VERGIL AND TACITUS: AN EXAMINATION OF THE NATURE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF VERGIL'S INFLUENCE UPON THE LANGUAGE AND THEMES OF THE ANNALES

by

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ABSTRACT

The following study consists of an examination of all those verbal parallels between the works of Vergil and the Annales of Tacitus, which have been noted by commentators, together with my own additions to the material, with the purpose of establishing the validity of the parallels suggested, and assessing their artistic significance.

By comparing with the usage of other writers the parallels noted, and, in doubtful cases, considering also the distribution within Vergil's works of language possibly imitated by Tacitus, we can reduce considerably the number of probable direct verbal imitations. Some of the parallels are in themselves invalid, and, for others, there are possible alternative sources in the works of other writers or in the common literary currency of the day. The list of probable direct imitations of Vergil still remains substantial.

An examination of imitated phrases in their Vergilian contexts shows that although some are isolated examples, they tend to be concentrated in certain scenes, often clustering within a few lines of one another. Tacitus is especially familiar with the description of the storm in Aeneid One, Book Two in general, and the Council of the Latins in Book Eleven. There are consistent relationships between phrases which reveal both his attitude to the characters in the Aeneid, and
his preoccupation with the tragic elements in its themes.

Within the *Annales*, Vergilian imitations are important less as simple stylistic elements than as a means of heightening the implications of their contexts. Patterns of relationship are established, integral to the portrayal of Tiberius, Germanicus, and Nero. As with many examples in their Vergilian contexts, a main linking idea is power and the individual's relation to it, particularly the relation between oppressor and victim. The tragic themes of the *Aeneid* re-appear in the *Annales*. Vergilian material is thus an important means whereby Tacitus presents his interpretation of historical events.
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CHAPTER I

Introduction

Exigitur enim iam ab oratore etiam poeticus decor, non Accii aut Paucvii veterno inquinatus, sed ex Horatii et Virgilii et Lucani sacrario prolatus. *Dial.* 20.5.

The terms "brevity", "variety", and "poetic colouring" are traditional commonplaces of Tacitean criticism. Although the poeticus decor of Tacitus' writings was a subject of special study as early as 1859, it was the researches of Wölfflin, pointing out consistent variations in Tacitus' use of alternate forms such as claritas and claritudo, and essem and forem, as well as assessing his debt to earlier writers by the study of verbal parallels with their works, which gave impetus to close critical analysis of the language of Tacitus. The majority of the 19th century studies dealing with the poetic element in Tacitus' style, including that of Schmaus, which was the first to concentrate upon Vergilian influence, consisted of detailed lists of parallel examples of vocabulary, phrases, metaphors, and syntactical devices. More recent studies, notably those by G.B.A. Fletcher, have cast doubt upon the validity of certain parallels noted by earlier critics, while others

2. Eduard Wölfflin, "Jahresberichte über Tacitus", in *Philologus*, vol. 25 (1867), 92-134; vol.26 (1867), 92-166; vol.27 (1868), 113-49.
4. For example, Andreas Czyczkiewicz, *De Tacitei sermonis proprietatibus praecipue quae ad poetarum dicendi genus pertinente* (Brodny, 1890), and Quibus poeticius vocabulis Cornelii Tacitus sermonem suum ornavit (Brodny, 1891); as well as the relevant sections of Dr. A. Draeger, *Ueber Syntax und Stil des Tacitus* (Leipzig, 1882); and Henry Furneaux, ed. *P. Cornelii Taciti Annalium ab Excessu Divi Augusti Libri; The Annals of Tacitus* (Oxford, 1896), vol.1, 2nd edition.
have suggested relationships in themes and attitude as well as in language between Vergil and Tacitus, and examined the artistic function of imitative language in Tacitus' works.

The purpose of the present study is to re-examine the evidence for verbal relationships between Vergil and Tacitus in an attempt to clarify what is in fact Vergilian, and, by building upon the work of scholars a detailed and comprehensive analysis of the Vergilian element in the Annales, to try to assess its artistic significance.

In order to establish as firm a basis as the material admits for the study of Vergilian imitations in their Tacitean contexts, it is necessary to compare the usage of Vergil and Tacitus with that of other writers. If it can be argued that some of the suggested Vergilian imitations may have been derived from sources other than Vergil, that they are characteristic of poetry in general or of Silver poetry in particular, that they are accepted prose usage in the Augustan period or became accepted generally in Silver prose, or that they seem to be common to the historians, such examples cannot be considered basic evidence of a direct relationship between Vergil and Tacitus. It will be suggested that the number of relatively certain examples of Vergilian imitation in the Annales can be reduced substantially. Our basic material will consist generally of those words, phrases, and syntactical

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devices attested only in the works of Vergil and Tacitus, or those whose only other attested use is by a post-Vergilian poet who seems to be imitating Vergil independently. In addition, from those words and phrases whose use by other writers seems limited to the poets or to one prose writer as well as Tacitus, certain examples can be added to the list of basic parallels, since they are used by Vergil in close proximity to other words and phrases which are fairly certain models for Tacitus' imitative language.

Having established a basic list of verbal parallels between the works of Vergil and the Annals, after considering both the usage of other writers and the distribution and concentrations within Vergil's works of suggested sources for Tacitus, we shall examine the relevant examples both in their Vergilian and their Tacitean contexts. As far as the Vergilian contexts are concerned, the Aeneid will be given most extensive treatment, since it provides the greater proportion of the language imitated by Tacitus. Within the Aeneid itself, the material will be divided for discussion into those examples appearing in speeches and those appearing in narrative passages. Since Tacitus draws most frequently upon the speeches of the Aeneid, and since the speeches are important both for the portrayal of characters and for the development of Vergil's basic themes, this division seems to follow logically from the nature of the material. It will be suggested that there are patterns of relationship between imitated words and phrases, which are significant of Tacitus' attitude to the characters of the Aeneid and to the ideas which Vergil expresses through them, and that these patterns
have considerable relevance to the use which Tacitus makes of imitative language in the Annales.

In the chapters devoted to the contextual study of imitative language in the Annales, examples will be arranged for discussion according to the subject-matter of their contexts under the general headings "The Emperor and the Imperial Court", "Internal Affairs", "Military Affairs", "Foreign Affairs", and "Author's Digressions". The categories are defined in detail at the beginning of Chapter IV. It is fully acknowledged that other arrangements of the material are equally feasible, and that some examples might be discussed with equal relevance in more than one category. The arrangement adopted, however, by bringing together passages related in general subject-matter, makes it possible to consider both the significance of individual imitative words and phrases, and the relationships between groups of phrases. There is a high degree of consistency in Tacitus' use of Vergilian material, and its ultimate significance lies not only in the contribution made by isolated examples to their immediate contexts, but also in the more comprehensive relationships which are integral to Tacitus' method of presenting his interpretation of historical events. The final chapter is devoted to a discussion of thematic relationships between the Annales and the works of Vergil. Although the discussion will be based upon those ideas presented by means of imitative language, it will be extended to include certain relationships suggested by Tacitus' selection, arrangement, and interpretation of his material in the Annales as a whole.

The attempt to determine the nature and extent of Vergil's influence
upon the *Annales* is not without its problems. We have said that it is by comparing the usage of Vergil and Tacitus with that of other writers that we can determine the relative likelihood of a direct relationship between the two writers. In many cases, however, we have no basis of comparison. Livy and Sallust both had a deep formative influence upon the style of Tacitus, but extensive sections of Livy are lost, and there are fragments only of Sallust's *Histories*. Several historians between Livy and Tacitus, as well as other writers, are little more than names, and sections of the *Annales* itself are no longer extant. Although it is not necessarily stated in each case, all comments and conclusions regarding the relationship in language between Vergil and Tacitus have as their acknowledged limiting factor the incompleteness of the evidence which is available. As far as Livy is concerned, comparative study is further hampered by the fact that there is no complete lexicon of the *Ab Urbe Condita*. Even with the most careful reading of the text, it is probable that some relevant parallels to Vergil and Tacitus will be overlooked.

A second difficulty, although it is of more limited relevance, is the consciously poetic colouring of Silver prose. It has been noted that we will not include as basic material those words and phrases which, although they are used both by Vergil and Tacitus, seem to have been accepted generally by the writers of Silver prose. More extensive use in later prose of certain words, phrases, and constructions which are found chiefly in the poetry of the Augustan period, may be due
simply to the normal changes and development in the literary language. The difficulty arises primarily with regard to those supposedly Vergilian words and phrases which are used by one post-Vergilian prose writer as well as by Tacitus. In such cases there is sometimes little basis besides a subjective one for deciding whether the word or phrase in question has become naturalized in prose, or whether it is being used by both writers independently because of its affective quality to heighten the effectiveness of its context. Its absence from the works of other prose writers may be due to the exigencies of subject-matter or to personal taste, or it may have been used by a prose writer whose works have been lost. In some cases, it is debatable whether the occurrence of a word or phrase in the works of another prose writer is in fact relevant to the probability of a direct relationship between Vergil and Tacitus. Such is the case, for example, with the word brevia, meaning "shallows", which, except for one example in Mela and a textually doubtful example in Lucan, is used only by Vergil and Tacitus. Generally speaking, unless such words and phrases appear in Vergilian contexts which contain more likely examples of imitated language, or are used by

7. See, for example, the passive use of dari = concedi with an infinitive, Ann.3.67.2. The construction is used by Vergil (Aen.1.409) and Horace (Epist.1.16.61), and is first attested in prose in Vitruvius (3.3.5). It is used subsequently by Seneca (De Clem.1.8.3; Q.N.5.8.3) Mela (1.43), the elder Pliny (N.H.7.57), Quintilian (6.3.100), and the younger Pliny (Ep.8.20.1; Pan.50.4), as well as by Tacitus.

8. See, for example, the phrase exsolvite curis, Aen.4.652, which is used by Tacitus (Ann.12.42.1) and the younger Pliny (Pan.79.5), and the word resultare, used by Vergil (Aen.5.150; 8.305) of hills re-echoing sound, as well as by Statius (Th.2.714), Lucan (7.482), the younger Pliny (Pan.73.1), and Tacitus (Ann.1.65.1).

9. See Mela, 1.75; Luc.9.338 (v.1., not accepted by Housman); Aen.1.111; 5.221; 10.289; and Ann.1.70.2; 6.33.3; and 14.29.3.
Tacitus in a heavily Vergilian passage, I have tended to set them aside as doubtful examples.

Thirdly, there is the problem of conscious and unconscious imitation by a writer steeped in the literary tradition, which must be considered in the assessment of the significance of Vergilian imitations in the Annales. The works of Vergil were used as school texts, and the fact that the listeners of the orator demand poetic adornment in speeches, *Virgili ... sacrorum prolatus*, argues a high degree of familiarity with the language of the poet among educated Romans. The likelihood that some imitations are unconscious is, therefore, very great. The difficulty, however, of deciding whether a particular Vergilian reminiscence is conscious or unconscious is increased by the fact that Tacitus is a highly conscious and deliberate stylist. Some examples are fairly clear instances of deliberate imitation, while others are equally clearly unconscious echoes, but between these two extremes there are many imitations concerning which it would be difficult to reach general agreement.

Scholars discussing literary imitation have suggested general types of imitations which may be unconscious. Firstly, there are similarities in language consisting of one or two words, or brief phrases. Such phrases as *variis rumoribus*, 1.4.2 (*Aen.* 9.464; 12.228), *vagante fama*, 10. For example, the phrase *Immotum ... fixumque Tiberio fuit*, 1.47.1, seems to be a deliberate and highly ironical allusion to Dido's words, *si mihi non animo fixum immutumque sederet*, *Aen.* 4.15.

11. The prime example is the phrase *instar montium*, 2.61.1, used of the pyramids, which Vergil had used of the Wooden Horse, *Aen.* 2.15, *instar montis*.

1.70.5 (Aen.2.17), contra... tendebant, 3.10.1 (Aen.9.377), and
squalenti litore, 15.42.2 (Geo.1.507) may be in the present category.
Somewhat similar are those instances in which the use of an unusual word
may produce a word which has appeared with it in a context familiar to
the author. 13 Such may be the case with instar montium, 2.61.1 (Aen.2.
15); subtracto solo, 1.70.3 (Aen.5.199); and didita... fama, 11.1.2
(Aen.8.132). Similarities in vocabulary and technical terms may be
unconscious echoes. 14 Some possible examples from the Annales are
placitum, 1.80.2 (Ec1.7.27); adsultus, 2.21.1 (Aen.5.442); trudes, 3.46.
3 (Aen.5.208); abusque, 13.47.1 and 15.37.2 (Aen.7.289); and subvactare,
15.43.3 (Aen.6.303; 11.131). Next, there are similarities in syntax
and stylistic devices, 15 some examples from the Annales which may be un-
conscious being animus est with an infinitive, 1.56.5 (Aen.11.324-5);
excindere with a person as object (Aen.7.316; 9.137); advecto with a
person as object, 2.45.3 (Aen.8.136); adniti with a dative, 3.61.1 (Aen.
4.690; 9.292; 12.92); insigne fama, 12.13.2 (Aen.7.745); and accingere
with an infinitive, 15.51.3 (Geo.3.46). Finally, similar language may
be produced by general similarity in subject-matter. 16 Possibly this has
happened with such phrases as inanem... regiam Actae vacuosque
Colchos, 6.34.2 (Aen.6.269), and saxa et faces minitante, 14.45.1 (Aen.
1.150). All the words and phrases mentioned above will subsequently be

15. ibid.
16. N.P. Miller, "Virgil and Tacitus", in Virgil Society Lectures, no.56,
(1962), 32.
discussed in greater detail. It is possible that other words and phrases which have not been mentioned are also unconscious reminiscences of Vergil.

If we grant that the *Annales* contains both conscious and unconscious imitations of Vergil, and that in some instances it is difficult to distinguish between them, we must be clear regarding the extent to which the distinction affects our assessment of the importance of imitative language. As far as the general patterns of relationship existing among groups of Vergilian imitations are concerned, the fact that individual examples forming part of a pattern are unconscious reminiscences in no way affects the validity of the pattern as a whole, provided that the pattern itself has some degree of self-consistency, and can be shown to be relevant to the writer's interpretation and presentation of his material. For the significance of individual imitations, the situation is less clear-cut, since they vary greatly in type, and in degree of relevance to their immediate contexts. We must beware of reading too much meaning into imitations of the kinds noted above, which are verbal or syntactical, or which, to use Miss Thomas' phrase, "arise simply from the content, and not from the author's treatment of it". 17 There still remain instances in which, although one would hesitate to state that the use of an imitative word or phrase is deliberate, a comparison of the Vergilian and Tacitean contexts suggests that the reminiscence illumina-

ates Tacitus' attitude to a character or his view of the implications of a situation. Such examples will be noted in the detailed discussion in Chapters IV and V.

Finally, there is, of course, a subjective element both in the study of imitative language and in the pointing out of verbal parallels between two writers. The act of searching for parallels may of itself produce them. There is the danger of over-estimating the importance of verbal links and, when certain relationships which seem significant have been discovered, of reading additional meaning into other contexts where no such significant relationship actually exists. The use of the comparative method, where there is some basis for comparison with the works of other writers, helps to establish whether or not a verbal parallel exists which may have artistic significance. The validity of the interpretations of individual passages and the relationships between them rests upon the internal evidence of the passages concerned, and the relevance of such interpretations to Tacitus' method and purposes in the Annales as a whole.
CHAPTER II
Evidence: General

The list of Vergilian echoes and imitations in the *Annales*, which have been noted by commentators and the writers of special treatises, is a formidable one. Many of the parallels suggested are no longer considered valid, and others are debatable. When all the available evidence has been considered, however, there still remains a large group of examples in which Vergilian influence or conscious imitation of Vergil are both highly probable and artistically significant.

Although probability of Vergilian imitation and artistic significance are in many cases obviously interdependent, Tacitus’ use of a word or phrase suggesting not only a Vergilian parallel but also the reason for its use, both can be judged adequately only in the context of the usage of other writers. If a word or phrase appears only in the works of Vergil and Tacitus, there is a case for concluding that Tacitus is drawing upon Vergil, and an accumulated list of such examples provides a relatively firm basis for a discussion of his purpose in using them. There are, however, many words and phrases or variants of phrases which seem Vergilian but also appear in the works of other writers, and, according to the nature, variety, and frequency of their appearance, the nature of a possible relation between Vergil and Tacitus becomes more complex.

The following discussion deals with the transmission of Vergilianisms—the external evidence which must be considered if we are to make
a valid assessment of Tacitus' debt to Vergil. The first section consists of a list of all the available parallels in language and syntax quoted in the sources consulted, together with parallels noted in my own reading. Although there may be Vergilianisms which have escaped me, as far as those quoted by others are concerned, the list is definitive.

I have not considered it incumbent upon me to trace the parallels through the editors quoting them to the first editor who made the citation. While such an investigation would be interesting from the point of view of the history of scholarship, it is irrelevant to the present study. Some parallels have become part of the tradition of Tacitean studies. A good example is the phrase *Immotum... fixumque Tiberio fuit*, Ann.1.47.1, which is an allusion to Aen.4.15, *si mihi non animo fixum immotumque sederet*. It is cited by editors such as Gronovius, Oberlin, Nipperdey, Furneaux, and Miller, and is discussed in most of the special studies and papers on Vergil and Tacitus. There seems little reason why it should in each case be ascribed to Gronovius, even if he was the first to note the parallel. When writing their commentators editors naturally build upon the work of their predecessors.¹

¹ Sometimes, unfortunately, they fail to check the accuracy of earlier citations. See, for example, Ann.1.79.3, where Furneaux gives the reference for *abietibus patristis* as Aen.9.692 instead of Aen.9.674, and his incorrect reference is used by Cole. Livy's supposed use of *impatiens* with a genitive (ad Ann.2.64.2) has a checkered history. Both Draeger and Furneaux state that Livy uses the construction, without giving a specific reference, and their error is pointed out by Fletcher. Lewis and Short, in the note on *impatiens*, refer to Livy 5.38 (the section concerned is 5.37), *flagrantes ira cauis impatien est gens*. The reading of the Oxford text is *impotens*, and *impatiens* is not mentioned as a variant reading.
For my purpose, the important point is that a particular parallel has been cited by some editor or commentator, and I have been content to give the source from which I have derived it. The list also includes citations of Vergil which are intended by editors as convenient illustrative parallels to Tacitean usage rather than his source. In most cases, the point in question is a syntactical device. Such citations have been included because I feel that they must be investigated as a necessary complement to the basic collection of parallels.

The second section is devoted to a discussion of examples which are to be rejected as primary material either because of their use by other writers as well as Vergil and Tacitus, or because the parallels themselves are invalid. Most of those which I consider invalid are noted as such in the list itself, but they will be commented upon briefly.

The final section consists of a list of examples which, after the external evidence has been considered, seem to be fairly certain parallels, and it includes examples which appear to be cases of independent imitation of Vergil by a poet or prose writer and Tacitus.

Throughout the present chapter, the terms "primary material" and "basic list" are used advisedly. The examination of parallels in their Vergilian contexts, for example, will reveal that in some cases they are part of a cluster of imitated language which includes some of the examples set aside in section two. In that case, the latter examples may also come directly from Vergil. In addition, Vergil may have taken a relatively common phrase and made it distinctively his own, either by
subtle changes in vocabulary or structure, or by the striking relevance and affective quality which it has in his context. Unless, however, there is a solid foundation of highly probable parallels, there is no objective basis for contextual study.

A. **Suggested parallels between Vergil and Tacitus**

Examples are listed by Book in the order in which they appear in the *Annales*, and references are to the Teubner text, ed. E. Koestermann. For the sake of clarity and conciseness, I have attempted to make the individual items conform to one basic pattern, as follows:

i. the passage from the *Annales*, together with any explanatory comments which seem necessary.

ii. all other relevant examples from the *Annales*, *Historiae*, and the minor works. If a word or construction appears passim in the works of Tacitus, some examples only are given, followed by etc.

iii. parallel passages or authors cited by editors, the name of the editor or commentator following the citation.

iv. my own additions to the parallels, preceded by *add*. In some cases, my additions are simply the completion of references by commentators who cite only, for example, Livy or Pliny without giving a specific passage, while in others they are examples which have not been noted previously in connection with the passage of Tacitus.

When two editors comment upon the same word or phrase, one giving only the name of a Latin author, the other giving references to individual
passages which are parallels, I have tended to include both references. In most cases, parallels cited by editors from post-Tacitean writers have not been included. Although they are important for the general history of words, phrases, or constructions, I consider them of doubtful relevance to the specific question of the relationship between Vergil and Tacitus. An asterisk following the marginal line reference indicates that the complete entry is my own and that it has not, to my knowledge, been commented upon previously.
1.3.1 subsidia dominationi. Dative of purpose attached to a noun. 1. 22.1, seditioni ducem; 2.64.3, causas bello; H.2.1, initia causasque imperio; 4.19, causam seditioni, etc.: cf. Aen.1. 358, auxiliumque viae (gen. or dat.); 5.305, causam lacrimis, Schmaus: Aen.1.425, optare locum tecto; 3.109, optavitque locum regno, Cole (see Köhner-Stegmann ad Sall. Cat.32.2, quoted below): "in classical prose only in the phrase receptui signum; the poets greatly extended this dat... and Livy brought it into prose", Miller: Sall. Cat.32.2, insidias consuli maturent, Koester ("hängt der Dativ nicht von dem Substantive allein, sondern von diesem und dem Verb zugleich ab", Köhner-Stegmann, vol.2.1.317): Cic. Att.1.10.4; de Or.1. 60.255, subsidium... senectuti, Furneaux (examples not strictly relevant to the present construction): add Cato, R.R. 5.3, satui semen.

3.3* vita concessit 3.30.1, concessere vita; 6.39.3; 12.39.3; 14. 51.1, concessit... vita; concedere (absol.) 4.38.5; 13.30.2; H.2.55, concessisse (Ritter, Nipperdey): "The use both of this expression... and of 'concedere' by itself in this sense... are peculiar to Tacitus," Furneaux: add Aen.2.91, superis concessit ab oris, and a similar use of concedere with vita as subject, 10.819-20, vita.../concessit... ad manus.


3.5 quamquam esset. Quamquam with a subjunctive of fact. 1.24.3, quamquam... imitarentur; 2.1.2, quamquam depulisset; 2.26.5, quamquam... intelleget; 2.34.1, quamquam... permulsisset; 2.34.2, quamquam... quereretur, etc. Appears in all Tacitus' works, freq. in Annales. Cf. Aen.6.394, quamquam... essent, Cole: add Varro an. Gell.14.8.2, quamquam... essent; Nep. Att.15.6, quamquam... putem; Cic. de Or.3.7.27, quamquam... laus... tribunatur (v.1.); Tusc.1.109, quamquam... sensus abierit; Liv.6.9.6, quamquam... mallet; 23.29.7, quamquam... pugnarent; 56.34.6, quamquam moveretur; Cels.1.pr. (p.8, line 25, ed. Darmemberg), quamquam... multa sint; Val. Max.3.2.3, quamquam... crederet; Col.3.2.32, quamquam... censuerim; Sen. Dial.7.26.7, quamquam... laedant; Ov. Met.14.465, quamquam renovetur.

3.6 abolendae... infamiae H.3.24, abolere labem prioris ignominiae; H.5.15, abolere ignominiam: cf. Aen.11.789, aboleri decus; Liv.10.4.4, ignominia aboleretur; 25.6.18, occasio abolendae ignominiae, Schmaus. See 3.36.3.
verso civitatis statu See 3.36.3.


variis rumoribus 3.14.5; 3.19.2; 11.23.1; H.2.8: cf. Aen.9, 464, variis... rumoribus; 12.228, rumoresque serit varios (a quotation of Furius 12, Morel, rumoresque serunt varios, Macrobius).

experientia Meaning "experience". 1.11.1, experiendo; 1.46.2; 6.48.2; 13.6.3; 15.8.3; 13.29.2; 14.36.3; 15.59.2, experiendo; H.2.76; 5.6: cf. Geo.1.4; apibus quanta experientia parcis; "This sense of 'knowledge gained by practice', is almost wholly Vergilian... and Tacitean...", Furneaux: add Vell. 2.78.2; 2.110.6; 2.119.2; Cels. praefer. med. (p.5, line 18, ed. Daremborg); praefer. med. (p.8, line 25); Col.10.338.


indicia saevitiae... premantur See 3.6.1.

secessus See 14.62.3.


excessisse Augustum... fama eadem tuit Fama fert with acc. and infin. Cf. Aen.6.502-4, fama.../... tuit...te.../ procubuisse; Sill.11.255-6, fama.../te feret... cecidisse; Luc.3.417-18, fama ferebat/... mugire cavernas, Fletcher (C.R.): Cic. Rep.2.13.25, esse praestantem Numam Pomplium fama ferret, Miller: add Liv.1.45.2, id... factum fama ferebat; 2.7.6, Regnum eum affectare fama ferebat; 7.19.6, intentam civitatem... fama ferebat.

caedem festinavisse Trans. use of festinare. 1.52.1, missione festinata; 3.64.1, festinati... reeditus; 4.28.2, mortem; 6.40.1, festinatis... manibus; 6.44.3, festinati casus; 6.50.4, festinabantur; 12.25.1, festinatur; 14.33.2, caedes patibula ignes cruces; 15.71.1, festinata indicia; H.1.76; 2.82; 3.37; 3.55, etc.: cf. Aen.4.575, festinare fugam, Cole: Sallust, Draeger: Enn. Trag. 426V, diem; Hor. Epist.1.2.61, poemas,
sponte dixisse respondit. Use of sponte without sua, mea, etc.
1.30.4; 2.37.2; 2.42.3; 2.48.3, etc. Cf. Aen.4.361. Italiam non sponte sequor: "Its use without sua (mea, tua, &c.) is poetical", Miller: Stat. Th.8.630, non sponte, soror, Pease ad Aen.4.361: add Aen.11.828, non sponte fluens; Quint.8.3.4, sponte... plausisse; Plin. Ep.6.29.11, sponte fecisse; Pan.44.4, molem sponte subeat; 73.2, fecimus sponte; Ov. Met.11.486, sponte... propterant; 15.61.2, exul/sponte erat; Stat. Th.10.809, sponte... peremptus.

9.1 vana mirantibus Vana as a neut. pl. subst. = inania. 3.50.2; 4.9.1; 4.59.1, etc. Cf. Aen.11.854, vana tumentem; Livy, Koestermann: add Aen.2.287, quaerentem vana; Liv., e.g., 4.21.4, 37.6; 9.17.16, 24.4; 10.16.6.

9.2 alia... honorum Genitive with neuter pl. adjxs. on analogy of the partitive genitive, when no partitive idea is present. 1.50.3, obstantia silvarum; 3.52.1, alia summptum; 4.41.1, tacita suspicionum; 4.59.1, vana rumoris; 6.45.3, simulationum... falsa; 15.74.1, occulta coniurationis, etc. Cf. Geo.2.284, omnia... viarum = omnes vias; Aen.1.422, strata viarum = ipsae stratae vias; 2.725, opaca locorum; 6.633, opaca viarum; 11.882, tuta domorum = tutae domus. "Eiusdem generis exempla tantum apud poetas posterioraque rerum scriptores inventur", Czyzckiewicz: Incr.2.1100, caelique serena = caelum serenum; Hor.C.4.12.19-20, amarique/curarum; Liv.7.29.2, in extrema periculum = in extrema pericula, Kähner-Stegmann.

To be distinguished from examples in which the genitive retains partitive force, such examples being found from Ennius in poetry and from Cicero and Sallust in prose. A limited number of examples appear in Sallust. The usage is extended in Livy and becomes common in Tacitus. E.g., Enn. A89, in infera noctis; Acc. Trag.336, terrarum anfracta revisam, Austin ad Aen.2.332: Sall. Jug.102.9, humanarum rerum... pleraque; Hist.2.28, per cava terrae; 2.47.7, Italiae maritimae; 2.54, laeva moenium; 3.48.4, certaminis adversa; Cic. Fam.1.9.15, summa pectoris; 10.19.2, belli extrema; de Or.2.16.69, cuiusque artis difficillima; Att.4.3.3, interiora aedium; Caes. B.C.3.105.5, in occultis ac reconditis templi; B. Afr.50.4, summa collis; Liv., e.g., 4.1.4, extrema agri; 5.29.4, adversa urbis; 7.25.10, tristia... anni; 26.1.6, reliqua belli; 26.25.3, proxinis Illyrici; 30.2.5, incerta belli; 33.19.1, superiora Macedoniae, Kähner-Stegmann.
machinator doli 13.47.2, auctoremque... doli: cf. Aen.2.264, doli fabricator, Schmaus: add Liv.1.28.6, machinator belli; Cic. Catil.3.6, scelerum; Sen. Tro.750, fraudis.

mentem tantae molis capacement 12.66.1, tanta mole curarum: cf. Aen.1.33, tantae molis erat; Ov. Met.15.1-2, quaeritur interea, quis tantae pondera molis/sustineat; 15.5, animo... capaci, Bruère (Class. Phil., vol.53): Plin. Pan.44.4, quis enim curae tuae molem sponte subeat?... expertus et ipse es, quam sit onerosum succedere bono principi, Bruère (Class. Phil., vols 40-50); Bruère sees a combination of Vergil and Ovid in the language of the phrase, and the influence of Pliny in the general sentiment of the context: Sen. Dial.10.18.5, ad tantam te molem obicere; Plin. N.H.2.26, occupato deo in tanta mole; canax with animus or ingenium, Manil.2.106; Vell.1.16.2; Sen. Ep.92.30, Fletcher (A.T. ad 1.4.3): add Liv.1.55.3, tanti imperii molem; 5.37.1, tanta moles mali; 8.3.4, belli; 22.54.10, tanta mole claidis; 26.6.9, pugnae. The combination quanta moles, 7.29.2, rerum; 22.9.2, Romanae urbis.

experiendo See 1.4.3.

ansurum See 4.59.3.

struente Tiberio  "Struere ohne Objekt auch bei Vergil, bei Tacitus nur hier; mit Objekt Hist.1.58.2, crimen ac mox insidias... Ann.2,65,4. 4,28,2. 68,2, u.a.", Koestermann: Val. Fl. 3.586, quid struat; Pease ad Aen.4.235: add Aen.4.235, quid struat; 4.271, quid struis; 8.15, quid struat; 12.796, quid struis; Cic. Fr. A.3.9, quid struunt; also, with a different meaning, Plin. N.H.11.22, aliae [apes] struunt; N.H.36.172, reticulata structura, qua frequentissime Romae struunt.

flexit (intrans.) See 1.34.4.

de nomine 6.34.2. Use of de = ab with nomine poetic. Cf. Aen. 1.277; 1.567; 1.533; 6.70, Nipperdey: Aen.3.18; 8.54; 9.387; Lucr.6.908; Ov. Met.7.381; 13.648; 14.434; Fast.3.77, Schmaus: Sall. Hist.2.87D, Fletcher (A.T.): add Aen.3.166; Ov. Met.1.447.

si quis tot casus vita superaverit  Cf. Caes. B.G.6.19, uter eorum vita superavit; Aen.11.244, casus superavimus omnis, Gronovius.

18.1 tegmina See 2,21,2.


21.2 pressare See 1,68,2.

22.1 seditioni duces. See 1,3,1.

23.1 incendebat haec fletu. 1,69,5, accendebat haec: "derived from such Vergilian metaphors as 'pudor incendit vires' (Aen.5,455), and 'incendientem luctus' (9,500)". Furneaux (not parallel): add (sim. to Aen. passages) Cic. Fam.15,21,1, cupiditatem; Att. 9,1,3, odia; Liv.2,23,2, invidiam. . . accendit; 2,47,6, desperatio. . . rabiem. . . accendit; 6,18,4, iram accenderat ignominia; Lucr.6,347, corpora. . . plagiis incendunt mobilitatem.

24.3 inlueve 4,28,1; 6,43,2; H.4,46: cf. Aen.3,593, dira inluyes, Cole: "seit Plant. Nost.40. Pacuv. trag.9,20a) fehlt bei Cicero, Caesar und Sailust; vgl. hingegen Liv.21,39,2, . . Curt.6,14,4 und anderswo", Koestermann ad 4,28,1: add Geo.3,561; Lucil. 599-600, cruciatur. . . / . inlueve; Varr. frg. 23,28 (Goetz and School); Ter. Hest.295; Cic. poet. Tusc.3,12,26; Petr.119,52; Liv.21,40,9.

25.1 globos armatorum. 2,11,3; 3,74,1; 4,50,4; 12,14,2; 12,43,1; 14,61,1; 15,60,4; H.3,22; 3,84; 6,13. "Vergil scheint zuerst das Wort globus für die militärische Phraseologie verwendet zu haben. Ihm folgten Livius, Curtius und Tacitus." Cf. Aen.9,409, turbare globum; 9,515, globus. . . ingens; 10,373, globus . . . virum; Liv.1,12,9, cum globo ferocissimorum iuvenum; 4,29,1, cum globo fortissimorum iuvenum; 4,61,6, globus armat-

2. Aggerebatur is the reading of M, and there appears to be no reason for preferring aggerebatur (Walther, Fisher), since the manuscript reading gives better sense (cf. Miller ad loc., Tacitus; Annals, Book I). The combination of aggerebatur and adcreverat would be somewhat redundant, a fault which is not characteristic of Tacitus. The orthographical argument of Furneaux who suggests that if aggereere were the correct verb, the form would be unassimilated as with adcreverat, is not, in the present case, convincing.
orum; Curt.10.7.1, armatorum... globus, Schmaus: Hall. Hist. 3.84, pars globis eruptionem temptavere, Miller: add Cato an. Fest. s.v. serra, p544B, Phil., sive forte opus sit cuneo, aut globo...; Liv.2.29.2, constitisset globus; 2.47.6, globus iuvenum.

1.25.2 viso Caesare See 2.31.2.

27.1 ante alios 13.37.3; H.4.55; 4.81; 5.12. "The phrase is mainly poetical and post-Augustan, and is common with superlatives and emphatic adjs. or descriptive phrases." Cf. Aen.7.55-6, ante alios pulcherrimus omnis/Turnus, Miller: add Aen.1.347, scelere ante alios immannior; 11.537, cara mihi ante alias; Liv. 1.9.12, unam longe ante alias... insignem; 1.15.8, ante alios acceptissimus militum animis; 5.42.5, tanto ante alios miserandis magis; 22.46.5, ante alios... terribilis; 32.5.8, ante alias.

27.1 firmare Drusum 1.71.3, cunctos; 4.8.4, adolescentulos; H.2.76, nutantem; 3.36, militem; 4.46, /[milites]/: cf. Aen.9.788, tali-bus accessi firmantur; Od. Met.3.688-9, pavidum... /... meum firmat, Koestermann: add Caes. B.C.3.65.2, nostrosque firmavit; Cic. ad Brut.1.10.4, Antonium... firmavi;/Hor.3.5.45-6, consilio patres/firmaret; Curt.3.11.9, Macedones... adhorta-tione firmati. / Liv.10.42.14 multisim

27.2 simul ingrunt Ingruere with a person as subject. 2.11.3; 3.56.1; 6.38.2; 12.12.1; 12.30.1; 15.3.1; 16.5.2; H.3.34; 4.74: cf. Aen.12.628, ingrunt Aeneas, Furneaux: Plaut. Amph.236, nostri contra ingrunt, Fletcher (A.T.): add Aen.11.899, in-gruere infensos hostis.

27.2 exitu certus Certus with a genitive. 4.34.2, relinquentudae vitae; 12.3.2, matrimonii; 12.32.1, destinationis; 12.66.1, sceleris; 14.36.3, eventus; H.1.70, sententiae; 2.46, consili; 4.3, spei; 4.14, desciscendi: cf. Aen.4.554, certus eundi; Od. Met.11.440, certus eundi, Schmaus: Sil.6.27, necis, Czyczkie-wicz (1890): "erstmalig wohl Enn. scaen.143 quos ego (sc. Apollo)... ex incertis certos computesque consili dimittit (so auch Sen. dial.10.3,3. ... )", Koestermann ad 4.34.2.

30.3 hebescere sidae "The figure may perhaps have been suggested by the 'stellis acies obtusa videtur' of Vergil (G.1.395)", Furneaux: Sil.12.653-4, fulgor hebescere caeli... coepit, Miller.
ruere tempestates Cf. Geo.1.324, ruit arduus aether; "in prægnanten Sinn = 'herniederstürzen'. Vorbild Vergil", Koestermann: add Geo.1.313, ruit imbriferum ver; 3.470, ruit aequore turbo; Aen.5.695-6, ruit... /turbidus imber aqua; 8.525, ruere omnia visa; Lucr.1.1105, ruant caeli tonitrallia tempa; Mart.3.100.3, imbribus... /caelum... ruetab.

castra infausta temperataque infastus 2.41.3; 4.13.3; 4.74.5; 12.10.1; 14.60.4; 15.15.2; 16.12.2; N.1.6; 1.38; 2.23. First appearance in Vergil, Schmaus: Sil.9.164, infausti generis, Fletcher ad 4.13.3: add Aen.5.655, puppis; 7.177, nomen; 11.347, auspiciun; 11.589, omne; Sen. Contr.9.5.13, domo; 10.4.16, omne; Plin. N.H.7.46, omine; 16.169; Ov. Met.3.36, gradu; Sen. Med.706, frugi; Phoen.641-2, pugnas; Val. Fl.8.315, antro; Sil.1.457, Mar terr; 2.388, bellum; Stat. Th.6.87, belli. temereare 1.53.3; N.3.72; 3.80; 4.53. First appearance in Vergil, Schmaus: Liv.26.13.15, delubra... /temerata, Furneaux ad 1.53.3: add Aen.6.840, tempa; Tib.5.5.7, sacra; Ov. Met.2.592, cubile; 7.555, fluvios; 8.742, lucos; 10.695, sacraria; 15.75, corpora, etc.; Luc.3.194, litor; Sil.15.529, temeratique Alpibus; Stat. Th.3.463, Persea; Ach.1.302, purer.

piaculo Meaning "guilt". Cf. Aen.6.569, distulit in seram commissa piacula mortem; Liv.5.52.8, sacra... /sine piaculo... /transferemus, Furneaux (example from Aeneid not parallel) add with related meaning "crime", Fab. Pict. ap. Gell.10.15.10, verberari piaculum est; Enn. Trag.351V, palam muttire... /piaculum est; Plaut. Truc.227, piaculum st misere: meaning "guilt", Liv.39.47, sine piaculo rerum praetermissarum; Plin. Pan.37.6, nec sine piaculo... /necessitudines... /scindi.


sponte See 1.8.4.

praeventi 2.39.4; 55.4, 65.4, 79.2; 3.50.2; 4.72.3; 6.7.3, 35.1, 44.1; 11.26.2; 14.7.3, 58.3; 15.17.2, 54.4, 60.1; 16.13.2; H.1.5; 1.53; 2.11; 3.40, etc. First appearance in Vergil, Schmaus: add Ecl.8.17, praueque diem veniens; Sall. Jug.71.5,
perfidia...praeventa; Liv.8.16.13; 8.30.12; 9.23.3; 22.24.6; 24.12.3; 24.13.9; 24.21.5; 24.35.9; 25.9.5; 25.39.7; 27.1.6; 28.20.9; 33.41.3; 35.50.6; Ov. Fast.5.548; Trist.5.4.32; Col.3.2.14; Plin. Ep.9.1.3.

1.32.1

32.3
pariter ardescerent 3.17.1; 3.54.1; 11.25.5; 16.29.1: "metaphorisch und dichterisch (Vergil u. Ovid)", Koestermann: Sen. Contr.7, praef.5 (v.1.); Plin. N.H.8.181, Fletcher (A.T.): add Aen.1.713; 11.607; Lucr.4.1090; 5.897; Ov. Met.5.41.

34.1
tanto impensis See 3.44.4.

34.4
a veneratione...orsus See 12.62.

34.4
flexit ad victorias Intrans. use of flectere. 1.13.5; 4.37.1; 4.41.1; 6.15.2; 13.3.1; 15.61.5; H.1.70; 2.70; 3.41; 3.82;D.19: cf. Vergil, Livy, Furneaux: Liv.3.8.6; 21.31.9; 27.43.12; 28.16.3; 29.33.8, Fletcher (A.T.): add Aen.9.372, laevo flectentis limite; Liv. 28.44.8, flectere ad consilium; 30.32.8, ad hoc conloquium...flectit.

35.1

35.4
tribunali desiluit Desilire with a simple ablative. 15.28.3, equo: cf. Curt.5.6.14, equo; 6.5.26, equo, Nipperdey: Aen.10.453, biiugis; 12.355, curru, Koestermann: occasionally in prose from Livy, Miller: add Hor. Sat.1.2.130, lecto; Epod.17.70, turribus; Ov. Met.7.378, saxo; Stat. Th.3.293, curru; 8.598-9, curru; 9.272, ripis; Sen. Epist.64.10, equo.

36.3
volutatis inter se rationibus Cf. Aen.1.455-6, artificumque manus inter se.../miratur (v.1.), Nipperdey.

38.2
intumescent motu H.2.32, Galliae tumeant. "Similar metaphors, originating apparently in the 'monet...tumesce...bella' of Verg. C.1.465 are found in Livy, &c.", Furneaux: add Vel.2.15.1, tumescens bellum. /Liv.11.21.11; 12.3.44.

39.4
sanguine suo altaria deum commaculavisset Cf. Ecl.8.47-8, sanguine.../commaculare manus, Koestermann.
1.39.6 rabiem. ... resurgere 2.43.2, resurgentes. ... partes; 3.74.3, resurget bellum; 15.41.1, resurgentis urbis: cf. Prop.4.1.87, Roma resurges; Aen.4.531-2, resurgens/. ... amor, and post-Augustan, Koestermann: add sim. to 15.41.1, Aen.1.206, regna resurgere Troiae; Liv.24.45.3, res Romana. ... velut resurgere; Ov. Fast.1.523, evervaque Troia resurges: also, Vell.2.88.3, belli.

40.3 degenerem 4.38.4; 4.61.1; 11.19.2; 12.19.1; 12.36.3; H.3.65; 3.85: = humili loco natum, 6.42.3; 11.17.2; 12.51.4; 12.62; 15.59.5. First appearance in Vergil, Schmaus: "This poetical word had been introduced into prose by Liv. and Pl. Mai."

Furneaux: Curt.4.12.11; 7.5.29; Col.4.22.7; 6.37.9; 7.9.7; 9.8.5; Sen. Ep.90.4; de Clem.1.16.5, Fletcher (A.T.): add Aen.2.549; 4.13; Liv.25.40.12; 38.17.9; 38.49.4; Plin. N.H.10.8; 11.265; 17.33; 37.58. See 4.38.4.

41.1 in urbe victa facies See 13.38.1.

41.1 gemitusque ac planctus The combination -que atque poetic. 4.3.4, seque ac maiiores; 4.34.4, opibusque atque honoribus; H.3.63, seque ac liberos: cf. Geo.1.182, posuitque domos atque horrea fecit; 3.434, asperque siti atque exterritus; Aen.8.486, manibusque manus atque orbibus ora; Ov. Met.4.429-30, satisque/ac super; Liv.26.24.6, iurisque ac dicionis; Curt.5.6.17, seque ac conjuges et liberos, Draeger: add Liv.8.19.12, coniugumque ac liberorum.

41.1 progrediuntur contuberniis Progredi with an ablative instead of a prepositional phrase. Cf. Aen.3.300, portu; Val. Max.2.7.6, praeidio (v.1.), Nipperdey: ad 2.34.3, processit Palatio, Plaut. Pseud.606, foribus processi foras; Aen.12.169, procedunt castris, Koestermann.

41.2 tegmine See 2.21.2.

41.3 recens dolore et ira Recens with a simple ablative. 4.52.1, praetura; 15.59.4, stipendiis; H.3.19, recentia caede vestigia; 3.77, recens victoria miles; 4.39, recentis clarosque... fama ac. ... studiis: cf. Aen.9.455, recentem/caede locum, Draeger.

42.1 quidquid istud sceleris Sée 14.22.2.

intemeratum 1.49.4, intemerata modestia; 12.34, intemerata... corpora; 16.26.3, [Thraseas] intemeratus; H.4.58, castra... intemerata. First appearance in Vergil, Schmaus: cf. Aen.2.143, intemerata fides, Furneaux: Aen.3.177-8, munera... inter-
emerata; 11.584, intemerata [Camilla], Koestermann: "the word occurs first in Virgil... and is used by Silius (iii.499, of rocks), Valerius Flaccus (iv.271, of a ship), and Statius (five examples); Tacitus rather affects it; cf. Apul. Met.ii.30, "dabo vobis intemeratae veritatis documenta!", Austin ad Aen. 2.143; add Ov. Am.3.4.24, [Penelope] intemerata; Stat. Th.1.572-3, nata... interemerata; 2.724, interemerarum... equarum; 4.579, interemerata sacros; Silv.1.2.205; 5.1.63.

gregiam duci... gratiam refertis Cf. Aen.4.93, egregiam... laudem et spolia ampla refertis, Furneaux: Curt.8.7.4, quibus
tu egregiam gratiellistis, Fletcher (A.T.).

43.1 mortem... sineret See 6.35.1.

44.2 poemas... exercuit Cf. Aen.6.542-3, laeva [via] malorum/ exercet poemas, Nipperdey: Stat. Th.3.5, supplicium exercent,
Miller: add Liv.29.16.3 ludicium exercere.

44.3 tamquam semet absolveret Cf. Aen.2.130-31, adsensere omnes,et,
quae sibi quisque timebat/ unius in miseri exitium conversa
tulere, Gronovius.

44.4 avellerentur castris Avellere with a simple ablative. Cf.
Cat.62.21, complexu avellerea matris; Aen.4.616, complexu
avulsus Iuli, Koestermann.

45.1 minor moles 2.46.4, maiore mole; 2.78.1, magna mole; 3.43.1,
molae; 3.35.1, plua mollis; H.3.77, hau[nd] parva mole.
"This use of the word had been already adopted by Livy (25.11.
18) from Vergil (Aen.1.33, &c.)", Furneaux: Liv.6.14.1, maior
domi exorta moles, Fletcher (A.T. ad 3.43.1)/add The combination
minor (m)ae, magna) moles is fairly common in Livy with
various meanings relating to size, seriousness, difficulty,
etc., e.g., 2.16.1, maiore... mole... bellum parab[ant]; 3.2.
13, magnam molem; 5.8.7, magna mole; 5.12.7, [sedition] maiore
mole; 6.2.11, minor moles; 8.13.6, maiore mole; 8.29.8, maior
[Cic. Cat.1.23 Koestermann ad 14.67.2].
moles rerum; 10.19.19, maiorem molem; 21.41.2, minorem ... molem belli; 25.11.17, hand magna mole; 33.44.6, minorem belli molem: also Acc. ap. Cic. N.D.3.68, maior ... moles.

1.46.1 invalida et inermia Neuter adjective used to represent the class to which the noun belongs. 14.48.4, carnificem et la- queum pridem abolita; H.5.5, parentes liberos fratres vilia habere: cf. Aen.4.569-70, varium et mutabile semper/semper; Ecl.3.80, Triste lupus stabulis; examples found in Cicero with commune, proprium, extremum, Czczkiewicz (1890): ov. Am. 1.9.4, turpe senex miles, Pease ad Aen.4,569.

46.2 experientia See 1.4.3.

47.1 Immotum. ... fixumque Tiberio fuit Cf. Aen.4.15, si mihi non animo fixum immotumque sederet, Furneaux: Stat. Th.6.160-61, fixum matri inmotumque manebat/... nefas; Schmaus.

47.2 infringi Use with a person as object. Cf. Aen.5.784, [Iuno] nec ... infracta quiescit; 12.1, infractos. ... Latinos; Liv.2.56.4, nihil infractus. ... animus, Koestermann (example from Livy not parallel): add Cic. Att.7.2.2, quod te ... infringat.

48.1 supplicium. ... praesumant = praeveriant, praecipient. Cf. Aen.11.18, spe praeusmite bellum, Cole. See 3.46.1.

48.2 morti eximant Dative with eximere in place of an ablative or a prepositional phrase. 1.64.3, pugnae; 2.11.3, periculo; 2. 55.3, discriminis; 3.18.1, ignominiae; 3.22.4, dicendae. ... sententiae; 4.35.1, odio aut gratiae; 6.9.3, discriminis; 12. 27.3, servitio; 12.51.2, contumeliis; 12.56.3, occidioni; 14. 40.3, poenae magis quam infamiae; 14.48.2, morti; 14.64.1, vitae; H.1.59; 2.93; 3.45, periculo; 2.33, dubiis; 3.4.3.10, discriminis; 3.84, ludibrio: cf. Aen.9.447, aevum, Draeger: ov. Met. 7.351, poenae; Sen. Tro.977, sorti; Val. Fl.2.256, sceleri, Koestermann: Liv.8.35.5, noxae, Fletcher (A.T.): add Curt.7.1.6, supplicio magis quam crimini; Sen. Ben.6.9.1, querellae.

48.2 ubi bellum ingruat 1.60.2, bellum. ... ingrueret; H.2.100, ingruenti bello; 3.58, ingruenti. ... bello: cf. Aen.8.535, si bellum ingrueret, Stacey: add Sen. Med.525, gemina si bella ingruant; sec. Liv.6.25.12, arma; 26.44.15, bellis (Caes.)

49.1 civilium armorum facies See 13.38.1.

49.1 ingerunt tela See 2.81.2.
1.49.1 arma rapuerant = arma celeriter, raptim duxerant. 2.19.1; 14. 31.2; H.1.63; 3.10; 3.80, raptis... telis; 4.37: cf. Aen. 7.340, arma... rapiatque; 8.220, raptit arma, and Livy, Schmaus: add Aen.10.462, rapere arma; Liv.10.5.1, raptam... signa armaque; 10.20.12, arma... rapiet; 39.54.3, arma ex agris rapta; Val. Fl.3.79-80, rapere... arma; Stat. Th.3. 629-30, arma/... rapitis; 10.833, arma... rapuerer.

49.2 medicinam illud Use of unassimilated neuter of demonstratives. 4.19.3, illud res publica; A.43, sive cura illud sive inquisitio: 2.38.2, preces... istud: 4.38.4, quod alii modestiam... interpretabantur; H.1.49, quod segmentia erat; Ann.16.22.2, secessionem iam id; G.6, idque ipsum inter suos vocantur; cf. Aen.3.173, nec sopor illud erat; Curt.9.10.24, sive illud triumphus fuit... sive basilantium lusus; Sen. Dial.9.9.5, non fuit elegantia illud aut cura, Nipperdey: Liv. 2.38.5, si hoc profecto et non fuga est, Miller.

49.4 intemerata modestia See 1.42.2.


50.3 obstantia silvarum See 1.9.2.

51.4 exarsere animis Exardescere used metaphorically. 1.74.4, exarsit [Tiberius?]; 6.1.1, exaserat [Caesar?]; 6.25.2, Tiberius... exarsit; 11.12.2, exaserat [Messalina?]; 12.1.1, feminae exarserant; 12.38.2, hostes... exarsere; 14.21.4, studia... exarsere; 14.28.1, comitia... exarserant; H.1. 58, exarserat... iracundia; 2.38, certamina exarsere; 2.66, proelium... exarsisset (v.1.); 3.11, legiones... exarserant; 3.51, exarseres victores; 4.46, seditio... exarsit: "(gleichlauffend Liv.3,30,2). Der metaphorische Gebrauch entstammt der Dichtersprache, vgl. Verg. Aen.2,575 exarsere ignes animo", Koestermann: add Caes. B.G.5.4.4, dolore exarsit; Cic. Verr.2.1.64, Homo... exarsit; 2.2.48, Homo... exarsit iracundia ac stomacho; de Or.3.1.4, graviter exarsit; Or.29.102, omni genere amplificationis exarsimus; Phil.4.16, ad spem libertatis exarsimus; 11.3, exarsistis ad libertatis recuperandae cupiditatem; Sall. Hist.2.44, animi exarsere; Liv.3.35.2, exarsit ambitio; 4.6.3, plebes... indignatione exarsit; 8.4.7, exarsisse eos; 8.33.3, Papirium exarsurum; 10.23.5, /altercato/ exarsit; 27.2.8, proelium... exarsit; 40.55.7, seditionem exarsuri; 41.27.3, ad... bellum exarsisse; Plin. N.H.33.48, fames auri; 37.2, admiratio, freq.; Plin. Pan.84.2, aemulatio... exardescit.
1.51.4 evasere silvas Evadere used transitively. 5.10.3, angustias; 12.35.2, ammem; A.33, silvas; transl. 3.14.4, sententias; 6.48.2, imminentis iuventam; 14.6.2, casum; 16.8.3, minores; H.5.21, periculum; A.44, illud tempus: cf. Vergil, Livy, and post-Augustan writers, Koestermann: Lucil.313, iter, Austin ad Aen.2.731: Sil.8.154, gradus, Pease ad Aen.4.685: add Aen.2.731, viam; 3.282, urbes; 4.685, gradus; 5.689, flammam; 6.425, ripam; 9.386-7, hostis/atque locos; 9.560, manus; 12.907, spatium; ov. Met.3.19, arva; 14.126, loca; Sil.7.611, lubrica; 12.502-3, collis; Liv.2.65.3, ardua; 21.32.13, angustias; 38.2.8, angustias; 39.49.3, ad evadendas angustias; Sen. Q,N,5.18.7, scopulos... et insidias; Col.7.9.11, haram; 9.12.1, vestibulum; Plin. N.H.11.185, angustias.

52.1 missione festinata See 1.6.2.

53.2 omnis spei egenam "Livy, in a poetical passage (9.6.4), adopts the Vergilian 'omnium egeni' (Aen.1.599); and Tacitus uses this poetical word with genit. (as 4.30.2, &c.) or abl. (as 12.46.2)". Fureaux.

53.2 tabe longa peremit Cf. Aen.6.442, crudeli tabe peredit, Syme.

53.3 temeraverat See 1.30.3.

53.4 amotus = relegatus 2.58.2; 2.68.1; 4.21.3; 4.31.3; 14.57.1; 16.9.1: cf. Aen.6.523-4, coniunx arma... /amovet (not parallel), Cole: Liv.5.32.7, M, Furium ab urbe amovere, Fletcher (A.T.).

55.2 crimina et innoxios Combination of abstract and personal noun instead of a pair of either abstract or personal. 11.26.2, insontibus... flagitii manifestis: cf. Ecl.1.62, aut Ararim Parthus bibet aut Germania Tigrim, Miller.

56.1 exercitum... rapit = raptim ducit 4.25.1, cito agmine rapiuntur; 12.31.2, citas cohortes rapit; 15.8.1, rapit exercitum; H.3.6, Antonio vexillarios... et partem equitum... rapiens; 4.67, turbam... rapit: cf. Aen.7.725, rapit populos; 10.178, mille rapit densos acie; 10.308-9, rapit. /.../ aciem; 12.450, rapit agmen; Liv.2.20.7, manipulos; 3.23.3; 23.36.5; 25.35.1, citatum agmen; Luc.3.299, agmine... rapto; Plin. Pan.14.3, legiones, Schmaus: add Liv.5.6.3, homines... rapit; 6.8.1, secum in hostem rapit; 10.41.1, Romanos... rapit; 23.10.9, rapi extra portam.
1.56.5 fuerat animus. ... iuvare Animus est with an infin. a poetic construction. Cf. Aen.4.639, perificere est animus, Miller: Val. Fl.1.165-66, iungere. ... /est animus; 4.193, omnibus idem animus. ... decernere, Pease ad Aen.4.639: add Aen.5.60, idem animus. ... excedere; 10.715, est animus. ... concurre; 11.324-5, capessere. ... /est animus; Ov. Met.5.150, Opprimere est animus; Heroid.7.181, est animus. ... effundere vitam; Phaedr.3.16.13, potare est animus; 3.7.25, abire. ... est animus; Luc.9.388-9, fallere. ... /est animus.

57.4 evicta in lacrimas See 3.46.2.

59.2 quorum tot manus unam mulierculam avexerint Cf. Aen.4.95, una dolis divum si femina victa duorum est, Ernست.

59.3 Germanorum in lucis 6.28.4, Arabum et terris: cf. Aen.1.1, Troiae. ... ab oris; 4.374, regni. ... in parte, Schmaus: add Cic. N.D.1.118, deorum in numero; Div.2.116, Apollinis ex oraculo; Caes. B.C.3.71.2, suorum in terrore ac fugæ. For other types of anastrophe of prepositions see 1.60.3; 1.65.3; 2.60.1; and 3.10.2.

59.5 dis patriis See 1.79.3.

59.6 inexperta. ... supplicia Passive use of inexpertus. H.2.4, inexperti belli: cf. Tib.1.7.31, inexpertae. ... terræ; Aen.4.415, ne quid inexpertum. ... relinquat; Liv.3.52.9, inexpertamque. ... potestatem; Curt.3.5.15, inexperta remedia, Koestermann: Liv.25.23.4, ne quid inexpertum relinquetur; Curt.3.6.14, nec. ... quicquam inexpertum omissit; 4.4.2, ne quid inexpertum omitteret; 8.14.29, nec quicquam inexpertum ... timor omitteret; 9.2.27, nihil inexpertum. ... relinquat; Sen. Ep.101.4, nullum relinquens inexpertum genus quaedestus, Pease ad Aen.4.415.

59.5 inritus 3.21.4, Romanum; 14.7.3, inriti dissuaderent; 15.7.1, legati; 15.25.3, /legati/; H.3.20, inriti stahimus; 4.32, ille ... inritus legationis; A.22, inritus hostibus: "the application of the adj. to persons is confined to the poets and post-Augustan writers. Cf. Virg. Aen.V.442, variis adsultibus inritus urget," Miller: add Cato ap. Gell.11.2.2, inritus qui habebatur; Vell.2.63.2, inritus consili; Val. Max.4.3. ext.3, inritam/dimissit; Curt.4.4.2, discedere irritum; 6.5.31, se inritam spei; Sen. Ben.6.11.1, inritus reedit; Tib.2.3.22, inrita turba; Sil.7.131, inritus incepti movet.

60.2 bellum. ... ingrueret See 1.48.2.
1.60.3 Amisiam et Lupiam amnes inter 4.8.5, disque et patria coram; 15.61.2, Poppaea et Tigellino coram: cf. Geo.2.344-5, friguisque caloremque/inter; 2.382, pagos et compita circum; Aen.3.75, oras et litora circum; Hor. S.1.3.100, glandem atque cubilia propter, Nipperdey: Aen.1.218, spemque metumque inter dubii (cf. H.2.2, inter spem metumque; 4.59, inter spem metumque); 5.435, auris et tempora circum; 11.692, loricam galeamque inter; 12.552, lora et iuga subter, Schmaus: Liv. 27.41.4, castra Punica ac Romana inter iacebat (inter iacebat possible reading), Draeger: add Hor. Epod.7.3, campis atque Neptuno super. For other types of anastrophe of prepositions see 1.59.3; 1.65.3; 2.60.1; and 3.10.2.

61.1 maestos locos Application of maestus to inanimate things. 3.37.2, vigiliantiam; 4.32.2, maestae urbis res; 4.63.2, facie (sc. urbis); H.2.46, fama; 3.38, noctem; 3.64, muntiiis; 3.79, omnia: cf. Aen.3.64; 5.48, arae, Schmaus: Liv.3.6.5, maestum. ... responsum, Fletcher (A.T.): add liv.1.4.3,25;35;3, 40.6,5;20,50,10;1;4,40.2,domini.

61.2 disiecta vel aggerata 6.19.2, dispersi aut aggerati; 15.15.3, corporibus caesorum aggeratis: "Das Verb aggerare kommt erst seit Virgil, z.B. G.3.556, aggerat cadavera", Draeger: add Aen.11.78-9, praemia. ...aggerat; Stat. Th.8.340-41, cumulos. ...aggerat; Vitr.2.3.1, haec. ...genera. ...faciliter aggerantes; Curt.4.3.9, humus aggerabatur; Col.2.20.5, frumenta. ...sunt aggeranda; 11.3.38 (v.1.); 11.3.48 (v.1.). See 1.19.1.


62.2 imagine caesorum 15.70.1, per eius modi mortis imaginem; H.3.28, omni imagine mortum: cf. Aen.2.369, plurima mortis imago; 10.456, Turni vententis imago, Koestermann (Aen.10.456 not relevant): Ov. Met.10.726, mortis imago; Trist.1.11.23, mortis imago; Petr.124.257, lurida Mortis imago, Schmaus.

62.2 feralia sim. adj. 2.31.2; 2.75.1; 3.1.4; 4.64.1; 14.30.1; G.43; H.1.37; 5.25. Meaning "hitherto exclusively poetical"; cf. Aen.4.462, feralis carmine; 6.216, feralis. ...cupressus, Cole: Sen. Contr.9.2.27,ext.10.4,p513,21.13; Plin. N.H.10.35; 16.40; 18.237, Fletcher ad 2.75.1: Sil.5.223, ferali. ...cantu, Pease ad Aen.4.462: add meaning "of, belonging to the dead", Ov. Trist.3.3.81; 3.13.21: Tb.103; Luc.1.616; Sil.10.534; meaning funestus, Ov. Met.9.213; 15.374; Luc.2.260; Sil.6.216; Petr.120.62; 120.75.

63.1 propinquare. ...monitos See 11.1.1.
1.63.3 monitus... superare See 11.1.1.

63.5 pontes reponeret 16.13.3, amissa urbi reponerent; 3.3.4, reposita fora templaque: cf. Aen.5.752-3, reponunt/robora; Sil.1.558, molemque reponunt, Koestermann: add Liv. 33.1.8; 44.85.

64.1 operantium See 3.43.1.

64.2 hastae ingentes H.2.88, telis; A.36, gladiis: cf. Aen.2.50, ingentem... hastam, Ingvarsson: add Aen.10.579, ingens... hasta; 10.762; 12.398, ingentem... hastam; 12.887-8, telumque... /ingens; Stat. Th.9.270, hasta... ingenti; Petr. 124.268, ingentem... hastam.

64.3 pugnae exempt See 1.48.2.


64.4 interritus See 15.12.1.

64.4 futura volvens See 3.38.2.

65.1 truci sonore 4.48.2; 14.36.1: Sonor "ein poetisches Wort, von Lucrez und Vergil... gebräucht", Nipperdey: Sall. Hist. 2.87D; 3.96.C10, Fletcher (A.T.): add Lucr.1.644; 4.567; 4.570; 5.334; 6.1185; Geo.3.199; Aen.7.462; 9.651.

65.1 resultantis saltus Cf. Aen.5.150; 8.305, collesque resultant, Nipperdey: Lucr.7.482, saxa resultant; Plin. Pan.73.1, resultantia vocibus tecta, Schmaus: Stat. Th.2.714, iuga longa resultant, Williams ad Aen.5.150.

65.3 uementia ultra Preposition following noun. 2.63.6, ultra; 2.41.1, iuxta; 3.24.4, coram: cf. Aen.4.255,517, iuxta; 1.466; 2.515; 4.145, circum, Schmaus: Cic. p. Font.14.30, Delphos usque; Liv.23.46.9, Capuam propius, Draeger: "Vergil usually places this preposition /sc. iuxta/ after its noun. Cf. Aen.3.506, vicina Ceraunia iuxta, 4.480, Oceani finem iuxta, 6.430, hos iuxta, 6.815, quem iuxta", Pease ad Aen.4.255: add "beim Substantiv dagegen häufig erst seit Lukrez nach griechischen Vorbildern sowie bei den folgenden Dichtern und in späterer Prosa", Kähnner-Stegmann, e.g., ante, Tib.2.5.66, Ov. Fast.1.503; 6.211; Stat. Th.12.140; Plin. N.H.35.77; apud Lucr.6.747; circa, Lucr.1.937; circiter, Plaut. Cist.677; citra, Hor. S.1.10.31; inter, Lucr.4.415; super, Ov. A.A.2.577; Sil.2.271; ultra, Prop.4.7.29.

Rare of the type 3.1.1, litora Calabriae contra; 13.15.5, cubiculum Caesaris iuxta; 14.9.1, viam Miseni propter, Draeger: cf. Aen.7.441-2, arma/regum inter; 10.567, Iovis...
fulmina contra, Schmaus. See also 1.59.3; 1.60.3; 2.60.1; and 3.10.2.

