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51

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# THE ANNALS OF TACITUS

BOOK 11

EDITED WITH A COMMENTARY

BY

S. J. V. MALLOCH

*Lecturer in Roman History, University of Nottingham*



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---

TO MY FAMILY

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Edited with a Commentary by S. J. V. Malloch

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

---

## CONTENTS

<i>Preface</i>	page viii
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	xii
INTRODUCTION	i
1. <i>Annals</i> 11: content, structure, and chronology	i
2. Tacitus and Claudius	3
3. The manuscripts	9
TEXT AND CRITICAL APPARATUS	23
COMMENTARY	49
APPENDIX	469
WORKS CITED	472
INDEXES	514
1. General	514
2. Ancient names	521
3. Words	529
4. Passages discussed	538

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Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## PREFACE

Writing a commentary on an ancient historian offers a unique opportunity to evaluate his evidence for the events and topics that he treats in his work. Tacitus' *Annals* has indelibly shaped our understanding of the early principate, and book 11 is a fundamental source for the years AD 47–8 in the reign of the emperor Claudius. Tacitus ranges broadly over Roman political, religious, constitutional, and cultural history, and narrates Rome's contact with Germany and Armenia and the internal affairs of Parthia during the same period. He provides unique evidence and his own perspective in digressions on the history of the alphabet and the quaestorship that take him back to early Rome and further afield. The importance of Tacitus' evidence requires historical and historiographical issues and problems to be treated in full; on the other hand, the extraordinary variety of his subject matter means that not all topics can be treated with equal expertise. Where I am in less familiar territory I have aimed at least to provide basic guidance and helpful bibliography.

To do justice to Tacitus' sophisticated prose style a commentator must be a philologist as well. I discuss Tacitus' use of language and figures of style against a broad literary and historiographical background. I examine those places in the text where the second Medicean, the most authoritative witness to the later *Annals*, is or seems defective. My work on the text, particularly in attempting to trace conjectures back to their first appearance, has involved enjoyable forays into nineteenth-century scholarship and beyond into the editions and *notae* of scholars of the sixteenth and seventeenth century. Such reading gives one an unrivalled sense – inspiring as well as occasionally intimidating – of the scholarly tradition in which one works.

I was drawn to write a commentary on *Annals* 11 under the influence of the exemplary editions of Tacitus by F. R. D. Goodyear and by A. J. Woodman and R. H. Martin, which I



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Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## PREFACE

first used more than ten years ago. A small selection of commentary on *Annals* 11 was submitted for my Cambridge PhD in December 2004, and I have since had the privilege and the pleasure of pursuing this edition to its completion.

The support of various institutions has been crucial. I am indebted to the editors of the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* in the Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften for allowing me to use the library and archive in the years following my stint as a Mitarbeiter (2005/6). To the Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung I am grateful for the award of a Research Fellowship in 2006/7 and 2008/9, and to Professor Martin Zimmermann, my host in the Abteilung für alte Geschichte in the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich, for his support. Then and now the library resources of the Kommission für alte Geschichte und Epigraphik have been essential for my research. I finished writing the commentary during my tenure of a Visiting Fellowship at All Souls College, Oxford, in the Michaelmas term of 2011/12, and the grant of an Early Career Fellowship from the Arts and Humanities Research Council has seen me through the final stages of the edition in the first half of this calendar year. I am particularly grateful to the librarians of the *TLL*, the Kommission, and the Codrington Library of All Souls for aiding my researches.

A number of scholars have had a formative influence on my work. My greatest debt is to Michael Reeve, whom I am privileged to have had as my doctoral supervisor. His scholarship and example have continually inspired my own work, and I owe to him in particular my interest in the transmission of Tacitus and the classical tradition. He has read the whole edition, improved almost every page, and patiently answered all manner of questions. Brian Bosworth guided my first steps at the University of Western Australia and provided a model to imitate in those isolated conditions. There quickly came a time at St John's College, Cambridge, when I could not walk into second court in the evening without glancing up at the light burning reassuringly in the rooms of John Crook. I marvelled then, and marvel still, that in those rooms he read my commentary on Tacitus,

