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Vol. VI.

No. 3.

Translations and Reprints

FROM THE

Original Sources of European History

THE EARLY GERMANS

(SECOND EDITION)

EDITED BY

ARTHUR C. HOWLAND, Ph.D.

PUBLISHED FOR

The Department of History of the University of Pennsylvania

BY THE

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA PRESS

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VOL. VI

THE EARLY GERMANS

No. 3

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I. CÆSAR.

C. Julius Cæsar born 100 (101), murdered 44 B. C., became proconsul of the Gallic provinces in 58. While in this region he came in frequent contact with the Germans who were beginning to cross the Rhine into Gaul in large numbers. In describing the campaign of 53 B. C. Cæsar makes a long digression to describe the manners and customs of the Gauls and the Germans. The passage relating to the latter is here given. The best edition of the Gallic War is that of Kübler.

EXTRACT FROM THE GALLIC WAR.

Lib. VI. cc. XXI-XXIV. (Latin).

XXI. The customs of the Germans differ much from those of the Gauls; for neither have they Druids to preside over religious services, nor do they care much for sacrifices. They count among the number of the gods those only whom they can see, and whose benign influence is manifest; namely, the Sun, Vulcan and the Moon. Of the others they have never even heard. Their whole life is made up of hunting and thoughts of war. From childhood they are exercised in labor and hardship. Those among them who remain longest in a state of celibacy are held in the highest esteem, as they claim that thereby the stature of some is increased, while it adds to the strength and sinews of others. Indeed, to have had intercourse with a woman before twenty is considered a most disgraceful thing, nor is the concealment of such a matter possible, since they not only bathe together promiscuously in the streams, but use skins or small garments of reindeer hide for clothing, whereby a great part of the body is bare.

XXII. They are not devoted to agriculture, and the greater part of their food consists of milk, cheese and flesh; nor does anyone possess a particular piece of land as his own property, with fixed boundaries, but the magistrates and the chiefs assign every year to the clans and the bands of kinsmen who have assembled together as much land as they please in any locality they see fit, and on the following year compel them to move elsewhere. They offer many reasons for this custom; that the people may not lose their zeal for war through habits engendered by continued application to the cultivation of the soil; that they may not be eager to acquire large possessions, and that the more powerful may not drive the weaker from their property: that they may not build too carefully in order to avoid cold and heat; that the love of money

may not spring up, from which come divisions and dissensions; that the common people may be held in contentment, since each one sees his own wealth kept equal to that of the most powerful.

XXIII. It is a matter of the greatest pride to the tribes to lay waste the borders of their territory as great a distance as possible and make them uninhabitable. They consider it a tribute to their valor when their neighbors are compelled to retire from those lands and when hardly any one dares set foot there; at the same time they think that they will thus be safer, since the fear of a sudden invasion is removed. When a tribe is either repelling an invasion or attacking a hostile territory, magistrates are chosen to lead them in the war, who have the power of life and death. In times of peace they have no general magistrate, but the chiefs of the districts and cantons exercise justice among their own people and settle controversies. Robbery, if done outside the borders of the tribe, carries with it no disgrace, and they declare that it is practiced for the sake of exercising the youth and preventing idleness. When any of the chiefs has said in an assembly that he is going to be the leader in a foray, and let those who wish to follow him hand in their names, they who approve of the raid and of the man rise up and promise their assistance, and are applauded by the masses. Those of the number who do not then follow him are considered deserters and traitors, and thereafter no faith whatever is placed in them.

To violate the rights of hospitality they hold to be a crime; whoever come to them for any reason whatever, they protect from injury, holding them sacred. Everybody's house is free to such, and they are furnished with food.

II. TACITUS.

Cornelius Tacitus, one of the greatest historians of the world, born about 54 A. D., died probably about 120 A. D., is the great authority for the history of the early Empire. His chief works are the *Histories*, the *Annals*, the *Life of Agricola*, and *Germany*. The last contains almost everything that is known of the early Germans, and modern research has done little more than confirm what Tacitus has stated in this treatise. It was composed in 98 A. D., but from what sources the author drew the greater part of his information is unknown. Cæsar is the only writer whom he expressly mentions, though there is evidence that he also consulted the works of Pomponius Mela and Pliny the Elder. It has been supposed that he was an official in Gaul or one of the Germanies from 90 to 94, and so had personal

knowledge of the people he described, but he nowhere mentions such an experience.

The most convenient edition of the *Germania* for consultation is Furneaux, Oxford, 1894. It contains an excellent introduction and full notes. Of the many English translations the best is that of Church and Brodrigg, of which the present editor has made free use. Horkel has a fine German translation in the *Geschichtsschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit*, Bd. II.

CONCERNING GERMANY.

Germania, ed. Furneaux, Oxford, 1894 (Latin).

I. Germany proper is separated from the Gauls, the Rhaetians and the Pannonians by the Rhine and the Danube, from the Sarmatians and Dacians partly by the mountains, partly by their mutual fears. The ocean washes its other boundaries, forming deep bays and embracing large islands where various tribes and their kings have become known to us through the disclosures of recent war. The Rhine takes its rise in the steep and inaccessible fastnesses of the Rhaetian Alps, and, bending slightly to the west, flows into the northern ocean. The Danube, pouring down from the gently sloping ridge of Mount Abnoba, passes the borders of many nations, and finally forces its way through six outlets into the Black Sea; a seventh channel is swallowed up by the marshes.

II. I should say that the Germans themselves were an indigenous people, without any subsequent mixture of blood through immigration or friendly intercourse; for in ancient times it was by sea and not by land that those who wished to change their homes wandered, and the ocean, hostile, as it were, and of boundless extent on the further side, is rarely traversed by ships from our part of the world. And not to mention the danger of the terrible and unknown sea, who indeed would leave Asia or Africa or Italy to seek Germany with its wild scenery, its harsh climate, its sullen manners and aspect, unless, indeed, it were his native country? They tell in their ancient songs, the only kind of tradition and history that they have, how Tuisto, a god sprung from the earth, and his son Mannus were the originators and founders of their race. Mannus is supposed to have had three sons from whose names those nearest the ocean are called *Ingaevones*, those in the middle country, *Hermiones*, and the others, *Istaevones*. Certain people assert with the freedom permitted in discussing ancient times that there were many descendants of the god, and many

tribal names, such as *Marsi*, *Gambrivii*, *Suebi*, *Vandilii*, and that these were their true and ancient names. But the name Germany, they say, is modern and of recent application, since those who first crossed the Rhine and expelled the Gauls, and who are now called *Tungri*, were then named Germans; thus what had been a tribal, not a national name, spread little by little, so that later they all adopted the newly-coined appellation that was first employed by the conquerors to inspire fear and called themselves Germans.

III. They say that Hercules himself once visited them, and when about to go into battle they sing of him as the first of all heroes. They have also certain songs, by the intonation of which (*barditus*, as it is called) they excite their courage, while they divine the fortune of the coming battle from the sound itself. They inspire or feel terror according to the character of the cheering, though what harmony there is in the shouting is one of valor rather than of voices. The effect they particularly strive for is that of a harsh noise, a wild and confused roar, which they attain by putting their shields to their mouths so that the reverberation swells their deep, full voices. Ulysses, too, is thought by some to have reached this ocean in those long and fabulous wanderings of his, and to have been cast upon the shores of Germany. They say he built and named Asciburgium, a town on the banks of the Rhine still inhabited; nay even that an altar consecrated by him and inscribed with the name of his father Laertes has been found at the same place, and that certain monuments and tombs with Greek letters on them still exist within the confines of Germany and Rhaetia. I have no mind to argue either for or against the truth of these statements; let each one believe or reject them as he feels inclined.

IV. I myself subscribe to the opinion of those who hold that the German tribes have never been contaminated by intermarriage with other nations, but have remained peculiar and unmixed and wholly unlike other people. Hence the bodily type is the same among them all, notwithstanding the extent of their population. They all have fierce blue eyes, reddish hair and large bodies fit only for sudden exertion; they do not submit patiently to work and effort and cannot endure thirst and heat at all, though cold and hunger they are accustomed to because of their climate.

