and think of
‘ your ancestors and your posterity.’

They received this harangue with alacri-
ty, and testified their applause after the
barbarian manner, with songs, and yells,
and dissonant shouts. And now the several
divisions were in motion, and the glittering

of arms was beheld, whilst the most daring and impetuous were hurrying to the front, and the two armies were forming in line of battle ; when Agricola, although his soldiers were full of ardour, and scarcely to be kept within their intrenchments, thought proper thus to address them.

‘ It is now the eighth year, my fellow
‘ soldiers, in which under the high auspices
‘ of the Roman empire, by your valour and
‘ perseverance you have been conquering
‘ Britain. In so many expeditions, in so
‘ many battles, either your courage against
‘ the enemy, or your patient labours against
‘ the very nature of the country, have been
‘ exercised ; neither have I ever been dis-
‘ satisfied with my soldiers, nor you with
‘ your general. In this mutual confidence,
‘ we have proceeded beyond the limits of
‘ former commanders and former armies ;
‘ and are now become acquainted with the
‘ extremity of the island, not by uncertain
‘ rumour, but by actual possession with
‘ our arms and encampments. Britain is
‘ discovered and subdued. How often, on
‘ a march, when embarrassed with moun-
‘ tains, bogs and rivers, have I heard the

‘ bravest among you exclaim, “When shall
‘ “ we deservy the enemy, when shall we be
‘ “ led to the field of battle?” At length
‘ they are unharboured from their retreats;
‘ your wishes and your valour have now
‘ free scope; and every circumstance is
‘ equally propitious to the conqueror, and
‘ ruinous to the vanquished. For the
‘ greater our glory in having marched over
‘ vast tracts of land, penetrated forests, and
‘ crossed arms of the sea, while advancing
‘ towards the foe, the greater will be our
‘ danger and difficulty if we should attempt
‘ a retreat. We are inferior to our ene-
‘ mies in knowledge of the country, and
‘ less able to command supplies of pro-
‘ vision; but we have arms in our hands,
‘ and in these we have every thing. For
‘ myself, I have long since determined, that
‘ neither the army nor general should find
‘ their safety in flight. Not only then are
‘ we to reflect that death with honour is
‘ preferable to life with ignominy; but to
‘ remember that security and glory are
‘ seated in the same place. Even to fall in
‘ this extrekest verge of earth and of na-
‘ ture cannot be thought an inglorious
‘ fate.

‘ If unknown nations or untried troops
‘ were drawn up against you, I would exhort
‘ you from the example of other armies.
‘ At present, recollect your own honours,
‘ question your own eyes. These are they
‘ who, the last year, attacking by surprise
‘ a single legion in the obscurity of the
‘ night, were put to flight by a shout: the
‘ greatest fugitives of all the Britons, and
‘ therefore the longest survivors. As in
‘ penetrating woods and thickets, the fiercest
‘ animals boldly rush on the hunters,
‘ while the weak and timorous fly at their
‘ very noise; so the bravest of the Britons
‘ have long since fallen: the remaining
‘ number consists solely of the cowardly
‘ and spiritless; whom you see at length
‘ within your reach, not because they have
‘ stood their ground, but because they are
‘ overtaken. Torpid with fear, their bodies
‘ are fixed and chained down in yonder
‘ field, which to you will speedily be the
‘ scene of a glorious and memorable victory.
‘ Here bring your toils and services to a
‘ conclusion; close a struggle of fifty years.’

² The expedition of Claudius into Britain was in the year of Rome 796, from which to the period of this engagement only forty-two years were elapsed. The

' with one great day ; and convince your
' countrymen that to the army ought not
' to be imputed either the protraction of
' the war, or the causes of rebellion.'

Whilst Agricola was yet speaking, the ardour of the soldiers declared itself ; and as soon as he had finished, they burst forth into cheerful acclamations, and instantly flew to arms. Thus eager and impetuous, he formed them so that the centre was occupied by the auxiliary infantry, in number eight thousand, and three thousand horse were spread in the wings. The legions were stationed in the rear, before the entrenchments ; a disposition which would render the victory signally glorious, if it were obtained without the expense of Roman blood ; and would ensure assistance if the rest of the army were repulsed. The British troops, for the greater display of their numbers, and more formidable appearance, were ranged upon the rising grounds, so that the first line stood upon the plain, the rest, as if linked together, rose above one another upon the ascent.

number fifty therefore is given oratorically rather than accurately.