## PREFACE

as he did Goodyear's all those years before. I owe much to the observations that he made on my early written work and to the conversations we had over my drafts, and then over lunch, about Tacitus, the history of the early principate, and classical scholarship in the twentieth century. Stephen Oakley's commentary on Livy has been the primary model for my own, and the more I consult it the less I feel that I can live up to the very high standard that he has set for commentators on ancient historical texts. Stephen has read the whole edition and immeasurably improved its approach and style. Peter Garnsey has generously shared with me his peerless knowledge of Roman history in conversations and in the detailed comments that he has given me on all of my commentary. Peter has long been the first person I turn to for advice on historical problems. Jim Adams encouraged me to devote more attention to Tacitus' language and style and has supported me above and beyond the acute remarks that he has made on my philological notes. Tony Woodman read the whole commentary in draft and in proof, frequently challenged me to rethink or strengthen arguments about Tacitus' text and meaning, and has provided generous support throughout.

I am very grateful to many scholars for answering my queries and agreeing to read my work: to Peter Wiseman and Miriam Griffin, who read the whole commentary; to Michael Crawford, who scrutinised various historical notes; to Chris Pelling, who read my commentary on the fall of Messalina; to Duncan Cloud, who read an early draft of my treatment of the history of the quaestorship; to Marek Olbrycht, who gave valuable feedback on my discussion of Armenia and Parthia; to Franz Römer, who read my introductory section on the manuscripts; to Simon Hornblower, who read my commentary on the eastern narrative; to Wolfgang de Melo, Martin Worthington, and David Goldstein, who gave advice on linguistic matters. John Blundell and Nigel Holmes, both editors at the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, have made my time in Munich an enjoyable education. I learned much about philology from John when he directed my work on the *Thesaurus* in 2005/6 and in discussions we have

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Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

---

## PREFACE

had since. Nigel has kindly given expert advice on philological matters and commented on various notes; more generally I have benefited from the many conversations that we have had about all aspects of writing commentary. I have incurred a debt of gratitude to my colleagues at Nottingham for their support during a sabbatical that was extended at the last moment, in particular to John Rich for his comments on a draft of the republican and Augustan background to Rome's Parthian relations; to Doug Lee and Steve Hodgkinson for bibliography, and to Judith Mossman for providing a home away from home during a period of inconvenience.

Tacitus has taken me to many places since I left Western Australia: to Cambridge (twice); Dublin; Munich; Nottingham; and to Oxford. Such variety has been crucial to my intellectual development and provided a constant source of inspiration. In Munich I spend most of my time amidst the unrivalled Latin resources of the library of the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*. Situated in the former Residenz of the Wittelsbach dynasty, its windows afford magnificent views over the Hofgarten to the white towers of the Ludwigskirche in the University. In England I recently enjoyed a different but equally inspiring experience writing my commentary and fetching books in the nocturnal quiet of the Codrington library of All Souls College, Oxford. These places are a long way from the foothills of Perth and the banks of the Swan, where I grew up and first studied. I dedicate this book to my family, who have long suffered their son and brother to pursue his dreams in lands far away.

S.J.V.M.

*Scribebam Monachii a. d. XII Kal. Iul. MMXII*

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Frontmatter

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## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AE</i>	<i>L'Année épigraphique</i>
<i>BGU</i>	<i>Berliner griechische Urkunde</i> (Berlin, 1895–)
<i>BMC</i>	H. Mattingly, <i>Coins of the Roman empire in the British Museum</i> . Volume 1: Augustus to Vitellius (London, 1923); Volume 4: Antoninus Pius to Commodus (1940); Volume 6: Severus Alexander to Balbinus and Pupienus. Ed. R. A. G. Carson (1962)
<i>CAH</i>	First edition of <i>The Cambridge ancient history</i> (for details of volumes see Works cited)
<i>CAH<sup>2</sup></i>	Second edition of <i>The Cambridge ancient history</i> (for details of volumes see Works cited)
<i>CHI</i>	E. Yarshater (ed.), <i>The Cambridge history of Iran</i> . Volume 3 (1): <i>The Seleucid, Parthian and Sasanian periods</i> (Cambridge, 1983)
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus inscriptionum latinarum</i> (Berlin, 1873–)
<i>DBI</i>	<i>Dizionario biografico degli Italiani</i> (Rome, 1960–)
<i>Docs</i>	E. M. Smallwood, <i>Documents illustrating the principates of Gaius Claudius and Nero</i> . Reprinted with minor corrections (Bristol, 1984)
Draeger	A. Draeger, <i>Ueber Syntax und Stil des Tacitus</i> . 3rd edn (Leipzig, 1882) (References are by section [§])
E-J	V. Ehrenberg and A. H. M. Jones, <i>Documents illustrating the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius</i> . 2nd edn (repr. with addenda) (Oxford, 1979)
<i>EncIr</i>	E. Yarshater (ed.), <i>Encyclopedia Iranica</i> (London, 1983–)
Gerber-Greef	A. Gerber and A. Greef, <i>Lexicon Taciteum</i> (Leipzig, 1903)
H-S	J. B. Hofmann and A. Szantyr, <i>Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik</i> . Corrected reprint (Munich, 1972)

