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Edited by Henry Furneaux

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Cornelii Taciti Annalium Libri V, VI, XI, XII

A lecturer at the University of Bristol, Pitman published this edition of Tacitus' *Annals* in Oxford in 1912. The title of the work derives from Tacitus's style of history, which he dealt with on a year-by-year basis. *Annals* covered the reigns of four Roman emperors, beginning after the death of Augustus. Of the 16 original books covering a period of 54 years, much of what Tacitus wrote has not survived. This edition of *Annals* includes four books: the incomplete Book 5 and Book 6, which cover the final years and death of Tiberius, and Books 11 and 12 which cover the the end of the reign of Claudius. (Books 7 to 10 are missing.) The text and introduction are from the 1894 edition by Henry Furneaux; Pitman's intention is 'to serve the needs of students requiring a less copious and advanced commentary' than that supplied by Furneaux.

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Cornelii Taciti Annalium Libri V, VI, XI, XII

*With Introduction and Notes
Abridged from the Larger Work*

EDITED BY HENRY FURNEAUX
AND H. PITMAN



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CORNELII TACITI
ANNALIUM

LIBRI V, VI, XI, XII

WITH INTRODUCTIONS AND NOTES
ABRIDGED FROM THE LARGER WORK
OF HENRY FURNEAUX, M.A., BY

H. PITMAN, M.A.,

LECTURER IN CLASSICS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF BRISTOL

OXFORD
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PREFACE

THIS volume has been prepared on the same scale and with the same purpose as my edition of Books xiii–xvi of the *Annals*. It is designed to serve the needs of students requiring a less copious and advanced commentary than that given in Mr. Furneaux's large edition. In substance the Introductions and Notes are drawn from Mr. Furneaux's work, but I have ventured to give explanations or translations of my own in certain passages, left without comment by him, which seemed to me likely to present difficulty to students as yet unfamiliar with Tacitus' peculiarities of expression. I have endeavoured to make this volume as far as possible self-contained, by taking illustrations of Tacitus' diction mostly from passages in the books given in the text, and by stating the chief facts of importance that are related in any other part of the *Annals* about the personages mentioned in this part of the narrative.

The Text is that of Furneaux's edition, 1894. I have not thought it consistent with the plan of this book to give more than the briefest discussion of the points where his readings differ from those of other editors.

My best thanks are due to my friend and colleague, Professor F. Brooks, of the University of Bristol, for his kind help in the work of scrutinizing the proof-sheets for misprints or misstatements.

H. PITMAN.

UNIVERSITY OF BRISTOL,
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INTRODUCTION

I

LIFE OF TACITUS

§ 1. OUR knowledge of the chief facts and dates in the life of Tacitus rests mainly on allusions in his own writings and those of his friend the younger Pliny, who addresses several letters to him and often speaks of him in others.

His praenomen is not mentioned in this correspondence, and is differently given by later authorities as Gaius or Publius. His family connexions are unknown; but he would appear to have been the first of his name to attain senatorial rank, though of sufficient position to have begun his 'cursus honorum' at the earliest, or almost the earliest, legal age; as he can hardly have been born earlier than 52-54 A.D., and must have been quaestor not later than 79 A.D., by which time he had also received in marriage the daughter of Agricola, who was already a consular, and one of the first men in the State.

His boyhood falls thus under the time of Nero; his assumption of the 'toga virilis' would coincide, or nearly so, with the terrible year of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius; his early manhood was spent under Vespasian and Titus; the prime of his life under Domitian; the memory of whose tyranny is seen in all his historical writings, which were composed at various dates in the great time of Trajan.

Most of his life may be supposed to have been spent in Rome, where he became one of the leaders of the Bar, and one of the best known literary names of Rome; so that a stranger sitting next to him at the games, and finding him to be a man of letters, asked whether he was speaking to Tacitus or to Pliny¹. He is further known² as having been consul suffectus and in that capacity colleague with Nerva in 97 A.D., and as associated with Pliny in the prosecution of Marius Priscus, proconsul of Africa, in

¹ Plin. *Epp.* ix 23, 2.² *Ib.* ii 1, 6.

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100 A.D.¹ This is the last fact in his life definitely known, and there is no evidence that he outlived Trajan.

§ 2. The *Annals*, more properly entitled 'Libri ab excessu divi Augusti,' comprising in sixteen Books the history of fifty-four years from the death of Augustus to that of Nero, are the latest in date of his writings, and are shown by an allusion to the Eastern conquests of Trajan (ii 61, 2) to have been published at some date not earlier than 115 A.D., and probably before the retrocession of the Eastern frontier under Hadrian in 117 A.D. The first six Books, comprising the principate of Tiberius, rest on a single manuscript, called the First Medicean, written probably in the tenth or eleventh century, and now preserved at Florence. The text of Books xi–xii, given in this volume, is based on a MS. known as the Second Medicean, which contains all that we have of Books xi–xvi, besides all the extant part of the *Histories*, with the exception of i 69–75 and i 86–ii 2. It is known to have been sent from Florence to Rome in 1427 A.D., but it was shortly afterwards returned to Florence, where it passed to the Convent of St. Mark, and thence to the Laurentian Library, where it still remains. Other existing MSS. cannot be proved to be of earlier date, and are generally regarded as based, if not on the Medicean MS. itself, at any rate on the same source as that from which it was taken, their variations being either attempted emendations or preserving the right text in places where the original letters of Med. have become illegible and been reproduced by a later hand.

Materials available to Tacitus.

§ 3. It is not Tacitus' usual practice to give the names of the authorities whom he followed, and in the case of the first six Books of the *Annals* he does so only twice, mentioning the history of the German wars by C. Plinius, in i 69, 3, and the memoirs of the younger Agrippina in iv 53, 3. In each of these cases it would appear that he is here giving something overlooked by the other authors whom he usually followed. As a rule his references are

¹ Plin. *Ep.* ii 11, 2.

