From the Selected Works of E. H. Campbell

Spring June 12, 2009

Tacitus' Germanorum Liber (fragment 1.1 - 10.6)

Mr. Edward H. Campbell

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons CC_BY International License.

Available at: https://works.bepress.com/edward_campbell/9/
TACITUS’ GERMANORUM LIBER

A NEW TRANSLATION, WITH TEXT AND COMMENTARY

By E. H. Campbell

First Edition

Inopibus Press: Seattle
© 2009, E. H. Campbell

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED
# ABBREVIATIONS

- **1st**: first person
- **2nd**: second person
- **3rd**: third person
- **Abl.**: ablative case
- **Acc.**: accusative case
- **Act.**: active voice
- **Adj.**: adjective
- **Adv.**: adverb
- **Aor.**: aorist tense
- **Comp.**: comparative
- **Dat.**: dative case
- **Fem.**: feminine gender
- **Fut.**: future tense
- **Gen.**: genitive case
- **I.e.**: id est, that is
- **Impf.**: imperfective tense
- **Ind.**: indicative mood
- **Inf.**: infinitive mood
- **Masc.**: masculine gender
- **Neut.**: neuter gender
- **Nom.**: nominative case
- **Op. Cit.**: Operas Citatas
- **Part.**: participle
- **Pass.**: passive voice
- **Perf.**: perfective tense
- **Pl.**: plural
- **Pluperf.**: pluperfective tense
- **Prep.**: preposition
- **Pres.**: present tense
- **Sing.**: singular
- **Subj.**: subjunctive mood
- **Superl.**: superlative
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abbreviations............................................................................................................................................. 3

*De Origine et situ Germanorum,* .................................................................................................................. 5

Géographie of Germania .................................................................................................................................... 6

The Gens of the Germans ............................................................................................................................... 8

Cult of the Germans ......................................................................................................................................... 11

Countenance of the German People ............................................................................................................... 13

German Climate and Money ............................................................................................................................ 14

The German Military ........................................................................................................................................ 15

The German Monarchy ...................................................................................................................................... 17

The Role of Women .......................................................................................................................................... 19

Cult of the Germans Revisited ....................................................................................................................... 20

Operas Citatas .................................................................................................................................................. 24

Map of Germania ............................................................................................................................................. 26
DE ORIGINE ET SITU GERMANORUM,

BY CORNELIUS TACITUS

---

GÉOGRAPHIE OF GERMANIA


---

2 3rd sing. pres. pass. ind. of separo, ‘to disjoin, sever, part, sunder, divide, separate.’
3 masc. nom. sing. pres. act. part. of complector, ‘to clasp, embrace, grasp.’
4 adv., newly, lately, recently, freshly, not long ago, just.
5 masc./fem./neut. perf. pass. part. of cognosco, to become acquainted with, acquire knowledge of, ascertain, learn, perceive, understand; perf., to know.
6 masc./fem./neut. dat./abl. pl. of quidam, a certain, a certain one, somebody, one, something.
7 fem. dat./abl. pl. of gens, a race, clan, house.
8 conj. atque = and.
9 masc. dat./abl. pl. of rex, an arbitrary ruler, absolute monarch, king.
10 masc. acc. pl. of quis, any one, anybody, anything, some one, somebody, something; who, which.
11 3rd sing. perf. act. ind. of aperio, to uncover, lay bare.
12 masc. nom. sing., The Rhine; Rhenus ortus is the masc. nom. sing. Subject of the sentence.
13 Raeticarum Alpium is fem. gen. pl., of the Rhaetian Alps.
14 masc./neut. dat./abl. sing. of inaccessus, unapproached, unapproachable, inaccessible.
15 neut. gen. sing. of praecipitium, a steep place.
16 masc. abl. sing. of vertex, a whirl, eddy, whirlpool, vortex; The highest point, top, peak, summit of a mountain, house, tree, etc.
17 masc. nom. sing. perf. pass. part. of orior, to arise, rise, stir, get up; to come forth, become visible; to have one’s origin or descent, to spring, descend from; to grow or spring forth; to rise, take its origin; arise, proceed, originate.
18 modico flexu is masc. abl. sing., hence modico flexu in occidentem = with a moderate bend into the West.
19 in, prep., in, or into + acc.
20 masc. acc. sing. of occidens, the sunset, west, occident.
21 masc. nom. sing. perf. pass. part. of verto, to turn, to turn round or about.
22 septentrionali Oceano is masc. abl. sing. of septentrionalis Oceanus, of or belonging to the north, northern, north + the great sea, outer sea, ocean; hence versus septentrionali Oceano miscetur = having turned mixed with the northern sea.
23 3rd sing pres. pass. ind of miscuo, to mix, mingle, intermingle, blend.
24 masc. nom. sing. Subject.
clementer edito montis Abnobae iugo effusus\textsuperscript{25} plures populos\textsuperscript{26} adit,\textsuperscript{28} donec\textsuperscript{29} in Ponticum\textsuperscript{30} mare\textsuperscript{31} sex meatibus\textsuperscript{32} erumpat;\textsuperscript{33} septimum os\textsuperscript{34} paludibus\textsuperscript{35} haurit.\textsuperscript{36}

