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adventus Agricolae

militēs legiōnis secundae, quī Dēvae in castrīs erant, diū et strēnuē labōrābant. nam Gāius Iūlius Sīlānus, lēgātus legiōnis, adventum Agricolae exspectābat. militēs, ā centuriōnibus iussī, multa et variā faciēbant. aliī arma poliēbant; aliī aedificia pūrgābant; aliī plaustra reficiēbant. Sīlānus neque quiētem neque commeātum militibus dedit.

militēs, ignārī adventūs Agricolae, rem graviter ferēbant. trēs continuōs diēs labōrāvērunt; quārtō diē Sīlānus adventum Agricolae nūntiāvit. militēs, cum hoc audīssent, maximē gaudēbant quod Agricolam dīligēbant.

tertiā hōrā Sīlānus militēs in ordinēs longōs īnstrūxit, ut Agricolam salūtārent. militēs, cum Agricolam castra intrantem vīdissent, magnum clāmōrem sustulērunt.

“iō, Agricola! iō, iō, Agricola!”

tantus erat clāmōr ut nēmō iussa centuriōnum audīret.

Agricola ad tribūnāl prōcessit ut pauca dīceret. omnēs statim tacuērunt ut Agricolam audīrent.

“gaudeō,” inquit, “quod hodiē vōs rursus videō. nūllam legiōnem fideliōrem habeō, nūllam fortiōrem. disciplīnam studiumque vestrum valdē laudō.”

militēs ita hortātus, per ordinēs prōcessit ut eōs īnspiceret. deinde prīncipia intrāvit ut colloquium cum Sīlānō habēret.

adventus arrival

legiōnis: legiō legion

Dēvae at Deva

strēnuē hard, energetically

aliī ... aliī ... aliī

some ... others ... others

arma arms, weapons

poliēbant: poliire polish

pūrgābant: pūrgāre clean

quiētem: quiēs rest

5 **commeātum: commeātus**

(military) leave

trēs ... diēs for three days

continuōs: continuus

continuous, in a row

10 **quārtō diē** on the fourth day

gaudēbant: gaudēre

be pleased, rejoice

tertiā hōrā at the third hour

iō! hurrah!

15 **tribūnāl** platform

disciplīnam: disciplīna

discipline, orderliness

studium enthusiasm, zeal

20 **vestrum: vester** your

hortātus having encouraged

prīncipia headquarters

How we know about Agricola

The two inscriptions below both contain the name of Gnaeus Julius Agricola.

The first is on a lead water pipe found at Chester.

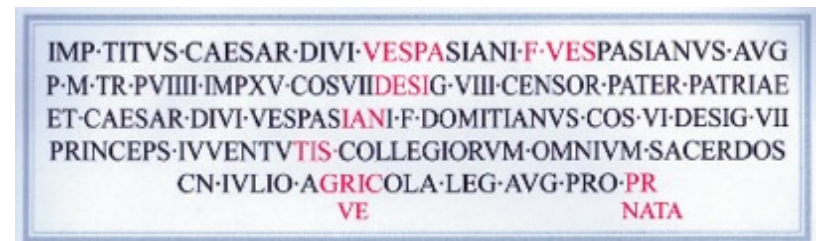


With the abbreviated words written out, this reads:

**imperatore Vespasiano VIII Tito imperatore VII consulibus
Cnaeo Iulio Agricola legato Augusti propraetore**

This shows that the pipe was made in AD 79, when Vespasian and Titus were consuls and Agricola was governor of Britain.

The inscription drawn below was found in the forum of Verulamium (Roman name of modern St Albans, 25 miles or 40 kilometers north of London). Only fragments have survived, giving us the letters in red. But it is possible to guess at the rest of the first five lines because they contain only the names and titles of the Emperor Titus, his brother and successor Domitian, and Agricola. There is not enough left to reconstruct the last line.



These inscriptions might have been virtually all that we knew about Agricola if his life history had not been written by his son-in-law, the historian Tacitus.

Navigation



in prīncipiīs

When you have read this story, answer the questions on the opposite page.