1.65.4 haeres caeno fossisque Cf. Aen.10.361, haeret pede pes; Curt.8.14.4, currus illuvie... haeretant, Furneaux: Cic. de Re Pub.6.18, terra... una sede... haeret, Fletcher (A.T.): add Liv.21.35.12, haerere... vestigio suo.


65.4 simul haec et Verb of speaking understood. Cf. Aen.12.268, simul hoc, Miller: "poetisch verkürzte Ausdrucksweise": Sall. Jug.97.4, simul... et... et; Stat. Th.2.659, simul haec et, Koestermann (Sallust example not parallel).

65.5 sanguine suo... lapsantes Cf. Aen.2.551, in multo lapsamenti sanguine; Ov. Met.5.76-7, sanguine... / conciderant lapsi; Sil.7.610, super tepido lapsamenti sanguine; Stat. Th.9.162, lapsare in sanguine, Schmaus: Sil.10.145, calido lapsamenti in sanguine fratum, Austin ad Aen.2.551.

66.1 equus abruptis vinculis Cf. Aen.11.492-3, abruptus fugit... vinculis... equus, Furneaux: Liv.37.20.11, equi... cum vincula abruptissent, Andresen: Enn.4514-15, equus qui... / vincula... abrupt; Hom. II.6.506, Robbert.


presanre 1.21.2, presanre... genua; 2.31.1, presanre... dextras; 4.51.1; 6.35.2, presanre [equites]; 14.10.2, presantrium manum; H.1.36, manibus; 1.66, presanando; 2.46, presanre genua; 3.28, tela brachiaque: "the verb is not pre-Virgilian", Austin ad Aen.2.444: add Geo.4.501, presantern... umbras; Aen.6.360, presanternque uncis manibus; 12.404, presanatque tenaci forcipe ferrum; Cic. Att.1.1.11, presanat... initium presan Chỉ; Liv.1.47.7, presanre... patres, meaning "solicit for office"; 3.47.2, presanre homines; 3.47.6, prehendendam virginem; 3.58.1, presanabat singulos; 4.6.9; 4.48.11; 4.58.15; 4.60.1; 5.30.4; Hor. S.1.9.64(v.1.); Ov. Met.13.424; Fast.5.476, Iubrica presansates effugit umbra manus (sim. Geo. 4.501); Luc.3.664; Stat. Th.6.284; Plin. Ep.2.9.5, presono amicos.

3. The reference for Catullus is actually 63.34, and the accepted reading is properipedem. In his note ad loc., Ellis gives propere pedem codd. properi pedem Balthazar Venator, teste Lachmanno pede propero Bentleius.
1.69.3 animum... penetravit See 2.68.1.

69.5 accendebat haec See 1.23.1.

69.5 odia in longum iaciens 3.27.2; 5.2.2; 11.20.3; 14.4.4; 16.7.1, in longum dilatum est; H.4.22; 4.79; 2.95, in longius: "eine neu gebildete Phrase"; cf. Ecl.9.56, nostros in longum ducis amores, Draeger: Liv.5.16.4, in longum dilata res, Fletcher (A.T. ad 14.4.4): add Quint.8.2.22, in longum dilata conclusio.

70.1 quo levior classis... innaret Cf. Aen.8.691, pelago... innare; Liv.21.26.9, dummodo innare aquae... possent; Sil.12.448, innabat pelago... classis, Schmaus: add Aen.8.93, fluvio pictasque innare carinas.

70.2 sidere aequinoctii Sidus meaning "season". Cf. Aen.4.309, hiberno... sidere, Furneaux: Geo.1.1-2, quo sidere terram/vertere; Ov. Pont.2.4.25, brumali sidere; Miller.

70.2 tumescit Oceanus 14.51.1, tumescentibus... faucibus: cf. Ov. Met.1.30, freta... tumescere ventis; Geo.2.479, maria alta tumescant, Koestermann: add Cic. poet. Div.1.7.13, inflatum mare... tumescit.

70.2 eadem... facies See 13.38.1.

70.2 brevia Meaning "shallows". 6.33.3; 14.29.3: cf. Aen.1.111; 5.221; 10.289, Schmaus: Luc.9.338 (v.1.); Mela 1.35, Robbert: post-Tacitean examples, Solinus 5.4; 27.3; Amm. Marc.16.11.9; 22.8.46; Sidon. Ep.5.13.1, Fletcher (A.T.)

70.3 subtracto solo Cf. Aen.5.199, subtrahiturque solum, Draeger.

70.3 involvebantur (sc. fluctibus) 14.30.2, igni suo involvunt; transl. 3.63.1, iniquitas involveretur; 16.32.3, fraudibus involutos: cf. Geo.2.308, involvit flammis nemus; Aen.6.336, obruit Auster, aqua involvens navemque virosque, Nipperdey: Aen.7.76-7, fumida lumine fulvo/involvi; Luc.3.631, involvens contorto vertice pontum; Val. Fl.6.4.12, involvunt aequala puppes, Koestermann: add Aen.8.253, involvitque domum caliginem caeca; Sil.6.143, stagnante vado... involvere campos; 12.621-22, campos spumantibus undis/involvit; transl. Aen.6.100, obscuris vera involvens; Hor. C.3.29.55, virtute me involvo; Cic. Phil.7.6.19, pacis nomine bellum involutum; Plin. Ep.1.5.7, me laqueis... interrogationis involveram; 7.3.4, te... otió.

70.5 vagante fama Cf. Aen.2.17, ea fama vagatur, Koestermann: add Cic. Arat.419, per terras fama vagatur.
1.71.3 cunctos... firmabat See 1.27.1.

74.2 egens ignotus inquiens Cf. Aen.1.384, ipse ignotus, egens, Fletcher (A.T.).

74.3 sinistros... sermones See 6.32.4.

74.4 exarsit See 1.51.4.

74.4 rupta taciturnitate Cf. Aen.10.63-4, silentia.../rumpere; Lucr.4.583, taciturna silentia rumpi; Ov. Met.1.208, silentia rumpit; 1.384, rumpitque silentia voce; 11.598, voce silentia rumpunt; Val. Fl.3.509, silentia rumpit; 5.649-50, silentia Pallas/rumperet; Curt.9.2.30, silentium rumpite; Plin. Pan. 55.4, silentium rupit, Schmaus.

79.3 patriis amnibus Meaning "of their fatherland". 1.59.3, dis; 2.2.3, epulas; 2.60.3, sermonem; 4.45.2, sermone; 4.55.3, terris; 6.32.2; 6.42.4; 11.16.1, morem; 12.44.3, artes; 13.54, solum; 14.12.3, sedibus; 15.55.2, religione; H.2.22, more; 4.15, executionibus; A.18, nandi usus; G.10, armis: cf. Aen. 9.674, abietibus... patris, Furneaux: add e.g., Ecl.4.17, virtutibus; Geo.2.394, carminibus; 3.346, armis; Aen.3.595, armis; Aen.1.620, finibus; 4.602, mensis; 7.229, dis; 7.653, imperiis; 7.736, arvis; 9.738, muris; 10.198, oris; 11.269, aris; 11.281, oris; 11.882, moenibus; Cic. Fin.1.2.4, sermo; Par.4.1.27, mos; Leg.2.9.22, ritibus; Hor. A.2.57, sermonem; Curt.3.3.10, carmen; Plin. Pan.13.5, more; virtute.

80.2 placita Meaning "that which is pleasing, agreeable". 3.69.3: cf. Ecl.7.27, si ultra placitum laudarit, Cole.

Book Two

2.1.2 quamquam depulisset See 1.3.5.

2.3 designantes 2.34.4; 2.45.1; 12.37.1; 14.46.2. First appearance in Vergil, Schmaus: cf. Aen.4.536; Ov. Heroíd.7.33; 15.197; Pont.1.7.33; Stat. Th.9.902; Koestermann: "This poetical verb (Verg., Ov.) is used in prose by Curtius (by Tacitus only in the Annals)", Furneaux ad 12.37.1: Columella, Seneca and the younger Pliny, Fletcher (A.T. ad 12.37.1): Use of the verb with an acc., Aen.4.536, Ovid, Furneaux ad 14.46.2: Curt.6.10.22; 6.11.23; 8.1.9; Sen. Dial.11.17.2; 12.12.7, Fletcher (A.T. ad 14.46.2): Ov. Heroíd.12.83, Pease ad Aen.4.536: add Plin. Pan.49.6; 55.4; 63.4.
2.2.3 gestamine 11.33; 14.4.4; 15.57.2. First appearance in Vergil, Schmaus: add Aen.3.286; 7.246; Ov. Met.15.165; Sil. 1.529; 5.349; 9.381; Val. Fl.6.671; Stat. Th.5.417; 6.82; 10. 645; Plin. N.H.32.25; 33.8; 37.111; Sen. Ben.5.37.1: meaning i.q. vehiculum not found before Tacitus.

2.3 patrias epulas See 1.79.3.

5.1 Germanicum... dolo simul et casibus obiectaret H.2.33, principem obiectare periculis: cf. Aen.2.751, caput obiect- are periculis, Ernesti: add Sall. Jug.7.1, eum obiectare per- iculis.

5.2 aversa... voluntas Cf. Aen.12.647, aversa voluntas, Fletcher (A.T.)

5.2 celerandae victoriae intentior 12.46.3, obpugnationem... celerare: intrans. 12.64.2; H.3.5; 4.24. "This verb seems found in no earlier prose", Furneaux; transitive use, Aen.4. 641, gradum... celerabat (v.1.); 5.609, viam celerans; 9. 378, celerare fugam, Czyzkiwicz (1890): Aen.8.90, iter, and in several other writers; Aen.10.249, cursus; Liv.2.43.8, gradum accelerare; Sil.1.574, gressum; 7.719-20, vestigia; 15. 208, vias; 16.78, gradum; Stat. Th.8.158, gradum; Apul. Met. 6.14.1, gradum, Pease ad Aen.4.641: add Lucr.2.231, casus; intrans. 1.387, celerantibus auris; Catull.63.26, citatis celerare tripudiis.

6.2 in utero Cf. Aen.2.52, of the wooden horse, Furneaux: add Aen.2.20, 38, 243, 258, also of the wooden horse; Petr.89,21, uterum notavit (in a passage containing imitation of and variation upon the second Book of the Aeneid).

6.2 habiles See 15.26.1.

6.4 praeventur H.2.2; 4.71; 5.16; 5.23; A.28. First appearance in Vergil, Schmaus: add Aen.7.166; Liv.9.35.7; 40.13.3.

6.4 placidior adfluens Cf. Geo.4.373, violentior eflulit amnis, Furneaux.

9.2 postquam digressi See 4.74.4.


11.3 ingranteae catervas See 1.27.2.

11.3 globo See 1.25.1.
2.11.3 labitur = moritur Cf. Aen.2.429-30, te. ... labentem; Ov. A.A.3.742, Labor, io! cara lumina conde manu, Nipperdey: Luc. 2.265, alieno volnere labens, Furneaux.

11.3 periculo exemere See 1.48.2.

14.1 viditque se operatum = occupatum, in special sense "sacrificing". Cf. Pomponius 134, Ribb., Tibi nunc operatur; Geo.1.399, laetus operatus in herbis; Prop.2.33.2, Cynthia. ... noctes est operata decem, Nipperdey: Tib.2.5.95, operata deo; Furneaux: Hor. C.3.14.6, instis operata sacris; Liv.1.31.8, operatum his sacris; 10.39.2, superstitionibus; Curt.8.10.17, Libero Patri operatum, Schmaus. See 3.45.1.

14.1 sanguine sacri respersa praetexta Cf. Aen.5.333, sacroque cruore, Koestermann: add Geo.4.542, sacrum. ... cruorem; Aen. 3.67, sanguinis et sacri pateras; 5.78, sanguine sacro; Catull.66.75, sanguine sacro; Luc.3.124, sanguine sacro.

14.2 tegmina See 2.21.2.


14.4 isdem in terris victorem sisterent Sistere used transitively with causative force. 12.15.3, equos. ... sistant; 15.72.1, effigies. ... sisteret; H.2.9, eum in Syria. ... sisterent; 2.23, legionem. ... sistit; 3.77, cohortis. ... sistit; 5.5, simulacra. ... sint tur: cf. Geo.2.488-9, qui me. ... /sistat; Aen.2.620, te limine sistam; 3.117, classem. ... sistet in oris, Furneaux: Catull. 66.237, te reducem aetas. ... sistet, Austin ad Aen.2.620: add Aen.2.245, monstrum. ... sistimus arce; 4.489, sistere aquam fluviis; 8.84-5, quam. ... /... sistit ad aram; Plaut. Rud.1049, vos salvas sistam; Ov. Heroid.15.102, celerem. ... siste gradum; Met.8.669, sittitur ... crater; 15.152, /victimis/ sistitur ante aras; Stat. Th. 4.395-5, aeternis. ... me. ... pruinus/. ... /siste; 8.328, siste levem campum; Liv.29.27.3, victores. ... reduces sistatis; Plin. N.H.2.211, vestigia. ... sisti.

4. E. Koestermann reads sacro in his text, but sacri in his commentary. Sacri (Walther, Fisher, lect. def.) seems the preferable reading, firstly, because it is the lectio difficilior and therefore less likely to be the result of a scribal error in copying, secondly, because the innovation upon the more usual form of the phrase would be in keeping with Tacitus' practice of stylistic variation.
2.16.1 *sinuatur* See 6.37.2.

16.1 *pone tergum insurgebat Silva* Cf. Aen.8.234, speluncae dorso insurgens (sc. silex), Koestermann: add Liv.22.4.2 inde colles insurgunt (v.1.).


17.1 *Visis...catervis* See 2.31.2.

17.2 *pulcherrimum augurium* 6.37.2, auspiciuim. For similar apposition, cf. Aen.10.311, omen pugnae, Schmaus: add apposition of noun and adjective to a clause, Aen.6.223, triste ministerium; 9.55, principium pugnae; Hor. S.1.4.110, magnum documentum; Prop.2.27.3, Phoenicum inventa; Cic. Tusc.1.65, iustas causa; 1.86, ineptum...negotium; 1.102, rem...difficilem; 3.49, omnia...digna; Fin.2.75, rem...difficilem et obscuram; de Or.2.79, rem sane non reconditam; Or.23.75, magnum opus et arduum; Sall. Hist.3.48.26, munera ditium dominorum; Liv.2.9.3, rei...pulcherrimae; 4.17.4, rem incredibilem; 10.29.5, ingens hortamen; Vell.2.69.6, rem immanis operis.

17.3 *pedestris acies infertur* Cf. Aen.10.364, acies inferre pedestris; Luc.3.498, acies inferre parant, Fletcher (A.T.).

17.4 *collibus distrudebantur* Detrudebant with a simple ablative. Cf. Aen.7.469, detrudere finibus hostem, Koestermann: add Aen.1.145, detrudunt navis scopulo; 6.584, superis/latoe detrudere regnis; Luc.6.175, detrudit muris.

17.4 *incubueratque sagittariis* See 4.24.1.

17.5 *ne nosceretur* See 4.35.2.

17.6 *in summam arborum nisi* Meaning "climb". Cf. Geo.2.4.22, [pomae] nituntur; Aen.2.443, nituntur gradibus, Furneaux: add Luc.4.37-8, miles rupes...in altas/nititur; Stat. Th.10.250, in ardua niti; Luc.25.13-14

19.1 *arma rapiunt* See 1.49.1.

21.1 *hastas...protenderet* See 14.8.5.


2.21.2 tegimen = tegumentum 1.18.1; 1.41.2; 2.14.2; 3.43.2; 3.46.3; 4.56.2; 12.35.3; 13.57.3; H.1.79; 2.20 (v.1); G.17: cf. Aen.1.275; 3.594; 9.577; 11.576, Cole: add Aen.7.666; 7.689; Lucr.5.1530; Ov. Met.1.672; 3.52; A.A.3.112; Sil.1.402; Cic. Tusc.5.32.90 (only example); B.Afr.72.4; Liv.1.20.4; 4.39.3; 5.38.8; 36.32.6; Col.3.10.12; 5.5.15; 7.4.4; Sen. Q.N.6.25.1; Quint.9.4.4.

23.2* placidum aequor Cf. Aen.8.96, placido aequore; Prop.1.8.20, placidis . . . aequoribus; Manil.4.285, placidum . . . aequor. See 14.5.1.


23.2* atro nubium globo effusa grando Cf. Aen.10.803-4, velut effusa si quando grandine nimbi/praecipitant.

23.2 incerti fluctus prospectum adimere H.3.20, adempto omni prospectu: cf. Aen.1.88-9, eripiunt subito nubes caelumque diemque/Teuctrorum ex oculis, Brakman: add Liv.22.46.9, ventus . . . molto pulvere . . . prospectum ademit.

23.3 tumidis Germaniae terris Cf. Geo.2.324, vere tument terrae, Nipperdey.


23.4 equi iumenta sarcinae etiam arma praecipitantur Cf. Aen.1.118-19, apparent . . . nantes in gurgite vasto/arum virum tabulaeque et Troia gaza per undas, Brakman.


24.2* plures apud insulas longius sitas ejectae Cf. Aen.1.511-12, ater quos . . . turbo . . . penitusque alias avexerat oras.
2.24.2* quem... apud scopulos Cf. for similar detail, Aen.1.180, Aeneas scopulum interea conscendit.


24.3 secundante vento Secundare meaning "favour". Cf. Aen.3.36, rite secundaret visus, Cole: Aen.7.259, di... incerta secundet; Prop.3.21.14, aura secundat iter; Ov. Heroid.15.136, aura secundet aquis, Koestermann: Luc.1.655, di visis secundet; Sili.8.124, visu secundet, Williams ad Aen.3.36: add Geo.4.397, eventusque secundet.


25.2 recluderent humum Cf. Geo.2.423, tellus... recluditur, Draeger.

25.2 ex-cindit... hostem H.5.16, hostem: cf. Aen.9.137, gentem, Nipperdey: add Aen.4.425, excindere gentem; 7.316, populos; Sall. Hist.4.69.17, quin socios, amicos... ex-cindant.

26.2 satis iam eventuum Eventus i.q. prosper eventus. 2.77.1; 14.36.3; H.5.10; 5.21; A.5; 22; 27; D.6: cf. Aen.11.758, ducis exemplum eventumque secuti; Ov. Met.7.97, Koestermann: Luc.4.730; Plin. N.H.28.106; 31.22; Plin. Ep.5.20.2, Nipperdey: Liv.10.39.11, Fletcher (A.T.): add Curt.10.9.19; Plin. Pan.5.4.
Satis with a genitive. 2.28.1; 2.85.2; 3.69.4; 6.48.1; 15.19.2, etc.: cf. Aen.2.314, rationis, Czyczkiewicz (1890): add Construction not unusual in prose. Cf., e.g., Cic. Verr. 2.2.83, argenti; 2.3.43, frumenti; Fin.2.62, testium; Lael. 13.45, satis superque... suarum cuique rerum; Nep.5.2.1, eloquentiae; Sall. Cat.5.4, eloquentiae; Jug.35.4, praecediti; 92.7, virorum atque armorum; 102.7, amicorum; Hist. 1.77.12, consilii; 3.48.25, verborum; Liv.2.31.6, praedae; 2.49.9, Fabii; 3.46.3, sponsorum; 3.59.2; 3.62.4; 3.67.3; 4.54.5; 4.61.7; 5.4.12; 5.11.12; 6.17.5; 6.23.7.

26.5 quamquam... intellegere See 1.3.5.

27.1 rem publicam exedere Cf. Aen.5.785-6, exedisse nefandis/urbem odiis, Koestermann.

28.1 satis testium See 2.26.2.

28.1 noscerent See 4.35.2.
2.29.2 manus ac supplices voces... tendens 3.36.1, cum voces, cum manus intentarent: cf. Aen. 2.688, palmas cum voce tetendit; 3.176-7, tendoque supinas/ad caelum cum voce manus; 10.667, duplicis cum voce manus ad sidera tendit; Tib. 3.4.64, tu modo cum multa braechia tende fide; Stat. Th. 8.146, manus cum voce tendi, Schmaus: add Petr. 122.155, intentans cum voce manus.

31.1 strepebant... cum Libo... vocare... pressare... inserere. See 2.40.1; 1.68.2.

31.2 feralibus See 1.62.2.

31.2 caede visa Passive use. 1.25.2, viso Caesare; 2.17.1, Visis... catervis; 3.42.3, visis militibus; 4.26.2, legati... visi; 5.10.1, Drausam... visum; 15.28.3, viso Corbulone; H. 1.41, Viso... agmine; 3.10, visi... equites; 4.3, viso miliite; 4.82, in urbe visus est; A. 25, visa classis, etc. Passive use poetic and post-Classical, e.g., Aen. 1.326, nulla... visa sororum, Koesermann: add Varr. R.R. 1.2.4, ubi sol... sex mensibus... non videtur; Liv. 3.18.4, Aequi aut Volsci... visi sunt; 27.37.4, visum pluere; 31.45.5, signaque non ante visa; 42.64, equitatus regius... visus.

31.3 mortem properavisset 11.37.1, caedem; 13.17.2, mors... properat sit: cf. Aen. 9.401, properet... mortem, Schmaus: add Tib. 4.1.205, properat... mortem; Ov. Hal. 56, properat... letum; Trist. 3.3.34, mors properata.

33.1 vasa auro solida 15.10.1, statuas argento vel auro solidas: cf. Aen. 2.765, crateresque auro solidi, Nipperdey.

34.1 quamquam... permuilsisset See 1.3.5.

34.3 processit Palatio See 1.41.1.

34.4 dedignare tur See 2.2.3.

37.2 sponte See 1.8.4.

38.2 preces... istud See 1.49.2.

38.3 languescit... industria Languescere used of impetus animi. 4.21.1, impetus offensionis; 11.37.2, ira; 12.12.2, impetus acres; H. 3.31, animi; A. 39, impetus famae et favor: cf. Vergil, Ovid, post-Augustan, Koesermann: Cic. Or. 2.6, languescat industria, Fletcher (A.T.); add Aen. 9.476, languessit moriens [flus]; Luc. 7.245-6, rabies; Sil. 13.324-5, irae; Quint. 1.2.18, mens; 11.3.2, affectus omnes; Flin. Pan. 18.3, corpora ipsa; Ep. 8.20.1, cupido. (L. 5.12.11.)


39.4 praeveniebat See 1.30.4.

40.1 cum/distrathere Inverse cum with a historical infinitive, 2.31.1, strepebat... cum Libo... vocare... prensare... inserere; 4.50.; ingruebat nox... cum Sabinus circumire, hortari; 6.44.2, iamque... adventabat, cum Tiritides... perculsus distrahi consiliiis; 11.34.2, erat in aspetu... cum obstrepere accusator; 14.5.1, nec multum erat progressa navis... cum... ruere tectum: "Infin. hist. nach cum inversum zuerst bei Vergil, in Prosae seit Livius", Koestermann: add Sall. Jug.98.2, iamque dies consumptus erat, quom... barbari nihil remittere atque... acriss instare; Liv.2.27.1, victor... expectabat, cum Appius... dicere; Curt.4.3.16, naves... admovebantur... cum... nubes intendere se caelo.

41.1 Tiberim iuxta See 1.65.3.

41.3 species See 11.31.3.

41.3 infaustos... amores See 1.30.3.

42.3 versa Caesarum subole Cf. Aen.11.264-5, versusque penatis/Idomenei, Schmaus. See 3.36.3.

42.3 sponte See 1.8.4.

43.1 aetatem... Drusi nondum satis adolevisse 12.8.2, pueritia... adoleseret: cf. Aen.12.438, cum matura adoleverit aetas; Hor.S.1.9.34, adoleverit aetas, Koestermann: add Lucr.3.449, adolevit viribus aetas; Liv.1.4.8, cum primum adolevit aetas.

5. Although Vergil uses cum inversum frequently, I have been unable to find an example with a historic infinitive. See p.106.
2.43.2 resurgentes in Africa partes See 1.39.6.


45.1 dedicabatur See 2.2.3.

45.2 disiectas per catervas Cf. Aen.12.482,689, disiecta per agmina, Schmaus.

45.3 conclustrans cuncta Cf. Aen.3.651, omnia conclustrans; Cic. Tusc.5.23.65, omnia conclustram oculis, Schmaus: Stat. Th. 2.509-10, visuque. ..../conclustratos campos; 4.737-8, desertaque. ..../conclustrent, Koestermann.

45.3 quosque adventus erat Advexhi with acc. of person. H.5.16, quosque: "elsewhere only in Vergil (Aen.8.136), and an accusative of place rarely except in poets", Furneaux: cf. Ann.3.1.1, Corcyram insulam advehit; Ov. Met.5.499,640, advehor Ortygiam, Nipperdey.

53.3 spolia. .. et tela Romanis derepta Cf. Aen.11.193, spolia ..../dereptaLatinis; Hor. C.3.5.19-21, arma/militibus ..../derepta, Schmaus.


46.4 non alias See 3.73.2.

46.4 maiore mole See 1.45.1.

46.4 sperabaturque. .. pugna Sperare meaning "expect, anticipate something undesired". Cf. Aen.4.419, hunc ego si potui tantum sperare dolorem; Stat. Th.2.607, nec mortem sperare valet; 6.690, maiorque manus speratur in aequo, Nipperdey; add Plant. Most.197, non spero; Ter. Andr.395, quod tu speres propulsabo facile; Catull.64.140, non haec miserae sperare iubebas; Afran.293, Ribb., id quod non spero; Cic. Rosc. Am.10, id quod non spero; Q. Metell. ap.Cic. Fam. 5.1.2, te tam mobili. .. animo non sperabam; de Gr.3.13.51, spero vobis. .. molesta. .. videri; Prop.2.5.3, haec merui sperare; Val. Pl.3.294-5, exstinguine mea. ..../speravi te posse manu.
2.47.1 in arduo Arduum used substantively. 11.9.1; H.4.70; transl. 4.7.2, spes in arduo; 12.15.2, nec fuit in arduo societas: cf. Aen.7.562; Sen. Thy.167; Stat. Silv.2.7.91; Koestermann: Quint.1.10.8, in arduo spes est, Fletcher ad 4.7.2 (A.T.): add Lucr.1.659, ardua dum metuunt; Liv.2.65.3, ardua; 5.43.2, in arduum; 9.24.5, per ardua; 25.13.14, per ardua; Hor. C.2.19.21; Ov. Met.8.692.

47.1 effulissee See 13.13.4.

48.3 sponte See 1.8.4.

49.1 aedes... abolitas See 3.36.3.

54.2 relegit Asian Cf. Aen.3.690-91, relegens... /litora; Ov. Trist.1.10.24, relegit aquis, Koestermann: add Val. F1.8.121, relegunt campos; 4.54, relegitque vias; Sen. Agam.574, spatia relegentem: Stat. Ach.1.23, relegebat iter; Silv.5.3.29, relegens caelo [Luna].

55.3 discrimini eximeretur See 1.48.2.

55.4 praeventit See 1.30.4.

55.5 licentiam... sineret See 6.35.1.

55.5 parens legionum haberetur Cf. Aen.12.134, Albanus habetur, Nipperdey: Sall. Hist.2.5, Tyrii... Gaddir habent, Fletcher (A.T.)

55.6 praeventi: ... cura fuit Cf. Aen.7.443, cura tibi... tempia tueri; Plin. Ep.7.10.2, erit mihi curae explorare, Draeger: Sen. Q.N.1.17.7, cura comere... fuit; Dial.4.35.5, illi se tegere curae est, Fletcher (A.T.).

56.1 late praetenta Cf. Aen.3.692, praetenta sinu... insula; 6.60, praetentaque Syrtibus arva, Furneaux: add Liv.10.2.5, tenue praetentum litus; Plin. N.H.3.6, praetenditur Lusitaniae; 4.3; 5.48; 6.134; Val. Fl.5.166, Armeniae praetentus Hiber.


60.1 oppido a Canopo Placing of preposition between two nouns in apposition. 4.45.4, apud; 11.14.3, ab; 13.12.2, ab; 15.53.2, in: cf. Aen.8.292, rege sub Eurystheo; Ov. Met.11.156, indice sub Tmolus, Draeger: Aen.3.613, patria ex Ithaca, Schmaus: add Catull.115.6, mare ad Oceanum; Tib.1.5.49, Iove sub domino. See also 1.59.3;1.60.3;1.65.3;and 3.10.2.
2.60.1 diversum See 1.17.3.

60.3 patrium sermonem See 1.79.3.


60.4 pondus argenti et auri 3.53.4, argenti et auri pondus: cf. Aen.1.359, argenti pondus et auri; Liv.26.49.6, pondere auri atque argenti; Hor. S.1.1.41, argenti pondus et auri; Curt. 3.11.20, auri argentique pondus, Schmaus: add Cic. Rep.1.17.27, argentum pondus atque auri.

61.1 instar montium Cf. Aen.2.15, instar montis, Schmaus.

61.1 eductae pyramides 12.16.2, turres; H.4.30, turrim: cf. Aen. 2.460-61, turrim. . eductam; 12.674, turrim. . eduxerat, Schmaus: Vitr.2.1.4, turres; 6.3.8, altitudines; Sen. Ep.89.21, in altitudinem montium educta; 94.61, muros; Dial.11.18.2, in magnum aductos altitudinem, Fletcher (A.T.).

61.1 penetrabilis First appearance in Vergil, Schmaus: poets and Seneca, Furneaux: Geo.1.93; Aen.10.481, Cole: add Ov. Met.12.166; Stat. Th.2.653; 7.652; 10.85; Ach.1.690; Sen. Dial.2.3.5.

63.6 Danuvium ultra See 1.65.3.

64.2 societatis impatiens Impatiens with a genitive. 4.3.2; 4.72.1; 6.25.2; 6.48.1; 12.30.1; 12.52.1; 13.15.5; H.1.17.2.99; 3.47; 6.5: Vergil, then Livy and later writers, Draeger: "Furneaux wrongly says that Livy uses impatiens. The word is first found in prose in Vell.2.25.1", Fletcher ad 12.30.1 (A.T.):Ov. Met.6.322, viae; Stat. Th.3.602-3, aequi, Koestermann: add Aen.11.639, vulneris; Ov. Met.1.479, viri; 4.260, nympharum; 13.3, irae; Fast.6.288, viri; Sil.8.4, morae; Val. Fl.1.296, somni; Curt.3.2.17, veritatis; 9.4.11, gubernaculi; Col.7.11.3, famis; Plin. N.H.18.123, frigorum; Plin. Pan.85.3, dominationis.

64.3 causas bello See 1.5.1.

65.4 praeventum See 1.30.4.
2.68.1 vado penetrari poterat Penetrare used transitively. 4.44.
2, penetrata Germania; 15.27.1, iter... penetratum; H.3.
71, fores; A.27, penetrandam Caledoniam; A.34, silvas sal-
1.245, Illyricos penetrare sinus, Koestermann: add Liv.10.
41.14, penetrare interiora (v.1.).

69.3 cineres... tabo obliti H.2.70; 3.35: cf. Aen.3.29, ter-
ram tabo maculant, Cole: Enn. Scaen.363v, saxis spargens
sabo; Lucr.3.661, terram conspergere tabo, Williams ad Aen.
3.28-9: add Geo.3.481,557; Aen.3.626; 8.197,487; 9.472; Hor.
Epod.5.65; Ov. Met.2.760; 6.646; 14.190; Luc.6.548; Petr.
124.275; Liv.4.30.9

70.1 effundendus spiritus H.3.66, spiritum: cf. Aen.1.98,
animam... effundere, Furneaux: Lucr.5.263, animas, Koest-
mann: Cic. Phil.14.32, spiritum; Sen. Ep.78.4, spiritum,
Fletcher (A.T.).

71.3 vindicabitis vos, si me potius quam fortunam meam fovebatis
Cf. Aen.12.435-6, disce, puer, virtutem ex me verumque
laborem,/fortunam ex aliis, Savage (C.J.,vol.38); Acc.156,
Ribb., virtutis sis par, dispar fortunis patris, Macrobius

72.2 ingenti luctu Cf. Aen.11.231, ingenti luctu, Ingvarsson:
add Liv.25.22.1, ingens... et luctus et pavor; 27.2.3,
luctus ingens; 37.12.7, luctum ingentem; Aen.6.868, ingentem
luctum; 11.62-3, luctus... ingentis.

72.2 venerabilis 16.29.2; D.8; 10: poetic in origin, cf. Aen.6.
408; 12.767; Hor. S.2.5.14, Koestermann: add Liv.1.7.8; l.
8.2; 1.20.3; 4.41.12; Val. Max.1.1.15; 2.4.4; Quint.12.1.18.

73.2 servitio premere Cf. Aen.1.285, servitio premet, Fletcher
(A.T.) See 3.6.1.

75.1 feralis reliquias See 1.62.2.

77.1 eventu See 2.26.2.

78.1 magna mole See 1.45.1.

78.2 litorum oram "Suggested by 'litoris oram' (Verg.G.2.44).
Livy has 'ora litoris' and 'orae litora' (7.25.4; 38.18,12)",
Furneaux.

79.2 praevenitur See 1.30.4.
2.80.1 in numerum legionis composuerat. 2.52.1, per... turmas componere; 15.29.2, eques compositus per turmas; H.1.87, reliquis... in numeris legionis composuerat; G.6, acies per cuneos componitur: cf. Aen.11.599, compositi numero in turmas, Schmaus.

80.2 accitu Cf. Cic. Verr.2.3.68; Aen.1.677, Furneaux: Sall. Hist.3.5, Koestermann.

81.2 tormentis hastas saxa et faces ingerere 1.49.1, tela: cf. Aen.9.763; 12.330, ingerit hastas; Stat. Th.9.708, ingerit hastas, Schmaus: add Liv.9.35.4, tela... saxa... ingerere; 24.34.9, tela... ingerent; 37.41.9, tela ingerere.

83.1 eburna efficies = eburnea 4.26.2: cf. Aen.6.647; 11.11, Cole: add Lucil.683; Liv.5.41.2 (v.1.); Hor. C.2.11.22; 3.27.41; S.2.6.103; Ov. Met.1.178; 4.185; 7.103; Ep. Sapph. 91.

84.1 duos virilis sexus... enixa est Eniti meaning "give birth", 3.33.1; 5.1.2; 14.12.2: cf. Aen.3.391; Ov. Met.1.670, Czyczkiewicz (1890): add Aen.3.327; 7.320; 8.44; Liv. 40.4.2; Quint.6. proem.4; 5.13.9; Plin. Ep.4.21.1.

84.2 dolorem tulit Cf. Aen.6.464, tantum... ferre dolorem, Nipperdey.

85.2 satis poenarum See 2.26.2.

Book Three

3.1.1 litora Calabriae contra See 1.65.3.

1.2 Brundisium... naviganti... fidissimunque Cf. Aen.2.23; statio male fida carinis; 2.399-400, litora... fida, Oberlin. See 11.19.1, male fida.

1.3 ex alto = in mari aperto Cf. Geo.3.238, Cole: add Enn. Seaen.79v, rapit ex alto naves; Plaut. Men.227, ex alto... /terram conspiciunt; Cic. Verr.2.5.84, navibus aditus ex alto est; Liv.37.27.5, videre ex alto classem.

1.4 feralen urnam See 1.62.2.

diversa oppida See 1.17.3.

Tiberium. . . penetravit See 2.68.1.

premeret. . . sermones Metaphorical use of premere meaning "repress". 1.4.3, indicia saevitiae; 2.73.2, servitio; 3. 11.2, sensus; 4.71.3, quae premeret; 6.50.3, iram; 12.32.2, gens. . . premenda; 13.16.4, pavor . . . consternatio; 15.49. 3, fanam; H.4.72, iras; cf. Aen.10.465, premitt gemitum; use poetic, Koestermann: add Val. Max.3.3.ext.1, dolorem silenti, Sen.Ep.3.4, secretum; Plin. Pan.62.5, odiun; Sil.12. 646; silentia.

nave rum tumulo Caesarum adpulerat Adpeller e with a dative, 6.19.3, ripis; H.4.84, adpulsas litori navis: cf. Aen.7. 38-9, classem/. . . appulit oris, Draeger: Aen.1.377; 3. 338,715, appulit oris (verse ending); Ov. Fast.3.621, appul- litoris; Sil.8.159, appulit oris; Liv.25.26.4, classis. . . litori. . . adpulsa est; 28.36.10, naves litori adpulsae; Curt.4.2.24, navigia. . . litori adpellerunt; 4.3.18, navigia . . . adpulsae sunt litori. In classical prose, adpel- lere ad, e.g., Caes. B.C.2.43, scaphas ad litus adpulsas, Schmaus: Liv.30.10.3, adpulsae muris; Val. Max.2.10.ext.1, urbi sueae adpulsae; 9.8.ext.1, freto adpulsus, Fletcher (A.T.)

contra. . . tendebant F.1.28: cf. Aen.9.377, tendere contra; Lucr.1.66 (v.1.); Liv.35.51.6; Val. F1.6.562, Schmaus: add Liv.27.8.10, contra tendente praetero.

in Vergil, Schmaus: "The word is frequent in Vergil and other poets, and used in prose by Val. Max (1.5.1, &c.) and Col."

Puri neae: Val. Max.4.7.4, Nipperdey: Liv.30.10.18; 33.5.12, Fletcher (A.T.): Stat. Th.5.743, Pease ad Aen.4.51: add Aen.4.51; 5.425; 5.511; 6.281; 6.609; 7.353; 7.418; 7. 660; 8.277; 8.661; Col.11.1.22.

judice ab uno Anastrophe of preposition with substantive preceding and modifying word following it. 12.56.1, in; 12.56.3, ex; 14.53.3,in; 15.18.2, in: cf. Aen.3.348, inter; 4.410, ex; 5.19,ab; 11.535,ad; Liv.9.43.15, aciemque per medium; 22.11.1, reque de publica (v.1.); 26.46.2, parte in alia; 28.11.2, foribus in ipsis (v.1.); 31.24.5, dies
ante paucos; Plin. N.H.11.78, levitatem propter aestivam, Nipperdey: Liv.30.7.2, castris ex incensis (v.1.); 32.38.7, tumultum inter primum (v.1.); 41.25, provinciis de controversis; Draeger: Aen.1.495, obtutu... in uno; 2.65, crimen ab uno; 2.716, sedem... in unam; 8.142, sanguine ab uno, Schmaus: add "Die umgekehrte Reihenfolge (Substantive - Prädposition - Attributiv) findet sich selten in Prosa (bei Livius u.a., oft bei Arnobius; aber nicht in klassischer Prosa), dagegen oft in der Dichtersprache, und zwar", Kühner-Stegmann. Examples appear as early as Ennius, e.g., Ann.187V, arbusta per alta, and are found in the works of Plautus, Accius, Lucretius, Catullus, and Horace. For other types of anastrophe see 1.59.3; 1.60.3; 1.65.3; and 2.60.1.

3.11.2 quae fiducia reo Cf. Aen.2.75, quae sit fiducia capto, Furneaux.

11.2 premeret sensus See 3.6.1.

14.5 vario rumore See 1.4.2.

15.1 quantum Caesari in eam liceret Cf. Aen.6.502, cui tantum de te licuit, Furneaux.


17.1 ardescebant See 1.32.3.

17.3 certatim See 3.65.2.

17.4 nomen Pisonis radendum I.q. eradendum. Cf. Geo.2.358, rasae... virgae, Czyczkiewicz (1890): Ox. Am.1.11.22, littera rasa, Draeger.

18.1 ignominiae excimit See 1.48.2.

6. provocantes de controversis, Weissenborn.
3.18.4
plurala recentium... revolvó Revolvere meaning "think about, turn over in one's mind", with animo omitted. A.46, facta dictaque... secum revolvant: cf. Aen.2.101, ingrata revolvó; Ov. Fast.4.667, visa revolvit, Furnaux: Luc.8.316-17, cuncta revolvunt/vitae fata meae, Koestermann: Sen. Ep. 80.3, illud... revolvó mecum, Fletcher (A.T.) (not parallel to Ann.3.18.4).

19.2
vario rumore See 1.4.2.

21.4
spargit bellum A.38, spargi bellum. "The expression seems taken from Lucan (2,682, [spargatque... bellum]/3,64, [bellaque... sparguntur]), who may have followed Vergil's 'spargam arma per agros' (Aen.7,551), Furnaux: Luc.6,269-70, armaque late/spargit; Sil.9.277, spargere bellum, Robbert.

21.4
inritum See 1.59.5.

21.4
deserta = regiones rēstas Cf. Aen.1.384, Libyae deserta, Cole: add Ecl.6.80; Geo.3.291,342; Plin. N.H.5.26, deserta harenis; 5.51, per deserta; 5.65, per deserta; 10.34, deserta incult; 19.19, nascitur in desertis; Mela 3.42, deserta Scythiae; Curt.9.1.12, per deserta; Sen. Ep.31.9, deserta Candaiae; 94.66, Afrīcae deserta; Luc.10.313, deserta secantem; Stat. Th.1.313, deserta [Aoniae]/4.737, desertaque pulvers Afri. [L̄.45.13.4.

22.4
exemit... dicendae See 1.48.2.

24.2
culpam... vulgam tem Cf. Ov. Met.4.276, vulgatos... amores; Hor.C.4.9.3, non ante vulgatas... artes; Aen.1.457, bēllae... vulgata per orbem, Koestermann.

24.4
patribus coram See 1.65.3.

25.1
praevālda orbitate 3.35.2; 3.53.2; 12.60.4; 15.20.1; 16.9.2; N.2.28; 2.38; 2.52: praevālīdus first appears in Vergil, Schmaus: Geo.2.253; Ov. Heroid.9,80; Livy, and later writers, Koestermann: add Liv.3.43.4; 7.5.6 (in the same sentence, stolide feroxum, as Ann.1.3.4); 26.16.7; 27.39.9; 30.44.8; Vell.2.69.2; Plin. N.H.17.108 (adv.).

26.1
nihil per metum vetabantur "Vgl. Verg. Aen.1.39, quippe vetor fatis. Lucan.4.647 /aesternique vetabere terrae/", Koestermann: add Cic. Lael.85, acta agimus, quod vetamur vertere proverbio; Quint.4.1.65, causam... propter quam vetamur; Luc.42.23.5
3.26.2 aeternum mansere Neuter adjective used adverbially. 12.28.
2; 15.63.1, aeternum; 2.21.1, etc., recens; 3.30.1; 3.52.1;
4.27.2; 6.37.2, immensum; 4.60.2, falsum; 4.62.2; 6.17.3,
praeceps: cf. Aen.6.401, aeternum latrans; 6.617, aeternum-
que sedebit; Hor. Ep.1.10.41, serviet aeternum, Koestermann:
Sen. Q.N.1.15.2, praeceps, Draeger: add Geo.2.400, aeternum
frangenda. Aeternum used adverbially also Prop.2.28.c.57;
3.8.38; Tib.1.5.64; Ov. Met.6.369; Val. Fl.1.832; 4.151;
Sil.1.90, 204; Stat. Th.1.599, 705; Mart.5.66.2. Prose
examples of other adjectives used adverbially: Sall. Hist.
3.56, immensum; Liv.26.39.16, praeceps; 38.17.15, recens;
Petr.127.1, blandum; Plin. N.H.10.209, exiguum. Examples
from the poets: Enn. Ann.34.2V, acuta (v.1.); Sil.2.671,
dirum; Cat.63.22, grave; Hor. C.1.22.23, dulce; Ov. Fast.5.
537, immensum; Sil.6.285, flebele; Stat. Th.3.335, turbine;

27.2 in longum See 1.69.5.

28.2 potentiae securus Securus with a genitive. H.1.86, casum;
3.41, dedecoris; A.43, adii: cf. Aen.1.350, amorum; 7.304,
pelagi; 10.326, amorum, Draeger ad H.1.86: Luc.8.784,
veniae; Sen. Ag.638; freq. post-Augustan prose, Koestermann:
Plin. Pan.71.4, magnitudinis suae, Fletcher (A.T.); add
Hor. Ep.2.2.17, poenae; Ov. Met.6.137, futuri; 7.435, suis
(gen. of sui); Stat. Th.12.781, sepulcri; Vell.2.109.4, in-
crementi; Val. Max.2.6.14, mortis; Curt.5.10.15, periculi;
9.9.8, casus; Sen. Q.N.6.1.2, mali; Quint.8.3.51, observa-
tionis; Plin. Pan.18.2, offensae... gratiaeque.

28.2 deditque iura Combination poetic. Cf. Geo.4.562, dat iura;
Aen.1.293, iura dabunt; 507, iura dabat; 731, dare iura; 3.
137, iura... dabam; Ov. Am.2.17.24, iura dedisse; Met.1.
576, iura dabat; Liv.1.8.1, iura dedit; 25.12.10, ius...
dabit, etc., Koestermann: add Aen.5.758; 7.246-7; 8.670;
Liv.1.17.8, plus darent iuris; 30.32.2, iura... daret.

9, rumore secundo; Enn.255V, rumore secundo, Furneaux: add
Suevius 7 (Morel), rumore... secundo, Macrobius,6.1.37.

30.1 concessere vita See 1.3.3.

30.1 immensum (adv.) See 3.26.2.
3.31.2 meditans "Practising". Vergil and Juvenal, Furneaux: add Ecl.1.2; 6.8; Geo.1.153; Cic. de Or.1.61.260, perfect meditando; Brut.88.502, meditaretur extra forum; Plin. N.H. 8.113, fugam meditari; Quint.10.3.30, meditans consuescebat ... non expavescere.

33.1 partus enixam See 2.84.1.

35.2 praevalidum See 3.25.1.

36.1 cum voces, cum manus intentarent See 2.29.2.

36.3 abolitas leges et funditus versas Vertere = svertere. 1.4; 3.54.1; 12.7.3; 12.45.4: cf. Aen.1.20, Tyriasis... vert- eret arcus; 2.625, ex imo verti... Troia; 5.810, vertere ab imo; 10.88, Phrygiae res vertere, Schmaus: add Aen.2. 652-3, vertere secum/euncta; Cic. Off.1.2.4.84, vertit ad extremum omnia. See 2.42.3, versa... subole.

abolitas 2.49.1; 4.55.2; 11.35.1; 16.6.2, etc. First appearance in Vergil, Schmaus: Geo.3.560; Aen.1.720; 4.497; 11.789, Czyczkiewicz (1891): add "verbum extat inde a Verg. (quater) et Liv.(sexies) raro legitur apud auctores primi saeculi (nota Sen. philos. octies, Plin. nat. decies) saepius apud Suet. et Plin. epist", Thea. L.L.: e.g., Liv. 1.23.3; 8.11.1; 9.36.1; 10.4.4; 25.1.7; Vell.2.58.2; Plin. N.H.7.4; Sen. Ep.87.41; 102.27; Quint.1.5.29; Plin. Ep. 5.5.8; 7.19.6; also Mela, Columella, Valerius Maximus, and Petronius.

37.2 maestam vigiliantiam See 1.61.1.

38.1 fatiscebant 6.7.5; 14.24.1; 16.5.1; H.3.10. "The sense is a metaphor from the literal meaning in Vergil (Geo.1.180, &c.), before whom it is deponent", Furneaux: add Geo.2.249; Aen.1.123; 9.809; Sil.2.316; Val. Pl.3.395; Stat. Th.1.217; 12.140; Col.2.13.3; 7.9.13; Plin.N.H.11.254.

38.2 bellum... volverat 1.64.4, futura; 14.53.5, plerumque intra me... volvam; H.1.54, eadem... volvens; 1.64, bellum volvebat. Poetic. Cf. Aen.7.254, volvit sub pec- tore sortem; Sall. Cat.32.1, multa ipse secum volvens; 41. 3, haec illis volventibus, Kaestermann: add Used with animo, sim., Sall. Jug.6.2; 108.3; 113.1; Liv.2.49.5; 26.7.3; 35. 18.6; 42.5.1; Val. Max.7.2.ext.1; Curt.10.8.9; Sen. Ep.13. 13. Used without animo, sim., Liv.6.28.7, has... volven- tes cogitationes; 27.47.10, errorem volvens (v.1.); Curt.10. 5.15, Has cogitationes volventibus; 10.8.7, incerta consilia volvendo.
3.38.3 inuiiarias inultas sinere See 6.35.1.

41.3 ne incesseretur telis 6.34.1; 14.17.1; H.2.22; 2.23; 3.65; 3.77; D.5; 24; 40. First appearance in Vergil, Schmaus: add Geo.4.68, incessit... discordia; Aen.1.496-7, Dido/incestit; Liv.1.17.4; 1.56.10; 2.7.1; 2.27.10; 4.50.7; 26.10.7; 30.34.4; 31.39.15; 36.18.3; 37.42.5; 38.29.4; 38.54.7; Plin. N.H.33.53; Quint.8.3.29; Ov. Met.13.566; Sil.1.473; Stat. Silv.1.4.76; Th.11.361.

42.3 visis militibus See 2.31.2.

43.1 maior moles See 1.45.1.

43.1 liberalibus studiis ibi operatam = occupatam esse. 1.64.1, operantium; H.5.20, caedendis materiis: cf. Aen.3.136, conubii arvisque... operata; Hor. Ep.1.2.29, curanda... operata iuventus, Furneaux: Ov. Met.7.746, studiis operata Dianae; Plin. N.H.53.70, opprimunt operatos, Schmaus: Liv.4.40.2, operatum rei publicae, Williams ad Aen.3.136: Liv.21.62.6, aliis procurandis; Val. Max.8.7.4, studiis; Col.12.4.3, si fuerit operatus; Plin. N.H.11.25; 26.11, Durry ad Plin. Pan.80.1: add Ov. Am.2.7.23, ornandis... operata capillis; Tib.2.1.65, textrix operata Minervam; Plin. Pan.80.1, locupletando fisco operatus. See 2.14.1.

43.2 tegimen See 2.21.2.

44.4* tanto impensus in securitatem compositus 1.34.1, tanto impensus pro Tiberio niti: cf. Aen.12.20-21, tanto me impensius aequum est consulere; Plin. Ep.9.13.1, Quanto studio-sius... legisti libros... tanto impensus postulas.

46.1 praesumpta spec 11.7.1, aeternitatem famae spe praesummat: cf. Aen.11.18, spe praesumite bellum; Sil.7.582, spes... praesumpta ruinae, Furneaux. See 1.48.1.

46.2 rebellem See 14.39.1.

46.2 evincite 1.57.4 (v.1.); 4.57.3; 11.37.3; 12.25.2; 12.49.1; 12.68.2 (v.1.); 15.64.2; H.2.64. First appearance in Vergil, Schmaus: ad 12.68.2, dolore evicta (v.1.), cf. Aen.4.474, evicta dolore, Schmaus: Aen.2.630; Sen. Dial.11.17.1, Draeger: add Aen.2.497; 4.548; Liv.2.4.3; 3.41.1; 4.25.1; 9.6.5; 10.17.10; Col.6.5.2; Plin. N.H.18.185; Hor. C.2.15.5; Prop.4.7.2; Ov. Met.1.685; 14.769.

46.3 tegmina See 2.21.2.

46.3 trudibus Cf. Aen.5.208, ferratasque trudes, Nipperdey. See 2.36.11, trudibus.
3.46.4 incensa super villa
See 6.35.2.

50.2 vana
See 1.9.1.

50.2 praevenisset
See 1.30.4.

52.1 immensum (adv.)
See 3.26.2.

52.1 alia sumptum
See 1.9.2.

52.2 sisti posse
See 4.40.5.

53.2 suasurus...omittere
See 16.9.2.

53.2 praevalida
See 3.25.1.

53.4 argenti et auri pondus
See 2.60.4.

54.1 civitatem verti
See 3.36.3.

54.1 ardescit
See 1.32.3.

55.5 ut quem ad modum temporum vices, ita morum vertantur
Cf. Plin. Pan.12.4, non secus ac si mutatae temporum vices essent; Geo.i.417-20, verum ubi tempestas et caeli mobilis umor/mutavere vices.../.../vertantur species animorum, Bruère (Class. Phil.,vol.49-50).

55.5 multa laudis et artium imitanda

56.1 ingruentis accusatores
See 1.27.2.

59.3 diverso terrarum
See 1.17.3.

60.1 crebrescebat
See 2.39.3.

60.1 receptabantur
See 4.41.1.

61.1 oleac...adnisam Adniti with a dative.

62.1 inviolabile = inviolatus
H.2.61: cf. Aen.11.363, Cole: Sen. Ep.58.18; Dial.2.5.4; De Ben.4.3.2; 5.5.1, Fletcher (A.T.): add Stat. Th.6.384.

63.1 involveretur
See 1.70.3.
3.64.1 festinati See 1.6.2.

65.2 certatim 3.17.3; 11.31.1; 12.7.1; 15.48.1; 16.11.2; H.1.44; 2.23; 4.41; 4.55: cf. Vergil (15 exs) and Silius (14 exs), Koestermann: add Geo.1.385; 4.38; Aen.2.628; 3.290; 5.778; 7.146;472,585; 4.179,436; 11.209,486; 12.704; Livy (9); Plin. Ep. and Pan. (8): Cic. Sest.74; Phil.2.118; 3.18; Lep. Cic. Ep.10.34a.5; Sall. Jug.67.1; Liv.1.40.6; 1.54.3; 2.41. 7; 5.7.11; 26.44.9; 27.28.11; 27.41.8; 27.46.3; 32.36.1; Vitr.7 praef.13; Val. Max.3.2.12.2.9: 5.2.3; 5.6.2; 8.7.2, 3; Phaedr.1.2.19; 5.1.5; Sen. Clem.1.3.5; Plin. N.H.32.51; Quint.6.1.21; Plin. Ep.2.9.5; 4.19.8; 6.19.5; 8.2.1; 9.13.21; 10.86B; Pan.84.6; and Plautus, Catullus, Horace, Tibullus, Ovid, Valerius Flaccus, and Statius.

66.3 ausis See 2.39.2.

69.3 placita See 1.80.2.

69.4 satis onerum See 2.26.2.

73.2 non alias 2.46.4; 4.69.3; 11.31.2; 14.34.2; 15.47.1; A.5: cf. Geo.1.487; Furneaux: Liv.4.54.2, Koestermann: add Liv. 7.35.1; 45.7.

74.1 globos See 1.25.1.

74.3 resurgeret bellum See 1.39.6.

76.2 praefulgebant 13.45.1. Poetic, esp. Vergil and post-Augustan, Koestermann: add Aen.8.553; Auct. Her.3.19.32; Liv.45.43; Vell.1.14.1; Phaedr.3.18.7; Sil.3.25; 4.324; 4. 497; 5.263; 11.534; 17.391; Stat. Th.7.502.

Book Four

4.3.2 impatienas aemulii See 2.64.2.

3.4 seque ac maiiores See 1.41.1.

6.2 iam primum 12.68.2; 14.31.1: cf. Aen.8.190, meaning "to begin", Furneaux (standard prose usage).
asperis maris 3.5.1, asperrimo hiemis: "sc. 'Unfällen zur See'. . . s. auch Verg. Aen. 2.110 aspera ponti, . . . hiems, hingegen substantivisch aspera ponti Sil. 6.359", Koestermann; add Enn. ap. Macr. S. 6.2, undis; Ov. Met. 11.490, hiems; 15.720, pontus; Hor. C. 1.5.6-7, aspera/. . . acquirae; Manili. 4.678; Liv. 57.16.5, aspero mari.

7.2 in arduo See 2.47.1.

8.1 adsimularetur See 4.59.3.

8.4 firmatos... adulescentulos See 1.27.1.

8.5 disque et patria coram See 1.60.3.

9.1 vanus 'See 1.9.1.

9.2 origo... Aeneas Origo used of persons. G. 2, filium... originem gentis: cf. Aen. 12.166, hinc pater Aeneas, Romanae stirpis origo, Nipperdey; Ov. Met. 11.755-6, origo/Ilius et Assaracus, Koestermann: add Ov. Met. 4.213, origine Belo; Heroid. 4.55, primast... origo; Stat. Th. 1.680, Cadmus origo; 2.613, origine Cadmi.

11.2 facinorum omnium repertor 4.71.1, flagitii... repertores: cf. Aen. 2.164, scelerumque inventor, Schmaus: Sal. Hist. 4.69.7, repertores perfidiae, Koestermann ad 2.30.3.


13.3 infausti generis See 1.30.3.


15.1 secessus See 14.62.3.

19.3 illud res publica See 1.49.2.
impetus offensionis languerat See 2.38.3.

si... incubuissent Incumbere = urgere, instare. 2.17.
4; 4.73.2; H.2.42; 5.18: cf. Aen.9.75; Cole: Cic. Fam.1.
9.16, Fletcher (A.T.): add Liv.30.34.2, in hostem; 31.31.20,
in Macedoniam.

cito agrine rapiuntur See 1.56.1.

diversos pastus See 1.17.3.

295, bellorum.

legati... visi See 2.31.2.

ehurnum See 2.83.1.

immensus (adv.) See 3.26.2.

inluvie See 1.24.3.

mortem... festinavit See 1.6.2.

quater vienla 11.31.2, thyrum; H.2.22, scuta; 3.19, arma:
cf. Aen.9.608, quattuor oppida bello; 11.656, quatiens...
securin, Czychtwicz (1890); Czychtwicz classes the use
of quater with an accusative among those verbs "quorum
actio talis est, quae qualitate objectum afficiat vel com-
pleteat". Plin. Pan., Dreaer: add Catull.64.256, thrysos;
Liv.7.26.1, quatienque scutum; 10.41.8, cuspidem; 21.28.1,
scuta; 58.17.5, scuta; 44.34, pila; Plin. Ep.7.27.5, catenas.

vocare... deos See 13.55.3.

exsequi... adigere Adigere with an infinitive. 4.45.
2, edere; 6.27.3, capessere; 6.41.1, pati; 11.10.4, mittere;
11.25.5, noscere ac punire; 12.4.3, eiurare; 12.59.1, pro-
mere; 13.25.2, mori; 14.24.1, propulsare; 15.35.1, mori:
cf. Aen.6.696, tendere adegit; 7.112-13, vertere morsus/...
adegit, Schmaus: Sen. Dial.4.36.6, opes... spargere,
Fletcher (A.T.): 0v. Am.3.6.29-30, currere, Koestermann:
add Trag. incert.249-50, Nibb., visere; Sen. Tro.578-9,
eloqui; Sil.2.473, vesci; 2.497, succedere; Stat. Th.2.20-
21, ire; 3.619, prorumpere; 4.531, expromere.
eluctantium verborum H.3.59; A.17. Eluctari first appears
10. praef.4; Vell.2.86.2; Sen. Q.N.4a.2.5; 7.6.5; Plin. Ep.
8.8.2; Lucr.2.219; Sil.15.742; Stat. Ach.1.525; Val. Fl.1.8.
184.

in arto et inglorius labor Cf. Geo.4.6, in tenui labor; at
tennis non gloria, Furneaux.

maestae urbis See 1.61.1.

relinquendae vitae certus See 1.27.2.

opibusque atque honoribus See 1.41.1.

Catonem caelo aequavit Cf. Aen.11.125; quibus caelo te
laudibus aequum; Lucr.1.79; nos exaequat victoria caelo,
Schmaus: Aen.4.89, aequataque machina caelo; 8.99-100,
Romana potentia caelo/aequavit; Stat. Th.4.359; aequatos
caelo. ... muros; Silv.3.4.49, summis aequat Germanicus
astris, Koestermann: add Val. Max.2.9, caelo cumulus aequatus

gratiae exemisset See 1.48.2.

imaginibus suis noscuntur Noscere = agnoscre. 2.17.5; 2.
28.1; 15.60.4; H.1.90; 2.72; 3.73; 4.50: cf. Aen.6.809,
nosco crinis, Furneaux: add Plaut. Trin.445, hau nosco
tuum; Ps.986, nosce imaginem; Bacch.789; Hor. S.2.7.89, ut
proprium quid noscere.

abolevit See 3.36.3.

rependit 13.21.2; 14.44.4: "in übertragener Bedeutung
auch Prop.4,11,100. Verg. Aen.2,161; Ov. Met.5,15 und
anderswo, ganz vorzugsweise bei Dichtern", Koestermann:
"Rependere does not occur in poetry before Virgil; cf. Stat.
Th.xi.182, 'sed digna rependam', Sil.xvii.577 'magna repen-
suros'", Austin ad Aen.2.161: add Aen.1.239, fatis contraria
fata; Prop.4.4.58, vices; Ov. Am.2.8.21, pro. ... officiis
pretium; Stat. Silv.3.3.155, pia vota; Plin. Pan.44.5, inco-
lumitatem turpitudine; Col. praef.10, donis rependitur honor.

in ambitionem flexisse See 1.34.4.
4.38.2 quae saxo struuntur Cf. Aen.3.84, Temp. ... saxo. ... structa; Curt.8.10.25, saxo. ... sunt structa, Schmaus: General thought of sentence, Plin. Pan.55.8-9, seis. ... ubi sempiterna sit gloria. ... Arcus. ... et statuas. ... templaque. ... neglegit carpitque posteritas, Bruère (Class. Phil., vols 49-50): add Locr.6.195, saxis. ... structas; Cic. poet. ad Tusc.1.16.37, spelunca saxis structas; Ov. Met. 6.573, structa. ... saxo.

38.3 concessero See l.33.

38.4 quod. ... modestiam See l.49.2.

38.4 degeneris animi M.3.85, degeneris animi: cf. Aen.4.13, degeneres animos timor arguit, Furneaux: "The particular form of deterioration here noted (timor) appears in various passages, of which some were doubtless influenced by the present. Luc.3.149, degeneris. ... metus; 6.417, degeneres trepidant animi. ... Val. Fl.7.430, degenerem. ... me, Sil. 15.76, degeneres. ... animas damnavit Avernis", Pease ad Aen.4.13.

40.3 quid si intendatur certamen tali coniugio Cf. Aen.4.47-8, quae surgere regna/coniugio tali, Fletcher (A.T.): add Aen. 7.555, talia coniugia; Sen. Tro.874, tale coniugium.

40.5 istum intra locum sistere = stare. 3.52.2, remediis sisti posse; M.1.35, neque actate neque corpore sistens (v.1.); 3.21, sistere. ... in. ... aggere: cf. Varr.L.L.6.8; sol ... sistere videbatur; Geo.1.479, sistunt amnes; Aen.3.7, ubi sistere detur, Furneaux: Cic. Verr.2.3.223, rem publicam sistere. ... posse, Fletcher (A.T.): Locr.1.1057, quicquam posse in se sistere; Ov. Met.1.307, ubi sistere possit (v.1.); Williams ad Aen.3.7.

40.7 intra animum voluatarum See 4.12.2.

41.1 tacita suspicionum See l.9.2.


41.1 huc flexit See l.34.4.
4.41.2 secretoque loci 4.57.2, Rhodi secreto; H.1.85, secreta
domum; 2.57, secreta convivii; 3.15, secretum castrorum.
"This substantive sense appears first in Vergil (e.g. 6.4,
403, [secreta senis] / cæ.)", Furneaux: Liv.26.19.5, in se-
creto; 30.14.4, in secretum, Fletcher (A.T.); add Aen.6.10,
secreta Sibyllae; S.463, Aeneae... secreta.

42.3 inclementiam = severitatem Word first appears in Vergil,
7.416, inclementia vultus; Stat. Th.11.684, timida inclement-
tia regum; Ach.1.73, nulla inclementia, Koestermann: add
Geo.3.68, durae... mortis; Stat. Silv.1.4.50, gravis... 
fati.

43.4 montem apud Eryxum See 2.60.1.

44.2 penetrata Germania See 2.68.1.

45.2 edere... adigeretur See 4.29.2.

45.2 sermone patro See 1.79.3.

46.1 contusis Thraecum gentibus Contundere used of persons.
12.31.3, gens; H.4.28, contusis Ubiis: cf. Aen.1.265-4,
populosque fercios contundet; Enn. A594-5V, quae me fortuna
feriosis/Contudit; Liv.27.2.2, ferocem... Hannibalem,
Schmaus: Cicero and Sallust, Furneaux: add Sall. Jug.43.5,
nostrae opes contusae (only example); used by Cicero with
animum, Att.12.44.3; audaciarn, Phil.13.13.29; and by Livy
with ferociam, 27.12.11, but no examples apparently with a
person as object; cf. Sil.4.706, gentem; 9.545, Tyrius; 12.
420-21, ductor.../contusus; Stat. Silv.1.6.23-4; Latinos.