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LIFE OF TACITUS

made in merely general terms ; he speaks of ‘auctores’ and ‘scriptores,’ or introduces a statement by ‘quidam tradidere,’ ‘ferunt,’ or ‘tradunt,’ and the number of such expressions indicates that the sources from which he gathered his materials were abundant. Not many names of the historians who dealt with the period covered by the *Annals* remain, however. Of contemporary accounts of Tiberius’ times all that is extant is now contained in a few passages of Valerius Maximus, and in the closing portion of Velleius Paterculus’ history, published in 30 A. D., in which is a short sketch of the first sixteen years of Tiberius’ reign. It is not known if any other histories of Tiberius’ reign were produced in his lifetime, but soon after his death several works, now lost, came out. There was Tiberius’ own autobiography, referred to by Suetonius (*Tib.* 61) ; there was a volume of memoirs by the younger Agrippina, giving an account of the inner history of the court and family of Tiberius, which probably supplied Suetonius with much of the scandal which he repeats, and may have greatly influenced the historians who preceded Tacitus, by whose time the book seems to have passed out of circulation ; and Claudius also wrote an autobiography, as well as a general history from the end of the civil wars onwards, a voluminous work in forty-three Books. It is also known that M. Seneca, the father of Nero’s tutor, composed a history from the beginning of the civil wars to a time shortly before his own death : this took place early in the reign of Gaius, so that we may conjecture that his history went down to the death of Tiberius. Another famous historian, of a slightly later date, was M. Servilius Nonianus, who was consul in 35 A. D. and died in 59 A. D. ; but it is not known what was the period with which he dealt. More information remains as to the work of Aufidius Bassus, who died in 60 A. D. ; he wrote a history of the wars of the Romans in Germany, as well as a general history, to which a continuation was written by the elder Pliny, and as Pliny called this continuation a ‘history of his own times,’ Bassus’ work probably went to the time of Claudius. Pliny also wrote another work in twenty Books on the wars of the Romans in Germany, but with the exception of his *Natural History* his writings are lost to us.

All these would be available to Tacitus as material for the history contained in this volume. Later authors, to whom Tacitus refers

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in his history of Nero's reign, were M. Cluvius Rufus, a companion of Nero in Greece, author of a history (probably) from Gaius to Vitellius, Fabius Rusticus, one of Tacitus' authorities for his treatment of Britain (*Agr.* 10, 3), and the general Corbulo (xiii 20 : xv 16).

Other materials available for the *Annals* generally would be biographies of famous men, such as that, produced later, of Thræsea by Arulenus Rusticus, and those referred to by Tacitus as precedents for his own work on *Agricola* (*Agr.* 1). From such a source he probably drew his knowledge of the cases of victims of Tiberius, which had been left unrecorded by his other authorities (see vi 7, 6). There would also be funeral orations on public men, published speeches, and collections of letters like that published later by the younger Pliny. There were also the public records : 'acta' or 'commentarii senatus' had been kept since the first consulship of Julius Caesar, who at the same time also started the 'acta diurna urbis,' the daily gazette chronicling proceedings in the courts and chief events of public importance ; and Tacitus made use of both ; e.g. xv 74, 3 ; iii 3, 2. The events of which he wrote, too, were sufficiently near to his own day for a considerable amount of tradition about them to be still existing and worth recording, as the frequency of 'ferunt,' 'traditur,' &c., before stories cited by him indicates.

Historical value of the Annals.

§ 4. As Dio complains, it was more difficult for historians to get at the truth under the Empire than under the Republic. Politics were no longer for the general public ; in jurisdiction, in the administration of the provinces, and in the conduct of war, much was done by the princeps and his private advisers that could only become known from official versions issued at the time, or from such reminiscences as generals or imperial officials cared to publish subsequently. Persons outside government circles remained at the mercy of the official version : reminiscences of a general might be mere self-glorification. Tacitus believed himself to be writing

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impartially, and was a diligent student and compiler of materials, aiming at basing his narrative on a 'consensus auctorum.' But like other ancient historians he probably had little sense of the necessity of correctly estimating the intrinsic merits of the authors from whom he drew his material. And in the earlier part of the *Annals* it is more than probable that his portrait of Tiberius is unfairly coloured, because he has drawn for his facts upon authorities violently prejudiced against that monarch. For such suspicions against the subject-matter of the four last books there is less foundation. The events there recorded took place in Tacitus' own childhood: as a young man he must have had frequent opportunity of meeting and talking with people who had lived under Nero, and in the light of what he heard from them he would be less likely to be misled by the writers whom he consulted, if they were guilty of misrepresentation. And these writers were certainly in a position to know the facts.

Tacitus' conception of the function of history.

§ 5. Tacitus' professed purpose in writing history is a moral one, 'to rescue virtue from oblivion, and that base words and deeds should have the fear of posthumous infamy' (iii 65, 1); he wishes, in fact, to influence men in the right direction by holding up examples of noble conduct for imitation, of base conduct for avoidance. At the same time it is his aim to point out the right political conduct for the subjects of the principate; 'how even under bad princes there can be good citizens' (*Agr.* 42, 5); that the best course is at the same time the safest, and is one of dignified moderation, such as that followed by Manius Lepidus under Tiberius, Memmius Regulus under Nero, and Agricola under Domitian, avoiding on the one hand the vile obsequiousness of the flatterers and tools, who after all were discarded by their master or punished by his successor, and on the other such truculent and ostentatious opposition as that of Helvidius Priscus, inviting and incurring destruction.

This point of view gives his work a wider range than that of a mere biographer like Suetonius. To Tacitus the general working of the Roman system is interesting as a field for the display of character, and events are selected and represented in illustration

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INTRODUCTION

of the motives of the agents. This outlook makes him careless about exact details of strategy, geography, and chronology, such as are expected of a modern historian, and brings him into line with the satirists, whom he further resembles in his bold characterization, his vivid contrasts and tendencies to exaggeration, and the epigrammatic style of his diction.

II

ON THE SYNTAX AND STYLE OF TACITUS

NOTE—Most of what is here said is applicable to the writings of Tacitus as a whole, and especially to the *Annals*; but the instances given are almost wholly from the four Books contained in this volume.

By the time of Tacitus, Latin prose composition had already departed much from the standard of Cicero or Caesar, through the frequent adoption of words and forms of expression from the great classic poets, who had by that time become textbooks in every grammar-school; also through an increasing tolerance of Greek words and grammatical Graecisms, partly due to such study of Augustan poetry, partly to an increasing taste for what was Greek as such¹.