Salvius ipse paulō prius ad castra advēnerat. iam in legiōnis secundae prīncipiīs sedēbat, Agricola anxius exspectāns. sollicitus erat quod in epistulā, quam ad Agricola mīserat, multa falsa scripserat. in prīmīs Cogidubnum sēditōnis accūsāverat. in animō volvēbat num Agricola sibi crēditūrus esset. Belimicum sēcum dūxerat ut testis esset.

subitō Salvius, Agricola intransentem cōspicātus, ad eum festīnāvīt ut salūtāret. deinde commemorāvit ea quae in epistulā scripserat. Agricola, cum haec audīvisset, diū tacēbat. dēnique maximē commōtus,

“quanta perfīdia!” inquit. “quanta īnsānia! id quod mihi patefēcistī, vix intellegere possum. īnsānīvīt Cogidubnus. īnsānīvērunt prīncipēs Rēgnēnsium. numquam nōs oportet barbarīs crēdere; tūtius est eōs omnēs prō hostibus habēre. semper nōs prōdunt. nunc mihi necesse est rēgem opprimere quem quīnque annōs prō amīcō habēō.”

haec locūtus, ad Silānum, lēgātum legiōnis, sē vertit.

“Silāne,” inquit, “nōs oportet rēgem prīncipēsque Rēgnēnsium quam celerrimē opprimere. tibi statim cum duābus cohortibus proficīscendum est.”

Silānus, ē prīncipiīs ēgressus, centuriōnibus mandāta dedit. eōs iussit cohortēs parāre. intereā Agricola plūra dē rēgis perfīdiā rogāre coepit. Salvius eī respondit,

“ecce Belimicus, vir ingenīi optimī summaeque fideī, quem iste Cogidubnus corrumpere temptābat. Belimicus autem, quī blanditiās rēgis spernēbat, omnia mihi patefēcit.”

“id quod Salvius dīxit vērū est,” inquit Belimicus. “rēx Rōmānōs ōdit. Rōmānōs ē Britannīā expellere tōtamque īnsulam occupāre cupit. nāvēs igitur comparat. militēs exercet. etiam bēstias saevās colligit. nūper bēstiam in mē impulit ut mē interficeret.”

Agricola tamen hīs verbīs diffīsus, Salvium dīligentius rogāvit quae indicia sēditōnis vīdisset. cognōscere voluit quot essent armātī, num Britannī cīvēs Rōmānōs interfēcissent, quas urbēs dēlēvissent.

subitō magnum clāmōrem omnēs audīvērunt. per iānuam prīncipiōrum perrūpit homō squālidus. ad Agricola praecēps cucurrit genibusque eius haesit.

“cīvīs Rōmānus sum,” inquit. “Quīntum Caecilium Iūcundum mē vocant. ego multās iniūriās passus hūc tandem advēnī. hoc ūnum dīcere volō. Cogidubnus est innocēns.”

haec locūtus humī prōcubuit exanimātus.

paulō prius *a little earlier*

falsa: falsum *lie, untruth*

5 **in prīmīs** *in particular*
sēditōnis: sēditō *rebellion*
in animō volvēbat: in animō

volvere *wonder; turn over in the mind*

10 **num** *whether*
crēditūrus *going to believe*
īnsānia *insanity, madness*

nōs oportet *we must*
prō hostibus habēre *consider as enemies*

15 **prōdunt: prōdere** *betray*
opprimere *crush*

tibi ... proficīscendum est

20 *you must set out*
cohortibus: cohors *cohort*

25 **corrumpere** *corrupt*
blanditiās: blanditiae *flatteries*
spernēbat: spernere *despise, reject*

30 **colligit: colligere** *collect*

diffīsus *having distrusted*
indicia: indicium *sign, evidence*
quot *how many, how numerous*

35

perrūpit: perrumpere
burst through, burst in
squālidus *covered with dirt, filthy*