46.2 diversas in terras See 1.17.3.

48.1 somno et vino procumbere Cf. Aen.9.236, somno vinoque
soluti, Furneaux: Liv.29.34.11, vino et somno graves; 41.3.
10, vino somnoque... mersos iacere, Andresen: Enn.292V,
hostes vino domiti somnoque sepulti, Bowra ad Aen.2.265
(C. Q.): Aen.9.189, somno vinoque soluti; Ov. Fast.2.333,
comites somno vinoque solutos; Liv.1.7.5, cibo vinoque gra-
vatum; 25.24.6, gravatis omnibus vino somnoque; Val. Max.
2.5.4, mero somnoque sopitos, Austin ad Aen.2.265: add Aen.
2.263, urbem somno vinoque sepultam; Ov. Am.1.4.53, compo-
itus somno vinoque iacebit; Heroid.14.33, cibo vinoque
graves somnoque iacebant.

48.2 sonorem See 1.65.1.

50.3 abrupendanas... spes ac metus See 12.50.2.
4.50.3 oppeterent (sc. mortem) See 2.24.2.

50.4 densioribus globis See 1.25.1.

50.4 ingruebat nox. . . . cum Sabinus circumire, hortari See 2.40.1.

51.1 prensare See 1.68.2.

51.2 montis anfractu repercussae Repercutere first appears in Vergil, Schmaus: add Aen.8.22-3, lumen; Liv.21.33.6, valles; Val. Max.1.8.ext.l, altero latere; Curt.3.10.2, clamor; Plin. N.H. praef.31; 28.35; 33.128; Quint.6.3.23; 6.3.78; Plin. Ep.4.30.8.

52.1 recens praetura See 1.41.3.

52.1 properus See 1.65.4.

53.1 habilem See 15.26.1.

55.2 vivoque in saxa Cf. Aen.1.167, vivoque. . . . saxo; Ov. Fast. 5.661, vivo. . . . saxo, Ripperd.: Aen.3.688, vivo. . . . saxo; Ov. Met.5.317, vivo. . . . saxo; 7.204, vivoque saxa; 13.810, vivo. . . . saxo, Schmaus.

55.3 patriis. . . terris See 1.79.3.


56.2 tegmina See 2.21.2.


57.2 Rhodi secreto See 4.41.2.

57.3 evictus See 3.46.2.
4.58.3* veraque quam obscuris tegerentur Cf. Aen.6.100, obscuris vera involvens.

58.3 moenia urbis adsidens Adsidere with an accusative. 6.43.1, adsidendo castellum: cf. Aen.11.504, cum muros adsidet hostis; Sil.9.624, assidet aures; 12.453, adsessos Capuae muros, Schmaus: Sall. Hist.4.15, Amisiumque assideri. . . audiebat; Val. Fl.5.535, quo me gravis adsidet hostis, Koestermann.

59.1 vana rumoris See 1.9.1; 1.9.2.

59.3 adsimulahat Adsimulare = falsum speciem praebere. 4.8.1; 6.25.1; 16.17.4: cf. Aen.10.638-9, clipeumque iubasque/ . . . adsimulat, freq. poetry, Furneaux: Cic. Pro Cael.6.14; Pro Clu.13.56, Fletcher (A.T.).

59.3 fidentem animi Cf. Aen.2.61, fidens animi, Schmaus.

59.3 ausurum contra Seianum Audere used absolutely. 1.13.2; H.1.21; 1.22; 1.35; 1.60; 2.71; 2.84; 3.40; 4.32; 4.49; 4.57; 4.66; 4.76; 5.11: cf. Aen.2.347, audere in proelia, Draeger: Stat. Th.1.439-40, audet. . . / . . in usque manus, Austin ad Aen.2.347: Enn. Ann.294v, occasus. . . tempusve audere repressit; Sall. Hist.4.69.20, audendo et fallendo; Cie. Verr.2.1.2, ad audendum projectus; Pro Clu. 67, ad audendum impudentissime, Fletcher ad Hist.1.35 (A.T.): Quint.6.4.10, contra turbantis audendum, Koestermann: add Liv.21.40.6, quia audet; Aen.12.159, auctor ego audendi; Hor. Ep.2.1.166, feliciter audet.

60.2 incentum sermonem abrumpere Cf. Aen.4.388, his medium dictis sermonem abrumpit; Quint.4.5.13, abrumpet. . . sermonem, Schmaus: Sen. Dial.4.24.1, incohatum sermonem. . . abrumpit, Fletcher (A.T.)

60.2 falsum (adv.) See 3.26.2.

61.1 degener See 1.40.3.

62.2 praecena (adv.) See 3.26.2.

63.1* concursus ad examinos Cf. Aen.9.454-5, concursus ad ipsa/corpora seminecisque viros.

63.2 maesta facie See 1.61.1; 13.38.1.

64.1 ferealemque annum See 1.62.2.
perosus 14.26.2; 16.14.3; H.2.16. First appearance in Vergil, Schmaus: "Dieses Wort ist zwar vor Vergil nicht nachweisbar, aber aus folgenden Gründen nicht von ihm geprägt: 1. osus ist als archaisch für Plautus und C. Graccus bezeugt. . . . 2. perosus hat Livius dreimal im III. Buch. . . . 3. Augustus gebraucht es in einem Briefe (bei Sueton. Tib.21 a.E.) in feierlich-sakraler Rede (deos obsecro... si non p.R. nerosi sunt.).)" Norden ad Aen.6.435; add Aen.6.435; 9.141; Liv.3.34.8; 39.4; 58.1; Val. Max.3.3.1; Curt. 5.12.10; Col.8.8.6; 8.11.16; Plin. Ep.8.18.4.

objectu montis Cf. Aen.1.160, objectu laterum, Furneaux: Sen. Q.N.4a 2.8, objectu montium, Fletcher (A.T.)


monerent perfugere See 11.1.1.

auxilio vocare 12.45.1: cf. Aen.5.686; auxilioque vocare deos, Fletcher (A.T.)

solitudinis facies See 15.35.1.

non alias See 3.73.2.

flagitii... repertores See 4.11.2.

premeret See 3.6.1.

obsequii impatientes See 2.64.2.


corpora coniungum Corpora used de insis personis 12.17.1, liberis corporibus: cf. Aen.9.272-3, matrum/corpora, Furneaux: Liv.8.19.12; 45.24.12, corpora... coniungiumque ac liberorum, Fletcher (A.T.): add Aen.1.70, disisce corpora ponto; 2.18, delecta virum... corpora; 10.664; 12.326, multa virum... corpora; Ov. Met.8.594, perituras corpora natae; Sall. Cat.35.1, liberum corpus; Ov. Sest.76, liberorum corporibus; Liv.3.50.9, sum corpus; 5.22.1, libera corpora; 6.15.6, libera corpora; 9.43.1, captivorum corpora; 21.15.7, corpora... coniungum ac liberorum; 25.25.7,
liberum corpus; 26.34.11, libera corpora, 42.54, libera... corpora.

4.72.3 praeveniit See 1.30.4.

73.2 incubiissent See 4.24.1.

74.4 donec id quoque vetitum Ellipsis of verb "to be". 15.9.2, donec... auditum; 2.9.2, postquam digressi; 12.35.2, ubi ventum ad aggerem; H.2.15, donec/denisi; 4.50, donec... fusi; A.26, donec pulsi hostes: cf. Aen.5.698-9, restinctus donec vapor; 2.634, ubi... perveunt ad limina; 10.298-9, talia postquam/effatus; Sall. Jug.77.3, ubi ea impetrata; 109.2, postquam... congressi, Schmaus: "cf. iv.151, postquam... ventum. ...' Leo notes that before Lucan, only Virgil has this particular type of omission to any extent; i.e., in a subordinate clause introduced by a conjunction and with a passive verb (cf. haece ubi dicta, i.81, v.32, 315, viii.175; post ubi conferi cursus, v.362; melior quoniam pars acta diei, ix.155; quippe/fas versum atque nefas, G.i.505); Statius developed the usage considerably", Austin ad Aen.2.634: add Liv.5.32.5, donec... indutiae datae; 6.51.4, donec condiciones impositae; Sil.11.285, donec pulsa fames; 12.384-5, donec... /pervenum; Stat. Th. 6.236-7, donec... labores/exhausti.

74.5 male alacres Cf. Aen.6.273-9, mala... Gaudia, "quae pernicie effert", Ernesti. See 11.19.1, male fida.

74.5 infanstae amicitiae See 1.30.3.

74.5 graviss exitus Cf. Aen.10.670, manet insament gravis exitus, Furneaux: Cic. Div.2.22, gravissimos exitus; Ov. Met.10.8, exitus... gravior; Stat. Th.2.17, gravis exitus aevi, Koestermann.

Book Five

5.1.2 properus See 1.65.4.

1.2 enitendum See 2.84.1.

1.2 penatibus... inducerit See 4.14.2.

2.2 in longum See 1.69.5.
5.3.2 adroga{t}iam oria H.2.23, procax ore: cf. Aen.2.423, ora sono discordia signant, Furneaux: Aen.2.1, intentique ora tenebant; "Ora is here neither the face, nor the mouth literally, but the mouth figuratively, i.e., the speech, voice or utterance", Henry; Aen.7.250, obtutu tenet ora; 8.520; 11.121, ora tenebant; Enn. an. Cic. Div.1.108, ora ten-ebat (v.1.); Cv. Met.6.583, dolor ora repressit; 9.515, pudor ora tenebit; Sen. Tro.517, Cohibe parumper ora; Luc. 4.172-5, tenuere parumper/ora metu; Stat. Th.1.493, obtutu ... ora premit; Val. Fl.4.323-4, oraque. ... tenet; Henry: "ora implies 'pronunciation' (cf. Quintil.i.1.13 '... oris plurima vitia in peregrinum somnium corrupti', xi.3.30 'os... urbanum. ...')", Austin ad Aen.2.423.

10.1 Drusum... visum See 2.31.2.

10.3 angustias... evadit See 1.51.4.

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Book Six

6.1.1 interluit "interluere (nur hier) ist dem Sprachschatz Vergils entnommen", Koestermann; add Aen.3.419; 7.717; and with a different meaning, Cato, R.R.132.

1.1 exarserat See 1.51.4.

2.3 orabat deligere Orare with an infinitive. 11.32.2, adire; 12.9.1, desponderes; 13.15.3, cavere: cf. Ecl.2.45, abducere... orat; Aen.6.315, orantes... transmittere; 9.231, admittier orant, Goebel: Plautus, Draeger: Bell. Hist.13.5, facere, Fletcher (A.T.): add Sil.13.403, orat contingere; Stat. Th.7.482, orat/admissi; 9.386, orantesque tibi servire; 12.784, orant succedere... /dignariaque; Ach.1.185, libare... /orat.

2.3* ferro accincti 11.22.1, ferro accinctus: cf. Aen.2.614, ferro accincta [Inno]; 2.671, ferro accingor; Stat. Th.3.610, ferro accinctae gentes; 5.281, Venus ferroque accincta.

4.2 Arripina consules... invasit Invadere used of attacking in speech. H.1.33; 2.53: cf. Aen.4.265, continuo invadit, Schmaus.
praestantissimus sapientiae

praevire
See 1.30.4.

copia fatiscent
See 3.38.1.

ordiendo
See 12.62.

cleri genus

discrimini exemisset
See 1.48.2.

exsortes periculi

cervicem perfregit
Cf. Aen. 11.614, pectora; Ov. Heroid. 4.115, ossa; Val. Fl. 1.192, colla; Liv. 4.28.8, perfractus capite; Koestermann: add Ov. Met. 12.273, tempora (v. 1.).

custodes additi
See 4.67.4.

flexit ad graviora
See 1.34.4.

praeceps (adv.)
See 3.26.2.

dispersi aut aggerati
See 1.61.2.

ripis adpulsa
See 3.9.2.

rupta voce
Cf. Aen. 2.129, rumpit vocem; 3.246, rumpitque... vocem; 11.377, rumpitque... voces; Stat. Th. 6.136, vocem... rumpit; 11.676, vocem... rumpit, Schmaus: Val. Fl. 1.508; 4.42, questus; Sil. 4.456, gemitum; Ov. A. A. 1.539, rupitque... verba, Austin: add Aen. 2.129; add Aen. 4.553, questus; Sil. 8.299, vocem... rumpam.

rupibus inductus
See 4.14.2.
6.21.2 trepidus admirationis et metus. Trepidus with a genitive. First used by Vergil, Schmaus: Aen. 12.589, trepidae rerum; Liv. 5.11.4, trepide rerum; 36.31.5, trepideque rerum, Koestermann: add Sil. 2.234, trepidi rerum; 1.13, trepideque salutis.


23.1 non erubuit permettere. Erubescere with an infinitive. 14. 43.4, fingere non erubescent: cf. Ecl. 6.2, neque erubuit . . . habitare, Schmaus: Luc. 3.111-12, plura iubere/erubuit; "Quin etiam Tacitum imitari Vergilium inde apparere crediderim, quod uterque sensu negativo dicit 'non erubesce aliquid facere'; quod est idem ac 'vereri aliquid facere', quod esse exemplar illius verborum constructionis puto", Robbert: Liv. 10.8.5, erubesce . . . habere; 42.41.2, facteri non erubesceam; Sen. Ep. 25.2, peccare erubesceit, Koestermann: add Liv. 45.35.5, comparare; Curt. 6.5.5, vehi; 8.4.10, regem deserere; Val. Max. 2.10.8, postulare; Sen. Contr. 1.8. 3, uti; Quint. 1.10.13, instituiri; 6.1.14, timere; Plin. Ep. 9.27.2, audire.

24.2 domunque omnem caedibus complevisset. Caedes = caesi, caesorum corpora. H. 3.29, completur caede; 5.70, stratum innocentium caedibus . . . urbis partem; 4.1, plenea caedibus vine: cf. Aen. 10.245, ingentis . . . caedis aceros; 11. 207, ingentem caedis acervum; Sall. Jug. 92.3, luctu atque caede omnia conpleuntur; Ov. Trist. 4.2.38, plena ferae caedis; Curt. 4.16.5, Persarum caede; Plin. Pan. 12.1, contecti caeditibus campi, Schmaus: Sen. Tro. 319; Stat. Th. 1.43; 9.456; 10. 273; 10.293; Sil. 6.111; 6.603, Fletcher ad H. 1.2: add Liv. 2.17.2, caede . . . cuncta compleunt; Aen. 11.729, inter caedes; Sil. 6.15, caedis acervo.

25.1 adsimulatus est finis. See 4.59.3.

25.2 exarsit. See 1.51.4.

25.2 aequi impatience. See 2.64.2.
6.26.2 intemptatus See 1.50.2.

27.3 canessere... adigerentur See 4.29.2.

28.4 Arabum e terris See 1.59.3.

28.5* par oneri Cf. Aen.2.723; succedque oneri; 2.729, comiteque onerique timentem (both of Anchises).

28.5 subire patrium corpus Cf. Aen.2.708, ipse subibo umeris; 4.599, quem subisse umeris... parentem, Furneaux: Hor. S.19.21, dorse subiit omus, Koestermann.


32.1 consiliiis et astu Cf. Aen.11.704, consilio... et astu, Fletcher (A.T.)

32.2 patriis moribus See 1.79.3.

32.4 sinistram... famam = malam 1.74.3, sermones; 11.19.3, fama; H.1.51, fama; 2.93, rumorem; A.5, interpretatio: cf. Geo.1.444, Notus... sinister, Cole: add Prop.3.5.9, pugnam; Gv. Trist.5.7.64, signa; Plin. Ep.1.9.5, sermonibus; 7.28.3, diligentiam.

33.3 brevia See 1.70.2.

34.1 vocare ad pugnam = provocare. 12.14.1, ad proelium vocarestur; H.5.25, armis; 6.14, hostem: cf. Aen.6.172, vocat in certamina divos, Schmaus: add Liv.7.15.2, vocare ad proelium; 34.43.5, vocarent ad bellum; Sil.14.199, vocat ad certamen; Stat. Th.6.747, vocantem.

34.1 incessere See 3.41.3.


34.2 de nomine See 1.15.2.

35.1 ne pugnam... senevent Sinere with an accusative. 1.43.1, mortem; 2.55.3, desidiam... licentiam; 3.58.3, injurias; 15.25.3, initia; H.5.25, agros villasque: cf. Geo.4.47, neq propius tectis taxum sine; Plin. N.H.6.43, transitum non sinit, Nipperdey: add Aen.9.620, arma; 10.598, animam.
praeveniendum See 1.30.4.

prensare See 1.68.2.


vulnus... adegit See 1.61.4.

tota mole regni Cf. Aen.11.313, toto certatum est corpore regni, Furneaux. Cf. 1.45.1.

innexus erat See 3.10.2.

immensum (adv.) See 3.26.2.

sinuare = flectere, curvare. 2.16.1; H.5.11; G.35: cf. Aen.2.208, [anguis] sinus. terga, Cole: "häufiger bei Ovid (so met.14,51, ...) und sonst bei Dichtern", Koestermann: add Geo.5.192; Cv. Met.5.42; 8.30; Cals. 8.1 (p.326, line 10, ed Darenberg), Sen, Herc, Furr.1198; Dial.7.4.1, simula media parte, "bent inwards".

auspicium Apposition. See 2.17.2.

ingruentis accusatores See 1.27.2.

undantem... sanguinem Poetic, Vergil and later writers, Draeger: Aen.10.908, undantique... cruore; Stat. Th.5.234; 10.716, undantem... cruorem; Liv.24.38.5, sanguine Henna inundabitur, Schmaus (Livy example not parallel).

concessit vita See 1.5.3.

festinatis... manibus See 1.6.2.

pati... adigebatur See 4.29.2.

probra... fundebant See 14.30.1.

degenerem See 1.40.3.

patri more See 1.79.3.
6.42.4 insigni regio evinxit Evincire. 11.4.2; 15.2.4; H.4.53: poets, Vergil, Dreaer: Ecl.7.32; Aen.5.269; Ov. Am.3.6.56; Stat. Th.1.554; 5.208; Koestermann: add Aen.5.364,494, 774; 8.286; Ov. Met.15.676; Cassius Hennen, Hist.37; \(/\text{lapidem}///\text{uisse quadratum. . . evinctum (victum l.v.} \text{evict- W)/}

43.1 addidendo castellum See 4.53.3.

43.2 inluevis See 1.24.3.

44.1 praeveniens See 1.30.4.

44.3 festinati See 1.6.2.

45.1 contigua See 2.60.3.

45.3 impulerat . . . incicere . . . vincire Impellere with an infinitive. 13.19.4, ire . . . deferre; 14.60.2, obicere; H.3.4, resumere . . . misceri: cf. Aen.1.9-11, volvere. . . . adire. . . /impulerit; 2.55, foedare; 2.520, cingi, Schmals, Hor. 6.3.7.14-16, maturare necem; Liv.22.6.6, cap- essere, Czyzkievicz (1890); add Ov. Am.2.12.21-2, movere; Luc.7.7.47-8, ire; Sil.1.609-91, praecipitare; Val. Fl.1.673-4, consurgere; Stat. Th.3.24-5, linquere; 10.737, cred- erere.

45.3 simulationum . . . falsa See 1.9.2.

46.5 gravescente valitudine See 1.5.1.

48.1 satis acetatis See 2.26.2.

48.1 flagitiorum impatiens See 2.64.2.

48.2 experientiam See 1.4.3.


50.3 iram premens See 3.6.1.

50.3* instaurari epulas iubet Cf. Aen.7.146; 7 8.283, instaurant epulas; Stat. Th.1.514-15, epulasque recentes/instaurare iubet.

50.4 festinabentur See 1.6.2.

iniecutu Meaning "a throwing upon, or over". Cf. Ecl.6.19, 
inaeunt ipse ex vincula sertis, Cole (not parallel): 
Lucr.2.740; iniecutus; Plin. N.H.8.54; 11.58; Stat. Silv.4. 

51.3 
egregium vita A.14, uterque bello egregius; D.8, neuter 
moribus egregius: "mit Abl. respect. auch Verg. Aen.1.445 
hello egregian... gentem. 6.861 forma u.a.; Sen. epist. 
40.12, vir egregius et vita et scientia et... eloquentia; 
häufiger bei Tacitus", Koestermann: add Aen.6.769-70, pie-
tate vel armis/egregius; 8.290, bello egregiis... urbes; 
10.435, egregii forma; 12.275, egregium forma invenem; 6v. 
Net.5.49, forma; Sil.15.291, gente; Stat. Silv.4.4.8, forma-
que animisque; Th.11.50, lituo; Liv.5.47.4, vir bello egregi-
us; 7.6.3, invenem bello egregium; Curt.3.12.19; 8.2.2, 
bello.

Book Eleven

11.1.1 
moneret Claudium cavere Monere with an infinitive instead 
of a subjunctive of command. 1.63.1, propinquare; 1.63.3, 
superare; 4.67.4, perfurare; 12.46.3, celere; 13.37.3, 
pedere; 15.12.2, experiri; 15.54.3, parare; 16.11.1, nuncu-
pare; 16.54.2, reterere... non adimere; H.4.35, firmare; 
5.24, mutare: cf. Aen.10.439, monet succedere, Goebel: 
add Hor. Carm. Saec.5-6, dicere; Cic. Verr.2.1.63, facere 
monebant (v.l.).

1.2 
didita per provincias fama Cf. Aen.8.132, tua terris 
didita fama, Furneaux: Sil.1.176, fama... didita; didere 
in prose, Cato Or. frg.41.171, Malcovati, Fletcher (A.T.)

4.2 
evinctum See 6.42.4.

4.2 
insomnio Meaning speciis_per somnum oblata, Cf. Aen.6. 
896; ov. Trist.3.8.27, Czyczkiewicz (1891): add Aen.4.9; 
Sil.10.357; 11.102; Liv.25.38.5, Scipiones me... insom-
nisique agitant; Sen. Contr.7.7.15; Plin. N.H.18.118; 20. 
82; 20.186; 26.94; Sen. Ep.56.6.

6.2 
odia et inuiiras See 12.69.3.

7.1 
 quem illum See 14.22.2.

7.1 
spe praesumat See 3.46.1.
11.7.1 exercendo agros Exercere meaning "plough", "till". 12.43.
2, African... et Aegyptam; 13.54.2, patrium solum; A.31,
arva; 6.29, agros: cf. Aen.7.798-9, exerceant... collis/
356, solum; "exercere in der Bedeutung von colere findet
sich noch ofters bei Vergil und Tacitus; ausserdem bei
Horaz (paterna rura... exercet) Livius, Columella, Plinius,
Justin u.a.\", Schne. Hor. Epod. 2.3; Ov. Met. 2.237; Mela,
2.11; Col. 2.2.7; 4.14.2; Plin. N.H. 6.66, Fletcher (A.T.):
add Geo. 1.99, 220; Aen. 10.142; 11.319.

7.1 tolerare vitam 15.45.3, vitam tolerat: cf. Aen. 8.409,
tolerare... vitam; Caes. B.G. 7.77.12, vitam toleraverunt,

8.3 magnis ansis See 2.39.2.

9.1 castellorum ardua See 2.47.1.

Liv.

10.3 ingens gloria 6.37, gloria ingens: cf. Aen. 11.124, fama
ingens; Fletcher (A.T.): add 3.32.6; 3.56.7; 2.10.7; 10.34.2;
24.49.6; 21.21.6; 6.25.6.

10.4 adegit... mittre See 4.29.2.

12.2 exarserat See 1.51.4.

14.3 Arcade ab Evandro See 2.60.1.

16.1 patrium... morem See 1.79.3.

17.2 degeneres See 1.40.3.

18.2 habiles See 15.26.1.

19.1 natio... male fida II.1.52: cf. Aen. 2.23, static male
fida; Ov. Trist. 1.6.13, male fidas, Schne.: add Petr. 123,
193, male fida; Sili. 5.496, male fida.

19.2 degeneres See 1.40.3.

19.3 sinistra fama See 6.32.4.

20.3 in longum See 1.69.5.

21.1 species See 11.31.3.

22.1 ferro accincta See 6.2.3.

23.1 variusque rumor See 1.4.2.
11.25.5 nescere... adactus See 4.29.2.

25.5 ardesceret See 1.32.3.

26.1 aurrumpi dissimulationem See 12.50.2.

26.2 insontibus... flagitii manifestis See 1.55.2.

26.2 praevinirent See 1.50.4.

26.2 properum See 1.65.4.

29.2 praesciam criminis See 6.21.7.


31.1 certatim See 3.65.2.

31.2 non alias See 3.75.2.

31.2 simulacrum vindemine Meaning "representation". Cf. Aen.5.585, pugnaeque ciet simulacra, Cyczkiewicz (1891): add Aen.5.674, belli simulacra ciebat; Lucr.2.41, belli simulacra ciebat (imitated by Vergil); Cic. Fam.10.1.1, simulacrum... civitatis; Off.1.15.46, virtutis; Div.2.33.71, auspiciorum; Liv.26.51.6, navalis pugnae; 35.26.2, navalis pugnae; 40.9, Indicero pugnae; 44.9, decurrentis exercitus; Quint.2.10.8, pugnae; 2.15.25, civitatis particularis.

31.2 feminae pellibus accinctae Cf. Aen.7.396 (matres) incinctae pellibus, Furneaux: add Geo.4.342, incinctae pellibus ambae.

31.2 thyrsus quations See 4.28.3.

31.3 ea species Meaning "spectacle", "sight". 2.41.3; 11.21.1; 14.32.1; 16.29.2; X.1.86; 2.50; 4.83; A.39: cf. Aen.2.407, non tuit hanc speciem, Cole: add Cic. Phil.11.3.7, miseram... et flebilem speciem; Liv.34.52.12, praebuerunt speciem triumpho.

32.2 oravit... adire See 6.2.3.

33. gestamine See 2.2.3.
11.34.2 iam erat in aspectu... cum obstrepere accusator See 2.40.1.

35.1 effigiem... abolitam See 3.36.3.

37.1 caedem... properavisset See 2.31.3.

37.2 languescere ira See 2.38.3.


37.5 evieta erat See 3.46.2.

37.4 lacrimaeque et questus irrati ducebantur Cf. Aen.4.463, longas in fletum ducere voces, Furneaux.

Book Twelve

12.1.1 exarserant See 1.51.4.

3.2 matrimonii certa See 1.27.2.

4.3 adactus... eiurare See 4.29.2.

7.1 certatim See 3.65.2.

7.3 Versa... civitas See 3.36.3.

8.2 pueritia... adolesceret See 2.43.1.

9.1 orare tur... despondere See 6.2.3.

10.1 infaustus See 1.30.3.

12.1 hostis ingrueret See 1.27.2.

12.2 impetus acres... languescere See 2.38.3.

12.3 comminus I.q. prone, ex proninouc. Cf. Geo.1.108, Czyczkiewicz (1891): "This word has the general sense of local proximity in H.1.41.1, 6.8.1, and in other authors, and the opposition to 'flexu'... suggests that it is to be so taken here. Or Tacitus may have followed Vergil... in
using it in the sense of 'immediately'; Furneaux: add
Lucr.6.904; Ov. Pont.1.5.74; Plin. N.H.5.55; 11.240; 35.
17, meaning prone.

12.13.2 insigne fama H.2.47, gloria insignis: cf. Aen.7.745, in-
signem fama; Stat. Th.8.278, insignem fama, Fletcher (A.T.).

13.3 equos... sistant See 2.14.4.

14.1 ad proelium vocaretur See 6.34.1.

14.2 globus See 1.25.1.

15.2 in arduo See 2.47.1.


16.2 eductae... turres See 2.61.1.

17.1 liberis corporibus See 4.72.2.

17.1 scalis evaserant Evadere = escendere. Cf. Aen.6.128,
45.3, summus quisque evadere non posset, Fletcher (A.T.):
add Liv.2.17.5, in muros evaderet; 2.65.3, ardua evaderent;
2.65.5, in jugum; 4.34.1, in muros; 5.46.9, in Capitolium;
5.47.3, in summum; 8.16.7, evaseroque [cum scalis]; 10.17.
7, in moenia; 25.23.17, in murum; 25.24.1, scalis in murum;
26.14.11, in terram; 28.20.5, in summum; Curt.7.11.11, in
cacumen; Sil.5.515; 15.47; Stat. Th.5.468.

18.1 odiis non infensum H.5.1, odio infensa: cf. Aen.11.122-3,
odiis et crimine... /infensus, Fletcher (A.T.).

19.1 degeneri See 1.40.3.

19.3 ne triumpharetur Triumphare used transitively. G.37,
triumphati... sunt; cf. Aen.6.856, triumphata... Cor-
intho; Hor. C.3.3.43-4, triumphatis... ./... Medis; Luc.
2.90, triumphati... Ingurthae, Schmaus: add Plin. N.H.5.
36, omnia... triumphata.

19.3 poenas... expendere Cf. Aen.10.669, expendere poenas;
11.256, poenas expendimus, Schmaus: Acc. Trag.535-6, Ribb.,
poenas... expendisse; Oberlin: Sil.13.698, expendat
poenas, Fletcher (A.T.).


25.1 festinatur See 1.6.2.

25.2 evictus See 3.46.2.

26.2 desolatus See 1.30.4.

27.3 servitio exemerant See 1.48.2.

28.2 aesternum (adv.) See 3.26.2.

30.1 obsidionis impatientes See 2.64.2.

30.1 ingruerant See 1.27.2.

31.2 cohortes raptit See 1.56.1.

31.3 gens... contusi See 4.46.1.

32.1 adspectat See 1.4.1.

32.1 destinationis certum See 1.27.2.

32.2 premenda See 3.6.1.

33.1 locorumque fraudes Cf. Aen.9.397, fraudes loci, Draeger: Ov. Trist.4.2.33, fraudes locorum; Curt.5.5.1; 7.7.34, locorum; Sil.7.279, locorum; 12.352, loci, Schmaus.

34. intemerata... corpora See 1.42.2.

35.2 amnum... evadit See 1.51.4.

35.2 ubi ventum ad aggerem See 4.74.4.

35.2 missilibus = telis. H.4.71; 5.17; A.36; C.6: cf. Aen.10. 716; Luc.7.485; Czyczkiewicz (1891): add Aen.9.520; 10.802; Liv.6.12.9; 9.35.6; 21.7.8; 26.6.4; 27.18.12; 34.39.2; 37. 16.9; 37.41.10; 38.21.3; 41.18.
pleraque caedes oriebantur 14.17.1, orta atrox caedes:
cf. Aen.2.411, emiturque... caedes; 11.885, emiturque...
caedes; Luc.7.571, caedes orientur, Fletcher (A.T.).

35.3 tegmina See 2.21.2.

36.1 quis ille See 14.22.2.

36.3 degeneres... ex metu See 1.40.3; 4.38.4.

37.1 dedicatus esse See 2.2.3.

37.2 sors... informis See 6.49.1.

38.2 exarsera See 1.51.4.

39.3 concessit vita See 1.3.3.

40.3 lecta armis iuvens C.f. Aen.8.606, bello lecta iuventus;
Stat. Th.2.483-4, lectissima bello/corpora, Miller.

41.1 habilis See 15.26.1.

42.1 cura exsolventerunt C.f. Aen.4.652, exsolvite curis; Plin.
Pan.79.5, consularibus curis exsolutus, Fletcher (A.T.).

43.1 militum globo See 1.25.1.

43.2 Africam... exercemus See 11.7.1.

44.3 patrias artes See 1.79.3.

45.1 auxilio vocanti See 4.67.4.

45.4 verterentur See 3.36.3.

46.3 monet... celerare See 11.1.1.

46.3 obmagnationem... celerare See 2.5.2.

47.2 in societatem coeant C.f. Aen.7.546, in amicitiam coeant;
11.292, coeant in foedera dextrae, Furneaux.

49.1 evictus See 3.46.2.
12.50.2 patientiam abrumpunt 4.50.3, spes ac metus; 11.26.1, dissimulationem; 15.2.2, pacem; H.3.63, spe; 4.60, fidem:
"used poetically of breaking a tie (ep. 'fas omne abrumpit', Verg. Aen.3.55), so of breaking faith (H.4.60.4), hence here of breaking off a habit", Furneaux: add Curt.10.8.17, sper gratiae; Val. Max.2.3.1, hanc... consuetudinem C. Marius... abruptum; Sen. Ep.75.16, si occupaciones nostras et mala tenacissima abrumpimus; Sil.2.293, fas omne abrumpit armis; 8.51, spes abrupta ex medio; Stat. Th.3.655, foederis abrupti.

51.2 contumeliis... eximereetur See 1.48.2.

51.4 degenerem See 1.40.3.

52.1 casus... impatiens See 2.64.2.

56.1 lacu in ipso See 3.10.2.

56.3 urbe ex ipsa See 3.10.2.

56.3 occidioni exempti sunt See 1.48.2.

58.1 Romanum Troia demissum Meaning "descended". Cf. Geo.3.35; Aen.1.288; Hor. 5.2.5.67, Furneaux: add Stat. Th.2.615.

59.1 promere adigeatur See 4.29.2.

60.4 praesvalda See 3.25.1.

62. orsi a foedere 1.54.4; 6.8.1; 15.2.1; 16.30.1, etc.
"Vergilii dicendi rationem respexisse Tacitus videtur, cum emitteret dicendi verbum": cf. Aen.1.325, contra sic... orsus; 2.2, sic orsus; 12.806, sic... orsus, Czyzckiewicz (1890): add Liv.24.25.1, ab ante acta vita orsus; 32.34.11, orsus ab Antigoni primum; 33.2.1, orsus a... meritis; 34.48.4, orsus ab initia... amicitia; 35.33.4, orsus a principio societatis; 37.49.2, orsi a beneficiis; 39.26, a querellis orsus; 40.12, ita orsus est; 42.11, orsus... a... consiliis; 44.1, orsus a parricide; 44.31, ab accus... orsus.

62. degeneri See 1.40.3.

63.2 vis... Pontum erumpens Erumpere with an accusative. Cf. Aen.1.580, erumpere numen; Draeger: Val. Pl.5.465, nebulam, Czyzckiewicz: Sall. Hist.3.66, vis piscium Ponto erupit, Wülflin (example not parallel to the present construction): add Liv.7.36.2, praesidium erumpere.
12.64.2 *CELERARE* See 2.5.2.

66.1 *TANTA MOLE CURARUM* See 1.11.1.

66.1 *ACEREA... CERTA* See 1.27.2.

66.1 *PROPERA* See 1.65.4.

66.1 *VENENUM? TABIDUM* Tabidus first appears in Vergil, Schmaus: Aen. 3.137, tabida `/Iues/`, Furneaux: add Liv. 21.56.7; Ov. Pont. 1.1.1.67; 4.8.49; Sen. Oed. 148; 358; Piso. Par. 691; Luc. 6.737; Mart. 1.78.1.

68.2 *IAM PRIMUM* See 4.6.2.

68.2 *DOLORE EVICTA (v.1.)* See 3.46.2.


**Book Thirteen**

13.3.1 *FLEXT* (intrans.) See 1.34.4.

4.1 *ODIA... INIURIAS* See 12.69.3.

6.1 *RAPI ARMENIUM* Rapere meaning "plunder". Cf. Aen. 2.374-5; rapiunt incensa... `/Pergama/`; Luc. 1.483-4, urbem... `/urbem/`; rapi; Stat. Th. 7.599, urbemque rapi; Curt. 4.14.1, Syrian... `/raptas, Nipperdey, Liv. 22.1.2, ex alieno agro raperent, Austin ad Aen. 2.374: add Plin. Pan. 41.2, cum omnia raperent.`

6.3 *EXPERIENTIA* See 1.4.3.

8.3 *CORPORE INGENS* 15.53.2, corpore ingens; H.1.53: cf. Aen. 11.641, ingentem corpore, Fletcher (A.T.).

8.3 *EXPERIMENTIAM* See 1.4.3.

10.1 *STATUAS ARGENTO VEL AURO SOLIDAS* See 2.33.1.

12.2 *UXORE AB OCTAVIA* See 2.60.1.

13.3 *ORABANTQUE CAVERE* See 6.2.3.
13.13.4 effulserant 2.47.1; 14.22.1; H.4.29; D.20. First appearance in Vergil, Schmals: add Aen.2.616; 5.133; 8.677; 9.731; Liv.22.11; 28.15.11; 41.21; 45.7; Sil.3.695; 9.231; 15.140; 16.576; Sen. Q.N.1.5.9; Plin. N.H.4.1; Plin. Ep.6.20.18.

15.1 volutare secum See 4.12.2.

15.3 multa secelerum fama 16.15.1, multa militari fama: cf. Aen.11.224, multa...fama, Fletcher (A.T.).

15.5 seceleris impatiens See 2.64.2.

15.5 cubiculum Caesaris iuxta See 1.65.3.

16.2 vox pariter et spiritus...raperentur Cf. Aen.10.347-8, pariterque loquentis/voce animamque rapit, Schmals.

16.4 pavor...premeretur See 3.6.1.

17.2 mors...properata sit See 2.31.3.

17.3 subtrahere oculis acerba funera Cf. Aen.6.465, teque aspectu ne subtrahe nostrò, Furneaux.


19.4 impulit ire See 6.45.3.

21.2 operam...rependunt See 4.35.3.

25.2 mori adactus est See 4.29.2.

25.3 initia...sinerent See 6.35.1.

29.2 experientia See 1.4.3.

30.2 concessit See 1.3.3.

35.1 plus molia See 1.45.1.

36.2 trepida fuga Cf. Aen.4.672, trepidoque...cursu; Luc.3.159, fuga...trepidadante, i.e. trepidae refugerunt, Czyczkiewicz (1890): add Liv.4.19.8, fugam...trepida; 7.8.6, trepida fuga; 22.42.2, fugam...trepida; 26.39.22, trepida fuga; 26.41.16; 27.18.5; 31.37.11; 31.42.6; 40.28.
37.3 monet. ... petere See 11.1.1.
37.3 ante alias See 1.27.1.
37.5 suadet. ... agredi See 16.9.2.
38.1 in faciem pacis Facies = aspectus rei. 1.41.1, in urbe victa facies; 1.49.1, civilium armorum facies; 1.70.2, eadem freto. ... facies; 4.63.2, urbs. ... maesta facie; 4.69.1, solitudinis facies; 14.8.3, laetae rei faciem; 1.1.55, belli; 3.83, saeva. ... urbe tota facies; 4.22, belli; 5.23, stagni; A.36, pugnae; 38, victoriae: cf. Aen.6.104, nova. ... facies, Draeger: Geo.2.85, unam in faciem. ... olivae; 4.361, montis faciem; Aen.10.637, in faciem Aeneae, Schmaus: Sall. Jug.78.3, locorum, Furnaux: Sall. Jug.46.5, belli, Fletcher (A.T.).
39.3 in testudinem conglobatos Cf. Geo.4.79, glomerantur in orbem; Cv. Met.13.604, glomerataque corpus in unum; Luc.5.715, glomerantur in orbis; Stat. Th.2.585, glomerantur in unum, Schmaus: add Liv.8.11.5, in unum conglobassent; 9.23.16, in unum ... conglobata.
39.3 inducit i.q. adducit. H.1.6: cf. Aen.11.620, turmas inducit, Czyżkiewicz (1891): add Plaut. Amph.243, equites iubet dextera inducere; Sall. Cat.60.5, cohortem ... in medios hostis inducit; Hirt. Gall.8.2.2, exercitum in ... agros. ... inducit; Liv.1.37.5, in agrum. ... exercitum inducere; 4.32.10, aciem. ... in hostem inducit; 10.35.2, manipulos legionum. ... via inducit; 25.9.9, armatos inducere; 29.2.10, subsidia; 30.34.11, in cornua inducit; Curt.5.6.2, phalanget; 9.6.7, invitatbas belbas inducat; 10.9.16.
42.3 livere = invidere Cf. Aen.7.667, liventis plumbi, Cole (not parallel): Stat. Th.11.211; Mart.6.86.6; 8.61.1; 11.94.1, Draeger.
42.4 velut indagine A.37, indaginis modo: cf. Aen.4.121, indagine cingunt, Cole: Tib.4.3.7-8, indagine. ... Claudentem; Cv. Met.7.766, indagine cinuxmus; Luc.6.42, indagine claudit, Pease ad Aen.4.121: add Liv.7.37.14, velut indagine; Hirt. B.6.8.18.1, velut indagine; Plin. Pan.35.2, indagine inclusos.
44.3 cubiculique prorumpit Prorumpere with a simple ablative. cf. 15.40.2, praedias; H.4.20, portis: cf. Aen.7.459, toto proruptus corpore sudor, Draeger (not parallel).
praefulgentis See 3.76.2.

47.1 Tiberio abusque 15.37.2; Oceano abusque: cf. Aen.7.289, Siculo... ab uaque Pachyno, Goebel: Stat. Th.4.243 (of time), Fletcher (A.T.).

47.2 auctoremque... doli See 1.10.2.

47.3 ausi See 2.39.2.

54.1 in quantum Germani regnantur Regnare used transitively. H.1.16; G.25; 43: cf. Aen.6.793, regnata per arva; Hor. C. 2.6.11-12, regnata... /rura; Ov. Heroid.10.69, tellus... regnata; Mela, elder Pliny, Silius, Schmans: add Mela 2.2. 24, regnata... pars Thraciae; Plin. N.H.6.76, gens... regnata feminis; Sil.14.7, regnata mapalia genti.

54.2 patrum solum See 1.79.3.

54.2 solum exerchabant See 11.7.1.

54.3 consessum caveae Cf. Lucr.4.78, consessum caveae; Aen.5. 740, caveae consessum, Furneaux: add Aen.8.636, consessu caveae.

55.3 cetera sidera vocans Vocare = invocare. 4.28.3; uliores deos; freq. Vergil and poets, Furneaux: add Aen.5.264, numina magna vocat; 5.234, divoaque in voce vocasset; Tib. 2.1.83; Hor. C.1.2.25; 1.14.10; 1.30.2; 3.22.3; Ecphr.5.9;Liv. 5.31.5.

57.3 fluvialibus aquis Cf. Geo.2.414, fluvialis harundo; Aen.9. 70, fluvialibus undis; "vox Vergiliana", Czyczkiewicz (1891): add Aen.4.675; Ov. Met.1.82 (v.1.); 11.773; Col.6.22.2 (v.1.) 8.16.4; Sil.4.592.

57.3 ira cladis Ira with an objective genitive. H.1.25, dilati... donativi; 2.36, pugnae: cf. Aen.2.413, eruptae virgis ira; Liv.1.5.3, iram praedae amissae; 37.51.6, ira provinciae eruptae, Furneaux: Sil.12.271, iras cladum, Fletcher (A.T.): Ov. Met.1.765f, ira/... criminis; Sil.5. 344, fraterni vulneris ira; Liv.5.33.3, ira corruptae uxoribus, Austin ad Aen.2.413: add Liv.1.30.7, bellorum iras; 2.16.9, ira belli; 8.12.5, iram agri amissi.

57.3 tegmina See 2.21.2.

58.1 fetus Meaning "shoots". Cf. Geo.2.69, inseritur. fetus nucis, Furneaux: Geo.2.429, fetus... gravescit; 4.139, apibus fetis, Czyczkiewicz (1891): add Acc. sp.Nom.489.6, frondet... fetis; Cic. Brut.4.16, omnis fetus repressus est.
14.4.4 gestamine See 2.2.3.

4.4 in longum See 1.69.5.

5.1 Noctem sideribus inlustrem et placido mari quietam quasi convincendam ad seclus dixit praebuere. Cf. Aen.2.255, tacitae per amica silentia lunae; "it was on such a night that Nero tried to have his mother drowned", Austin ad loc.; Hor. C.2.8.10? taciturna noctis/signa; Stat. Th.2.58, per Arcturus mediaque silentia lunae; Catull.7.7; cum tacet nox, Austin ad Aen.2.255: add Aen.2.250-52, ruit Oceanus nox/involvens umbra magna terramque polumque Myrmidonumque dolos; 257, fatigat deum defenso iniquis; Boc.2.16, placidum... staret mare; Sall. Hist.3.6, marique placido; Liv.44.28, placido mari; Val. Max.4.2.pr., placidum mare; Plin. Ep.9.26.4, placido... mari; Curt.3.1.4, placido mari.

5.1 Accermonia. ... memorabilitum... ruere tectum See 2.40.1.

5.3 quae fors obtulerat H.4.1, ut queaque fors obtulerat: cf. Aen.7.554, quae fors prima dedit, Oberlin: add Liv.5.11.1, Fors ita tuit; 25.29.9, quosque fors obtulit.


7.2 properam See 1.65.4.

7.3 inriti See 1.59.5.

7.3 praeveniretur See 1.30.4.

7.3 respiceret See 1.8.4.

8.1 manus pretendere See 14.8.5.

8.3 laetae rei faciem See 13.38.1.

8.4 respicit Anicetum 14.7.3, respiceret Burrum; H.4.82, respexit pone tergum... Basiliden: cf. Aen.5.167-8, Clowes/thum/respicit; 10.288-9, versas... puppis/respicient (not parallel); 10.656, respicit ignarus (not parallel), Furneaux: Liv.8.24.13, Quos ubi respexit rex, Fletcher (A.T.): add Hor. A.P.317, Respiceret exemplar vitae; Liv.50.20.7, respexisse... Italiae litora.

9.1  viam Miseni propter See 1.65.3.

10.2  praeabant manum See 1.68.2.

10.2  discriminem... facinus evasisset See 14.6.2.

12.2  senex mulier See 2.84.1.

12.3  sedibus patriis See 1.79.3.


14.1  cupido erat... insistere Cf. Aen.6.133-4, cupidus est/... immare; Enn. Scaen.257V, cupidus cepit... proloqui, Furneaux: ex Aen.4.549, Curt. 4.3.3, Stat. Th.10.431, Sil.7.286, Kast.

17.1  orta atrox caedes See 12.35.2.

17.1  incessentia See 3.41.3.

21.4  studia... exarsere See 1.51.4.

22.1  effusit See 13.13.4.

22.2  hunc illum 1.42.1, quidquid id studi sceleris; 11.7.1, quem illum; 12.36.1, quis ille: cf. Aen.7.255, hunc illum; 7.272, hunc illum; Cic. Acad.2.22.69, quis... iste dies, Draeger.

24.1  fatiscebant See 3.38.1.

24.1  propulsare... adacti See 4.29.2.

26.2  perosi See 4.67.1.

14.28.1 exarserant See 1.51.4.

29.3 breve et incertum See 1.70.2.

30.1 veste ferali See 1.62.2.

30.1 preces... fundentes 6.42.3, probra: cf. Aen.5.234; preces; 6.55, preces, Furneaux: Hor. Epod.17.53, preces, Fletcher (A.T.): Lucr.4.584-5, querelas; Aen.9.583-4, dicta, Keestermann.

30.2 igni suo involunt See 1.70.3.

30.3 crnore captivo I.e., captivorum. Cf. Aen.10.520, captivo-que rogi perfundat sanguine flammas, Schmaus: Liv.31.46.16, captiva corpora; Curt.3.12.22, captivo corpori, Fletcher (A.T.): add Liv.7.27.9, multitidinem captivam.

30.3 adolere aras H.2.3, altaria adolentur: cf. Lucr.4.1237, adolentque altaria; Aen.7.71, adoleat... altaria, Furneaux.


31.1 iam primum See 4.6.2.

31.2 rapiunt arma See 1.49.1.

32.1 speciem See 11.31.3.

33.2 belli commercium H.3.81: cf. Aen.10.532, belli commercia, Furneaux: add Liv.5.15.5, belli commercio.

33.2 caedes... festinabant See 1.6.2.

34.2 exultabant Cf. Aen.11.663, feminea exsultant... agmina, Furneaux.(cf. somies, Luc.27.4.14)

34.2 non alias See 3.73.2.

36.1 sorores See 1.65.1.

36.3 ad interquenda pilā Cf. Aen.2.231, interserit hastam; 9.52, iaculum intorquens (v.l.); 10.882, telumque intorsit; II.637, hastam intorsit; Sil.4.449 (v.l.), Czyczkiewicz (1891):
add Aen. 9.534, tela; 744, hastam; 10,323, iaculum; 382, telo; 12,921, telum; Ov. Met. 5.90, iaculum; Sil. 1.305, iaculo; 5,577, iaculum; 7,623, saxi; 13,209, hastam; 15, 741-2, tela; Stat. Th. 4.7, hastam; 8,586, missile; Sen. Ep. 45.9 (in imag.), telum... intorsit.

14.36.3 experientia See 1.4.3.

36.3 certus eventus See 1.27.2.

37.1 protentis hastis See 14.8.5.

37.1 abitus Cf. Aen. 9.580, omnemque abitum... coronant, Furneaux.

39.1 rebelles 3.146.2; 12.15.2; H.4.15; 4.72. First appearance in Vergil, Schmaus: add Aen. 6.858; 12.185; Ov. Met. 15.754; R.Am. 246; Stat. Th. 1.35; 10.68; Silv. 1.4.89; Curt. 8.1.35.

40.3 poenae magis quam infamiae exemere See 1.48.2.

43.4 fingere non erubescent See 6.27.1.

44.4 exemplum... utilitate... rependitur See 4.35.3.

45.1 saca et facies minitante Cf. Aen. 1.150, faces et saca vol-
ant, Furneaux.

46.2 designatur See 2.2.3.

48.2 morti eximero See 1.48.2.

48.4 carnificem et laqueum... abolita See 1.46.1.

51.1 gravescentibus... malis See 1.5.1.

51.1 concessitque vita See 1.5.3.

51.1 tumescentibus... facultus See 1.70.2.

53.3 urbe in ipsa See 3.10.2.

53.4 rudimentis A.5. First appearance in Vergil, Schmaus: add Aen. 11.157; Liv. 1.3.4; 21.3.4; Vell. 2.129.2; Quint. 1.8.15; 2.5.1; Petr. 83.1; Plin. Pan. 14.1.

53.5 intra me ipse volvam See 3.38.2.

54.1 omnia mortalitæ See 13.19.1.
praevenit See 1.30.4.

adusque 8 "here alone in Tacitus, and in no earlier prose, but in Verg., Hor., &c., afterwards in Gall. and Appul."
Furneaux: add Aen. 11. 262; Catull. 4. 24; Hor. S. 15. 96; Ov. Met. 4. 20.

evalescerent Cf. Aen. 7. 756-7, medicari... ictum/evaluit,
meaning fieret validus, Cole: i.q. intendi, G.G., H. 1. 80:
add Sen. Ep. 94. 31, adiuta praecptis evalescit; Quint. 2. 8. 5,
adiuta cura natura magis evalescat.

impulit... obicere See 6. 45. 3.

infausta dona See 1. 50. 3.

militum globi See 1. 25. 1.

imperatorio fastigio indici See 4. 14. 2.

accessus 1. 4. 4; 4. 15. 1; 15. 45. 3; D. 13. First appearance
in Vergil, Schmaus: add Aen. 1. 139; 3. 229; Ov. Trist. 1. 1. 41;
Sen. Ben. 4. 12. 3; Quint. 10. 5. 23; 10. 5. 28; Plin. Pan. 49. 1;
83. 1; Ep. 4. 23. 4.

necem intentat Cf. Aen. 1. 91, intentant omnia mortem,
Furneaux: Catull. 64. 187, ostentant omnia letum, Schmaus
(not parallel).

witae exempla See 1. 48. 2.

magno modo See 1. 45. 7

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ire ultum volens Cf. Geo. 4. 501-2, multa volentem/dicere,

ita orditur See 12. 62.

8. B. Koestermann adopts the reading of L. usque ad, and says concern-
ing adusque, "masque in Taciti scriptis invenitur". The fact that
the word in not found elsewhere in Tacitus' works is, in itself,
insufficient ground for rejecting the reading of M. There are 1229
words which Tacitus uses only once in the extant works. (I am in-
depted to Miss N.P. Miller, who very kindly provided me with this
information.) Since the word is attested in the works of the poets,
it would appear to be another example of primarily poetic vocabulary
which Tacitus has used to achieve stylistic variety and elegance.
15.2.2 pacem... aberrunt See 12.50.2.

2.4 evinxit See 6.42.4.

3.1 ingruente Vologaesae See 1.27.2.

5.3 vis locustarum ambederat ⁹ Cf. Aen.3.257, ambases; 5.752-3, ambesa reponunt/robor; Alfenus Varus, Dig.41.1.38, flumen agrum ambedit, Furneaux: "a very rare word, occurring... otherwise only once in Plautus and once in Tacitus in Classical Latin", Williams ad Aen.3.257: add Plaut. Merc.238-9, dicit capram... /suae uxoris dotem ambedisse; 241, dotem ambederit.

7.1 irriti See 1.59.5.

7.2 hostique... seminacta opera fuga perturavit sequa valle extulit. Cf. Aen.2.223f, fugit cum sauciis aram/taurus et incertam excussit cervice securum; Val. Max.1.6.12, ab ipsis altaribus hostiarium fuga; Liv.21.65.13f, vitulus iam ictus e manibus sacrificantium sese cu proripuisset, multos circumstantes crure respersit; Luc.7.165ff, adnotus superis discussa fugit ab ara/taurus, et Emathios precepce se iecit in agros, nullaque funestis inventa est victima sacris; Sil.16.264ff, Cum subito abruptis fugiens altaria taurus/ exiluit vinculis mugituque excitata late/implevit tecta et, fremitu suspicaria raucus/congenimans, Kleinknecht: Sil.5.63ff, Nec raucus taurus cessavit fleble ad aras/immigire sono, pressamque ad colla bipennem/incerta cervice ferens, altaria liquit, Austin ad Aen.2.223-4.

8.1 rapit exercitum See 1.56.1.

9.2 donec... auditum See 4.74.4.

12.1 interritus 1.64.4; 12.21; 15.62.1; H.1.62: cf. Aen.5.863, Czyczkiewicz (1891): add Aen.5.427; 11.711; 11.837; 0v. Met.10.616; 15.198; 15.514; Sil.4.604; 5.50; 6.247; 10.497; Curt.3.6.9; 6.5.29; Quint.1.3.4; 5.7.11; Plin. Pan.64.2.

12.2 redire... esperiri monebat See 11.1.1.

9. E. Koestermann reads exorta vis locustarum aberat quiqquid, aberat being the reading of M. It seems possible that in the present case, the correct reading has been preserved in aberedat, datt., and that the reading of H is a case of substitution of a more familiar word for a less well-known one. The reading ambederat, Lipsius, is considerably more forceful than aberat, and the sentence as a whole seems to give better sense. In addition, the use of a rare word would be characteristic of Tacitus' general striving towards effectiveness and polish in his prose style.

15.2 rebus infaustis See 1.30.3.

15.3 cornisibus caesorum aggeratis See 1.61.2.

16.1 pabulo attrito M.1.10, attritis opibus; 2.56, attritis.... rebus; 3.50, regione bello attrita: cf. Geo.1.46, attritus...... vomer, Furneaux: add Sall. Jug.5.4, Bello Panico.... Italiae opes maxume adtriverat; Flin. Pan.20.4, omnique.... attrita.

17.2 praevienientem See 1.50.4.

18.2 portu in ipso See 3.10.2.

19.2 satis pretii See 2.26.2.

20.1 praevalidi See 3.25.1.

25.3 inriti See 1.50.5.


26.1 habiles I.q. aptus 4.55.1; 12.41.1; G.6. I.q. qui facile tractari regi potest 2.6.2; 11.18.2: Word poetic. cf. Aen.11.555; 12.432; Ov. Met.2.571, Czyzcziewicz (1891): add Cic. de Or.1.54.231; Leg.1.9.26; Liv.22.46.5; 24.48.5; Vell. 2.110.3; Cels.2.1 (p.28, line 23, ed. Daremberg); Sen. Q.N. 1.7.3; Col.2.2.20.

27.1 iter..... penetram See 2.68.1.

28.3 viso Corbulone See 2.31.2.

28.3 equo desiluit See 1.35.4.

29.2 eques compositus per turmas See 2.80.1.

15.35.1 mori adigitur See 4.29.2.


37.2 diversis e terris See 1.17.3.

37.2 Oceanu abusque See 13.47.1.

38.2 continua See 2.60.3.

39.2 hortos quin etiam suos patefecit Anachronism of quin etiam. H.2.17, irritabit q.e.; 2.64, dixisse q.e.; A.26, ultro q.e.; G.3, aram q.e.; 3, inesse q.e.; 13, gradus q.e.; 34, ipsum 34, diu q.e.; cf. Aen.2.768, aures quin etiam voces lactare, Draeger: Lucr.1.731f, carmina quin etiam; Prop. 2. 34.93, Cynthia quin etiam, Austin ad Aen.2.768.

40.2 prassidios... proruperat See 13.44.3.

41.1 resurgentis urbis See 1.39.6.

42.2 squalenti litore Cf. Geo.1.507, squalent... arva, Furneaux: Lucr.1.205, squalentibus arvis, Czychtwicz (1891): Sil.1.211, campis squalentibus, Robbert: add Lucr.5.39, arvis; Sil.3.655, campi.

43.3 subvectanssant Subvectare = subvehere. Cf. Aen.11.131, Cole: add Aen.6.303; 11.474; Plaut. As.341; Sil.1.563; 4.21; Stat. Silv.1.6.32; Col.6. praef.3 (v.1.).

43.3 solidarentur H.2.19. First appearance in Vergil, Schmaus: add Geo.1.179; Lucr.8.891; Vitr.7.1.1; 2.5.4; Cels.8.6; Plin. N.H.11.218; 24.152; 28.227; 34.160; Plin. Ep.8.20.4.

44.4 tergis See 4.72.1.

44.4 flammati = incensi Cf. Aen.1.50, Talia flammatio secum dea corde voluntas, Cole (not parallel): add Lucr.2.673, quae- cunque igni flammati; Val. Fl.1.568-9, flammamet... / ... facem.

44.4 ut... in usum nocturni luminis urerentur Cf. Aen.7.13, urit... nocturna in lumina cedrum, Schmaus: Hor. C.1.27.1, Natis in usum institate scyphiis, Furneaux ad loc. 22.23.9.

45.3 cesssum See 14.62.3.

45.3 vitam tolerat See 11.7.1.

47.1 non alias See 3.73.2.

48.1 certatim See 3.65.2.

49.3 famam... premebat See 3.6.1.


51.3 accingheretur... navare Cf. Geo.3.46, accingar dicere, Draeger.

53.2 corpore ingens See 15.8.3.

53.2 Ferentino in omnido See 2.60.1.


54.3 parare... monet See 11.1.1.

54.4 praevenisset See 1.30.4.

55.2 religiones patriae See 1.79.3.

57.2 gestamine See 2.2.3.

59.2 experiendo See 1.4.3.

59.4 stipendii recentes See 1.41.3.

59.5 degenerem See 1.40.3.
15.60.4 nosecet See 4.35.2.
60.4 glohia militum See 1.25.1.
61.2 Poppaea et Tigellino coram See 1.60.5.
61.3 flexisse ad Faenium See 1.34.4.
62.1 interritus See 15.12.1.
63.1 aeternum (adv.) See 3.26.2.
63.3 corpus . . . tennatum = extennatum Cf. Geo.3.129, macie tenuant armenta, Cole: add Hor. S.2.2.84, tennatum corpus; Prop.2.22.21, exiles . . . tenuatus in artus.
63.3 quaeet . . . absceadere See 16.9.2.
64.2 blandimentis . . . evictam See 3.46.2.
64.4 praedives First appearance in Vergil, Schmaus: add Aen.11.213; Liv.4.13.1; 45.40; Gr. Met.9.91.
67.4 protendere cervicem See 14.8.5.
69.1 praevenire See 1.30.4.
69.1* decoraque servitia et pari aetate habebat Cf. Aen.1.705, totidemque pares aetate ministri.
69.2 mersatur = mergitur Cf. Geo.1.272, gregem fluvio mersare, Cole: add Liv.25.3.11, mersissent \( naves \) in alto; 26.39.18, mersae \( naves \); 28.4.6, mersae \( naves \); Col.7.4.8, ad litus deducta mersatur; Sen. Q.N.4b.13.10, boletos . . . mersatos.
70.1 mortis imaginem See 1.62.2.
71.1 festinata indicia See 1.6.2.
72.1 effigies . . . sisteret See 2.14.4.
72.2 ipse pars Romanarum cladium erit "The expression is poetical and resembles that used by Seneca (de Tranq.14.10) of Iulius Canus ("Caianae clades magna portio"), and the 'Italae pars magna ruinae Appius' of Sil.5.329; both of which are perhaps suggested by the 'quorum pars magna fui' of Verg. Aen.2.6", Furneaux.
15.74.1* occulta coniurationis... retexisset. Cf. Aen.1.356, caecum... seclus... rexit; Hor. C.3.21.15-16, arcanum... /consilium retogis. See also 1.9.2.

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16.4.1 lustrali certamine. Lustralis first appears in Vergil, Schmaus: add Aen.8.183, lustralibus extis; Liv.1.28.1; Ov. Pont.3.2.73; Sen. Agam.163; Val. FL.3.414.

5.1 fatiscerent. See 3.38.1.

5.2 ingranguem multitudinem. See 1.27.2.

6.2 corpus... abolitum. See 3.36.3.

7.1 in longum dilatum est. See 1.69.5.


9.2 praevalidum. See 3.25.1.


11.1 monerent... nuncupare. See 11.1.1.

11.2 certatim. See 3.65.2.

12.2* infaustum nomen. Cf. Aen.7.717, infaustum... Allia nomen. See also 1.30.3.


15.2 praevenirent. See 1.30.4.
16.13.3 amissa urbi reponerem See 1.63.5.

14.1 innexum See 3.10.2.

14.3 perosus See 4.67.1.

15.1 multa militari fama See 13.15.3.

17.4 adsimilatis... litteris See 4.59.3.

22.1 indefessum See 1.64.5.

22.2 secessionem... id See 1.49.2.

26.3 intermeratam See 1.42.2.

26.5 actam actatem "The same sentiment is expressed by Vergil (Aen.4.655) 'vixi et quem dederat cursum fortuna peregi'; Furneaux: add Sall. Hist.2.47.2, acta iam actate.


29.1 arderceret See 1.32.3.

29.2 venerabilis See 2.72.2.

29.2 species See 11.31.3.

30.1 orditurque See 12.62.

30.3 desolataque See 1.30.4.

32.3 fraudibus involutos See 1.70.3.

32.3 amicitiae fallaces Vergil first uses fallax with a genitive, Schmaus: add Ecl.4.24, fallax herba veneni; Liv.25.41.4, fallax promissi.

34.2 monet retinere vitam See 11.1.1.
B. Discussion: Praetereor

The discussion and classification of the items in the preceding list is simplified somewhat by the fact that we are concerned with Tacitean borrowings from Vergil as distinct from his use of poetic vocabulary, and many of the suggested parallels must be excluded from our basic list of Vergilianisms because of the weight of evidence in the works of other writers against the likelihood of a direct relationship between them.

Several of the words and phrases which have been considered Vergilian, or which were thought to have originated with Vergil, are in fact attested in pre-Vergilian literature. It is possible that those which are used by pre-Vergilian poets were transmitted to later writers by Vergil, but they must be considered poetic rather than specifically Vergilian in the strictest sense. In addition, it will be pointed out that, in spite of his comment in Dial. 20, Tacitus was acquainted with and made use of earlier Latin poetry, so that the pre-Vergilian poets may be his direct source, rather than Vergil. The appearance of words or phrases in pre-Vergilian prose, too, particularly in the works of the historians, Sallust and Livy, or of Cicero, counts strongly against the probability of Tacitean borrowing from Vergil. We should note that the general distinction which scholars sometimes make, using Caesar and Cicero as the norm, between the types of language which the ancients considered suitable for prose and for poetry, may obscure the fact that unusual or heightened language has
a definite place in Classical prose. We can, however, consider as
secondary problems for our purposes such questions as whether or not
a phrase in Sallust like de nomine is drawn from the archaic poets,
and whether adolet actae is part of the poetic element in the first
decade of Livy. The important point for us is that they have already
been used by a writer of prose, and need not have been derived directly
from Vergil by Tacitus.