The charioteers³ and horsemen with their tumult and careering filled the middle of the field. Then Agricola, fearing from the superior number of the enemy lest he should be obliged to fight as well as on his flanks as in front, extended his files; and although this rendered his line of battle

³ The Latin word used here, *covinarius*, signifies the driver of a *covinus*, or chariot, the axle of which was bent into the form of a scythe. The British manner of fighting from chariots is particularly described by Cæsar, who gives them the name of *esseda*. “The following is the manner of fighting from the *essedæ*. “They first drive round with them to all parts of the line, throwing their javelins, and generally disordering the ranks by the very alarm occasioned by the horses, “and the rattling of the wheels: then as soon as they have insinuated themselves between the troops of horse, they leap from their chariots, and fight on foot. The drivers then withdraw a little from the battle, in order that, if their friends are overpowered by numbers, they may have a secure retreat to the chariots. Thus they act with the celerity of horse and the stability of foot; and by daily use and exercise they acquire the power of holding up their horses at full speed down a steep declivity, of stopping them suddenly, and turning in a short compass; and they accustom themselves to run upon the pole, and stand on the cross tree, and from thence with great agility to recover their place in the chariot.” *Bell. Gall.* iv. 33.

less firm, and several of his officers advised him to bring up the legions, yet, filled with hope, and resolute in danger, he dismissed his horse, and took his station on foot before the colours.

The attack began with engaging at a distance. The Britons, armed with long swords and short targets⁴, with steadiness and dexterity avoided or struck down our in missile weapons, and at the same time poured in a torrent of their own. Agricola then encouraged three Batavian and two Tungrian⁵ cohorts to fall in and come to close quarters ; a method of fighting familiar to these veteran soldiers, but embarrassing to the enemy from the nature of their armour ; for the enormous British swords, blunt at the point, are unfit for close grappling, and engaging in a confined space. When the Batavians, therefore, began to redouble their blows, to strike with the bosses of their

⁴ These targets, called *cetræ* in the Latin, were made of leather. The broad sword and target are still, or were till very lately, the peculiar arms of the Highlanders.

⁵ Several inscriptions have been found in Britain commemorating the Tungrian cohorts.

shields, and mangle the faces of the enemy ; and bearing down all those who resisted them on the plain, were advancing their line up the ascent ; the other cohorts, fired with ardour and emulation, joined in the charge, and overthrew all who came in their way : and so great was their impetuosity in the pursuit of victory, that they left many of their foes half dead or unhurt behind them. In the mean time the troops of cavalry took to flight, and the armed chariots mingled in the engagement of the infantry ; but although their first shock occasioned some consternation, they were soon entangled among the close ranks of the cohorts and the inequalities of the ground. This had not the least appearance of an engagement of cavalry ; since the men, long keeping their ground with difficulty, were forced along with the bodies of the horses ; and frequently, straggling chariots, and affrighted horses without their riders, flying variously as terror impelled them, overthrew such as met them or crossed their way ⁶.

⁶ The great conciseness of Tacitus has rendered the description of this battle somewhat obscure. The following, however, seems to have been the general course

Those of the Britons who, yet disengaged from the fight, sat on the summits of the hills, and looked with careless contempt on the smallness of our numbers, now began gradually to descend ; and would have fallen on the rear of the conquering troops, had not Agricola, apprehending this very event, opposed four reserved squadrons of horse to their attack, which the more furiously they had advanced, drove them back with the greater celerity. Their project was thus

of occurrences in it. The foot on both sides began the engagement. The first line of the Britons which was formed on the plain being broke, the Roman auxiliaries advanced up the hill after them. In the mean time the Roman horse in the wings, unable to withstand the shock of the chariots, gave way, and were pursued by the British chariots and horse, which then fell in among the Roman infantry. These, who at first had relaxed their files to prevent their being out-fronted, now closed, in order better to resist the enemy, who by this means were unable to penetrate them. The chariots and horse, therefore, became entangled amidst the inequalities of the ground, and the thick ranks of the Romans : and no longer able to wheel and career as upon the open plain, gave not the least appearance of an equestrian skirmish ; but keeping their footing with difficulty on the declivity, were pushed off, and scattered in disorder over the field.