40

Questions

- 1 Why was Salvius in the headquarters?
- 2 Why is he described as **sollicitus** (lines 3–4)?
- 3 What particular accusation had he made?
- 4 Why had he brought Belimicus with him?
- 5 **Agricola ... diū tacēbat** (line 9). What is there in his subsequent comments which would explain his hesitation?
- 6 What conclusion did he come to about the proper treatment for barbarians?
- 7 What did Agricola tell Silanus they had to do? What order was Silanus given?
- 8 After Silanus left, what did Agricola try to find out?
- 9 How did Salvius describe Belimicus' character? According to Salvius, how had Belimicus helped him?
- 10 From Belimicus' information in lines 27–31, find one thing that Agricola might have believed and one thing about which he might have had doubts.
- 11 In lines 32–35 Agricola asked Salvius for evidence of the rebellion. What three details did he want to find out? What do you think of Agricola for not asking these questions before sending out the cohorts?
- 12 What happened before Salvius could answer Agricola?
- 13 What two things did the **homō squālidus** do (lines 37–38)?
- 14 What did he say first? Why? What were his final words?
- 15 **haec locūtus humī prōcubuit exanimātus** (line 42). Which three Latin words in his speech explain why he suddenly collapsed?

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About the language 1: purpose clauses

1 Study the following examples:

mīlitēs ad p̄ncīpia convēnērunt **ut** Agricola audīrent.

The soldiers gathered at the headquarters in order that they might hear Agricola.

per tōtam noctem labōrābat medicus **ut** vulnera militū sānāret.

The doctor worked all night in order that he might treat the soldiers' wounds.

The groups of words in **boldface** are known as **purpose clauses**, because they indicate the purpose for which an action was done. The verb in a purpose clause in Latin is always subjunctive.

2 Further examples:

- a omnēs cīvēs ad silvam contendērunt ut leōnem mortuum spectārent.
- b dominus stilum et cērās poposcit ut epistolam scrīberet.
- c dēnique ego ad patrem rediī ut rem explicārem.
- d rēx iter ad fontem fēcit ut aquam sacram biberet.
- e equōs celerīter cōnscondimus ut ex oppidō fugerēmus.
- f vīllam intrāvistī ut pecūniam nostram caperēs.

3 Instead of translating **ut** and the subjunctive as *in order that I (you, s/he, etc.) might ...*, it is often possible to use a simpler form of words:

mīlitēs ad p̄ncīpia convēnērunt ut Agricola audīrent.

The soldiers gathered at the headquarters in order to hear Agricola.

Or, simpler still:

The soldiers gathered at the headquarters to hear Agricola.

tribūnus

Agricola, ubi hoc vīdit, custōdēs iussit Quīntum auferre medicumque accessere. tum ad tribūnum mīlitum, quī adstābat, sē vertit.

“mī Rūfe,” inquit, “p̄rudentissimus es omnium tribūnōrum quōs habeō. tē iubeō hunc hominem summā cum cūrā interrogāre.”

Salvius, cum Rūfus exiisset, valdē commōtus,

“omnia explicāre possum,” inquit. “nōtus est mihi hic homō. nūper in villā mē vīsītāvit, quamquam nōn invītāveram. trēs mēnsēs apud mē mānsit, opēs meās dēvorāns. duōs tripodas argenteōs habēbam, quōs abstulit ut Cogidubnō daret. sed eum nōn accūsāvī, quod hospes erat. ubi tamen Aquās Sūlis mēcum advēnit, facinus scelestum committere temptāvit. venēnum parāvīt ut Memorem, haruspīcem Rōmānum, necāret. postquam rem nōn effēcīt, mē ipsum accūsāvīt. nōlī eī crēdere. multō perfīdior est quam Britannī.”

haec cum audīvisset, Agricola respondit,

“sī haec fēcīt, eī moriendum est.”

mox revēnit Rūfus valdē attonitus.

“Quīntus Caecilius,” inquit, “est iuvenis summae fideī. patrem meum, quem Alexandrīae reliquī, bene nōverat. hoc p̄rō certō habeō quod Quīntus hanc epistolam mihi ostendit, ā patre ipsō scrīptam.”