The special qualities of the style of Tacitus have been held to consist chiefly in rhetorical or poetical colouring, in the study of brevity, and in that of variety; all of which characteristics are no doubt due mainly to his professional career². He has himself told us that the pleader in his day could no longer expatiate like Cicero, but was bound to be terse, epigrammatic, and striking, and to grace his style with poetic colouring from the treasury of Vergil and Horace, or even from more recent poets³. In falling in with this fashion, Tacitus draws the poetic element in his style almost exclusively from Vergil, to whom he is repeatedly and abundantly indebted; while his chief prose models are Sallust and Livy, his great predecessors in the field of

¹ Juvenal mentions (7, 226) the use of Horace and Vergil as school-books, and also dwells at length (3, 61 foll.) on the extent to which the Rome of his day had become Greek.

² See Intr. I, § 1.

³ *Dial. de Oratoribus*, 19, 20.

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SYNTAX

history¹. The effort at variety of expression, besides being natural in the case of an orator, is further due to the historian's desire to relieve what he feels to be the oppressive monotony of his subject², by saying the same thing with the utmost variety of expression, by often giving the sentence an unexpected turn, by inventing new words or new senses of words, or reviving such as had become somewhat obsolete.

Of the various usages noted in the following sections, comparatively few are altogether peculiar to Tacitus; but many are new in prose, and all are so far Tacitean that they are used by him with more boldness and freedom than by earlier prose authors.

A. SYNTAX

[The references in square brackets are to the paragraphs in the Introduction on Syntax in the large edition, Vol. I]

I. SUBSTANTIVES, ADJECTIVES, AND PRONOUNS.

1 [1, 3]. Abstract nouns are used for concrete, especially in the plural, as *nobilitates*, xii 20, 1; perhaps, *dominationes*, xii 30, 4. Notice also *matrimonium* = wife, xii 6, 3; *servitium* = slaves, xii 17, 1; *senectutem Tiberii ut inermem despiciens*, practically = *senem Tiberium*, vi 31, 1; so, also, *pueritia Domitii* = *puer Domitius*, xii 8, 3.

2 [4, 6]. Adjectives are used freely in the neuter with the force of substantives; (*a*) in the plural, as *novissima*, vi 50, 8; *suprema*, vi 50, 3; xii 66, 2; *summa imperii*, xi 8, 2; so, *laetus praesentium et inanium spe*, v 10, 3; *brevia litorum*, vi 33, 5; (*b*) in the singular, as *lubricum iuventae*, vi 49, 3; in *lubrico*, vi 51, 3; *intellegens falsi*, xii 26, 2.

Adjectives are also used adverbially, as secondary predicates: *pergit properus*, vi 44, 1; *secretus agitat*, xi 21, 2. Neuter adjectives sometimes stand as adverbs: *praeceps*, vi 17, 4; *aeternum*, xii 28, 2.

¹ See below, § 68.

² See iv 32 and 33.

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An adjective sometimes stands in agreement with a noun or pronoun to form a phrase which might have been expressed by a clause with *quod*: as *nihil . . . novum*, xii 2, 1; *nihil nisi atrox . . . terreat*, xii 35, 1; *nullae . . . litterae suspicionem dabant*, vi 47, 4.

3 (a) [8, 9]. Pronouns of the third person are omitted, especially in the accusative, in spite of the harshness or obscurity involved. *Se* is omitted in vi 48, 3; v 5, 2; and many other places noted in the commentary. *Eum* is omitted in vi 46, 7; xi 4, 4; *eam*, in xii 65, 4.

(b) The indefinite *quis* is used in the phrase *ut quis*, for *ut quisque*, vi 7, 4, and elsewhere.

(c) *Quis ille* is used with a peculiar brachylogy in xi 7, 1; xii 36, 2.

II. CASES.

A. *Accusative*.

4 [11]. The poetical or Greek accusative of the part concerned, not frequent in prose, is freely used: *clari genus*, vi 9, 5; *adlevatur animum*, vi 43, 3.

5 [10]. The accusative of the place towards which motion takes place is found without preposition: xii 31, 3; 51, 4 (perhaps).

6 [12]. Transitive accusatives are used

(a) in apposition to the sentence, i. e. in explanation of the action described, not of a single word in the sentence: *auspiciū prosperi transgressus*, vi 37, 2; *terrorem*, xii 29, 2; so, too (probably), *pretium festinandi*, vi 29, 2; *subsidiū*, xii 32, 4;

(b) after verbs expressing the feelings, as *pavescere*;

(c) after compound verbs, where a dative or a repetition of the preposition with its case would be more usual: (*genua*) *advolvi*, vi 49, 3; *accedere*, xii 31, 3; *erumpere*, xii 63, 2; *evadere*, v 10, 4; *exire*, vi 49, 3; *praeiacere*, xii 36, 4; *praeminere*, xii 12, 1; *praesidere*, xii 14, 7.

7 [14]. The use of adverbial accusatives such as *id temporis* is extended to new expressions, as *id auctoritatis*, xii 18, 1.

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SYNTAX

B. *Dative.*

8 (a) [15]. After compound verbs expressing deprivation, Tacitus follows poets and Livy in using a dative, rather than ablative with a preposition: *extrahere*, vi 23, 5; *eximere*, vi 9, 6.

(b) [21]. After compound verbs, Tacitus follows poets in using a dative rather than *ad* or *in* with the accusative: *penatibus induxerit*, v 1, 3; *indicibus accessere*, vi 7, 5.

9 [19]. The dative of a noun, so closely connected with another that a genitive would be expected, is frequent in poets and Livy, and still more so in Tacitus: *ministri sceleribus*, vi 36, 4; *corpori custodes*, *ibid.*; *rex Hiberis*, xi 8, 2.

10 [18]. The Dative of Agent is used without restriction to the gerundive or adjectives in *-bilis*, and without any prominence of the idea of the 'interest' of the agent: *possessa Cyro*, vi 31, 2; *mihi narratus*, xi 29, 1; *cui pars provinciae habebatur*, xii 54, 3: most of such expressions should be referred to this case rather than ablative, as *Macedonibus sitae*, vi 41, 2; *audita scriptaque senioribus*, xi 27, 2; *quis . . . ultio . . . timebatur*, xii 9, 2.

11 [22]. The Dative of Purpose or Work contemplated is very frequent, the gerund or gerundive in this case following a participle or a verb, in the sense of a final clause: *componendis patrum actis delectus*, v 4, 1; *reciperandaeque Armeniae Hiberum Mithridaten deligit*, vi 32, 5; *quibus abluendis . . . egrediens*, xi 2, 4; *dissimulando metu digrediuntur*, xi 32, 1; so also, xi 1, 1; xii 66, 1, and many other passages.