[1.1] Germany total\textsuperscript{37} is all the way from\textsuperscript{38} the Gauli, and the Raeti, and the Pannonia, which is the country lying between Dacia, Noricum, and Illyria, and the Rhine and Danube Rivers, from the Sarmatia, on the Black Sea, and the Dacia; separated either by mutual fear\textsuperscript{39} or mountains: the Great Sea encompasses everything else,\textsuperscript{40} embracing broad peninsulas and immense spaces of islands;\textsuperscript{41} some of those peoples and kings have lately become known to us, whom war has uncovered. [2] The Rhine originates on a steep inaccessible peak of the Raetian Alps, with a moderate bend into the sunset having been turned mixes with the northern sea. [3] The River Danube having issued

\textsuperscript{25} masc. abl. sing. perf. pass. part. of \textit{edo}, to give out, put forth, bring forth, raise, set up.
\textsuperscript{26} masc. nom. sing. perf. pass. part. of \textit{effundo}, to pour out, pour forth, shed, spread abroad.
\textsuperscript{27} \textit{plures populos} is masc. acc. pl. Direct Object.
\textsuperscript{28} 3rd sing. pres. act. ind. of \textit{adeo}, to go to.
\textsuperscript{29} conj. as long as, while, during the time in which; until, till at length.
\textsuperscript{30} masc. gen pl.
\textsuperscript{31} neut. acc. sing. hence \textit{in Ponticum mare} = into the sea of the Pontici.
\textsuperscript{32} masc. abl. pl. of \textit{meatus}, a going, passing, motion, course; a way, path, passage.
\textsuperscript{33} 3rd sing. pres. subj. act. of \textit{erumpo}, to break out, to burst forth.
\textsuperscript{34} neut. nom. sing. Subject, hence \textit{septimum os} = the seventh mouth.
\textsuperscript{35} fem. dat. pl. of \textit{palus}, a swamp, marsh, morass, bog, fen, pool.
\textsuperscript{36} 3rd sing. pres. pass. ind. of \textit{haurio}, to drain, drink up; to spill, shed, hence \textit{septimum os paludibus hauritur} = the seventh mouth spills into swamps, marshes, bogs, fens, and pools.
\textsuperscript{37} \textit{Germania omnis} is the fem. nom. sing. Subject if the sentence, thus, ‘all Germany,’ or ‘the whole Germany.’
\textsuperscript{38} \textit{a}, prep. + abl.
\textsuperscript{39} \textit{muto metu} is masc. abl. sing., hence, ‘by mutual fear.’
\textsuperscript{40} \textit{ambit} is the 3rd sing. pres. act. ind. of \textit{ambio}, ‘to go round or about a thing; to surround, encircle, encompass.’ \textit{Oceanus} as masc. nom. sing. is Subject, hence ‘the Great Sea encompasses everything else,’ where \textit{cetera} is a neut. acc. pl.
\textsuperscript{41} Thus, embracing, \textit{complectens}, extensive hollows, \textit{latus sinus}, and immense spaces, \textit{immense spatial}, of islands, \textit{insularum}; where \textit{latus sinus}...\textit{immense spatia} is neut. acc. pl. and \textit{insularum} is fem. gen. pl.
gently and calmly from the heights of the Abnoba mountain range, it mixes together, and goes to many nations, and at length by six pathways to the sea of the Ponticci, the seventh mouth spills into swamps, marshes, bogs, fens, and pools.