turned against themselves ; and the squadrons were ordered to wheel from the front of the battle and fall upon the enemy's rear. A striking and hideous spectacle now appeared on the plain ; some pursuing ; some striking ; some making prisoners, whom they slaughtered as others came in their way. Now, as their several dispositions prompted, crowds of armed Britons fled before inferior numbers, or a few, even unarmed, rushed upon their foes, and offered themselves to a voluntary death. Arms, and carcasses, and mangled limbs were promiscuously strewed, and the field was dyed in blood. Even among the vanquished were seen instances of rage and valour. When the fugitives approached the woods, they collected, and surrounded the foremost of the pursuers, advancing incautiously, and unacquainted with the country. And had not Agricola, who was every where present, caused some strong and lightly equipped cohorts to encompass the ground, while part of the cavalry dismounted made way through the thickets, and part on horseback scoured the open woods, some loss would have proceeded from the excess of confidence. But

when the enemy saw their pursuers again disposed in regular ranks, they renewed their flight, not in bodies as before, or waiting for their companions, but scattered and mutually avoiding each other ; and thus took their way to the most distant and devious retreats. Night, and satiety of slaughter put an end to the pursuit. Of the enemy ten thousand were slain : on our part three hundred and sixty fell ; among whom was Aulus Atticus, the prefect of a cohort, who by his juvenile ardour and the fire of his horse was borne into the midst of the enemy.

Success and plunder contributed to render the night joyful to the victors ; whilst the Britons, wandering and forlorn, amid the promiscuous lamentations of men and women, were dragging along the wounded ; calling out to the unhurt ; abandoning their habitations, and in the rage of despair setting them on fire ; choosing places of concealment, and then deserting them ; consulting together, and then separating. Sometimes, on beholding the dear pledges of kindred and affection, they were melted into tenderness, or more

frequently roused into fury ; insomuch that several, as we were certainly informed, instigated by a savage compassion, used violence against their own wives and children. The succeeding day, a vast silence all around, desolate hills, the distant smoke of burning houses, and not a living soul desried by the scouts, displayed more amply the face of victory. After parties had been detached to all quarters without discovering any certain tracks of the enemy's flight, or any bodies of them still in arms, as the lateness of the season rendered it impracticable to spread the war through the country, Agricola led his army to the confines of the Horesti⁷. Having received hostages from this people, he ordered the commander of the fleet to sail round the island, for which expedition he was furnished with sufficient force, and preceded by the terror of the Roman name. He himself then led back the cavalry and infantry, marching slowly, that he might impress a deeper awe on the newly conquered nations ; and at length distributed his troops into their winter quarters. The

⁷ People of Fifeshire.

fleet, about the same time, with prosperous gales and renown, entered the Trutulensis^{*} harbour, from whence, coasting all the hither shore of Britain, it returned without loss to its former station².

The account of these transactions, although unadorned with the pomp of words in the letters of Agricola, was received by Domitian, as was customary with that prince, with outward expressions of joy, but inward anxiety. He was conscious that his late mock-triumph over Germany¹, in which he had exhibited purchased slaves, whose habits and hair² were contrived to

* Supposed to be *Sandwich* haven; also called *Rutupensis*, or *Rutupinus*. This port is celebrated as the landing place of St. Augustine, the apostle of Britain.

¹ This circumnavigation was in a contrary direction to that of the Usipian deserters, the fleet setting out from the *firth of Tay* on the Eastern coast, and sailing round the Northern, Western, and Southern coasts, till it arrived at the port of *Sandwich* in *Kent*. After staying here some time to refit, it went to its former station, in the *firth of Forth*, or *Tay*.

² It was in this same year, that Domitian made his pompous expedition into Germany, from whence he returned without ever seeing the enemy.

² Caligula in like manner got a number of tall men

give them the resemblance of captives, was a subject of derision ; whereas here, a real and important victory, in which so many thousands of the enemy were slain, was celebrated with universal applause. His greatest dread was that the name of a private man should be exalted above that of the prince. In vain had he silenced the eloquence of the forum, and cast a shade upon all civil honours, if military glory was still in possession of another. Other accomplishments might more easily be contrived at, but the talents of a great general were truly imperial. Tortured with such anxious thoughts, and brooding over them in secret³, a certain indication of some malignant intention, he judged it most prudent for the present to suspend his rancour, till the first career of glory, and the affections of the army should remit : for Agricola still possessed the command in Britain.

with their hair dyed red to give credit to a pretended victory over the Germans.