The decision to include or exclude words and constructions first
attested in Vergil, which appear in other post-Vergilian writers as
well as Tacitus, is based generally upon whether they appear in prose
and/or poetry, the frequency with which they are used, and whether
there is any evidence of Vergilian imitation in other writers as well
as Tacitus. The consciously poetic colouring of Silver Prose has been
noted in the Introduction as a factor which complicates the discussion
of Vergil's influence upon Tacitus. One writer may use a word or
phrase with full awareness of its original context and its emotive
power, while for another, its Vergilian origin, if remembered, may be
of little artistic significance. Generally speaking, the likelihood
that a word or phrase retains its distinctively Vergilian quality
decreases with the frequency and variety of its use. The fact that
other Silver-prose writers also use a word or phrase does not neces-
sarily indicate that Tacitus is unaware of its Vergilian origin or
its significance in the Vergilian context, but such examples cannot,
for our purposes, be considered basic evidence.

Between the two poles "Vergil and Tacitus only" and "general
usage" there is a nebulous area in which it is difficult to reach conclusions about the lineage of particular words and phrases. Nevertheless, classification of examples according to the writers who use them, whether in prose or poetry, and the periods in which they appear suggests some fairly well-defined patterns of transmission. The material will be discussed under the following general headings:

a) parallels which are invalid
b) parallels appearing also in poetry
   i. pre-Vergilian and contemporary Augustan poetry
   ii. post-Vergilian poetry
c) parallels appearing also in pre-Tacitean prose
   i. general prose, i.e., examples not confined to the historians.
   ii. historians
   iii. one prose writer other than Tacitus
d) problem examples

Because of the nature of the material with which we are dealing, there are inevitably certain anomalies, and some examples could be discussed in more than one category. In general, if a word or phrase appears in both prose and poetry as well as in the works of Vergil and Tacitus, I have tended to classify it according to the nature of the prose examples. The fact that it is used by a writer or writers of prose is both a limiting factor on the extent of any poetic or Vergilian quality which it might be thought to possess, and an indication that Tacitus is not innovating when he, too, makes use of it
in prose. The exception is a small group of examples, each of which is used by one prose author who was writing after 19 B.C., but is attested earlier in the works of pre-Vergilian poets or Augustan poets contemporary with Vergil. The fact that such examples are rare in prose may indicate that the words and phrases concerned were in fact considered to have a heightened affective quality. Because, however, they are used by earlier or contemporary Augustan poets as well as by Vergil, we cannot assume that their poetic quality was thought to be specifically Vergilian, and for this reason they are included as a group in section b) i. pre-Vergilian and contemporary Augustan poetry.

a) parallels which are invalid

Some of the parallels which I consider invalid can be grouped for purposes of discussion. Firstly, there are those in which a suggested similarity in the meaning of individual words used by Vergil and Tacitus does not exist. Moles at 1.4.3 and 1.11.1, referring to the burden of ruling, is different from moles in Aen. 1.33, which refers to a difficult task. In addition, there is a close parallel in Livy to Tacitus' phrase at 1.4.3. Similarly, piacula, 1.30.3, meaning "guilt", is not identical with piacula in Aen. 6.569, which is more likely to mean "atonement for crimes committed". Other examples are amovare, 1.53.1, which in Aen. 6.524 means "remove" rather than "exile"; rigor, 2.23.3, which in Geo. 1.143 means harshness in a physical sense rather than harshness or severity of weather; recentare, 4.41.1, meaning "receive", "admit", rather than the particularized meaning
in Aen.10.583; mortalit, 13.19.1, "human affairs", which fades beside the scope of meaning and affective quality of mentem mortalit, Aen.1.462; livere, 13.42.3, which does not mean invidere in Aen.7.687; evalescere, 14.58.4, "extend", "grow", which is different from Aen.7.757, where the verb means "have the power to do something"; attritus, 15.16.1 and Gee.1.46, the former meaning the dwindling or using up of food and resources, the latter the physical wearing away of the surface of an object through constant use; flammare, 15.44.4, which is literal rather than figurative as in Aen.1.50; and ardescere, 15.54.1 and Aen.1.713, in which the metaphorical uses of the word are not similar.

The second group consists of certain words from the list compiled by Schmaus of those which appear first in Vergil and are also used by Tacitus. Since he comments upon them solely because of the apparent absence of earlier examples, Schmaus' point would be invalid if the words could be found in pre-Vergilian literature. In the case of eight words there are in fact pre-Vergilian examples. Praevenire, 1.30.4, appears both in Sallust and Livy. Praeviri, 2.6.4; praevalidus, 3.25.1; svincere, 3.46.2; perosus, 4.67.1; rudimentum, 14.53.4; inven-
alis, 15.53.1; and praedives, 15.64.4; are all used in the first decade of Livy. These words will be noted also in section e) parallels appearing also in pre-Tacitean prose.

In nine cases, other writers are a more probable source for Tacitus than Vergil. Hobescere, 1.30.3, is used by Silius in a phrase closely related to Tacitus' hobescere sidera, whereas there is little
verbal relation between Geo.1.395 and Tacitus' phrase. Although the
general context at 2.23.2 contains Vergilian language, the actual
combination prospectum adimere appears not in Vergil, but in Livy.
At 3.21.4, spargit bellum is probably an imitation of Lucan. Lucan
may be drawing upon Vergil for his metaphor, but since Tacitus imitates
phrases of Lucan which are not necessarily based upon those of Vergil,
it seems unlikely that in the present case he and Lucan are both
drawing upon Vergil independently of each other to produce the same
phrase. Orsus with dicere understood, 12.62, is used eleven times by
Livy in books 21-45 of the Ab Urbe Condita. Although all the examples
post-date the publication of the Aeneid, the frequency of their appear-
ance makes Livy a more likely source for Tacitus than Vergil. Simi-
larly, trepida fuga, 13.36.2, is used several times by Livy, so that
it is more likely to be Tacitus' source than the phrase trepido cursu
of Vergil. Tacitus' use of facies = aspectus rei, 13.38.1, has an
affinity with Sallustian rather than Vergilian usage, the phrase
facies belli appearing in both writers. While the uses by Vergil and
the poets of glomerari with in and an acc., cited at 13.39.3, are sim-
ilar to Tacitus, Livy uses the same combination as Tacitus, conglom-
bari in, twice in the first decad. Livy also uses the combination
fors offert with a pronominal object, in a phrase more closely related
to quae fors obtulerat, 14.5.3, than the Vergilian phrase cited. Al-
though there is a general similarity between 16.13.1 and Geo.3.478,
the idea of a disease's being caused morbo caeli appears first in
Latin literature in Lucretius rather than Vergil. Tacitus, however,
appears to draw again upon Livy, who uses the phrase *intemperies caeli* twice in the first decade.

It has been suggested by scholars that two phrases are indirectly Vergilian imitations. With regard to 3.55.5, *quem ad modum temporum vices, ita morum vertantur*, and Plin. *Pan.12.4*, Bruère comments, "Perhaps it is not too fanciful to suppose that Pliny's echo of the *Georgics* recalled the passage... to Tacitus' mind". Furneaux notes a similarity between 15.72.2, *ipse pars... cladium*, and phrases in Seneca and Silius, both of which he feels may have been suggested by *quorum pars magna fui*, *Aen.2.6*. In each case, however, Tacitus' language resembles more closely the phrases of Pliny and Seneca than those of Vergil, so that the likelihood of his consciously combining the language of Vergil and Pliny, or Vergil and Seneca seems somewhat remote.

In five cases a suggested similarity between the language of Tacitus and Vergil seems too tenuous to warrant calling the phrases verbal parallels. They are: 1.36.3, *volutatis inter se rationibus*, and *Aen.1.455*, *artificumque manus inter se* (*v.l.*); 1.44.3, *tamquam semet absolveret*, and *Aen.2.130*, *quaesibi quisque timebat/unius in... exitium conversa tulere*; 2.16.1, *pone tergum insurgebat silva*, and *Aen. 8.23†, [silex]/speluncæ doro insurgen*; 6.36.1, *tota mole regni*, and *Aen.11.313*, *toto certatum est corpore regni*; and 12.20.2, *quanta pervicacia in hostem, tanta beneficentia adversus supplices utendum*, and *Aen.6.853*, *parcere subiectis et debellare superbos*.

The remaining examples do not fall into a single category and must therefore be considered individually. With regard to the intransitive use of struere in 1.13.3, Koestermann states that Vergil also uses the verb without an object. Although the use of a pronominal object is not as remote from Tacitus' phrase, struente Tiberio, as the use with a substantive as object, the Vergilian construction is not strictly parallel to the Tacitean one. Incendere with haec as object, 1.23.1, is not parallel to the Vergilian metaphors cited by Furneaux, in which the verb has a substantive as object. In addition, there are parallels in pre-Vergilian prose to Vergil's metaphors of the type pudor incendit virens, so that the citation of Vergil as the model upon which Tacitus is innovating cannot be supported. Koestermann states at 2.40.1 that Vergil is the first to use inverse cum with a historic infinitive, but gives no example from Vergil. Although Vergil uses inverse cum, I have been unable to find an example with a historic infinitive. The construction actually appears before Vergil in Sallust and Livy. Iam primum, 4.6.2, for which Furneaux cites examples from Vergil, is accepted prose usage rather than Vergilian. Vergil's use of inicere, Ecl.6.19, cited by Cole at 6.50.5, cannot be compared with Tacitus' use of the noun iniectus. First, they are different parts of speech. Second, there is no contextual similarity between the passages. Third, the verb appears with the meaning "throw, put upon anything" from Plautus, and is Ciceronian usage. The noun, lucculnus and then in on the other hand, seems to be uncommon, and is attested first in Silver writers. Finally, although both Vergil and Tacitus use pro-
rumpere with an ablative, 13.44.3, as noted by Draeger, the ablatives are of different kinds. Cubiculique prorumpit signifies motion away from something, whereas tota proruptus corpore, Aen.7.459, is a local ablative.

b) parallels appearing also in poetry

i. pre-Vergilian and contemporary Augustan poetry

A number of words and phrases used by Tacitus which have been described as Vergilian, or for which parallels have been noted by commentators in the works of Vergil, are attested also in pre-Vergilian poetry or in the works of Horace. Since there is evidence that, in the creation of his own distinctive prose style, Tacitus has drawn directly upon the language of Augustan poets other than Vergil, and of pre-Augustan poets, we cannot assume that there is a direct relationship between Vergil and Tacitus in the case of words, phrases, and syntactical devices which are used both by Vergil and earlier or contemporary Augustan poets. The word criminis, for example, Ann.4.1.3, appears in Plaut. Bacch.4.7.28 (Furneaux); and valescere (2.39.4; 4.61; 6.42.2; 11.15.1) seems to be taken from Lucretius (1.942; 4.17, Furneaux). The combination custodes addi, 6.14.2, while found in Hor. C.3.4.78-9 (Furneaux), is frequent in Plautus (Aulul.556; Capt.708; M.6.146; 298; 550, Fletcher); and Ann.14.54.3, nec me in paupertatem
inse detrudam, is very similar to Plaut. Men. 204, ad mendicitatem se properant detrudere (Fletcher). Although the language of Horace appears less frequently in the Annales than that of Vergil, some phrases seem to be fairly certain instances of Horatian imitation. Taedio viarum ac maris, for example, 2.14.4, resembles closely Hor. Ep. 1.11.6, odio maris atque viarum, and C.2.6.7, lasso maris et viarum (Furneaux); and the phrase impiger militiae, 3.4.8.1, has obvious affinities with Horace's militiae...piger, Ep. 2.1.124 (Fletcher). Possibly there is a direct relation between Vergil and Tacitus if an example appears in a heavily Vergilian context in the Annales, but even then Tacitus may be using language which he considers poetic rather than specifically Vergilian.

The group of parallels which are attested in pre-Vergilian poetry or in the writings of the Augustan poets contemporary with Vergil includes, for example, words such as intemtus, 1.50.2; tumescere used metaphorically, 1.70.2; tabum, 2.69.3; noscere = agnoscere, 4.35.2; demissus meaning "descended", 12.58.1; ambiderat, 15.5.3; tenuatum = extenuatum, 15.63.3; phrases like vagante fama, 1.70.3; sanguine sacri, 2.14.1; secundante vento, 2.24.3; mortem properavisset, 2.31.3;

11. Some examples appear also in archaic prose or are already used by Sallust, Livy, or Nepos, so that they may not come directly from the poets to Tacitus. Such is the case with, for example, cupiens with a genitive, 1.75.2 (Plaut. Mil. 4.2.7; 4.4.29; 4.2.58, Furneaux: Ter. Hec. 142; Sall. Hist. 5.19, Fletcher): agitare with an infinitive, 2.4.3 (Verg., Curt., Heraeus: Plant. Ind. 936-7; Nep. Ham. 1.4, Fletcher): demutari, 4.16.3 (Plaut., Furneaux: Cato, Or. frg. 26.125, Malcovati, Fletcher): and occipere, 1.39.3; 5.2.3; 6.45.3 (archaic, Livy, Furneaux: Sall. Hist. 3.25, Fletcher: also, e.g., Ter. And. 1.1.52; Lucr. 5.889).
secundo rumore, 3.29.4; poenas...expenderet, 12.19.3; and preces
...fundentes, 14.30.1; and constructions such as ingruere with a
person as subject, 1.27.2; avellere with a simple ablative rather than
a prepositional phrase, 1.44.4; prepositional phrases in which the pre-
position follows two co-ordinate substantives, 1.60.3; celerare used
transitively, 2.5.2; and cupidus est with an infinitive, 14.14.1. 12

Some words, such as intemtutus, tabum, secundare meaning "favour"
and celerare used transitively continue to be used by post-Vergilian
poets, so that they would appear to be part of the literary language
which is common to the poets of all periods. Others, like the phrases
poenas expendere, mortem properare, and tenuaturn = extenuatum, appear
less frequently, while a few examples, such as the combination fama
vagari, ingruere with a person as subject, and avellere with a simple
ablative, seem to be used only by one pre-Vergilian poet, Vergil, and
Tacitus. None, however, could be called Vergilian in the sense of
words coined by Vergil or first attested in his works, and all must be
excluded from the basic Vergilian material since there are possible
alternative sources from which Tacitus may have derived them.

12. See also 1.30.3, ruere tempestates; 2.23.2, placidum aequor; 2.60.1,
oppido a Campano; 3.24.2, culpam...vulgam; 4.67.4, additus mil-
les; 13.54.3, consessum caveae; 13.55.3, vocare = invocare; (14.30.
3, adolare aras; 14.58.4, adusque; 15.59.2, anastrophe of quin
etiam.

Also included in the present category is a group of thirteen
words, phrases, and stylistic devices which appear in pre-Vergilian
or contemporary Augustan poetry, and are also used by one late Au-
gustan or Silver prose writer as well as Tacitus. (See p.102). They
are: 1.9.2, the use of a genitive with neuter plural adjectives on
the analogy of the partitive genitive; 1.27.2, certus with a geni-
tive; 1.30.3, temeratus; 1.60.1, equus abruntis vinculis; 3.10.1,
contra...tendebant; 4.6.4, aspere maris; 4.34.4, the combination
caelo aequar; 4.38.2, saxo struuntur; 4.48.1, sommo et vinc pro-
cumbere; 6.45.3, impellere with an infinitive; 12.12.3, comminus =
prope; 14.6.2, evasisse...casum; 15.43.3, subvectassent.
b) ii. post-Vergilian poetry

The suggested Vergilian words and phrases which appear in post-Vergilian poetry as well as in the *Annales* fall generally into two groups: those in which there is evidence of Vergilian imitation, and those which seem to have become an accepted part of the language of the poets. The distinction is based upon frequency of use as well as the nature of the examples themselves. Examples of the former type will be included in the list of Vergilianisms at the end of the chapter.

We should note that Tacitus uses phrases which appear to be direct imitations of post-Vergilian poets, and that, for this reason, his use of a word or phrase which appears in the poetry of Vergil and Lucan, for example, may arise from his familiarity with the language of the later writer, rather than of Vergil. Unless, therefore, a word or phrase is relatively rare in poetry and seems to retain its Vergilian stamp, we cannot assume that Vergil is necessarily Tacitus' source.

The examples which I consider poetic rather than Vergilian, because of the nature of their use by post-Vergilian poets, are listed below. In some cases, a word or phrase is used by several poets, in others it appears frequently in the works of one poet. With regard to

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13. See, for example, *bellum pavesacere*, 1.4.2 (*Sil.2.335; 13.634; 15.6; 16.127*); *visu*... *deformis*, 1.61.1 (*Ov. A.A.3.217*); *ceteras* (sc. *virtutes*) *exueret*, 1.75.2 (*Sil.6.125*); *nocem incustoditam*, 2.40.2 (*Sil.15.333*); *cui inerat imago paternaee facundiae*, 3.34.2 (*Ov. Trist.4.4.3, cujus inest animo patrii candoire Image*); *iacere* (sc. *sermones*, 4.68.3 (*Stat. Th.1.411*); *incerta pavet*, 5.4.1 (*Stat. Th.4.408*), all noted by Fletcher: and *dira quies*, 1.65.2 (*Luc.7.26*); *in munerem ardescre*., 15.54.1 (*Luc.7.140, exarsit manus*); and *parum sanguinis effundebant*, 16.15.2 (*Luc.2.128-9, par*...*nom. sanguinis effudit*), pointed out by Robbert.
the classification of constructions, unless there is a marked verbal similarity, i.e., a recurrent phrase which contains a syntactical point, there are insufficient grounds for suggesting Vergilian imitation. For this reason, even if a construction appears only once in a poet, as well as in the works of Vergil and Tacitus, I have classed it as poetic.

The present group consists of diversus meaning "distant", 1.17.3 (freq. in Ovid); intermeratus, 1.42.2 (Ov. Sil. Stat. Val. Fl.); the use of neuter adjectives to represent the class to which the noun belongs, like invalida et inermia, 1.46.1 (Ov.):¹pleted animus est with an infin., 1.56.5 (Ov. Phaedr. Luc.); reponere meaning "restore", "replace", 1.63.5 (Sil.); simul haec et with dixit understood, 1.65.4 (Stat.); sidus meaning "season", 1.70.2 (Ov.); involvere (sc. fluctibus), 1.70.3 (Sil. Luc. Val. Fl.); labitur = moritur, 2.11.3 (Ov. Luc.); detrudere with an ablative instead of a prepositional phrase, 2.17.4 (Luc.); niti meaning "climb", 2.17.6 (Stat. Luc.); relegit Asiam, 2.54.2 (Ov. Stat. Sen. Val. Fl.); radere = eradere, 3.17.4 (possibly from Ovid); revolvere used metaphorically with animo omitted, 3.18.4 (Ov. Luc.); origo used of persons, 4.9.2 (Ov. Stat.); inducere with a dative, 4.14.2 (Ov. Sil. Stat.); viveque in saxe, 4.55.2 (freq. Ov.); certus with an infinitive, 4.57.1 (Ov. Sil. Stat. Val. Fl.); runta voce, 6.20.1 (Ov. Sil. Stat. Val. Fl.); praecessius with a genitive, 6.21.3

¹. Another stylistic device, the combination of an abstract and personal noun instead of a pair of either abstract or personal, like criminis et innoxios, 1.55.2, I have also classed as poetic rather than Vergilian, even though no examples from other writers are listed, since there is no verbal similarity between the phrases of Vergil and Tacitus.

c) parallels appearing also in pre-Tacitean prose

i. general prose, i.e., examples not confined to the historians.

Examples in the present section can be sub-divided further into those which are attested in pre-Augustan and Augustan prose, those which do not appear in prose until the Silver period, and those which are used by prose writers of both periods, examples in the final group being the most numerous.

Although they are few in number, some words, metaphors, and constructions seem to be used in prose before Tacitus only by pre-Augustan and Augustan writers, and their other occurrences are confined to the poets and Vergil until they appear again in Tacitus' works. They include fama fert with an acc. and infin., 1.5.4 (Cic. Liv.); the passive use of videri, 2.31.2 (Varr. Liv.); the word accitus, 2.80.2 (Sall. Cic.); ex alto = in mari aperto, 3.1.3 (Cic. Liv.); incumbere meaning urgere, instare, 4.24.1 (Cic. Liv.); sistere = stare, 4.40.5 (Varr. Cic.); corpora used de ipsis personis, 4.72.2 (Cic. Sall. Liv.); species meaning "spectacle", "sight", 11.31.3 (Cic. Liv.); (and carnere in the sense decrenere, 15.14.1, a meaning current in archaic literature (Cic. Liv.).) The fact that the majority of them appear in the works of
Cicero suggests that they are acceptable prose usage in spite of their comparative rarity, and that Tacitus need not have derived them from Vergil.

The group of words and phrases which appear first in prose in the Silver period is somewhat larger. Words like infaustus, desolare, dedignari, gestamen, crebrescere, secussus, and interitus, all of which are listed by Schmaus among those appearing first in Vergil's works and also in the works of Tacitus, seem to have become accepted by Silver writers generally. Similarly, some of the meanings of words which have been noted as Vergilian are not unknown in Silver prose: for example, experientia = usus, indiscretus meaning "indistinguishable", deserta = regiones vastae, and fibra meaning extr. The phrase abrumperc seremonem and variants of fessis rebus succurrere and abrumperc vitam also appear in Silver prose. Premere, 3.6.1, is used metaphorically by Valerius Maximus, Seneca, and the younger Pliny; repetit, 4.35.3, by Columella, and the younger Pliny; fatiscere, 3.38.1, which appears first in Vergil in the non-deponent form, is used literally by the elder Pliny and metaphorically by Columella; and abrumperc,

15. 1.30.3; Sen., Plin. mai.
16. 1.30.4; Plin. mai., Plin. min.
17. 2.2.3; Curt., Col., Sen., Plin. min.
18. 2.2.3; Sen., Plin. mai.
19. 2.39.3; Quint., Plin. min.
21. 15.12.1; Curt., Quint., Plin. min.
22. 1.4.3; Cels., Vell.
23. 1.35.1; Plin. mai., Quint.
24. 3.21.4; Curt., Mela, Sen., Plin. mai.
25. 14.30.3; Plin. mai., Petr.
26. 4.60.2; Sen., Quint.
27. 15.50.1; Plin. mai., Plin. min.: 16.28.5; Sen., Plin. min.
12.50.2, is used metaphorically by Curtius, Valerius Maximus, and Seneca. In addition, there are points of syntax which Vergil and Tacitus share with Silver writers. Seneca and the younger Pliny also use cura est with an infinitive, 2.55.6. The uses of impatien and securus with a genitive appear to be relatively common constructions in Silver prose. The elder Pliny and Mela also use regnare transitively, 13.54.1. While the use of sponte without sua, mea, etc., 1.8.4, appears to be poetic in origin, it is found in Quintilian and the younger Pliny as well as in Tacitus. It would appear, then, that Tacitus is not departing radically from the practice of contemporary or earlier Silver writers by using these words and constructions in prose, and that current, rather than Vergilian usage may be his immediate source.

Moving on to the third group, we are on relatively certain ground in excluding from the list of Vergilianisms those examples which are found in Augustan or earlier prose and persist in Silver prose. Of the sixty-eight examples which form the present group, fifty-two are attested first in prose in the works of pre-Vergilian or contemporary Augustan writers, and hence it might be concluded that both Vergil and the writers of prose are drawing upon a common literary stock. The fact that Silver prose writers other than Tacitus also use the words and phrases in question suggests that Tacitus, in turn, is making use


29. Other words and phrases apparently accepted by Silver writers generally are: 1.32.3, ardescere, metaphorically of the emotions (Sen. Plin.mai.); 1.62.2, feralia and the adjectival feralis, "of the dead" (Sen. Plin.mai.); 1.74.4, variants of rupta taciturnitate (Curt. Plin.min.); 2.39.2, anna (subst.) (Plin.mai., Plin.min.); 6.37.2, simiari = flectere, curvari (Cels., Sen.); 11.7.1, exercere meaning "plough" (Col., Mela, Plin.mai.); 14.8.5, protendera (Plin.mai., Petr.); and 14.27.1, the alliterative tremor terra (Sen., Plin.min.)
of this same basic fund of literary language, certain elements of
which remain constant throughout the major periods of Latin literature.

Six examples are first used in prose by Sallust:

1.6.2 festinare used transitively.
1.30.4 praevinire (also Livy).
3.16.2 exigere meaning "spend, pass time".
3.26.2 adverserial use of adjectives.
6.24.2 caedes meaning corpora caesorum (also Livy).
14.5.1 the phrase placidum mare (also Livy).

Seventeen appear in the works of Cicero:

1.3.5 quamquam with a subjunctive of fact (also Varro, Nepos, and Livy).
1.27.1 firmare used of persons (also Caesar).
1.59.3 anastrophe of prepositions of the type Germanorum in
lucis (rare in prose but one example also in Caesar).
1.65.3 phrases in which the preposition follows its noun,
a device more characteristic of poetry, but also
used by Livy and the elder Pliny.
1.65.4 haecere with a simple ablative.
1.66.2 prensare, with a different meaning, however, from
Tacitus.
1.79.3 patrium as in patriis annibus.
2.21.2 tegimen = tegumentum (also Livy).
2.35.3 the phrase languescet industria
2.60.4 a variant of the phrase pondus argenti et auri.
2.70.1 effundere used metaphorically.
3.26.1 vetare used passively with a pronominal object.
3.31.2 meditare meaning "practise".
3.65.1 involvere used metaphorically.
4.12.2 volutare used metaphorically.
10.31.2 simulacrum meaning "representation" as opposed to
the actual thing or event.
15.26.1 the word habiles.

Twenty are used in the first decad of Livy, thereby preceding any
examples from the Aeneid:

1.48.2 eximere with a dative
1.49.2 use of unassimilated pronouns.
1.51.4 evadere used transitively.
1.56.1 rapere meaning raptim ducere.
1.59.5 inexercitus used passively.
1.69.5 in longum.
2.26.2 eventus = prosper eventus.
2.47.1 substantival use of ardum.
2.72.2 venerabilis.
3.36.3 abolere.
3.38.2 volvere used metaphorically without animo, secum.
3.43.1 operatum = occupatum esse.
3.46.2 evincere.
4.28.3 quaternem meaning "shake".
4.67.1 perosus.
6.51.3 egregius with an ablative of respect.
12.17.1 evadere meaning escendere.
13.42.4 velut indagine (also Hirtius).
14.53.4 rudimentum
15.53.1 iuvenalis.

Six are used by all three writers: the word inlucum, 1.24.3; ex-
ardescere used metaphorically, 1.51.4; appositional phrases such as
pulcherrimum augurium, 2.17.2; satis with a genitive, 2.26.2; the word
certatim, 3.65.2; and audere used absolutely, 4.59.3.

The remaining examples which are found in pre-Vergilian prose are:
the use of a dative of purpose attached to a substantive, 1.3.1, first
in Cato; inritus used of persons, 1.59.5, also in Cato and possibly
transmitted through Vergil to post-Augustan writers; and praefulgere,
3.76.2 (Auct., Her., Liv.).

Of the final sixteen examples which make up the present group,
thirteen are first attested in prose in Books 21-45 of Livy's Ab Urbe
Condita: desilire with a simple ablative, 1.35.4; degener, 1.40.3;
eniti meaning parere, 2.84.1; innecere, 3.10.2; incessere, 3.41.3;
elustari, 4.31.2; reparere, 4.51.2; exsors with a genitive, 6.10.1;
erubescere with an infinitive, 30 6.23.1; insomnium meaning "dream", 11.
4.2; rapere meaning "plunder", 13.6.1; the verb effulgere, 13.13.4; and
30. Also in Livy, Book 10, but included as post-Vergilian since Vergil
uses the verb in the Eloquenses.
mersare meaning *mergere*, 15.69.2. The words *aggerare*, 1.61.2; *educere* in the sense *aedificare*, 2.61.1; and the verb *solidare*, 15.43.3, appear to have been used first in prose by Vitruvius.

In each case it is chronologically possible that they are derived from Vergil, since there do not appear to be any pre-Vergilian examples extant either in prose or poetry, but all are used by more than one post-Classical prose writer as well as by Tacitus. The same general comment, therefore, regarding frequency and variety of use applies in the present case as with those words and phrases first used in prose by Silver writers, and for the same reasons they must be excluded from the basic list of Vergilianisms.

c) ii. historians.

Quintilian's comment on the relation between history and poetry is often quoted by those discussing the influence of the poets upon Tacitus:

Est enim proxima poetis et quodammodo carmen solutum et scribitur ad narrandum, non ad probandum; totumque opus non ad actum rei pugnamque praesentem, sed ad memoriam posteritatis et ingenii famam componitur; ideoque et verbis remotioribus et liberioribus figuris narrandi taudium evitat. 10.1.31.

That Sallust and Livy draw upon the poets for some of their *verba remotiora* and *liberiores figurae* has been noted frequently, although there are differences of opinion concerning the extent to which Vergil

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31. e.g., Constans, Stacey, and Miller.
in particular has influenced the language of Livy.\footnote{32} Granting the general influence which Vergil would have upon Silver writers because of his works' being used as school texts, and granting also the conscious use of the language of the poets by post-Classical prose writers, one might still expect to find some evidence of Sallustian and Livian influence upon the later writers of history with regard to their use of less usual language and constructions. An examination of the items in the list indicates that there are certain words and constructions which appear only in the historians and the poets.

Examples range from individual words such as\textit{ gravescere, 1.5.1} (Sall., Plin.mai.);\textit{ globus} in military terminology, 1.25.1 (Cato, Liv., Curt.);\textit{ lymphare, 1.32.1} (Liv., Curt.);\textit{ praevalidus, 3.25.1} (Liv., Vell. Plin. mai.);\textit{ condere} used of persons, 4.56.1 (Sall. Curt.);\textit{ tractus, 15.37.2} (Sall., Plin.mai.): to particular meanings of words such as\textit{ late praetenta, 2.56.1} (Liv., Plin.mai.): metaphorical uses such as\textit{ intumescere, 1.38.2} (Liv., Vell.); and\textit{ resurgere, 1.39.6} (Liv., Vell.): stylistic devices like the use of\textit{ -que atque, 1.41.1} (Liv., Curt.): constructions such as\textit{ sistere} with an accusative, 2.14.4 (Liv., Plin.);\textit{ adpellere} with a dative, 3.9.2 (Liv., Curt., Val.Max.);\textit{ donec id. . . vetitum, 4.74.4} (Sall., Liv.): and details of subject-matter,\textit{ hostia-que. . . semifacta opera fuga perrupit seque vallo extulit, 15.7.2, the description of the escape of a wounded sacrificial animal, which is\textit{ 

\footnote{32} See the articles of Riemann and Gries listed in the bibliography, which contrast rather sharply with the article by Stacey.
regarded as a dire omen (Liv., Val. Max.). Although the number of such examples is limited, they suggest that rather than taking his inspiration from Vergil and the poets, Tacitus may be drawing here upon earlier writers of history, and using language which had come to be regarded as the common literary stock of the historians.

c) iii. one prose writer other than Tacitus

There are approximately ninety words, phrases, and constructions in the Annales which are found in Vergil and the poets but seem to appear only in one prose writer other than Tacitus. They are particularly difficult to classify, and in some cases the decision to exclude them must be a relatively arbitrary one.

If the prose-writer concerned is pre-Vergilian, it is possible that both he and Vergil are using a common literary stock. For example, the combination of moles and the comparative of magnus or parvus, 1.45.1, although frequent in the first decade of Livy, is found as early as Accius. The form eburnus for eburneus, 2.83.1, a variant reading in Livy 5.41.2, is first attested in Lucilius. Similarly, in the case of words and phrases which do not appear in poetry before Vergil, their use by a pre-Vergilian writer of prose may point to a common source in earlier literature. In addition, although our knowledge of spoken Latin is limited, we cannot disregard entirely the

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33. See also 2.14.1, operatum meaning "sacring" (Liv., Curt.); 3.1.4, variants of the phrase defixit oculos (Liv., Val. Max.); 5.10.2, anastrophe of prepositions of the type judice ab uno (Liv., Plin.); 4.48.1, variants of the phrase somno et vino procumbere (Liv., Val. Max.); 11.7.1, tolerare vitam (Caes., Liv.); 15.39.5, inducit in military terminology (Sall., Liv., Curt.).
question of the possible extent of its influence upon the formation of
the literary language. Keeping in mind, however, that we are concerned
with Vergilian rather than poetic, literary, or colloquial language,
if a relevant parallel appears in Sallust, Caesar, Cicero, or the
first decade of Livy, we cannot consider the example as part of our
basic material.

The numerical distribution according to the prose author who uses
the words and phrases is as follows: Livy, 21; Sallust, 11; Cicero, 8;
and Cato, Caesar, and the Bellum Hispaniense 1 respectively. Examples
include words like vana used as a substantive, 1.9.1; sonor, 1.65.1;
prope, 1.65.4; praevelli, 2.6.4; densere, 2.14.3; despectare, 2.43.3;
praedives, 15.64.4; and lustralis, 16.4.1: such phrases as (de nomine,
1.15.2; ante alios, 1.27.1; aestatem adolevisse, 2.43.1; bellum commerci-
cum, 14.33.2; aestatem aestatem, 16.26.5: certain meanings of words like
excindere used of persons, 2.25.2; haberi meaning "named", "called", 2.
55.5; adsimulare, 4.59.3; terga = tergora, 4.72.1; servicem perfregit,
6.14.1: and constructions such as flectere used intransitively, 1.34.
4; trepidus with a genitive, 6.21.2; and monere and suadere, both with
an infinitive rather than a subjunctive of indirect command, 11.1.1
and 16.9.2. 34

34. See also 1.3.6, abolendae infamiae; 1.17.3, casus vita superaverit;
1.17.2, infringi used of persons; 1.49.1, arma raperant; 1.53.2,
onnis spei egenam; 1.61.1, maestos locos; 2.5.1, casibus objecitare;
2.45.3, condilatrans cuncta; 2.46.4, sperare meaning "expect that
which is undesired"; 2.68.1, vade penetriti poterat; 2.81.2, saxa
et facies ingenere; 3.36.3, leges... versus 4.11.2, facinorum
omnia repertus; 4.58.3, moenia... adsidet; 6.2.3, orbat delic-
er; 6.34.4, vocare ad rupnem; 12.35.2, missilibus = tellis; 12.63.
2, Pontum erumpens; 13.57.5, ira cladis; 13.58.1, fetus meaning
"shoots"; 14.8.4, respicit Anicetum.
Of the thirty-two words, phrases and constructions which appear in prose which post-dates the publication of the Aenaid, as well as in Tacitus, a high proportion are in Books 21-45 of Livy. In two cases, a word appears in later Augustan and Silver poetry in such a way that there is little likelihood of direct imitation of Vergil by each writer: 4.46.1, contundere used with a person as object (Sil. Stat.); and 12.66.1, tabidus (Ov., Luc., Mart., Sen.). The combination deditque iura, 3.23.2, although frequent in Vergil, is also used more than once by Ovid, so that possibly it should be considered poetic rather than Vergilian.

Having set aside the preceding examples on the grounds that there are several sources from which Tacitus could have derived them, we are left with twenty-nine words and phrases which may be grouped as follows. Nine are used also by Livy. Concerning four of them, one can say little more than that Livy is an alternative source from which Tacitus may have taken them: 1.70.1, classis...innare (the phrase quoted from Silius being a possible direct imitation of Vergil since both writers use the combination pelago innare); 3.73.2, the phrase non alias; 4.41.2, secretoque loci; and 16.32.3, fallax with a genitive. The remaining five examples appear to be found only in Vergil, Livy, and Tacitus, and it seems likely that, with the possible exception of dexteras...fallat, quoted at 2.58.1, they are instances of Vergilian.
ian imitation by Livy: 2.16.1, pura hume (both Vergil and Livy have pura campo); 2.23.3, disiecitque naves; 2.58.1, renovari dextras (falle re dextras, Vergil, and dexteras ... fallat, Livy); 2.72.2, ingenti luctu; 2.78.2, litorum oram. In each case it is possible that Livy and Tacitus are drawing upon Vergil independently, but, taking into consideration Tacitus' debt to the language of Livy in instances in which there is no question of Vergilian imitation, we must allow for the possibility that they have come to Tacitus indirectly through the earlier historian.

The distribution of the remaining words, phrases, and constructions, according to the prose author who uses them, is as follows: Seneca, 6; the elder Pliny, 4; the younger Pliny, 4; Curtius, 3; and Valerius Maximus, Columella, and Quintilian, 1 respectively. As far as the nature of the words and phrases is concerned, none are technical terms, and, except for words like triumphare and rebellis, and the phrase intorquere pilam, which would be natural in a military context, it is impossible to group them according to the type of subject-matter to which they are particularly applicable. If, therefore, we are to suggest reasons why they should not be considered strictly Vergilian, even though they are attested first in Vergil, we must consider the general pattern of their use.

Seven words and phrases appear more than once in the prose writer concerned and are also found in poetry written after the publication of the Aeneid: 1.42.2, inansus; 3.62.1, inviolabilis; 5.3.2, adrogantiam oris; 6.32.4, sinister = malus; 12.33.1, locorum fronde; 13.57.3,
fluvialis; and 14.39.1, rebellis. With the exception of inviolabilis, all are used by two or more poets and therefore they are related to those items discussed under the general heading "post-Vergilian poetry". The extent of their poetic quality, however, is limited somewhat by the fact that they are used several times by the prose writer in question. Possibly they are simply instances of the idiosyncrasies of Silver writers in their choice of vocabulary. On the other hand, the fact that they appear more than once may indicate that they have an affinity with the words and phrases which were poetic in origin, but became accepted generally in Silver prose.

Each of the final thirteen examples seems to be used only once by the prose writer. Seven of them appear also in post-Vergilian poetry: 1.64.3, indefessus; 1.65.1, resultare; 2.60.3, contiguus; 2.61.1, penetrabilis; 4.29.2, adigere with an infinitive; 12.19.3, triumphare used transitively; and 14.36.3, the phrase ad interquenda pila. Because of their rarity in prose they may be considered more characteristically poetic than those examples discussed in the preceding paragraph, but, again, they are not Vergilian in the strictest sense. Six seem to be found only in Vergil, Tacitus, and one other prose writer: 1.41.1, progreidi with a simple ablative; 1.42.3, the phrase egregiam gratiam referre; (2.24.2, oppetere with mortem understood); 4.67.2, objectu montis; 6.35.1, sinera with an acc.; and 12.42.1, cura exsolerentur. At this point little more can be said than that they are rare phrases and constructions. Whether or not Tacitus has derived them from Vergil can be determined only by close study of the contexts.
in which they appear in the works both of Vergil and of Tacitus.

The examination of those words and phrases which appear in the works of one prose writer, as well as in the Annales and the works of Vergil, yields few clear-cut distinctions and categories, particularly with those which are used in prose after Vergil. There are, however, two points which might be suggested. The influence of Sallust upon the language and themes of Tacitus is acknowledged generally to be considerable. The fact that words and constructions are used by Sallust as well as by Vergil and Tacitus, therefore, militates against the likelihood of Vergilian influence. The influence of Livy upon the language of Tacitus is also marked, and we might note that more of the words and phrases in question are used by Livy than by any other single prose writer. In those cases, therefore, which are not complicated by the question of his possible borrowings from Vergil, Livy is as likely to be the source for Tacitus as is Vergil.

The most striking feature of the group as a whole is its diversity. The prose writers range in time from Cato to the younger Pliny, and their subject-matter covers a variety of topics. Some of the words and phrases strike the ear as unusual, while others seem commonplace. In some cases, it is debatable whether suggested parallels in other writers are entirely relevant to Vergil and Tacitus, but their very diversity must make us wary of hasty conclusions with regard to literary relationships.

d) problem examples

As will be obvious from the preceding discussion, several of the words and constructions which I have included in other sections could be classed as "problem" examples. In any literary study, it is impossible to arrange one's material in categories which are both definitive and mutually exclusive. Three words present particular difficulties, brevia, 1.70.2, evince, 6.42.4, and interluere, 6.1.1. The reading brevibus in Luc. 9.338 is not accepted by Housman who reads brevius. "magis impactae naves brevius mare inveniunt et saepe obviam habent terram ex aqua consurgentem. quod vulgo editur impactum brevibus, quid mare brevibus magis impingere potuerit nescio, flabat enim Auster; neque sine navium mentione intellegitur obvia". If one accepts Housman's reading, the only other pre-Tacitean example of the word is in Mela 1. 35. L. Robbert comments, "Fortasse ipsum Vergilium secatus est Tacitus nisi e Melae exemplo volumus cogere verbum iam inde a Vergilio commune fuisse auctorum Latinorum dictioni." At 1.70.2, the word may in fact be Vergilian since it appears in a series of scenes which are depicted with concentrated poetic language, some of which is Vergilian.

37. For example, fluvialis, 13.57.3, has been excluded from the basic list because of its appearance in Columella. Columella, however, is an assiduous imitator of Vergil. A case could be made, therefore, for independent imitation of Vergil by the two writers. Some of the words and constructions noted as parallels to Vergil and Tacitus appear as variant readings in other writers, e.g., 1.32.3, ardescere used metaphorically by Seneca; 2.68.1, penetrare with an acc., Livy; and 2.85.1, eburnus for eburneus, also Livy. Similarly, some of the Vergilian examples of words cited by commentators are variant readings. Since they appear in the manuscript tradition, and since we cannot determine the exact nature of the manuscripts with which Tacitus was familiar, they must be considered in our general assessment of the evidence.

38. De Tacito Lucani Imitatore (Göttingen, 1917), 84.
There are no examples of *evincire* in pre-Vergilian poetry. There is, however, one example which is doubtful textually in archaic prose. The word is used by Ovid and Statius, but does not appear again in prose until Tacitus. Possibly it is an archaism as used by Vergil, and it may have become through him part of the language of poetry. Somewhat similar is the word *interluere*, 6.1.1, which is first attested in Cato, but with the meaning of washing the hands between the actions of a sacrifice. Apparently only Vergil and Tacitus use the word of rivers "flowing between". 39 Vergil may have coined the meaning on the analogy of such words as *interfluere* and *interfundere*, and it may then have passed directly from him to Tacitus.

The consideration of items in the original list has indicated that the number of relatively certain Vergilianisms in the *Annales* is considerably less than has been suggested by scholars, and that even some of the phrases which one associates most closely with Vergil are not as distinctive as might at first appear. It has shown the close relationship between Vergil and earlier literature regarding many of the words, phrases, and constructions with which we are concerned, and suggested the breadth of his influence upon the development of the language of subsequent writers. We have set aside those parallels which are invalid, particular usages which Vergil and Tacitus share with other writers, and the more debatable examples about which one

39. The accepted readings for Curt.4.3.6 and Liv.41.23, listed by Lewis and Short as *interluens* and *interluit* respectively, are actually *interfluen* and *interfluit*. In neither case is the appropriate form of *interluere* listed as a variant reading in the Teubner texts.
can speak with only little assurance. The examples which remain, how-
ever, are sufficiently numerous and significant to serve as a basis for discussion of Vergilian influence in Tacitus' Annales.
C. Basic List of Parallels

Examples are listed according to the order in which they appear in the Annales, and references to Tacitus and Vergil only are given. In the case of those examples which are also imitated by a poet or poets, a page reference is given to the original note. Detailed discussion, however, will be left until they are considered in context.

Book One

1.3.3 vita concessit 3.30.1; 6.39.3; 12.59.3; 14.51.1; concedere absol., 4.38.3; 15.30.2; H.2.55. Cf. Aen.2.91; 10.820.


19.1 eggerebatur... caespes. Cf. Aen.5.62-5.


41.3 recens dolore et ira 4.52.1; 15.59.4; H.3.19; 3.77; 4.39. Cf. Aen.9.455.

44.2 poenas... exercuit Cf. Aen.6.542 (See p.30).

47.1 immutum... fixumque Tiberio fuit Cf. Aen.4.15. (See p.31).

48.1 supplicium... praesumant See 3.46.1.

48.2 ubi bellum ingrat 1.60.2; H.2.100; 3.58. Cf. Aen.8.535. (See p.31).

1.59.2 quorum tot manus unam muliereculam avexerint Cf. Aen.4.95.
60.2 bellum... ingrueret See 1.48.2.
61.4 vulner... adactum 6.35.2. Cf. Aen.10.850 (See p.35)
62.2 imagine caesorum 15.70.1; H.3.28. Cf. Aen.2.369. (See p.35)
64.2 hastae ingentes H.2.88; A.36. Cf. Aen.2.50; 10.579; 10.762; 12.398. (See p.36.)
65.5 sanguine suo... lapsantes Cf. Aen.2.551. (See p.37)
68.2 summa valli presunt 4.51.1. Cf. Aen.2.444.
70.3 subtracto solo Cf. Aen.5.199.
74.2 egens ignotus inquiies Cf. Aen.1.384.
80.2 placita 3.69.4. Cf. Ecl.7.27.

Book Two

2.5.2 aversa... voluntas Cf. Aen.12.647.
6.2 lato utero Cf. Aen.2.20; 38; 52; 243; 258.
6.4 placidior adfluens Cf. Geo.4.373.
17.3 pedestris acies infertur Cf. Aen.10.364. (See p.42).
21.1 adsultibus Cf. Aen.5.442.
23.2 velis impelli Cf. Geo.1.254 (See p.43.)
23.2 atro nubium globo effusa grando Cf. Aen.10.803.
23.3 tumidis Germaniacae terris Cf. Geo.2.324.
23.3 dissecitque naves in... insulas saxis abruntis vel per occulta vada infestas. Cf. Aen.1.43; 1.108-12; 1.536.

manentes per latera et fluctu superurgente Cf. Aen.1.122-3; 1.537.

plures apud insulas longius sitas eiectae Cf. Aen.1.511-12.

quem...apud scopulos Cf. Aen.1.180.

claudae naves raro remigio Cf. Aen.1.104; 5.271.

recluderent humum Cf. Geo.2.423.

rem publicam exedere Cf. Aen.5.785-6.

manus ac supplices voces...tendens. 3.36.1. Cf. Aen.2.668; 3.176-7; 10.667. (See p.45)


versa Caesarum subole Cf. Aen.11.264-5.

disiectas per catervas Cf. Aen.12.482, 689.


spolia...et tela Romanis derepta Cf. Aen.11.195. (See p.47.)

rerum nescium Cf. Aen.12.227. (See p.47.)

instar montium Cf. Aen.2.15.

vindicabitis vos, si me potius quam fortunam meam fovebatis


in numerum legionis comosuerat H.1.87. Cf. Aen.11.599.


Book Three

naviganti...fidissimumque Cf. Aen.2.23.

quae fiducia reso Cf. Aen.2.75.
3.14.5 vario rumore See 1.4.2.
19.2 vario rumore See 1.4.2.
30.1 concessera vita See 1.3.3.
36.1 cum voces, cum manus intentarent See 2.20.2.
46.1 praesumpta spes 11.7.1. Cf. Aen.11.18. (See p. 57.)
46.3 trudibus Cf. Aen.5.208. (See p. 57)
55.5 multa laudis et artium imitanda Cf. Geo.2.174.
61.1 oleae... adniasam Cf. Aen.4.690; 9.229; 12.92. (See p. 58.)
69.3 placita See 1.80.2.

Book Four

4.25.3 requiem belli Cf. Aen.12.241. (See p. 61.)
32.2 in arto et inglorius labor Cf. Geo.4.6.
38.3 concessera See 1.3.3.
38.4 degeneris animi 12.36.3; 11.3.85. Cf. Aen.4.13. (See p. 63.)
40.3 talia coningia Cf. Aen.4.47-8; 7.555. (See p. 63.)
42.3 inclementiam Cf. Geo.3.68; Aen.2.602. (See p. 64.)
52.1 recens praelata See 1.41.3.
58.3 veraeque quam obscuris tegerentur Cf. Aen.6.100.
59.3 fidentem animi Cf. Aen.2.61.
63.1 concursus ad examinos Cf. Aen.9.454-5.
4.74.5 *gravis exitus* Cf. Aen.10.630. (See p. 68.)

**Book Six**

6.2.3 *ferro accincti* 11.22.1. Cf. Aen.2.614; 2.671. (See p. 69.)

4.2 *consules...invasit* H.1.33; 2.55. Cf. Aen.4.265.

6.2 *praestantissimus sapientiae* Cf. Aen.12.19. (See p. 70.)

9.3 *clari genus* Cf. Aen.5.235; 8.114; 12.25. (See p. 70.)

28.5 *par oneri* Cf. Aen.2.723; 2.729.

28.5 *subire patrium corpus* Cf. Aen.2.708; 4.599.

30.3 *firmarent...fœdus* Cf. Aen.11.330; 12.212. (See p. 72.)

32.1 *consiliis et astu* Cf. Aen.11.704.


35.2 *super* Cf. Aen.5.697; 9.168. (See p. 73.)

35.2 *vulnus...adequit* See 1.61.4.

39.2 *undantem...sanguinem* Cf. Aen.10.908. (See p. 73.)

39.3 *concessit vita* See 1.3.3.


50.3 *instaurari epulas iubet* Cf. Aen.7.146; 8.283. (See p. 74.)

**Book Eleven**

11.1.2 *didita per provincias fama* Cf. Aen.8.132. (See p. 75.)

6.2 *injurias* See 12.69.3.

7.1 *spe praesumat* See 3.46.1.

10.3 *ingens gloria* G.37. Cf. Aen.11.124. (See p. 76.)
11.22.1 *ferro accinctus* See 6.2.3.

23.1 *varinsque rumor* See 1.4.2.

29.3 *uxore deiecta* 13.46.3. Cf. Aen.3.317. (See p.77.)

31.2 *feminae pellibus accinctae* Cf. Aen.7.396; Geo.4.342.

37.4 *lacrimasque et œstas irrítis duc és bantur* Cf. Aen.4.463.

**Book Twelve**

12.13.2 *insigne fama* H.2.43. Cf. Aen.7.745. (See p.79.)

18.1 *odiis non infarius* Cf. Aen.11.122-3.

32.1 *adspectat* See 1.4.1.

35.2 *pleaque caedes eriebantur* 14.17.1. Cf. Aen.2.411; 11.885. (See p.81.)

36.3 *deneres... ex metu* See 4.38.4.

37.2 *sors... informis* See 6.49.1.

39.3 *concessit vita* See 1.3.3.

40.3 *lecta armis iuventus* Cf. Aen.8.606. (See p.81.)

45.1 *auxilio vacanti* See 4.67.4.

47.2 *in societatem coeant* Cf. Aen.7.546; 11.292.

69.3 *iniius 11.6.2; 13.4.1. Cf. Aen.3.604.

**Book Thirteen**

13.4.1 *iniurias* See 12.69.3.

8.3 *corpore ingens* 15.53.2; H.1.53. Cf. Aen.11.641.

10.1 *statuas argento vel auro solidas* See 2.33.1.

15.3 *multa scelerum fama* 16.15.1. Cf. Aen.11.224.

17.3 subtrahere oculis acerba funera Cf. Aen.6.465.

30.2 concessit See 1.3.3.

47.1 Tiberio abusque 15.37.2. Cf. Aen.7.289. (See p.86.)

47.2 auctoremque... doli See 1.10.2.

Book Fourteen

14.5.1 Noctem sideribus inlustrem et placido mari quietam quasi convincendum ad scelus dii praebuere. Cf. Aen.2.250-52; 255; 257; Ecl.2.26. (See p. 87.)

17.1 orta atroxo caede See 12.35.2.

22.2 hunc illum Cf. Aen.7.255; 7.272.

30.3 cruore captivo Cf. Aen.10.520.

34.2 exultabant Cf. Aen.11.663.

37.1 protentis hastis Cf. 2.21.1. See 14.6.5.

37.1 abitus Cf. Aen.9.380.

45.1 saxa et faces minitante Cf. Aen.1.150.

51.1 concessitque vita See 1.3.3.

62.3 necem intentat Cf. Aen.1.91.

Book Fifteen

15.37.2 Oceanus abusque See 13.47.1.

42.2 squalenti litore Cf. Geo.1.507. (See p. 94.)

44.4 ut... in usum nocturni luminis urerentur Cf. Aen.7.13.

45.3 agrestibus nemis G.23. Cf. Aen.7.111.

51.3 accingereetur... navare Cf. Geo.3.46.

53.2 corpore ingens See 13.8.3.
15.59.4 *stinendiis recentes* See 1.41.3.

69.1 *decoraque servitia et pari aetate habebat* Cf. Aen.1.705.

70.1 *mortis imaginem* See 1.62.2.

74.1 *occulta coniurationis... retexisset* Cf. Aen.1.356. (See p. 97.)

**Book Sixteen**

16.10.4 *immobilem se necibus* Cf. Aen.12.400.

12.2 *inaustum nomen* Cf. Aen.7.717.

15.1 *multa militari fama* See 13.15.3.
CHAPTER III

Vergil and Tacitus: Imitated Language in the *Aeneid*, *Eclogues*, and *Georgics*

The study of those passages in the works of Vergil, which furnish Tacitus with vocabulary, stylistic devices, or imitative phrases, has two main functions. Firstly, by examining the language of the contexts in which imitated words and phrases appear, we should be able to make a distinction between those examples in the general list which have become accepted usage, and those which, in spite of the fact that they are also used by other writers, may have been derived by Tacitus directly from Vergil. Secondly, comparison of the relations in themes and characters which exist, particularly in the *Aeneid*, between individual scenes or groups of scenes, reveals patterns which are integral to an understanding of the fusion between art and history which Tacitus has achieved in the *Annales*.

The material included in the outlines of scenes which follow is limited to a) the basic list of parallels; b) examples which are used by Vergil, Tacitus, and the poets; and c) examples which are used by Vergil, Tacitus, and one prose writer. Some of the words and phrases used by one prose writer also appear in the works of poets other than Vergil. Those which are used by the historians or by several prose writers are not included, because of the weight of evidence presented in the preceding chapter against the likelihood that they have passed directly from Vergil to Tacitus.

Because the relevant words and phrases in the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* are limited in number, they will simply be listed in their
order of appearance. With the Aeneid, scenes are grouped according to
the nature of the material which they contain: i) those with basic
parallels; ii) those containing only language which is used also by the
poets; iii) scenes with words and phrases used by one prose writer as
well as Vergil and Tacitus; iv) scenes containing both language which
Vergil and Tacitus share with the poets, and those examples which are
also used by one prose writer; and v) scenes containing no suggested
parallels. If scenes contain a mixture of types of examples, the indi-
vidual items are noted as either "prose" or "poetry", according to the
writer or writers other than Vergil and Tacitus who use them. Examples
which are not followed by such an identification are basic parallels.

Scenes are listed chronologically, and the numbering of sub-
sections, c), d), etc., indicates that they are part of a group of
passages which are related thematically to one another. References for
the Annales are to the context in which examples are given in the
general list at the beginning of Chapter Two.

Some of the generally accepted Vergilian imitations in the minor
works of Tacitus or the Histories will be used, where relevant, as
supporting evidence in the discussion of words and phrases which, we
shall suggest, are derived from Vergil because of the nature of the
imitated language in their immediate contexts. As far as the relations
between scenes in the Aeneid are concerned, however, we are interested
only in those imitated words and phrases which are relevant to the
Annales, and only those which appear in the Annales are included in
the outline of scenes.
Eclogues

Eclogue Two

43 orare with an infinitive. Ann.6.2.3. (prose)

Eclogue Four

24 fallax with a genitive. Ann.16.32.3. (prose)

Eclogue Seven

27 placitum Ann.1.80.2.
32 evincta Ann.6.42.4. (poetry)

Eclogue Eight

47-8 sanguine.../commaculare Ann.1.30.4.

Georgics

Book One

1 sidus meaning season. Ann.1.70.2. (poetry)
93 penetrabile Ann.2.61.1. (prose)
254 remis impellere marmor Ann.2.23.2.
313 ruit imbriferum ver Ann.1.30.3. (poetry)
316 inducere with a dative. Ann.4.14.2 (poetry)
324 ruit arduus aether Ann.1.30.3 (poetry)
444 sinister = malus Ann.6.32.4. (prose)
487 non alias Ann.3.73.2. (prose)
507 squalent... arva Ann.15.42.2.

Book Two

44 litoris oram Ann.2.78.2. (prose)
69 fetu Ann.13.58.1. (prose)
174 res antiquae laudis et artis Ann.3.55.5.
308 involvit flammis nemus Ann.1.70.3. (poetry)
324 tument terrae Ann.2.23.3.
344-5 frigusque caloremque/inter Ann.1.60.3. (poetry)
358 rasae... virgae Ann.3.17.4 (poetry)
382 pagos et compita circum Ann.1.60.3. (poetry)
414 fluvialis Ann.13.57.3. (prose)
423 tellus... recluditur Ann.2.25.2.
428 /noma/ vi propria nituntur Ann.2.17.6. (poetry)
429 fetu Ann.13.58.1. (prose)
479 maria alta tumescant Ann.1.70.2. (poetry)

Book Three
35 demissae Ann.12.58.1. (poetry)
46 accingere with an infinitive. Ann.15.51.3.
68 inclementia Ann.4.42.3.
129 tenuant = extenuant Ann.15.63.3. (poetry)
199 sonorem Ann.1.65.1. (prose)
481 tabo Ann.2.69.3. (poetry)
557 tabo Ann.2.69.3. (poetry)

Book Four
6 in tenui labor Ann.4.32.2.
47 sinere with an accusative. Ann.6.35.1. (prose)
139 fetis Ann.13.58.1. (prose)
264 suadere with an infinitive. Ann.16.9.2. (prose)
342 incinctae pellibus amhae Ann.11.31.2.
373 violentior effluat amnis Ann.2.6.4.
403 secretae senis Ann.4.41.2. (prose)
485 casus evaserat omnis Ann.14.6.2. (poetry)
501 volens with an infinitive. Ann.15.1.1. (poetry)
542 sacrum... crurem Ann.2.14.1. (poetry)
562 dat iura Ann.3.28.2. (prose)
i) Scenes containing basic parallels

**Book One**

3½ - 222
The Storm

c) 81-156 Description of the storm and the calming of it by Neptune.

91  intentant omnia mortem Ann.14.62.3.
96  oppetere with mortem understood Ann.2.24.2. (prose)
104  fraguntur remi Ann.2.24.3.
108-12  tris Notus... in sas a latentia torquet; 108; tris Burns... /in brevia et tyrnis urget, 110-11; infidique vadis, 112. Ann.2.23.3.
111  brevia Ann.1.70.2. (prose)
118-19  apparent rari nantes... /arma virum tabulaeque et Troia

gaza per undas Ann.2.23.4.
122-3  laxis laterum compagibus omnes/accipiunt inimicum imbrem

rimisque fantiscant Ann.2.23.4.
145  detrudere with a simple ablative. Ann.2.17.4. (poetry)
150  faces et sas a volant Ann.1.45.1.

d) 157-222 Landing in Africa: Aeneas cares for his followers

160  objecta laterum Ann.4.67.2. (prose)
167  vivoque... saxe Ann.4.55.2. (poetry)
180  Aeneas scopulum... conscendit Ann.2.24.2.
218  aperque mutumque inter dubii Ann.1.60.3. (poetry)
223 - 96 Venus and Jupiter

243  penetrare with an accusative. Ann.2.68.1. (prose)
277  de nomine Ann.1.15.2. (prose)
285  servitio premet Ann.2.73.2.
288  demissum meaning "descended". Ann.12.58.1. (poetry)
293  iura dabant Ann.3.28.2. (prose)

305 - 417 Venus and Aeneas

356  caecumaque... scelus omne rexit Ann.15.74.1.
367  de nomine Ann.1.15.2. (prose)
368  tergum = tergaus Ann.4.72.1. (prose)
384  ipse ignotus, egena Ann.1.74.2.
396  despectare Ann.2.43.3. (prose)
Aeneid (basic parallels)

Book One (cont'd)

418 - 656  Carthage: Dido and Aeneas
a) 418-440  The city
   420  aspectat Ann.1.4.1.

c) 494-578  Dido and the Trojan embassy
   507  iura dabat Ann.3.23.2.  (prose)
   511-12  ater quos... turbo/disputatur penitusque aliam avexerat
   oras Ann.2.24.2.
   533  de nomine Ann.1.15.2.  (prose)
   536  in vada caeca tulit Ann.2.23.3.
   537  superante salo Ann.2.23.4.

695 - 756  The Feast
705  pares aetate ministri Ann.15.69.1.
731  dare iura Ann. 3.23.2.  (prose)

Book Two

13 - 56  Building of the wooden horse and feigned departure of the Greeks
15  instar montis Ann.2.61.1.
17  ea fama vagatur Ann.1.70.5.  (poetry)
20  uterum Ann.2.6.2.
23  statico male fida carinis Ann.3.1.2; 11.19.1: male fida
   poetic.
38  uteri Ann.2.6.2.
50  ingentem... bastam Ann.1.64.2.
52  utero Ann.2.6.2.
55  impellere with an infinitive. Ann.6.45.3.  (prose)

57 - 198  Sinon
61  fidens animi Ann.4.59.3.
75  quae sit fiducia canto Ann.3.11.2.
91  superis concessit ab oris Ann.1.3.3.
101  ingrata revolve Ann.3.13.4.  (poetry)
110-11  aspera ponti/... hiems Ann.4.6.4.  (prose)
129  rumpit vocem Ann.6.20.1.  (poetry)
143  intercresita fides Ann.1.42.2.  (poetry)

234 - 49  Entry of the wooden horse into Troy
243  utero Ann.2.6.2.
Book Two (cont'd)

250 - 505  Attack of the Greeks and the fall of the city

a) 250-67  The Greeks enter Troy
   250-52  ruit...nox/involvens umbra magna terramque polumque/
   255  tacitae per amica silentia lunae  Ann.14.5.1.
   258  utero  Ann.2.6.2.
   264  doli fabricator  Eneas  Ann.1.10.2.

i) 318-437  The Trojan defence

i. 318-69  Gathering of fighters with Aeneas
   369  plurima mortis image  Ann.1.62.2.

iii. 402-37  Cassandra: defeat of rescue attempt

   411  oriturque miserrima caedes  Ann.12.35.2.
   523  ora of speech.  Ann.5.3.2.  (prose)
   450  labentem meaning "dying".  Ann.2.11.3.  (poetry)

e) 438-504  Capture of the palace of Priam

   443  nituntur gradibus  Ann.2.17.6.  (poetry)
   444  pressant fastigia dextris  Ann.1.68.2.

506 - 58  The death of Priam

   520  impellere with an infinitive.  Ann.6.45.3.  (prose)
   551  lapsantem sanguine nati  Ann.1.65.5.

588 - 633  Venus and Aeneas: vision of the gods destroying Troy

   602  divum inclementia  Ann.4.42.3.
   614  ferro accincet  Ann.6.2.3.
   625  vertere = evertere  Ann.3.36.3.  (prose)

634 - 795  Aeneas and his family

a) 634-706  Anchises: omens sanctifying departure from Troy

   652-3  vertere = evertere  Ann.3.36.3.  (prose)
   671  ferro accinget  Ann.6.2.3.
   688  caelo palmas cum voce tetendit  Ann.2.29.2.

b) 707-49  Departure from Troy: loss of Creusa

   708  ipse subibis umeris  Ann.6.28.5.
   723  oneri (of Anchises)  Ann.6.28.5.
   729  oneri (of Anchises)  Ann.6.28.5.
Aeneid (basic parallels)

Book Two 654-795 (cont'd)
c) 750-95  Aeneas returns to Troy: vision of Creusa
   751  caput obiectare periclis Ann.2.5.1. (prose)
   765  crateresque auro solidi Ann.2.53.1.
   768  ausus quin etiam Ann.15.39.2. (poetry)

Book Three
13 - 68  Thrace: Polydorus
   18  de nomine Ann.1.15.2. (prose)
   29  tabo Ann.2.69.5. (poetry)
   60  animus est with an infinitive. Ann.1.56.5. (poetry)
   63  acceritur tumulo tellus Ann.1.19.1.
   63-4  arae... maestae Ann.1.61.1. (prose)
   67  sanguinis... sacri Ann.2.14.1. (poetry)

121 - 91  Crete: dream of the Penates
   137  igna... dabam Ann.3.28.2. (prose)
   137  tabida Ann.12.66.1. (prose)
   176-7  tendoque supinas/ad caelum cum voce manus. Ann.2.29.2.
   178  intemerata Ann.1.42.2. (poetry)

289 - 505  Bathrotum: Andromache and Helenus; oracle of Apollo
   300  progredi with a simple ablative. Ann.1.41.1. (prose)
   317  deiectam coniuge tanta Ann.11.29.3.