THE GENS OF THE GERMANS

[2.1] Ipsos Germanos indigenas crediderint42 minimeque aliarum gentium adventibus et hospitiis mixtos,43 quia nec terra olim sed classibus advehebantur44 qui mutare sedes quaerebant,45 et immensus ultra46 utque sic dixerint47 adversus Oceanus raris ab orbe nostro navibus aditum.48


[3] Celebrant53 carminibus antiquis, quod unum apud illos memoriae et annalium genus est, Tuistonem deum terra54 editum.55 Eì filium Mannum originem gentis conditoresque Manno

---

42 1st sing. perf. act. subj. of credo, to give as a loan, lend; trust, have confidence in.
43 masc. acc. pl. perf. pass. part. of misceo, mix, mingle, blend.
44 3rd pl. imperf. pass. ind. of adveho, to conduct, carry, convey, bear, bring, etc., a person or thing to a place; and pass., to be carried, to ride, to come to a place upon a horse, in a carriage, ship, etc.
45 3rd sing. imperf. act. ind. of quaero, to seek, look for; to seek to get or procure, to seek or search for a thing.
46 ulter, the transalpine, or that which is beyond or on the other side, i.e., the hinterland.
47 1st sing. perf. subj. act. of dico, to say, speak, tell, mention, relate, affirm, declare, state, assert.
48 3rd sing. pers. pass. ind. of adeo, to go to.
49 horridi et ignoti maris is neut. gen. sing. ignoti = ignotus, unknown, strange, unfamiliar.
50 fem. nom. sing. perf. pass. part. of relinquo, to leave behind, not take along, not stay with, leave, move away from, quit, abandon. Asia aut Africa aut Italia relictun is fem. nom. sing. thus, having left behind either Asia, or Africa, or Italy.
51 3rd sing. imperf. subj. act. of peto, to strive for, seek, aim at, repair to, make for, travel to.
52 3rd sing. pres. act. subj. of sum, to be.
53 3rd pl. pres. act. ind. of celebro, celebrate.
54 terra here is a fem. abl. sing. Hence deum terra editum = having been born, begotten, or produced by/with/from the Earth.
tres filios adsignant, e quorum nominibus proximi Oceano Ingaevones, medii Herminones, ceteri Istaevones vocentur.\textsuperscript{56} [4] Quidam, ut in licentia vetustatis, plures deo ortos\textsuperscript{57} pluresque gentis appellationes, Marsos Gambrivios Suebos Vandilios adfirmant, eaque vera et antiqua nomina. [5] Ceterum Germaniae vocabulum recens et nuper additum, quoniam qui primi Rhenum transgressi Gallos expulerint ac nunc Tungri, tunc Germani vocati sint: ita nationis nomen, non gentis, evaulisse\textsuperscript{58} paulatim, ut omnes primum a victore ob metum, mox et a se ipsis invento\textsuperscript{59} nomine Germani vocarentur.\textsuperscript{60}

[2.1] The Germans themselves, I do believe, are sprung from the soil,\textsuperscript{61} and have mixed very little with other races, with those who came and were entertained, because long ago men who desired to change abodes bore themselves about not by land but by ship and because the hinterlands are so vast, and as I have said, the Ocean hostile, it was with rarity visited by ships from our world. [2] Who moreover, aside from the peril of a rough and unfamiliar sea, would have left behind either Asia, or Africa, or Italy\textsuperscript{62} to travel to Germany; to its misshapen lands, to its hopeless sky, to its mournful sights and