³ Thus Pliny in his *Panegyric on Trajan*, xlviij. represents Domitian as “ ever affecting darkness and “ secrecy, and never emerging from his solitude but in “ order to make a solitude.”

He therefore caused the senate to decree him triumphal ornaments⁴, a statue crowned with laurel, and all the other honours which are substituted to a real triumph, together with a profusion of complimentary expressions; and also directed an expectation to be raised that the province of Syria, vacant by the death of Atilius Rufus, a consular man, and usually reserved for persons of the greatest distinction, was designed for Agricola. It was commonly believed, that one of the freed-men who were entrusted with secret services was dispatched with the instrument appointing Agricola to the government of Syria, with orders to deliver it if he should be still in Britain; but that this messenger, meeting Agricola in the straits⁵, returned directly to Domitian without so much as accosting

⁴ Not the triumph itself, which, after the year of Rome 740, was no longer granted to private persons, but reserved for the imperial family. This new piece of adulation was invented by Agrippa in order to gratify Augustus. The “triumphal ornaments” which were still bestowed, were a peculiar garment, a statue, and other *insignia* which had distinguished the person of the triumphing general.

⁵ Of Dover.

him. Whether this was really the fact, or only a fiction founded on the genius and character of the prince, is uncertain. Agricola, in the mean time, had delivered the province, in peace and security, to his successor⁶; and lest his entry into the city should be rendered too conspicuous by the concourse and acclamations of the people, he declined the salutations of his friends by arriving in the night; and went by night, as he was commanded, to the palace. There, after being received with a slight embrace, but not a word spoken, he was mingled with the servile throng. In this situation, he endeavoured to soften the glare of military reputation, which is offensive to those who themselves live in indolence, by the practice of virtues of a different cast. He resigned himself to ease and tranquillity, was modest in his garb and equipage, affable in conversation, and in public was only accompanied by one or two of his friends; insomuch that the many,

⁶ Agricola's successor in Britain appears to have been Salustius Lucullus, who, as Suetonius informs us, was put to death by Domitian because he permitted certain lances of a new construction to be called Lucullean, *V. Domit.* x.

who are accustomed to form their ideas of great men from their retinue and figure, when they beheld Agricola were apt to call in question his renown : few could interpret his conduct.

He was frequently, during that period, accused in his absence before Domitian, and in his absence also acquitted. The source of his danger was not any criminal action, nor the complaint of any injured person ; but a prince hostile to virtue, and his own high reputation, and the worst kind of enemies, those who praised him⁷. For the public circumstances of the time which ensued were such as would not permit the name of Agricola to rest in silence : so many armies in Mœsia, Dacia, Germany, and Pannonia were lost through the temerity or cowardice of their generals⁸ ; so many men

⁷ Of this worst kind of enemies, who praise a man in order to render him obnoxious, the emperor Julian, who had himself suffered greatly by them, speaks feelingly in his 12th epistle to Basilius. “ For we live “ together not in that state of dissimulation which, I “ imagine, you have hitherto experienced ; in which “ those who praise you, hate you with a more confirmed “ aversion than your most inveterate enemies.”

⁸ These calamitous events are recorded by Suetonius in his *Life of Domitian*.

of military character, with numerous cohorts, were defeated and taken prisoners; whilst a dubious contest was maintained, not for the boundaries of the empire, and the banks of the bordering rivers⁹, but for the winter quarters of the legions, and the possession of our territories. In this state of affairs, when loss succeeded loss, and every year was signalized by funerals and slaughters, the public voice loudly demanded Agricola for general; every one comparing his vigour, firmness, and spirit well tried in war, with the indolence and pusillanimity of the others. It is certain that the ears of Domitian himself were wounded by such discourses, while the best of his freed-men pressed him to the choice through motives of fidelity and affection, and the worst through envy and malignity, emotions to which he was of himself sufficiently prone. Thus Agricola, as well by his own virtues, as the vices of others, was urged on precipitously to glory.

The year now arrived in which the pro-consulate of Asia or Africa must fall by lot

⁹ The Rhine and Danube.

upon Agricola¹; and as Civica had lately been put to death, Agricola was not unprovided with a lesson, nor Domitian with an example². Some persons, acquainted with the secret inclinations of the emperor, came to Agricola, and inquired whether he intended to go to his province; and first, somewhat distantly, began to commend a life of leisure and tranquillity; then offered their services in procuring him to be excused from the office; and at length, throwing off all disguise, after using arguments both to persuade and intimidate him, compelled him to accompany them to Domitian. The emperor, prepared to dissemble, and assuming an air of stateliness, received his petition for excuse, and suffered himself to be formally thanked³.