548 - 686  Sicily: Achaemenides and Polydorus
   604  iniquia meaning "sense of injury". Ann.12.69.3.
   613  patria ex Ithaca Ann.2.60.1. (poetry)
   626  tabo Ann.2.69.3. (poetry)
   651  omnia coniunxtrans Ann.2.45.3. (prose)

Book Four
1 - 89  Dido
a) 1-53  Dido and Anna
   13  degeneres animos Ann.4.38.4.
   15  mihi... fixum immotumque sederet Ann.1.47.1.
   48  coniugio tali Ann.4.40.3.
Aeneid (basic parallels)

Book Four (cont'd)

90 - 128 Juno and Venus
  93 egregiam vero laudem... referitis Ann.1.42.5. (prose)
  95 una dolo divum si femina vista duorum est. Ann.1.59.2.

173 - 295 Tana's activities
  d)258-95 Mercury and Aeneas
  265 invadit used of speech. Ann.6.4.2.

408 - 73 Reaction of Dido to Aeneas' departure: omens: Dido resolves to commit suicide.
  425 excindere gentem Ann.2.25.2. (prose)
  463 longas in saltum ducere voces Ann.11.37.4.

584 - 705 The death of Dido
  a)584-629 Her curse on the Trojans
  599 subisse umbris Ann.6.28.5.
  616 complexus avulsus Iuli Ann.1.44.4. (poetry)
  c)642-705 Death of Dido
  652 meque his exsolvite curis Ann.12.42.1. (prose)
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Book Five

104 - 603 Funeral Games
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  150 resultant Ann.1.65.1. (prose)
  167-8 Cloanthum/respicit Ann.14.8.4. (prose)
  199 subtrahiturque solum Ann.1.70.3.
  208 trudes Ann.3.46.3.
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  234 ludissetque preces Ann.14.30.1. (poetry)
  234 vocare = invocare Ann.13.55.3. (poetry)
  269 evincti Ann.6.42.4. (poetry)
  271 amissis remis Ann.2.24.3.
  285 Cressa genus Ann.6.9.3.
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107 - 69  Landing of Trojans: making of camp: embassy to the Latins
111  ponit agrestibus  Ann.15.45.3.
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146  instaurant epulas  Ann.6.50.3.
166  praevectus  Ann.2.6.4. (prose)
170 - 285  Palace of Latinus: Latinus and the Trojan embassy
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Aeneid (basic parallels)

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253 involvitque domum caligine caeca Ann.1.70.3. (poetry)

283 instaurat opulas Ann.6.50.3.

286 evinti Ann.6.42.4. (poetry)

292 rege sub Eurystheo Ann.2.60.1. (poetry)

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487 tabo Ann.2.69.3. (poetry)

520 ora tenebant Ann.5.3.2. (prose)

525 ruere omnia visae Ann.1.30.3. (poetry)

535 si bellum ingrueret Ann.1.48.2.

585 - 607 Journey to the Etruscans

606 bello lecta iuventus Ann.12.40.3.

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640 oppetere with mortem understood. Ann.2.24.2. (prose)
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457  bellaque...vulgata Ann.3.24.2.
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584 interemerata Ann.1.42.2.

iii) Scenes containing only examples which are used by one prose writer as well as by Tacitus.

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9-11 impellere with an infinitive. Ann.6.45.3.
20 vertere = evertere Ann.3.36.3.
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336  
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Although words and phrases from the *Aeneid* predominate among the basic parallels, there are a small number from the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, and those from the *Georgics* are sufficiently striking to be a strong indication of Tacitus' familiarity with the work. Within the *Aeneid*, approximately half of the words and phrases which Tacitus uses appear in Books One, Two, Eleven, and Twelve, with Book Two containing the largest number of any of the individual books. The numerical distribution is as follows. "Non-repeated basic" refers to those examples which appear only once in Vergil's works.

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A. Additional Evidence

Using those words and phrases which we have accepted as evidence for a direct relationship between Vergil and Tacitus in the Annales, together with any relevant parallels from Tacitus' other works, we shall consider first those examples which, in spite of their appearance in the works of other writers, may have come directly from Vergil to Tacitus. The suggestion of a Vergilian origin does not alter the fundamental categories in which the material has been considered thus far. "Poetic" language, for example, remains "poetic", but, if there is a good possibility that it is taken directly from Vergil, its significance may be enhanced greatly in the Tacitean context.

There are three main points of view from which we may approach the question of Vergilian origin. If Tacitus draws consistently upon certain scenes of Vergil, and concentrates his borrowings in sections of the Annales which are closely related in subject-matter to each other and to the Vergilian passage, it is highly probable that poetic or "limited prose" language, which also appears in these same contexts in both writers, is additional evidence for a relation between them. Secondly, if a passage in the Aeneid contains several imitated words and phrases, which indicate that Tacitus is acquainted with the general context, accompanying words and phrases may also come from Vergil, whether or not they appear in a similar or related context in the Annales. Finally, if poetic language or language which appears rarely in prose is used by Tacitus in a Vergilian context, we should consider the possibility that it, too, has come directly from Vergil. Examples
of the type last mentioned will be discussed in their contexts in the Annales.

The apparently simple approach suggested is not without its difficulties. Repetitions of a word or phrase in the works both of Vergil and of Tacitus must be considered, as well as the frequency of its occurrence in the works of poets or the prose writer concerned, and a delicate balance maintained between the scales of chance and design. The evidence becomes admittedly tenuous if the word or phrase being discussed appears in the Annales in a passage which does not seem to contain other examples of Vergilian language, but, then, some of the parallels which have been accepted as basic evidence do not appear in heavily Vergilian contexts.

For purposes of discussion, the words and phrases will be grouped according to whether they appear in i) related contexts with related language in the Aeneid and the Annales; ii) contexts which are similar in subject-matter; or iii) contexts which differ in subject-matter. Most of the relevant passages from the Aeneid may be found in the list of scenes containing basic parallels, pp. 140-51. A page reference is given for those examples which appear in scenes containing basic parallels found only in the Histories or minor works. It should be emphasized that, in the case of words and phrases which are repeated in the Georgics and the Aeneid, it is not my purpose to suggest that Tacitus took them from one particular context. What I shall attempt to do is to indicate that certain words and phrases tend to recur in passages from which Tacitus seems to have derived his Vergilian mater-
ial, and that for this reason, the words and phrases in question may also have come from Vergil.

i) Related contexts with related language

There are two examples in the present category, disiecitque rates, Aen.1.43 (disiecitque naves, Ann.2.23.3), p.153, and oppeterere with mortem understood, Aen.1.96 (oppeteret, Ann.2.24.2). The former appears only once in the works of Vergil, and is an isolated example in Juno's monologue before she persuades Aeolus to rouse the storm against the Trojan fleet. The scene is closely related, therefore, to the following description of the storm, upon which Tacitus draws heavily for his description of the storm in Ann.2.23-4, which scattered the fleet of Germanicus. The combination naves disicere is also used by Livy, but none of the passages in which it occurs is as closely related to Tacitus' account as Aen.1.34-222. The latter, oppeterere, appears in the description of the storm in Aen.1.81-156, in a speech of Aeneas, expressing his wish that he had died before the walls of Troy. The verb is repeated three times in the Aeneid, at 11.268 and 12.640 in scenes which contain phrases used by Tacitus elsewhere in the Annales, and at 12.543 (p.157), and it is also used by the elder Pliny. Since its context in Aeneid One contains seven instances either of close verbal parallels or similarities in detail to Tacitus' account of the storm, and since the word itself seems to be used as part of a deliberate attempt to establish a relationship between Aeneas and Germanicus, its use by Pliny and its appearance elsewhere in the Aeneid
seem to be of secondary importance as far as its use at Ann. 2.24.2 is concerned. The examples will be discussed more fully in their context in the Annales.

ii) Contexts which are similar in subject-matter

Of the seven examples in the present group, five are used by one prose writer as well as Tacitus, and two by poets. The much disputed word _brevia_, meaning "shallows", appears three times both in the Aeneid and the Annales (Aen. 1.111; 5.221; 10.289: Ann. 1.70.2; 6.33.3; 14.29.3). In Book One of the Aeneid, it is in the description of the storm referred to above, in a series of lines upon which Tacitus works a concentrated variation in Ann. 2.23.3, although the word itself does not appear in Tacitus' passage. It also occurs in the description of the boatrace in Aen. 5.114-285, a passage with which Tacitus seems to have been familiar.¹ Neither of the passages in Books Six and Fourteen of the Annales makes use of Vergilian language, but in the description of another storm in Book One of the Annales, Tacitus draws upon the boatrace in Aeneid Five for his phrase _subtrahiturque solum_, 1.70.3 (Aen. 5. 199, _subtrahiturque solum_). Thus the word appears in the Aeneid in two contexts which Tacitus knows, one of which is related in subject-matter to a passage in the Annales, the other of which contains language used in the same scene as one of Tacitus' examples of _brevia_. There is a strong suggestion, therefore, that the examples from Mela and post-Tacitean writers are irrelevant, and that Tacitus is indebted to Vergil for the word.

¹ Cf., for example, _trudes_, Aen. 5.208 and Ann. 3.46.3; and _Cressa genus_, Aen. 5.285, and _clari genus_, Ann. 6.9.3.
The phrase de nomine, Ann.1.15.2, and 6.34.2, is used eight times by Vergil, as well as by Lucretius and Ovid, and there is an isolated example in Sallust's Histories. In six of the eight cases in the Aeneid, it occurs in scenes with Vergilian words and phrases which Tacitus uses: Aen.1.277, Jupiter's speech to Venus in which he outlines the history of the gens Iulia and assures Venus of Aeneas' ultimate success in his task of founding a city (cf. 1.285, servitio premet, and Ann.2.73.2); Aen.1.367, the meeting of Venus and Aeneas during which she tells Aeneas the story of Dido's flight from Tyre and the founding of Carthage (cf. 1.356, caecumque... scelus omne rexit, and Ann.15.74.1; Aen.1.384, ipse ignotus, egens and Ann.1.74.2); Aen.1.533, the Trojan embassy to Dido (cf. 1.512, penitusque alias avexerator, and Ann.2.24.2; Aen.1.536, in vada caeca tulit, and Ann.2.23.3; and Aen.1.537, superante salo, and Ann.2.23.4); Aen.3.18, Aeneas' attempt to settle in Thrace and the prodigies leading to the discovery of the murder of Polydorus (cf. 3.63, aggeritur tumulo tellus, and Ann.1.19.1, a parallel for which the text of the Annales is disputed); Aen.6.70, the meeting of Aeneas and the Sibyl of Cumae (cf. 6.100, obscuris vera involvens, and Ann.4.58.3; and Aen.6.103-4, non uilla laborum/. . nova... facies, and Hist.3.30, Cole); and Aen.9.387, the death of Nisus and Euryalus at the hands of Volcens (cf. 9.380, abitum, and Ann.14.37.1). In Ann.6.34.2, the phrase appears in the same sentence as a mythological reference to Jason, which is expressed in a possibly unconscious echo of the Aeneid (Aen.6.269, perque domos Ditis vacuas et inanias regna). Because he makes use of language from the contexts noted
above, which are a high proportion of the total number of uses of de nomine in the Aeneid, Tacitus may be familiar with the phrase as one which Vergil uses when he is dealing with aetiological myth.

The combination iura dare, used once by Tacitus in a digression in Annales Three on the origin of law, appears eight times in the works of Vergil, four times in the Ab Urbe Condita of Livy, as well as twice in the poetry of Ovid. In spite of the frequency of its appearance in the works of other writers, there is some suggestion that Tacitus may at least be familiar with it as a phrase used by Vergil. Five of the eight examples are in contexts which provide Tacitus with Vergilian language: Aen.1.293, Jupiter's speech to Venus in the scene noted with reference to de nomine; Aen.1.507, the meeting of Dido and the Trojan embassy, also referred to in connection with de nomine; Aen.1.731, the feast in the palace of Dido (cf. 1.705, pares aetate ministri, and Ann. 15.69.1); Aen.3.137, the abortive founding of a city in Crete by Aeneas, and his dream of the Penates (cf. 3.176–7, tendoque supinas/ ad caelum cum voce manus, and Ann.2.29.2); and Aen.7.246–7, the meeting of Latinus and the Trojan embassy (cf. 7.255,272, hunc illum, and Ann. 14.22.2; Aen.7.262, uber agri, and Hist.3.34, also Luc.3.68, Miller).

Although the evidence is not conclusive, the examples seem to be too frequent for the correspondence to be simply coincidental.

In each case in the Georgics and the Aeneid, it is an acknowledged and respected leader or a god who is the law-giver.2 Might there

2. Cf. Geo.4.562, Caesar; Aen.1.293, Remus and Quirinus; 1.507, Dido; 1.731, Jupiter hospitialis; 3.137, Aeneas; 5.758, Acestes; 7.246–7, Priam; and 8.670, Cato.
be a touch of irony in Tacitus' use in Ann. 3.28.2, Augustus... deditique iura, which depends for its effectiveness partly upon the dignified associations of the phrase in Vergilian usage? Augustus has already been described as machinator doli, Ann. 1.10.2 (cf. Aen. 2.264, doli fabricator Epeos), and Tacitus' comment in the immediate context is acrionra ex eo vincla. There is no suggested Vergilian language in the passage of the Annales, but, if we consider Vergil's use of the phrase and Tacitus' general attitude to Augustus in the Annales, it is tempting to see a contrast between the age of gods and heroes and a much less exalted present.

A less likely example is exsindere used of persons in Aen. 9.137 (excindit hostem, Ann. 2.25.2, Hist. 5.16, and also Aen. 4.425 and 7.316). The setting is a speech by Turnus in which he rallies his followers, awe-struck by the transformation of the Trojan ships into nymphs, to attack the Trojan camp. His speech is introduced by the phrase increpat ulmo, 9.127 (Hist. 1.74.3, Fletcher), and contains, in a scathing reference to the destruction of Troy, the phrase considere in ignis, 145 (Hist. 3.33, Bourne). Both phrases, however, appear elsewhere in the Aeneid, increpat ulmo in 6.387, Aeneas' crossing of the river Acheron, and considere in ignis in 2.624, Aeneas' vision of the final collapse of Troy. Since both scenes contain language which Tacitus uses elsewhere, and since the Sack of Cremona in Hist. 3.28-33 is full of echoes

3. Cf. Aen. 2.602, inclementia, Ann. 4.42.3 (also Geo. 3.68); Aen. 2.614, ferro accincta, Ann. 6.2.5, and 11.22.1 (also Aen. 2.671); Aen. 2.625, vertere = evertere, Ann. 3.36.3, which is discussed below; Aen. 6.302, velisque ministrat, Germ. 44 (also Aen. 10.218); and Aen. 6.304, sed cruda deo viridisque senectus, Agr. 29.
of the description of the fall of Troy in Aeneid Two, the appearance of the phrase in the present context may not be significant for a possible relation between Vergil and Tacitus. The fact that there is an example of *excindere* with a person as object in Sallust *Hist.*4.69. 17 counts strongly against the likelihood of a Vergilian origin, but the phrase in the *Annales* is accompanied at 2.25.2. by *recluderent humum*, from *Geo.*2.423, and the scene follows the description of the storm, referred to in section i), in which Tacitus makes conscious and purposeful use of Vergilian language.

Finally, there is the phrase *belli commercia*, *Aen.*10.532 (*belli commercium*, *Ann.*14.33.2, and *Hist.*3.81), for which there is a pre-Vergilian example in *Liv.*5.15.5. Aeneas refuses to spare the life of Magus because Turnus *belli commercia...*/sustulit when he killed Pallas. The episode of Magus follows immediately upon the description of Aeneas' capture of eight youths whom he will sacrifice on the pyre of Pallas, *captivoque rogi perfundat sanguine flammas*, *Aen.*10.520. Both phrases appear again in Tacitus' account of the campaign in Britain, the latter at 14.30.3, the account of the slaughter of the Druids on the Island of Mona, the former in the description of the sack of Londinium by the Britons. Both are scenes which will be studied later in greater detail. The weighty significance of the words *belli commercia...*/sustulit in the *Aeneid*, together with the fact that two phrases from the same general context in the *Aeneid* re-appear in a military setting in the *Annales*, and in the same general context,
suggest that Tacitus is familiar with the passage in the Aeneid, and that he may be drawing upon Vergil rather than Livy for his phrase.

The remaining two examples, demissum meaning "descended", and niti, meaning "climb", are used only by Vergil, Tacitus and the poets. Both are employed more than once by Vergil, and in each case they are accompanied by language which re-appears in the Annales. Demissum is in Jupiter's speech to Venus, already referred to for the phrases de nomine and iura dare (Aen.1.288, Iulius, a magno demissum nomen Iulo), and also in Geo.3.35-6, Assaraci proles demissaeque ab Iove gentis/nomina, a passage in which Vergil describes, in terms of a temple which he will build, a projected poem to hymn the glories of Caesar. The passage ends, mox... accingar dicere, v.46 (cf. Ann.15.51.3.). In addition, Horace uses the verb of Augustus, iuvenis.../demissum genus Aenea, Sat.2.5.63, in a mock heroic passage introducing an oracular utterance of Tiresias to Odysseus on the subject of legacy hunting, and it appears once in Statius' Thebaid, 2.613, of the royal house of Cadmus. Because Statius draws repeatedly upon Vergil, it is tempting to see in the present case another example of his Vergilian borrowing. Tacitus uses the word in a mythological context similar to those of Vergil and Horace - a speech by the young Nero on behalf of the people of Ilium, in which he recalls Rome's descent from Troy and that of the Iulii from Aeneas, Ann.12.58.1. The nature of the context in Horace's satire makes it a less likely source for Tacitus than Vergil's poems (although Tacitus does refer to Nero's basis for pleading his case as haud procul fabulis), particularly since Tacitus makes use of other
phrases from the passages in which the word is used by Vergil.

Niti also appears twice, once in the Georgics, 2.428, /poma/ vi propria nituntur, and once in the Aeneid, 2.443, nituntur gradibus, and in each case it accompanies an accepted source for a phrase in the Annales (Geo.2.423, tellus... recluditur, and Ann.2.25.2; Aen.2.444, presunt fastigia dextris, and Ann.1.68.2). Tacitus has the verb once in its present meaning in his account of the battle of Idistaviso, 2.17.6, in which he uses the Vergilian pedestris acies infertur, 2.17.3 (cf. Aen.10.364). Neither of the examples in Luc.4.38 and Stat. Th.10.230 occurs with language imitated by Tacitus. Ann.2.17 has in common with the context of Aen.2.443 its military theme, but it is not unknown for Tacitus to transfer Vergilian language from an agricultural setting to a military context. Again, Vergil would seem to be a more likely source for Tacitus for a poetic usage.

iii) Contexts which differ in subject-matter

The words and phrases in the present section will be considered in two groups: firstly, those which are in a Vergilian passage which has imitated words and phrases, and appear in a Tacitean context which has Vergilian imitations; and, secondly, those in Vergilian passages with imitated phrases, but in Tacitean passages which have no Vergilian imitations which are included in our basic list.

4. Cf. Geo.2.423 and Ann.2.25.2, noted above, in which Tacitus uses a phrase which Vergil has used of ploughing, to describe the soldiers' digging up of a standard which had been captured from Varus by the Germans.
The first group consists of two phrases, fama vagatur, and expendere poenas, the verb vertere in the sense evertere, and infringi used of persons. With the exception of fama vagatur, all appear more than once in the Aeneid, but Tacitus uses only vertere = evertere more than once.

The phrase ea fama vagatur, Aen.2.17, occurs in the account of the building of the wooden horse, which Tacitus recalls, probably unconsciously, in his description of the pyramids in Ann.2.61.1 (Aen.2.15, instar montis). It re-appears in Tacitus’ description of the storm and flooding tides at 1.70.5, a scene which also contains the Vergilian subtracto solo, 1.70.3, and the word brevia, 1.70.2, discussed earlier (p.164). Although there is a pre-Vergilian example in Arat.419 of Cicero, it seems likely that Tacitus has drawn again upon the opening section of Aeneid Two, the link in thought between the two phrases perhaps being that in each case it is a false report which is spread abroad.

The use of vertere = evertere is also more likely to have come from Vergil than from Cicero. Tacitus imitates Vergil’s versusaque nenatis/Idomenei, Aen.11.264-5, in Ann.2.42.3, in which the verb is used in the present sense, and at Aen.2.625, ex imo verti Neptunia Troia, it is in the same sentence as the phrase considere in ignis (see p. 167 and note). The verb appears again at Aen.2.652-3, when Aeneas and his household attempt to persuade Anchises to leave Troy, a scene which has also the phrases ferro accingor, 2.671 (Ann.6.2.3), and palmas cum voce tetendit, 2.688 (Ann.2.29.2). It re-appears in
Aeneid Five when Neptune assures Venus of a safe crossing to Italy for
Aeneas and his followers, and refers to his own part in the destruction
of Troy in language strongly reminiscent of the second book of the
Aeneid (5.810-11, cuparem cum vertere ab imo/structa meis manibus per-
jurae moenia Troiae). Earlier in the scene there is a striking meta-
phor, /Tunc/ exedisse nefandis/urbem odio, 5.785-6, which Tacitus
recalls in Ann.2.27.1 in a radically different context, as well as the
phrase exercita curis, 5.779 and Agr.39.4 (also Ov. Met.15.768, Flet.).
In addition to the example noted in Ann.2.42.3, there are five instan-
ces elsewhere in the Annales, two of which appear in sections with
Vergilian parallels.5

Infringi used of persons appears twice in the Aeneid, once in
the scene between Venus and Neptune noted above, where it is used of
the implacable Juno, 5.784, and again in Aen.12.1, infractos...
Latinos, in the meeting between Turnus and Latinus which provided
Tacitus with the models praestans animi, 12.19 (Ann.6.6.2); tanto im-
pensius, 12.20 (Ann.3.44.4); and the word asciere, 12.38 (Ann.1.3.5).
The sole example of the verb used thus by Tacitus is in Ann.1.47.2,
a section which opens with the highly ironical immotum... fixunque
Tiberio fuit, which is an allusion to Aen.4.15. Again there seems
little reason to look for Tacitus’ source in Cicero.

The phrase expendere poenas, Ann.12.19.3, also appears twice in
the Aeneid (10.669; 11.258), as well as in Acc.535-6, Hibb., and Sil.

5. Cf. ad 1.4.1, verso civitatis statu, 1.4.1, aspectare, Aen.1.420;
1.4.2, variis rumoribus, Aen.9.464, 12.228; and, ad 12.45.4, verter-
entur, 12.45.1, auxilio vocanti, Aen.5.686.
13.698. In the tenth book of the Aeneid, Turnus makes the ritual gesture of prayer (duplicis cum voce manus ad sidera tendit, 10.667, and Ann.2.29.2) while he gives vent to his wrath and humiliation at being lured from the battlefield. In Book Eleven, the phrase is in the speech of Diomedes which is reported in the Council of the Latins. The speech provides Tacitus with the phrases versosque penatis/Idomenei, vv.264-5, noted in the discussion of vertere, and coeant in foedera dextrae, v.292 (Ann.12.47.2, and also Aen.7.546); and the speech of Latinus which follows provides the phrase foedera firment, v.330 (Ann.6.30.3, and also Aen.12.212). In addition, there is a Vergilian imitation in the same general context as poenas expenderet in the Annales: 12.18.1, odiis non infensus, Aen.11.122-3.

It seems likely that Sil.13.698, expendat poenas, is a direct imitation of Vergil. The account of Scipio's visit to the Sibyl of Cumae and his meeting with the shades of the Underworld is modelled on Aeneid Six, with an admixture of the eleventh book of the Odyssey. The general context contains such phrases as bella ciebam, v.689 (Lucr. and Verg.); Lux Italum, v.707, an imitation of Aen.2.231, o lux Dardaniae, which in turn is an allusion to Ennius, Scen.72-5V (Macrobi.), both of which are spoken of Hector; and effundit voces, v.710, which is a relatively characteristic use of effundere of Vergil. 6

Finally, there is the group of seven examples which appear in Vergilian passages containing imitated phrases, but are used by Tacitus

6. Cf., for example, Aen.5.482, 8.70, effundit voces; 5.780, guestus; and 7.292, dicta.
in contexts with no Vergilian imitations which are included in our basic list. Evincire is used six times by Vergil and four times by Tacitus, and three of the six examples in the Aeneid are in passages which have imitated language: 5.269, the description of the boatrace, mentioned earlier (p.164); 5.364, the boxing match (367, victa solacica, Hist.3.84, Miller; 402, suetus/ferre, Agr.12, Salvatore; 442, adsultibus, Ann.2.21.1); and 8.286, the rites of Evander in honour of Hercules (283, instaurant epulas, Ann.6.50.3, and also Aen.7.146). Except for the textually uncertain example in Cassius Hemina, Hist.37, the only other examples are in the poetry of Ovid and Statius, who each use the verb twice.

Subvectare, Ann.15.43.3, is used three times by Vergil in the Aeneid, in one case (p.156) very closely related to phrases which Tacitus imitates: 6.303, the description of Charon (302, velisque ministrat, Germ.44, Salvatore; 304, sed cruda deo viridisque senectus, Agr.29, Salvatore; and, later, in the account of the crossing of the Acheron, increpat ultra, v.387, Hist.1.74.3, Fletcher); and again at 11.131, the meeting of Aeneas with the embassy from the Latins, which provides the phrases pacem concedere, vv.110-11 (Hist.2.45.2, Fletcher), odio,../infensus, vv.122-3 (Ann.12.18.1), and fuma ingens, v.124 (Ann.11.10.3). With the exception of a pre-Vergilian use by Plautus, the examples from other writers are post-Vergilian, two appearing in poetry and one in the prose of Columella. In the present case, however, a Vergilian origin for Tacitus' use of the word seems

7. Ann.6.42.4; 11.4.2; 15.2.4; Hist.4.53: for Vergil, also Ecl.7.32; Aen.5.494; and 5.774.
very likely. The phrase guibus caelo te laudibus aequem, Aen. 11. 125 and Ann. 4. 34. 4, also appears in the meeting of Aeneas with the Latin embassy, just mentioned. Vergil may have modelled this phrase on Lucretius' exaequat... caelo, 1. 79, but only Vergil and Tacitus use the simple verb combined with caelo, of persons.

Adusque, 11. 262 and Ann. 14. 58. 4, and the phrase rebus succurrere fessis, 11. 335 and Ann. 15. 50. 1, are both in the Council of the Latins referred to p. 173. The former appears within two lines of versosque penatis/Idomenei, 264-5, and the latter in the speech of Latinus, which contains also the phrase foedera firment, v. 330. Both are used only once by Vergil and Tacitus. Adusque appears elsewhere only in poetry, there being one example in the works of Catullus, Horace, and Ovid respectively. The combination fessis... rebus is used by the elder Pliny and the younger Pliny, as well as by Statius, and Ovid has a phrase, rebus succurrere laesis, Trist. 1. 5. 35, which would appear to be a direct imitation of Aen. 11. 335. Only Vergil and Tacitus, however, have the verb succurrere with the combination fessis rebus. Since the phrases from the Council of the Latins which are or may be models for Tacitus are relatively well distributed throughout the first section of the scene, it would seem likely that the two examples in question are derived from this same context.

Although many of the basic models for Tacitus' words and phrases are isolated examples in the Aeneid, or appear in scenes which contain other basic imitated phrases, but no examples of poetic vocabulary or
language which has a limited usage in prose, there is a slight ten-
dency for poetic language and language used by one prose writer as well
as Tacitus to cluster in certain scenes. See, for example, Aen.1.223-
96, Venus' meeting with Jupiter (277, de nomine; 285, servitio premet;
288, demissum; and 293, iura dabunt): Aen.11.100-138, the Latin
embassy to Aeneas and Aeneas' challenge to Turnus (110-11, pacem con-
cedere; 121, ora tenebant; 122-3, odiis.../infensus; 124, fama ingens;
125, quibus caelo te laudibus aequem; and 131, subvectare): and the
Council of the Latins, Aen.11.225-444 (258, poenas expendimus; 262,
adusque; 264-5, versusque penatis/Idomenei; 268, appetit; 292, coeant
in foedera dextrae; 330, foedera firment; and 335, rebus succurrite
fessis).

In several cases a poetic or "limited prose" word or phrase ap-
pears within a few lines of an accepted imitated phrase, and the cor-
respondence seems to happen too frequently to be simply coincidental:
Aen.2.15, instar montis, 2.17, ea fama vagatur; 2.443, nituntur gradi-
bus, 444, presunt fastigia dextra; 5.784, [Juno]infraeta, 785-6, ex-
edisse nefandis/urbem odiis; 6.302, velisque ministrat, 303, subvectat,
304, sed cruda deo viridisque senectus; and 10.667, duplicis cum voce
manus ad sidera tendit, 669, expendere poenas.

8. Although the following phrases have not been discussed, there is a
similar correspondence in Aen.2.751, caput abiectare nericlis, prose,
(Ann.2.5.1); 2.754, lumine lustro (N.2.70, Fletcher); and 2.755,
silentia terrent (N.3.84, Cole): Aen.3.176-7, tendaque supinas/ad
caelum cum voce manus (Ann.2.29.2); and 5.178, intemperata, poetry,
(Ann.1.42.2): Aen.7.717, interiuit Allia, prose (Ann.6.1.1); and 717,
inaustum... nonen (Ann.16.12.2): Aen.8.525, ruere omnia visa,
poetry (Ann.1.30.3); and 8.528-9, arma inter nubem....... rutile-
lare vident (H.5.13, Miller): Aen.9.763, ingerit hastas, prose (Ann.
2.81.2); and 9.764, viris animisque ministrat (Agr.14.4, Fletcher):
and Aen.12.435-6, disce, puer, virtutem ex me verunque laborem/
One is tempted, therefore, to go somewhat beyond the limitations set forth at the beginning of the discussion and to see a Vergilian origin for such phrases as *incerti luctu*, *Ann.*.2.72.2 (*Aen.*.11.231); *tot casus vita superaverit*, *Ann.*.1.17.3 (*Aen.*.11.244); *diversus meaning "distant",* *Ann.*.1.17.3 (*Aen.*.11.261); *moenia urbis adsidens*, *Ann.*.4.58.3 (*Aen.*.11.304); and *animus est* with an infinitive, *Ann.*.1.56.5 (*Aen.*.11.324-5), all of which appear in the opening speeches of the Council of the Latins: or to see evidence of Tacitus' acquaintance with the moving scene in which Nisos and Euryalus meet their death, in such a clustering of poetic and "limited prose" language as *tendere contra*, *Aen.*.9.377 (*Ann.*.3.10.1); *celerare fugam*, 9.378 (*Ann.*.2.5.2); *abitum*, 9.380 (*Ann.*.14.37.1); *de nomine*, 9.387 (*Ann.*.1.15.2); *fraude loci*, 9.397 (*Ann.*.12.33.1); and *proceret... mortem*, 9.401 (*Ann.*.2.31.3). We must, however, take into consideration the fact that some of the concentrations of words and phrases which Tacitus uses may also be coincidental. If a language has a limited range of synonyms for expressing certain actions and ideas, writers must of necessity appear to echo one another. The point can be made, however, that with regard to those words and phrases which had appeared only in poetry before Tacitus used them, a higher proportion are used by Vergil than by any other single poet, and that in some cases the contexts in the *Aeneid* and the *Annales* furnish fairly convincing evidence that Tacitus has derived poetic language or language with a limited usage in prose, from Vergil. *Fortunam ex aliis* (*Ann.*.2.71.3); and *12.438, adoleverit aetas*, prose (*Ann.*.2.43.1). Possibly these words and phrases have also come directly from Vergil to Tacitus.
E. The Aeneid

Having added to our basic list certain words and phrases which are found in the works of the poets or one prose writer, as well as in those of Vergil and Tacitus, using as evidence the appearance, in their immediate contexts in Vergil’s works, of words and phrases which we have accepted as indicative of a direct relationship between the two writers, we shall consider next the Vergilian scenes which contain imitated language. Such a study should not only give a clearer picture of the nature and extent of Tacitus’ knowledge of Vergil’s works, but also provide some indication of his personal preferences in choice of Vergilian material, and his attitude towards it. The most immediate reason for Tacitus’ choice is often a contextual relation between a scene in the Aeneid and in the Annales, but all of the parallels cannot be understood or explained on contextual grounds alone. Nor do contextual grounds necessarily explain fully some of the rather curious concentrations of imitated language in Vergil’s works. It would appear to be more a question of what aspect of a scene accounts for the depth of the impression which it appears to have made upon Tacitus, what passages he perhaps studied most intensively, and even, in some cases, what is most congenial to his attitude towards his own material and to his method of writing history.

Since the majority of the words and phrases are from the Aeneid, the relevant passages in the Aeneid will be discussed first and in greatest detail, and then those from the Eclogues and Georgics will be treated more briefly.
With the addition of the examples discussed in the preceding section, the distribution of imitated words and phrases in the *Aeneid* is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of imitated words and phrases per Book</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Book</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Imitations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As noted on p.160, Book Two remains the source upon which Tacitus draws most frequently, and Books One, Two, Eleven, and Twelve, between them, provide approximately 55% of the total number of imitated words and phrases.

An examination of the scenes in the *Aeneid* which contain imitated language suggests that Tacitus is greatly interested in the portrayal of characters, in the concepts which they embody, and in the interplay of personalities. Approximately two-thirds of the imitated words and phrases occur in speeches or in narrative passages descriptive of particular individuals. This same interest is evident in more general narrative passages, approximately half of which depict human attributes and activities. We shall, therefore, divide the material for discussion into a) those examples which appear in speeches, supplemented by those (in narrative) depicting individual characters; and b) those which appear in narrative, without specific reference to the attributes or personality of a particular character, or which depict subjects other than persons.
a. The Aeneid: Speeches

The number of examples from speech and narrative varies with the individual Books. In Books Two, Five, and Nine, Tacitus shows a marked preference for narrative, and in Books One, Four, Six, and Eleven, examples from narrative are slightly outnumbered by those from speeches. 9

Number of imitated words and phrases in speech and narrative, per Book

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Book</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>VI</th>
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<th>VIII</th>
<th>IX</th>
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<th>XI</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>5</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narrative</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The seventy-three examples listed under "Speech" are from forty-seven speeches which are drawn from all Books of the Aeneid. They vary in length from brief exchanges of only a few lines to extended discourses of between thirty and forty-five lines. The speeches used by Tacitus, however, represent only a small proportion of the total number in the Aeneid - approximately 14%.

In their analyses of dramatic speech in Livy and Tacitus, Konrad Gries and N.P. Miller 10 employ a system of classification according to types, contents, speakers, and circumstances, which provides a very useful framework for discussion of the speeches in the Aeneid from which Tacitus derives imitative material. Since the categories themselves are explained in detail in the article of Gries and summarized

9. For our purposes, Aeneas' account of the fall of Troy and the wanderings of the Trojans, in Books Two and Three, is classed as narrative, and only the speeches within his narrative are classed as speeches.

in that of Miss Miller, brief explanatory comments only will be given here. There are some difficulties inherent in the attempt to apply to an epic poem categories which are an outgrowth of the study of historical writing, and some of the examples from the Aeneid, which will be noted below, fit rather awkwardly into the existing categories. The results of an analysis, however, still appear to be valuable.

I. Types

The six main types of speech are: 1. contio, "a formal address to a body of people"; 2. conversation; 3. dictum, a brief, often epigrammatic statement expressing the speaker's emotions; 4. condensed combinations, "a term used to describe a speech which summarizes the words or thoughts of a group of people, or of an individual on different occasions"; 5. formula, "an oracle, prayer, edict, etc."; and 6. message.

Two types of speech in the Aeneid present difficulties, dramatic monologues, and some of the prophetic utterances which are of extended length. The former have an affinity with what Miss Miller calls "the psychological obliqua speech" of Tacitus and classes as condensed combinations, in that they are used chiefly to present dramatically the thoughts, motives, and emotional states of characters. For this reason, I have classed them as condensed combinations. The latter, extended prophetic utterances, I have classed as formulae because of their general similarity to more succinct oracles, although they might also be considered contiones in form.

12. id., 285.
### Speeches used by Tacitus

**Type**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Book</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>VI</th>
<th>VII</th>
<th>VIII</th>
<th>IX</th>
<th>X</th>
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<td>3</td>
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</tr>
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<td><strong>Total per Book</strong></td>
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<td>6</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>47</td>
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</table>

Imitative language is drawn almost equally from contiones and conversations, as far as number of speeches used is concerned, and examples are fairly well distributed. The large number of conversational exchanges used is not surprising, since the greatest proportion of speech in the Aeneid is in the form of conversation. Condensed combinations and formulae are relatively few in number.

Contiones range from the speeches of ambassadors and replies delivered to them, formal debate upon military matters in the Council of the Latins, the exchange between the Trojans and their prisoner Sinon, and speeches of Aeneas and Turnus to their followers; to formal

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13. See p. 185.
14. See, for example, Ilioneus to Dido, 1.522-58; Ilioneus to Latinus, 7.213-48, and Latinus' reply, 7.259-73.
15. See the speeches of Diomedes, 11.252-93, and Latinus, 11.302-35.
16. See 2.75, and 2.77-104.
speeches of the gods, either making or granting petitions to another god. Imitated language is slightly more concentrated in contiones than in conversations, the number of examples being 34 and 29 respectively.

Conversations are varied in nature and include, for example, such differing exchanges as Aeneas’ outline of his plan to rescue his family from Troy, Dido’s expression of the dilemma in which she finds herself because of her love for Aeneas, Allecto’s proud words to Juno, reporting her success in sowing discord between Trojans and Latins, and Aeneas’ harsh refusal to Magus of the right of belli commercium, which foreshadows the death of Turnus.

Five of the seven examples classed as condensed combinations are monologues, and the remaining two are the thoughts of the speaker expressed in oratio obliqua. The monologues of Juno and Aeneas in Book One, and the thoughts of Nisus before his vain attempt to rescue Euryalus are closely related to narrative passages which contain concentrated imitated language. The remaining examples appear in Dido’s invective against Aeneas and her curse upon the Trojans before her

18. See, for example, Jupiter to Venus, 1.257-96; and Venus to Neptune, 5.781-98. Even though speeches are to individuals rather than to groups, they lack the informality of conversation, and therefore are classed as contiones.

19. Two examples, however, from the address of Illioneus to Dido, Aen. 1.522-58, are derived from his description of the storm, and, because of their relation to the narrative passage in Book One in which it is depicted, should not, perhaps, be considered independently.

21. Aen. 4.9-29, and Anna’s reply, vv. 31-53.
22. Aen. 7.545-51.
23. Aen. 10.531-54.
death, Latinus' thoughts about the prophecy of Faunus and its relation to Aeneas, before his reply to the Trojan embassy, Juno's monologue expressing her fury at the safe arrival of the Trojans in Italy and her determination to enlist the powers of Acheron against them, and the anguished cry of Mezentius when he learns of the death of his son. In all but Latinus' deliberations, the speeches delineate a state of emotional conflict which issues in action, and the thoughts and motives of the speakers are presented with considerable dramatic power.

The three examples of formulae are all prayers: the prayer to Jupiter hospitabilis with which Dido opens the banquet of the Trojans and Carthaginians, Aeneas' vow to honour Apollo with a festival in his new city if Apollo will aid him through the Sibyl of Cumae, and Turnus' vain prayer to Jupiter when Juno tricks him away from the battlefield with an image of Aeneas, a speech which is a combination of prayer and dramatic monologue.

Consideration of the number of speeches which Tacitus makes use of in each category, however, presents only one part of the general picture. By comparing the number of speeches upon which Tacitus bases imitative words and phrases with the total number in each category in the Aeneid, we should be able roughly to determine which types of

31. Aen. 6. 56-76.
32. Aen. 10. 668-79.
speech he tends to favour. Listed below are the total number of speeches in each category in the Aeneid, and the number and % of them which are used by Tacitus.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Number in Aeneid</th>
<th>Number used by Tacitus</th>
<th>% used by Tacitus</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>contiones</td>
<td>85</td>
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<td>190</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10.52</td>
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<tr>
<td>dicta</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>condensed</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td>combinations</td>
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<td>messages</td>
<td>4</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The type of speech which now predominates is the condensed combination, with contiones and conversations second and third in importance. The high percentage of condensed combinations is somewhat misleading because of the three examples mentioned earlier which appear in the description of the storm in Book One and the account of the deaths of Nisus and Euryalus in Book Nine. With allowance for these examples, however, the percentage remains significantly high—approximately 31%. In her discussion of the speeches of Tacitus, Miss Miller comments upon the large number of condensed combinations which he uses in his own historical writings, "It is typical of Tacitus that the condensed

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33. That the figures presented here can be only a rough approximation must be emphasized, since the material used includes repeated words and phrases. If a word appears more than once in the Aeneid, there is no way of determining from which particular context Tacitus derived it. I have, however, included only those repetitions which are in contexts containing other probable examples of imitated language.

34. See ftnts 24 and 25, p.183.
combinations should form such a large division. Most of these are psychological obliqua in one form or another, and reflect his interest in men's motives and feelings, and his instinct to present these dramatically. 35 The similarity in function between the Vergilian monologue and the Tacitean psychological obliqua has been noted. Possibly Tacitus found the language from such speeches memorable not only because of its inherent quality or suitability to his context, but also because of its expression in a form of speech which is extremely congenial to his own dramatic presentation of character.

The fact that more examples of imitated language appear in conditiones than in conversation has already been noted. 36 This greater concentration, together with the fact that a higher proportion of conditiones are used than of conversations, suggests that some of the material presented in the formal speeches of the Aeneid is of considerable interest to Tacitus. Their subject-matter and speakers will be discussed below.

Again it might be suggested that the form itself is significant. We know from Suetonius and Juvenal, 37 for example, that the Aeneid was used as a school text shortly after its publication, and that it continued to be so used during the first century A.D., and Vergil has his place of prominence, as a close rival to Homer, among the Latin writers

35. op. cit., 287.
36. See p.183 and ftn. 19.
whom Quintilian considers the best authors for study by the orator. Homer is pre-eminent among Greek and Latin writers not only because of his poetic skill, but also because of his mastery of oratory, and it is as an orator that he draws an encomium from Quintilian. If Vergil is indeed proprius tamen primo quam tertio, the evaluation of his position must rest upon the recognition of a similar combination of poetic and oratorical skill. That his two-fold talent was recognized is clearly indicated, for example, by the title of Florus' lost dialogue, *Vergilius Orator an Poeta*. We also know, again from Quintilian, that the memorizing of set passages was part of the rhetorical training of a student.

Here we may have a secondary explanation for the number of imitated words and phrases which appear in speeches, and, in particular, for the amount of Vergilian and poetic language which Tacitus appears to have derived from the first two major speeches in the Council of the Latins in Book Eleven. There are contextual relations between some of the phrases such as versosque penatis/Idomenei, 11.264-5 and Ann.2.42.5, and rebus succurrere fessis, 11.335 and Ann.15.50.1, which will be discussed later, and it will be suggested that the speeches of Diomedes and Latinus are integral to Tacitus' interpretation of the underlying

39. id. 10.1.46, nec poetica modo, sed oratoria virtute eminentissimus.
40. 10.1.46-50.
41. See also Macrobr.5.1.1, Vergilium non minus oratorem quam poetam habendum pronuntiabant.
42. Inst. Orat.1.1.36; 11.2.40-41.
themes of the Aeneid. His use, however, of poetic vocabulary (e.g., adusque, 11.262 and Ann.14.58.4), meanings of words which are apparently limited to the poets otherwise (e.g., diversus meaning "distant", 11.261 and Ann.1.17.3), and of syntactical devices which are attested elsewhere only in poetry (e.g., animus est with an infinitive, 11.324-5, and Ann.1.56.5), none of which can be explained fully by contextual relations between the Aeneid and the Annales, argues close familiarity with the passage as a whole, a familiarity which one might expect if Tacitus had studied the passage intensively, and perhaps committed sections of it to memory.

II. Contents

There are four main types of subject-matter: 1. international politics; 2. internal politics; 3. military affairs; and 4. personal matters. The categories are readily applicable to the speeches in the Aeneid. Although there is some overlapping of subject-matter, as in the speeches of Tacitus, the tenor of the speeches is generally clear.

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43. Miller, op. cit., 283.
The subject-matter of the speeches drawn upon by Tacitus is a relatively accurate reflection of the subject-matter of the various Books of the Aeneid. The majority of the speeches deal with personal matters and military affairs, and political affairs, whether international or national, are the subject of a much smaller number. Personal matters predominate numerically in the first six Books which deal with the fall of Troy, the wanderings of the Trojans, the love affair of Dido and Aeneas, and Aeneas' journey to the Underworld. The only speeches dealing with military affairs are from Book Two. The fact that an equal number of the speeches used from this book deal with personal matters and with military affairs is, on a very small scale, a reflection of the intensely personal element in the description of the fall of Troy. The collapse of the city is seen through the eyes of an individual, and it is personified in the fates of individuals such as Priam, Coreobus, Cassandra, and Creusa. The equal division between political affairs and personal matters in Book Four is also a reflection of subject-matter—the closely interwoven themes of Carthage and Rome, and Dido and Aeneas. Book Seven acts partially as a transition to the account of the war between the Trojans and Latins. Much of its subject-matter is concerned with the internal affairs of Latinus' kingdom, chiefly the oracle concerning the marriage of Lavinia, and with the diplomatic overtures between the Trojans and Latins. Military affairs enter with the outbreak of hostilities caused by Allecto, and the marshalling of the Italian warriors. Five of the six speeches used deal with political affairs. Military affairs are consistently a subject in the speeches
from Books Eight to Eleven which depict the war between the Trojans and Latins. The speeches from Book Twelve show accurately the focussing of attention upon Turnus in the final Book of the Aeneid. Of the three speeches used, one is addressed to Turnus by Latinus in an effort to dissuade him from single combat, vv.19–45, and one is spoken by Turnus to Juturna as he returns to battle to face Aeneas, vv.632–49.

As far as the relation between type of speech and contents is concerned, the majority of the continentae are discussions of military affairs and of political matters, either relations between Trojans and Carthaginians, or Trojans and Latins, or the internal affairs of the Roman people as depicted by her great leaders in the prophetic speech of Jupiter in Book One. Conversations deal primarily, but not exclusively with personal matters, and condensed combinations and formulae comprise a mixture of personal, military, and political subjects, with personal matters predominating.

A comparison of the total number of speeches in the Aeneid on each subject with the number which are used by Tacitus yields the following results:

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<th>Contents</th>
<th>Number in Aeneid</th>
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<td>international politics</td>
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The percentages given above bear an interesting relation to the subject-matter of Tacitus' speeches in his historical writings. The totals given by Miss Miller for the number of remarks on each subject are: international politics, 23; internal politics, 77; military affairs, 45; and personal matters, 45. The greatest number of Tacitus' speeches deal with the internal politics of Rome, and political matters predominate over personal and military affairs. The percentages for speeches used from the Aeneid reflect the same interest. International politics figures more largely than internal politics, as would be expected from the nature of the subject-matter of the Aeneid, but there is a similar preponderance of political over personal and military matters.

The political implications of the Aeneid appear to be a theme which underlies much of the material which Tacitus uses. Its full significance can become apparent only when we study his application of the Vergilian material to the subject-matter of the Annales, but the themes which run through the speeches from the Aeneid which he appears to have used are in themselves suggestive of his point of view.

The interpretative comments which follow in the present section and the section dealing with "Speakers", unless it is stated otherwise, are based as closely as possible upon the actual words of Vergil which Tacitus uses, so that all quotations from the Aeneid have their Tacitean counterpart in the Annales.

Tacitus' outlook, as reflected in the Vergilian material which he uses from the speeches, is a profoundly pessimistic one, deeply coloured by the tragic implications of the Aeneid. To be sure, there is a

44. *op. cit.*, 287. Numbers are based upon an analysis of speeches from the *Agricola*, *Histories* I and IV, and *Annals* I-III, and XIII-XV.
positive, hopeful note in the speech of Jupiter, depicting the increasing greatness and power of the gens Tullia, which will culminate in the return of the Golden Age of peace and concord, but this optimistic picture fades before the harsh light of a world which is essentially hostile. The gods are an irresponsible, destructive power; nature can be violent towards man; there is a destructive potential in human beings which can lead to treachery and betrayal; and man's lot is one of suffering and death.

The destructive power of the gods appears first in the storm which scatters the Trojan fleet, and Juno's self-justification for her action in terms of Pallas' vengeance upon Ajax, son of Oileus, 1.39-45 (disiecitque rates, 1.43). Her hostility to the Trojans is a recurring motif. In Book Two, she urges on the Greeks in the destruction of Troy, ferro accincta, 2.614. Venus asks Neptune to grant the Trojans a safe crossing to Italy because Juno nec Iovis imperio fatigque infracta quiescit, 5.784, and refers with vivid and violent language to her part in Troy's fall: non... exedisse nefandis/urbem odiis sati est, 5.785-6. Even though Vergil describes the Latins as Saturni gens, 7.203, and Juno as Saturnia, 7.560, they, too, are caught up in her gravis ira: at licet amborum populos exscindere regum, 7.316. It is to Juno that Alecto reports her success in causing war, with the ironic challenge, dic in amicitiam coeant, 7.546, and Juno

45. Aen.1.257-96.
46. Only once, in Dido's prayer to Iuppiter hospitalis, 1.731-5, is divine power represented as a force for order and the claims of mutual responsibility in human relationships.
47. In the same scene Neptune refers to his part in the destruction of Troy with the words cuperem cum vertere ab imo/structa meis m anus periurae moenia Troiae, 5.810-11.
expresses her satisfaction at the bloodshed which is to be the marriage portion of Aeneas and Lavinia for *talia coniugia*, 7.555.

Not only are the Trojans the object of implacable divine hatred, and the Latins expendable pawns in Juno's delaying game with *fatum*, but even her favourite, Turnus, must face his death in isolation knowing that *superis aversa voluntas*, 12.647. The speech of Diomedes, 11.252-93, shows clearly the helplessness of man against the gods, and the inexorability with which divine retribution follows an act of *hybris*: *quicumque Iliacos ferro violavimus agros/*...*/... infanda per orbes supplicia et sclerum poenas expendimus omnes*, 11.255-8.48 Individuals suffer for their acts of impiety. Menelaus is driven *diversum ad litus*/...*/... Protei*/... adusque columnas*, 11.261-2, by a storm sent by Minerva because he had failed to honour her. Ido- meneus is caught by the same storm, and his house is overthrown by his own ill-considered vow to Poseidon and by treachery (*11.264-5, versos- que penatis/Idomenei*). Agamemnon returns home only to meet his death (*11.268, oppetiit*).

Yet Diomedes, by saying that the attack upon Troy was sacrilegious (cf. the words *violavimus, supplicia, sclerum poenas expendimus*) takes upon himself and the Greeks the burden of an act of impiety for which the gods are ultimately responsible, for Venus had revealed to Aeneas that the true cause of the fall of Troy was *divum inclementia, divum*, 2.602.

48. The theme of retribution appears also in *Aen. 6.543, exercet poenas* and in Turnus' heartfelt cry to Jupiter, 10.668-9, *me...*/... *talis voluisti expendere poenas*?
The repetition of divum comes with a stabbing shock. There and then Venus rends apart the cloud that clogs Aeneas' mortal sight and shows him the great gods in action against Troy: Neptune, the builder of its walls, pulling them down in smoke and dust, stone from stone; Juno, whipping up the Greeks to the assault; Pallas, in the full terror of her Gorgon-shield, astride the citadel; Jupiter himself cheering them on. . . . It is a fantastic apocalypse, gods in devilry, gloating over their horrid work like demons in a medieval Doom. 49

R.G. Austin, in his illuminating comments upon Book Two, points out that the scene is the climax of a "mounting indictment" against the gods, 50 and shows clearly the inconsistency between the Venus scene and the ready acceptance by Aeneas and Anchises, in the scene which follows, of the omens which sanction their departure from Troy:

Here at least it might seem that Virgil gives some answer to the questionings that fill so much of the Book: they can be countered, . . . by belief in the ultimate reasonableness of the divine purpose and its readiness to respond to pietas, hard though it is to comprehend why so often it is necessary to observe or think aliter. But how can this answer be reconciled with the immediately preceding scene? An obedient faith in divine guidance, blandly manifested after that apocalypse of devils, is more than incongruous: it is irrational. The conclusion is irresistible that the whole Venus-scene was an afterthought, and that near the end of his life Virgil experienced some deeply disturbing intensity of poetic vision: 'what a sigh is there; the heart is sorely charged'. It is as if he had suddenly, blindingly, seen that human pietas - the linch-pin of the whole structure of the Aeneid - has no protection against the arbitrary ruthlessness of the gods, no necessary recognition from them: there is no appeal against divum inclementia. 51

If we can judge from Tacitus' apparent familiarity with the language of Book Two in general, with the scene between Venus and Aeneas, and with the speech of Diomedes, the juxtaposition of the two scenes is not entirely irrelevant to an understanding of his point of view.

50. ibid.
51. id., xxi.
There is an apparent inconsistency between Diomedes' and Venus' interpretations of the true cause and nature of the Trojan war, and there are at least two possible explanations of the relation between the scenes, which take into account this apparent inconsistency, the second of which gains added weight from Professor Austin's interpretation of the Venus scene.

The basic question is, why does Diomedes speak of the attack upon Troy as a crime in itself, an act of violation? Firstly, the Trojan war may have become sacrilegious by association, as it were, because of the individual acts of impiety which were committed in the course of it and subsequently punished by the gods. Thus words like violavimus, v.255, supplicia, v.258, and acelerum poenas expendimus, v.258, take on their religious overtones only in relation to the details which follow, and are a general statement of what is given later in a detailed, particularized form. The speech is then self-consistent, and deals with only one subject - individual acts of hybris and the inevitable nemesis which overtakes them. It is the punishment for these individual acts, which is held up as a grim warning to the Latins against incurring divine wrath by opposing the Trojans. The relation between the Venus-scene and the speech of Diomedes lies in their complementary pictures of the destructive power of the gods and in the idea that punishment for acts of impiety may be delayed but never escaped.

The second possibility is that the speech does in fact deal with two closely related subjects - individual and corporate acts of impiety
Do the opening words of Diomedes' speech perhaps suggest that there is an incalculable element in man's relationship with the gods because of his limited insight into the significance of action and his inability to foresee its consequences? The Greeks were the instrument of the gods' vengeance upon Troy in an action which they not only decreed but also helped to bring to fulfilment. Yet the Trojans are a "chosen people", and by the very act of carrying out the will of the gods, their agents committed an act of sacrilege against them. Even in these circumstances one can never be sure of the favour of the gods, and the fact that they are ultimately responsible for the fall of Troy does not absolve the Greeks from their share of blame. It is another aspect of inclementia divum that not only for their victims is human pietas of no avail, but also for the instruments through whom they exact punishment. Diomedes' speech thus becomes a two-fold warning to the Latins. Do not be responsible for sacrilege, either as individuals or as a nation, because you will be punished. Even your pietas will not protect you or ease the weight of inevitable retribution.

According to the second interpretation, the speech is complementary to the Venus-scene on a deeper level, and it is, I think, more consistent with the nature of the passages mentioned earlier, in which the hostility of Juno is depicted. The idea that "no one wins", that there is no escape for the agents of divine power or for their victims, is also more consistent with the general impression one receives of Tacitus' viewpoint in the Annales, and, hence, it might be suggested, possibly closer to his own interpretation of the scene.
When we note that the word *inclementia* (Aen. 2.602) for example, appears only once in Tacitus' works and that it is used of Tiberius, (Ann. 4.42.3), that the phrase *aversa voluntas* (Aen. 12.647) is used of Tiberius' hostility to Germanicus (Ann. 2.5.2), that *poenas expendere* (Ann. 11.258, and 10.669) appears in a plea against the punishment of Mithridates by Claudius (Ann. 12.19.3), and that Tiberius assumes *imperium, versa Caesarum subole* (Ann. 2.42.3, and Aen. 11.264-5), we can perhaps see why the theme of the destructive, arbitrary power of the divine and man's helplessness against it was a significant one for Tacitus.

The violence and destructive power of the natural world is touched upon only lightly in the speeches, but its presence is felt more strongly in some of the narrative passages. Ilioneus' description to Dido of the storm which struck the Trojan fleet (1.536, *in vada caeca tuit*; 537, *superante salo*) is linked with the theme of divine hostility just discussed. Not only do the gods use men and lesser gods as their instruments of wrath, but also nature can be enlisted to aid them.

Even in human relationships there is no guarantee of integrity and good faith. Dido's husband, Sycaeus, was treacherously murdered by her brother, and the ghost of her husband *caecum... scelus omne retexit*, 1.356. The Trojans, who asked Sinon *quaesit fiducia cante*, 2.75, were deliberately tricked by their captive and led to their destruction. Sinon first enlisted their sympathy by claiming friendship with Palamedes, who was treacherously and unjustly put to death by

52. See p. 237.
the Greeks, invidia... pellacis Ulixi... superis concessit ab
oris, 2.90-91. In their context, his words are heavy with irony. Did
mock at the filial piety of Aeneas which is in sharp contrast to what
she feels is his betrayal in leaving her: en dextra fidesque...
aiunt... / quem subisse ueris collectum aetate parentem, 4.597-99.
Dranesbetrays the Latin champion, Turnus, by his promise to attempt
a reconciliation between Aeneas and Latinus, and says with venom quaer-
rat sibi foedera Turnus./ quin et fatalis murorum attollere moles/saxa-
gue subvectare ueris Troiana iuvabit, 11.129-31. The fate of Deiphobus,
 cui tantum de te licuit? 6.502; also has a background of treach-
er/- scelus exitiale Laeccaena, v.511 (from the same scene, but not
words used by Tacitus). In an attempt to protect herself from the
fury of Menelaus, Helen removed the sword of Deiphobus while he slept,
so that he could not defend himself, and then led Menelaus to him.

No sphere of human life seems to be free from this taint, whether
it is the private and personal relations between a man and a woman
and within the bounds of family, or the larger social relations within
a political unit and between two peoples. The scene between the Tro-
jans and Sinon suggests not only that double-dealing is possible in
international relationships, but also that pity for suffering and the
presupposition of honesty and integrity in others, both of which are
in themselves good qualities, may be tragic folly.

Possibly also underlying these passages is the idea of the limi-
tations of an individual's or a group's insight into the motivation of
others. Family ties are no protection against an individual's greed,
for it was auri amor which drove Pygmalion to commit murder. Palamedes suffers not from any fault of his own which would justify extreme punishment, but because of invidia. The Trojans take Sinon's words at their face value as an expression of his pietas: "he is deeply wronged, an honourable and devoted friend, a man to trust." Only after the event is there any realization that "he is a devil, in the guise of an unhappy waif, taking risks at every turn, playing upon all the Trojans' emotions, leading them on from jeering to curiosity, from curiosity to kindness and pity, from pity to trust, his luck holding to the end. . . . and all this time, there the Horse stands, with Laocoon's spear fast in its flank". It is part of Dido's tragedy that she is unable to envisage or comprehend the conflict between personal loyalties and public duty which racks Aeneas, because she herself denied that their claims might be independent or opposed to one another, when she accepted Anna's guise for her own desires as political expediency: quam tu urbem, soror, hanc cernes, quae surgere regna/conjugio tali, 4.47-8. Drances' hatred of Turnus appears almost as a "motiveless malignity", except for the suggestion of the clash between youth and age in 11.122-3: senior semperque odiis et crimine Drances/infensus iuveni Turno. Since Tacitus is himself greatly interested in and almost preoccupied with human motivation, it would appear to be a

53. Austin, op. cit., 57.
54. id., 52.
55. Vergil assigns another cause for Drances' hatred in Aen.11.336-7, Tum Drances idem infensus, quem gloria Turni/obliqua invidia stimulisque agitatam amare, lines following immediately upon Latinus' words rebus succurrite fessis, 11.335, which Tacitus uses. Although Tacitus makes use of language only from the speech and description of Drances quoted above, the proximity of Vergil's further comment to a phrase which Tacitus uses may suggest that Tacitus was familiar with the latter comment as well.
valid suggestion that the passages are linked by this theme of imperfect understanding of the motives of others.

The theme of human suffering is a recurring one. Aeneas sees Andromache tending a shrine to Hector, deiectam coniuge tanto, 3.317. When he meets the shade of Dido in the Underworld, his incredulous response is nec credere quivi/hunc tantum tibi me discessu ferre dolorem, 6.463-4. Then there is the shade of Deiphobus, who trembles and tries to hide his cruelly mutilated body: cui tantum de te licuit? 6.502. The gifts which Ilioneus brings to Latinus include among them the royal robe, sceptre, and the crown of Priam, whose name recalls the destruction of Troy and his own death at the hands of Neoptolemus, who had just killed his son: hoc Priami gestamen erat cum iura vocatis/more daret populis, 7.246-7. For Turnus, too, Juno foresees that nunc manet insontem gravis exitus, 10.630, and Mezentius cries out when he learns of the death of his son, nunc alte vulnus adactum, 10.850. Even Aeneas is not spared his share of pain: he describes himself to Venus as ignotus, egena, 1.384; he pleads with the shade of Dido, teque aspectu ne subtrahis nostro, 6.465; and his words to Ascanius before the final combat with Turnus are diace, puer, virtutem ex me verumque la-
borem,/fortunam ex alliis, 12.435-6.

Suffering seems to fall indiscriminately upon the guilty and the innocent, and there appears to be little relation between the seriousness of a fault and the depth of pain which results. Andromache is an innocent victim of the fall of Troy. Her fate is especially pitiable because Hectoris Andromache becomes the concubine of Neoptolemus,
stirps Achillea, the son of her husband's killer. Deiphobus pays cruelly and terribly for his marriage with Helen, though the original fault was not his but Paris. Priam, the king and law-giver, outlives his age of glory to see the ruin of all that he holds dear, and to be dishonoured. Aeneas' task of founding a city has its price in the pain of Dido and Turnus. Even Mezentius, "contemptuous of the gods, fearless of death, brutal, and hated of men," learns sorrow and the agonies of self-reproach by a crippling blow against his one point of vulnerability - his love for his son. Aeneas begins as a man near the point of despair, his followers scattered, he himself apparently deserted by the gods whose command he must still obey. His recognition of the pain he has caused Dido finds no response in a like recognition of the pain which she has caused him. There is no comfort, no pity, and no forgiveness: only his own knowledge of the irreparable harm he has done. After he has reached Italy, his wish for peaceful settle-

56. The first words of Aeneas to Deiphobus, Deiphobe, armipotens, genus alto a sanguine Teucri, 6.500, are a moving example of Vergil's humanitas. Whether or notTacitus found them so, his own sympathy for the victims of imperial ruthlessness makes him closely akin to Vergil in passages such as these. Deiphobus is addressed in words which recall his might as a warrior and his dignity as a member of the royal house of Teucer, as if to recompense him for the indignity which he has suffered, and to reassure him that his former greatness is still remembered. The words take on added grandeur from their associations with archaic literature: "armipotens auch bei Accius und Lucrez, also wohl enniisch wie hellipotens ann.181. Auch genus alto a sanguine (Teucri) klingt archaisch, wie oben 125 sate sanguine divon: vgl. Enn. ann.117 o sanguen dis orindum."


58. "Virgil assigned to him a greater and a lesser sin; he could, and did, expiate the former, his sin against God; but for the second, his sin against an individual human being, he could never make
ment of no avail, his attempt to end hostilities by single combat with Turnus treacherously frustrated by the Latins, he is left with only. virtus and labor, and a grim awareness of the incalculable element in human affairs which may render all one's efforts futile. Wendell Clausen has described Vergil's view of Roman history as "a long Pyrrhic victory of the human spirit."\(^{59}\) Judging from the passages above, we might suggest that this is a view which Tacitus understood and, possibly, to some extent, shared.