\textsuperscript{55} masc. acc. sing. perf. pass. part. of \textit{edo}, to give out, put forth, bring forth, raise, set up.  
\textsuperscript{56} 3rd pl. pres. pass. subj. of \textit{voco}, to call, summon, invoke, convoke.  
\textsuperscript{57} masc. acc. pl. perf. pass. part. of \textit{orior}, arise or descend from.  
\textsuperscript{58} perf. inf. act. of \textit{evalesco}, to become strong, increase in strength, to increase, grow.  
\textsuperscript{59} masc./neut. dat./abl. sing. perf. pass. part. of \textit{invenio}, to acquire, get, earn.  
\textsuperscript{60} 3rd pl. imperf. subj. pass. of \textit{voco}.  
\textsuperscript{61} \textit{indigena}, sprung from the land, native, indigenous.  
\textsuperscript{62} Either...or...or is Polysyndeton, or the unnecessary use of copulative conjunctions. Thus something to the effect: ‘Who having left behind either Asia, or having left behind Africa, or having left behind Italy would seek out Germany?’
scenery, unless it should be his fatherland? [3] They celebrate Tuisto, a God having been born from the Earth, with ancient songs, which is the only way the race among themselves remembers and marks years, and to his son Mannus they assign the origin and founders of the tribes to three sons from Mannus, whom are called by these names; next to the Ocean the Ingaevones, in the middle the Irmiones, the rest the Istaevones.

[4] There are some, with the freedom ancient times, who hold that a very great many descended from the God and a very great many names of the race, Marsi, Gambrivii, Suebi, Vandilii, and these are true and ancient names. [5] At any rate, the name Germany is recent and has been recently applied, since then those who first crossed the Rhine, expelling the Gauls, and are now the Tungri, should now be called the Germans; in such a way, little by little, the name of a people, not of a race, grew strong, which by first conquering everyone through fear, and through them they all came to earn and would soon call themselves by the same name, the Germans.

63 Although there has been a great deal of discussion about the origin and exact nature of this God, by those who have made it their task to debate things unknowable, the meaning of the word Tuisto and the exact nature of the God this word represents remains, as it were, unknown aside from the plain fact that he was the principal God of the Germans, thus to understand the Germans would be the pathway to understanding Tuisto.

64 Ingaevones were tribe settled on the North Sea coast, the Irmiones on the Elb, the Istaevones on the Rhine, the Marsi between the Rhine, Lippe, and Ems rivers in northwest Germany, Gambrivii on the northern bank of the Lower Rhine in the vicinity of the Chamavi, Suebi in the north-eastern part of Germany, Vandilii in the northern part of Germany.

65 a se invento nomine, from them came to earn the name, max et...ipsis...Germani vocarentur, and soon thereafter called themselves, ‘the Germans.’
CULT OF THE GERMANS


---

66 masc. gen. sing. fut. act. part. of eo, to go.  
67 futuraeque pugnae is fem. gen sing.  
68 ipso cantu is masc. abl. sing.  
69 3rd pl. pres. pass. ind. of auguror, to perform the services or fill the office of an augur, to take auguries, observe and interpret omens, to augur, prophesy, predict.  
70 part. of obicio.  
71 3rd sing. pres. subj. act. of intumesco  
72 masc. acc. sing. perf. pass. part. of defero, was conveyed, brought to, carried to.  
73 perf. act. inf. of adeo, to come or go to.  
74 neut. acc. sing. perf. pass. part. of sino, stands.  
75 3rd sing. pres. pass. ind. of incolo, dwell in or inhabit.  
76 constitutum nominatumque are neut. acc. sing. perf. pass. participles.  
77 neut. abl. sing. perf. act. part. of adicio, place or set near.  
78 fem. acc. sing. perf. pass. part. of reperio, be found.  
79 masc. acc. pl. perf. pass. part. of inscribere, inscribed.  
80 exsto (exto), -are, to stand out, project; to still be in existence.
[3.1] They tell us\(^{81}\) Hercules to have been among them; and the primary they sing is about all brave men who will go into battle.\(^{82}\) There are for them also these songs which are related by way of recital, which they call Barditus,\(^{83}\) inflaming their souls and fate of the future battle would be foretold by the song itself; for they terrify or tremble according to the sharpness of the sound, that appears not so much from the cry rather than of concord in their resolve. [2] A particularly unevenness of sound and a broken murmur being affected by covering their mouths with their shields, by which the voice would swell, being fuller and deeper from the reverberation. [3] And others are of the opinion that a certain Odysseus, in that long and fabulous wandering about was carried into this ocean and to German lands, and Asciburgium,\(^{84}\) which stands on the bank of the Rhine, and is to this day inhabited, was by him founded and named, wherefore indeed an altar was consecrated to Odysseus nearby, the name of his father Laertes was once found in the same place, and monuments and burial mounds which were inscribed with Greek letters [4] still as yet exist within the confines of Germany and