V. In general the country, though varying here and there in appearance, is covered over with wild forests or filthy swamps, being

more humid on the side of Gaul but bleaker toward Noricum and Pannonia. It is suitable enough for grain but does not permit the cultivation of fruit trees; and though rich in flocks and herds these are for the most part small, the cattle not even possessing their natural beauty nor spreading horns. The people take pride in possessing a large number of animals, these being their sole and most cherished wealth. Whether it was in mercy or wrath that the gods denied them silver and gold, I know not. Yet I would not affirm that no vein of German soil produces silver or gold; for who has examined? They do not care for their possession and use as much as might be expected. There are to be seen among them vessels of silver that have been presented as gifts to their ambassadors and chiefs, but they are held in no more esteem than vessels of earthenware; however those nearest to us prize gold and silver because of its use in trade, and they recognize certain of our coins as valuable and choose those. The people of the interior practice barter and exchange of commodities in accordance with the simple and ancient custom. They like the old and well known coins, those with milled edges bearing the stamp of a two-horse chariot. They are more anxious also for silver coins than for gold, not because of any special liking, but because a number of silver coins is more convenient in purchasing cheap and common articles.

VI. Not even iron is abundant, as is shown by the character of their weapons. Some few use swords or long spears, but usually they carry javelins, called in their language *framea*, tipped with a short narrow piece of iron but so sharp and so easy to handle that as occasion demands they employ the same weapon for fighting at close range or at a distance. A horseman is content with a shield and a javelin, but the footmen, either nude or lightly clad in a small cloak, rain missiles, each man having many and hurling them to a great distance. There is no particular adornment to their weapons except that their shields are distinguished by the most carefully chosen colors. A few wear cuirasses, but hardly any have helmets of metal or leather. Their horses are noted neither for their beauty nor their speed, nor are they trained to perform evolutions as with us. They move straight ahead or make a single turn to the right, the wheel being executed with such perfect alignment that no man drops behind the one next to him. One would say that on the whole their chief strength lies in their in-

fantry. A picked body of these are chosen from among all the youth and placed in advance of the line where they fight mixed with the horsemen, since their swiftness makes them fully equal to engaging in a cavalry contest. Their number is fixed; there are a hundred from each canton, and from this circumstance they take their name among their own people, so that what was at first a number is now become an appellation of honor. The main body of troops is drawn up in wedge-shaped formation. To yield ground, provided you press forward subsequently, is considered a mark of prudence rather than a sign of cowardice. They carry off the bodies of the fallen even where they are not victorious. It is the greatest ignominy to have left one's shield on the field, and it is unlawful for a man so disgraced to be present at the sacred rites or to enter the assembly; so that many after escaping from battle have ended their shame with the halter.

VII. They choose their kings on account of their ancestry, their generals for their valor. The kings do not have free and unlimited power and the generals lead by example rather than command, winning great admiration if they are energetic and fight in plain sight in front of the line. But no one is allowed to put a culprit to death or to imprison him, or even to beat him with stripes except the priests, and then not by way of a punishment or at the command of the general but as though ordered by the god who they believe aids them in their fighting. Certain figures and images taken from their sacred groves they carry into battle, but their greatest incitement to courage is that a division of horse or foot is not made up by chance or by accidental association but is formed of families and clans; and their dear ones are close at hand so that the wailings of the women and the crying of the children can be heard during the battle. These are for each warrior the most sacred witnesses of his bravery, these his dearest applauders. They carry their wounds to their mothers and their wives, nor do the latter fear to count their number and examine them while they bring them food and urge them to deeds of valor.

VIII. It is related how on certain occasions their forces already turned to flight and retreating have been rallied by the women who implored them by their prayers and bared their breasts to their weapons, signifying thus the captivity close awaiting them, which is feared far more intensely on account of their women than for themselves; to such an extent indeed that those states are more

firmly bound in treaty among whose hostages maidens of noble family are also required. Further, they believe that the sex has a certain sanctity and prophetic gift, and they neither despise their counsels nor disregard their answers.¹ We ourselves in the reign of the divine Vespasian saw Valaeda, who was considered for a long time by many as a sort of divinity; and formerly also Albruna and many others were venerated, though not out of servility nor as though they were deified mortals.

IX. Among the gods they worship Mercury most of all, to whom it is lawful to offer human sacrifices also on stated days.² Hercules and Mars they placate by the sacrifice of worthy animals. Some of the *Suebi* sacrifice to Isis. The reason for this foreign rite and its origin I have not discovered, except that the image fashioned like a galley shows that the cult has been introduced from abroad. On the other hand they hold it to be inconsistent with the sublimity of the celestials to confine the gods in walls made by hands, or to liken them to the form of any human countenance. They consecrate woods and sacred groves to them and give the names of the deities to that hidden mystery which they perceive by faith alone.

X. They pay as much attention as any people to augury and lots. The method of casting lots is uniform. They cut off a branch from a fruit-bearing tree³ and divide it into small wands marked with certain characters. These they throw at random on a white cloth. Then the priest of the tribe, if it is a matter concerning the community, or the father of the family in case it is a private affair, calling on the gods and keeping his eyes raised toward the sky, takes up three of the lots, one at a time, and then interprets their meaning according to the markings before mentioned. If they have proven unfavorable there can be no further consultation that day concerning that particular matter; but if they are favorable, the confirmation of auspices is further demanded. Even the practice of divination from the notes and flight of birds is known; but it is peculiar to this people to seek omens and warnings from horses also. These sacred animals are white and never defiled by labor, being kept at public expense in

¹ Cf. Caesar B. G. I. 50.

² The identification of German with Roman deities was natural for Tacitus, but arbitrary and without sufficient grounds.

³ Elder, beech, oak, etc., might be included under this designation.

the holy groves and woods. They are yoked to the sacred chariot by the priest and the king or chief of the tribe, who accompany them and take note of their neighing and snorting. In no other kind of divination is there greater confidence placed either by the common people or by the nobles; for the priests are considered merely the servants of the gods, but the horses are thought to be acquainted with their counsels. They have another sort of divination whereby they seek to know the result of serious wars. They secure in any way possible a captive from the hostile tribe and set him to fight with a warrior chosen from their own people, each using the weapons of his own country. The victory of the one or the other is accepted as an indication of the result of the war.

XI. Concerning minor matters the chiefs deliberate, but in important affairs all the people are consulted, although the subjects referred to the common people for judgment are discussed beforehand by the chiefs. Unless some sudden and unexpected event calls them together they assemble on fixed days either at the new moon or the full moon, for they think these the most auspicious times to begin their undertakings. They do not reckon time by the number of days, as we do, but by the number of nights. So run their appointments, their contracts; the night introduces the day, so to speak. A disadvantage arises from their regard for liberty in that they do not come together at once as if commanded to attend, but two or three days are wasted by their delay in assembling. When the crowd is sufficient they take their places fully armed. Silence is proclaimed by the priests, who have on these occasions the right to keep order. Then the king or a chief addresses them, each being heard according to his age, noble blood, reputation in warfare and eloquence, though more because he has the power to persuade than the right to command. If an opinion is displeasing they reject it by shouting; if they agree to it they clash with their spears. The most complimentary form of assent is that which is expressed by means of their weapons.

XII. It is also allowable in the assembly to bring up accusations and to prosecute capital offenses. Penalties are distinguished according to crime. Traitors and deserters are hung to trees. Weaklings and cowards and those guilty of infamous crimes are cast into the mire of swamps with a hurdle placed over their heads.¹ This difference of penalty looks to the distinction that

¹In which stones could be thrown to cause them to sink.

crime should be punished publicly while infamy should be hidder out of sight. Lighter offences also are punished according to their degree, the guilty parties being fined a certain number of horses or cattle. A part of the fine goes to the king or the tribe, part to the injured party or his relatives.¹ In these same assemblies are chosen the magistrates who decide suits in the cantons and villages. Each one has the assistance of a hundred associates as advisers and with power to decide.

XIII. They undertake no business whatever either of a public or a private character save they be armed. But it is not customary for any one to assume arms until the tribe has recognized his competence to use them. Then in a full assembly some one of the chiefs or the father or relatives of the youth invest him with the shield and spear. This is the sign that the lad has reached the age of manhood; this is his first honor. Before this he was only a member of a household, hereafter he is a member of the tribe. Distinguished rank or the great services of their parents secure even for mere striplings the claim to be ranked as chiefs. They attach themselves to certain more experienced chiefs of approved merit; nor are they ashamed to be looked upon as belonging to their followings. There are grades even within the train of followers assigned by the judgment of its leader. There is great rivalry among these companions as to who shall rank first with the chief, and among the chiefs as to who shall have the most and the bravest followers. It is an honor and a source of strength always to be surrounded by a great band of chosen youths, for they are an ornament in peace, a defence in war. It brings reputation and glory to a leader not only in his own tribe but also among the neighboring peoples if his following is superior in numbers and courage; for he is courted by embassies and honored by gifts, and often his very fame decides the issue of wars.