Sometimes it follows adjectives: *accipiendis suspicionibus promptior*, xii 4, 3; *facilis capessendis inimicitiiis*, v 11, 1.

A noun may be used in this way: *custodiae eius imponit*, xii 41, 8; *excubiis adest*, xii 69, 1; *diem locumque foederi accepit*, xii 46, 6; *coniugio accepit*, vi 20, 1.

12 [23]. This should be distinguished from 'predicative' datives, showing that which a thing or person serves as or occasions, such as *rubori*, xi 17, 3; *ostentui . . . dehonestamento*, xii 14, 6; *remedio quaesita*, vi 17, 3; *curae*, vi 22, 2; *exitio*, xi 24, 5. In xi 14, 5 *usui* stands, in an unusual manner, attributively.

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INTRODUCTION

C. Ablative.

13 [24]. The Ablative of Place Whence is used freely, without preposition, both of proper names: Etruria Lucaniaque et omni Italia in senatum accitos, xi 24, 2; and of common names: ordine senatorio movetur, xii 4, 4; often also after compound verbs implying separation: depromptum sinu, vi 40, 1; so also, probably, exutum campis, xii 45, 3.

14 [25]. The Ablative of Place Where is used, without preposition, as freely as in poetry: domibus, vi 3, 3; terra caelove, vi 33, 3; campo, xii 36, 4.

15 [26]. The Ablative of Time may denote a whole period during which something took place (a post-Augustan use): bellis civilibus, vi 11, 3; duodecim annis, vi 51, 4; secutis diebus, xi 38, 3. On the other hand, the preposition 'in' is sometimes used to denote a point or a period of time: eo in tempore, xi 29, 1.

The following ablatives also may be referred to this heading, as denoting the occasion at which something happens: solita convivio, xi 38, 2; proelio solita, xii 56, 2; prosperis dubiisque sociam, xii 5, 3.

16 [27]. The Instrumental Ablative is used of persons, where the fact of the presence of a person, rather than the personality of the agent, is emphasized: Tiridates simul fama atque ipso Artabano perculsus, vi, 44 3.

This case is also used to describe the force with which military operations are conducted, like the Greek *ἀρπεν στρατῶ*: multis equitum milibus in castra venit, vi 37, 4; multa manu . . . adventabat, vi 44, 3.

17. Tacitus sometimes affects the poetical collocation of an ablative of 'Respect' with an adjective, as editam loco, xii 16, 3; rudem iuventa, xii 15, 1. (Cf. such expressions as curvam compagibus alvom, Verg. *Aen.* ii 51; saeva sonoribus arma, *Aen.* ix 651.)

18 [29]. The Ablative of Quality is used without the association of a common noun (such as 'vir'): truci eloquentia habebatur, vi 48, 6; et quidam summis honoribus, vi 9, 5; Cotta Messalinus . . . inveterata invidia, vi 5, 1. Sometimes the epithet is omitted:

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iuvenem nobilem dignitate formae, vi mentis, ac propinquo consulatu, xi 28, 1; with this may be compared the brachylogical ablative of material: moenia non saxo sed cratibus et vimentis, xii 16, 3.

19 [30]. The Causal Ablative is used with much freedom in the *Annals*, where a preposition, as 'propter', or 'causa' or 'gratia' with genitive, would be expected: regem . . . adversis proeliorum exitiosum, vi 36, 2; continuo abscessu velut exilium obiectando, vi 38, 2; amore, xi 26, 5; largitione aut spei magnitudine, xi 36, 2; caritate, xii 4, 3; defectione, xii 10, 1; qua necessitate, xii 46, 6.

20. Such an ablative is often associated with an adjective meaning famous: castellum insigne fama, xii 13, 2; egregium vita famaque, vi 51, 5.

21 [31]. Ablative Absolute. The following uses are characteristic:

(a) the neuter ablative singular of the participle stands by itself: multum certato, xi 10, 3; nec ultra expectato quam, xi 26, 7; this often introduces a substantival clause: non distincto sua an aliena manu (perisset), xi 38, 2; comperto Graecam quoque litteraturam non simul coeptam absolutamque, xi 13, 3;

(b) the participle is used without any word in agreement, where it can easily be supplied from the sense of the passage: concedente (eo), vi 16, 5; invalido (imperatore), vi 47, 4;

(c) the participle is followed by a relative, without expression of the antecedent: additis quae ante deliquerant, vi 9, 1; missis qui . . . pellicerent, xi 19, 3; excitis quorum de sententia petitus rex, xii 12, 3.

22. It should be remembered that the ablative has the wide general function of expressing the circumstances attendant on an action. This explains

(a) the frequent occurrence of a substantive and adjective in an ablative not definitely referable to the categories 'absolute,' 'causal,' 'descriptive,' &c., which are names for special developments of the general function. Besides ordinary 'absolute ablatives,' equivalent to a temporal clause, like caede continua, vi 29, 1, there are many for which 'ablative of attendant circumstance' would be a better name; some of these approach the 'causal' use, as certo si abnueret exitio et non nulla fallendi spe, simul magnis praemiis, xi 12, 3; Chauci nulla dissensione domi et morte Sanquinii alacres,

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xi 18, 1; some express 'manner,' as *non nulla spe et aliquando ira*, xi 37, 1; some are nearly 'descriptive,' as *actae principi grates, quaesitiore in Domitium adulatione*, xii 26, 1; *suscipi bellum avio itinere, importuoso mari*, xii 20, 2; *ignobilem Hiberum mercenario milite disserebat*, vi 34, 5, seems partly causal, partly descriptive. (See also v 10, 2; vi 45, 5; xi 36, 4; xii 5, 1; xii 13, 3; xii 18, 1; xii 30, 4.)

(b) the ablative of gerund or gerundive, as the equivalent of a present participle or temporal clause introduced by 'dum': *adiciendo*, v 6, 5; *ordiendo*, vi 8, 1; *objectando*, vi 38, 2; *ventitando*, xii 3, 1; *memorando*, xii 44, 5.

D. *Genitive*.

23 [32]. Partitive and quasi-partitive genitives are abundant, and often there is no stress on the partitive notion, the phrase becoming equivalent, as in poetry (e.g. *strata viarum*, in Lucretius and Vergil), to a simple substantive and adjective.