Agricola statim Quīntum ad sē vocāvīt, cēterōsque dīmīsīt. Salvius, Quīntum dētestātus, anxius exiit. Agricola cum Quīntō colloquium trēs hōrās habēbat.

tribūnus *tribune*
(high-ranking officer)

adstābat: *adstāre* stand by

p̄rudentissimus: *p̄rūdēns*
5 *shrewd, intelli;*

10 **opēs:** *opēs* money, wealth
dēvorāns: *dēvorāre* devour, eat up

15 **multō perfīdior** *much more treacherous*

sī *if*

20 **Alexandrīae** *at Alexandria*
p̄rō certō habeō: *p̄rō certō habēre* know for certain

25 **dētestātus** *having cursed*



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Deva was founded at the highest point on the River Dee that seagoing ships could reach. Part of the Roman quayside can be seen today.



contentiō

Agricola, cum Quīntum audīvisset, Salvium furēns accessīvit. quī, simulatque intrāvit, aliquid dīcere coepit. Agricola tamen, cum silentium iussisset, Salvium vehementer accūsāvit.

“dī immortālēs! Cogidubnus est innocēns, tū perfīdus. cūr tam īnsānus eram ut tibi crēderem? simulatque ad hanc prōvinciam vēnistī, amīcī mē dē calliditate tuā monuērunt. nunc rēs ipsa mē docuit. num Imperātor Domitiānus hanc tantam perfīdiam ferre potest? ego sānē nōn possum. in hāc prōvinciā summam potestātem habeo. iubeō tē hās inimicitias dēpōnere. iubeō tē ad Cogidubnī aulam īre, veniamque ab eō petere. praeterea Imperātōrī ipsī rem explicāre dēbēs.”

haec ubi dīxit Agricola, Salvius respondit īrātus,
“quam caecus es! quam longē errās! tē ipsum oportet Imperātōrī id quod in Britannīā facis explicāre. tū enim in ultimīs Britanniae partibus bellum geris et victōriās inānēs ē Calēdoniā refers; sed Imperātor pecūniam opēsque accipere cupit. itaque rēgnum Cogidubnī occupāre cōstituit; Calēdoniam nōn cūrat. tū sānē hoc nescīs. in magnō periculō es, quod cōnsilium meum spernis. nōn sōlum mihi sed Imperātōrī ipsī obstās.”

cum hanc contentiōnem inter sē habērent, subitō nūntius prīncipia ingressus exclāmāvit,
“mortuus est Cogidubnus!”



About the language 2: gerundives

1 From Stage 14 on, you have met sentences of this kind:

nesse est mihi ad castra contendere. nesse est vōbīs labōrāre.
I must hurry to the camp. You must work.

2 You have now met another way of expressing the same idea:

nesse est nōbīs currere. nesse est eī revenīre.
nōbīs **currendum** est. eī **reveniendum** est.
We must run. He must come back.

The word in **boldface** is known as the **gerundive**.

3 Further examples:

- a mihi fugiendum est.
- b nōbīs ambulandum est.
- c tibi hīc manendum est.
- d servīs dīligenter labōrandum est.
- e omnibus civibus tacendum est quod sacerdotēs appropinquant.
- f sī Imperātōrem vidēre volunt, eīs festīnandum est.

5

inimicitias: **inimicitia** *feud,*
dispute

10

caecus *blind*
tē oportet *you must*

15

victōriās: **victōria** *victory*
inānēs: **inānis** *empty,*
meaningless

Calēdoniā: **Calēdonia** *Scotlana*
cōstituit: **cōstituere** *decide*

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Word patterns: verbs and nouns

1 Some verbs and nouns are closely connected. For example:

Imperātor Cogidubnum honōrāre volēbat. <i>The Emperor wanted to honor Cogidubnus.</i>	magnōs honōrēs ab Imperātore accēpit. <i>He received great honors from the Emperor.</i>
terra valdē tremere coepit. <i>The earth began to shake violently.</i>	cīvēs magnum tremōrem sēnsērunt. <i>The citizens felt a great shaking.</i>

2 Further examples:

verbs		nouns	
amāre	to love	amor	love
clāmāre	to shout	clāmor	a shout, shouting
terrēre	to terrify	terror	terror

3 Now complete the table below:

timēre	to fear	timor	.....
dolēre	(1) to hurt, to be in pain	dolor	(1)
dolēre	(2) to grieve	dolor	(2)
favēre	.....	favor	favor
furere	.....	furor	rage
labōrāre	.....	.....	.....