---

\(^{81}\) According to Church and Brodribb *memorant* refers not to the Germans, but to authors who had written about them, thus: ‘they tell us.’ Op. Cit. 33n.2. Robinson relates variant readings of the line *Fuisse et apud eos Herculem* as being *et apud eos et Herculem* and *Fuisse apud eos et Herculem*. Op. Cit. 276n.3

\(^{82}\) *omnium virorum fortium ituri* is masc. gen. pl. *primumque* is neut. acc. sing. Thus: and the first thing they sing, *primumque…canunt*, is about all the brave men who will go, *omnium virorum fortium ituri*, into battle, *in proelia*.

\(^{83}\) ‘a battle-cry.’ Robinson suggests *barditus*, the war-song of the Germans, as opposed to *barritus*, the cry of an elephant. Op. Cit. 276n.3.

\(^{84}\) Now the city of Asburg.
Raetia; which I have resolved to neither confirm nor refute by arguments, let everyone according to his temperament add or subtract credibility.

COUNTEMENTACE OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE

[4.1] I myself go to the opinions of those who testify the German people have been mixed by marriage with no other nation and are special and pure.85 [2] Whence just as there is such a great number of men, so to all the same body; eyes fierce and blue, hair blonde, body huge, and on the attack powerful. [3] Patience for work and works, not the same, and little tolerance for thirst and heat. And on account of either sky or bottom of the sky,86 to cold and hunger accustomed they have grown.

---

85 perf. act. inf. of *existo* (*existo*), to stand forth, come forth, appear; arise.
86 3rd pl. pres. pass. ind. of *arbitror*, testify.
88 *solum*, the bottom or lowest part of anything, the floor of heaven; soil, ground, earth, land.
GERMAN CLIMATE AND MONEY


Pecuniam probant veterem et diu notam, serratos bigatosque. Argentum quoque magis quam aurum sequuntur, nulla adfectione animi, sed quia numerus argenteorum facilior usui est promisca ac vilia mercantibus.

[5.1] Although in appearance the land differs considerably, still as a whole is bristling with forests, or filthy with swamps; that which is facing Gaul, more wet; that which is facing Noricum and Pannonia, more windy;\(^9\) fertile enough, but for fruit-bearing trees, intolerant; abounding in herds, [2] but in stature, for the most part, small. Indeed, in appearance, there is no honor or glory for their cattle. In their number, their only

\(^9\) This is *Anaphora*, or parallel construction.
wealth, they rejoice [3] and are most grateful. I do not know whether out of mercy, or
anger, the Gods deny them silver and gold. Still I should not affirm Germany bears no
vein of silver or gold, for whom has searched? [4] They are not in like manner
subverted by its possession and its use. One sees silver vases among them given as gifts
to their leaders and representatives not in a manner other than with the cheapness of
earthenware. Although out of need for commerce, with a neighbor gold and silver have
value. And they recognize the beauty of our money and collect certain ones, in the
interior a simpler and older means [5] of exchange of merchandise is used, the money
they like is old and well known, serrated and stamped with a pair of horses. That
which is silver is more sought after; the soul not being predisposed, but because of the
number of silver coins for common or cheap merchandise it is easier to be used.

THE GERMAN MILITARY

[6.1] Ne ferrum quidem superest, sicut ex genere telorum colligitur. rari gladiis aut maioribus
lanceis utuntur: hastas vel ipsorum vocabulo frameas gerunt angusto et brevi ferro, sed ita acri
et ad usum habili, ut eodem telo, prout ratio [2] poscit, vel comminus vel eminus pugnet. Et
eques quidem scuto frameaque contentus est, pedites et missilia spargunt, pluraque singuli,
atque in immensum vibrant, nudi aut sagulo leves. nulla cultus iactatio: scuta tantum
forma, non velocitate conspicui. sed nec variare gyros in morem nostrum docentur: in rectum