As a natural concomitant of the theme of human suffering, there is the recurring theme of death. Aeneas' first words express his wish that he had died at Troy: o terque quaterque beati quas ante ora patrum Troiae sub moenibus altis contigit oppetere, 1.94-6. Sinon recalls the death of Palamedes: superis concessit ab oria, 2.91. Nisus faces death for the sake of his friend, Huryalus: pulchram properet per vulnera mortem, 9.401. Turnus refuses Juturna's attempts to keep him away from Aeneas, with the words vidi oculos ante ipsae meae voce vocantem/Hurranum... oppetere, 12.638-40. If we include phrases used from narrative passages, there is the death of Priam (in multo

amends. If Dido's love for Aeneas brought her to the death of the body, Aeneas' love for Dido brought him to the death of the heart. Neither allowed their love to transcend self, and so to bring them life. Neither faced their moral conflict squarely; both withdrew from the wholeness of love in its highest form, for both knew in their innermost being that they were doing wrong. There is the real tragedy."/R.G. Austin, "The Fourth Book of the Aeneid," Virgil Society Lecture, February '24 (1951), 23./

lapsantem sanguine nati, 2.551); possibly of Dido (subitque adnixa, 4.690); of Dryops at the hands of Clausus (pariterque lequentis/ vocem animamque rapit, 10.347-8); of Lausus (tum vita per auras/concessit maesta ad mania, 10.819-20); of Mezentius (undantique animam diffundit in arma cruore, 10.908); and, finally, of Amata (nudo dehisceletis sete trahes nectit ab alta, 12.603).

The relevance of this theme for Tacitus is readily apparent when we consider the frequency with which he describes or mentions death, and the wide range of synonyms which he employs to deal with the subject. In the passages above, death is both a thing of horror and a thing of pitiable beauty in the emotional response which it arouses. Priam's death is brutal and pathetic. Amata's suicide is horrible in its unreason and its degradation. The descriptions of the deaths of Dryops and Mezentius emphasize its violence, with such words as rapit, undant, and diffundit.

In four cases, a lamentable death is made a thing of beauty and pathos by the felicity of Vergil's language and the emotional tenor of

60. Tacitus uses the same construction but not the same phrase as Vergil. Since the construction is repeated in the Aeneid (cf. 9.229; 12.92) and since there are no other examples of imitated language in the present context, it is impossible to determine from which context Tacitus derived it. The present context seems, perhaps, more likely because it forms part of a pattern of related passages, whereas the others noted above are less obvious examples.

61. See the lists in Draeger, section 252, Furneaux, 1.71, and Gerber and Grecf, under morior and mors.

62. "Enfin, suprême délie de cette âme passionnée, elle rejette la vie d'un acte diffamant. . . . Peu lui importe, du reste, que ce genre de mort soit ou non réprovable; quand la vie a perdu toute valeur, que peut faire la louange ou le blâme? Chez Amata, être d'une impulsivité sans contrôle, ce suicide est normal; elle a vécu d'une vie émotionnelle intense, un mort déraisonnable en est le couronnement." S. Patris, "Une figure féminine de l'Enéide. Amata reine des Latins", in L.E.C., vol.15 (1945), 53.
the scene. The deaths of Palamedes and Lausus are described in similar language of moving beauty. In his note on the former passage, R. G. Austin writes:

Both Ennius (Ann. 114, 131) and Lucretius (i.22, etc.) use in (or intrat) luminis oras with varying verbs to express man’s entry at birth into the ‘borders of light’. ... Virgil has now adapted this use of orae ... to produce a picture of death: he has given it an epithet which he sometimes has with aura, the air of this world that men breathe; and he has combined with it the verb concedere, a quite ordinary word for moving from one place to another... to make an imaginative and beautiful expression for a 'passing'. If we compare (a) G.iv.486 'redditaque Eurydice superas veniecbat ad auras'; (b) x.819f. 'vita pen auras/concessit maesta ad manis corpusque reliquit', the associations in Virgil's mind are clear. 63

The death of Dido is akin to those of Palamedes and Lausus in its pathos: ter sese attollens subitoque adnixi levavit, /ter revoluta tere est oculisque errantibus alto/quaeasit caelo lucem ingemuitque reperta, 4.690-92. Vergil describes the death which Nisus anticipates as pulchra. Not only is it an honourable death in battle, but also for Nisus it is the ultimate expression of his love for his friend. The uses by Aeneas and Turnus of oppetere have some of the same associations as the thoughts of Nisus, the former by similarity, the latter by contrast. Aeneas' wish that he had died at Troy is more than the expression of a despairing man's longing to escape from suffering and responsibility. Death in battle in defence of one's city is honourable and, like the death of Nisus, it is an expression of devotion to the warm ties which bind men to one another - love for one's city and family. Turnus' words reveal the pain of a man who has failed in devotion to a friend who is dear to him, and it is with the knowledge of 63. op. cit., 62-3.
personal failure, as well as that *superis aversa voluntas*, that he returns to face Aeneas.

It is, I think, noteworthy that seven of the ten phrases depict the deaths of persons who are in some sense victims, either because of the fall of Troy, or because of their opposition to the destiny of Aeneas. Nannanus and Dryops are incidental victims, but Dido, Amata, and Mezentius are major figures who must suffer defeat. With the death of Lausus, the theme of *inclementia divum* returns in an especially cruel form, because it is the *pietas* of Lausus which is directly responsible for his death. Here, however, there is not only Vergil’s pity, expressed in the beauty of language, but also the sorrow of Anchisiades, in his deeply moving gesture with which the scene ends: *et terra sublevat ipsum/sanguine turpantem comptos de morte capillos*, vv. 851-2. Perhaps this, too, helped to make the death of Lausus memorable for Tacitus.

There is little in the speeches used by Tacitus, which have been discussed thus far, to balance the picture of the forces of disruption, whether human or divine, the spectacle of human suffering, and the suggestion of an imbalance between action and punishment. We have noted the ideal in the speech of Jupiter of the return to an age of justice, simplicity, and innocence, but, in the other speeches, that ideal appears to be far from its fulfilment. Even human *pietas* seems to be of no avail.

There is, however, one suggestion, which appears in the speeches of Diomedes and Latinus, of a means of escape from this cycle of suf-
ering and destruction, although it, too, has a negative undertone. Diomedes speaks as the voice of reason which is based upon self-awareness and acceptance of personal limitations. We have noted his acceptance of his due share of punishment for the fall of Troy, which is also, in one respect, an acceptance of the limitations of pietas, limitations which Venus had revealed to Aeneas in her words divum inclementia. The only rational course when one is faced with a superior power supported by divine sanctions is to acknowledge one's limitations and come to terms with it: coeant in foedera dextrae, 11.292. The phrase is particularly striking because it is separated by twenty-four lines from the section of his speech in which imitated words and phrases are concentrated. Latinus, too, is the spokesman for reason and compromise (tanto me impensus aquum est/consulere atque... expendere casus, 12.20-21). At first he regards the Trojans as enemies (cum muros adsidet hostis, 11.304), but he recognizes that the Latins' powers are failing (rebus succurrite fessis, 11.335), and that terms must be made with the Trojans (quid dicta ferant et foedera firment/centum oratores.../ire placet, 11.330-32). The last words spoken by him upon which Tacitus draws are socios sum ascire paratus, 12.38. Whether or not Tacitus regarded this solution as the right and honourable one must be judged from what we can determine of his attitude to the characters in the Aeneid.
### III. Speakers

There is considerable variety in the speakers by whom the speeches are delivered. Most of the major characters are represented, and a good number of the minor ones. Listed below are the number of speeches used per character, and the number of imitated words and phrases per character.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Number of speeches used by Tacitus</th>
<th>Imitations: number of examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aeneas</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juno</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latinus</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dido</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turnus</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venus</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilioneus</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diomedes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drances</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jupiter</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trojans</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinon</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achaemenides</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anna</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neptune</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sibyl of Cumae</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Allecto</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pallas</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nisus</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mezentius</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venulus</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

More speeches of Aeneas are used than of any other character, and the number of examples of imitated language from his speeches is correspondingly higher. Since Aeneas is the one figure who appears constantly in the *Aeneid* and its chief character, this is to be expected.
More interesting is the higher proportion of imitations based upon a much smaller number of speeches by Latinus, Venus, Ilioneus, and Diomedes. Except for one case in which Latinus and Aeneas are referred to together in a narrative passage (firmabant foedera, 12.212), and a reference to Venus in a speech by Juno (una dolo divum si femina victa duorum est, 4.95), all four are represented only by Tacitean borrowings from their words. Thematic relationships between the speeches have been noted, but they are also important for characterization, either because of the attitudes which are revealed by the speaker or because of his comments upon others.

Since we are interested in anything which will suggest the attitude of Tacitus to the characters in the Aeneid, we shall include for discussion in the present section the fifty imitated words and phrases in narrative passages, which are descriptive of particular individuals. Thirty-four are used of characters also represented by the speeches listed above, and sixteen are used of characters who are not represented by speeches.

We can get a general idea of which characters are most important to Tacitus by noting the number of imitated words and phrases both in speech and narrative which are spoken by or refer to particular people. The list of characters is considerably longer. Aeneas remains the most important figure, but the relative positions of other characters are somewhat different.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
<th>Imitated language from speeches and narrative related to character: number of examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aeneas</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turnus</td>
<td>14</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dido</td>
<td>14</td>
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<tr>
<td>Latinus</td>
<td>12</td>
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<tr>
<td>Juno</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Venus</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Diomedes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anchises</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jupiter</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Trojans</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Latins</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>Sinon</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tlioneus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Drances</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ascanius</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nisus</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Euryalus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mezentius</td>
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<tr>
<td>Neptune</td>
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<td>Priam</td>
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<td>Sibyl of Cumae</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Amata</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Juturna</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Palamedes</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Epeos</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Andromache</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achaemenides</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anna</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mercury</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Charon</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Deiphobus</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Allecto</td>
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<td>Ufens</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pallas</td>
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<tr>
<td>Evander</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clausus</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lausus</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Venulus</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Herminius</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ligus</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Murranus</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
The most striking aspect of the list is the wide range of characters who are represented. Some of them, such as Achaemenides, Hermannus, Murrano, and even Diomedes, are relatively incidental to the Vergilian narrative. Others, such as Anchises, Pallas, Evander, and Amata, are more important characters in the Aeneid than Tacitus' borrowings would suggest. Camilla is not represented directly, but her followers, and Ligus who attempted to escape from her by trickery are included, so that Tacitus has not ignored completely that part of the narrative which is focussed upon her.

Since Tacitus' interpretation of the Aeneid must partially be based upon his interpretation of the chief characters, we shall consider in detail the imitated words and phrases either spoken by or relevant to Aeneas, Turnus, Latinus, and Dido, and then discuss more briefly those which are relevant to the other characters in the list and which seem to be significant of Tacitus' point of view. In the case of language which is important for more than one character, it is included in the discussion of all persons upon whom it has some bearing.

Aeneas is a man of noble birth, a law-giver, city-founder, and maker of treaties, whose position has divine support. As a military leader, he possesses the qualities of courage, endurance, and in-

64. 4.13, degeneres animos timor arguit, degener meaning "baseborn".
65. 3.18, Aeneadasque... de nomine; 3.137, iura... dabam; 12.212, firmabant foedera.
66. 7.255, 272, hunc illum, Latinus' acknowledgment of Aeneas as the leader who would fulfil the prophecy of Faunus; 8.535, at bellum ingueret, Aeneas' interpretation of the omen sent by Venus.
67. 2.751, caput obiectare periclis; 4.13, degeneres animos timor arguit; 12.400, lacrimis immoblis.
sight into the reactions of his followers, and he is a warrior whose prowess is acknowledged by others. His ability as a leader is based upon a sense of responsibility for the Trojans, although this responsibility is at first a heavy burden, and he is sufficiently unself-centred to acknowledge greatness in others. As a person, he is devoted to his family and dutiful towards the gods. He is a man who experiences suffering, and who can feel pity for the suffering of others. Yet there is an element of the irrational in his character which appears in his reaction to the slaying of Pallas by Turnus.

The outline given above indicates that Tacitus has a fairly comprehensive, balanced view of Aeneas, although there is an element of

68. 11.18, spe praesumite bellum.
69. 2.671, ferro accingor; 5.535, si bellum ingrueret; 10.803-4, velut effusa si quando grandine nimbi praecinitant, of the weapons of the Latins which Aeneas faces as they attempt to protect Lausus from him; 11.18, spe praesumite bellum; 12.398, ingentem hastam.
70. 11.124, fama ingens; 11.125, quibus caelo te laudibus sequem.
71. 1.180, Aeneas scopulum... conacendit, of his search for his followers lost in the storm.
72. 1.94-6, o terque quaterque beati,/quis ante ora patrum Troiae sub moenibus altis/contiguit opetere; 1.584, ipse ignotus. egens.
73. 8.132, tua terris didita fama, the words of Aeneas to Evander.
74. 2.751, canum obiectare periclis, of Aeneas’ resolve to return to look for Creusa; 12.438, adolerit metas, of Ascanius; 2.708, ipse subibo umeris; 2.723, 729, oneri; 4.599,ubiisse umeris, all of Anchises.
75. 3.176-7, tendoque supinas/ad caelum cum voce manus; 3.177-8, munera libo/intemerata; 5.686, auxilioque vocare deos; 6.70, de nomine.
76. 1.94-6, o terque quaterque beati,/quis ante ora patrum Troiae sub moenibus altis/contiguit opetere; 1.584, ipse ignotus. egens; 6.465, teque aspectu ne subtrahe nostro; 12.435-6, disce, puere, virtutem ex me verumque laborem, fortunam ex aliis.
77. 3.217, deiectam coninge tanto, of Andromache; 6.462-4, nec credere quivi/hunc tantum tibi me dieceasu ferre dolorem, of Dido; 6.502, cui tantum de te licuit, of Deiphobus.
78. 10.520, captivoque rogî perfundat sanguine flammas; 10.532-3, belî commerca Turnus/sustulit.
ambivalence in his attitude which will be noted later, and that he has considerable insight into Vergil's characterization. Most of the passages are relevant to what Viktor Pöschl calls "the conflict of heroic fulfillment of duty with human sensitivity" which is integral to the character of Aeneas. More of the words and phrases which Tacitus uses are an expression, in some form, of the attempted fulfilment of Aeneas' duty than of his sensitivity to others, so that this aspect of his portrayal might be said to predominate in Tacitus' mind. Yet Tacitus draws upon scenes which are crucial to Vergil's delineation of the hero's humanitas, his sensitivity to the tragic element in human life, and the feeling of melancholy which appears not only in his first words during the storm, in Book One, but also in his parting words to Ascanius, in Book Twelve, before the final combat with Turnus.

Generally, Tacitus would appear to be sympathetic towards Aeneas. His sympathy is evident not only in the nature of the imitated passages themselves, but also in their application in the Annales. The attitudes of Tiberius, for example (4.13; Ann. 4.38, 4) and Nero (12. 400; Ann. 16.10.4) are sharply contrasted with the spirit of Aeneas, in such a way that they are belittled and Aeneas' dignity is enhanced. Tubellius Plautus (7.255; Ann. 14.22.2), Cato (11.125; Ann. 4.34.4), and notably Germanicus (e.g., 2.751; Ann. 2.5.1: 1.94-6; Ann. 2.24.2: 1.180; Ann. 2.24.2: 12.435-6; Ann. 2.71.3) are associated with Aeneas so as to increase their stature by linking them with a representative of the

age of heroes.

Yet Tacitus does not always treat Aeneas seriously. The moving act of filial piety, when Aeneas tells Anchises *ipse subibo umeris*, 2.708, is parodied in his description of the phoenix’s filial act of carrying the dead body of its parent to the altar of the Sun, *Ann.* 6.28.5. In addition, certain passages suggest that he has some reservations about Aeneas. In the meeting between Aeneas and the shade of Dido, he is aware not only of their mutual pain (*nec credere quivi/
hunc tantum tibi me discessu ferre dolorem...* teque aspexit ne sub-
trahe nostro, 6.465-5), but also, one might suspect, of the implications of Aeneas’ *nec credere quivi*, namely, his blindness and lack of comprehension of the nature of Dido’s love for him. After the death of Pallas, Aeneas loses his self-control and becomes the irrational avenger:

Pallas, Evander, in ipsis
omnia sunt oculis, mensae quas advena primas
trunc adit, dextraeque datae. Sulmone creatos
quattuor hic iuvenes, totidem quos educat Ufens,
viventis rapit, inferias quos immolet umbris
captivoque rogi perfundat sanguine flammae. 10.515-20.

When we note that Tacitus uses v.520 of the barbarous rites of human sacrifice practised by the Druids on the island of Mona, *Ann.* 14.30.3, his attitude to the action of Aeneas should be clear.

For anyone as familiar with the *Aeneid* as Tacitus was, the phrase *belli commercia Turnus/sustulit, 10.532-3*, would be linked with the final scene in which Aeneas, at the sight of Pallas’ belt, *furiis accensus et ira/terribilia*, slays Turnus after he has made a complete
and final capitulation to his conqueror. The taking of Pallas' belt was a heedless act, but it arouses an irrational response in Aeneas who now becomes the embodiment of furor. Although the character of Turnus has been the subject of conflicting and sometimes mutually exclusive interpretations, some of which will be noted subsequently, it would appear that the significance of the final scene lies not in any idea that the destruction of Turnus is a necessary act (debellare superbos) which follows inevitably from his own actions and character, but rather in Vergil's awareness that the realization of the age of peace and concord rests precariously upon the power of the rational to subdue the irrational in human nature, and his feeling that, in the end, the irrational may triumph. At the risk of extrapolating too far, I would suggest that this interpretation of the final scene and its relation to Aeneas' words in 10.532 is highly relevant to Tacitus' attitude to Aeneas and to the Aeneid in general, and that it gains additional support, as an indication of his point of view, from the manner in which he has selected details which portray the character of Turnus and Latinus.

The statement that Tacitus has selected details which portray the character of Turnus does not imply that the selection is done con-

Professor Pöschl's comment [op. cit., 107] should be kept in mind when we are considering the implications for Tacitus of Aen.10.532.
sciously. Some details would appear to be used consciously because of the significant relationship between contexts in the Aeneid and the Annales, but the consistency with which only certain aspects of Turnus' character appear in imitated passages is more likely to be an unconscious result of Tacitus' attitude towards him. The relevant passages are as follows:

9.137  exscindere gentem
9.763  ingerit hastas
10.532-3  belli commercia Turnus/sustulit
10.630  nunc manet insontem gravis exitus
10.667  duplicis cum voce manus ad sidera tendit
10.669  talis voluisti expendere poenas
11.122-3  odiis et crimine Drances/infensus iuveni Turno
11.131  saxaque subvectare umeris Troiana iuvabit
11.224  multa...fama
12.19  praestans animi
12.25  nec genus indecoes
12.342  hunc congressus...illum eminus
12.640  oppetere
12.647  superis aversa voluntas

Turnus emerges as an essentially heroic and tragic figure. He is a warrior (9.763; 12.342), high spirited (12.19), of considerable reputation (11.224), who fights against injustice which he has himself experienced (9.137–8, ferro sceleratam exscindere gentem/coniuge prae-repta; 12.24–5, sunt aliae innuptae.../nec genus indecoes). Like Aeneas, he has a sense of responsibility for his friends and followers, and suffers when he fails in his duty towards them (12.640). See pp. 204–5.
a man who brings about his downfall by his own act (10.532–3), but whose punishment exceeds in its severity the nature of his wrong action (10.630). He is dutiful towards the gods, again like Aeneas (10.667), but his _pietas_ cannot protect him from their hostility (10.669; 12.647). Not only are the gods against him, but also he must face personal animosity from his own side (11.122–3; 11.131).

One of the most striking aspects of the phrases which Tacitus uses is the absence of any reference to _furor_ and _violentia_. Such a negative view of Turnus' character as that put forward by A.H.F. Thornton, for example, bears no relation whatsoever to Tacitus' interpretation: "Turnus who is full of _furor_ and _violentia_ is incapable of lasting peace. He did not spare the body of slain Pallas. He is not fit to become a member of the Rome that is to lead to a higher humanity. That is why he must die at the hands of Aeneas." 83 Even the less extreme comments of Viktor Pöschl do not appear to represent Tacitus' point of view:

There is an intimate connection between the figure of Turnus and the "furor impius" of the Jupiter speech as it is overcome by the emperor. Turnus' defeat at the hands of Aeneas is the strongest expression of the poem's basic idea as it is manifest at the end of the Jupiter speech, but instead of diminishing Turnus' tragedy this fact serves to heighten it. The moving power of this tragedy springs precisely from the contrast of his noble nature with the demoniacal passion which robs him of insight and sanity and the contrast of his heroism with the devilish deceit which deflects his strength toward a sinful goal.

There is at least one Roman who does not appear to see in Turnus the

82. Cf. ftn. 80.
83. "The last scene of the Aeneid", in Greece and Rome, vol. 22 (1953), 84.
84. _op. cit._, 95.
historical implications which J.B. Garstang\(^{85}\) feels would mark him out for the average reader as an enemy of the state (the view also of Heinz\(^{86}\)).

The average Roman, for instance, when reading how Turnus performed deeds of valour after having thrust his way inside the Trojan camp (9.722-818), would think of the memorable incident of Roman history when Coriolanus forced his way through the open gates of Corioli, and "spread slaughter through the nearest part of the city" (Livy, 2.33.7). When he read of the stratagem of Turnus to ambush Aeneas (11.515-51) he would recall the ambush laid by the Samnites at the Caudine Forks (Livy, 9.2). When he read of the bird of ill-omen which appeared to Turnus at the end (12.865-6) he would be reminded of the raven which flew in the face of the doomed Gaul during his single combat with Messala Corvinus (Livy, 7.26.1-5). These analogies, by implication, brand Turnus as a traitor, an underhand foe, and a barbarian; suggestions which would not be lost on any Roman reader.

Tacitus' attitude seem to be much closer to the view of W.S. Maginnis in his comments on the tragic elements in the Aeneid:

Lorsque Turnus saisit les dépouilles de Pallas, il tombe dans une ἐπιμελέσθη for ainsi dire aristotéllicienne; il ne commettait pas un crime destiné à éloigner toute sympathie ou à rendre Enée moralement supérieur à son adversaire. C'est ainsi que nous devons juger à chaque instant de tels personnages que Turnus et Dido et d'87 autres malheureux, comme Juturne, Camille, même Amata.

But Tacitus appears to go somewhat beyond even the idea of the error in judgment of the hero and his act of hybris, in his emphasis on Turnus as the victim. Juno refers to him as insons, and Turnus' words me.../. . . talis voluisti expendere poenas? 10.668-9, are not an admission of any fault on his part, but rather an outcry against his inexplicable dishonour in being lured away from the fighting and

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86. Virgils Epische Tecknik (Darmstadt, 1957), 211.
Aeneas, against the implications of cowardice which are undeserved, and against the painful humiliation of deserting his comrades when they need him. To balance belli commercia Turnus sustulit, there is the phrase superis aversa voluntas.

By touching only lightly on the element of the irrational in the character of Turnus and acknowledging its presence more forcefully in Aeneas, Tacitus has subtly altered the relative positions of the antagonists. Aeneas is not, in effect, the representative of a "higher humanity", for along with his pietas, humanitas, and courage, there is a dangerous potential in his character which can lead him to destructive action. Turnus' tragedy does not lie in the "contrast of his noble nature with the demoniacal passion which robs him of insight and sanity" - a remark which, according to our analysis of Tacitus' view, would be more applicable to Aeneas. Nor is he the enemy of the state, "a traitor, an underhand foe, and a barbarian". Rather he is a person of nobility, sensitivity, and dignity, who becomes the essentially innocent victim of a power which is greater than his own, chiefly because the gods have deserted him and given their support to his adversary. Thus, by a rather devious route, we return again to the theme of inclementia divum.

Turnus' downfall could be said to lie also in the limitations of his insight and his inability to foresee the consequences of actions. He is wrong in his interpretation of the act of injustice against which he fights (p.215); he cannot foresee the consequences of his slaying of Pallas; and it is only towards the end that he realizes the
nature of the power against which he is battling, and recognizes that his own course lacks divine sanction. He cannot see that the power which Aeneas represents is a force which has the potential both for good and evil, a fact of which Tacitus seems to be very much aware, and, by opposing it, he unleashes its evil potential against himself. Tacitus' view appears to be that Turnus is the victim both of inclemencia divum and his own human limitations, and his sympathy for him is obvious in the general nature of the passages which he imitates.

Turnus and Latinus appear to be, to some extent, in Tacitus' mind complementary figures. Again there are certain aspects of Latinus' role in the Aeneid which do not appear in the passages imitated by Tacitus. 88

Latinus is a person of authority (11.350; 12.212), who acknowledges both that Aeneas is the foreign husband prophesied by Faunus for Lavinia (7.255, 272), and that it is necessary to come to terms with the Trojans (12.38). Throughout, he attempts to exercise rational control, not only in the Council of the Latins (11.304–335), but also in his attempt to make Turnus understand the terms of the prophecy about Lavinia (12.19–38). He, too, suffers for his people (11.231). We have noted that Latinus is the spokesman for reason, compromise, and the acceptance of personal and national limitations (p. 206). We can

88. The words and phrases which are relevant to Latinus are: 7.255, 272, hunc illum; 11.231, ingenti luctu; 11.304, cum muros adsidet hostis, 11.324-5, canessere.../est animus; 11.330, qui... foedera firment; 11.335, rebus succurrere fessis; 12.19, praestans animi; 12.20-21, tanto... impensus accumen est/consulere; 12.24-5, sunt aliae innuptae.../nec genus indecoros; 12.38, socios sum asciere paratus; and 12.212, firmabant foedera.
perhaps judge the significance of this theme for Tacitus from the way in which his mind seems to dwell upon the reasonable element in Latinus' personality, and pass over anything which would detract from the strength of its impression.

Latinus is not the figure of strength in the Aeneid which he seems to be in Tacitus' mind. Latinus' words to Turnus, 12.19-45, are in themselves an interesting study. The king wavers between auctoritas and weakness at the thought of the havoc which war has brought upon his kingdom and his own responsibility for it.

Certainly there is a dignified appeal to practical good sense and mutual advantage in the speech, and also to religion and good faith, ... But Macrobius has not remarked on what is really the interesting part of the speech. Virgil seems to think of Latinus as a weak and broken old king, who can only assume this gravitas for the moment. No sooner does he mention the war and all its bloodshed than the weakness returns on him: "recalcent nostro Tiberina fluenta Sanguine adhuc, campique ingentes ossibus albent. Quo referor totiens, quae mentem insania mutat?" 89

Tacitus, however, draws only upon those phrases which express the firmness of the king and his single-minded observance of the foedus made with Aeneas. This same auctoritas is shown clearly in his speech to the Council of the Latins. Yet Latinus had tried ineffectually to stem the outbreak of hostilities and, when his efforts proved futile, had resigned his authority with words of ill-o men for the Latins (7. 594-600). After the formal treaty has been made with Aeneas, setting out the terms for combat between Aeneas and Turnus, instead of using his authority to stop the fighting which Juturna instigates, he flees.

leaving Aeneas to try to control both his own followers and the Latins. At the last, when Aeneas has attacked the city, Amata has committed suicide, and all is once more chaos and confusion, *mussat rex ipse Latinus/quo sgeneros vocet aut quae sese ad foedera flectat* (12.657-8).

But most tragic of all is Latinus, whose clear and correct convictions always just fail to materialize in action; aghast and hesitating still he stands at his last appearance in the story. . . . All his impressive grandeur becomes abject and pitiable helplessness when once he ceases to be ruling *in placida pace*.

In spite of the point which might be made that possibly the language of other scenes or parts of scenes is irrelevant to Tacitus’ subject-matter, the consistency with which only one side of Latinus’ character appears in imitated passages seems to strengthen the view that the theme of rational control and compromise with a superior power is important to Tacitus, and that by this very concentration upon the rational in Latinus, he is attempting, as it were, to find a solution to a problem which the *Aeneid* presents to him.

I have suggested that Turnus and Latinus are, in some sense, complementary figures for Tacitus. They are complementary in the obvious sense that they embody characteristics of the native Italian stock which becomes subject to and mingled with the Trojan line of the gens Iulia. They are complementary also in that, according to the imitated passages, they represent two ways of attempting to cope with power, whether it is the power of Aeneas which is under divine protection, or the power of the gods themselves. Latinus accepts the power

90. C. Saunders, "The tragedy of Latinus", in *Classical World*, vol. 15 (1921), 17.
of the gods when he agrees to give Lavinia in marriage to Aeneas, and in so doing also accepts the power of Aeneas. Turnus accepts neither the power of the gods nor of Aeneas, and, by his act of denial, marks himself out for destruction. This theme of power and the reactions of the individual to it will subsequently be stated more fully.

Finally, of the major figures, there is Dido. We have already noted in connection with Dido the background of treachery, real or supposed, in the murder of her husband and her love affair with Aeneas (pp.197,198), her inability to understand Aeneas' motives for leaving her (p.199), her suffering (p.200), and the suffering which she causes (p.201), the treatment of her death (pp.203, 204), and the fact that, like Turnus, she is also a victim (p.205). She is, too, "Queen Dido", a city-founder\textsuperscript{91} and law-giver\textsuperscript{92}, whose regally magnificent welcome of Aeneas\textsuperscript{93} is set within the context of her pietas in the recognition of the laws laid down by Juppiter hospitalis\textsuperscript{94}.

The beginning of her tragedy lies in the opening scene of Book Four, and Tacitus has used key phrases from it. There is her response to the courage of Aeneas as evidence of his nobility (4.13, \textit{degenerare animos timor arguit}); her statement of the vow of loyalty to her dead husband, which is to be broken so quickly (4.15, \textit{si mihi non animo fixum immotumque sederet}); and Anna's persuasive denial of the validity of her vow by her use of the word \textit{coniungium} (4.48, \textit{coniugio tali}), and her suggestion that Carthage will become great if Dido marries

\textsuperscript{91} 1.367, \textit{de nomine}.
\textsuperscript{92} 1.507, \textit{iura dabat}
\textsuperscript{93} 1.705, \textit{totidemque pares aetate ministri}.
\textsuperscript{94} 1.731, \textit{Juppiter, hospitibus nam te dare iura loquuntur}. 
again. Her instability, and the ease with which her passion over-
rules all qualms of conscience are clearly indicated. The key word
*coniugium* emphasizes the fact that the cause of her downfall is not
only the depth of the emotion which over-masters her, but also the
sacrifice of integrity and the self-deception which must be its re-
sult. With the exception of 1.356, *caecum... scelus omne rexit*,
and 6.465, *teque aspectu ne subtrahc nostro*, the remaining phrases de-
pict Dido as a victim. She is the victim of Venus and Cupid (4.95,
*una dolo divum si femina victa duorum est*); of her own emotional na-
ture for which the wailing of the owl becomes a supernatural portent
of doom (4.462-3, *hubo... longas in fletum ducere vocas*); of her
inability to comprehend Aeneas' motives in leaving her (4.599, *quem
subiisse umeras*); of her sense of honour which can be redeemed only by
death (4.690, *cubitoque adnixa*); and of Aeneas' inability to under-
stand her feelings for him until it is too late (6.464-5, *nec credere
quivi/hunc tantum tibi me discessu ferre dolorem*).

Although Tacitus uses 4.15 in a manner which reflects ironically
both upon Dido and Tiberius (*Ann.*1.47.1), he reveals his sympathy for
her in the number of passages which show her suffering, and there is
a suggestion that it is this aspect of her role in the *Aeneid* which
interests him most. We might also note a certain feeling of delicacy
in the passages which Tacitus uses. Her failings are clearly of im-
portance to him, but there are no imitated phrases from scenes in
which she looses her powers of invective upon Aeneas in a manner which
decreases her own stature. Her sarcastic *quem subiisse umeras*, 4.599,
is set within a monologue in which she becomes a figure of terrible
grandeur as her anger turns to cold, relentless hatred in her curse
upon the Trojans. Even in her suffering and death, and in the meeting
with Aeneas in the Underworld, she remains a figure of dignity.

If Tacitus' view appears to be that Turnus becomes a victim not
only because of divum inclementia, but also because of his limited
insight and his inability to foresee the consequences of actions, Dido
becomes a victim because of the limitations of her self-awareness.
She, too, fights against superior power in her attempt to keep Aeneas
from fulfilling the task decreed for him by the gods, but her defeat
is essentially an inner one brought about by the irrational element in
her own nature - a power which she cannot control.

Many of the ideas already discussed in relation to recurrent
themes or characterization appear to be uppermost in Tacitus' mind
also as far as the secondary characters are concerned. We have dis-
cussed the theme of the destructive, irresponsible power of the gods
(pp.192-7). Gathering together all passages from speech and narrative
which describe or depict the gods, we can now define more exactly
what appears to be Tacitus' attitude towards them. Juno is chiefly
the implacable foe of the Trojans (pp.192-3). Only once, in her sor-
row for the fate which awaits Turnus,\textsuperscript{95} does she reveal herself as a
deity of gentler feelings, but, even here, her attitude seems to be
conditioned somewhat by her hatred of the Trojans. Venus, too, has her

\textsuperscript{95} 10.630, nunc manet insontem gravis exitus.
moment of callousness in her use of Dido to further her own plans for the safety and success of Aeneas, but she does send the omen to Aeneas which she promised as a sign of her aid. Mercury "attacks" Aeneas with the commands of Jupiter. Sinon, in his treachery, is fatus. deum defensus iniquia (2.257). Jupiter and Neptune show some evidence of a more benevolent power, Jupiter in his role of Iuppiter hospitalis (1.751), and Neptune as the controller of strife (1.150, iamque faces et saxa volant), although the emphasis is more upon strife itself than his power to calm it. Jupiter is also important as the spokesman for the gens Julia, who gives definitive form to its role in Roman history, and predicts the eventual return of an age of peace under its leadership. At no time, however, is he referred to in his dramatic role within the Aeneid as the supreme divine power.

Tacitus makes little use of the omens and prophecies in the Aeneid, the means whereby the will of the gods is revealed to mortals. There is the omen sent by Venus, referred to earlier, but this is a personal "sign" rather than an indication of the gods' purpose. No examples of imitated language come from the speeches of the vates such as Helenus, for example, or the "dream" omens, in which Aeneas is addressed by a supernatural being, passages which have a narrative function in the Aeneid in that they expound and clarify for Aeneas the direction and ultimate purpose of his wanderings, and assist him on his way. The only reference to the intermediaries of the gods is

96. 4.95, una dolo divum si femina victa duorum est.
97. 8.525, rue re omnia visa.
98. 4.265, continuo invadit.
to the Sibyl of Cumae in her prophetic role (6.100, obscuris vera involvens). The gods thus appear as a power more to be feared than trusted, with perhaps the suggestion of divine inscrutability and man's inability to know with certainty and to understand their will.

The theme of human treachery has also been noted (pp. 197-8). Tacitus appears to be greatly interested in Sinon (2.61, fidens animi; 2.75, quae sit fiducia capto; 2.91, superis concessit ab oris; 2.257, fatisque deum defensus iniquis), and Drances (11.122-3, odiis et crimi- ne Drances/infensus iuveni Turno; 11.124, fama ingens; 11.125, quibus caelo te laudibus aequum; 11.131, saxaque subvectare umeris Troiana invabit), and also picks out two other representatives of craft and guile in the Aeneid, Epeos, the builder of the Wooden Horse (2.264, doli fabricator), and Ligus, who attempted to outwit Camilla consilio ... et astu, 11.704. The character of subtle wit and darker motivation is an important one in the Annales. Not only are the major figures, Tiberius, Sejanus, and Nero, for example, so represented, but there is the full range of lesser characters, whether they are members of the imperial household, foreign rulers, or delatores.

Sinon and Drances may be important for Tacitus not only because of the type of character which they are, but also because of Vergil's technique of presenting them. In each case, statements in narrative are used to establish the attitude with which the reader should regard their words. Drances' fulsome flattery of Aeneas (11.124, 125) is given a curious twist by the words odiis infensus ... Turno which precede it. Fair his words may be, but we doubt their sincerity. Are
his motives mixed, or is this simply a splendid opportunity for indirect attack upon Turnus? In the scene between Sinon and the Trojans, there is a steady build-up in narrative of comments which make the reader conscious of hidden meanings and skilfully-worded ambiguities, so that the entire episode becomes a masterly example of dramatic irony. Since Tacitus' himself uses the technique of subtly slanted writing in narrative to prejudice the reader against a speaker, notably in his characterization of Tiberius, the effectiveness of Vergil's use of a similar technique is not likely to have escaped his notice.

The emphasis upon human suffering and death, and Tacitus' interest in the "victim" have been commented upon (pp. 200-205; pp. 205, 217, 223). As well as the phrases describing death itself (pp. 202-3), there are two which appear in contexts in which death is the general subject: 6.303, subvexat corpora cumba, of Charon; and 11.641, ingentem corpore, which adds a vivid and pathetic touch to the death in battle of Herminius.

Herminius could be considered an incidental victim of the strife between Trojans and Latins, like Murranus and Dryops. More important figures, if we can judge from the concentration of imitated language in the opening section of 9.367-449, are Nisus and Eurycles. Tacitus appears to be less interested in the actual clash between them and Volcens than in their reactions when they realize that they are caught in a trap, and the description of their struggle to escape. There is the challenge of Volcens to which they make no reply (9.377, nihil illi
tendere contra), their flight and attempt to break through the soldiers encircling them (378, celerare fugam; 380, omnemque abitum custode coronant), Nisus' successful escape (387, /loqui/ Albac de nomine dicti), the deceptiveness of their surroundings which traps Euryalus and leads to his capture (397, /fraude loci), and Nisus' abandonment of safety to return to die with his friend (401, pulchram properet per vulnera mortem). The scene is in itself a miniature drama with tragic overtones, and we can see Tacitus' interest in motivation, and his understanding of the dignity there can be in defeat.

Juturna, too, fights against overwhelming odds, but with the full knowledge that her efforts can only delay, not effectively challenge the fate of her brother (12.227, /hau[nd nescia rerum/). She is a disruptive force (12.228, rumoresque serit varios), and, like Sinon, she plays upon the emotions of her hearers (12.241–2, qui sibi iam requiem pugnae,... /asperabant, nunc arma volunt). She shares in the defeat of Turnus, for it is to her that he says superis aversa voluntas, 12.647. Amata also shares in Turnus' defeat. She appears in the imitated passages only in the effect which she has upon the Latin women by her rites of Bacchus (7.396, /matres/ incinctae pellibus), and in her death (12.603, nodum informis leti). Both passages mark her out as the embodiment of unreason. Her Bacchic rites are feigned and, as such, nefas, an act of impiety for which retribution may be expected. Retribution comes in a violent form and from her own emotional nature. It is her love for Turnus which leads to her act of impiety in an attempt to stop the marriage between Aeneas and Lavinia, and it is her
love for him which drives her to commit suicide when she thinks that all is lost, and he is dead. She, too, is a figure who suffers.

The predominantly emotional nature of Amata appears to have its counterpart in the Latins themselves. Juturna's success in breaking the truce, as we have noted, rests upon the effectiveness with which she appeals to their feelings. Their reaction to the slaughter in the camp of the Rutulians is an emotional one (9.464, variisque acunnt rumoribus iras); and they are "broken" by the war against the Trojans (12.1, infractos Latinos). If we consider this emotional background in the Latins and Amata, Tacitus' emphasis upon reason in Latinus, and his avoidance of furor in Turnus are all the more striking.

Having completed the examination of themes and characters as they appear in passages imitated by Tacitus, we are in a position to give fuller statement to the question of power and the individual's reaction to it, which we mentioned earlier. The problem of power as Tacitus sees it in the Aeneid is one which is applicable to his own historical period, and the way in which it can be formulated from the Vergilian passages has considerable relevance to his interpretation of historical events in the Annales. The problem might be formulated as follows:

What does a man do when he is faced with a power greater than his own, over which he cannot exercise rational control or which he cannot influence? There are two courses open to him. He can fight it, or he can come to terms with it by compromise. But human beings are limited creatures. They are limited in their self-awareness, in their insight into the nature and significance of present action, and in their ability to foresee its consequences. If you try to grapple with power, inevitably you will
become its victim. At one time power had the potential both for good and for evil, and could feel pity. There was room for intelligent compromise — an attempt to come to terms with it rationally by the acknowledgment of one's limitations. Our hopes in power as a force for good died with Germanicus, and we are left with power as a force of evil and destruction. You can ridicule it, you can parody it, but you are still left with the choice between becoming its victim and compromising. In our day it is almost better to become a victim, because the victim can still retain some vestige of human dignity.

Tacitus views the problem of power from the standpoint of one who is subject to it, as is evident from his concentration upon human suffering in the *Aeneid*, the gods as a destructive power, and his interpretation of certain characters as victims. Aeneas and the gods are the embodiment of the power which must be faced. Turnus, notably, as well as Dido, Lausus, Mezentius, Amata, Juturna, and the lesser figures, including the Greek heroes of Diomede's speech, are those who attempt to oppose it, and Diomede and Latinus are the figures for compromise. We have noted the limitations, for example, of Dido, Turnus, and Amata, the vulnerability of the Greek heroes such as Menelaus and Idomeneus, and also the limitations of *pietas*. In each case, those who oppose Aeneas or the gods become their victims. Aeneas holds within himself the potential for good and evil. He is a man who suffers and who feels pity for the suffering of others. Latinus' acceptance of him and the power he represents, in his speeches to Ilioneus, in Book Seven, and the Council of the Latins, in Book Eleven, entails no loss of dignity, for together *firmabant foedera*. We have seen how the destructive power of the gods tends to be associated with the emperors by Tacitus, and how they are related with Aeneas chiefly to their
detriment, and we have also noted the tendency for language depicting the sympathetic and heroic qualities of Aeneas to be used as a means of ennobling Germanicus. We have also noted the parody of Aeneas and the ironic use of Dido's words to describe Tiberius. The emphasis upon the tragic element in the Aeneid; the pity for human suffering which is evident in all the passages that treat of this theme; the choice of language from descriptions of death which are in some way ennobling, either because of the beauty of language itself, or because death is an affirmative, almost symbolic act; and the essential dignity of such figures as Dido, Turnus, and Nisus make the significance of the final link in Tacitus' contemporary application of the theme inescapable.

IV. Circumstances

There are seven types of setting for the speeches: 1. in castris, "anything which involves speech within the context of a military camp"; 2. in proelio; 3. apud populum, which refers to any speeches made to or by the people of Rome, or other peoples, or general discussion among them; 4. in senatu; 5. in concilio, referring to "any official assembly of a state other than Rome"; 6. apud legationes, including "all speeches to and by ambassadors which are not expressly located in senatu, in castris, etc."; 7. inter privatos, "a wide and varied section, including almost every type of utterance or exchange, in any context not already mentioned". Of the seven types of circumstances

listed, only the category in senatu is irrelevant to the Aeneid because of the nature of its subject-matter.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Circumstances</th>
<th>Speeches drawn upon by Tacitus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Book</td>
<td>I     II    III   IV   V   VI   VII  VIII IX  X  XI XII Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in castris</td>
<td>-     -      -     -    -   -     -   2    1  3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in proelio</td>
<td>-     -      -     -    -   -     -   1    1  3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apud populum</td>
<td>1     2      1     -    -   -     -   1    -  6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in senatu</td>
<td>-     -      -     -    -   -     -   -    -  -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in concilio</td>
<td>1     -      -     -    -   -     -   2    3  6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apud legationes</td>
<td>-     -      -     -    -   -     -   -    -  -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inter privatos</td>
<td>5     2      1     4    2   4     4   2    1  3  1  29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since the number of speeches dealing with personal matters is greater than of those dealing with any other subject, one would expect to find a correspondingly high number of discussions taking place inter privatos. What is, at first sight, perhaps less expected is the absence of a similar correspondence between military affairs and settings in castris and in proelio. Of the eleven speeches concerned with military affairs, only three take place in a military setting. The remaining eight are delivered apud populum, inter privatos, and in concilio. This absence of a correspondence is not due simply to Vergil's method of treating his material. Of the total number of speeches in the Aeneid devoted to military affairs, approximately 62% are in a military setting, whereas the proportion in the speeches used by Tacitus is 40.

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100. See Aen. 9.128-58, Turnus to the Rutulians; 10.531-4, Aeneas to Magus; and 11.14-28, Aeneas to the Trojans.

101. See Aen. 2.74-5, the Trojans to Sinon: 2.594-620, Venus to Aeneas; 8.127-51, Aeneas to Evander requesting aid against the Latins; 8.532-40, Aeneas' explanation to Evander of the omen of arms clashing in the sky; 9.399-401, Nisus' thoughts before he attempts to rescue Euryalus; and 11.244-51, 252-95, and 302-35, the contiones of Venulus, Diomedes, and Latinus in the Council of the Latins.
Tacitus is only 27%.

If we examine the eight speeches delivered *apud populum*, *inter privatos*, and *in concilio*, it is apparent that, although their subject-matter is ostensibly military, frequently Tacitus' interest is in some other aspect, for example, the theme of divine retribution in Diomedes' speech, 11.252-95; rational control and compromise in Latinus' speech, 11.302-35; the motivation of Nisus, 9.399-401; and the theme of the ruthlessness of the gods in Venus' speech, 2.594-620. It would appear that, as far as the speeches are concerned, Tacitus has a minimum of interest in military affairs *per se*.

There is a similar absence of correspondence between discussions of a political nature and settings *apud populum* and *in concilio*, but this is due largely to the fact that in four cases the speaker is a deity, and discussion must of necessity take place *inter privatos*. With three exceptions, Anna's speech to Dido, 4.31-53, which combines personal and political matters; Latinus' thoughts before his reply to the Trojan embassy, 7.255-8, *inter privatos*; and Drances' words to Aeneas, 11.124-31, which are spoken *in castri*, the remaining speeches, all of which deal with international affairs, are delivered *apud populum* or *in concilio*.

Since there is no strict correlation between subject-matter and setting in the speeches which Tacitus uses, and since the *Aeneid* lacks the category *in senatu* which is so important in Tacitus' historical

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102. 1.257-96, Jupiter; 1.335-70, Venus; 4.93-104, Juno; and 7.545-51, Alecto.
103. 1.522-58, Ilioneus to Dido; 1.731-5, Dido to the Trojans and Carthaginians; 7.213-48, Ilioneus to Latinus; 7.259-73, Latinus' reply; and 8.112-14, Pallas' challenge to the Trojans.
writings, little could be gained from an attempt to compare Tacitus’ practice in the speeches of his historical works with the speeches which he uses from the Aeneid, and no comparison will, therefore, be attempted.

Our analysis of the imitated language in speeches and in narrative passages descriptive of the characters in the Aeneid has shown a remarkable consistency in the types of passages which Tacitus echoes or imitates. The relationships between the imitated words and phrases themselves have given a good indication not only of Tacitus’ attitude to the Vergilian material and his interpretation of the Aeneid, but also of certain aspects of the underlying significance which his imitative passages have in the Annales. To complete our study, we shall examine the imitated words and phrases in narrative passages which have not been discussed in connection with the characters in the Aeneid.

b. The Aeneid: Narrative

There are sixty imitated words and phrases from narrative passages which have no specific reference to individual characters. Of these, more than half have to do with human attributes, activities, or artifacts. Secondly, there are those examples which depict some aspect of the natural world, and, finally, three miscellaneous examples which fit into neither of the two main groups.

The largest single division of those in the first category is mil-
itary vocabulary, or language which Vergil uses in a military context. The majority depict attacks and battle formations (2.443, nituntur gradibus; 2.444, prensant fastigia dextris; 10.364, acies inferre pedestris; 11.599, compositi numero in turmas; 11.605-6, hastasque.../ protendunt; 12.482, disiecta per agmina; 12.689, disiecta per agmina). Two describe the warriors themselves (8.606, bello lecta inventus; 9.229, stant longis adnixi hastis), and two their weapons (2.50; 10.579, 762; 12.398, ingentem... hastam; 12.92, [hasta] adnixa columnae). The remaining phrases in the present group show the results of war: plunder (2.765, crateresque auro solidi; 11.193, spolia occisis de- repta Latinis); and death (2.369, plurima mortis image; 2.411; 11.885, oriturque miserrima caedes; 9.454-5, concursus ad ipsa/corpora semi- necisque viros; 9.455-6, tepidaque recentem/caede locum). The majority of the phrases are from Books Eight to Twelve, but Book Two provides more than any other individual book, with Book Eleven second in number of examples.

Next, there are those words and phrases which depict a ritual action of some nature: the erecting of a funeral mound for Polydorus (3.63, aggeritur tumulo tellus); the wreathing of the victor's brow (5.269, puniceis... evicti tempora taenia); the feast in honour of Hercules (8.283, instaurant epulas); and the wreathing of the heads of the Salii (8.286, populeis... evicti tempora ramis).

104. The same phrase is used at 7.146 after the Trojan feast has been interrupted by Ascanius' "heus, etiam mensas consumimus", 7.116. Since the verb instaurare has religious associations, it gives a ritual overtone to the present context also.
Several phrases are from the account of the Funeral Games in Book Five, which, since they are in honour of Anchises, also have ritual significance. Of the four which are from the boat-race, two are actually natural descriptions (5.199, subtribuiturque solum; 5.221, brevibusque vadis), and so could be included in the second group. Tacitus seem to be interested in the misfortune of Sergus. One word is derived from the description of his attempt to get his ship off the rock, 5.208, ferratasque trudes (as is brevibusque vadis, noted above); one phrase describes his crippled ship, amissis remis, 5.271; and another his consolation prize, Cressa genus, Pholoe, 5.285. The final example, adsultibus, 5.442, appears in the description of the boxing-match between Dares and Entellus.

Fourthly, there are human artifacts, notably the Horse. There is the description of its size, instar montis, 2.15; a comment upon the supposed reason for its being built, ea fama vagatur, 2.17; and, lastly, the hiding-place of the Greeks, uterum, 2.20, 38, 52, 243, and 258. The other example is the torches which burn on the island of Circe: urit odoratam nocturna in lumina cedrum, 7.13.

Finally, there are two phrases which are relevant to human emotions: 6.442, durus amor crudeli tabe peredit; and 7.717, infaustum interluit Allia nomen, the reaction to a disgraceful Roman defeat.

The number of examples in the present group indicates that even in narrative passages Tacitus is interested chiefly in people and their handiwork. If a general characteristic for the passages were to be suggested, it would be that they show a slight tendency towards
emphasis upon action rather than static qualities. The references to
death are a link with the phrases from the speeches which treat the
same subject, and the narrative passages in question have generally
similar emotional overtones.

The greatest number of the passages which are natural descrip-
tions treat nature in her more violent and threatening aspects. Seven
examples are taken from the account of the storm in Book One (see p.
140, Aen.1.34-222, The Storm, and p. 141, 494-578, Dido and the Trojan
embassy). Another storm figures in 5.695-6, *ruit*.../. . . *imber*,
and 5.697, *super* = *desuper*, 105 the storm sent by Jupiter to put out the
fire in the ships of the Trojans. Tacitus also makes use of the de-
scription of nightfall, 2.250-52, 255 (see p. 142), which precedes the
attack upon Troy by the Greeks, a passage in which darkness assumes
sinister proportions. This same attribution of a negative, if not
openly hostile, attitude to something in nature appears in 2.23,
*statio male fida carinis*. There is a connection here with the descrip-
tion of the storm in the speech of Ilioneus to Dido, and with the de-
ceptiveness of nature which baffles the attempt of Euryalus to escape
from Volcens and his followers (9.397, *fraude loci*). Both of the re-
main ing examples have an unusual quality: [collis] adversaque aspectat
*desuper arces*, 1,420; and the phrase *pomis agrestibus*, 7.111. The
former is striking because of the unusual meaning which Vergil gives
the verb, the latter for its beauty and simplicity of language.

The violence of the natural world has been touched upon in the
105. *Super* meaning *desuper* also appears in Aen.9.168, in a military
setting.
speeches. The passages noted above deepen the general impression that, for Tacitus, nature is a force to be reckoned with. With the exception of the last two examples mentioned, there are no phrases from the extended passages which depict nature in her gentler aspects, or in which Vergil reveals his love of the countryside by the beauty and affective quality of his language. Perhaps it is simply that natural beauty has little place in the Annales, and that nature at her more violent and hostile is more closely attuned to the human participants in the action.

Finally, there are the three examples which do not seem to fit readily into either of the main groupings discussed above: 2.625, ex imo verti Neptunia Troia, which continues the theme of the violence of the gods; 6.269, domos Ditis vacuas et inania regna, again related to the theme of death; and 7.289, the word abusque.

The narrative passages which Tacitus employs do not reveal any radical departure from the themes and general characteristics which we have found in the speeches. There are still the basic threads of natural violence, divine hostility, human violence, death, and suffering, and treachery as an association of the Wooden Horse. There is, however, a lighter note in the passages from the Funeral Games and the rituals of the feast honouring Hercules. There is also Jupiter's response to Aeneas' prayer, one of the two examples of its kind in the imitated passages. The general impression still remains, however, that it is the darker tones of the Aeneid which interest Tacitus most, 106. Cf. Aen.2.688, Anchises' prayer to Jupiter, which is also answered.
and that he sees it, as Vergil did, not as an epic of human fulfilment, but as a tragedy of human loss and sacrifice.

C. Eclogues and Georgics

The words and phrases which Tacitus makes use of from the Eclogues and Georgics exemplify some of the themes we have noted as recurring in the passages from the Aeneid. Only one example, placitum, Ecl.7.27, appears to have no relation to any of the passages already discussed or to the other imitated passages in the present section.

Firstly, there is the imperial theme with its promise of national greatness. The chaos in human affairs, from which Caesar is to be the deliverer, is reflected in the state of the natural world when it has suffered neglect: squalent abductis arva colonis, Geo.1.507. Two examples are from Vergil's description of the temple which he will build in honour of Augustus: Geo.3.35-6, Assaraci proles demissaque ad Iove gentis/nomina, which is closely related to the speech of Jupiter, Aen. 1.257-96; and 3.46-7, ardentis accingar dicere pugnas/Caesaris. Secondly, there is the theme of death in Geo.3.68, durae rapit inclementia mortis. Thirdly, the thread of violence connects certain passages. The allusion to Medea in Ecl.8.47-8, saevus Amor docuit natorum sanguine matrem/commaculare manus, has some similarity to the durus amor passage, Aen.6.442, hic quos durus amor crudeli tabe peredit, with its associations of the suffering caused to the victims of amor, and the destructiveness of love itself. The passage from the eighth
Eclogue is also similar to Aen.1.356, caecumque domus scelus omne re-
texit, in that both depict a crime committed against the bonds of family.

Along with human violence, there is the suggestion of violence and unpredictability in the natural world, either in the Vergilian passages or in their Tacitean applications. The prelude to the storm, Ann.2.23.2, contains a variation upon Geo.1.254, infidum remis impel-
ler marmor. Although the word infidum does not appear in the Tacitean adaptation, placidum sequor... velis impelli, it is implicit in his account. Vergil's description of the burgeoning growth and fert-
tility of spring-time, vere tument terrae, Geo.2.324, is given a vio-
lent twist by Tacitus, again in his description of the storm, Ann.2.23.3, tumidis Germaniae terris. Only once is a Tacitean adaptation more peaceful than its Vergilian model: Geo.4.373, violentior effluet amnis; and Ann.2.6.4, placidior adfluens.

Tacitus' emphasis upon human characteristics in imitative language drawn from narrative sections of the Aeneid has its counterpart in his use of two phrases from the Georgics, both of which are pastoral: 2.
423, tellus, cum dente recluditur unco, of the earth's being turned by the plough; and 2.427-8, ad sidera...vi propria nituntur, of the growth of fruit trees. The former is used by Tacitus to describe the digging up of one of the lost standards of Varus, which had been bur-
ied by the Germans; and the latter of the attempts of the Cheruscii to
evade capture, Ann. 2.17.6, in summa arborum nisi. 107

Three phrases are quite distinctive among the Vergilian imitations in that all are from striking passages in which Vergil discusses the nature and purpose of his work. His plan for a poem in which his theme will be the military exploits of Caesar has been mentioned above (Geo. 3.46). The remaining examples are Geo. 2.174-5, tibi res antiquae laudis et artis/ingredior, and 4.6, in tenui labor. The former passage possibly contains an allusion to Ennius, 217v, nos ausi reserare (Geo. 2.175, sanctos ausus recludere fontis, Vahlen), in which Ennius in turn seems to be alluding to the Faunei vatesque of Naevius, and contrasting his own achievement with that of his predecessor. If this allusion is accepted, Vergil relates his rural theme to the epic tradition, thereby affirming its dignity and importance.

In a similar way, Tacitus uses a Vergilian allusion to place both his work and his time in historical perspective, and to affirm the dignity of contemporary character and achievement. Geo. 4.6 is Vergil's comment upon his theme, bee-keeping, and contrasts the limitations imposed upon him by his subject-matter with the fame he hopes to achieve by his treatment of it. Possibly the line contains a touch of humour which anticipates the element of the mock heroic in such lines as those describing the battle of the two kings, vv. 67-85, which end, hi

motus animorum atque haec certamina tanta/pulveris exigui iactu com-

107. Since the verb niti, meaning "climb" also appears in Aen. 2.443 in a military context (see p. 235), it is debatable whether the example for the Georgics is relevant to Tacitus' usage. There seem to be no grounds, however, for choosing between the contexts on the basis of probability. In each case, the context contains another phrase used by Tacitus, each of which appears only once in Vergil's works. In addition, Tacitus uses Geo. 2.423, which is also pastoral, in a military context.
pressa quiescent, vv. 86-7. Tacitus uses only part of Vergil's line, relying, also with a touch of humour perhaps, upon the reader's knowledge of the Vergilian passage to complete the thought. His theme also consists of trivialities, without the scope of earlier historians for treating the great themes of war, conquest, and civic strife: at tenuis non gloria.

Except for the three passages last mentioned, then, the imitated passages from the Eclogues and Georgics reveal the same preoccupations on Tacitus' part as those from the Aeneid.
CHAPTER IV

Annales 1-6

The Annales: General Distribution of Vergilian Imitations

The differences in length of the various books of the Annales, as well as the fact that some of the books are fragmentary, make it difficult adequately to compare the concentrations and general distribution of Vergilian imitations within the Annales as a whole, but the number of imitations in each book and the relationship between subject-matter and concentration of imitative language are still in themselves significant. Given below are the number of imitations, the number of non-repeated imitations, and the % of the total number in the Annales which appear in the individual books.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Book</th>
<th>Number of Imitations</th>
<th>% of total number in Annales</th>
<th>Number of non-repeated Imitations</th>
<th>% of total non-repeated in Annales</th>
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Total 201 112
For Books 1–6 and 11–16, the proportions of the total number of imitations are 64.6% and 35.4% respectively, and the proportions of the total number of non-repeated imitations are 69.6% and 30.4%.

There is considerable variation in the number of examples of imitative language in each book. Books One and Two contain more imitations than any of the other individual books, with Three, Six, and Twelve next in number of examples. As far as non-repeated imitations are concerned, Book Two again contains the largest number.

For an examination of the relation between subject-matter and imitative language, I have arranged the material in five categories. Again, it is difficult to classify the subject-matter of the Annales so that categories are neatly delimited, and inevitably there is some overlapping. The material which I have included in each of the five categories is as follows:

i) The Emperor and the Imperial Court. All comments by or about the emperors have been grouped arbitrarily, unless they form part of a pattern of imitations in which passages relevant to another category, such as Internal Affairs, predominate. Also included are any passages which depict relations between the emperors and members of the imperial household, those dealing with internal relations within the imperial court, and those which describe members of the imperial family.

ii) Internal Affairs of the Roman Empire comprises senatorial debates and trials, and events in Rome and Italy which are not focussed directly upon the emperors. The Pisonian conspiracy is included in the present category, since Tacitus places greater emphasis upon
the conspirators and their fates than upon Nero himself.

iii) Military Affairs Only those accounts are included in which Roman troops are involved in some kind of military activity, like the campaigns of Germanicus, or which treat of happenings within the army, such as the mutiny of the Pannonian and German legions, described in Book One.

iv) Foreign Affairs comprises both the relations between Rome and foreign powers (unless depicted by senatorial debate, in which case the passage is included in ii) Internal Affairs of the Roman Empire), and the internal affairs of foreign states, whether military or non-military.

v) Author's Digressions include such passages as the discussion of the origin of law and the history of Roman law, in Book Three, and the legend of the phoenix, in Book Six. Tacitus' interpretative, analytical, or explanatory comments which are integrated into the general fabric of the narrative are not included here, but are discussed as appropriate in the preceding sections, according to the general subject-matter of their contexts.

The arrangement of material in the various categories as defined above has the advantage of bringing together passages which have some general similarity in subject-matter and setting, so that we can not only examine individual passages, but also consider the similarities and differences which exist between them in Tacitus' use of Vergilian imitations.

The number of imitations in each category per book is listed
below. Separate charts are given for Books 1–6 and 11–16, since the two sections of the Annales will subsequently be examined separately.

### Distribution of imitations according to the subject-matter of their contexts

#### Annales 1–6

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Book</th>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>24</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>7</td>
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#### Annales 11–16

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<th>XIV</th>
<th>XV</th>
<th>XVI</th>
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The number of imitations which are employed in each type of context varies, both within the individual books and in Books 1–6 and 11–16. Very few examples appear in the digressions of the author. Since
these are limited in number, are generally fairly brief, and treat subjects which do not necessarily lend themselves to Vergilian imitation, the small number of examples of Vergilian language is not unexpected. The number of examples in contexts dealing with foreign affairs is also small, and their comparative rarity is a negative indication of Tacitus' preoccupations in the *Annales* and the nature of his subject-matter. Except for the account of relations between Rome and Parthia in Book Fifteen, only a limited number of passages deal with diplomatic relations between Rome and foreign states, or the internal affairs of foreign states and peoples. Books One, Three, Four, Five, Fourteen, and Sixteen, for example, contain no passages which are relevant to the present category. Even some sections of the account of affairs in the East must be considered military, since Rome's method of diplomacy seems to have been based firmly on the Roman legions. The majority of the passages which contain Vergilian language deal with military affairs (64 examples), and with the emperors, the imperial court, and the internal affairs of the Empire (113 examples). The large number of imitations in the latter group is an accurate reflection of Tacitus' interest in and preoccupation with events and personalities in Rome.

An examination of imitations in the individual books reveals some correspondence between the number of imitations used in each category and the types of subject-matter which predominate in each book. Book One is chiefly military, with the account of the mutiny of the Pannonian and German legions, and the subsequent campaigns against the
tribes in Germany. The number of imitations in military contexts is correspondingly high. Also treated in some detail, although more briefly, are the problems with regard to the succession during the last years of the reign of Augustus, and the accession of Tiberius. The examples of Vergilian imitation in the present type of context are fewer in number than those in military settings, but they still reflect the importance of the emperor and imperial matters for Tacitus, and the amount of discussion which he devotes to these subjects. Book Two is, above all, the book of Germanicus, and the number of Vergilian imitations which cluster about the descriptions of the actions and fate of the prince corresponds to his major role. All but two of the imitations in military contexts are concentrated in the account of his campaign against the German tribes, chs. 5-26, and the remaining two appear in the account of Piso’s actions immediately after his death, chs. 80-81. Four of the ten from contexts which treat of Tiberius and the imperial family appear in the descriptions of Germanicus’ travels and his death in the East, and another is indirectly related to him, in that it is an expression of public grief at the birth of twin sons to Livia and Drusus, an event which is interpreted as diminishing the house of Germanicus.