¹ The two senior consulars cast lots for the government of Asia and Africa.

² Suetonius relates that Civica Cerealis was put to death in his proconsulate of Asia, on the charge of meditating a revolt. *V. Domit.* x.

³ Obliging persons to return thanks for an injury was a refinement in tyranny frequently practised by the worst of the Roman emperors. Thus Seneca informs us that “Caligula was thanked by those whose children ‘had been put to death, and whose property had been confiscated.’” *De Tranquil.* xiv. And again, “The

for granting it, without blushing at so invidious a favour. He did not, however, bestow on Agricola the salary⁴ usually offered to a proconsul, and which he himself had granted to others ; either taking offence that it was not requested, or feeling a consciousness that it would seem a purchase of what he had in reality extorted by his authority. It is a principle of our nature to hate those whom we have injured⁵ ; and Domitian was constitutionally inclined to anger, which was the more difficult to be averted, in proportion as it was the more smothered in secret. Yet he was softened by the temper and prudence of Agricola ; who did not think it necessary, by a consumacious spirit, or a vain ostentation of

“ reply of a person who had grown old in his attendance
“ on kings, when he was asked, how he had attained
“ a thing so uncommon in courts as old age? is well
“ known. It was, said he, by receiving injuries, and
“ returning thanks.” *De Ira*, ii. 33.

⁴ From a passage in Dio, lxxviii. p. 899, this sum appears to have been *decies sestertium*, about £9000. *sterling*.

⁵ Thus Seneca. “ Little souls rendered insolent by prosperity have this worst property, that they hate those whom they have injured.” *De Ira*, ii. 33.

liberty, to challenge fame or urge his fate ⁶. Let those be apprized, who are accustomed to admire every thing forbidden, that even under a bad prince men may be truly great; that submission and modesty, if accompanied with vigour and application, will elevate a character to a height of public estimation, equal to that which many, through abrupt and dangerous paths, have attained, without benefit to their country, by an ambitious death.

His decease was a severe affliction to his family, a grief to his friends, and was not unfelt even among foreigners, and those who had no personal knowledge of him ⁷. The common people too, though little interested in public concerns, were frequent in their inquiries at his house during his sickness, and made him the subject of conversation at the forum and in private circles; nor did any person either rejoice at

⁶ Several who suffered under Nero and Domitian erred, though nobly, in this respect.

⁷ A Greek epigram still extant of Antiphilus a Byzantine, to the memory of a certain Agricola, is supposed by the learned to refer to the great man who is the subject of this work. It is in the *Anthologia*, Lib. i. Tit. 37.

the news of his death, or speedily forget it. Their commiseration was aggravated by a prevailing report that he was taken off by poison. I cannot venture to affirm any thing certain of this matter⁸; yet, during the whole course of his illness, the principal of the imperial freed-men and the most confidential of the physicians were sent much more frequently than is customary in courts, where visits are chiefly paid by messages, whether out of real regard, or for the purposes of state inquisition. On the day of his decease, it is certain that accounts of his approaching dissolution were every instant transmitted to the emperor by couriers stationed for the purpose; and no one believed that the information which so much pains was taken to accelerate, could be received with regret. He put on, however, in his countenance and demeanour, the semblance of grief; for he was now secured from an object of hatred, and could more easily conceal his joy than his fear. It was well known that on reading the will, in which he was nominated coheir

⁸ Dio absolutely affirms it; but from the manner in which Tacitus, who had better means of information, speaks of it, the story was probably false.

with the excellent wife and most dutiful daughter of Agricola, he expressed great satisfaction, as if it had been a voluntary testimony of honour and esteem : so blind and corrupt had his mind been rendered by continual adulation, that he was ignorant none but a bad prince could be appointed heir to a good father.

Agricola was born in the ides of June, during the third consulate of Caius Cæsar : he died in his fifty-sixth year, on the tenth of the calends of September, when Collega and Priscus were consuls⁹. Posterity may wish to form an idea of his person. His figure was rather proper and becoming than majestic. In his countenance there was nothing to inspire dread ; but his looks were extremely gracious and engaging. You would readily have believed him a good man, and willingly a great one.