(a) With neut. sing.: *extremo anni*, vi 27, 1; *lubricum iuventae*, vi 49, 3; *per medium diei*, xi 21, 2; *post multum vulnere*, xii 56, 5; *medio diei*, xii 69, 1.

(b) With neut. plur.: *simulationum falsa*, vi 45, 5; *castellorum ardua*, xi 9, 1; *incerta Oceani*, xi 20, 2; *montium edita*, xii 56, 4.

(c) A substantive, accompanied by an adjective, is taken out of its natural case, and put in the partitive genitive: *cunctis civium*, xi 22, 4; *adversis proeliorum* (= *adversis proeliis*), vi 36, 3; so, probably, *provinciarum vectigalibus* = the tribute-paying provinces, xi 22, 8.

(d) Such a genitive may stand without any word expressing partition being expressed: *Caninius Gallus quindecimvirum*, vi 12, 1.

24 [33]. Objective Genitive.

(a) The elliptical genitive, common with verbs of accusing and judging, is extended to new examples: *postulare*, vi 9, 5; *repetundarum teneri*, xi 7, 8; *urgere* (if the reading is sound), vi 29, 3.

(b) It is frequent with participles, as *retinens*, v 11, 2; *cupiens*, vi 46, 2; *casus prioris impatiens*, xii 52, 1.

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(c) With adjectives, it expresses sometimes the direct object, as *Praescium periculorum*, vi 21, 5; often, a more remote object, as if in place of 'de' and ablative; *matrimonii certa*, xii 3, 2; *sceleris certa*, xii 66, 2 (cf. *Aeneas* . . . *iam certus eundi*, Verg. *Aen.* iv 554); and it is very frequently used, quite loosely, to denote in what respect an epithet is applied (Genitive of Reference): *trepidus admirationis et metus*, vi 21, 4; *occultos consilii*, vi 36, 3; *vetus regnandi*, vi 44, 1; *operum et laboris ignavas* (legiones), xi 18, 2; *atrox odii*, xii 22, 1; *oblatae occasionis propera*, xii 66, 2; *vitae manifestam*, xii 51, 5; *praecipuus olim circumveniendi Titii Sabini*, vi 4, 1; *absentium aequos* (= fair-minded in regard to absent persons), vi 36, 5.

25 [34]. The Genitive of Quality is used with the same brachylogy as the corresponding ablative (18): *effusae clementiae*, vi 30, 3; *ademptae virilitatis*, vi 31, 3.

26 [37]. In such phrases as the following, the genitive of gerund or gerundive shows a bold extension of the idea 'belonging to':

(a) defining a noun: *cuius apiscendae otium apud Rhodum* . . . *habuit*, vi 20, 3; *pecunia omittendae delationis*, vi 30, 1; *spatium exuendi pacta*, xi 43, 1;

(b) used predicatively: *quae conciliandae misericordiae videbantur*, xi 3, 1; so Sall. *Cat.* 6, *regium imperium initio conservandae libertatis atque augendae reipublicae fuerat*.

III. VERBS.

27 [38, 39]. Verbs of speaking, thinking, and even of motion are omitted with more freedom than in earlier classical Latin: *haec* (*dixit*), vi 2, 6; *haec apud senatum* (*acta sunt*), vi 10, 2.

Parts of *esse*, other than present indicative and infinitive, are omitted, even in dependent clauses: *quae retinenda* . . . (*essent*), xi 15, 3; *quidquid Neronibus avitum* (*fuerit*), xi 35, 2; also, in apodosis of conditional sentence, *oppressa cunctantium dubitatio* (*erat*), vi 43, 1; notice also the omission of *fuisse* after a future participle, *peritutum*, xi 3, 2.

28 [40]. Simple verbs are often used for compound, as in poetry: *noscere* for *cognoscere*, vi 9, 7; xii 60, 3; *firmare* for *confirmare*, vi

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6, 2; vi 50, 5; *ferre* for *proferre*, vi 49, 3; xii 4, 1: *venire* for *evenire*, xii 32, 4; *vertere* (probably) for *evertere*, xii 45, 5.

29 [41]. Verbs, usually transitive, are found used intransitively: *vertere*, vi 19, 1; 46, 3 (so also, of things, in Livy, Sallust and Caesar); *mutare*, xii 29, 1; *agere*, xi 16, 4; *agitare*, xi 21, 2.

30 [42]. Intransitive verbs are found used personally, in the passive, as in poetry: *triumphari*, xii 19, 4.

IV. MOODS AND TENSES.

A. *Infinitive*.

31 [43]. Verbs of commanding, entreating, advising, and those which express effort and compulsion, which in earlier classical prose are usually followed by 'ut' or 'ne' with the subjunctive, are used in great numbers by Tacitus with an infinitive clause completing their sense: *admonuit C. Cestium patrem dicere*, vi 7, 3; *Vibidiam . . . oravit . . . adire*, xi 32, 5; *hortatur . . . capessere*, xi 16, 3; *impulerat uxorem suam iuvenem inlicere*, vi 45, 5; *inducunt sententiam expromere*, xii 9, 1; *perpulit . . . subire*, xi 29, 3. The use of a passive infinitive in this way is noticeable: (*liber*) *quem Gallus recipi inter ceteros . . . postulaverat*, vi 12, 1; *cieri Narcissum postulat*, xi 30, 2; *permitti Meherdaten . . . orabant*, xi 10, 8; *veteranos coloniamque deduci impetrat*, xii 27, 1.

Other instances may be seen in vi 12, 4; vi 19, 4; vi 23, 5; vi 33, 1; xi 26, 1; xii 11, 4; xii 29, 2.

The somewhat doubtful '*instabat . . . aperire*' of xi 34, 2 may be referred to this use.

32 [44]. The accusative and infinitive, expressing an indirect statement, is found with verbs not usually associated with it, as *eum . . . incolumem fore gratatur*, vi 21, 5: cf. *Trebellenum incusans popularium iniurias inultas sinere*, iii 38, 4.

33 [45]. A personal construction is often found where in earlier classical prose the impersonal construction would be usual; this is specially common with verbs of accusing: *incusabatur facile toleraturus exilium*, vi 3, 3; *Sex. Marius defertur incestasse filiam*,

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vi 19, 1; so also, *introspicere creditus*, v 4, 1; see also vi 34, 4; 50, 7.