The marked drop in number of imitations from Book Two to Book Three corresponds to a change in subject-matter. Attention is focussed upon the internal affairs of Rome, chiefly upon debates in the senate. The book opens with the return of Agrippina, the funeral of

1. 2.61.1, instar montium; 71.3, vindicabitis vos, si me potius quam fortunam meam fovebatis; 72.2, ingenti luctu; 73.2, servitio premere.
2. 2.84.2, dolorem tuit.
Germanicus, and the trial of Piso. Two of the five examples from contexts depicting the emperor and the imperial court are in the description of the landing of Agrippina at Brundisium, and five of the ten imitations in contexts treating of internal affairs have some relation to Piso's trial. The remaining examples are varied, and there are no concentrations of imitations comparable to those in the preceding books. Book Four marks the emergence of Sejanus as a figure of power. It deals chiefly with his machinations against members of the imperial family, his ascendancy over Tiberius leading to the emperor's retirement at Capri, and with judicial proceedings and senatorial debates. A small proportion of the book is devoted to military matters. Although Sejanus becomes an increasingly important character, it is the presence of Tiberius which dominates the book, and the number of Vergilian imitations which have some relation to him are a good indication of where Tacitus' interest lies. More imitations occur in the category "The Emperor and the Imperial Court" than in all other categories, and six of the ten examples are either spoken or written by Tiberius, or related to him. The extant section of Book Six is centred upon Tiberius and the aftermath of the overthrow of Sejanus, with the punishment of those charged with conspiracy or attacked because of their connections with him, and the outbreak of suicides which accompanied Tiberius' purge. A small number of chapters are devoted to the con-

3. 3.1.2, Brundisium... naviganti... fidissimum; 2.2, diversa oppida.
4. 3.10.1, contra... tendebant; 11.2, quae fiducia reo; 14.5, vario rumore; 15.1, quantum Caesari in eam liceret; 19.2, vario rumore.
5. 4.38.3, concessero; 38.4, degeneris animi; 40.3, quid si intendatur certamen tali coniugio; 42.3, inclementiam; 58.3, veraque quam obscuris tegerentur; 58.3, moenia urbis adsidens.
licts of rival claimants for power in Parthia and Armenia. Imitations
are about equally divided between emperor and court, and foreign
affairs, although those in the latter category are generally less sig-
nificant than those in the former.

The correspondence in Books 1–6 between type of subject-matter
and the amount of Vergilian language which Tacitus uses seems to be
fairly consistent. The subtleties of the character of Tiberius are
repeatedly suggested and emphasized by Vergilian echoes and allusions,
many of which are used to influence the reader's attitude towards him.
There is a thread of Vergilian associations in accounts of various mem-
ers of the imperial family. Germanicus, in particular, assumes epic
proportions not only because of the high concentrations of imitative
language whenever he is the centre of attention, but also because of
the way in which it is used of him. Vergilian language tends to recur
in descriptions of warfare and military exploits. Proceedings in the
senate do not have a markedly Vergilian colouring, but isolated words
and phrases are sometimes used to evoke associations and to underline
the importance of particular events and people.

Books 11–16 present a slightly different picture, and the corres-
pondence between predominant subject-matter and concentration of imi-
tative language is not always as consistent as in the earlier books.
Examples of Vergilian imitation are fewer in number (although the books
themselves are shorter than those in the first hexad, and parts of
Eleven and Sixteen are missing), the most marked drop being in those
which appear in military contexts (15 in Bks. 11-16, as compared with 49 in Bks. 1-6). There is, however, a decrease in the number of chapters treating of military affairs. Passages depicting the emperors and the imperial court contain more imitations than any other type of context, with internal affairs second in number of examples. The fact that more than half of the imitations are used in passages in these two categories is a general indication of Tacitus' predilections in the last six books.

In spite of the large number of imitative phrases in the category "The Emperor and the Imperial Court", only a small number of them are used of the emperors themselves. With Claudius, this may have some relation to his essentially secondary role in Books Eleven and Twelve which, as far as domestic affairs at court are concerned, are dominated by the profligacy of Messalina and the intrigues of Agrippina. Book Eleven, as we have it, concentrates upon the vindictiveness and greed of Messalina, and her mock marriage with Silius which leads to her downfall. Four imitations are in contexts which depict or describe Messalina and her Bacchic festival, and another is used of Asiaticus, who is condemned by Claudius at her instigation.

6. In Books 1-6, 96 chapters deal with military affairs, as compared with 62 chapters in Books 11-16, that is 60.8% and 39.2% respectively of the total number of chapters in the Annales dealing with military affairs. As far as examples of imitative language are concerned, 76.6% of the total number in military contexts appear in Books 1-6, and 23.4% in Books 11-16.

7. 11.29.3, uxore deiecta; 31.2, feminae pellibus accinctae; 37.1, caedem... properavisset; 37.4, lacrimaeque et questus irriti ducabantur.

8. 11.1.2, didita per provincias fama.
Twelve is more equally divided between events in Rome, and events in Britain, Germany, and the East. The greater attention paid to happenings outside Rome is reflected in the number of imitations which appear in military settings and in the context of foreign affairs. All of the military examples appear in the description of the conflict with Caratacus in Britain, his defeat and capture, and his pardon by Claudius, chs. 31-40. Although examples are fewer in number, there is some approximation to the kind of concentration of Vergilian language which occurs in Book One, in the account of the campaigns against the German tribes. To balance affairs in the Western provinces, there are the unsuccessful attempt of Mithridates Bosporanus to recover his kingdom, chs. 10-18, and the intrigues of Pharasmanes and Radamistus against Mithridates, king of Armenia, which result in his overthrow and death, chs. 44-51, both of which have Vergilian colouring. The number of imitations in contexts treating of imperial matters is equal to the number in Book Eleven which are used in comparable contexts, and it is the use of Vergilian language in accounts of military and foreign affairs which is responsible for the marked increase in number of imitations from Book Eleven to Book Twelve.

Book Thirteen treats of the early years of the reign of Nero. Much of its subject-matter is concerned with the ambivalence of the emperor in his private and public transactions, and with the conflict for power and influence between Burrus and Seneca, and Agrippina and Pallas, a conflict which results in the deterioration of Agrippina's position and in which Britannicus becomes a victim of her attempt to
reassert herself. Four of the eight Vergilian phrases in the present
type of context are in the account of the plot against Britannicus,
his death, and his hurried funeral. Events in Germany are noted brief-
ly, and the beginning of war with Parthia because of her occupation of
Armenia is treated in some detail. Except for one imitative phrase
describing the general Corbulo, however, in neither account does
Tacitus make use of Vergilian language. Similarly, senatorial debates
and the trials and accusations depicted in the remainder of the book
do not afford instances of Vergilian imitation, the only example in
the category "Internal Affairs" being used in an obituary notice.
Book Fourteen begins with the murder of Agrippina and ends with the
murder of Octavia. Approximately half of the book deals with court
intrigues — the attack on the two women and Rubellius Plautus, the
death of Burrus, accusations against Seneca, and his loss of influence —
and with the excesses of Nero. Vergilian touches are light in relation
to the proportion of the book which is devoted to these subjects.
Only one of the five Vergilian phrases depicts Nero. Others are rele-
vant to Rubellius Plautus and Burrus, and one sets the scene for the
shipwreck in which Agrippina is supposed to meet her death. As in the
case of Book Twelve, a high proportion of the imitations are in a mil-
itary context, and, also as in Book Twelve, it is events in Britain
which evoke Vergilian phrases.

9. 13.15.3, multa scelerum fama; 16.2, vox pariter et spiritus. . .
ranerentur; 17.2, mors. . . properata sit; 17.3, subtrahere oculis
acerba funera.
10. 13.8.3, corpore ingens.
13. 14.5.1, Noctem sideribus inlustrem et placido mari quietam quasi
convincendum ad scelus dii praebuere.
Book Fifteen is divided almost equally between the fire and events in Rome, the war in Armenia, and the Pisonian conspiracy. Almost all of the Vergilian imitations, particularly those which seem to have some contextual significance, appear in Tacitus' account of the growth of the conspiracy, its betrayal, and the way in which its adherents and those who are implicated face their deaths.\(^14\) The recurrence of imitative phrases in the description of this ill-conceived attempt to assassinate Nero, in contrast to their comparative rarity elsewhere in the book, is a good indication of Tacitus' preoccupation with and sympathy for the persons who become its victims. The extant section of Book Sixteen is a catalogue of accusations, trials, deaths, and suicides, culminating in the attack upon Thrasea Pactus and Soranus. Since much of the book is set in the senate, the small number of Vergilian imitations would be characteristic of Tacitus' general practice elsewhere in the Annales.

In the detailed examination of Tacitus' use of Vergilian language which follows, Books 1-6 and 11-16 will be given separate treatment, and imitative language will be discussed in the five categories outlined earlier. A comparison of the uses of imitations in the two sections of the Annales will be made at the end of the following chapter.

\(^{14}\) See, for example, 15.50.1, *fessis rebus succurreret*; 55.2, *corpore ingens*; and 70.1, *mortis imaginem*. 
It has been the practice of some Tacitean scholars in their discussions of the historical writings to make general distinctions between content and style, between the historical and the literary, or the factual and the non-factual elements in Tacitus' narrative. Such distinctions are useful, as long as they are regarded as critical tools which can be used to clarify and emphasize the essential unity and interdependence of thought and its expression in a work such as the Annales. The distinction between contextual and purely stylistic elements is one which will be used in the present discussion.

Since the terms "contextual" and "stylistic" can be defined in various ways, it would be well to stipulate the kinds of imitations and echoes to which they will be applied in the present study. Contextual imitations include, firstly, all those words and phrases which, by apparently deliberate pointing of similarities or contrasts, or by unconscious reminiscence, recall a specific Vergilian context in a manner which adds implications to the Tacitean passage; secondly, groups of Vergilian words and phrases which, by their combination, indicate specific ideas about events or persons; thirdly, unusual language which seems to be used to call attention to its context; and, fourthly, "colour" words which appear to carry a particular tone of dignity, to recall epic battles, or, in general, to heighten the lang-

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uage of their contexts by their affective quality. Purely stylistic examples include, firstly, those words and phrases with little apparent affective quality; secondly, repeated words, or particular meanings of words, which seem to have become an integral part of Tacitus' literary style even though they are, apparently, derived from Vergil; and, thirdly, syntactical devices, such as the use of recens with a simple ablative or accingere with an infinitive, which are probably employed because of their stylistic compression.

There are some obvious difficulties inherent in this classification of imitations. Even though there might be general agreement in the more obvious cases, distinctions based upon the affective quality of language are open to the same subjective differences in judgment as the classification of conscious and unconscious imitations. In addition, any unusual language or syntactical device makes some contribution to its context because of the fact that it is uncommon. The distinction between "colour" words and purely stylistic vocabulary is basically one of degree.

As far as the Vergilian material in the Annales is concerned, however, the interrelation of thought and expression is sometimes so marked that, with the exception of a few relatively clear cases, one would hesitate to say that even what appears to be simply an unusual syntactical device or an example of uncommon vocabulary has only stylistic significance. It has been suggested in Chapter III that there are definite patterns of relationship between the passages in the Aeneid upon which Tacitus draws for his imitative material, and that
one of the chief characteristics of the relationships is their general consistency. One might expect, therefore, to find some evidence of consistency in the use which Tacitus makes of Vergilian language in the Annales, not only in the case of those words and phrases which, it seems highly probable, are used consciously and deliberately to produce a specific effect, but also in the case of those whose contextual significance is not so readily apparent. The purpose of the discussion which follows is thus two-fold: firstly, to examine the use of imitative words in their immediate context to see what they contribute to its general effectiveness; and, secondly, to attempt to suggest the more comprehensive relationships which exist between individual passages in similar or related contexts, and within Books 1-6 as a whole.

The Emperor and the Imperial Court

Of the forty-one Vergilian imitations in the present category, eight examples appear to be purely stylistic, and thirty-three either comments upon character or significant descriptions of actions or situations. Leaving aside for the moment the examples which are classed as stylistic, we shall concentrate upon those in the second group.  

16. They are: 1.4.2, variis rumoribus; 1.80.2, placita; 2.61.1, instar montium; 3.1.2, Brundisium... fidissimum; 3.2.2, diversa oppida; 3.69.3, placita; 4.52.1, recens præctura; and 6.1.1, interluit.

17. References are: 1.3.5 (Aen.2.91; 10.819-20); 1.3.5 (12.38); 1.4.1 (2.625; 5.810-11); 1.4.1 (1.420); 1.10.2 (2.264); 1.47.1 (4.15); 1.47.2 (5.784; 12.1); 1.53.2 (6.442); 2.5.1 (2.751); 2.5.2 (12.647); 2.5.2 (9.378); 2.42.3 (11.264-5); 2.43.1 (12.438); 2.60.1 (11.261); 2.71.3 (12.435-6); 2.72.2 (11.231; 6.868); 2.73.2 (1.285); 2.84.2 (6.464); 3.44.4 (12.20-21); 3.54.1 (2.625; 5.810-11); 4.38.3 (2.91; 10.819-20); 4.38.4 (4.15); 4.40.3 (4.47-8); 4.58.3 (6.100); 4.58.3 (11.304); 4.59.3 (2.61); 4.67.4 (5.666); 4.74.5 (10.630); 6.6.2 (12.19); 6.30.3 (11.330-31; 12.212); 6.32.1 (11.704); 6.39.2 (10.908); 6.50.3 (7.146; 8.283).
As Tiberius is the dominant figure in the first six books of the *Annales*, so he is the dominant figure as far as imitative language in the present category is concerned. In some cases, a word or phrase has significance for more than one character, or is expressive of the relation between them, but if we include such examples, the distribution of imitative expressions is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tiberius</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germanicus</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augustus</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Romans</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sejanus</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nero (son of Germanicus)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agrippa</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Julia</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drusus</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agrippina</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaetulicus</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The complexity of Tacitus' attitude to Tiberius, and even perhaps some of its inconsistencies, are apparent in the imitative language which he uses of the emperor. Most of the examples are an integral part of the subtle accumulation of impressions and suggestions whereby the stature of the emperor is diminished and his character presented as cunning, vindictive, ruthless, and, above all, powerful in its destructiveness.

Firstly, there are those imitations which associate Tiberius with particular characters in the *Aeneid*, in a way which belittles the emperor. The first phrase used directly of Tiberius is the ironic *Immotum adversus eos sermones fixumque Tiberio fuit*, 1.47.1. There are none of the tragic undertones of Dido's vow never to marry again (*si mihi non animo fixum immotumque sederet*, 4.15), a vow which is broken almost as soon as it has been made. Instead, there is the mocking suggestion *varium et mutabile semper femina*, which effectively
prejudices the reader against the logic of Tiberius' point that the power of an emperor to deal with an army mutiny, and his imperial dignity are secure so long as he remains a remote figure of authority. There is a slightly heavier irony in the description of Tiberius' preference for diplomacy rather than war in international relationships, with the words *consiliis et astu res externas moliri*, 6.32.1. Vergil had used the same words of Ligus when he tried to escape from Camilla in battle by trickery, *consilio versare dolos ingressus et astu*, 11.704. The implication is there that Tiberius' real concern is not Parthia or Phraates, but self-preservation, and that he will stoop to any means, however discreditable, to achieve his end. Somewhat similar in its implications is Tacitus' use of another phrase from *Dido's* speech, *degeneris animi*, 4.38.4 (*Aen. 4.13, degeneres animos timor arguit*), although it points a contrast rather than a similarity. The phrase appears in comments of the people upon Tiberius' speech in the senate in which he declines the honour of a temple to his divinity in Spain. The emperor's lack of aspirations is contrasted with the spirit of legendary figures such as Hercules, Liber, and Romulus, and the Vergilian phrase picks up the heroic associations and suggests that Tiberius is also unlike Aeneas. Dido, however, had remarked upon Aeneas' courage as an indication that he was one of the race of the gods, so that not only is Tiberius effectively separated from the heroic, but also he is, by implication, branded as a coward. As at 1.47.1, the phrase seems intended to undermine what might have
been a favourable impression, for Tiberius' speech is one of simple dignity, in which he affirms that his true monument will be not temples and statues, but his reputation among future generations.

In two cases, although attention is not focussed entirely upon Tiberius, he seems again to be contrasted with the heroic tradition in the person of Aeneas. Firstly, there is his seizing upon the disturbances in the East as a means whereby Germainicum... dolo simul et casibus obiectaret, 2.5.1, words similar to those which Aeneas had used of his resolve to return to Troy again in search of Creusa, and caput obiectare periclis, 2.751. Aeneas' courage and determination (the frequentative, obiectare, has additional forcefulness which the simple verb would lack) are reflected upon Germainicus, but there is also a contrast between Germainicus and Aeneas as the persons who face risks and danger, and Tiberius who causes others to face them, dolo being a significant addition to the Tacitean phrase as far as Tiberius is concerned. The phrase takes on more ominous undertones when we note that the next sentence, which gives Germainicus' attitude, has the phrase aversa patrui voluntas, 2.5.2. Not only does Tacitus underline the tragic implications of Germainicus' position by associating him with Turnus for whom superis aversa voluntas, 12.647, but he also suggests that the hostile power which Tiberius can use against the prince is absolute, and that against it there is no appeal. In a

18. We might note that the adverse interpretations of his refusal of divine honours are given at length, whereas the favourable interpretation has only one word: modestiam.
19. For the Vergilian concessere, which appears in Tiberius' speech, see p.265.
related passage, also concerned with Germanicus' eastern command, appears the phrase actatem... Drusi nondum satis adolevisse, 2.43.1. Drusus is still a youth like Ascanius (mox cum matura adoleverit actas, 12.438), and neither is yet ready to face the hazards of military conflict and the responsibilities of leadership and diplomacy. But the words are those of Tiberius and Aeneas. Aeneas had taken upon himself the burden of his people's fate when he challenged Turnus to single combat, whereas Tiberius delegates the dangers and his responsibility to Germanicus.

Several of the phrases continue the darker implications of aversa patrui voluntas. The death of Julia, the daughter of Augustus, and the former wife of Tiberius who inopia ac tabe longa peremit, 1.53.2, recalls the lugentes campi in the Underworld inhabited by the shades of those whom durus amor crudeli tabe peredit, 6.442. There is the allusion to the notorious love affairs of Julia which led to her exile and ultimately to her death, but the equating of Tiberius and amor is particularly biting. Amor belies its name. It is a remorseless, destructive force, durus, and the wasting disease by which it destroys its victims is crudelis. Perhaps there is even an ironic hint of odi at amo. 20

Tiberius' power for destruction is directed not only against individuals, but also against Rome itself. In 4.58.3, he is moenia

20. Commenting upon Tacitus' hazard of falling into metre with his use of language and imagery from the poets, R. Syme notes the avoidance of a verse ending in the present phrase. "He ventures as far as prose permits: 'longa tabe peremit' would be detrimental." /op. cit., I.358/
urbis adsidens. Latinus had used similar words when he addressed the Council of the Latins in his beleaguered city, *cum muros adsidet hostis*, 11.304. The implication that Rome is a city on the defensive, with a hostile force encamped beneath its walls, has considerable effect. Another Vergilian phrase, which is employed when Tiberius is near the city at the time of the execution of Paconianus, also has military connotations. *Quasi aspiciens undantem per domos sanguinem*, 6.39.2, is a rhetorical extension of the death of Mezentius, *undant... cruore*, 10.908, to a scene of general carnage.

The phrase *aversa patrui voluntas* has associated Tiberius with the arbitrary, hostile power of the gods. It would also appear that the gods themselves are on his side. Tiberius becomes emperor *versa Caesarum subole*, 2.42.3, words used to describe the retribution of the gods upon a Greek leader after the fall of Troy, *versosque penatis/Idomenei*, 11.264-5. Tiberius' reign began with the destruction and overthrow of an existing order, for the verb is one of violence. The phrase seems to have additional connotations. The house of Idomeneus fell not only because of the hostility of the gods, and human misjudgment, but also because of treachery. The idea of treachery may be an unconscious association, but the mention of Gaius Caesar and his mission in the East, which immediately precedes the phrase, and the part which the Augusta plays in Tiberius' designs against Archelaus seem to hark back to an earlier reference to Gaius: *Gaium remanatem Armenia et vulnere invalidum mors fato propera vel novercae Liviae dolus abstulit*, 1.3.3.
The idea of destruction under divine patronage recurs in another context. The prophecy that Tiberius would never return to Rome after his departure into Campania was misinterpreted to mean that he would soon die, not that he would go into voluntary retirement as he did at Capri, an indication *vera*... *quam obscuris tegentur*, 4.58.3. 21

Tacitus' change of verb from *involvere* to *tegere* appears to be significant. Vergil's metaphorical use of *involvere* does not seem to have any marked emotional connotations, and it is not a word which Tacitus uses in the same sense as Vergil. 22 His *tegere* seems to have fairly specific connotations. The verb is used metaphorically several times in the *Histories* and the *Annales*, frequently with the suggestion of deliberate concealment of attitudes or situations for an ulterior motive. 23 In the present case, the implication seems to be not only that, with their limited insight, mortals may err in the interpretation of prophecy, but also that the obscurity with which the *vates* speaks is deliberate, even perhaps an expression of divine hostility towards the Romans who are subject to the will of Tiberius. This implication is strengthened when we note that three lines later appears the phrase *moenia urbis adsidens*.


22. The only examples of *involvere* used metaphorically in his works are *iniquitas involveretur*, *Ann*. 3.63.1 (i.q. *inesset*, G.G.), and *fraudibus involutus*, *Ann*. 16.32.3 (i.q. *inretitus*, G.G.), neither of which is comparable to the Vergilian example.

There is another side of Tiberius' nature which also appears in imitative passages. When he is being sharply criticized for not dealing decisively with the rebellion of Florus and Sacrovir in Gaul, Tacitus says of him tanto impensisius in securitatem compositus, 3.44.4. The combination tanto impensisius is not in itself unusual, but the general setting is reminiscent of the words of Latinus to Turnus, tanto me impensisius aequum est/consulere atque omnis metuentem expendere casus, 12.20-21. In each case, the policy of the ruler is called into question, Tiberius' policy because he is concerning himself with accusations and legal proceedings instead of military matters, Latinus' because he has not agreed to single combat between Turnus and Aeneas, and has suggested coming to terms with the Trojans. In both cases, the ruler remains unmoved by criticism and demands for action. We have noted that Latinus seems to be for Tacitus a representative of reason and intelligent compromise, and that it is this side of his character which recurs in imitated passages. Possibly the general similarity in situation between the two passages has produced an unconscious reminiscence of familiar language, which contradicts somewhat the general impression of Tiberius which Tacitus is attempting to create, by enhancing his dignity and associating him with the spirit of reason. It is tempting, however, to see an indication—even an unconscious one—that Tacitus is in fact paying grudging respect to the wisdom of Tiberius, since his final comment is an com-

24. The combination appears also in a letter of Pliny, Ep.9.13.1, in a context which is in no way poetic or Vergilian.
pererat modica esse et vulgatis leviora.

The comments upon the speech of Tiberius in which he refuses divine honours, 4.38, have been noted. The speech itself contains the Vergilian concessero, 4.38.3. The most marked characteristics of Tiberius' words are their simplicity and their dignity - one might also add, in spite of Tacitus, their sincerity. The language is measured and stately, with an element of archaic solemnity in the form duint, 4.38.3, and the use of funebo with an accusative, 38.1. The use of concessero contributes to its general impression. The beauty of the phrase superis concessit ab oris, Aen.2.91, and the implications of vita per auras/concessit maesta ad manis, Aen.10.819-20, have been commented upon. Possibly there is the additional idea in the present context that life is to be prized, and that death is loss. The use of the verb or the phrase vita concedere is limited elsewhere to the obituary notices or accounts of the deaths of persons who had been eminent figures, often close associates of the emperors, and in each case its impression is one of dignity.

Another Vergilian phrase, instaurari epulas iubet, 6.50.3 (in-

27. Examples of the construction given by Kühner-Stegmann are: Plaut. Trin. 354; Most.48; Ter. Haec. 66, 580; Phorm.281; Pacuv. 129; Afran. 390; Lucr. 3.734; Varr. L.L. 5.179; and Nep.14.1.2.
28. See p. 204.
29. The phrase first appears when the death of Agrippa is noted, vita concessit, 1.3.3, and its second appearance in Books 1-6, Poppeus Sabinus concessit vita, 6.39.3, follows closely upon the phrase quasi aspiciens undantem per domos sanguinem, noted earlier. One wonders whether the juxtaposition is deliberate - violence and calm. Elsewhere it is used of Sallustius Crispus and L. Volusius, insignes viri, 3.30.1; the general Ostorius, 12.39.3; Burrus, 14. 51.1; and the verb, absolutely, of L. Volusius, egregia fama, 13. 50.2.
haustant epulas, 7.146; 8.283), also increases the dignity of Tiberius, and its use would appear to be deliberate. There are no contextual relations between the examples in the Aeneid and 6.50.3, but the verb instaurare has specific connotations as it is used by Vergil. In his note on Aen.3.62, T.E. Page comments, "This is a technical word used of repeating a religious ceremony where there had been some error or omission in its first performance." R.G. Austin, ad Aen.2.451, notes that "In most of the passages where Virgil uses instaurare it is in a ritual context."30 The use of the phrase to describe Tiberius' renewing the feast, ostensibly to honour his departing friend Charicles, but actually to conceal the fact that his health is failing, adds an appropriate note of solemnity to the account of the last days of Tiberius. It also contributes to the change in tone of chs. 50 and 51, whereby Tiberius emerges as a figure of stature.31 There is, I

30. The relevant examples are: 3.62, instauramus Polydoro funus; 4.63, instauratque diem donis; 4.144-5, Apollo/instauratque chorae; 5.94, instaurat honores, of the rites at the grave of Anchises, which were interrupted by the appearance of the serpent; and 8.283, quoted above, of the renewal of the feast in honour of Hercules.

31. B. Walker comments on chapters 50 and 51, "Tiberius' death-scene is introduced by the words, 'iam Tiberium corpus, iam vires, nondum dissipulatio deserebat'; and in following this idea Tacitus has introduced a touch of the grotesque into the picture. Not only Tiberius, but everyone present, behaves with hypocrisy springing out of fear. There is hypocritical sympathy and then as death seems certain hypocritical congratulation of Gaius; this is followed by panic at the alarming flicker of life in the old man. . . . To end the suspense, Macro orders him to be smothered: 'sic Tiberius finivit'." [op. cit., 42/ The use of the word "grotesque" and certain applications of "hypocritical" are difficult to reconcile with the tone of the chapters, and the "odi et amo" relationship of Tacitus with Tiberius seems clear in the account of his last days and death. The words which follow Miss Walker's first quotation are idem animi rigor, which would seem to be, if anything, reluctantly complimentary to Tiberius. The phrase mutatisque saepius locis, 50.1, would suggest that Tiberius is indeed afraid of death,
think, a deliberate contrast intended between the mask of strength which Tiberius maintains, and the _senex_ whom Macro orders opprimi... _iniecit multae vestis_, and the simple words, _sic_ Tiberius finivit, are not entirely unsympathetic. The formal outline of Tiberius' life and character which follows is given in simple language which is itself impressive and dignified. Tiberius remains a person of some greatness, however perverted and evil that greatness may be.

Tiberius' _dissimulatio_, his ability to hide his true thoughts and feelings, is a quality which frequently draws the censure of Tacitus, but two examples of Vergilian imitation seem to indicate that the keenness of insight behind the mask of inscrutability is something which Tacitus appreciates. When the senate has referred to Tiberius the question raised by the aediles of taking measures to curb contemporary extravagance, Tiberius replies that attempting action would be impracticable, and points out what the reaction of some citizens is likely to be: _set si quis legem sanciat, poenas indicat, idem illi civitatem verti, splendidissimo cuique exitium parari... clamitabunt_, 3.54.1. _Civitatem verti_ recalls the overthrow of another city, _ex imo verti Neptunia Troia_, Aen. 2.625, and the disproportion between the elevated language of epic with its tragic associations, and the... but the prolonging of the feast seems to be a spirited act of defiance, for Tiberius is fully aware of the implications of Charicles' action. Again the tone is not unsympathetic, particularly since Tiberius' action is further emphasized and elevated by ritual language from Vergil. The pejorative connotations of "hypocrisy" seem to be inapplicable. There appears to be no indication in the passage of expressions of sympathy, only the statement that Tiberius will very soon die, and the spreading of this news by Macro, so that the suggestion of hypocrisy again does not appear to be relevant.
triviality of the subject to which it is applied, is an incisive comment upon righteous indignation which, the more ill-founded it is, the more it resorts to bombastic statements and superlatives.

The other phrase appears in what is the most masterful example of ambiguity and innuendo in the *Annales*, Sejanus' petition to Tiberius to marry Livia and Tiberius' reply, 4.39-40. On the surface, all is open, innocent, and sincere. 32 The undercurrent of Tiberius' reply, however, is that Sejanus has overreached himself and betrayed his true motives and desires - a dynastic marriage which will lead him to the supreme power of Emperor. Tiberius' comment upon the possibility of accentuated strife between Agrippina and Livia, *quid si intendatur certamen tali coniugio*, 4.40.3, is reminiscent of Anna's words to Dido, *quae surgere regna/coniugio tali*, 4.47-8, but statement and undercurrent are reversed. Anna persuaded Dido to follow the dictates of her heart by telling her that the marriage would be politically advantageous. Tiberius, on the other hand, with a subtlety entirely in keeping with the remainder of his speech, indicates his awareness that the real issue is not the personal wishes of Sejanus, but *quae surgere regna*. 33

32. "Seianus began with gratitude and past favours, enlarged upon a soldier's sense of duty, a friend's honest zeal to help his emperor; and he ended on a note of modest devotion - to have lived under such a prince was enough and more than enough. Tiberius for his part praised the 'pietas' of his friend and asked for time, but none the less went through a whole series of arguments earnestly, asseverating his sincerity more than once. He let slip a hint of plans not yet ripe for disclosure, and he concluded with phrases of firm reassurance: no elevation was too high for the merit and loyalty of Seianus, and that in due time would be announced at Rome to Senate or People." [R. Syme, op. cit., I.320.]

33. Although the combination *talia coniugia* is used by Juno, *Aen.*7.555, it seems a less likely source for Tacitus. There the issue is dynastic marriage, but without the interplay of personal desire.
Some of the imitative phrases employed of other persons, particularly Augustus, have connotations similar to those we have already mentioned. Augustus is machinator doli, 1.10.2; the ruler to whom all men look (omnes . . . iussa principis aspectare, 1.4.1); who exercises the power of an autocrat even over members of his own family to strengthen his position (Germanicum . . . adscirique per adoptionem a Tiberio iussit, 1.3.5); and whose power is consolidated verso civitatis statu, 1.4.1. Augustus, as is obvious generally, is not a figure to whom Tacitus is particularly sympathetic. He is described in terms of the maker of the Wooden Horse, doli fabricator Epeos, 2.264, the supreme embodiment of deceit and treachery. He, too, is a destroyer, for verso civitatis statu recalls the fall of Troy and the words eximo verti Neptunia Troia, mentioned earlier. In this case, the tragic implications of the phrase are apparent. The Augustan Principate marks the end of an era. Augustus gained power by deceit, treachery, and destruction, and his ascendancy is as cataclysmic as the fall of Troy because it brings a decline in national character (nihil usquam prisci et integri moris ) and a surrender of liberty (exuta aequalitate). Augustus, however, does not entirely escape the consequences of his action, for the next destroyer, Tiberius, comes to power versa Caesarum subole, 2.42.5h.

The state of servitude to which Augustus has reduced Rome is un- and political expediency and the presentation of one in terms of the other, as in Aen.4.47-8 and the present context.

34. See p. 262.
derlined by the unusual sense given to aspectare (Aen. 1.420).\textsuperscript{35} Adsciri is also an unusual word and it emphasizes an unusual action—the enforced adoption of Germanicus by Tiberius, although he already had a son. Perhaps this was all that Tacitus intended when he used the word, but again there may be unconscious associations. Latinus had used the verb to acknowledge his willingness to form an alliance with the Trojans, socios sum asciere paratus, 12.38, and we have considered the significance of his statement in the development and resolution of the theme of power which appears to be at the root of many of the Vergilian passages used by Tacitus.\textsuperscript{36} Here, too, the theme is power, and the word may have come into Tacitus' mind because rather than resolving a conflict for power, Augustus' action initiates again the cycle of strife, this time between Julians and Claudians, prefigured in the antagonism of Tiberius towards Germanicus.

Quite different in their effect are the Vergilian words and phrases which are used of Germanicus.\textsuperscript{37} As well as the verb adsciri, which is employed in a context in which Germanicus is mentioned, two phrases descriptive of the prince have already been noted: 2.5.1, Germanicum... dolo simul et casibus obiectaret; and 2.5.2, aversa patrui voluntas. It has been suggested that the former associates Germanicus with Aeneas as a person of courage and determination, and that the latter has the tragic implications for him which superis a-

\textsuperscript{35} "Aspectare is a poetical word... and unusual, and is therefore employed by Tacitus to draw attention to a point which he considers to be important. It is, too, a frequentative verb... it is more emphatic in itself, and gains in effect from being unusually employed." N.P. Miller \textit{ad loc.}

\textsuperscript{36} See pp. 206, 221-2, and 229-30.

\textsuperscript{37} The discussion of Vergilian language in relation to Germanicus will be completed in the category "Military Affairs" since a number of examples occur in military contexts.
versa voluntas had for Turnus. There are four other examples included in the present category, three of them in 2.71-73, which tell of his death and funeral. His parting words to his friends, giving them the charge of avenging his death, *vindicabitis vos, si me potius quam fortunam meam fovebatis*, 2.71.3, are strongly reminiscent of Aeneas' words to Ascanius before his single combat with Turnus, *disce, puer, virtutem ex me verumque laborem, fortunam ex aliis*, 12.435-6. In his article in which he points out the Vergilian parallel to Germanicus' words, J.J.H. Savage notes "the dramatic contrast between the inner self and outward externals" which is paralleled in the Vergilian *virtus* and labor, and *fortuna*. Germanicus' *fortunam meam* suggests the bright prospects and high hopes of the prince, which have been frustrated, and the words acquire a deepened tragic implication from Aeneas' *fortunam ex aliis*, a phrase tinged with the bitterness of one who had been dogged by misfortune and suffering, his efforts frustrated at every turn.

The suggestion of what might have been is continued in another phrase, *praepedituasque sit percusas tot victoriis Germanias servitio premere*, 2.73.2, a comment of the people at the time of Germanicus' death. He also comments, "The *klebunt Germanicium ignoti* of Tacitus 'those who do not know my real self' is the historian's luminous comment on Vergil's famous *fortunam ex aliis*." [Op. cit., 1942-3, 166.] The interpretation is perhaps rather more introspective than the general portrayal of Germanicus would indicate. Is not the contrast between me and fortunam one between person and position, or person and prospects, and does not ignoti mean more simply "those who do not know me", "people whom I have never met"? Although Germanicus acquires many of the characteristics of Aeneas, his brooding melancholy does not seem to be one of them. Tacitus in fact rather stresses that Germanicus is an extrovert, in contrast to Tiberius. Cf. 1.33.2.
modest funeral. Vergil had used the words *servitio premet* in Jupiter's prophecy of the subjugation of the East by the house of Assaracus. Not only does Germanicus have the reflected glory of the conquests of Caesar, which he might have equalled, but also Tacitus has made literary reparation for the fact that his funeral was *sine imaginibus et pompa*, for Jupiter's speech is a splendid and solemn outline of the history of the *gens Julia*.

The remaining phrases are expressions of grief; the sorrow within the province and among surrounding peoples at the death of Germanicus, (*ingenti luctu*, 2.72.2), and the pain caused to the people of Rome by the birth of twin sons to Germanicus' rivals, Livia and Drusus (*id quoque dolorem tulit, tamquam auctus liberis Drusus domum Germanici magis urget*, 2.84.2). The Vergilian example of *ingens luctus* which we have noted as being in a context with which Tacitus was familiar, depicts the reaction of Latinus when his envoys return with Diomedes' refusal of aid against the Trojans, 11.231. A case could be made for a relation between the two phrases. Latinus' grief is for his people at a time when national disaster is close at hand, and the Latins must acknowledge military defeat. The death of Germanicus is also of national consequence, and, it will be suggested, a national disaster as far as Tacitus is concerned. There is, however, another example of the phrase in the *Aeneid* which may be responsible for the Vergilian echo; what Anchises describes as *ingentem luctum*, *... tuorum*, 6.

868, the death of Marcellus. Marcellus was a young man destined for greatness as a national leader, the focus of national hopes. He, too, was cut off by an untimely death before his promise had reached its fulfilment. It is difficult to believe that with his wide and deep knowledge of the Aeneid, Tacitus was unfamiliar with this moving passage which Vergil is said to have recited with such effect. The suggestion of an association with Marcellus, whether deliberate or unconscious, gains support from the comments on the triumph of Germanicus, which express the occulta formido of the people: hand prosperum in Druso patre eins favorem vulgi, avunculum eiusdem Marcellum flagrantibus plebis studiis intra iuventam creptum, breves et infan stos populi Romani amores, 2.41.3. The other phrase has no contextual relation with the pain of Dido (hunc tantum tibi me discassu ferre dolorem, 6.464), other than that Dido and the people of Rome are ones who suffer. The most important point seems to be that Tacitus maintains the Vergilian colouring of language which has some reference to Germanicus.

As far as the other members of the imperial household are concerned, the number of imitative phrases descriptive of them is small. We have mentioned the associations of *tuae longa peremit* for the death of Julia, and of *aetatem... adolevisse* for Drusus. Two phrases employed of Nero, the son of Germanicus, and Agrippina have considerable point. The designs of Sejanus against Nero are unwittingly and tran-

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41. See *Vita Donati*, 110.
gically abetted by the freed-men and clientes of the youth, who urge him to be fidentem animi, 4.59.3. But Nero lacks the experience, the quick wit, and the cunning of a Sinon, fidens animi. 2.61. He is modesta iuventa, plerumque tamen quid in praesentiarum conducet oblitum. There is an ominous foreshadowing of one of the consequences which might have resulted from Sinon’s calculated risks – certae occumbere morti. The advice of Sejanus’ minions to Agrippina and Nero, effigiem divi Augusti amplecti populumque ac senatum auxilio vocare, 4.67.4, is highly ironic. Aeneas had called upon the gods for their aid to extinguish the fire in the Trojan ships, auxilioque vocare deos, 5.686, and his prayer was answered. But the prayers of Agrippina and Nero would be fruitless. The senate and people no longer have the supreme authority of divinity. Tiberius is now the "god", and Tacitus has left no doubt as to the nature of the power which he holds for the family of Germanicus (cf. aversa patrui voluntas, 2.5.2). There is not only the irony of the allusion to Aeneas’ prayer, but also dramatic irony within the situation itself, for the persons giving advice know that supreme power in this case rests with Tiberius, and, behind him, Sejanus.

Sejanus’ time will come, however, and his fall from power will have disastrous consequences not only for those who directly aid his schemes, such as the tempters of Nero and Agrippina, but also for those who court his favour, quibus infaustae amicitiae gravis exitus imminebat, 4.74.5. Juno had said of the fate in store for Turnus, nunc manet insontem gravis exitus, 10.630. Like Turnus, the friends
of Sejanus are caught up in circumstances which they do not fully understand, and whose outcome they cannot foresee. Like him, they will be essentially innocent victims of a conflict for power.

Again Tacitus has varied his phrase so that, while the allusion to Vergil is clear, there are additional connotations which heighten its oppressiveness. The focal point of Vergil’s phrase is insontem, and the importance of the word is emphasized metrically, since it is the only word in the line composed entirely of spondaic syllables. The verb manet receives little emphasis. Tacitus’ imminebat, however, which retains some similarity in sound to manet, has a very emphatic position at the end of a sentence and at the end of a chapter. The connotations of the word can perhaps best be illustrated by example, for Vergil had used it with considerable effect in his description of one punishment of the condemned in Tartarus, quo super atra silex iam iam lapsura cadentique/imminet adsimilis, 6.602-3. The force of the word in Tacitus’ phrase needs no further comment.  

42. The phrase is also virtually the sententia which ends the book, because the brief notice of the marriage of Agrippina is couched in completely plain language with no emotional overtones.  
43. Although Cicero uses the combination gravis exitus, as E. Koester-mann rightly points out (de Div. 2.22, Clarissimorum hominum nostrae civitatis gravissimos exitus in Consolatione collegimus), the connotations of the phrase are quite different from those of Vergil and Tacitus. Cicero’s word exitus means little more than the ends, or the deaths of famous men, whereas both Vergil and Tacitus use the word in a wider sense to mean the consequences or the inevitable outcome of a series of actions and attitudes. None of the phrases of Cicero, Ovid (Met. 10.8, exitus auspicio gravior) or Statius (Th. 2.17, hinc est gravis exitus) is structurally comparable to those of Vergil and Tacitus, in which exitus is the subject of an active verb for which there is an object given. Only Vergil’s phrase furnishes the scope for the variation in verb which seems to be a deliberate and significant part of Tacitus’ adaptation.
At least one person for whom gravis exitus imminebat escapes the accusations and condemnations which followed the overthrow of Sejanus, and Tacitus pays him the compliment of Vergilian imitation. Lentulus Gaetulicus, the general of forces in Upper Germany, is charged because he had betrothed his daughter to Sejanus’ son. His letter to Tiberius is a frank and spirited defence, in which he affirms his loyalty to the emperor and says that he, as well as Tiberius, could be deceived about Sejanus. He concludes with the words firmament velut foedus, 6.30.3. Tiberius shall rule everywhere else, and he will keep his province. The dignity and spirit of the man are greatly enhanced by an echo of the language of kings concluding treaties. 44

With regard to those examples which we have classed as stylistic, they tend to appear in contexts which are in some way related to Tiberius or Germanicus, the only example not so used being recens with a simple ablative (recens praetura, 4.52.1), used of Domitian after. The general pattern of usage is thus similar to that of phrases

44. Cf. foedera firment/centum oratores, 11.330-31, in the speech of Latinus to the Council of the Latins; and firmabant foedera dictis, 12.212, of the treaty between Latinus and Aeneas, concluded before the single combat between Aeneas and Turnus.

45. See 1.4.2, variis rumoribus, the discussion of Agrippa Postumus and Tiberius as rival successors to Augustus (Aen. 9.464; 12.228); 1.80.2 and 3.69.3, placita, the former in a discussion of Tiberius’ reasons for prolonging the governorships of provinces, the latter in a speech in the senate (Ecl.7.27); and 6.1.1, interluit, Tiberius’ crossing from Capri to the coast of Campania (Aen.7.717).

46. See 2.61.1, instar montium, in the account of Germanicus’ travels in the East (Aen.2.15); and 3.1.2, Brundisium... fidiissimum (Aen.2.25), and 3.2.2, diversa oppida (Aen.11.261), both of which are used in the description of Agrippina’s return to Brundisium with the ashes of Germanicus.
which, it has been suggested, have some contextual significance. Tacitus' practice of using unusual words for emphasis has been commented upon. Possibly some of the words and phrases which, at first sight, might seem to be purely stylistic also serve a similar function. *Infringi* used of persons occurs only once, and describes the action which Tiberius will take if Drusus and Germanicus fail to cope with the army mutiny: *resistentisque Germanico aut Druso posse a se mitigari vel infringi*, 1.47.2. It may be significant that it is Tiberius' power as a destroyer which is expressed by a Vergilian word, since this is an aspect of his role which is similarly emphasized elsewhere. *Praestantissimus sapientiae*, 6.6.2, is also an isolated example, and it seems fitting that Socrates should be referred to thus in an unusual phrase. Three stylistic examples are repeated more than once in the historical works: *variis rumoribus*, 1.4.2 (five examples); *diversus* meaning "distant", 3.2.2 (nine examples) and *recens* with a simple ablative, 4.52.1 (six examples). All would thus appear to have become an accepted part of Tacitus' style of writing. Yet one example of *diversus* recalls the Vergilian context. At 2.60.1, the phrase *Menelaus... diversum ad mare terramque Libyam deiectus* refers to the same events as *Aen.11.261-3*, *diversum ad litus abacti/Atrides Protei Menelaus adusque columnas/exsulat.* Possibly the general similarity in subject-matter has produced an unconscious reminiscence, in spite of the fact that Tacitus uses the word fairly frequently. Although 47. Cf. *aspectare*, 1.4.1; and *adsciri*, 1.3.5, p.270.
instar montium, 2.61.1, is clearly modelled upon Vergil’s instar montis, 2.15, the reminiscence indicates only that Tacitus liked the phrase and found it useful. Finally, there are two examples in the Annales of celerare with an accusative,48 of which one example, celerandae victoriae intention, occurs in a heavily Vergilian context,49 in relation to Germanicus. The phrase may be intended to support contextual associations between the Aeneid and the Annales by maintaining the Vergilian colouring of the passage.

Our consideration of individual passages has indicated certain ideas which link together imitative phrases in the present type of context, and the drawing together of imitative passages suggests further ideas. A few of the Vergilianisms classed as purely stylistic also fit into the general pattern because of the nature of the settings in which they are used.

Rome, like Troy, is a city which has fallen from her former greatness.50 She is in a state of servitude,51 her god-like power lost.52 Even in her fallen state she must again face attack and devastation,53 with no prospect of aid from the gods, who are against her.54 It is part of her tragedy that Augustus, who deceived55 and overthrew her56 is now her master.57 Like the Greeks who destroyed Troy, he suffers re-

48. See 2.5.2, and 12.46.3.
49. Cf. dolo simul et casibus obiectaret, 2.5.1; and aversa patrui voluntas, 2.5.2, p.260.
50. 1.4.1, verso civitatis statu.
51. 1.4.1, omnes exuta aequalitate insae principis aspectare.
52. 4.67.4, populumque ac senatum auxilio vocare.
53. 4.58.3, moenia urbis adsidens; 6.39.2, undantem per domos sanguinem.
54. 4.58.3, veraque quam obscuris tegentur.
55. 1.10.2, machinator doli.
56. Cf. ftn. 50.
57. Cf. ftn. 51.
tribution, but he leaves behind him a legacy of conflict which will lead to further devastation because the opponents are unequally matched. The Roman people cannot act in the struggle for power. They can only speak of it, suffer, and become its victims.

This conflict is all the more bitter in its implications, because it takes the form of attack upon a figure who still retains some of the heroic qualities of former times, by one who is anti-heroic. The struggle becomes one between good and evil, with the scales weighted on the side of evil. The representative of evil is not without some redeeming qualities. His insight is keen, he has some feeling for justice, and is not entirely lacking in dignity.

But what might have been forces for good are perverted. Reason becomes the potential for caprice, insight, guile, and love acts like hate. Tiberius emerges as Rome's second destroyer who unleashes his absolute power against her and her people. The virtues of former

58. 2.42.3, versa Caesarum subole.
59. 1.3.5, Germanicum... adscirique per adoptionem a Tiberio iussit.
60. 2.5.2, aversa patrui voluntas.
61. 1.4.2, variis rumoribus.
62. 2.84.2, dolorem tuit; 4.74.5, quibus infaustae amicitiae gravis exitus imminebat.
63. 2.5.1, Germanicum... dolo simul et casibus obiectaret; 2.5.2, celeranda victoriae intention; 2.75.2, servito premere.
64. 2.43.1, actatem... Drusi... adelevisse; 4.38.4, degeneris animi.
65. 2.5.2, aversa patrui voluntas; 4.58.3, veraeque quam obscuris tegentur.
66. 3.44.4, tanto impensius in securitatem compositus; 3.54.1, civitate tem verti; 4.40.3, quid si intendatur certamen tali coniugio.
67. 3.69.3, non verterent sapienter reperta et semper placita.
68. 4.38.3, concessero; 6.50.3, instaurari epulas iubet.
69. 1.47.1, Immotum... fixnumque Tiberio fuit.
70. 6.32.1, consiliis et astu.
71. 1.53.2, tabe longa peremit.
72. 1.47.2, infringi; 4.58.3, moenia urbis adsidens; 6.39.2, undantem per domos sanguinem.
days cannot stand against him, and the forces of good suffer defeat, leaving behind only grief.

**Internal Affairs of the Roman Empire**

Imitations fall readily into three groups according to their contexts: those which appear in accounts of trials or charges laid under the *lex maestatica* (12); those which appear in general senatorial debate (8); and those which are descriptions of death or disaster (4).

The trials of Libo Drusus and Piso account for eight of the twelve phrases in the first group, but the remaining imitations in the category as a whole are relatively scattered. The proportion of Vergilian phrases in the present category with some contextual significance is slightly lower than in the preceding group. Fifteen of the twenty-four examples seem to make a specific contribution to the passages in which they are employed.

The revival of the *lex maestatica* is first mentioned in 1.72.2, with the significant comment that in the time of Augustus, words as well as deeds became grounds for accusation. Immediately following

73. 2.5.1, Germanicum, . . dolo simul et casibus obiectaret; 2.5.2, aversa patru voluntas; 2.71.3, vindicabis vos, si me potius quam fortunam meam fovebatis.

74. 2.72.2, in genti luctu; 2.84.2, doleum tulit.

75. References are: 1.74.2 (Aen.1.384); 2.27.1 (5.785-6); 2.29.2 (2.688; 3.176-7; 10.667); 2.31.3 (9.401); 3.10.1 (9.377); 3.11.2 (2.75); 3.14.5 (9.464; 12.228); 3.15.1 (6.502); 3.19.2 (9.464; 12.228); 4.34.4 (11.125); 4.42.3 (2.602); 4.44.3 (3.68); 6.9.3 (Aen.5.285; 12.25).

76. 1.15.2 (1.277, 367, 553; 9.387); 2.13.1 (2.765); 3.36.1 (2.688; 3.176-7; 10.667); 3.36.3 (2.625; 5.810-11); 3.59.3 (11.261); 3.61.1 (4.690; 9.229; 12.92); 6.2.3 (2.614, 671); 6.4.2 (4.265).

77. 3.30.1 and 6.39.3 (2.91; 10.819-20); 4.63.1 (9.454); 6.49.1 (12.603).

78. non tamen idem faciebat fidem civilis animi; nam legem maestatica reduxerat.
are the accounts of the trifling charges against Falanius and Rubrius, which are dismissed by Tiberius, 1.73, and the trial of Granius Marcellus which is noteworthy because one of the charges is *sinistros de Tiberio sermones habuisse*, and because it marks the appearance of the delator, the man who, although at first *egens ignotus inquiès* (cf. Aen.1.384, *ipse ignotus egens*), 1.74.2, rises to a position of threatening eminence within the state.

The passage as a whole is syntactically difficult, and it is not immediately clear whether the *qui*-clause which contains the words *egens ignotus* applies to Caepio Crispinus or Romanus Hispo. Hispo's contribution to the charges is specifically indicated by the words *addidit Hispo*, 74.3, so that the subject of *sed... insimulabat* in the preceding sentence must be Crispinus. Both Furneaux and N.P. Miller ad loc. regard the *qui*-clause as referring to Hispo whose name immediately precedes it, and both point out the incongruity of the words *egens* and *ignotus* used of a quaestor who would be of senatorial rank. Miss Miller also adds that "the return to the main statement (whose subject was Crispinus) is clearly indicated by *sed*", and points out similar usages of *sed* in Cic. *de Or*. 2.193, and in Ann. 3.62. The *qui*-clause is thus part of an extended parenthesis, *subscribente... invenere*, which describes Hispo. Nipperdey and R. Syme regard Crispinus as subject of the *qui*-clause, but for the reasons given above.

79. Tiberius' justice in checking abuse of the law receives little credit from Tacitus, and is in fact presented as if it had sinister implications: *ut quibus initiis, quanta Tiberii arte gravissimum exitium inreperit, dein repressum sit, postremo arserit cuncta corripuerit, noscatur*, 1.73.1.
this seems less likely, even though the latter suggests that in his desire to introduce a stylized portrait of the delator as early as possible, Tacitus is "not quite skilful enough with the suture". \[\text{op. cit., II.694}\]

A stylized portrait of the delator is admittedly a curious setting for an allusion to Aeneas but the verbal relationship seems fairly clear. Not only are there the words ignotus and egens, but also Tacitus has retained the Vergilian asyndeton. The reference may indeed have some point. The reader, and Venus to whom Aeneas' words are addressed, are both aware that they are an emotional overstatement. Aeneas is neither ignotus nor egens, though he will face much suffering before achieving his objective of founding a new city for his people. Jupiter has stated clearly what the outcome of Aeneas' mission will be, and shown that he is blessed and guided by the gods. Might the implication be that in spite of their modest beginnings, the delatores will also achieve success because they have the protection and favour of the emperors? The allusion would thus foreshadow the associations of divinity which have been noted for Tiberius, and would point a contrast between a mission to build, and a mission to destroy.

The next trial under the lex maiestatis is that of Libo Drusus, 2.27-32, and it is marked by the emergence of another evil, the delator who pretends friendship with his potential victim in order to win his confidence and to make him incriminate himself: tum primum reperta sunt quae per tot annos rem publicam exedere, 2.27.1. The imagery is particularly violent, all the emphasis being on the verb
and its object, and its violence is increased by the echo of the irrational and implacable hatred of Juno which will not be sated until Troy is utterly destroyed: exedisse nefandis/urbem odis, 5.785-6.  

Again we have the idea of the hostility of the gods at its most cruel and destructive, and it is difficult not to see a suggestion of "the maimed and mutilated" body of the state, another Troy which has suffered deceitful attack and collapse, being viciously dismembered by a power bent upon its annihilation.

We have suggested that the earlier Vergilian allusion may have connotations both for Tiberius and the delator. That the present evil is also linked with Tiberius may be suggested by another allusion: Libri manus ac supplices voces ad Tiberium tendens immoto eius vultu 2.29.2. The ritual gesture of prayer to the gods is described in similar words three times in the Aeneid: 2.688, caelo palmas cum voce tetendit, Anchises' joyful prayer in response to the omen of the tongue of fire about Iulus' head; 3.176-7, tendoque supinas/ad caelum cum voce manus, Aeneas' response to his dream-vision of the Penates who have told him to leave Crete and seek for Hesperia; and 10.667, duplices cum voce manus ad sidera tendit, the gesture of Turnus in his prayer to Jupiter when he has been tricked away from the battlefield by Juno. The phrase may, as B. Walker suggests, be an ironic remin-

80. "The Trojans are spoken of as a body the heart of which (i.e. Troy) Juno plucks out and devours, and then proceeds to outrage the maimed and mutilated remains. Virgil often places very strong language in the mouth of irate goddesses, and he was thinking how Zeus tells Hera that she would not be satisfied until she 'ate Priam and the sons of Priam raw' (II.4.34). [Page ad loc.] Vergil may have had in mind the passage in the Iliad, but his imitation transcends the violence and horror of its model.

81. op. cit., 12.
iscence of the joyful thanks of Aeneas and Anchises to the gods, or it may, with slightly different irony, point a similarity with another victim, Turnus, whose prayers were also in vain. In either case, Libo is "the pathetic victim of an arbitrary tyrant". Tiberius, however, is again associated with divinity. The idea of a god who is hostile suggests a link between the present phrase and the hatred of Juno, so that delation based on treachery may be not only an evil in itself, but also an expression of the evil of Tiberius.

The pathos of Libo's suicide, voluntarium mortem properavisset, 2.31.3, is deepened by the recollection of Nisus, who is also a victim (pulchram properet per vulnera mortem, 9.401), but its pathos has a bitter tinge. Nisus' death is the result of the folly and impetuousness of youth. He and his friend Euryalus had delayed too long in the Rutulian camp, and forgotten their true mission which was to reach Aeneas. It is the spoils which they take from the camp which are their undoing. The death of Nisus, however, is an ennobling act whereby he redeems his folly, because it is an expression of his love for his friend. The implication seems to be that Libo's death is also the result of youthful folly, and therefore pitiful because of its essential innocence, but it is an act which has been robbed of dignity, and affirms nothing except the grim caprice and duplicity of a tyrant: inravitque Tiberius petiturum se vitam quamvis nocenti, nisi voluntarium mortem properavisset.

82. N.P. Miller, op. cit., 30.
83. sensit enim nimia caede atque cupidine ferri, 9.354.
84. et galea Euryalum sublustris noctis in umbra/prodit immemorem radiisque adversa refulsit, 9.373-4.
B. Walker has analysed the divergence between fact and impression in Tacitus' account of the trial of Libo Drusus, and shown how his presentation of the charges against him leads to the conclusion that "Libo is to die, an innocent and even silly victim of Tiberius' unreasoning brutality". Tacitus' use of Vergilian reminiscence is an integral part of the method whereby he blackens the character of Tiberius and arouses sympathy and pity for his victim.

There are no further trials under the lex maiestatis until the trial of Piso, in the account of which Tacitus also uses Vergilian language. Three of the five phrases would appear to be simply stylistic: contra... tendebant, 3.10.1, and the repeated vario rumore, 3.14.5, and 19.2. The most striking phrase is quae fiducia rec, 3.11.2, and the association of Piso and Sinon (cf. Aen.2.75, quae sit fiducia capto) has considerable point. Firstly, it "helps to suggest that Piso too is not to be trusted". Secondly, it may also suggest a difference between the two. Sinon had relied on his wits, the credibility of the story he could tell, as his fiducia, whereas Piso is relying on Tiberius. His fiducia is perhaps less securely based than

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85. "The statement 'defertur moliri res novas' is made at the beginning of the account, and the idea of revolution is then allowed to drop into the background. The charges seem to dwindle as the further details given by later accusers grow more and more trivial, so that at the end they can be summarised as 'stolida vana, solum accipere, miseranda' (30.ii). The great design to overthrow a government has shrunk to the evidence of one small notebook filled with a credulous young man's private scribblings." [op. cit., 93.]

86. N.F. Miller, op. cit., 32.

87. See 3.10.2, Tiberius... conscientiae matris innexum esse, and 3.11.2, sati cohiberet ac premeret sensus suos Tiberius, the occulta mandata in 2.43.4, and references to them which are woven into the account of the trial.
that of Sinon, and he may not match him in ultimate success. The phrase *quantum Caesari in eam liceret*, 3.15.1, a question in people's minds concerning Plancina's fate for her supposed part in the murder of Germanicus and the rebellious actions of her husband, conjures up the mutilated shade of Deiphobus, betrayed by the treacherous Helen (*cui tantum de te licuit*, 6.502). Whether or not the phrase is considered a conscious imitation of Vergilian language, since the similarity is largely syntactical, the implication that Tiberius, too, can exact a terrible punishment, and that the general background is one of treachery by a trusted person seems to be inescapable. As with the trial of Libo Drusus, Tacitus has employed Vergilian allusions in

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88. The view of B. Walker that the reminiscence is an implicit comparison of Tiberius and the Ulysses of the Aeneid, while attractive, is, I think, untenable, since it is based upon what seems to be an erroneous interpretation of the Sinon passage. Miss Walker says of Sinon's *fiducia*, "The true answer would be that Sinon's self-assurance depended on the Greek warriors in the Horse, led by Ulysses, *inventor scelerum*; Ulysses is his unseen protector who, he trusts, will devise some rescue if his professions of innocence are not believed." [*op. cit.*, 73-4] There are certain practical difficulties. Sinon apparently had to release the Greeks from the Horse (*inclusos utero Danaos et pinea furtim laxat claustra Sinon*, 2.258-9), which would be difficult if he were a prisoner of the Trojans, and therefore limits any action which Ulysses could take on his behalf. The Horse is there as a dread presence in the background, but Sinon will receive no help from it, as Vergil states fairly explicitly: *fidens animi atque in uterumque paratus/seu versare dolos seu certae occumbere morti*, 2.61-2. Since Tacitus uses *fidens animi* in a manner which seems to imply his knowledge of v.62 (see pp.273-4), it is unlikely that he would use another phrase from the same scene with contradictory implications.

89. The idea of treachery suggested in 3.14.3, **scripsissent expostulantes, quod haud minus Tiberius quam Piso abnuere, is soon made explicit in an unconfirmed story which Tacitus relates with damning impartiality. See 3.16.1, where it is suggested that Piso was tricked by Sejanus into concealing his *libellum* from the senate by *vana promissa*, so that Tiberius would not be implicated directly, and that his death was not suicide, but murder. In the light of these stories, Plancina's desertion of Piso seems merely incidental.
a telling manner to underline the significance of events and interpretations of character.

The remaining imitations are used in the trial of Cremutius Cordus, 4.34-5, the trial of Votienus, 4.42, and the charges laid against a group of senators comprising Pollio, Silanus, Scaurus, Sabinus, and Vinicianus, the son of Pollio, 6.9. All three cases are, in their own way, remarkable. Cremutius Cordus faces the unusual charge of having praised Brutus and Cassius in his historical writings. His speech in which he argues with passionate eloquence less his own case than the cause of freedom of speech and freedom of opinion, is clearly an expression of Tacitus' own deeply felt convictions. 90 The language is dignified, direct, and forceful, and it seems significant that Cato should be singled out by Vergilian language (Marci Ciceronis libro, quo Catonem caelo aequavit, 4.34.4; and Aen.11.125, of Aeneas, quibus caelo te laudibus aequem). As the spokesman of Republicanism, Cato had assumed the proportions of a legendary figure and a hero. He is praised by Sallust as the exponent and embodiment of the antique virtues which made Rome great (Cat.52-54), by Livy who places him above praise or blame and by Augustus; 91 and also by Lucan for whom he is the champion of libertas. 92 It is fitting, therefore, that in a speech de-

90. We need only recall the introduction of the Agricola to understand the fervour of Cordus' speech: pauci et, ut ita dixerim, non modo aliorum sed etiam nostri superstites sumus, exemptis e media vita tot annis, quibus invenes ad senectutem, senes prope ad ipsos exactae aetatis terminos per silentiun venimus, Agr.3.2.

91. Jerome, In Hoseam, II praef., and Macrob.2.4.18, cited by R. Syme, op. cit., I,140.

92. It is perhaps not entirely irrelevant that in the Dialogus, it is Maternus' controversial play, Cato, which is the starting-point for the discussion of poetry and oratory, and the reasons for the decline of oratory.
fending the freedoms associated with the Republic, which even Julius
Caesar acknowledged, he should be spoken of in terms of another hero
whose military exploits and justitia aroused the admiration of his
opponents. The phrase also increases the stature of the speaker, for,
like Cato, he is the representative of a finer age which has passed.

The ruthlessness of Tiberius against Votienus, Aquilia, and
Apidianus Mērula again associates him with hostile and absolute power.
The word inclementia, 4.42.3, recalls the inclementia divum in the de-
struction of Troy, Aen.2.602, and the absolute power of death, Geo.3.68,
both of them forces which are inescapable and from which there is no
redress. The phrase clari genus, 6.9.3, may have more than stylistic
significance. The persons charged are summis honoribus, and the
reaction of the senate to their accusation is one of general fear and

93. Cf. Aen.11.126, iustitiaeae prius mier belline laborum. The poss-
ible ambivalence of Drances' words (see p. 226), does not seem to
carry over into the Tacitean context, where it would be out of
keeping with the general tone of the passage.

94. Although the use of genus as an accusative of respect is found in
other poets, I have accepted the construction as a direct deriva-
tion by Tacitus from Vergil. Only Vergil and Tacitus use the adjec-
tive-substantive combination without supporting words (cf. Cressa
genus; genus indecoros). The construction appears in three con-
texts in the Aeneid, all of which provide one or more than one ex-
ample of an imitated phrase. Silius' Poesi matre genus, 14.288,
may be an independent Vergilian imitation since it is used in a
context which contains at least two other phrases which appear to
be modelled upon Vergil (v.280, furiahabat insuper ore, which is
similar to Aen.2.593, haec insuper addidit ore; and v.297, indure
arma, which Vergil also uses in Aen.9.180, induit arma. Cf. also
5.140, loricam induit, and Aen.7.640, loricam induit). Poss-
sibly the combination telorum turbine vasto, 14.297, owes something
to such images as turbida...tempestas telorum, Aen.12.283-4,
and quo turbine torquet hastam, 11.284. The poems of Propertius
are not a common source for Tacitus, and although he does draw
upon the poems of Ovid, the fact that Vergil uses the construction
in passages which provide Tacitus with other phrases makes him
the more likely source.
consternation.  The phrase *clari genus*, which is a compressed and pointed expression, seems to be used to call attention to their stature.