[6.1] Indeed iron does not abound, for example from the type of spears collected, swords and large lances are rarely used. They carry spears, or rather in their vocabulary ‘Frameae,’ with a majestic and iron point, but very sharp and easily used so they fight with that same spear as reason demands, [2] both in close combat and at a distance; and indeed the horseman is content with a Scutum⁹⁰ and a Framea, and foot-soldiers, either nude or in a light cloak, both individually and collectively, shower missiles in and immense volley. There is no boasting in their clothing in so far as only their shields are [3] decked out with colors, few breastplates, scarcely one or two with metal or leather helmets. Their horses are conspicuous neither for beauty nor speed, nor do they teach them to vary circles in the manner of ours; going in straight lines or by a turn to the right in unity in such a way from the circle no one [4] afterwards would

⁹⁰ A large rectangular shield made of wood and covered with hides.
be left out. In all estimation, their greatest strength is in the foot-soldier which battles mixed together, joining and harmonizing to the equestrian fight the speed of the foot-soldier, whom are selected out of the whole youth and are placed in the front. [5] The number is fixed from each district at one hundred and is among themselves called the same, and what was once a number is now a name and an honor. [6] The battle line is composed of wedges. To yield a place, so long as turning back you press on again, they deem to be of wise council rather than fear. Even in undecided battles they carry back the bodies of their dead. To have left behind a Scutum is a special disgrace, the law brands one ignominious, and one is not to undertake sacrifices or go to council, and many survivors of wars end their infamy with a noose.

THE GERMAN MONARCHY

[7.1] Reges ex nobilitate, duces ex virtute sumunt. nec regibus infinita ac libera potestas, et duces exemplo potius quam imperio, si prompti, si conspicui, si ante aciem agant, [2] admiratione praesunt. ceterum neque animadvertere neque vincire, ne verberare quidem nisi sacerdotibus permissum, non quasi in poenam nec ducis iussu, sed velut deo imperante, quem adesse bellantibus\(^{91}\) credunt. [3] Effigiesque et signa quaedam detracta lucis in proelium ferunt; quodque praecipuum fortitudinis incitamentum est, non casus nec fortuita conglobatio turmam aut cuneum facit, sed familiae et propinquitates; et in proximo pignora, unde feminarum [4]

\(^{91}\) masc./ fem./neut. pres. act. part. of bellor a rare form of bello, war.
Ululatus audiri,\textsuperscript{92} unde vagitus infantium. hi cuique sanctissimi testes, hi maximi laudatores: ad matres, ad coniuges vulnera ferunt; nec illae numerare et exigere plagas pavent, cibosque et hortamina pugnantibus gestant.

[7.1] Kings are selected out of the nobility,\textsuperscript{93} commanders from virtue.\textsuperscript{94} The power of kings is not infinite or arbitrary, and commanders rule with admiration, by example rather than authority, if prompt, if conspicuous, if they went to the front before. [2] With respect to other things, no punishment by death, nor confinement, not even flogging, unless by priests, is permitted. It is not as though punishment is on the order of a leader, but as ordered by the God for whom they believe the wars are undertaken. [3] And both effigies and certain symbols are taken from groves into battle. Neither accident nor chance gathers a crowd or makes a wedge, but the primary incentives are families both friends and families are nearby, hence the shrieks of women, [4] hence the squalling of babies are to be heard. And these are the most sacred witnesses to them, these the greatest eulogizers; to the mothers and wives they bear their wounds, neither are they terrified to count, or to discover the cuts, and they bring both food and encouragement to the fighters.

\textsuperscript{92} pres. pass. inf. of audio, to hear.
\textsuperscript{93} I.e., on the basis of high birth.
\textsuperscript{94} In this case, on the basis of bravery.
THE ROLE OF WOMEN

[8.1] Memoriae proditur quasdam acies inclinatas iam et labantes a feminis restitutas constantia precum et objectu pectorum et monstrata comminus captivitate, quam longe impatientius feminarum suarum nomine timent, adeo ut efficaciis obligentur animi civitatum quibus inter obsides puellae quoque nobiles imperantur. Inesse quin etiam sanctum aliquid et providum putant, nec aut consilia earum aspernantur aut responsa neglegunt. Vidi sub divo Vespasiano Veledam diu apud plerosque numinis loco habitan; sed et olim Auriniam et complures alias venerati sunt, non adulatione nec tamquam facerent deas.