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> (Berlin, 1873–)
<i>IGRR</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes</i> (Paris, 1906–27)
<i>ILS</i>	H. Dessau, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae selectae</i> (Berlin, 1892–1916)
<i>Inscr. Ital.</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Italicae</i> (Rome, 1931–)
K-S	R. Kühner and C. Stegmann, <i>Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache. Zweiter Band: Satzlehre</i> . 2nd edn (Hanover, 1912–14)
Lewis and Short	C. T. Lewis and C. Short, <i>A Latin dictionary founded on Andrews' edition of Freund's Latin dictionary</i> . Revised, enlarged, and in great part rewritten (Oxford, 1879)
<i>NLS</i>	E. C. Woodcock, <i>A new Latin syntax</i> (London, 1959)
<i>NP</i>	H. Cancik and H. Schneider (eds.), <i>Brill's new Pauly: encyclopedia of the ancient world</i> . English trans. [with updated bibliography] (Leiden–Boston, 2002–) (References are by entry number for biographies, by volume and page for articles)
Oakley	S. P. Oakley, <i>A commentary on Livy, books VI–X</i> (Oxford, 1997–2005)
<i>OCD</i>	S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (eds.), <i>The Oxford classical dictionary</i> . Assist. ed. E. Eidinow. 4th edn (Oxford, 2012)
<i>OGIS</i>	<i>Oriens graeci inscriptiones selectae</i> (Leipzig, 1903–5)
<i>OLD</i>	P. G. W. Glare (ed.), <i>Oxford Latin dictionary</i> . 2nd edn (Oxford, 2012)
<i>PIR<sup>1</sup></i>	E. Klebs, H. Dessau, and P. de Rohden, <i>Prosopographia imperii Romani saec. I. II. III</i> . 1st edn (Berlin, 1897–98)
<i>PIR<sup>2</sup></i>	E. Groag, A. Stein, et al., <i>Prosopographia imperii Romani saec. I. II. III</i> . 2nd edn (Berlin–Leipzig, 1933–)

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Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>RE</i>	<i>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> (Stuttgart, 1894–1980) (References are by entry number for biographies, by volume and page for articles)
<i>RIC</i> <sup>2</sup>	C. H. V. Sutherland and R. A. G. Carson, <i>The Roman imperial coinage</i> . Volume 1: From 31 BC to AD 69. Rev. edn (London, 1984)
<i>RPC</i>	A. Burnett, M. Amandry, and P. P. Ripollès, <i>Roman provincial coinage</i> . Volume 1: <i>From the death of Caesar to the death of Vitellius (44 BC–AD 69)</i> (London–Paris, 1992)
SB	D. R. Shackleton Bailey, <i>Cicero's Letters to Atticus</i> (Cambridge, 1965–70); <i>Cicero: Epistulae ad familiares</i> (Cambridge, 1977); <i>Cicero: Epistulae ad Quintum fratrem et M. Brutum</i> (Cambridge, 1980)
<i>SCPP</i>	W. Eck, A. Caballos, and F. Fernández, <i>Das senatus consultum de Cn. Pisone Patre</i> (Munich, 1996)
<i>TLL</i>	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Latinae</i> (Leipzig–Stuttgart, 1901–)

## TACITUS' WORKS

References containing only chapter and section (e.g. 10.1) are to *Annals* 11; those containing only book, chapter, and section (e.g. 3.10.1) are to the *Annals*. Date of publication is sometimes included for clarity in references to the following works.