XIV. When they go into battle it is a disgrace for the chief to be outdone in deeds of valor and for the following not to match the courage of their chief; furthermore for any one of the followers to have survived his chief and come unharmed out of a battle is life-long infamy and reproach. It is in accordance with their most sacred oath of allegiance to defend and protect him and to ascribe their bravest deeds to his renown. The chief fights for victory; the men of his following, for their chief. If the tribe to

¹ In case the offense was homicide.

which they belong sinks into the lethargy of long peace and quiet many of the noble youths voluntarily seek other tribes that are still carrying on war, because a quiet life is irksome to the Germans and they gain renown more readily in the midst of perils, while a large following is not to be provided for except by violence and war. For they look to the liberality of their chief for their war-horse and their deadly and victorious spear; the feasts and entertainments, however, furnished them on a homely but liberal scale, fall to their lot as mere pay. The means for this bounty are acquired through war and plunder. Nor could you persuade them to till the soil and await the yearly produce so easily as you could induce them to stir up an enemy and earn glorious wounds. Nay even they think it tame and stupid to acquire by their sweat what they can purchase by their blood.

XV. In the intervals of peace they spend little time in hunting but much in idleness, given over to sleep and eating; all the bravest and most warlike doing nothing, while the hearth and home and the care of the fields is given over to the women, the old men and the various infirm members of the family. The masters lie buried in sloth by that strange contradiction of nature that causes the same men to love indolence and hate peace. It is customary for the several tribesmen to present voluntary offerings of cattle and grain to the chiefs which, though accepted as gifts of honor, also supply their wants. They are particularly delighted in the gifts of neighboring tribes, not only those sent by individuals, but those presented by states as such,—choice horses, massive arms, embossed plates and armlets. We have now taught them to accept money also.

XVI. It is well known that none of the German tribes live in cities, nor even permit their dwellings to be closely joined to each other. They live separated and in various places, as a spring or a meadow or a grove strikes their fancy. They lay out their villages not as with us in connected or closely-joined houses, but each one surrounds his dwelling with an open space, either as a protection against conflagration or because of their ignorance of the art of building. They do not even make use of rough stones or tiles. They use for all purposes undressed timber, giving no beauty or comfort. Some parts they plaster carefully with earth of such purity and brilliancy as to form a substitute for painting and designs in color. They are accustomed also to dig out subter-

ranean caves which they cover over with great heaps of manure as a refuge against the cold and a place for storing grain, for retreats of this sort render the extreme cold of their winters bearable and, whenever an enemy has come upon them, though he lays waste the open country he is either ignorant of what is hidden underground or else it escapes him for the very reason that it has to be searched for.

XVII. Generally their only clothing is a cloak fastened with a clasp, or if they haven't that, with a thorn; this being their only garment, they pass whole days about the hearth or near a fire. The richest of them are distinguished by wearing a tunic, not flowing as is the case among the Sarmatians and Parthians, but close-fitting and showing the shape of their limbs. There are those, also, who wear the skins of wild beasts, those nearest the Roman border in a careless manner, but those further back more elegantly, as those do who have no better clothing obtained by commerce. They select certain animals, and stripping off their hides sew on them patches of spotted skins taken from those strange beasts that the distant ocean and the unknown sea bring forth. The women wear the same sort of dress as the men except that they wrap themselves in linen garments which they adorn with purple stripes and do not lengthen out the upper part of the tunic into sleeves, but leave the arms bare the whole length. The upper part of their breasts is also exposed. However, their marriage code is strict, and in no other part of their manners are they to be praised more than in this. For almost alone among barbarian peoples they are content with one wife each, excepting those few who because of their high position rather than out of lust enter into more than one marriage engagement.

XVIII. The wife does not bring a dowry to the husband, but the husband to the wife. The parents and relatives are present at the ceremony and examine and accept the presents,—gifts not suited to female luxury nor such as a young bride would deck herself with, but oxen, a horse and bridle and a shield together with a spear and sword. In consideration of these offerings the wife is accepted, and she in her turn brings her husband a gift of weapons. This they consider as the strongest bond, these as their mystic rites, their gods of marriage. Lest the woman should think herself excluded from aspiring to share in heroic deeds and in the dangers of war, she is admonished by the very initiatory

ceremonies of matrimony that she is becoming the partner of her husband's labors and dangers, destined to suffer and to dare with him alike in peace and in war. The yoke of oxen, the caparisoned horse, the gift of arms, give this warning. So must she live, so must she die. What things she receives she must hand down to her children worthy and untarnished and such that future daughters-in-law may receive them and pass them on to her grandchildren.

XIX. Thus they live in well-protected virtue, uncorrupted by the allurements of shows or the enticement of banquets. Men and women alike know not the secrecy of correspondence. Though the race is so numerous, adultery is very rare, its punishment being immediate and inflicted by the injured husband. He cuts off the woman's hair in the presence of her kinsfolk, drives her naked from his house and flogs her through the whole village. Indeed, the loss of chastity meets with no indulgence; neither beauty, youth nor wealth can procure the guilty woman a husband, for no one there laughs at vice, nor is corrupting and being corrupted spoken of as the way of the world. Those tribes do better still where only the virgins marry and where the hope and aspiration of married life is done with once for all. They accept one husband, just as they have one body and one life, that they may have no thought beyond this, no further desire; that their love may be as it were not for the married state, but for the husband.¹ To limit the number of children or to put any of the later children to death is considered a crime, and with them good customs are of more avail than good laws elsewhere.

XX. In every household the children grow up naked and unkempt into that lusty frame and those sturdy limbs that we admire. Each mother nurses her own children; they are not handed over to servants and paid nurses. The lord and the slave are in no way to be distinguished by the delicacy of their bringing up. They live among the same flocks, they lie on the same ground, until age separates them and valor distinguishes the free born. The young men marry late and their vigor is thereby unimpaired. Nor is the marriage of girls hastened. They have the same youthful vigor, the same stature as the

¹ This emendation of the text is that proposed by Gudeman in his edition of the *Germania*.

young men. Thus well-matched and strong when they marry, the children reproduce the robustness of their parents. An uncle shows the same regard for his sister's children as does their own father. Some tribes consider this relationship more sacred and binding than any other, and in taking hostages lay special stress upon it on the ground that they secure thus a stronger hold on the mind and a wider pledge for the family. A man's heirs and successors, however, are his own children, and no wills are made. If there are no children the next heirs are the brothers, then come the paternal and maternal uncles. The more relatives a man has and the greater the number of his connections, the more honored is his old age. Childlessness has no advantages.

XXI. A German is required to adopt not only the feuds of his father or of a relative, but also their friendships, though the enmities are not irreconcilable. For even homicide is expiated by the payment of a certain number of cattle, and the whole family accept the satisfaction, a useful practice as regards the state because feuds are more dangerous where there is no strong legal control.

No other race indulges more freely in entertainments and hospitality. It is considered a crime to turn any mortal man away from one's door. According to his means each one receives those who come with a well-furnished table. When his food has been all eaten up, he who had lately been the host becomes the guide and companion of his guest to the next house, which they enter uninvited. There is no distinction between guests; they are all received with like consideration. No one makes any difference between friend and stranger so far as concerns the rights of hospitality. If the guest on going away asks for any gift, it is customary to grant it to him, and the host on his side feels the same freedom from constraint in making a request. They take great pleasure in presents, but they do not reckon them as favors nor do they put themselves under obligations in accepting them.

XXII. As soon as they awake from sleep, which they prolong till late in the day, they bathe, usually in warm water as their winter lasts a great part of the year. After the bath they take food, each sitting in a separate seat and having a table to himself. Then they proceed to their business or not less often to feasts, fully armed. It is no disgrace to spend the whole day and night in drinking. Quarreling is frequent enough as is natural among

drunken men, though their disputes are rarely settled by mere wrangling but oftener by bloodshed and wounds. Yet it is at their feasts that they consult about reconciling enemies, forming family alliances, electing chiefs, and even regarding war and peace, as they think that at no other time is the mind more open to fair judgment or more inflamed to mighty deeds. A race without natural or acquired cunning still continues to disclose the secret thoughts of the heart in the freedom of festivity. Therefore at such a time the minds of all are free and unconstrained. On the next day the matter is reconsidered and a particular advantage is secured on each occasion. They take counsel when they are unable to practice deception; they decide when they cannot be misled.

XXIII. A liquor for drinking bearing a certain resemblance to wine is made by the process of fermentation from barley or other grain. Those next the border also buy wine. Their food is of a simple kind, wild fruit, fresh game or curdled milk. They satisfy their hunger without elaborate preparation and without the use of condiments. In the matter of thirst they do not use the same temperance. If you should indulge their love of drink by furnishing them as much as they wanted, they might be conquered more easily by their vices than by arms.