34 [46]. The Historic Infinitive is not only used in graphic narrative in main sentences, as in xii 51, 3, &c., but also occurs in subordinate clauses: *ubi . . . non cremare quisquam*, vi 19, 4; *cum Tiridates . . . distrahi consiliis*, vi 44, 3; so also, after *cum*, xi 34, 3; after *ubi*, xi 37, 3.

35 [47]. The 'Epexegetic' Infinitive, so common in Horace, is employed: *perrumpere adgreditur*, xii 31, 5.

B. *Indicative.*

36 [48]. The historic present is very common, and is hardly differentiated from a past tense: *postulantur*, et . . . *adiciebatur*, vi 9, 5; *subicitur*, vi 12, 5; *renovat . . . contulit*, xi 8, 6. It may have a subjunctive dependent upon it in the imperfect tense: *impellit milites ut pacem flagitarent*, xii 46, 5; see also vi 48, 6.

37 [49]. Explanatory clauses in the indicative are inserted in the midst of *oratio obliqua*: *inde Phoenicas, quia mari praepollabant, intulisse Graeciae gloriamque adeptos tamquam reppererint quae acceperant*, xi 14, 1.

38 [50]. The indicative is used vividly in place of the subjunctive, in the apodosis of conditional clauses, stating what might have happened as though it had actually occurred: *contremuerant . . . ni . . . emisisset*, vi 9, 6; *ni caedem Narcissus properavisset, verterat perniciem in accusatorem*, xi 37, 1; or an incomplete action or tendency, showing vividly what was on the point of happening: *summum supplicium decernebatur, ni professus indicium foret*, vi 3, 5; *offerebantur . . . nisi . . . iussisset*, xi 34, 4 (see also vi 36, 1; xii 42, 1); or what would have been, in contrast to what did happen: *si statim interiora . . . petivisset, . . . omnes in unum cedebant*, vi 43, 1; *nec fugam sisteat, ni legiones proelium exceperant*, xii 39, 1. In, *recipere avebat, ni . . . cohibitus foret*, xi 10, 1, an ellipsis may be understood: 'he was eager to recover . . . (and would have done so) if he had not been prevented.'

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C. Subjunctive.

39 [51]. The Hypothetical Subjunctive, with condition not formally expressed, or Potential Subjunctive is used : *nec ideo adsequere*, vi 8, 9 ; *non omiserim*, vi 20, 3 ; *scias*, xi 18, 5.

40 [53]. The subjunctive follows 'quamquam', even though expressing a fact : *quamquam mater . . . transierit*, vi 51, 1 ; *quamquam multa simul offunderentur*, xi 20, 1 ; so, too, *quamvis : quamvis bellum negavisset*, xi 20, 3 ; also *donec*, even where the notion of purpose or expectation is not implied : *donec Carenem . . . globus circumveniret*, xii 44, 4.

41 [52]. The subjunctive is frequently used in subordinate clauses, of cases frequently occurring : after *nisi*, v 11, 2 ; *si*, vi 1, 5 ; 30, 1 ; *quantum*, vi 19, 5 ; *qui*, vi 8, 4 ; *quoties*, vi 10, 3 ; 21, 1 ; xii 47, 3. The pluperfect indicative, preferred in such cases by Cicero and Caesar, is seen in vi 24, 2.

V. PARTICIPLES.

Cf. also § 21.

42 [54]. The 'aoristic' use of the present participle should be noticed

(a) in abl. abs. : *praemonente Narcisso pauca verba fecit*, xi 35, 3 ; *so, hortante*, vi 29, 7 ; *accusante*, vi 18, 2 ;

(b) in nom. : *Quadratus cognoscens proditum Mithridaten*, xii 48, 1 ;

(c) as equivalent to a relative clause with a past tense : *gloriam trucidantium Crassum*, ii 2, 4.

43 [54]. Participles are used in the place of subordinate clauses :

(a) causal : *adnectebatur crimini Vibia . . . ut casus prioris impatiens*, xii 52, 1 ; *tamquam passus*, xi 36, 5 ;

(b) final : *auxiliis . . . contractis tamquam recipitur Armeniam*, xii 49, 2 ;

(c) indirect statement : *subdito rumore tamquam Mesopotamiam invasurus*, vi 36, 1.

44 [55]. A participial construction is used, as in Livy, giving the sense of an abstract noun followed by a genitive : *et non permissa provincia dignationem addiderat*, vi 27, 2 ; see also vi 35, 5.

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VI. PREPOSITIONS.

See also, for their omission, §§ 5, 8, 13, 14, 19; anastrophe, § 55. 46 [56–63]. The following are some of the most characteristic usages in Tacitus:

Apud is often used with names of places and countries as well as with common names, in place of the locative or ‘in’ with ablative: *apud Cycladas insulas*, v 10, 1; *apud oppidum Edessam*, xii 12, 4; *apud forum*, xii 7, 3. In xii 1, 1 it is equivalent to ‘inter’.

Ad often = ‘in regard to’: *praecipuos ad scelera*, vi 7, 3; *ad honesta . . . (levis)*, xi 33, 1.

Circa, = ‘concerning’: *publica circa artes bonas socordia*, xi 15, 1; *circa necem Gaii Caesaris narratus*, xi 29, 1. (So in Seneca and Pliny mai.)

In, (*a*) with accusative, much used to express the effect intended or resulting, like *ἐπί* or *πρός*: *in diversum*, xi 19, 1; *in speciem*, xii 44, 6; *in barbarum corrupta*, vi 42, 1; also used boldly in place of a genitive or dative: *amore in maritum*, xi 26, 5; *in fratrum filias coniugia*, xii 6, 5; *adoptio in Domitium*, xii 25, 1; *tristia in bonos . . . esse*, vi 22, 2; *in reliquos data venia*, xii 32, 4;

(*b*) with ablative of a neuter adjective, used as alternative to the employment of an adverb, or an adjective predicate: *maxime in lubrico egit*, vi 51, 3; *in incerto iudicium est*, vi 22, 1.

Iuxta is used metaphorically, as a preposition, = ‘next to,’ ‘close upon’: *laqueum iuxta*, v 9, 3; *populi imperium iuxta libertatem*, vi 42, 3; and as an adverb in the sense of ‘pariter’: *iuxta invisi*, vi 4, 1.