[8.1] It is put forth to memory that some fronts just as they turned back and began to give way by women were restored on the strength of prayers and by both showing breasts and indicating their nearness to captivity, which they fear much more for their women in so far as the spirit of the community effectively obliges those who are to be among the hostages ordered to be also noble girls, to whom they indeed think

---

95 fem. dat. sing. of memoria, memory.
96 3rd sing. pres. pass. ind. of prodeo, to go forth, come forth, come forward; appear.
97 fem. acc. pl. of quidam, some, certain.
98 fem. acc. pl. perf. pass. part. of incline, to cause to lean, bend, incline, turn, divert.
99 fem. acc. pl. pres. act. part. of labo, to totter, be ready to fall, begin to sink, give way, be loosened.
100 fem. acc. pl. perf. pass. part. of restituo, to set up again, replace, restore, reconstruct, rebuild, revive, renew, reform, rearrange.
101 fem. abl. sing. of constantia, firm standing, steadiness, firmness, immutability, unchangeableness, constancy, perseverance.
102 fem. gen. pl. of prex, a prayer, request, entreaty.
103 It is put forth to memory, memoriae proditur, that some fronts, quasdam acies, just as they turned back, inclinatas iam, and began to give way, labantes, by women, a feminis, were restored, restitutes, on the strength, Constantia, of prayers, pecum.
belongs some sanctity and foresight, neither do they reject their council nor fail to heed their answers. We saw under the divine Vespasian Veleda for a longtime and among many in the place held to be possessed of divine power, but long ago both Aurinia and many others were worshiped not with obsequious flattery and not as Goddesses that were made.

**CULT OF THE GERMANS REVISITED**


[9.1] Of the Gods they cherish Mercury most, to whom on certain days they hold it lawful to also sacrifice humans, they permit satisfying Hercules and Mars with animals. [2] Part of the Suebi sacrifice to Isis: whence the reason and whence the origin of this foreign sacrifice I have learned little with certainty except that the symbol itself,

---

104 Foresight, or foretelling, in both the mystical, and in the common, sense.
105 Vespasian reigned from A.D. 69-79.
106 We saw under the divine Vespasian, vidimus sub divo Vespasiano, Veleda, Veledam, for a longtime, diu, held, and among many, apud plerosque, in the place, loco, held to be, habitam, possessed of divine power numinis, but long ago, sed et olim, Aurinia, Auriniam, and many others, complures alias, were worshiped, venerati sunt, not with obsequious flattery, adulation, and not, nec, as Goddesses that were made, tamquam facerent deas.
being in the form of a Liburnia\textsuperscript{107} shows that the religion was brought to the place.

On the other hand, the Gods are neither to be confined within walls nor do they regard any likeness of the human face to be compared to the greatness of the heavens. They consecrate meadows and groves, and invoke the Gods by names that are secret, which are the only things they revere.

[10.1] Auspicia sortesque ut qui maxime observant. sortium consuetudo simplex. virgam frugiferarum arbori decisam\textsuperscript{108} in surculos amputant eosque notis quibusdam discretos\textsuperscript{109} super [2] candidam vestem temere ac fortuito spargunt. Mox, si publice consultetur,\textsuperscript{110} sacerdos civitatis, sin privatim, ipse pater familiae, precatus\textsuperscript{111} deos caelumque suspiciens ter singulos tollit, sublato\textsuperscript{112} secundum impressam\textsuperscript{113} ante notam [3] interpretatur.\textsuperscript{114} Si prohibuerunt, nulla de eadem re in eundem diem consultatio; sin permissum,\textsuperscript{115} auspiciorum adhuc fides exigitur. Et illud quidem etiam hic notum,\textsuperscript{116} avium voces volatusque interrogare: proprium gentis equorum [4] quoque praesagia ac monitus experiri. publice aluntur isdem nemoribus ac lucis, Candidi et nullo mortali opere contacti; quos pressos sacro curru sacerdos ac rex vel princeps civitatis