⁹ According to this account, the birth of Agricola was on June 13th, in the year of Rome 793, A.D. 40 ; and his death on August 23rd, in the year of Rome 846, A.D. 93 : for this appears by the *Fasti Consulares* to have been the year of the consulate of Collega and Priscus. He was therefore only in his fifty-fourth year when he died ; so that the copyists must probably have written by mistake LVI instead of LIV.

And indeed, although he was snatched away in the midst of a vigorous age, yet if his life be measured by his glory, it was a period of the greatest extent. For after the full enjoyment of all that is truly good, which is found in virtuous pursuits alone, decorated with consular and triumphal ornaments, what more could fortune contribute to his elevation? Immoderate wealth did not fall to his share, yet he possessed a decent affluence¹. His wife and daughter surviving, his dignity unimpaired; his reputation flourishing, and his kindred and friends yet in safety, it may even be thought an additional felicity that he was thus withdrawn from impending evils. For, as we have heard him express his wishes of continuing to the dawn of the present auspicious day, and beholding Trajan in the imperial seat, wishes in which he formed a certain presage of the event; so he considered it as a great consolation of his premature end, to have escaped that latter period, in which Domitian, not by intervals and remissions, but by a continued, and, as

¹ From this representation, Dio appears to have been mistaken in asserting that Agricola passed the latter part of his life in dishonour and penury.

it were a single act of violence, was to destroy the vitals of the commonwealth².

Agricola did not behold the senate house besieged, and the senators enclosed by a circle of arms³; and in one havock the massacre of so many consular men, the flight and banishment of so many honourable women. As yet Carus Metius⁴ was

² Juvenal breaks out in a noble strain of indignation against this savage cruelty which distinguished the latter part of Domitian's reign.

Atque utinam bis potius nugis tota illa dedisset
 Tempora sævitiae: claras quibus abstulit Urbi
 Illustresque animas impune, et vindice nullo.
 Sed periit, postquam cerdonibus esse timendus
 Cœperat: hoc nocuit Lamiarium cæde madenti.

SAT. iv. 159.

What folly this! but oh! that all the rest
 Of his dire reign had thus been spent in jest!
 And all that time such trifles had employ'd
 In which so many nobles he destroy'd!
 He safe, they unreveng'd, to the disgrace
 Of the surviving, tame, Patrician race!
 But when he dreadful to the rabble grew,
 Him, who so many lords had slain, they slew. DUKE.

³ This happened in the year of Rome 848.

⁴ Carus and Massa, who were proverbially infamous as informers, are represented by Juvenal as dreading a still more dangerous villain, Heliodorus.

Quem Massa timet, quem muncre palpat
 Carus. SAT. i. 35.

Whom Massa dreads, whom Carus sooths with bribes.

distinguished only by a single victory ; the counsels of Messalinus⁵ resounded only through the Albanian citadel⁶ ; and Massa

Carus is also mentioned with deserved infamy by Pliny and Martial. He was a mimic by profession.

⁵ Of this odious instrument of tyranny, Fliny the younger thus speaks. "The conversation turned upon "Catullus Messalinus, whose loss of sight added the "evils of blindness to a cruel disposition. He was "irreverent, unblushing, unpitying. Like a weapon, "of itself blind and unconscious, he was frequently "hurled by Domitian against every man of worth."

iv. 22. Juvenal launches the thunder of invective against him in the following lines.

Et cum mortifero prudens Vejento Catullo,
Qui numquam visæ flagrabat amore puellæ,
Grande, et conspicuum nostro quoque tempore monstrum,
Cæcus adulator, dirusque a ponte satelles,
Dignus Aricinos qui mendicaret ad axes,
Blandaque devexæ jactaret basia rhedæ. SAT. iv. 113.

Cunning Vejento next, and by his side
Bloody Catullus leaning on his guide,
Decrepit, yet a furious lover he,
And deeply smit with charnis he could not see.
A monster, that ev'n this worst age outvies,
Conspicuous and above the common size.
A blind base flatterer; from some bridge or gate,
Rais'd to a murd'ring minister of state.
Deserving still to beg upon the road,
And bless each passing waggon and its load. DUKE.

⁶ This was a famous villa of Domitian's, near the site of the ancient Alba, about twelve miles from Rome. The place is now called *Albano*, and vast ruins of its magnificent edifices still remain.