XXIV. As to games, but one and the same kind is seen in all their gatherings. Naked youths who make profession of this exhibition leap and dance among swords and spears that threaten their lives. Constant practice has given them skill, skill has given grace. Still they do not indulge in this pastime with a view to profit. The pleasure of the spectators is the reward for their recklessness, however daring. They indulge in games of chance, strange as it may seem, even when sober, as one of their serious occupations, with such great recklessness in their gains and losses that when everything else is gone they stake their liberty and their own persons on the last and decisive throw. The loser goes into voluntary slavery. Though he may be the younger and stronger of the two, he suffers himself to be bound and led away. Such is their stubbornness in a bad practice. They themselves call it honor. They sell slaves of this description to others that they may not feel the shame of such a success.

XXV. But they do not employ slaves as we do with distinct functions prescribed throughout the establishment. Each has his

own domicile and rules his own house. The lord exacts a certain amount of grain or cloth or a certain number of cattle as in the case of a tenant and this is the extent of his servitude. Other duties, those of the household, are performed by the lord's wife and children. To beat a slave or to punish him with chains and task work is rare. They occasionally kill one, not in the severity of discipline but impetuously and in sudden wrath as they would kill an enemy, except that the deed goes without punishment. Freedmen do not rank much above slaves; they are not of much account in the household and never in the state, except only in those tribes that are ruled by kings. For there they are elevated above the free born and the nobles. The inferior position of the freedman elsewhere is the mark of the free state.

XXVI. To trade with capital and to let it out at interest is unknown, and so it is ignorance rather than legal prohibition that protects them. Land is held by the villages as communities according to the number of the cultivators, and is then divided among the freemen according to their rank. The extent of their territories renders this partition easy. They cultivate fresh fields every year and there is still land to spare. They do not plant orchards nor lay off meadow-lands nor irrigate gardens so as to require of the soil more than it would naturally bring forth of its own richness and extent. Grain is the only tribute exacted from their land, whence they do not divide the year into as many seasons as we do. The terms winter, spring and summer have a meaning with them, but the name and blessings of autumn are unknown.

XXVII. There is no pomp in the celebration of their funerals. The only custom they observe is that the bodies of illustrious men should be burned with certain kinds of wood. They do not heap garments and perfumes upon the funeral pile. In every case a man's arms are burned with him, and sometimes his horse also. They believe that stately monuments and sculptured columns oppress the dead with their weight; the green sod alone covers their graves. Their tears and lamentations are quickly laid aside; sadness and grief linger long. It is fitting for women to mourn, for men to remember.

Such are the facts I have obtained in general concerning the origin and customs of the Germans as a whole. Now I will mention the institutions and rites of the separate tribes in so far as they differ from one another, and speak of the nations that have wandered over into Gaul.

XXVIII. That prince of writers, the divine Julius, relates that in former times the Gauls were more powerful than the Germans, and so we may believe that they too have crossed over into Germany; for, whenever a tribe grew strong, how much of an obstacle would a river furnish to its occupying territory as yet unappropriated and not partitioned among powerful kingdoms, or of again exchanging such possessions for others? Therefore it was that the *Helvetii* occupied the land between the Hercynian forest, the Rhine and the Main, and the *Boii*, another Gallic tribe, the land further on. The name *Boihæmum*¹ remains to this day and attests the old tradition of the place, although the inhabitants have changed. But whether the *Aravisci* migrated into Pannonia from the *Osi*, or the *Osi* migrated into Germany from the *Aravisci*, is uncertain, though they have the same language, institutions and customs; for originally on account of the equal poverty and equal freedom on either bank of the river there was no choice between them. The *Treveri* and *Nervii* go so far as to pride themselves on their claim to a German origin as though to be freed by the glory of such a relationship from the disgrace of Gallic effeminacy. People of undoubted German blood occupy the Rhine bank itself—the *Vangiones*, the *Triboci* and the *Nemetes*. Not even the *Ubii*, though they have earned the right to be known as a Roman colony and prefer to be called *Agrippinenses* from the name of their founder, blush at their German origin. In former times they crossed over and by reason of their tried loyalty were settled on the bank of the Rhine as worthy to guard it, but not needing to be watched themselves.

XXIX. Of all these tribes the *Batavi*, who cover not much of the river front, but inhabit an island in the Rhine itself, are especially distinguished by their valor. Once a division of the *Chatti*, they came across to these possessions on account of a domestic uprising and were destined to become here a part of the Roman empire. They retain certain honors as evidence of an ancient alliance; for they are neither insulted by tribute nor ground down by the tax-farmer. Exempt from burdens and imposts and set apart for employment as warriors only, they are reserved for our wars like a magazine of arms and weapons. The *Mattiaci* hold the same relationship to us, for the greatness of Rome has spread the reverence for her empire beyond the Rhine and beyond

¹ *I. e.*, Boier Heimat.

her ancient boundaries. And so, though their territories are on the other side of the river, they are united to us in sentiment and purpose, resembling the *Batavi* in all things except that they are still more warlike because of the soil and climate of their land.

I should not enumerate among the peoples of Germany those who, though they live on the other side of the Rhine and Danube, cultivate the tithe-lands. The most worthless of the Gauls, made reckless by poverty, occupied these lands of uncertain ownership. After a little, the frontier line being advanced and forts erected, they were reckoned as an outpost of the empire and a part of the province of Upper Germany.

XXX. Beyond these are the *Chatti*. Their settlements begin at the Hercynian Forest, where the land is less level and swampy than in the other regions comprehended within the limits of Germany; for the hills last through their territory and then gradually disappear, and the Hercynian Forest accompanies its native *Chatti* till it has seen the last of them. This tribe have very powerful bodies, close-knit limbs, fierce looks and great activity of mind. For Germans they show intelligence and cleverness. They choose their leaders and obey them; they know their places in the ranks; they notice opportunities and wait for the right moment of attack; they map out the day according to what they have to do, and at night fortify their camps; they hold luck as uncertain, courage a sure means of success; and, what is very unusual except in the case of Roman discipline, they place more reliance on their leader than on the army. Their entire strength lies in their infantry which they furnish with intrenching tools and provisions besides their regular arms. You see other Germans setting out to fight a battle, the *Chatti*, however, to conduct a campaign. They rarely engage in sudden dashes and chance battles. And this may well be so, for it is the peculiarity of cavalry to yield a victory as easily as they win one. Fleetness is allied to timidity, deliberateness is nearer to steadiness.

XXXI. A practice occasionally found among the other German peoples as a mark of individual daring has become universal among the *Chatti*; namely, when they have arrived at manhood they let the hair and beard grow wild and unkempt, nor will they trim them and thus lay aside the peculiar aspect which devotes and pledges them to valor until they have killed their man. Over

the blood and spoils of an enemy they bare their faces for the first time, and not till then do they feel that they have paid the price of their birth and shown themselves worthy of their parents and their country. Weak and cowardly men remain unshorn. The very bravest wear, besides, an iron ring (a mark of great infamy with that tribe) as a token of bondage until they have freed themselves by the killing of an enemy. Very many of the *Chatti* take pride in appearing in this fashion and are thus marked out for distinction among enemies and friends alike until they become grey-headed old men. These are the ones who begin all the battles; they form the first line of attack, an unusual spectacle. And they are a strange sight at other times, too, for even in peace they do not soften themselves by a less fierce mode of life. They have no houses nor fields nor occupation of any kind. They are supported by whomsoever they choose to visit, being as lavish with the possessions of another as they are prodigal of their own, until the weakness of old age renders them unequal to such harsh and heroic discipline.

XXXII. Next to the *Chatti* dwell the *Usipii* and *Tencteri* along the Rhine which here has a fixed channel and is fitted to form a boundary. The *Tencteri* over and above ordinary warlike skill excel in horsemanship. The renown of the infantry of the *Chatti* is not greater than that of the cavalry of the *Tencteri*. The reputation thus established by the ancestors is maintained by their descendants. Horsemanship forms the sport of the children and the rivalry of the youths, while among the old men its practice is still kept up. Horses are considered as part of the household and the domestic establishment and as subjects of rightful inheritance. The son who receives the horse is not the oldest, to whom the other property goes, but the fiercest and bravest.