Acidalius	<i>Valentis Acidali . . . M. Ant. Mureti Notae in C. Corn. Taciti opera quae exstant. Collectae a Christiano Acidalio Fratre</i> (Hanover, 1607)
Alciatus	Notes in <i>P. Cornelii Taciti libri quinque noviter inventi atque cum reliquis eius operibus editi</i> (Milan, 1517)

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978-1-107-01110-6 - The Annals of Tacitus: Book 11

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Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Aldina	<i>Cornelius Tacitus exacta cura recognitus et emendatus</i> (Venice, 1534)
Anderson	J. G. C. Anderson, <i>Cornelii Taciti de origine et situ Germanorum</i> (Oxford, 1938)
Ash	R. Ash, <i>Tacitus: Histories book II</i> (Cambridge, 2007)
Bach	N. Bach, <i>Cornelii Taciti operum quae supersunt</i> (Leipzig, 1834–5)
Bekker	I. Bekker, <i>Cornelius Tacitus</i> (Leipzig, 1831)
Benario	H. W. Benario, <i>Tacitus: Annals 11 and 12</i> (Lantham–London, 1983); <i>Tacitus: Germany: Germania</i> (Warminster, 1999)
Berneggerus	M. Berneggerus, <i>C. Cornelius Tacitus</i> (Strassburg, 1638) (contains notes by J. Freinsheimius)
Beroaldus	P. Beroaldus, <i>P. Cornelii Taciti libri quinque noviter inventi atque cum reliquis eius operibus editi</i> (Rome, 1515)
Bipontina	G. C. Croll and F. C. Exter, <i>C. Cornelii Taciti opera</i> . 2nd edn (Zweibrücken, 1792)
Brotier	G. Brotier, <i>C. Cornelii Taciti opera</i> (Paris, 1771)
Chilver	G. E. F. Chilver, <i>A historical commentary on Tacitus' Histories I and II</i> (Oxford, 1979)
Chilver-Townend	G. E. F. Chilver, <i>A historical commentary on Tacitus' Histories IV and V</i> . Completed and revised by G. B. Townend (Oxford, 1985)
Damon	C. Damon, <i>Tacitus: Histories I</i> (Cambridge, 2003)
Doederlein	L. Doederlein, <i>C. Cornelii Taciti opera</i> (1841–7)

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- |                 |  |
|-----------------|--|
| Draeger         | A. Draeger, <i>Die Annalen des Tacitus</i> . Volume 2: <i>Buch XI–XVI</i> (Leipzig, 1869)  |
| Draeger-Becher  | A. Draeger, <i>Die Annalen des Tacitus</i> . Volume 2.1: <i>Buch XI–XIII</i> . 4th edn by F. Becher (Leipzig, 1899)  |
| Drexler         | H. Drexler, <i>Cornelii Taciti ab excessu divi Augusti XI–XVI</i> (Heidelberg, 1957)   |
| Ed. Spir.       | Editio princeps of <i>Annals</i> 11–16 published, without title page or date, by Vindelinius de Spira (Venice, 1472/3).  |
| Ernesti         | J. A. Ernesti, <i>C. Cornelii Taciti opera</i> (Leipzig, <sup>1</sup> 1752, <sup>2</sup> 1772)   |
| Fisher          | C. D. Fisher, <i>Cornelii Taciti Annalium ab excessu divi Augusti libri</i> (Oxford, 1906)   |
| Froben          | <i>P. Cornelii Taciti eq. Ro. historia Augusta actionum diurnalium: additis quinque libris noviter inventis</i> (Basel, 1519)  |
| Fuchs           | H. Fuchs, <i>P. Cornelius Tacitus Annalium ab excessu divi Augusti quae supersunt</i> (Frauenfeld, <sup>1</sup> 1946–9, <sup>3</sup> 1973)   |
| Furneaux        | H. Furneaux, <i>The Annals of Tacitus</i> . Volume 1: books I–VI. 2nd edn (Oxford, 1896); Volume 2: books XI–XVI (Oxford, <sup>1</sup> 1891, <sup>2</sup> 1907) [Furneaux <sup>2</sup> was revised by H. F. Pelham and C. D. Fisher] |
| Goodyear        | F. R. D. Goodyear, <i>The Annals of Tacitus books 1–6</i> . Volume 1: <i>Annals 1.1–54</i> (Cambridge, 1972); Volume 2: <i>Annals 1.55–81 and Annals 2</i> (Cambridge, 1981)   |
| J. F. Gronovius | J. F. Gronovius, <i>C. C. Taciti opera quae exstant</i> (Amsterdam, 1672)  |
| J. G. Gronovius | J. G. Gronovius, <i>C. Cornelii Taciti opera quae exstant</i> (Utrecht, 1721)  |



## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

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|---------------|--|
| Grotius       | ‘Hugonis Grotii notae et emendationes ad Cornelium Tacitum’ apud <i>C. Corn. Tacitus ex I. Lipsii editione cum not. et emend. H. Grotii</i> (Leiden, 1640)   |
| Gruterus      | J. Gruterus, <i>C. Cornelii Taciti opera quae exstant</i> (Frankfurt, 1607)  |
| Gudeman       | A. Gudeman, <i>P. Cornelii Taciti Dialogus de oratoribus</i> . 2nd edn (Leipzig, 1914)   |
| Haase         | F. Haase, <i>Cornelii Taciti opera</i> (Leipzig, 1855)   |
| Halm          | C. Halm, <i>C. Cornelii Taciti libri qui supersunt</i> (Leipzig, <sup>1</sup> 1850, <sup>2</sup> 1857, <sup>3</sup> 1874, <sup>4</sup> 1883)   |
| Halm-Andresen | C. Halm, <i>P. Cornelii Taciti libri qui supersunt</i> . 5th edn by G. Andresen (Leipzig, 1913)  |
| Heinsius      | Notes on Tacitus <i>apud Ernesti</i> <sup>2</sup> (cf. praef. pp. xlv–vi)  |
| Heraeus       | C. Heraeus, <i>Cornelii Taciti Historiarum libri qui supersunt</i> . 4th edn (Leipzig, 1885)   |
| Heubner       | H. Heubner, <i>P. Cornelii Taciti libri qui supersunt. Tom. I ab excessu diui Augusti</i> . Editio correctior (Stuttgart–Leipzig, 1994) (corrected version of the edition of 1983); Commentary on the <i>Histories: P. Cornelius Tacitus: die Historien</i> . Volume 5 with W. Fauth (Heidelberg, 1963–82) |
| Jackson       | J. Jackson, <i>Tacitus: the Annals</i> (London–Cambridge, Mass., 1931–7)   |
| Kiessling     | T. Kiessling, <i>C. Cornelii Taciti Annales</i> (Leipzig, 1829)  |
| Koestermann   | Edition: E. Koestermann, <i>P. Cornelii Taciti libri qui supersunt</i> (Leipzig,   |

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- 1952) (= 7th edn 'post C. Halm-G. Andresen'). Commentary: *Cornelius Tacitus: Annalen* (Heidelberg, 1963–8)
- Lipsius J. Lipsius, *C. Cornelii Taciti Historiarum et Annalium libri qui exstant* (Antwerp, 1574); *C. Cornelii Taciti opera omnia quae exstant* (Antwerp, 1581); *C. Cornelii Taciti opera omnia quae exstant* (Leiden, 1584); *C. Cornelii Taciti opera quae exstant* (Antwerp, 1600); Comm. = *Iusti Lipsi ad Annales Corn. Taciti liber commentarius, sive notae* (Leiden, 1581)
- Martin R. H. Martin, *Tacitus: Annals V & VI* (Warminster, 2001)
- Martin-Woodman R. H. Martin and A. J. Woodman, *Tacitus: Annals book IV* (Cambridge, 1989)
- Mayer R. Mayer, *Tacitus: Dialogus de oratoribus* (Cambridge, 2001)
- Muretus See Acidalius
- Nipperdey K. Nipperdey, *Cornelius Tacitus*. Volume 2: *Ab excessu divi Augusti XI–XVI* (Berlin, <sup>1</sup>1852, <sup>2</sup>1857, <sup>3</sup>1873)
- Nipperdey-Andresen K. Nipperdey and G. Andresen, *P. Cornelius Tacitus*. Volume 1: *Ab excessu divi Augusti I–VI* (Berlin, <sup>11</sup>1915); Volume 2: *Ab excessu divi Augusti XI–XVI* (Berlin, <sup>4</sup>1880, <sup>5</sup>1892, <sup>6</sup>1908)
- Ogilvie-Richmond R. M. Ogilvie and I. Richmond, *Cornelii Taciti de vita Agricolae* (Oxford, 1967)
- Orelli J. G. Orelli, *C. Cornelii Taciti opera quae supersunt* (Zurich, <sup>1</sup>1846–48, <sup>2</sup>1859–77)
- Pfitzner W. Pfitzner, *Cornelii Taciti Annales*. Volume 3: *Buch XI–XIII* (Gotha, 1885)
- Pichena C. Pichena, *C. Cornelii Taciti opera quae extant* (Frankfurt, 1607)

