confusion about the 'direction' of the thought outlined above.<sup>17</sup> Finally, *colles* looks like a conscious interpolation, designed to provide a noun either to agree with *istos* or for *Sybaris* (taken as a genitive) to depend on, and perhaps inspired by thoughts of the bare, ruined hills of Sybaris, to which *paupertas* has flowed.

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<sup>17</sup> The anaphora would not have protected it. Once either *huc* had been corrupted to *hinc*, a scribe who realized that they were intended to match would be as likely to alter the right one as the wrong one—more likely, if the wrong one came first.

## TWO NOTES ON TACITUS, ANNALS

Ann. 11.11: nam is quoque (Domitian) edidit ludos saecularis iisque intentius adfui sacerdotio quindecimvirali praeditus ac tunc praetor; quod non iactantia refero sed quia collegio quindecimvirum antiquitus ea cura et magistratus potissimum exequebantur officia caerimoniarum.

It would be strange in the Roman state if *magistratus* did not play a part on such an important occasion, so it is hard to feel the force of *potissimum*, magistrates especially.

Dio 54.2.3 reports that Augustus assigned all games to Praetors,  $\kappa \alpha i$  τοis  $\mu \dot{\epsilon} \nu$  στρατηγοis τὰs πανηγύρεις πάσας προσέτα $\xi \epsilon \nu$ . Amid many examples, Tacitus' father-in-law as praetor had charge of games, Agr. 6.4: ludos et inania honoris medio rationis atque abundantiae duxit. So I would expect that the games attached to the *ludi saeculares* were also the concern of praetors, and suggest:

 $\dots$  quia collegio quindecimvirum antiquitus ea cura, et < ii> magistratus potissimum exequebantur officia caerimoniarum.

Tacitus' presence as priest and praetor is clearly explained. *Ii magistratus* as a way to avoid *praetores* is within Tacitus' style; *Ann.* 1.41: *eo tegmine pedum* avoids *caligae* (in Caligula).

Ann. 14.35.1: Boudicca curru filias prae se vehens, ut quamque nationem accesserat, solitum quidem Britannis feminarum ductu bellare testabatur, sed tunc non ut tantis maioribus ortam regnum et opes, verum ut unam e vulgo libertatem amissam, confectum verberibus corpus, contrectatam filiarum pudicitiam ulcisci.

There was no need for Boudicca to tell the gathered nations that warrior queens guided the Britons in battle. They knew that already. It is the Roman who would be surprised and need comment.

Tacitus has already dealt with this scene, Agr. 16, thus: Boudicca generis regii femina duce (neque *enim* sexum in imperiis discernunt) sumpsere universi bellum. With that in mind I reconstruct the present sentence:

Boudicca . . . ut quamque nationem accesserat (solitum quippe Britannis feminarum ductu bellare), testabatur se tunc non ut tantis maioribus ortam regnum et opes, verum ut unam e vulgo libertatem amissam . . . ulcisci.

Quippe for enim is well attested, and the phrase solitum quippe occurs at Ann. 4.19, though not as a parenthetical explanation. Se for sed has already been proposed by Weidner, who, with quidem, had to change tunc to tamen.