\textsuperscript{107} A fast sailing vessel of the Liburnians—an Ilyrian people between Istria and Dalmatia.
\textsuperscript{108} fem. acc. sing. pres. pass. part. of decidere, to cut off, cut away.
\textsuperscript{109} masc. acc. pl. pres. pass. part. of discerni, to separate, set apart, mark off, bound, part, divide.
\textsuperscript{110} 3rd sing. pres. pass. subj. of consilium, one who gives counsel.
\textsuperscript{111} masc. nom. sing. perf. pass. part. of precedere, to ask, beg, entreat, pray, supplicate, request, call upon, beseech, sue.
\textsuperscript{112} masc. acc. pl. perf. pass. part. of tollere, to lift, take up, raise, elevate, exalt.
\textsuperscript{113} fem. acc. sing. perf. pass. part. of impresso, to press upon, press against, stamp impress, imprint.
\textsuperscript{114} 3rd sing. pres. pass. ind. of interpretare, to explain, expound, interpret, understand.
\textsuperscript{115} neut. acc. sing. perf. pass. part. permittere, permitted.
\textsuperscript{116} masc. acc. sing. perf. pass. part. of noscare, to get knowledge of, become acquainted with, come to know, learn, discern. Hence, hic notum = ‘this is known.’

[10.1] They are very observant of divination and the drawing of lots. The custom of lots is simple. A slender green branch is cut off a fruit bearing tree and the twigs are cut off¹¹⁸ and these are distinguished be a certain mark [2] and thrown randomly and casually on a white garment. Presently, if for the public it is the priest of the citizenry who gives counsel, if however it is in a private capacity, the father of the family himself who calls upon the Gods and looking upward towards heaven takes up each one three times then, after they are lifted, interprets the sign impressed upon them before. [3] If they forbid, there is no consultation about this matter on that day, if however it was permitted the truth of the signs are examined. And this too indeed is known, to consult the calls and flights of birds; differing from other peoples [4] the warnings and forebodings of horses are also sought. Supported by the public in these same meadows and forests are horses, white and free from earthly labor, which are harnessed to a sacred wagon and accompanied by a priest, king or prince of the people who observe

¹¹⁷ alia observatio is fem. nom. sing.
¹¹⁸ a slender green branch is cut off a fruit bearing tree, virgam frugiferarum arbori...amputant, and the twigs are cut off, decisam in surculos.
both their neighing and their snorting. [5] Not any augury is more trusted not only among the people, but among the leading men and the priests, for they think they are the ministers of the Gods and them\textsuperscript{119} accessories. And there is another observation of divination by which they explore the outcome of a burdensome war. [6] A captive of that tribe with which there is a war having been seized by whatever manner along with one selected from their people is put together, each one with the arms of his fatherland, the victory of this one or that one is accepted without prejudice.

\textsuperscript{[11.1]} De minoribus rebus principes consultat, de maioribus omnes, ita tamen ut ea quoque, quorum penes plebem \textsuperscript{[2]} arbitrium est, apud principes praetractentur. Coeunt, nisi quid fortuitum et subitum incidit, certis diebus, cum aut incohatur luna aut impletur; nam agendis rebus hoc auspicasissimum initium credunt. Nec dierum numerum, ut nos, sed noctium computant. sic constituunt, sic condicunt: \textsuperscript{[3]} nox ducere diem videtur. illud ex libertate vitium, quod non simul nec ut iussi conveniunt, sed et alter et tertius \textsuperscript{[4]} dies cunctatione coeuntium absumitur. Ut turbae placuit, considunt armati. silentium per sacerdotes, quibus tum \textsuperscript{[5]} et coercendi ius est, imperatur. Mox rex vel princeps, prout aetas cuique, prout nobilitas, prout decus bellorum, prout facundia est, audiuntur auctoritate suadendi magis \textsuperscript{[6]} quam iubendi potestate. si dispicuit sententia, fremitu aspernantur; sin placuit, frameas concutient: honoratissimum adsensus genus est armis laudare.

\textsuperscript{119} I.e., those the horses.
OPERAS CITATAS


MAP OF GERMANIA