Bæbius⁷ was himself among the accused. Soon after, our own hands⁸ led Helvidius⁹ to prison; ourselves were tortured with the spectacle of Mauricus and Rusticus¹, and

⁷ Tacitus, in his *History*, mentions this Massa Bæbius as a person most destructive to all men of worth, and constantly engaged on the side of villains. From a letter of Pliny's to Tacitus, it appears that Herennius Senecio and himself were joined as counsel for the province of Bœtica in a prosecution of Massa Bæbius; and that Massa after his condemnation petitioned the consuls for liberty to prosecute Senecio for treason.

⁸ By "our own hands," Tacitus means one of our own body, a senator. As Publicius Certus had seized upon Helvidius and led him to prison, Tacitus imputes the crime to the whole senatorian order. To the same purpose Pliny observes, " Amidst the numerous villainies of numerous persons, nothing appeared more atrocious, than that in the senate-house one senator should lay hands on another, a prætorian on a consular man, a judge on a criminal." B. ix. *Ep. 13.*

⁹ Helvidius Priscus, a friend of Pliny the younger, who did not suffer his death to remain unrevenged. See the *Epistle* above referred to.

¹ There is in this place some defect in the manuscripts, which critics have endeavoured to supply in different manners. Brotier seems to prefer, though he does not adopt in the text, " nos Mauricum Rusticumque divisimus," " we parted Mauricus and Rusticus," by the death of one and the banishment of the other. The prosecution and crime of Rusticus (Arulenus) is

sprinkled with the innocent blood of Senecio². Even Nero withdrew his eyes from the cruelties he commanded. Under Domitian, it was the principal part of our miseries to behold and to be beheld : when our sighs were registered ; and that stern countenance, with its settled redness³, his defence against shame, was employed in noting the pallid horror of so many spectators. Happy, O Agricola ! not only in the splendour of your life, but in the seasonableness of your death. With resignation and cheerfulness, from the testimony of those who were present in your last moments, did you meet your fate, as if striving to the utmost of your power to make the emperor appear guiltless. But to myself and your daughter,

mentioned in the beginning of this piece, p. 127. Maurus was his brother.

² Herennius Senecio. See p. 127.

³ Thus Pliny in his *Panegyr. on Trajan*, xlvi. “Domitian was terrible even to behold ; pride in his brow, anger in his eyes, a feminine paleness in the rest of his body, in his face shamelessness suffused in a glowing red.” Seneca in *Epist. xi.* remarks, that “Some are never more to be dreaded than when they blush ; as if they had effused all their modesty. Sylla was always most furious when the blood had mounted into his cheeks.”

besides the anguish of losing a parent, the aggravating affliction remains, that it was not our lot to watch over your sick bed, to support you when fainting, and to satiate ourselves with beholding and embracing you. With what attention should we have received your last instructions, and engraven them on our hearts ! This is our sorrow ; this is our wound : to us you were lost four years before by a tedious absence. Every thing, doubtless, oh best of parents ! was administered for your comfort and honour, while a most affectionate wife sat beside you ; yet fewer tears were shed upon your bier, and in the last light which your eyes beheld, something was still wanting.

If there be any habitation for the shades of the virtuous ; if, as philosophers suppose, exalted souls do not perish with the body ; may you repose in peace, and call us, your household, from vain regret and feminine lamentations, to the contemplation of your virtues, which allow no place for mourning or complaining. Let us rather adorn your memory by our admiration, by our short-lived praises, and, if our natures will permit, by an imitation of your character. This is truly to honour the dead ; this is

the piety of every near relation. I would also recommend it to the wife and daughter of this great man, to shew their veneration of a husband's and a father's memory by revolving his actions and words in their breasts, and endeavouring to retain an idea of the form and features of his mind, rather than of his person. Not that I would reject those resemblances of the human figure which are engraven in brass or marble; but as their originals are frail and perishable, so likewise are they; (while the form of the mind is eternal, and not to be retained or expressed by any foreign matter, or the artist's skill, but by the manners of the survivors.) Whatever in Agricola was the object of our love, of our admiration, remains, and will remain in the minds of men, transmitted in the records of fame, through an eternity of years. For while many great personages of antiquity will be involved in a common oblivion with the mean and inglorious, Agricola shall survive, represented and conveyed to future ages.

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