XXXIII. The *Bructeri* once lived next the *Tencteri*. But now the story is told that the *Chamavi* and *Angrivarii* entered their territories, drove them out and almost¹ annihilated them with the consent of the neighboring nations, either because of the hatred inspired by their pride or through love of plunder. This was a special favor and kindness of the gods towards us. They did not even grudge us the sight of the battle. Above sixty thousand men fell, not beneath the arms of Roman soldiers but, what is grander, for their delight and pleasure. I pray

¹ See Gudeman.

there may continue to exist among these tribes, if not a love for us, at least a hatred for each other, since, while the destinies of the empire drive us on, fortune can offer us nothing better than the discord of our enemies.

XXXIV. The *Angrivarii* and *Chamavi* are enclosed by the *Dulgubiin*, the *Chasuarii* and other tribes hardly worthy of mention on the east, and by the *Frisii* on the west. The latter are spoken of as the Greater and Lesser *Frisii*, according to the measure of their strength. The two tribes are bordered by the Rhine clear to the ocean, and dwell besides around great lakes that are navigable to Roman fleets. We have even ventured upon the ocean itself in that quarter. Rumor has it that pillars of Hercules still exist there, though whether Hercules ever visited those parts or whether we are inclined to assign to his glory whatever is sublime in any part of the world, I will not say. Drusus Germanicus dared these perils, but the ocean forbade the exploration of its own waters or of the works of Hercules. Afterwards none ventured so far, as it seemed more in accordance with piety and reverence to believe in the great deeds of the gods rather than to inquire into them.

XXXV. So far we have been speaking of western Germany. To the north its territories extend back in a great sweep. First comes the tribe of the *Chauci*, which, though it is bounded on one side by the *Frisii* and occupies a part of the coast, extends along the frontiers of all the tribes I have been mentioning, and finally extends south to the *Chatti*. So great an extent of territory is not only held in possession, but thickly populated also by the *Chauci*, the noblest of the German people, for they prefer to maintain themselves by just dealings. Without cupidity and without insolence, quiet and retired, they stir up no wars nor ravage the lands of others with rapine and robbery. It is a mark of their valor and the sign of their strength that they do not need to practice aggressions in order that they may stand pre-eminent. Nevertheless, arms are ready at the hands of every man, and when occasion requires, an organized army strong in horse and foot is forthcoming. When they are at peace their renown is the same.

XXXVI. By the side of the *Chauci* and *Chatti* are the *Cherusci*, who being undisturbed indulged in a long and enervating peace. This was pleasanter than it was safe, for between lawless and

powerful neighbors it is a mistake to think of repose. Where the strong hand rules, moderation and justice are titles becoming only to the more powerful. And so those who were formerly called the good and upright *Cherusci* are now spoken of as cowards and fools. When the *Chatti* were victorious their good luck went for wisdom. Dragged into the ruin of the *Cherusci*, the *Fosi* also, a neighboring tribe, shared equally their misfortunes, though in prosperous days they had been inferior to them.

XXXVII. The same neck of land is occupied by the *Cimbri*, now a small tribe, but of great renown. Vestiges of their ancient power still remain in the shape of great camps on either bank of the Rhine, and by their extent you can judge of the multitude of hands that were at work, and how credible is the story of their mighty emigration. Our city was in its six hundred and fortieth year when the report of the Cimbric invasion came to our ears in the consulship of Metellus and Papirius Carbo. Reckoning from this time to the second consulship of the Emperor Trajan, about two hundred and ten years are summed up.¹ So long has our so-called conquest of Germany taken us. During this extended period the losses have been great on both sides. Neither the Samnites nor the Carthaginians, the two Spains nor the Gauls, nor even the Parthians themselves, have oftener threatened our power. Truly, the liberty of the Germans is a fiercer menace than the Arsacid despotism. For with what else can the East taunt us save the destruction of Crassus, and that, too, counterbalanced by the fall of Pacorus overthrown by a Ventidius? But the Germans by defeating or capturing Carbo and Cassius, Scaurus Aurelius and Servilius Caepio and Gnaeus Mallius, have deprived the Roman people of five consular armies in one war, and taken Varus and his three legions even from Cæsar. Nor was it without loss that C. Marius defeated them in Italy, the divine Julius in Gaul, and Drusus, Nero and Germanicus in their own land. Afterwards the mighty threats of Gaius Cæsar were turned to ridicule. Then there was quiet until on occasion of our discord and civil war they stormed the winter camp of the legions and even laid claim to the provinces of Gaul. And now they have been again repulsed in recent times, though it was less a defeat for the enemy than an excuse for a triumph in Rome.

XXXVIII. Now we must speak of the *Suebi*, who are not one

¹ This passage fixes the date of the *Germania* at A. D. 98.

tribe as is the case with the *Chatti* and *Tencteri*; for they possess the greater part of Germany and are besides divided into nations having each its own name, though all have the common appellation of *Suebi*. A characteristic of these people is that they comb back the hair on each side and gather it in a knot below. In this manner the *Suebi* are distinguished from the other Germans, and the free *Suebi* from their slaves. Among other tribes, either on account of some relationship to the *Suebi* or, as often happens, in imitation of them, the practice also obtains, but it is rare and confined to youths. Among the *Suebi*, however, even till old age they continue to fasten back their unkempt hair, and often they knot it on the very top of the head. The chiefs arrange their hair still more ornately. This comes from their care for their personal appearance, but it is not mere vanity; for they do not adorn themselves in order to enter the lists of love, but they thus add to their height that they may appear more terrible to the eyes of the enemy when going into battle.

XXXIX. They say the *Semnones* are the oldest and noblest of the Suebian tribes. The belief in their antiquity is confirmed by a religious institution. At a fixed time all the people of the same blood are assembled through their representatives in a grove hallowed by the sacred rites of their ancestors and by ancient reverence, where they publicly sacrifice a human being and celebrate the horrible initiatory rites of barbarism. Another form of reverence paid to this grove is that no one dare enter it unless he be bound by a cord, as outwardly acknowledging himself a subject of the god and under his power. If he falls down by chance he is not permitted to rise to his feet or to be lifted up, but must roll away on the ground. This whole superstition rests on the belief that from this place the race took its origin, that there dwells the god, the ruler of all things, to whom everything is subject and obedient. Their good fortune gives the *Semnones* further consideration. A hundred cantons are occupied by them, and their great numbers cause them to regard themselves as the head of the Suebian race.

XL. On the other hand the small number of their people gives distinction to the *Langobardi*. Surrounded by numerous powerful tribes, they maintain their position not by submission but by the risks of battle. Beyond them the *Rendigni*, *Aviones*, *Anglii*, *Varini*, *Eudoses*, *Suardones* and *Nuithones* are protected by their rivers and forests. There is nothing worthy of note among these

various tribes except their common worship of Nerthus, that is, Mother Earth, and their belief that she intervenes in human affairs and visits mankind. On a certain island of the ocean there is a sacred grove wherein is a chariot dedicated to her, protected by a covering. Only one priest is allowed to touch it. He knows when the goddess takes her place in the sacred car, and walks beside her with great reverence as she is drawn along by heifers. It is a time of rejoicing whenever she approaches and festivities reign wherever she deigns to be received. At such a time they undertake no wars and arms are laid aside. Every weapon is locked up. Then only is quiet to be noticed among these people; then only do they love peace, until the goddess wearied with human intercourse is conducted back to her temple by the priest. Then the chariot and its coverings and, if you care to believe it, the divinity herself, are purified in a secret lake. Slaves attend 'o this, who are immediately swallowed up by the same waters. Hence comes a mysterious fear and pious ignorance, since they only who are about to die see what the mysteries are.

XLI. This division of the *Suebi* extends back in fact into the remoter parts of Germany. Nearer to us (I shall now follow the course of the Danube as I previously did that of the Rhine) are situated the *Hermunduri*, a tribe friendly to the Romans. Consequently they are the only Germans who trade not only on the river bank but far within the province of Rhaetia and with its most flourishing colony. They travel about everywhere without a guard, and while we show to the other tribes only our arms and fortified camps, we freely throw open our homes and our villas to these, knowing that they do not covet them. In the territory of the *Hermunduri* the Elbe takes its rise, a famous river, once well known though now we only hear of it.

XLII. Next the *Hermunduri* are found the *Naristi*, and further on the *Marcomani* and *Quadi*. The *Marcomani* are distinguished for their strength and renown, and even their territory was won from the *Boii*, whom they drove out by their valor. Nor do the *Naristi* and *Quadi* fall below them. And these are, as it were, the front presented to the empire by Germany, so far as it is girdled by the Danube. Up to our own time the *Marcomani* and *Quadi* continued to be ruled over by kings of their own race, of the noble family of Maroboduus and Tudrus (now they submit even to kings from other tribes), but the force and

power of their kings is derived from Roman support. They are rarely assisted by our arms, but often enough by subsidies from us, which are no less efficacious.