Per is used in expressions of time, where ablative might be expected: *per idem tempus*, v 10, 1; *per medium diei*, xi 21, 2; or has the force of an instrumental or modal ablative: *animus per libidines corruptus*, xi 37, 5; *per maerorem*, v 6, 5; *per deridiculum auditur*, vi 2, 2; *per silentium*, xi 37, 5; see also *magnas per opes*, vi 22, 4.

Super, = *de*, frequently; vi 49, 3; xi 23, 1; xii 22, 1.

Simul is used as preposition, with ablative (like *ἀμα*), in vi 9, 5.

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VII. ADVERBS AND CONJUNCTIONS.

47 [64]. Comparative sentences are often abbreviated—

(a) by the omission of 'magis' or 'potius' before 'quam':
 mitem et recens repertam quam ex severitate prisca rationem
 adhibuit, xii 25, 5;

(b) by the use of the positive with 'quanto,' answering to a comparative with 'tanto': tanto acceptius . . . quanto modicus, vi 45, 2;
 quanto ignota barbaris, tanto laetiora, xii 11, 2;

(c) by the omission of 'eo' (or 'tanto') 'magis,' in the apodosis:
 quantum saevitia glisceret, miseratio arcebatur, vi 19, 5; quantum
 introspiceret, magis ac magis trepidus, vi 21, 4; see also vi 26, 3.

48 [65]. The omission of conjunctions (asyndeton) is frequent, owing to Tacitus' rhetorical tendencies; in lively narration: amplecti adlevare adhortari, xii 51, 3; in enumerations, often leading up to a climax: tempus preces satias, vi 38, 1; omnis sexus, omnis aetas, inlustres ignobiles, vi 19, 3; decus pudorem corpus cuncta regno viliora habere, xii 65, 4.

49 [66]. Adverbs are used as adjectives, attributively, as in Greek: nullis extrinsecus adiumentis, xii 61, 4; and even predicatively: multis coram, vi 42, 6; nullis palam . . . causis, xi 22, 1.

50 [67]. Tamquam, quasi, and (less frequently) velut are used—

(a) of something pretended or alleged to be the reason for the fact described: finem accepit quasi nescius exercendi, vi 11, 5; is velut propria ad negotia digrediens . . . , vi 50, 4; in exilium agitur quasi finem principis per Chaldaeos scrutaretur, xii 52, 1; gloriam adeptos tamquam reppererint, xi 14, 1;

(b) of a real reason, or one believed in by the person stating it: Rubrio Fabato, tamquam . . . Parthorum ad misericordiam fugeret, custodes additi, vi 14, 3; cupido auri immensa obtentum habebat quasi subsidium regno pararetur, xii 7, 7; so also, quasi . . . sacratum, xii 47, 3;

(c) sometimes these words simply introduce a reported reason or thought: nocturnae quietis species alteri obiecta, tamquam vidisset . . . , xi 4, 3; laetis hostibus tamquam ducem . . . bellum absumpsisset, xii 39, 5; primo tamquam dolus pararetur territus, vi 43, 3.

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B. STYLE

I. INNOVATIONS IN VOCABULARY.

51 [69, 70]. Tacitus often prefers unusual forms, as *claritudo*, *firmitudo*, to the forms in -as; *cognomentum*, *vimentum*, to the form in -men; *medicamen*, *tegumen*, to the forms in -mentum; besides introducing words not previously found, or found only in poets.

The following are some of the most noticeable:

(a) Many substantives in -tor and -sor are used in an unusual sense or are introduced by Tacitus: *defector*, xi 8, 5; *cupitor*, xii 7, 4; *provisor*, xii 4, 1; *repertor* (also in Sallust), xii 53, 6; *auxiliator* (also in Petronius and Quintilian), vi 37, 4. New forms in -us, as *distinctus*, vi 28, 3, are introduced.

(b) New negative adjectives: *incelebratus*, vi 7, 6; *innumera*, xii 29, 2.

(c) New intensive forms: *perintempestiva*, xii 26, 2.

(d) Frequentative are preferred to simple forms of verbs: *advectare*, vi 13, 2; *auctitare*, vi 16, 1; *tractare*, vi 44, 4; *dissertare*, xii 11, 1; *coepitare*, xii 32, 4.

Other new or unusual usages are—

adulatorius, vi 32, 7; *nec . . . anquirendum quin*, xii 6, 2; *desolatus* for *privatus*, xii 26, 2; *emercari*, xii 14, 1; *gratibus*, xii 37, 5; *infensare*, vi 34, 1; *intendere*, = *augere*, xii 35, 2; *maturrimum*, xii 65, 5; *praestruere*, xii 33, 2; *provixisse*, vi 25, 1; *proviso*, xii 39, 3.

Note also *gnarus*, = *notus*, vi 35, 4 and elsewhere; *ignarus*, = *ignotus*, vi 22, 5 and elsewhere.

II. RHETORICAL AND POETICAL COLOURING.

To this head belong many of the syntactical usages already noticed.

52 [74]. The following are some of the most striking metaphorical expressions: *ardescere* (in *nuptias incestas*), xi 25, 8; *exuere* (*amicitiam*), vi 8, 1; *induere*, with '*diem*', vi 20, 1; with '*diversa*', vi
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33, 3 ; with 'adulationem', vi 42, 1 ; with 'hostilia', xii 40, 3 ; inligare (veneno), vi 32, 3 ; provolvere, = dispossess, vi 17, 4 ; resolvere (venas), vi 48, 5 ; so also, exsolvere, xi 3, 2 ; rumpere (vocem), vi 20, 1 ; vergere, applied to time, xi 4, 4.

Notice also ambiguus, xi 15, 2 ; lubricus, vi 49, 3.

53 [75]. Personification is employed to render expressions more forcible : adulto autumnno, xi 31, 4 ; modestia hiemis, xii 43, 3 ; idem annus gravi igne urbem adfecit, vi 45, 1 ; so, tulere illa tempora, vi 7, 4 ; locorum fraus, xii 33, 2.

54 [76]. Hendiadys, or the co-ordination of two words in the same case, of which the one defines the other like an adjective or genitive : quasi valetudine et contactu, vi 7, 4 ; scientiae caerimonia-rumque vetus, vi 12, 2 ; famam et posteros, xi 6, 1 ; per insectationes et nuntios, xii 14, 1 ; veteranos coloniamque, xii 27, 1.