Practicing the language

1 Complete each sentence with the correct form of the noun. Then translate the sentence.

- Agricola, ubi verba audīvit, Salvium arcessīvit. (Quīntum, Quīntī, Quīntō)
- omnēs hospitēs saltātrīcis laudāvērunt. (artem, artis, artī)
- iter nostrum difficile erat, quod tot cīvēs complēbant. (viās, viārum, viīs)
- prō prīncipiīs stābat magna turba (mīlitēs, mīlitum, mīlitibus)
- lēgātus, postquam mandāta dedit, legiōnem ad montem proximum dūxit. (centuriōnēs, centuriōnum, centuriōnibus)
- iūdex, quī nōn crēdēbat, īrātissimus erat. (puerōs, puerōrum, puerīs)

2 Complete each sentence with the correct form of the subjunctive. Then translate the sentence.

- cum Silānus legiōnem , Agricola ē prīncipiīs prōcessit. (īnstrūxisset, īnstrūxissent)
- mīlitēs in flūmen dēsiluērunt ut hostēs (vītāret, vītārent)
- senātor scīre voluit num pater meus Imperātōrī (fāvisset, fāvissent)
- cum senex , fūrēs per fenestram tacitē intrāvērunt. (dormīret, dormīrent)
- nōs, cum in Britannā , barbarōs saepe vīcimus. (essem, essēmus)
- intellegere nōn poteram cūr cīvēs istum hominem (laudāvisset, laudāvissent)
- latrōnem interfēcī ut īnfantem (servārem, servārēmus)
- māter tua mē rogāvit quid in tabernā (fēcissēs, fēcissētis)

3 Complete each sentence with the correct word from the list below. Then translate the sentence.

epistulam, audīvisset, ēgressus, invēnērunt, equīs, captī

- Salvius, ē prīncipiīs , Belimicum quaesīvit.
- Agricola, cum haec verba , ad Rūfum sē vertit.
- dominus ē manibus servī impatiēns rapuit.
- custōdēs nūntium sub aquā iacentem
- quattuor Britannī, in pugnā , vītā dūrissimam in carcere agēbant.
- aliī mīlitēs aquam dabant, aliī frūmentum in horrea īnferēbant.



The senior officers in the Roman army

The officer commanding a legion was called a **lĕgātus**. He was a member of the Senate in Rome and usually in his middle thirties. He was assisted by six military tribunes. Of these, one was usually a young man of noble birth, serving his military apprenticeship before starting a political career. After holding civilian posts in Rome or one of the provinces, he might be appointed as legatus and spend three or four years commanding his legion. Then he would usually resume his civilian career.

The other five tribunes were members of a slightly lower social class and they would also be in their thirties. They were generally able, wealthy, and educated men, often aiming at important posts in the imperial administration. Some of them returned to the army later to command auxiliary cavalry units.

The senior officers usually spent only short periods in the army, unlike the centurions and the legionaries who served for the whole of their working lives. They had therefore to rely heavily on the expertise and experience of the centurions for advice. Because the army was highly trained and well organized, the appointment of relatively inexperienced officers rarely affected the success of its operations.

Some officers like Agricola proved themselves to be extremely competent and were promoted to become governors of provinces like Britain where military skill and powers of leadership were required.

Agricola, governor of Britain

Agricola was born in AD 40 in the Roman colony of Forum Iulii (modern Fréjus) in southeast Gaul. His father had been made a senator by the Emperor Tiberius, but later fell out of favor with the Emperor Gaius Caligula and was executed shortly after Agricola was born.

Agricola went to school at Massilia (Marseilles), which was the cultural and educational center of southern Gaul. He followed the normal curriculum for the young sons of upper-class Roman families: public speaking and philosophy. He enjoyed the latter, but the historian Tacitus, Agricola's son-in-law and biographer, records his mother's reaction:



The god Mars, wearing the helmet, breastplate, and greaves of a senior officer.

I remember that Agricola often told us that in his youth he was more enthusiastic about philosophy than a Roman and a senator was expected to be and that his mother thought it wise to restrain such a passionate interest.