XLIII. Back of the *Marcomani* and *Quadi* the *Marsigni*, *Cotini*, *Osi* and *Buri* close up the rear. Of these the *Marsigni* and *Buri* from their language and mode of life are reckoned among the *Suebi*. The Gallic speech of the *Cotini* and the Pannonian language of the *Osi* prove that they are not Germans, as does the fact that they submit to tribute. A part of this tribute is laid by the *Quadi* as upon an alien race, a part by the Sarmatians. What makes it a more shameful position for the *Cotini* is that they work iron mines. All these people occupy but little level country, but rather the forests and the summits of the mountains. For Suebia is divided and cut in two by a continuous mountain range, beyond which dwell a great many tribes. Among these the name of *Lugii* is most widely used and is spread over many states. It is sufficient to name the most powerful, the *Harii Helveconæ*, *Monimi*, *Elisii* and *Nāhanarvali*. In the land of these last people is found a grove sacred to an ancient worship over which presides a priest in female attire. But the gods are called according to the Roman interpretation Castor and Pollux. Such at least are the attributes of their divinity, though they use the name *Alcis*.¹ They have no images, nor is there any trace of non-German superstition, but they are venerated under the form of youths and brothers. The *Harii*, however, not only surpass the tribes above mentioned in strength, but fierce as they are, add to the effect of their innate wildness by art and opportunity. Their shields are black, their bodies painted. They choose the darkest nights for their forays, and by their very appearance, terrific and shadowy, they strike the terror of an army of spectres on their foes, who cannot sustain their strange and hellish aspect. For in battle it is the eye that is first vanquished.

XLIV. Beyond the *Lugii* dwell the *Gotones*, whose kings govern them at present rather more strictly than is the case with the other German tribes, though not yet in such a way as to overpower freedom. Immediately bordering on the ocean are the

¹ Whether this form is dative plural or nominative singular or plural is a disputed point.

Rugii and *Lemovii*. The round shield and short sword distinguish all these tribes, and they obey kings.

Further north, in the very midst of the ocean, dwell the tribes of the *Suiones*, whose strength lies in ships as well as in men and arms. The form of their vessels is peculiar in this respect that their double prows make it possible for them to be always run ashore either end first. They do not employ sails, nor are the oars fixed to the side so as to form a regular row. As is the case in some rivers, the oars are loose and can be changed to any position as occasion demands. These people pay respect to wealth also, and they are therefore ruled by one man with unlimited power, as his claim to obedience does not rest on mere sufferance. Arms are not to be found in every man's hands, as among the other Germans, but are kept locked up in charge of a keeper, a mere slave, because the ocean prevents any sudden hostile invasion, while armed men with nothing to do easily get into trouble. And certainly it is a piece of royal policy not to place a noble or a free-born man, nor even a freedman, in charge of the arms.

XLV. Beyond the *Suiones* is another sea, sluggish and almost motionless, by which the circle of the earth is believed to be bound and enclosed, for the reason that the last gleam of the setting sun lingers till sunrise so bright that the stars are dimmed. They would persuade us moreover that the sound of the sun at its rising can be heard, and the forms of his horses and the radiance about his head be seen. Up to this point only (and here we may believe the report) does the world extend. Therefore, to go back, close on the right shore of the Suebic sea the tribes of the *Aestii* are washed by its waters. Their customs and outward appearance are those of the *Suebi*, but their language is like that of Britain. They worship the mother of the gods, and wear as the symbol of their cult the figure of a wild boar. This serves for arms and for universal protection, and renders the votary of the goddess secure even among enemies. The people generally use clubs for weapons as iron is rare. They cultivate grain and other produce more perseveringly than is usual with the lazy Germans. But they also search the deep and are the only Germans to hunt beneath the waves and on the shore for amber, which they themselves call *glæsum*. Being barbarians, they do not seek to find out what process of nature produced it. Nay, it even lay a long time unused among the other refuse on shore until

our luxury gave it a value. They make no use of it. It is found and brought to us in rude and shapeless masses, and they wonder at our paying a price for it. However, it is known to be the gum of trees, because certain creeping and winged creatures often appear in it which, having been caught in these juices, were enclosed by them when they afterwards grew hard. As in the remote regions of the East there are more productive trees from which frankincense and balm exude, so I am disposed to believe that in the islands and mainland of the West there are substances which, acted upon by the rays of the nearby sun, flow into the neighboring sea and are cast up by the force of storms on the opposite shore. If you test the qualities of amber by putting a fire to it, it burns up like pine and gives a rich and fragrant flame; then it dissolves into a sort of pitch or resin.

The Sitonian tribes are adjacent to the *Suiones*. Like the latter in other respects, they yet differ in one way, for they are ruled by a woman; so far do they fall below the condition not only of freemen, but even of slaves.

XLVI. Here Suebia ends. As to the *Peucini*, the *Venedi* and the *Fenni*, I am uncertain whether to count them among the Germans or Sarmatians, although the *Peucini*, who are sometimes called *Bastarnæ*, resemble the Germans in their language and manners, and in their mode of settlement and building houses. They all have a filthy appearance, and indolence is a characteristic of their leading men. On account of intermarriage with the Sarmatians they are becoming somewhat degraded to their likeness. The *Venedi* have assimilated many of the Sarmatian customs, for they wander in plundering bands over such forests and mountains as are to be found between the *Peucini* and the *Fenni*. Still they are rather to be reckoned among the Germans, for they build permanent dwellings, carry shields, and employ foot-soldiers in whose swiftness they place their trust. In all these points they differ from the Sarmatians, who live in wagons and on horse-back. The characteristics of the *Fenni* are their strange savagery and their sordid poverty. They have neither arms nor horses nor household gods. Their food is herbs, their garments, skins, their couch, the ground. Their only wealth consists of arrows, which for lack of iron they point with bones. Hunting furnishes food for the men and the women alike. The women accompany the men everywhere and lay

claim to a portion of the prey. The children have no other protection against storms and wild beasts than a covering formed by weaving the branches of trees loosely together. Hither the youths return from the hunt, here the old find a refuge. But they consider this a happier life than to sweat in the fields, to toil over house-building, or to traffic with their own or others' fortunes in the midst of hope and fear. With nought to fear from gods or men, they have attained that difficult position that they have no wishes to gratify. From this point on all is fabulous, as that the *Hellusii* and the *Oxionæ* have the faces and the looks of men, but the bodies and limbs of wild beasts, a story that I leave without comment, as I have no certain knowledge regarding it.

III. JOSEPHUS.

Flavius Josephus, born about 37, died after 100 A. D., was a Jew of a distinguished priestly family who took part in the great uprising in Judæa against the Romans 66-70 A. D. He was captured by Vespasian and his life being spared he became the latter's client. The remainder of his life was spent in Rome, where he wrote a history of the late Jewish war in seven books, a work on Jewish antiquities in twenty books, and various minor works. The best edition of his writings, which were composed in Greek or translated into that language from the Hebrew, is that of Niese, Berlin, 1895. There is no satisfactory English translation, that of Whiston being almost worthless.

CONDUCT OF THE GERMAN GUARDS ON THE MURDER OF CALIGULA.

Antiq. Jud. Lib. XIX. c. I. §§ 15, 17, 18. (Greek.)

15. * * * The Germans were the first to hear of Gaius' assassination. These were the Emperor's body guard, who took their name from the people from whom they were recruited, and were known as the Celtic legion. It is their nature to yield without restraint to the passion of the moment, a trait that they share in common with other barbarians, who take little thought of what they are about to do. Of great strength and wild courage, they do not hesitate to begin an attack on their enemies, and wherever they make their onslaught they perform mighty deeds. Now when these heard of Gaius' murder they were filled with grief, since they did not judge him according to his merits but by the benefits they had received; for he had purchased great favor in their eyes by his frequent largesses. So drawing their swords

they rushed through the palace searching for the murderers of the Caesar under the leadership of their tribune Sabinus, a man who had attained that position not through his own or his ancestors' merits (for he had been a gladiator), but because of his great bodily strength. The first man they met was Asprenas, on whose garments, as I have said above, the blood of the sacrificial offering had spurted, and so marked him out as one about to meet misfortune. Him they cut to pieces. The next they came upon was Norbanus, one of the most distinguished of the citizens, a man who numbered many generals among his ancestors. Since his rank won him no consideration, he made use of his great strength. Springing at the man who first attacked him, he wrenched the sword from him, determined to sell his life as dearly as possible. Finally he was surrounded by the maddened throng and fell pierced with many wounds. The third man was the senator Anteius, who fell in with the Germans, not by chance as the others had done, but led there by the desire of feasting his eyes on the lifeless corpse of Gaius in order to show his hatred. For the Emperor had driven the father of Anteius, who bore the same name, into exile, and not content with that had sent out soldiers to put him to death. For this reason Anteius had now come to enjoy the spectacle. Since, however, the palace was in such turmoil, he thought to conceal himself in a dark recess; but he did not escape the Germans, who searched every place carefully and slew with equal savageness the guilty and the innocent. Thus perished these men.