55 [77]. Anastrophe

(a) of prepositions is frequent in the case of ab, ad, apud, ex, in, and inter, but not found with circa, praeter, prope, sine, supra, and pro : note also iuxta, v 9, 3 ; xii 21, 2 ; intra, xi 10, 5 ; infra, xi 20, 4 ;

(b) of conjunctions : 'ut' occurs fifth word of clause, xi 49, 3 ; note also anastrophe of 'quamquam', v 9, 1 ; vi 30, 7.

56. Anaphora : multa, xii 33, 1 ; non, xii 32, 4 ; per, xii 39, 3 ; quod, xii 46, 1.

57. The following expressions may be also noticed here :

(a) instead of using a concrete substantive qualified by adjective or participle, Tacitus often uses an abstract substantive coupled with a concrete in the 'defining' genitive : iniectu multae vestis (= multis vestibus iniectis), vi 50, 9 ; concursu plurium (= concurrentibus pluribus), xii 47, 4 ; abscessu suorum et incursantibus barbaris, xii 49, 2. Notice also, egressibus adhaerescere, xi 12, 4 ; egit gratis benevolentiae patrum, vi 2, 5 ; and other similar uses of abstract nouns in vi 21, 1 ; xii 45, 5 ; xii 66, 1.

(b) an adjective is sometimes put in agreement with a word to which it does not seem properly to belong ('Hypallage') : rudes et informes saxorum compages, xii 35, 5 ; novas litterarum formas, xi 13, 3. This figure is common in Horace, as Graia victorum manus, *Epod.* x 12, and in Greek drama, as *ρείκος ἀνδρῶν ξύναμνον*, and is due to treating the substantive with its qualifying genitive as a single notion.

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III. INFLUENCE OF THE STUDY OF BREVITY.

58 [80]. Ellipses have already been noticed, in the case of verbs, § 27, prepositions, §§ 5, 8, 13, 14, 19, and other particles, § 48. Observe also the omission of *annus*, xi 11, 1; *filia*, xii 1, 3, and the curious conciseness of expression in xii 18, 3. See also vi 26, 3.

59 [82]. Parenthetical remarks are sometimes introduced concisely by a word apparently in apposition in the nominative, and equivalent to a relative clause: *rarum*, vi 10, 3; *incertum an . . .*, xi 22, 2 (like *δηλον ὅτι*). This use is to be distinguished from that in § 6 a. A pure parenthesis may be seen in xii 42, 4.

60 [83]. Zeugma, or the reference to two objects of a verb strictly applicable only to the nearest, is common in Tacitus: see the use of *fore*, vi 21, 5; *nequibat*, xii 64, 6; *peritus*, xi 29, 2. In vi 24, 3, *quemadmodum nulum filiumque fratris et nepotes domumque omnem caedibus complevisset, 'necasset'* must be supplied with the first group of objects. Verbs also are used with two objects in different senses, by 'syllepsis': *struere*, xi 12, 1; *moliri*, xii 22, 1; *intentare*, xii 47, 5. So, too, a masculine noun may be applied to persons of both sexes: *pronepotes*, v 1, 4; *fili*, xi 38, 3; *fratres*, xii 4, 2.

61 [84]. 'Pregnant' constructions may be seen in xii 18, 3 (quoted above, § 58); and in the use of *infantiam*, xi 34, 1; *gratia*, xii 7, 4; *Chaldaeos*, xii 22, 1; *maiora*, xii 9, 1.

IV. INFLUENCE OF THE STUDY OF VARIETY.

62 [85]. The form of words is varied; thus, Eastern names vary in declension, as *Artaxata*, which is sometimes fem. sing., sometimes neut. plur.; so also *Tigranocerta*; *Vologeses* is sometimes *Vologesus*.

Similarly, Tacitus uses both *alioqui* and *alioquin*; *balneae* and *balneum*; *dein* and *deinde*; *grates* and *gratias agere*; *inermis* and *inermus*; *senecta* and *senectus*, &c.

63 [86]. Names often mentioned are varied; either by inversion of usual order, as *Scauro Mamercus*, vi 9, 5, or by use of one part of

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the name when it has been given in full before, as Appius Silanus vi 9, 5, and then simply Appius; notice also the names in vi 10.

64 [87–91]. The following are some of the most characteristic methods whereby Tacitus effects variety in corresponding clauses—

(i) A preposition is varied to one of similar meaning: *apud* . . . in, v 10, 1; vi 22, 2; so, elsewhere, *per* . . . in; *inter* . . . *apud*.

(ii) Cases are varied in appositional phrases: *subsidio victis et terrorem adversus victores*, xii 29, 2; *subsidium* . . . *et imbuendis sociis*, xii 32, 4.

(iii) A participle is varied by a corresponding adjective: *modo virtutem admirans*, *modo timore aeger*, xii 51, 3; or an ablative of description by an adjective: *adversus superiores tristi adulatione*, *adrogans minoribus*, xi 21, 4; so also, *clari genus* . . . *summis honoribus*, vi 9, 5.

(iv) An instrumental ablative is varied by an ablative absolute: *vi militis Romani* . . . *simul Hiberno exercitu campos persultante*, xi 9, 1; see also xi 10, 2; or a causal ablative by a clause: *non amore in maritum, sed ne Silius* . . . *sperneret*, xi 26, 5. So also a clause with *ut* corresponds to a participle: *rata* . . . , *utque* . . . *adolesceret*, xii 8, 3; and a prepositional phrase balances a participle: *adstititque tribunus per silentium, at libertus increpans*, xi 37, 5.

(v) Variation from substantive to a clause: *constantia orationis, et quia repertus erat qui* . . . , *eo usque potuere*, vi 9, 1; and from infinitive to substantive: *ne dubia tentare armis quam incruentis condiciones mallet*, xii 46, 2.

(vi) Numbers varied: *cui non iudicium, non odium erat, nisi indita et iussa*, xii 3, 3; *eques* . . . *pedites*, vi 35, 3; *pedites, eques*, xii 29, 4.

(vii) Voice varied: *quo ambiguos inliceret, prompti firmarentur*, vi 44, 2.

(viii) Asyndeton—varied with conjunctions: *cum arma munimenta impediti vel eminentes loci* . . . *perrumperentur*, xii 17, 2; *inlustres ignobiles dispersi aut aggerati*, vi 19, 3.

Other instances of Tacitus' fondness for variety in expression may be seen in xii 33; 39, 3; 46, 1.

65 [93]. The expression of facts that have to be stated often is carefully varied; the great number of different phrases used by