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Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Puteolanus *Annals* 11–16, *Histories* 1–4, *Germania*, *Dialogus*, *Agricola*, published without a titlepage in Milan, c. 1487. The title introducing the text of *Annals* 11 is *Liber Cornelii Taciti Historiae Augustae LI XI actionum diurnali-um* (cf. the title page of the Venice reprint of 1497: *Cornelii Taciti Historiae Augustae*)
- Rhenanus B. Rhenanus, *P. Cornelii Taciti equitis Romani Annalium ab excessu Augusti* (Basel, <sup>1</sup>1533, <sup>2</sup>1544)
- Ritter F. Ritter, *C. Cornelii Taciti opera* (Bonn, 1834–6); *Cornelii Taciti opera* (Cambridge–London, 1848); *P. Cornelii Taciti opera* (Leipzig, 1864).
- Rives J. B. Rives, *Tacitus: Germania* (Oxford, 1999)
- Römer F. Römer, *P. Corneli Taciti Annalium libri XV–XVI* (Vienna–Cologne–Graz, 1976)
- Ruperti G. A. Ruperti, *C. Cornelii Taciti opera*. Volume 1: *Taciti Annales* (Gottingen, 1804); *C. Cornelii Taciti opera* (Hanover, 1834)
- Ryckius *Theodori Ryckii ad C. Cornelium Tacitum animadversiones* (Leiden, 1686) and *C. Cornelii Taciti opera quae exstant ex recensione et cum animadversionibus Theodori Ryckii* (Leiden, 1687)
- Scotus A. Scotus, *In P. Cornelii Taciti Annales, et Historias commentarii: ad politicam, & aulicam rationem praecipue spectantes* (Rome, 1589)
- Ursinus *Fragmenta historicorum collecta ab Antonio Augustino, emendata a Fulvio Ursino*.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

	<i>Fului Vrsini notae ad Sallustium, Caesarem, Livium, Velleium, Tacitum, Suetonium, Spartianum, &amp; alios</i> (Antwerp, 1595)
Vertranius	<i>Ad P. Cornelii Taciti Annalium, et Historiarum libros M. Vertraniū Mauri iurisc. notae</i> (Lyons, 1569)
Victorius	P. Victorius' collation of M and conjectures in a copy of Beroaldus in the Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Res/2 A.lat.b. 710. Victorius dates the collation to 1542.
Walther	G. H. Walther, <i>C. Cornelii Taciti opera</i> (Halle, 1831–3)
Weiskopf	H. Weiskopf, <i>P. Corneli Taciti Annalium libri XI–XII</i> (Vienna–Cologne–Graz, 1973)
Wellesley	Edition: K. Wellesley, <i>Cornelii Taciti libri qui supersunt. Tomus I pars secunda: ab excessu divi Augusti libri XI–XVI</i> (Leipzig, 1986). Commentary: <i>Cornelius Tacitus: the Histories book III</i> (Sydney, 1972)
Woodcock	E. C. Woodcock, <i>The Annals of Tacitus book XIV</i> (London, 1939)
Woodman-Martin	A. J. Woodman and R. H. Martin, <i>The Annals of Tacitus book 3</i> (Cambridge, 1996)
Wuilleumier	P. Wuilleumier, <i>Tacite: Annales livres XI–XII</i> (Paris, 1976)

## OTHER ANCIENT WORKS

For texts in Latin I have used the abbreviations and editions specified in the index of the *TLL*. Notable exceptions: I have quoted Sallust's *Histories* from Maurenbrecher's edition of 1893 and have

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not adopted the *TLL*'s use of a separate form of citation for certain excerpts from that text; the *R. gest. diu. Aug.* from the 2007 Budé edition by J. Scheid. For Greek authors I have used the abbreviations in Liddell and Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, but some adjustments have been made for the sake of clarity.