* * * * *

17. But when the German guard surrounded the theatre with drawn swords, the spectators all feared for their lives, and at the entrance of any one, whoever he might be, they began to tremble as though at that very instant they felt the blade at their throats. They were in great doubt what to do, not daring to go out and yet believing it very dangerous to remain longer in the theatre. So when the Germans finally broke into the place, the air was filled with their cries. They begged the soldiers for their lives, protesting that they were ignorant of all that had transpired, that they knew nothing of the plans that had been laid for starting an insurrection, if indeed there was an insurrection, that they were ignorant of all that had happened. The soldiers should, therefore, spare them, nor inflict the penalty of other people's

crimes on those who were free from all guilt. They should allow inquiry to be made as to who had done the deed, whatever that deed might be. This and much more to the same effect the crowd uttered, crying out and beating their breasts, weeping and calling on the gods as their imminent danger urged. They spoke as one does who is engaged in a last struggle for life. On hearing these outcries the fury of the soldiers was appeased and they repented of what they had in mind to do to the spectators; for it was a ghastly sight, and so seemed even to them in their wild rage, when the heads of Asprenas and those who had perished with him were placed on the altar. * * * *

18. There was a certain man called Arruntius, a crier of goods and therefore of loud, sonorous voice, who in his wealth equalled the richest of the Romans, and who in whatever he wished had very great influence in the city both at that time and afterwards. This man having composed his countenance to grief as much as he was able (for, though he was the most hostile of all toward Gaius, he hid his feelings in order to do what fear and cunning suggested as necessary to his safety), assumed the garments of mourning as is customary on the death of a beloved friend, and proceeded to the theatre. Here he announced the death of Gaius, not suffering the crowd to remain longer in ignorance of what had happened. Then Arruntius made the round of the arena, addressing the soldiers, while their tribunes who were accompanying him ordered them to sheathe their swords and confirmed the news of Gaius' death. This rescued from danger those who were assembled there in the theatre as well as all who had by any chance fallen into the hands of the Germans. For while they still cherished the hope that Gaius might yet be alive, no violence was too great for them to commit. So great was their devotion to him that they would have been content even to give up their lives if only they might have protected him from plots and treachery and shielded him from so grave a calamity. When they had been convinced, however, of Gaius' death, they immediately stilled their wild outbreak, not only because their devotion and eagerness were no longer of any profit to them since he was now dead who would have rewarded them, but also because they feared that if they continued to do injury to those about them they would fall under the censure of the Senate in case the administration of affairs fell to that body. And so at length, though with difficulty,

was the madness that had fallen upon the Germans at the news of Gaius' murder brought to an end.

IV. AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS.

Ammianus Marcellinus, died subsequent to 380 A. D., was a native of Antioch. He was for many years an officer in the Roman army, where he gained considerable distinction, serving in Gaul as well as in the East. He was a friend and admirer of the Emperor Julian and accompanied the latter on his last Persian expedition. Not long after Julian's death Ammianus retired from the army and devoted himself to writing a continuation of the Histories of Tacitus which he called *Rerum gestarum libri*, extending from the beginning of Nerva's reign, 96 A. D., to the death of Valens, 378. The first thirteen books down to 353 have been lost, but the remaining eighteen give a very vivid picture of the rapid dissolution of the empire. This contemporary account is the most valuable source for the history of the period that has come down to us. Gibbon on reaching the reign of Theodosius remarks of him, "It is not without the most sincere regret that I must now take leave of an accurate and faithful guide, who has composed the history of his own times without indulging in the prejudices and passions which usually affect the mind of a contemporary." Owing probably to the fact that Greek was his native tongue, the Latin of Ammianus is difficult to translate, in places being almost unintelligible. A good edition is that of Gardthausen, Leipzig, 1874. There is a fair translation by Yonge in the Bohn's series, while the portion relating to the Germans is given by Coste in the *Geschichtsschreiber*.

DESCRIPTION OF A BATTLE BETWEEN JULIAN AND THE ALAMANNI NEAR STRASSBURG, IN 357 A. D.

Lib. XVI., xii. 20-62 (Latin).

20. When our leaders perceived the enemy already forming themselves into a compact wedge, they came to a halt and drew up the *Antepilani*, *Hastati* and *Primi ordinum* like a solid wall. With equal caution the wedge-shaped mass of the enemy held their ground. 21. And when they saw all the cavalry drawn up against them on our right wing just as the deserter I have previously mentioned had told them, they placed such cavalry force as they had in a dense body on their left wing. Scattered among them were foot-soldiers, light and active men fitted for the work they had to do. 22. For they knew that in a fight with our heavy cuirassiers, protected as they are by iron plates, holding reins and shield in one hand and wielding the spear with the other, their horsemen, however skillful, had no chance of success:

but a footman in the midst even of the greatest turmoil of battle, while each man is paying attention only to what is immediately before him, can creep along unseen, stab the horse in the side, and bring the incautious rider to the ground where it is an easy matter to finish him. 23. With their forces thus disposed on the left, they stationed their right wing in a secret ambush. All these fierce and warlike peoples were led by Chonodomar and Serapio, who excelled the other kings in power. 24. Chonodomar indeed was the instigator of the whole nefarious war. Above his head waved a flaming plume of hair. Fierce in aspect and trusting in the mighty strength of his arm he strode up and down before the left wing where the hottest fighting was to be looked for. Splendid as a foaming war-horse he brandished a spear of tremendous length and was to be distinguished from the others by the gleam of his arms. He was known as a vigorous soldier and as a leader skillful beyond all his compatriots. 25. The right wing was led by Serapio, a youth on whose cheeks the down was just beginning to sprout, but of courage surpassing his years. He was the son of Mederich, Chonodomar's brother, a most treacherous man during his lifetime. Serapio was so-called because his father who had been held for a long time in Gaul as a hostage had there learned certain Greek mysteries and so changed his son's name from Agenarch, which he had been called at birth, to Serapio. 26. There followed these two leaders, according to rank, 5 kings, 10 princes, a long list of nobles and 35,000 armed men of various tribes, part of whom served for pay, part on account of agreements of mutual support.

27. And now to the loud blare of the trumpets the Roman general Severus, who commanded the left wing, advanced close to the ditches filled with armed men whence the concealed enemy had arranged to burst suddenly out and throw everything into confusion. Here he fearlessly halted, for he had a suspicion of the ambush, and did not attempt either to fall back or to advance further. 28. The Cæsar observed this as, unruffled by the greatest exertions, he moved here and there surrounded by 200 horsemen wherever the hardest fighting demanded. Riding along the lines of foot soldiers at a rapid pace he exhorted them with encouraging words. * * * 34. Having thus encouraged his soldiers he drew up the greater part of the army opposite the first battle line of the barbarians. Then there suddenly arose among

the footmen of the Alamanni a loud and threatening outcry in which they demanded with one voice that their princes should dismount from their horses and fight on foot with the rest, so that if the army were defeated they might not have an easy means of escape while the common people were deserted and left to their fate. 35. As soon as Chonodomar heard this he sprang at once from his steed and the others following his example hastened to do likewise, for not one of them doubted but that their side would be victorious. 36. Thereupon with a stately flourish of trumpets the signal to open the battle was given on both sides and the great mass of men rushed at each other. Missile weapons flew in every direction and then the Germans in feverish haste, without stopping for further consideration, threw themselves upon the ranks of our cavalry, brandishing their spears in their right hands. With terrible outcries they came on, their bristling hair as it flowed in the wind making their appearance more savage than ever, and the fury of battle gleaming in their eyes. Our soldiers on the other hand stood firm holding their shields to protect themselves against the attack, and drawing their swords or shaking their spears they threatened death to the enemy. 37. In the very midst of the onset the cavalry bravely assumed squadron formation, while the foot guarded their own flanks with firmness and protected their front by a wall of shields in a way that showed their careful training. The dust arose in thick clouds as the struggling masses now resisting, now giving way, swayed here and there. Some of the barbarians, the most expert of their warriors, knelt down and sought to receive the attack of the enemy in this way, but the mighty rush of men bore them on to a hand to hand encounter. Shield smote against shield and the welkin rang with the exultant shouts of the conquering and the groans of the fallen. Our left pushing forward had by its fierce onslaught forced back the German lines and was advancing with loud shouts against the barbarians, when the cavalry who held the right wing were seen, contrary to all expectation, to be retreating in confusion, the first ranks falling back and throwing those behind into disorder, until they finally reformed behind the center of the legions and renewed the battle. 38. This panic was due to the fact that the cuirassiers while their lines were being arranged for the attack had their leader slightly wounded and also perceived one of their number overcome by the weight of his