At the age of eighteen, Agricola served in the Roman army in Britain with the rank of **tribūnus**. He used this opportunity to become familiar with the province. The soldiers under his command had a similar opportunity to get to know him. Two years later, during the revolt of Boudica in AD 60, he witnessed the grim realities of warfare. Agricola was by now very knowledgeable about the province of Britain and this knowledge was very useful during his governorship some eighteen years later.

Back in Rome, he continued his political career. In AD 70, he returned to Britain to take command of the Twentieth Legion, which was stationed at Viroconium (Wroxeter) in the west of England and had become undisciplined and troublesome. His success in handling this difficult task was rewarded by promotion to the governorship of Aquitania (the central region in modern France) in Gaul. He then became consul in Rome and in AD 78 returned to Britain for a third time, as propraetor (governor) of the province. The political experience and military skill which he had acquired by then equipped him to face an exciting and demanding situation.



An antefix (a kind of roof tile) made by the Twentieth Legion. The boar was their badge.

Agricola fought the fierce tribes of Scotland. This boar's head is part of one of their war trumpets (reconstruction).



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Agricola rose to the challenge in many different ways. He completed the conquest of Wales and then fought a series of successful campaigns in Scotland, culminating in a great victory at Mons Graupius in the north of the Grampian mountains. He extended the network of roads and forts across northern Britain and established the legionary fortress at Chester.

In addition to his military exploits Agricola carried out an extensive program of Romanization. Tacitus tells us that he “encouraged individuals and helped communities to build temples, fora, and houses in the Roman style” and that he made the people realize that under good laws it was better to live at peace with the Romans than to rebel against them. Tacitus also tells us of his plans to improve the education of the British:

Agricola arranged for the sons of British chiefs to receive a broad education. He made it clear that he preferred the natural abilities of the British to the skill and training of the Gauls. As a result, instead of hating the language of the Romans, they became very eager to learn it.

The earthworks of Chew Green, one of the camps first built by Agricola on his way to conquer the Caledonians of Scotland.

Agricola was governor of Britain for seven years, an unusual length of time and longer than any other imperial Roman governor. During this time Britain was circumnavigated and the area under direct Roman control was nearly doubled. The rapid expansion of urban life in Britain in the second century may have owed as much to Agricola’s civil policies and provincial sympathies as to his military successes. Agricola was recalled from Britain in AD 85, possibly because of the jealousy of Domitian. When he returned to Rome, Agricola was given the honors due to a successful general – a statue and a citation; but this was the end of his career. He retired into the safety of private life. Any hopes he may have had of a further governorship were not fulfilled, and he lived in retirement until his death in AD 93.

A Roman cavalryman triumphing over Caledonians: a sculpture put up on a later Roman frontier in Scotland, the Antonine Wall.

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Vocabulary checklist 26

auferō, auferre, abstulī, ablātus	<i>take away, steal</i>
bellum, bellī, n.	<i>war</i>
bellum gerere	<i>wage war, campaign</i>
commōtus, commōta, commōtum	<i>moved, excited, upset</i>
doceō, docēre, docuī, doctus	<i>teach</i>
falsus, falsa, falsum	<i>false, dishonest</i>
fidēs, fideī, f.	<i>loyalty, trustworthiness</i>
īnstruō, īnstruere, īnstrūxī, īnstrūctus	<i>draw up</i>
lēgātus, lēgātī, m.	<i>commander</i>
legiō, legiōnis, f.	<i>legion</i>
nōtus, nōta, nōtum	<i>known, well-known, famous</i>
num	<i>whether</i>
praebeō, praebeēre, praebeū, praebitus	<i>offer, provide</i>
quot?	<i>how many?</i>
referō, referre, rettulī, relātus	<i>bring back, carry</i>
rēgnum, rēgnī, n.	<i>kingdom</i>
saevus, saeva, saevum	<i>savage, cruel</i>
sī	<i>if</i>
ultimus, ultima, ultimum	<i>furthest</i>
ut	<i>that, in order that</i>



A small figure of a teacher reading from a scroll. Agricola encouraged the British to learn Latin.