armor fall over the neck of his horse. This threw them into a panic, and fleeing in every direction they trampled on the foot-soldiers and would have thrown everything into confusion had not these closed up and stood firm in a compact body. When the Cæsar saw the cavalry intent on nothing but safety, he spurred his horse to meet them and checked their flight. 39. He was recognized by the purple dragon-flag floating from the point of a long lance, which looked like the skin of an actual dragon. The tribune of one of the squadrons seeing this, halted in fear and trembling and turning galloped back to reform the line. 40. As he was accustomed to do in such crises the Cæsar upbraided them though not harshly and rallied the troops. * * * *

42. The Alamanni having thus defeated and driven back our cavalry rushed upon the first line of the infantry, thinking to overwhelm it without much resistance. 43. It came to hand-to-hand fighting and for a long time the battle raged without decisive results. For our *Cornuti* and *Bracchiati*, approved veterans of many a battle, already terrifying enough in aspect, raised their awful *barritum* or war-cry, which, rising in the fury of battle, increases gradually from a low growling sound till it rolls like the dashing of mighty waves on a rock-bound coast. Here and there flew the whizzing javelins till the air was thick with them, and the dust rose in clouds hiding everything from view. Sword clashed with sword and breast pressed against breast. 44. In blind wrath the wild and disorderly mob of barbarians threw themselves on the close-bound wall of shields that protected our men in the form of a *testudo*, and hewed their way through it with tremendous sword-strokes. 45. When they perceived this our allies, the Batavians, led by their kings, came on a run to the aid of their companions, chanting their fierce war-song. They were a formidable body of troops fitted to snatch victory from the very jaws of defeat, and the contest went on with renewed vigor. 46. But the Alamanni dashed headlong into the fight with fury gleaming in their faces, threatening to annihilate whatever was opposed to them. Darts and javelins and iron-pointed arrows filled the air, and now at close quarters the sword was drawn and corselet and breast-plate gave forth the life-blood of the soldiers as the keen blades pierced them. Even the wounded who had any strength remaining raised themselves from the ground and continued the contest. 47. The two sides were about evenly

matched, the Alamanni being robust and of great stature, our men trained in the use of arms; they wild and violent, ours cool and cautious; the barbarians trusting in their overwhelming strength of body, the Roman troops in their courage. 48. Wherever a Roman, embarrassed by the weight of his armor, was driven back he sought to regain the lost ground; and when a barbarian became exhausted he sank down on his left knee and during the pause taunted and reviled his enemy,—truly a sign of the utmost temerity. 49. And now from the ranks of the Germans there came suddenly bounding forward an eager band of nobles among whom were to be seen even kings, and followed by the crowd they broke through our lines and hewed their way clear to the legion of the *Primarii* who occupied the very key of our position at the center of the camp known as the *castra praetoria*. Here our close-packed ranks taking heart rallied and stood firm as a tower. They fought with skill, carefully protecting themselves from wounds after the manner of the Gallic gladiators, while the barbarians, who in the wild rage and madness of battle recklessly exposed their naked bodies, fell in great numbers by our swords.

50. In their invincible determination to break through the living bulwark of our lines they threw away their lives without an instant's hesitation. The dead lay in serried ranks beneath the blows of the Romans, who had now recovered spirit, but their places were filled at once by the survivors, though the groans of the dying filled them with horror. 51. At last overcome by their exertions and their losses they thought only of escape and fled in panic through the various paths and by-ways, just as sailors driven about by winds on the sea seek safety from the storm. But any one who was present might have seen that safety was something they were more likely to hope for than to attain. * * *

58. While these events were transpiring King Chonodomar found an opportunity to escape through the heaps of the slain and hastened with a few followers towards the camp which he had had the temerity to establish between the Roman towns of Tribunci and Concordia. Here he had concealed boats by means of which he had planned to escape across the river in case of such a misfortune as this. 59. Since he must cross the Rhine in order to get back to his own kingdom, he withdrew slowly from the battlefield, concealing his face that he might not be recognized.

When he was near the banks, as he was skirting a swampy place so as to come to the crossing, his horse slipped in the soft ground and threw him. As fast as his great weight permitted he hastened to the protection of a neighboring hill. Being recognized by the insignia of his rank, a tribune who had followed him closely with a cohort of troops immediately surrounded the hill, which was wooded, and arranged his men so as to make it impossible for any one to escape through the undergrowth. 60. Seeing this Chonodomar overcome by despair came forth and gave himself up. With him were his 200 followers, among them three sworn blood-friends to whom it was considered an eternal disgrace to survive their king or not to die for him if the occasion demanded it. These also surrendered themselves as conquered men. 61. And so, as is the nature of barbarians, who are humble in misfortune, haughty in success, the king was dragged along, the slave of another's will. Pallid with fear, his mouth closed by the knowledge of his crimes, how different a man was he from that one whose deeds had filled Gaul with sorrow and terror, and who had threatened the land with fire and sword!

ROMAN POLICY TOWARDS THE GERMANS. 370 A. D.

Liber XXVIII., v., 1-9.

1. In the third consulate of the Emperor Valentinian a large band of Saxons came over the ocean and made an attack on the Roman boundary wall, laying waste the country with fire and sword. The first shock of this invasion was borne by Count Nannenus, the commander in that region, a careful and experienced veteran. 2. But he had to do with a people who knew not the fear of death, and after he had lost a number of soldiers and had been himself wounded he had to admit himself unequal to carrying on the continuous strife. The Emperor having been informed of his necessity, Severus, the *magister peditum*, was allowed to come to his assistance. 3. When he arrived with a force sufficient for the occasion and had drawn his troops up for battle the barbarians were so terrified that they did not dare risk an engagement, but awed by the splendor of the eagles and the battle standards, they sued for peace. 4. Since this seemed to be for the best interests of the state, a treaty was agreed upon after a long discussion, whereby the Saxons were to furnish a large contingent of their warlike youth to serve under our standards

while the remainder were allowed to depart, though without any plunder, and return whence they had come. 5. And when their minds were now relieved of all anxiety and they were preparing to set out for home, a force of infantry was sent forward and quietly placed in ambush in a certain deep valley from which they were to make an attack on the barbarians as the latter passed by and so destroy them, as it was supposed, without difficulty. But it turned out very differently from what was hoped. 6. For at the noise of their approach certain of the Romans in their excitement sprang forth too quickly, and no sooner were they seen than the barbarians with fearful whoops and yells made for them and overthrew them before they could form to resist the attack. Still our men drew quickly together in a circle and held their ground with the courage of despair. Many however were killed, and they would certainly have fallen to the last man had not the tumult been heard by a squadron of our heavy cuirassiers similarly placed at a fork of the road to attack the passing barbarians from the other side. These hastened to the rescue. 7. Then the battle raged fiercely. The Romans with renewed courage rushed in on all sides, surrounded the enemy and cut them down with the sword. None of them ever saw again their native home. Not even a single one was allowed to survive the slaughter of his comrades. An upright judge might accuse us of baseness and perfidy in this affair, yet when one thinks the matter over one must admit that it was a just fate for a band of robbers to be thus destroyed when the opportunity was given us.

8. Though this affair had been so happily carried out, Valentinian continued to feel much anxiety and solicitude, turning over many projects in his mind and planning with what stratagems he might break the pride of the Alamanni and their king Macrian, whose restlessness was bringing endless disturbance to the Roman state. 9. For the remarkable thing about this people is that however great their losses through various causes from the very beginning on, yet they increase so fast that one would think that they had remained undisturbed for many ages. Finally after considering various plans it seemed best to the Emperor to weaken them by stirring up against them the Burgundians, a warlike people whose flourishing condition was due to the immense number of their young men, and who were therefore to be feared by all their neighbors.

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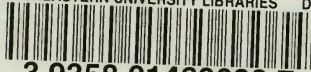
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