The majority of the Vergilianisms used in general senatorial debate are stylistic. They include *de nomine*, 1.15.2; *cum voces, cum manus intentarent*, 3.36.1, which seems similar to 2.29.2 only in its form, not its associations; *leges... versas*, 3.36.3; *diverso terrarum*, 3.59.3; *oleae... adnisam*, 3.61.1; and *Agrippa consules... invasit*, 6.4.2. *De nomine* and *oleae adnisam* have some general relation in that they give Vergilian colouring to contexts concerned with ritual and myth. The former describes the institution of games in honour of Augustus, and it is a phrase which Vergil uses of aetiological myth. The latter occurs in the legend of the birth of Apollo and Diana at Ephesus.

The remaining two phrases achieve their effects by means of an incongruity which is, I think, calculated. At 2.33.1, *vasa auro solidida* points a sharp contrast with the plunder taken by the Greeks from Troy, *crateres auro solidi*, 2.765. In the latter case the fall of Troy is even more pitiful because of the contrast with her former greatness expressed in the splendour of her material possessions.

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95. 6.9.3, *contremuerantque patres (nam quotus quisque adfinitatis aut amicitiæ tot inlustrium virorum expers erat)?*

96. "The concentration of expression is especially dear to him, the technique of packing each separate word with its maximum meaning, and so placing it in its phrase that it both gives and acquires extra significance thereby. Both the accusative and genitive of respect with adjectives, e.g. provide a neater, more striking and more significant form of expression than the normal methods used by classical prose. The adjective can be applied to the person, the whole expression is more concentrated and therefore more effective."  [N.P. Miller, *op. cit.*], 31.
the former case, the phrase underlines the degeneracy of contemporary Rome. The proposal of Togonius Gallus that Tiberius should have an armed guard of senators, chosen by lot, is effectively ridiculed by the epic pomposity of the phrase *ferro accincti*, 6.2.3, the tone of which reflects both upon the proposal and the man himself. Vergil had used the phrase in two passages of considerable emotional intensity: Juno is *ferro accincta* as she urges on the Greeks at the Scaean gates, 2.614, and Aeneas says of himself *ferro accingor*, 2.671, as he prepares to return to battle after Anchises' obdurate refusal to leave Troy. The incongruity of the elevated language of epic in its present application cannot but be deliberate.

The final four examples in the present category are *concessere vita*, 3.30.1, and *concessit vita*, 6.39.3; *informem exitum*, 6.49.1; and *concurrus ad examinos*, 4.63.1. The phrase *concessere vita* appears in the obituary notice of L. Volusius and Sallustius Crispus, *insignes viri*. The dignity of the phrase has been noted. In the present case, one might suspect that Tacitus is showing respect not only to the men themselves, but also to a distinguished predecessor, C. Sallustius, *rerum Romanarum florentissimus auctor*, whose name the friend of Tiber-

97. See also 3.54.1, *civitatem verti*, another reference to the fall of Troy, which also achieves its effect by means of an ironic contrast (p. 267).

98. *Accingere* is a favourite word of Vergil, and although Livy also uses it, he does not have the same verb-noun combination (contrast e.g. 40.3, where it is used with *gliadiis*). Statius also uses the phrase twice, but since Th.5.281, *Venus ferroque accincta* would seem to be an imitation of *Aen.*2.614, and since Tacitus has employed other phrases from that same context in the *Aeneid*, one may conclude that the two writers are probably drawing upon Vergil independently.

ius bears. The suicide of Sextus Papinius, informem exitum....
iacto in praecipuas corpora, recalls the degradation and unreason of
Amata, who, overcome by despair, nodum informis leti trabe nectit ab
alta, 12.603. There may also be an underlying contrast between the
two situations. Amata had killed herself in a moment of hopelessness
when she thought that Turnus, whom she loved as a son, was dead, where-
as this is the fate to which a mother drives her own child. Finally,
there are the phrases concursus ad examinos and ingens concursus ad
ipsa/corpora seminischen viros, Aen.9.454. In the Aeneid, the scene
is the aftermath of the attack on the camp of the Rutulians by Nisus
and Euryalus; in the Annales, the result of the collapse of the amphitheatr
at Fidena. The two passages are similar in tone, in verbal
structure, and in their emphasis upon visual effect. By an echo of
the Aeneid, Tacitus is emphasizing the catastrophic nature of the dis-
aster, which he had referred to at the beginning of 4.62 with the
words ingentium bellorum cladem aequavit malum improvisum, but doing
so in terms of what was for the Rutulians not only a disaster but also
a malum improvisum.

Some of the Vergilian phrases in the present category fill in
complementary details for the pattern we have noted in the category
"The Emperor and the Imperial Court", and also suggest additional
ideas. Rome faces not only the menace of Tiberius, who directs his
destructive and hostile power against individuals, but also the
100. 1.74.2, egens ignotus inquiris; 2.29.2, manus ac supplices voces. .
tendens; 3.15.1, quantum Caesaris in eam liceret; 4.42.3, incle-
mentiam.
delator, an instrument of power who also seeks to destroy. The list of victims grows. There is an element of greatness which still remains in individual citizens, but it is ineffectual since they face the prospect of death. The Roman character itself is undergoing change and suffering degradation.

Military Affairs

Vergilian language in military contexts is concentrated in the accounts of the mutinies of the Pannonian and German legions in Book One and the campaigns of Germanicus against the tribes in Germany in Book Two. The mutinies and the German campaigns are also the chief military subject-matter in Books 1–6, with other military engagements receiving much less extended treatment. Apart from the two passages mentioned, those in which Tacitus makes use of Vergilian words and phrases are: 2,80–81, Fiso's attempt to regain the governorship of Syria by force, and his defeat; 3,45–6, the defeat of the Aedui by Silius, and the death of Sacrovir; 4,23–6, the final defeat of Tacfarinas and his death; and 4,46–51, the suppression by Sabinus of a re-

101. 1,74,2, egens ignotus inquies; 2,27,1, rem publicam exedere (cf. 4,52,1, recens praetura of Domitius Afer who accuses Claudia Pulchra).

102. 2,29,2, manus ac supplices voces... tendens; 2,31,3, mortem properavisset; 3,10,1, contra... tendebant, stylistic, but from the account of the deaths of Nisus and Euryalus in the Aeneid; 6,9,3, clari genus (cf. 2,5,2, aversa patrui voluntas, of Germanicus; 2,61, fidentem animi, of Nero; 2,42,3, versa Caesarum subole; 1,53,2, tute, longa peremit, of Julia; and 4,74,5, quibus infastae amicitiae gravis exitus imminebat).

103. 4,34,4, Catonem caelo aequavit; 6,9,3, clari genus (cf. 6,30,3, firmament velut foedus, of Gaetulicus).

104. 2,33,1, vasa auro solida (cf. 3,54,1, civitatem verti); 3,36,1, cum voces, cum manus intantarent; 3,36,3, leges... versus; possibly 6,2,3, ferro accincti; and 6,49,1, informem exitum.
volt in Thrace. Although the contexts are military, by no means all of the Vergilian words and phrases used are technical military vocabulary, or from battle scenes. Language is drawn from a variety of contexts, including the Eclogues and Georgics. We shall consider first the contributions made by Vergilian imitations in their immediate contexts, and then discuss the more general relations which appear to exist between them.

The account of the mutiny of the Pannonian legions, 1.16-30, which Drusus, aided by the effect of an eclipse of the moon upon superstitious minds, is able to quell, does not have a markedly Vergilian colouring. There are four Vergilian words and phrases used, two of them in the speech of Percennius which touches off the revolt. The words of the ambassadors of Latinus, alluding to the hazards they faced on their journey to seek Diomedes' aid against the Trojans, casus superavimus omnis, 11.244, reappear in a phrase emphasizing the precariousness of the ordinary soldier's existence and the dangers which he faces in his lengthy service: si quis tot casus vita superaverit, 1.17.3. Diversus meaning "distant", which we have noted in

105. References are: 1.17.3 (Aen.11.244); 1.17.3 (11.261); 1.19.1 (3.62-3); 1.30.5 (5.695-6; 8.525); 1.39.4 (Ecl.8.47-8); 1.41.3 (Aen.9.455-6); 1.42.2 (3.178; 8.205-6); 1.44.2 (6.542-3); 1.48.1 (11.18); 1.48.2 (8.535); 1.49.4 (5.177-8); 1.56.5 (11.324-5); 1.59.2 (4.95); 1.60.2 (8.535); 1.61.4 (10.850); 1.62.2 (2.368-9); 1.64.2 (2.50; 10.579; 762; 12.398); 1.65.5 (2.551); 1.68.2 (2.444); 1.70.2 (1.111; 5.221); 1.70.3 (5.199); 1.70.5 (2.17); 2.6.2 (2.20; 38, 52, 243, 258); 2.6.4 (Geo.1.373); 2.11.2 (Aen.12.342); 2.17.3 (10.364); 2.17.6 (2.443; Geo.2.428); 2.21.1 (Aen.11.605); 2.21.1 (5.442); 2.23.2 (Geo.1.254); 2.23.2 (Aen.10.805-4); 2.23.3 (Geo.2.324); 2.23.3 (Aen.1.43; 1.108; 110-12; 536); 2.23.4 (1.118-19); 2.23.4 (1.122-3; 537); 2.24.2 (1.511-12); 2.24.2 (1.180); 2.24.2 (1.96); 2.24.3 (1.104; 5.270-71); 2.25.2 (Geo.2.423); 2.25.2 (Aen.7.316; 9.137); 2.80.1 (11.599); 2.81.2 (9.763; 12.330); 3.46.1 (11.18); 3.46.3 (5.208); 4.25.2 (11.261); 4.25.3 (12.241); 4.46.2 (11.261); 4.50.3 (1.96; 11.268; 12.640)
the speech of Diomedes, reported in the Council of the Latins (Aen. 11.261) is used in the same sentence, trahi adhuc diversas in terras, 17.3, as Percennius describes in scathing terms the land allotted to veterans. There is no immediate connection between the speeches of Venulus and Diomedes in the Council of the Latins, and Percennius’ speech to the Roman troops, other than the general similarity of a "council of war".

The remaining phrases may have associations of more immediate relevance. The soldiers bring turf to make a conspicuous setting for the three standards of the legions which are to be placed together (aggregatur... caespes, 1.19.1), but what they are building is, in effect, a funeral mound (ingens/aggeritur tumulo tellus, Aen.3.62-3), not an auspicious beginning for their enterprise and perhaps suggestive of what, for some of them, its outcome is likely to be. After the mutiny has been quelled, the soldiers are harassed by storms and flood, ruere tempestatas, 1.30.3, which seem to them to be expressions of divine wrath. The phrase gains added weight from the reminiscence of similar natural phenomena which, in the Aeneid, were expressions of divine favour: ruit.../turbidus imber aqua, 5.695-6, the storm sent by Jupiter to extinguish the fire in the Trojan ships; and 8. 525, ruere omnia visa, the omen of Venus which is a reassurance of her aid in the coming war with the Latins.

Individual Vergilian phrases in the description of the mutiny of the German legions, and their campaigns which follow, 1.31-51, and 55-71, are more striking in their implications. The general impres-
sion is that the concentration of Vergilian language is somewhat greater. This impression may be due partially to the increase in the amount of poetic vocabulary used. Of the words and phrases noted earlier, for example, which are employed by the poets, Vergil, and Tacitus, or by Vergil, the poets, and one prose writer other than Tacitus, four appear in 1.16–30,\(^\text{106}\) whereas twenty-six are used in 1.31–51 and 55–71.\(^\text{107}\) The effect of Vergilianisms is thus reinforced by the nature of the language in their general contexts.

Two of the seven phrases in 1.31–51, and possibly a third, have associations which Tacitus would seem to be deliberately calling to mind. The unreason of the mutineers is emphasized by their attack upon the envoys from the senate, particularly Plancus, the leader of the delegation. Fearful that they may lose the concessions granted them during the mutiny, they attempt to kill him when he has claimed sanctuary in the camp of the first legion, and unless the standard bearer had defended him, legatus populi Romani Romanis in castris sanguine suo altaria deum commaculavit, 1.39.4. The word order, with the emphatic juxtaposition of Romani Romanis is itself extremely

106. See 1.27.1, ante alios; 27.2, ingruere with a person as subject; 27.2, certus with a genitive; and 30.3, the word temerate.

107. Those appearing in 1.31–51 are: flectere (intrans.), 34.4; progressi with a simple ablative, 41.1; inausum, 42.2; egregiam duci ... gratiam referter, 42.3; sinere with an acc., 43.1; avellere with a simple ablative, 44.4; minor moles, 45.1; arma rapuerant, 49.1; intemptatum, 50.2; and obstantia silvarum, 50.3. Those which appear in 1.55–71 are: crimina et innoxios, 55.2; Amisiam et Lupiam amnes inter, 60.3; maestos locos, 61.1; monere with an infinitive, 63.1 and 63.3; reponere, "replace", "restore", 63.5; indefessi, 64.3; sonore, 65.1; resultantis, 65.1; proruperus, 65.4; simul haec et with dixit understood, 65.4; equus abruptis vinculis, 66.1; classis ... immaret, 70.1; sidere aequinocci, 70.2; tumescit Oceanus, 70.2; and involvebantur (sc. fluctibus), 70.3.
forceful, and the horror of the crime they were about to commit is underlined by the recollection of the crime of Medea, saevus Amor docuit natorum sanguine matrem/commaculare manus, Eccl.8.47-8. The murder of a legate by Roman soldiers would be a devastating crime against civilized values within the state, just as the murder of her children by Medea overthrew all bonds of family relationships.\textsuperscript{108} When the soldiers attempt to prevent Agrippina's departure from the camp, Germanicus makes an impassioned speech which, as R. Syme points out, recalls the oration of Scipio to the mutinous soldiers in Spain.\textsuperscript{109} The speech also contains the Vergilian word intemeratus: quid enim per hos dies inausum intemeratumve vobis, 1.42.2. The word inausum may also have come directly from Vergil. It is first attested in the Aeneid, and is used by Tacitus only here in combination with another word which we have argued is derived directly from Vergil. The phrase as a whole is similar in structure, vocabulary, and implications to Aen.8.205-6, ne quid inausum/aaut intractatum scelerisve dolive fuisset, Evander's description of the giant Cacus. F.C. Bourne\textsuperscript{110} considers the reminiscence to be a deliberate characterization of the Roman troops. Like Cacus, they are "the very epitome of lawless wickedness". With regard to 1.44.2, [C. Caetronius] indicium et poe-

\textsuperscript{108} Possibly Tacitus' phrase owes something as well to Aeneas' description of the death of Priam, 2.501-2, Priamumque per aras/sanguine foedantem quos ipse sacraverat ignis. The similarity is in situation more than in language, and there is none of the pathos of Vergil's quos ipse sacraverat, but both are deeds of horror and of sacrilege.

\textsuperscript{109} op. cit., II.733. For 1.42.2, quod nomen huic coetui dabo? mili-
tesne appellem... an cives... hostium quouque ius, cf. Liv.28. 27.4.

nus. . . exercuit, which recalls Aen. 6.542-3, at laeva /via/ malorum/ exercet nocenas, F.C. Bourne also comments, "A reexamination of the Tacitean passage shows indeed that Caetronius did not himself exact punishment, but was the path, the instrument, leading to it." The phrase has additional point if we recall that among those whom ad impia Tartara mittit are included qui... arma secuti/impia nec ver- iti dominorum fallere dextras, 612-13. The former passage thus maintains the associations of 1.39.4, since both emphasize a revolt against the values of ordered society, while the latter lends a dig- nified impartiality to the action of Caetronius and implies his jus- tification.

There appear to be no contextual relations between the remaining imitations and their Vergilian counterparts. When Germanicus is about to address the troops, he is described as recens dolore et ira, 41.3. (Cf. Aen. 9.455-6, tepidaque recentem/caede locum.) The use of a simple ablative contributes to the "economy of expression" noted by N.P. Miller /op. cit., 317/ in Tacitus' use of other syntactical devices such as an accusative or genitive of respect with adjectives, and the poetic use of an infinitive instead of a subordinate clause. The words praesumere and intemeratus, 48.1 and 49.4 respectively, and the phrase ubi bellum ingruat, 48.2112 appear to be "colour" words which add to the general effectiveness of Tacitus' account of the vengeance upon the rebels in the camp at Vetera. Intemerata modestia also

111. ibid.
picks up quid... interemum in 1.42.2. The verbal link may be significant of nothing more than that when Tacitus has once used a word, it tends to recur in his mind. It does, however, serve to emphasize the fact that some troops maintained their loyalty in spite of the disaffection of others. The verb *ingruere* is used fairly consistently by Tacitus of something which is hostile or threatening, whether its subject is a person, or an abstract noun such as *periculum* (Ann. 16.10.3), *vis* (Ann. 14.61.2; 15.13.2), *dominatio* (Ann. 12.4.1), or *necessitas* (Ann. 6.10.3). The phrase gains additional weight as the language of Vergil, and the sentence as a whole is a pointed prediction of the indiscriminate slaughter in which *innocentes ac noxios iuxta cadere*.

The campaigns against the German tribes present a more complex pattern of Vergilian associations, and the additional overtones contribute greatly to the evocative effect which Tacitus has achieved. Firstly, there is the conflict with the Chatti and Cherusci under Germanicus’ leadership. Arminius, the popular leader of the Cherusci, rouses them against the Romans. His sarcastic comment on the prowess of the Roman legions, *quorum tot manus unam mulierculam avexerint, 59. 2*, echoes the sarcasm with which Juno compliments Venus on the success of her schemes against Dido, *una dolo divum si femina victa duorum est, 4.95*. Like Juno, Arminius is a voice of strife and dissension.

113. See, for example, 1.27.2, *simil ingrunt*; 2.11.3, *ingruentes catervas*; 3.56.1, 6.38.2, *ingruentis accusatores*.

114. Only one of the eleven examples appears to be simply stylistic; *fuerat animus... iuvar, 1.56.5*, and *Aen.11.324-5, canessere... est animus.*
As Germanicus' chief opponent, Arminius is a figure of importance, and other Vergilian phrases will subsequently be noted which seem intended to increase his stature. The combination bellum... ingrueret, which is repeated at 60.2, may have a closer relation to the battles in the last six books of the Aeneid than in its earlier occurrence. Like Aeneas' comment, si bellum ingrueret, 8.535, it is a prelude to war, and it may be significant that in the present case the words are related to the policy of dividing the enemy which is decided upon by Germanicus. Thus the phrase would furnish another link between Germanicus and the Trojan hero, and place the coming conflict within the context of strife between the Trojans and those who oppose them.

The interlude in which Germanicus visits the site of Varus' defeat and takes part in funeral rites for the slain contains an echo of the fall of Troy and of the death of Mezentius. The wounding of Varus, vulnus... adactum, 61.4, echoes the grief of Mezentius when he learns of the death of Lausus, 10.850, nunc alte vulnus adactum, "another famous example of folly punished". There may be additional implications. Mezentius' wound is spiritual as well as physical, since his words express not only his love for his son, but also his own overwhelming sense of guilt at the boy's death. His speech as a whole is a painful acknowledgement of present and past wrongs which he has done, and his longing to expiate them. He returns to face Aeneas, resolved to die: sed linquam, v.856. Perhaps some of the same

116. See vv.846-9, Tantane me tenuit vivendi, nate, voluptas, ut pro me hostili paterer succedere dextrae, quem genui? tuane haec genitor per vulnera servor/morte tua vivens?
ideas of awareness of folly and of personal responsibility for a dis-
astrous event carry over into the Tacitean context, and lend a deep-
ened significance to the words infelici dextra et suo ictu mortem in-
venerit, which follow. The phrase imagine caesorum, 62.2, is a re-
collection of the highly evocative description given by Aeneas of
death and destruction in Troy: crudelis ubique/luctus, ubique pavor
et plurima mortis image, 2.368-9. The Roman disaster is of comparable
dimension to and as pitiful as the devastation in that doomed city.
The phrase not only associates the fallen with those who died in Troy,
but also links the Germans and the Greeks who caused their destruc-
tion, a pattern which is soon repeated.

The first attack of Arminius against the troops under Caecina
has dire results for the Romans, hampered by their equipment and the
marshy ground. Arminius directs his efforts against the horses of
the Romans, sanguine.suo et lubrico paludum lapsantes, 65.5. The
phrase echoes Vergil’s description of the death of Priam, in multo
lapsantem sanguine nati, 2.551, and, as F.C. Bourne notes, "the cold
calculation of Arminius and the Germans recalls that of Pyrrhus. .
even to the brutish taunt before each attack". /op. cit., 175/. The
second attack on the Roman camp, as the Germans attempt to storm it
and summa valli presant, 68.2, recalls the attack on the palace of
Priam, and the Greeks who presant fastigia dextra, 2.444. The echo
underlines the peril of the Romans while at the same time elevating
the battle to the heroic level of the Trojan war. Again the Romans
are associated with the Trojans and the Germans with the Greeks. The
combination hastae ingentes, 64.2, used of the weapons of the Germans, also adds an epic touch which increases their stature. The phrase itself is Vergilian military vocabulary (cf. Aen.2.50; 10.579, 762; 12.398), and ingens is a characteristically Vergilian word.

Finally, there are the perils of storm and flood faced by the troops under Vitellius. Three Vergilian words and phrases are used in the account: brevia, 1.70.2 (Aen.1.111; 5.221); subtracto solo, 70.3 (Aen.5.199, subtrahiturque solum); and vagante fama, 1.70.5 (Aen.2.17, ea fama vagatur). The latter two examples are likely to be unconscious reminiscences. Solum in Tacitus' phrase refers to the ground which disappears beneath the soldiers - they are "out of their depth" (Furneaux) - whereas solum in Vergil's phrase refers to the surface of the water.117 The contexts are quite different, since Vergil had used the phrase not in a storm description, but in his account of the boat-race. The link between the rumoured reason for the building of the Wooden Horse and the report that the legions had been lost may be that in each case the report is a false one. The Vergilian brevia in the description of the flooding tide and the storm is supported by the poetic words and phrases sidus, meaning "season", 1.70.2, tumescit Oceanus, 70.2, and involvebantur (sc. fluctibus), 70.3. In addition, there is the phrase classis... innaret, 1.70.1, and Aen.8.93, which has parallels also in the works of Livy and Silius of which the latter is possibly a direct imitation of Vergil. This concentration of Ver-

117. Servius ad loc. explains, unicumque rei quod subiacet solum est ei cui subiacet, unde est solum navis mare, et aer avium.
gilian and poetic language in a relatively brief section may indicate
that Vergil is the source for more than just the three examples
which we have noted. The general effect is a heightening of tone
which increases the magnitude of the violence in nature which men
face, and emphasizes their own helplessness against it.

There are also interesting similarities in detail to the account
of the storm in the first book of the Aeneid. The phrase iumenta,
sarcinae corpora exanima interfluunt, occursant, 70.3, is similar to
2.23.4, equi iumenta sarcinae, etiam arma praeceptantur, and Aen.1.
118-19, apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto, arma virum tabulaeque
et Troia gaza per undas. The reaction of the soldiers, haud minus
miserabiles quam quos hostis circumsidet: quippe illic etiam honestae
mortis usus, his inglorium exitium, 70.4, suggests a similar idea to
Aeneas' wish that he had died in battle before the walls of Troy, 1.
94-101; and, like Aeneas, 1.198-207, Germanicus cares for his follow-
ers, ut... cladis memoriam etiam comitate leniret, 70.3. The re-
semblances may be coincidental, but it is possible that Tacitus had
the description of the storm in Book One of the Aeneid in mind, and
that the present passage is in effect a prelude to the greater dan-
gers which Germanicus will face from the forces of nature.

The emotional tone for the campaign of Germanicus, 2.5-26, has
been set by the Vergilian reminiscences mentioned earlier, in the
phrases dolo simul et casibus objectaret, 5.1, and aversa patrui vol-
untas, 5.2, and it is in the present account that Tacitus makes his
most extensive and concentrated analogy between Germanicus and Aeneas.
Before discussing the storm which scatters the fleet of Germanicus and its relation to the storm in the first book of the Aeneid, we shall deal briefly with the other Vergilian phrases in the present section.

The descriptions of battles and military manoeuvres owe something to the military vocabulary of the Aeneid. Pars congressi quidam eminus proturbant, 2.11.2, is based on Aen.12.342, /neci dedit/ hunc congressus et hunc, illum eminus; and pedestris acies infertur, 2.17.3, is a variation upon acies inferre pedestris, 10.364. The German method of fighting, praelongas hastas. . . protenderet, 2.21.1, is like the advance of the Latins, hastas. . . /protendunt, 11.605-6, and, in the same context, the word adsultus, 21.1, which Vergil had used of boxing, Aen.5.442, is transferred to a military context. The phrase excindit. . . hostem, 2.25.2, recalls the words of Juno, at licet amborum populos excindere regum, 7.316, and the boast of Turnus, ferro sceleratam excindere gentem, 9.137, of which the former predicts armed conflict and the latter appears in a military context.

Of the remaining two phrases, one describes a branch of the Rhine, placidior adfluenus, 2.6.4, a phrase which may be an unconscious reminiscence of Vergil's description of the river Eridanus, violentior effluuit amnis, Geo.4.373. Tacitus' phrase retains the adverbial

118. As has been mentioned earlier, niti meaning "climb", 2.17.6, may be derived either from a military context in Aen.2.447, nituntur gradibus, or from a description of nature in Geo.2.428, /noma/ vi propria nituntur, as is recluderent humum, 2.25.2, and Geo.2.423, tellus, cum dente recluditur unco. If it is from the passage in the Aeneid which describes the attack on the palace of Priam, it would continue the association of the Germans with the opponents of the Trojans.
use of a comparative adjective with a compound of fluere, but is a much gentler phrase than its Vergilian counterpart. The use of uterum of the hold of a ship, 2.6.2 (cf. Aen. 2.20, 38, 52, 243, 258), while a striking word because of its unusual application, has no more general significance than Tacitus' application to the pyramid's of instar montium, 2.61.1, which Vergil had also used of the Wooden Horse.

As far as vocabulary from military contexts in the Aeneid is concerned, three phrases are used of the German forces, one of the Romans, and one of Germanicus. Language is drawn from the last six books of the Aeneid, and recalls the heroic conflict between Trojans and Latins. Those used of the German forces are all based on phrases which Vergil had used of the Latins and their allies, and pedestrisc acies infertur, which is used of the Romans, has as its model a phrase describing the Arcadian allies of the Trojans. There is some indication, therefore, of a pattern similar to the Greek-Trojan relationship noted earlier, the Germans being associated with the Latins and the Roman forces with the Trojan side.

The description of the storm, 2.23–4, could be called a variation on a Vergilian theme. Tacitus has combined variants of phrases from the Georgics, the description of the storm in Book One of the Aeneid, the monologue of Juno which precedes it, Ilioneus' speech to Dido about it, and a phrase depicting the violence of nature, from another context in the Aeneid. In some cases similarity is in detail rather than verbal form. Listed below are the Tacitean imitations and their Vergilian models.
23.2 velis impelli
23.2 atro nubium globo effusa grando
23.3 tumidis Germaniae terris
disiecitque naves
23.3 in... insulas saxis abruptis vel per occulta vada infestas
23.4 equi iumenta sarcinae, etiam arma praecipitantur
23.4 manantes per latera et fluctu superurgente
24.2 plures apud insulas longius sitas eictae
24.2 quem... apud scopulos
24.2 oppeteret
24.3 claudae naves raro remigio

Geo.1.254 remis impellere marmor
Aen.10.803-4 velut effusa si quando grandine nimbi praecipitant.
Geo.2.324 vere tument terrae
Aen.1.43 disiecitque rates
Aen.1.108 tris Notus abrertas in saxa latentia torquet
1.110-12 tris Eurus ab alto/in brevia et syrnis urget... in-liditque vadis
1.536 in vada caeca tuit
Aen.1.118-19, apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto,arma virum tabulaeque et Troia gaza per undas
Aen.1.122-3 laxis laterum compagibus omnes/accipiant inimicum imbrem rimisque fatiscent.
1.537 superante salo
Aen.1.511-12 ater quos aequore turbido/displerat penitusque alias avexerat oras
Aen.1.180 Aeneas scopulum... conscedit
Aen.1.96 oppetere
Aen.1.104 franguntur remi
5.270-71 saevo e scopulo... revulsus/amissis remis atque ordine debilis uno

One of the most striking aspects of Tacitus' passage is its compression. There is a Vergilian spaciousness in the opening clause of 23.2, ac primo placidum aequor mille navium remis strepere aut velis impelli, although no word is wasted, and the phrase velis impelli is a striking variation on Vergil's remis impellere. The change from invexit to the historic infinitives strepere... impelli contributes
to the immediacy of the description, and the concentration upon visual and auditory effects is itself a poetic technique. The building up of the storm is presented with the utmost compression of detail: méx atro nubium globo effusa grando, simul variis undique procellis incerti fluctus prospectum adimere, regimen impedire. Instead of drawing upon Vergil's more lengthy description in vv.82-91, Tacitus has taken a more compact clause from a simile as his model, and, although he has added the detail atro... globo, thus changing the emphasis from movement (cf. effusa... præcipitant) to a combination of movement and visual effect, the syntactical compression in the simple ablative globo with effusa instead of a prepositional phrase results in a condensed expression in which each word is judiciously placed for maximum effect. In 23.3, disiectique naves in... insulas saxis abruptis vel per occulta vada infestas, details from four Vergilian passages are combined. Again there is a change in emphasis. Vergil's description achieves its effect through the building up of details.

The storm stikes not the Trojan fleet, but particular ships which carry individual Trojan leaders such as Orontes, Ilioneus, Abas, and

119. Because the context is so heavily Vergilian, the phrase placidum aequor, 25.2, is probably also derived directly from Vergil. Neither Propertius nor Manilius, who also use the phrase, is a usual source for Tacitus' poetic language. Vergil uses the phrase twice: firstly, in Aen.8.96, placido aequore, in the description of Aeneas' journey up the Tiber, vv.90-96, a passage similar in tone to the opening phrases of 25.2; secondly, in a simile giving the effect of Jupiter's voice on the gods and the natural world, permít placida aequora pontus, 10.105. The incorporation of language from a context other than the storm description would be consistent with Tacitus' general practice in chs.23-4. The passage in Aen.8.90-96 also contains the verb innare, v.93, a verb which Tacitus uses in 1.70.1, as well as the poetic rumore secundo, v.90 (Ann.3.29.4). If placidum aequor is from the present context, then innare may also be taken directly from Vergil, particularly since its context in the Annales is Vergilian.
Aletes. Verbal repetition is also important (see hi... his, v.106; tris Notus... tris Furus, vv.108,110). Vergil's description is also personalized. The first words spoken are those of Aeneas, vv.94-101, and words and phrases, some of which carry a marked emotional charge, maintain the impression that we are viewing the storm through Aeneas' eyes, and in his reaction to it (see 1.111, miserabile visu; 113, fidum... Orontes; 114, ipsius ante oculos; 120, validam Ilionei navem... fortis Achatae; 121, grandaevus Aletes). Tacitus, on the other hand, presents a panoramic scene of devastation with a minimum of detail, with no verbal repetition, and from a more impersonal point of view. Although he describes the reaction of the soldiers, miles... pavidos et casuum maris ignarus, and the chaos on board the ships, 23.2, the emphasis is more upon the violence of the storm than an individual reaction to it. There is also a change in emphasis in 23.4, equi iumenta sarcinae, etiam arma praecipitabantur, quo levarentur alvei manantes per latera et fluctu superurgente. In Vergil's description, vv.118-19 are the result of the storm's violence upon the ship of Orontes, and the words Troia gaza have considerable emotional impact as an additional detail of Aeneas' loss. Equi... praecipitabantur also represents a loss for the Romans, but the effect of the words comes not from the idea of loss alone, but also from the fact that this is a desperate attempt to avert disaster. As in the...
case of 1.122-3, which end the description of the storm itself, the phrase manantes per latera (again a compact version of Vergil's more extended description), along with a variation on a phrase from Illioneus' speech, ends Tacitus' description of the storm.

Chapter 24 deals with the fate of the ships, plures apud insulas longius sitas eictae, and the effect of the storm upon Germanicus. There are again interesting changes in emphasis as a result of rearrangement of details. Aeneas scopulum... conscendit to scan the sea for any traces of his companions, but, when he sees the stags grazing, he turns to the more immediate task of providing for the followers who had landed with him. Germanicus performs a similar action, but in an agony of remorse because he feels personally responsible for the disaster. As Aeneas had begun, so Germanicus ends: quem per omnes illos dies noctesque apud scopulos et prominentia oras, cum se tanti exitii reum clamitaret, vix cohibuere amici quo minus eodem mari oppeteret. The reaction of Germanicus thus becomes the emotional focal-point, as it were, of Tacitus' account, rather than a pervading influence as in the case of Aeneas.

The tone becomes lighter as the crippled ships begin to return. Although there are two possible sources for the detail claudae naves raro remigio, 24.3, the lines from Book Five seem to be the more likely source since they, too, describe the return of a crippled ship, whereas franguntur remi is an additional detail showing the destructive force of the storm. Although there is no similarity either in language or in subject-matter, by introducing an element of the fabu-
ous at the end of Chapter 24, Tacitus achieves a comparable relaxing of tension to that which Vergil had achieved by his account of the intervention of Neptune, and his description of the bay where the Trojans come to land, vv.157-69, in which the peaceful beauty of nature is depicted in language of comparable beauty.

Tacitus' account is a skilful adaptation of the storm in Book One of the Aeneid. The incorporation of phrases from elsewhere in Vergil's works shows clearly that Tacitus is selecting details suitable for his purpose, while consciously maintaining the basic relationship with Vergil's description. The passage establishes firmly the relationship between Aeneas and Germanicus, which is maintained by Vergilian reminiscences elsewhere in Book Two, and also between the Roman followers of Germanicus and the Trojans. Like Aeneas, Germanicus faces the dangers of nature's violence and, like him, he is a leader who suffers misfortune and a hero who mourns the unhappy fate of his followers.121

121. Tacitus was not the only one who admired Vergil's description of the storm and made use of it in his own writings. There is a storm description in Germanicus' Aratea, 288-305, which also shows Vergilian influence, and details from the storm and from Book Two of the Aeneid appear elsewhere in his poems: cf. Aen.1.89, ponto nox incubat atra, and Arat.291, nox atra; 293, ponto tune incubat auster; Aen.1.91, intendant omnia mortem, and Arat.304, fata instantia pellit; Aen.1.92, Aeneae solvuntur frigore membrea and Arat.294, nautis tremor alligat artus (also Aen.7.446; 11.424, tremor occupat artus); and Aen.1.105, praeruptus aquae mons and Arat.305, inastratus aquae mons. A combination of Aen.1.86, vastos volvunt ad litora fluctus, and 1.103, fluctus ad sidera tollit, appears in Prognosticorum Fragmenta, 3.20, volvunt ad sidera fluctus. In addition, Arat.182, ruit Oceano hos is similar to Aen.2.250, ruit Oceano nox, and Arat.238, clarior ignis is a direct quotation of Vergil's clarior ignis, Aen.2.705, like the quotation of the hexameter ending aquae mons in Arat.305. The storm in Book One, and Book Two in general were very likely sections of the Aeneid which were studied intensively by Roman school-
Of the eight Vergilian words and phrases used in 2.80-81, the
defeat of Piso in Syria, 3.43-6, the revolt in Gaul, 4.23-6, the de-
feat of Tacfarinas, and 4.46-51, the Thracian revolt, three are pure-
ly stylistic (3.46.3, trudibus, Aen.5.208; 4.25.2, diversos pastus
and 4.46.2, diversas in terras, Aen.11.261), and five either appear
in military contexts in the Aenid or have military associations
(2.80.1, in numerum legionis composuerat, Aen.11.599, compositi numero
in turmas; 81.2, hastas... ingerere, Aen.9.763, ingerit hastas; 3.
46.1, praesumpta spe, Aen.11.18, spe praesummite bellum; 4.25.3, duce
interfecto requiem belli fore, Aen.12.241, requiem pugnae; and 4.50.3,
oppeteret, Aen.1.96, 11.268, and 12.640). Most of the phrases from
military contexts are taken from the last six books of the Aenid.
Certain examples may suggest more than simply epic colouring. At 2.
80.1, there may be a contrast between the "rabble" of Piso and the
ordered ranks of the Trojan allies led by the Etruscans. Aeneas had
encouraged his followers against the Latins with the words spe prae-
s summarite bellum, but when the Romans under Silius attack the Aedui,
there is no need of encouragement, for praesumpta spe. Dolabella
concentrates his men upon Tacfarinas, telling then that only the death
of the African leader will bring requiem belli. In contrast, the
Latins who longed for requiem pugnae are roused by Juturna to prevent
what appears to be certain death for Turnus in single combat. When

boys. If the influence of Vergil's storm is so marked even in
a minor poet, it is clear that an educated Roman would have lit-
tle difficulty in seeing the parallels for Tacitus' account, and
that he would probably derive additional pleasure from the skill
with which it has been adapted and integrated into Tacitus' work
as a passage of considerable significance.
the Thracians are besieged in their fortress, without hope of success against the Romans, the young men, led by Tarsa and Turesis resolve to die in freedom, rather than to submit, and Tarsa and his followers choose the swift end of suicide. The use of the verb oppeterent lends an aura of the heroic to their action.

Vergilian words and phrases in military contexts present a sharp contrast to the general pattern of those which have appeared in the preceding categories, for they give what is virtually a picture of potential greatness that issues from a conflict between reason and unreason, or between good and evil, in which unreason is brought to subjection for a time. The mutinies of the Roman legions are acts of lawlessness and destruction begun by what might be termed a twisted form of reason in Percennius' version of the opening speeches of the Council of the Latins. Unreason is defeated and retribution exacted. Thereafter the Romans assume some of the heroic attributes of the Trojans and their allies. This elevation of the Romans to the stature of epic is achieved partially by enhancing the dignity of their opponents. Arminius is a figure of discord, another Pyrrhus, and he and his countrymen combine the warlike qualities of Greeks and Latins.

122. 1.19.1, Aggerebatur... caespes; 1.39.4, sanguine suo... com-
maculavisset; 1.42.2, quid enim per hos dies inausum intemeratum-
ve vobis; 1.48.2, ubi bellum ingruit.
123. 1.17.3, si quis tot casus vita superaverit; 17.3, diversas in
erras.
124. 1.30.3, ruere tempestatas; 1.44.2, poenas... exercuit; 1.48.1,
supplicium in malos prae sumant.
125. 1.59.2, quorum tot manus unam mulierculam avexerint.
126. 1.65.5, sanguine suo... lapsantes.
127. 1.62.2, imagine caesorum; 1.68.2, summa valli prensant; 2.11.2,
pars congressi, quidam minus; possibly 2.17.6, in summa arborum
niti; 2.21.1, hastas... pretendet.
a relationship which is supported by more general Vergilian vocabulary. Some phrases used of the Romans suggest a relationship with the Trojans and their allies, or recall in a more general way the battles in the Aeneid, but it is in the account of the storm, 2.23–4, that Germanicus and the Roman troops are most closely identified with Aeneas and his followers, in the hardship and suffering which they endured and overcame. As the leader under whom the Romans touch the greatness of their Trojan ancestors and, in a sense, re-enact some of the trials from which a new Troy emerged, Germanicus is a marked contrast both to Augustus and to Tiberius who are the destroyers. A new Troy, however, remains beyond attainment. Like Aeneas, Germanicus has had virtutem verumque laborem, and like him, he knows the incalculable element in human affairs which may render one’s efforts futile. But what had been for Aeneas a prelude to ultimate victory, though one attained only after bitter suffering and loss, is for Germanicus the acknowledgement of defeat: vindicabitis

128. 1.56.5, fuerat animus... invare; 1.64.2, hastae ingentes; 2.21.1, adsultibus.

129. 1.60.2, bellum... ingrueret; 1.62.2, imagine caesorum; 2.17.3, pedestris aesis infruebr.

130. 2.81.2, hastas... ingerere.

131. In addition, the reaction of the Germans to Germanicus and his troops when they return to the attack after the storm, although expressed in different language, suggests the same idea of indomitable spirit which Juno and Latinus had acknowledged in the Trojans. See 2.25.3, quippe invictos et nullis casibus superabiles Romanos praedicabant, qui perdita classe, amissis armis, post cons-trata equorum virorumque corporibus litera, cadem virtute, pariter facio et velat aucti numero innumeris; and Aen. 7.294–6, num Sigeis ducemure campis, /num capi tuere capi /num incensae cremavit/Troia viros / and 11.505–7, bellum importunum, cives, cum gente deorum / invictisque viris / germanus, quos nulla fatigant / proc- lia nec victi possunt absistere ferro.
vos, si me potius quam fortunam meam lovebatis, 2.71.3. With the death of Germanicus, Rome loses both a heroic leader and the focus for her own heroic potential. No other figure emerges who can take his place, and the destroyer triumphs: fuimus Troes, fuit Ilim et ingens gloria Teucrorum.

Foreign Affairs

Of the first six books of the Annales, only Books Two and Six contain passages devoted to foreign affairs, and those which have Vergilian language are predominantly military. In the conflict between the Suebi and Cherusci led by Maroboduus and Arminius, 2.44-6, Vergilian words and phrases are used only in relation to Arminius and his followers. Examples are: disiectas per catervas, 2.45.2, which is based on Aen.12.482, 689, disiecta per agmina; quosque adventus erat, 45.3, a similar syntactical device to Aen.8.136, adehgitur Teucros; the phrase spolia... et tela Romanis derepta, 45.3, from Aen. 11.193, spolia occasio derepta Latinis; and rerum nescium, 46.1, from Aen.12.227, haud nescia rerum. Only the last example appears to carry associations from the Vergilian context. The words were used of Juturna as she stirred the feelings of the Latins to make them break the truce and prevent single combat between Aeneas and Turnus. Like Juturna, Arminius is a force of disruption. The weapons which the

132. References are: 2.45.2 (Aen.12.482, 689); 2.45.3 (8.136); 2.45.3 (11.193); 2.46.1 (12.227); 6.3.3 (1.111; 5.221); 6.34.2 (6.269); 6.34.2 (1.277, 573; 9.387); 6.35.2 (5.697; 9.163); 6.35.2 (10. 850); 6.42.4 (5.269, 364; 8.286); and 6.43.1 (11.304).
Germans carry, spolia... et tela Romanis derepta are not only an indication of German prowess in war, but also of Roman disgrace, and the echo of Vergilian language gives the phrase added point. In keeping with his general tendency to adapt Vergilian language, Tacitus uses disiectas per catervas in a slightly different sense from his Vergilian model. Both examples in Book Twelve depict the confusion in the midst of battle, whereas Tacitus' phrase indicates the lack of order and system in the deployment of forces among the Germans before they came into contact with Roman military tactics. All of the phrases are from the last six books of the Aeneid, and they increase the stature of Arminius and the Cherusci by creating about them the aura of heroic conflict. The phrases thus complement those used in descriptions of battles between the Germans and the troops of Germanicus, in which the Germans are associated more specifically with the Greeks and Latins as they oppose the descendants of the Trojans.

The two passages in Book Six which have Vergilian colouring both depict events in the East, the conflict between Artabanes and Tirdates for the kingship of Parthia, and the successful attempt of Mithridates to recover the throne of Armenia from Arsaces, the son of Artabanes, 6.32-7, and 41 fin.-44. None of the seven phrases used appears deliberately to suggest relations with particular contexts in the works of Vergil. The word brevia, Aen.1.111, 5.221, adds a Vergilian touch to a description of a pass between the sea and the Albanian mountains, 6.33.3. The mythical origin of the Hiberi and Albani in Thessaly and the legend of Jason call forth Vergilian lang-
usage. The phrase *inanem ... regiam Aetae vacuosque Colchoe*, 6.34.2, is similar to *Aen.*6.269, *perque domos Ditis vacuas et inania regna*, which is also mythical in nature. Only Vergil andTacitus seem to use the combination *inanis* and *vacuus*, although the words differ in meaning in the two phrases. The reminiscence may be an unconscious one caused by general similarity in type of subject-matter. Also in 6.34.2 is the phrase *de nomine*, used again in relation to Jason, a phrase which tends to appear in the *Aeneid* when Vergil is dealing with etiological myth, as Tacitus does in the present context. The verb *evincire*, which Vergil had used of the ritual action of crowning the victors in the Funeral Games, or of the wreathing of the heads of the Salii (*Aen.*5.269, 364; 8.286), is also used by Tacitus of a ritual action, the crowning of Tiridates as king of Parthia (*insigni regio evinxit*, 6.42.4). The remaining three examples are used in military contexts; the battle between Pharasmanes and Orodes (*super = desuper*, 6.35.2, *Aen.*5.697 and 9.168; and *vulnus adegit*, 35.2, *Aen.*10.850), and Tiridates' ill-considered siege of a fortress of Artabanus (*adsidendo castellum*, 43.1, *Aen.*11.504). In spite of the fact that the latter two phrases are used earlier by Tacitus with considerable point (see pp.299 and 261), neither seems to have significance in its present context beyond the fact that Vergil had used it in a military context. Possibly Tacitus is less interested in the implications of actions as far as these particular events in the East are concerned, since words and phrases seem generally to be used to give Vergilian colour rather than to suggest significant relationships with the *Aeneid*. 
Author's Digressions

Vergilian imitations in the digressions of Tacitus have already been commented upon elsewhere, so that they will be noted only briefly. It has been suggested earlier that deditque iura, 3.28.2, may be used ironically as a means of contrasting the age of Augustus with the age of heroism which the Aeneid represents (pp.166-7). This irony would be in keeping with the general implications of Vergilian language used of Augustus in other contexts. Two phrases from Vergil's comments upon his own work, in the Georgics, are alluded to in 3.55.5, multa landis et artium imitanda (Geo.2.174), and 4.32.2, in arto et inglorius labor (Geo.4.6). It has been suggested that in the former case Tacitus affirms the dignity of contemporary Rome and its right to rival the ancients in some of its achievements, and that he also affirms the dignity of his own writing by relating it to the tradition of epic, and that in the latter case, he is half-humorously comparing his work to that of Vergil (pp.241-2). Finally, in the legend of the phoenix, Tacitus parodies in an irreverent manner the departure of Aeneas from Troy (6.28.5, par oneri, Aen.2.723,729, in which onus is used of Anchises; and 28.5, subire patrum corpus, Aen.2.708, ipse subibo umbris, and 4.599, quem subiisse umbris confessum aetate parentem). The parody indicates that even Aeneas, who is both god and demon, as it were, need not always be taken seriously.

133. References are: 3.28.2 (Aen.1.293, 507, 731; 3.137; 7.246-7); 3.55.5 (Geo.2.174); 4.32.2 (Geo.4.6); 6.28.5 (Aen.2.723, 729); and 6.28.5 (2.708; 4.599).
CHAPTER V

Annales 11-16

The Emperor and the Imperial Court

It has been noted (p. 251) that fewer Vergilian phrases in Books 11-16 have some direct bearing upon the emperors themselves than in Books 1-6. Of the twenty-eight examples in the present category in Books 11-16, ten (36%) are relevant to Claudius and Nero, as compared with 19 (46%) of the forty-one examples in the same category in the first hexad which have some relation to Tiberius. In spite of the fact that the work as a whole is fragmentary, these percentages have some significance as a general indication of Tacitus' practice.

Nine of the relevant words and phrases in Books 11-16 appear to be purely stylistic, and nineteen either point significant relationships with passages in Vergil's works, add more general Vergilian colouring, or give some kind of emphasis to the contexts in which they are employed.

Only two Vergilian phrases have some relation to Claudius. The first phrase appears in the correspondence between Eunones and Claudius concerning the fate of Mithridates Bosphoranus, who had come to

1. The words and phrases concerned are: 11.1.2, didita per provincias fama (Aen. 8.132, tua terris didita fama); 11.37.1, caedem... propaperisisset (Aen. 9.401, pulchram properet... mortem); 13.15.3, multa scelerum fama (Aen. 11.224, multa... fama); 13.47.1, Tiberio abusque, and 15.37.2, Oceano abusque (Aen. 7.289, ab usque Pachyno); 13.47.2, auntoremque... doli (Aen. 2.264, doli fabricator Paeos); 14.58.4, adusque bellum (Aen. 11.262, adusque columnas); 15.37.2, diversis e terris (Aen. 11.261, diversum ad litus); and 15.42.2, squa-lenti litore (Geo. 1.507, squalent... arva).

2. References are 11.22.1 (Aen. 2.614, 671); 11.29.3 (3.317); 11.31.2 (7.396); 11.37.4 (4.463); 12.7.3 (2.625; 5.810-11); 12.8.2 (12.438); 12.19.3 (10.669); 12.58.1 (1.288; Geo. 3.35-6); 12.69.3 (Aen. 3.604);
Eunones as a suppliant. Eunones' appeal that Mithridates should not be subjected to a triumph, neve poenas capite expenderet, 12.19.3, associates him with Turnus who had appealed to Jupiter, me.../... talis voluisti expendere poenas? 10.668-9. Mithridates thereby assumes some of the heroic character of Turnus. Both are valiant warriors who oppose the might of Rome or her Trojan ancestors, both suffer defeat, and both are suppliants to a supreme power. Turnus, however, had appealed against the stigma of having deserted his followers when they needed him, and the undeserved blow to his sense of honour which circumstances have dealt. Perhaps there is the suggestion that for Mithridates, too, the indignity of a triumph and the penalty of death would be disproportionate to his offence. In addition, there may be an implicit comment on the nature of Claudius' supreme authority. Although Turnus addresses his prayer to Jupiter, it is not Jupiter but Juno who is the moving force in the immediate situation. Similarly, as far as Mithridates is concerned, real authority seems to rest not with Claudius, but with his advisors, the cogency of whose arguments persuades him to adopt the more expedient course of mercy (12.20.1).

The second Vergilian phrase is indirectly relevant to Claudius. Cn. Nonius, a Roman knight, is discovered ferro accinctus (11.22.1) in the presence of the Emperor. The incident is a curious one for

13.4.1 (3.604); 13.10.1 (2.765); 13.16.2 (10.347-8); 13.17.2 (9.401); 13.17.3 (6.465); 14.5.1 (2.250-22, 254-5, 257); 14.22.2 (7.255, 272); 14.51.1 (2.91; 10.819-20); 14.62.3 (1.91); and 16.10.4 (12.400).

which no explanation can be given, and Tacitus would seem to be drawing attention to it by describing it in unusual language.\footnote{The phrase thus serves a similar function to words such as adsciri, 1.3.5, and aspectare, 1.4.1 (p.270), and infringi, 1.47.2 (p.277). See also Ann.6.2.3, ferro accincti (p.290), where the phrase is employed for a mock heroic effect.}

The words and phrases used of or by Nero differ from those relevant to Claudius in that they show a progression from positive to negative implications which corresponds generally to the order in which they appear. The first phrase, pueritia...adolescet, 12.8.2, seems to be a variation on adoleverit aetas, Aen.12.458, used earlier at Ann.2.43.1, aetatem...adolevisse, of Drusus. Again, the figure of Ascanius appears to be in the background. Nero's speech on behalf of the people of Ilion recalls the legendary origins of Rome and the gens Iulia, Romanum Troia demissum et Iuliae stirpis auctorem Aeneam, 12.58.1. The language has suitably epic colouring in the word demissum, although the heroic associations are partially negated by Tacitus' comment aliaque haud procul fabulis. It is interesting, however, that one of the contexts from which demissum may have been derived is also relevant to Ascanius, for the word is employed by Jupiter in his explanation of the origin of the name Julius, a magnus demissum nomen Iulo, Aen.1.288.\footnote{See also Geo.3.35-6, Assaraci proles demissaeque ab Iove gentis/ nomina.}

The word iniuria meaning "sense of injury" is used twice, at 12.69.3, and 13.4.1. In neither case is there a contextual relation with Aen.3.604, sceleris tanta est iniuria nostri. The former example appears in the final sentence of Book Twelve, which ends the account of
Nero's assumption of power after the death of Claudius: testamentum tamen haud recitatum, ne antepositus filio privignus iniuria et invidia animos vulgi turbaret. The unusual sense of the word seems to emphasize the unusual nature of the situation and the strength of the reactions which might be aroused on Britannicus' behalf. The latter example is used by Nero in his speech to the senate on his accession. He contrasts the beginning of his reign with the beginnings of those of his predecessors, and says that he brings with him nulla odia, nullas iniurias. Perhaps the recurrence of the word is simply coincidental, but it seems to underline the falsity of at least one part of Nero's claims. He himself has not been wronged, but Britannicus has, and the beginning of his reign is not as free from a feeling of injury as might appear.

Another Vergilian phrase in Book Thirteen, which treats of the quinquennium Neronis, is relevant to Nero. The extravagant offer of the senate to erect statuas argento vel auro solidas in his honour, 13.10.1, is declined by the Emperor. The combination auro solidas echoes the earlier phrase vasa auro solida, 2.33.1, which had pointed an ironic contrast between the degenerate luxury of Rome and the plunder taken from Troy, crateres... auro solidi, Aen.2.765 (p.289). Possibly a similar contrast is intended here, between material objects as an indication of national greatness and of national servility. It is to Nero's credit that he refuses this display of servitude, but

6. For the phrase subtrahere oculis acerba funera, 13.17.3, which is relevant both to Nero and to Britannicus, see p.323.
it is the last positive action by him which evokes Vergilian language.

At 14.62.3, as Nero plans to fabricate a charge of adultery against Octavia, he threatens Anicetus with death, necem intentat, unless he aids him by claiming to have been Octavia's lover. Nero is inhuman, the embodiment of irrationality, like the destructive, uncontrollable forces of nature, for at Aen.1.91, praesentemque viris intentant omnia mortem, it is the storm at sea which threatens the Trojans with death. Finally, there is the phrase immobilem se precibus et invidiae inixa, 16.10.4, which echoes Aen.12.400, lacrimis immobulis. The allusion is an acrid one. The tears in the passage from the Aeneid are those of Ascanius and the Trojan youths for Aeneas, when he has been wounded. Aeneas himself is a figure of strength, courage, and angry impatience, completely free from any traces of self-pity. Nero, on the other hand, is a figure of brutality without pity or mercy for others, as he remains unmoved by the appeals of the widow of Rubellius Plautus, as she pleads for her father's life. Nero's brutality and insensitivity are so evident throughout the later books of the Annales that the emphasizing of these traits by Vergilian allusion would in itself be somewhat superfluous. It is the association with the Trojan hero which would seem to be of most importance. Nero had begun with some of the youthful promise of Ascanius (pueritia...adolesceret, 12.8.2), but what he becomes is a twisted Aeneas, lacking the essential quality, pity for human suffering, which is the key to Tacitus' acknowledgement that the power represented by Aeneas can be a power for good. Since Nero is the last
of the Julio-Claudians to rule Rome, and since his descent from Germanicus, the embodiment of the heroic in Aeneas, is noted several times, the Vergilian phrases used of the two figures are to some extent complementary. Not only has Nero failed to fulfil his early promise, but he has perverted the heroic potential of Germanicus.

The possible significance of *iniuria*, 12.69.3, as a means of emphasizing the emotional reaction to the displacement of Britannicus by Nero has been noted. The remaining phrases which have some relation to Britannicus are concentrated in the account of the plot against him and his death, 13.15-17. Locusta, the poisoner *multa scelerum fama*, 13.15.3, who is enlisted in the plot, is described in language which Vergil had used of Turnus: *multa virum meritis sustenta fama tropaeis*, Aen.11.224. The echo seems to be simply stylistic since there is no apparent connection either of characters or circumstances. The description of the effects of her poison on Britannicus is vivid and violent: *vox pariter et spiritus eius* raperentur, 13.16.2. In this case, the Vergilian allusion is, I think, calculated, and it has considerable point. Clausus, the legendary founder of the Claudian *gens*, had inflicted a similar death upon Dryops: *pariterque loquentis/vocem animamque rapit*, Aen.10.347-8. Britannicus is the last of the Claudians (*illum supremum Claudiorum sanguinem*, 17.2), and the juxtaposing of the beginning and the end of the Claudian family

7. See, for example, 11.12.1, *Verum inclinatio populi supererat ex memoria Germanici, cuius illa reliqua suboles virilis, the reaction of the people when Nero appears with Britannicus in the Trojan games; and 14.7.4, praetorianos. . . memoresque Germanici nihil adversus progeniem eius atrox ausurus, Burrus' reply when Seneca asks whether the praetorian guard might be ordered to kill Agrippina.*
suggests a series of contrasts. Clausus, a youthful and heroic warrior, inflicted a violent but honourable death in military combat upon one whose skill as a fighter could oppose if not equal his own. Britannicus, who is also a youth, is murdered, violently and treacherously, and the horror of the deed is even greater because it happens in the peaceful setting of a dinner party. Clausus is a figure of strength and personal power, Britannicus a helpless victim surrounded by the hirelings of Nero. The history of the Claudian family is thus one of tragic reversal of fortune, and the allusion to his heroic ancestor underlines the horror and pathos of Britannicus' death.

The idea that Britannicus is a victim recurs in two other phrases. The death of Nisus; pulchram properet per vulnera mortem, Aen. 9. 401, is echoed in the words mors...properata sit, 13. 17. 2. Again there is a contrast between death which is heroic self-sacrifice, and murder, and, again, the effect is one of pathos. Nero's words subtrahere oculis acerba funera, 13. 17. 3, recall Aeneas' plea to the shade of Dido, teque aspectu ne subtrahe nostro, Aen. 6. 465. Dido is also a victim, both of the strength of her own passions and of Aeneas' responsibility to found a city for his people. It has been suggested, however, that the scene between Dido and Aeneas is one of mutual suffering, and that Aeneas' words reveal his own anguish. (p. 201). The phrase, therefore, seems to have implications both for Britannicus and for Nero. Britannicus is one who suffers, but Nero feels neither shame, nor pity for him. As far as Nero is concerned, the phrase
thus has parallel implications to 16.10.4, immobilem se precibus et
invidiae iuxta, since both contrast him sharply with Aeneas as a hero
who suffers and is moved by the suffering of others.

Two of the imperial women, Messalina and Agrippina, have Vergil-
ian language used of them. Four of the six imitations in the present
category in Book Eleven are relevant to Messalina, and three of them
seem to be used with telling effect.\(^8\) After Messalina's marriage to
Silius, Narcissus plots her overthrow, and persuades two mistresses
of Claudius to help him, uxore deiecta plus potientiae ostentando, ll.
29.3. His reference to Messalina recalls the words of Aeneas to
Hectoris Andromache, heu! quis te casus deiectam coniuge tanto/excipit,
Aen.3.317-18. The allusion is biting. Andromache is one who suffers
innocently in the fall of Troy. Even though she has faced the igno-
miny of becoming the concubine of Pyrrhus, stirps Achillea,\(^9\) and is
now the wife of Helenus, it is at the altars to Hector that Aeneas
finds her, a figure of sorrowful fidelity to a relationship which had
shown the harmony, depth, and beauty there might be in the love be-
tween man and wife. Messalina is the antithesis of Andromache, an
unbridled sensualist who makes a mockery of all that a marriage re-

\(^8\) Although caedem... properavisset, ll.37.1, is a variation on pro-
peret... mortem, Aen.9.401, a phrase which Tacitus uses with con-
siderable point of Libo Drusus and Britannicus, it does not appear
to have specific connotations for the death of Messalina.

\(^9\) T.E. Page comments ad loc., "The occurrence of casus, deiectam, and
excipit here, all being words which can be used in connection with
an actual fall, cannot be accidental." The metaphorical interpreta-
tion of excipit originates with a comment of Servius (excipluntur
enim quae cadunt). R.D. Williams ad loc. comments on the suggestion
that the verb continues the metaphor of deiectam, "But this is ab-
surd with casus as the subject, and we should take excipit in the
sense of nunc habet."
but also on the imperial household, that Aeneas' words of pity addressed to Andromache should re-appear in the intrigues of a freedman and two paelices.

During the mimic grape harvest in the gardens of Messalina, feminae pellibus accinctae, 11.31.2, pretend to perform the rites of Bacchus, led by Messalina, crine fluxo thyrsurn quatiaens. Her followers are like the matres, incinctae pellibus, Aen.7.396, who joined Amata as she performed her Bacchic rites. In both cases the rites have no genuine inspiration from the god. In both cases they are, in effect, a celebration of an unlawful marriage, for Amata sings the nuptial song for Lavinia and Turnus, and along with Messalina is Silius, hedera vinctus, who joins in her extravagence. Both passages present a scene of irrationality run riot, and the reckless self-indulgence of Messalina gains added dimension as it is set against the background of the madness of Amata. Messalina's irrationality may be suggested by another phrase, lacrimaeque et questus irriti duc-ebantur, 11.37.4, which seems to be modelled on Aen.4.463, longas in fletum ducere voces. The latter phrase is a reference to the ferale carmen of the owl, which Dido interprets as an omen of death. Messalina's reaction is that of a wild creature, as death becomes imminent.

None of the Vergilian phrases used is directly descriptive of Agrippina, the mother of Nero, but one is most effective in its de-

10. The change from incinctae to accinctae is noteworthy. Accingere is a favourite Vergilian word, and the substitution by Tacitus of a synonym more characteristic of Vergil is a good indication of the source from which he derived his own phrase.
11. See vv.397-8, ipsa inter medias flagrantem fervida pinum/sustinet ac natae Turnique canit hymenaeos.
picting of her impact upon the people of Rome. After the senate and people have "persuaded" Claudius to marry Agrippina, appears the comment *Versa ex eo civitas, et cuncta feminae oboediebant, 12.7.3.*

Agrippina joins the ranks of the destroyers, Augustus (cf. 1.4.1, *verso civitatis statu*), and Tiberius (cf. 2.42.3, *versa Caesarum subole*), and Rome suffers further degradation. In Book Fourteen, the scene is set most elaborately for the shipwreck in which she is to meet her death: *Noctem sideribus inlustrem et placido mari quietam quasi convincendum ad scelus dix praebuere, 14.5.1.* The passage gains in effectiveness from its general similarity to the description of the last night of Troy, as the Greek fleet approaches to attack. The relevant lines are:

> Vertitur interea caelum et ruit Oceano nox involvens umbra magna terramque polumque Myrmidonumque dolos.  2.250-52.

> et iam Argiva phalanx instructis navibus ibat
> a Tenedo tacitae per amica silentia lunae.  2.254-5.

> fatisque deum defensus inquis [Sinon]/  2.257.

In each case a scene of calm natural beauty is the setting for a human act of horror. Only the attitude of the gods is different, but their apparent attempt to reveal Nero's crime has little effect on the course of human events.

Nero is also implicated in the death of Burrus, *incertum vale-tudine an veneno.* The phrase *concessitque vita, 14.51.1 (Aen.2.91; 10.819-20),* seems to underline the stature and dignity of the man,

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and also to emphasize the fact that his death represents a substantial loss (gravescentibus... publicis malis subsidia minuebantur).

The final Vergilian phrase which seems to give additional meaning to its context is used of Rubellius Plautus. The appearance of a comet, which is interpreted as portending a change of rulers, and a flash of lightning which strikes the table when Nero is dining near Tibur give rise to the rumour that Rubellius Plautus is to be Nero's successor, hunc illum numine deum destinari, 14.22.2. The phrase recalls Latinus' reaction to the embassy from Aeneas: hunc illum fatis... /portendi generum, Aen.7.255-6; and hunc illum poscere fata, 7.272. The equating of Rubellius Plautus with Aeneas, as a man marked out for a high destiny by omens and prophecy, is, however, ironical, since Tacitus has already commented upon the validity of such reputed signs of divine will, after the murder of Agrippina: prodigia quoque crebra et inrita intercessere... quae adeo sine cura deum eveniebant, ut multos postea annos Nero imperium et scelera continuaverit, 14.12.2.

The words and phrases which we have classed as stylistic do not appear to have any common denominator as far as the type of context in which they are used is concerned. Nor is there the tendency for stylistic examples to be used in contexts relevant to persons described with more specific Vergilian associations, as noted in Books 1-6 of Tiberius and Germanicus. The more general relationships between the passages discussed will be considered at the end of the chapter.
Internal Affairs of the Roman Empire

The Vergilian phrases used in events and people in Rome and Italy, whether stylistic or contextual in their importance, appear with marked consistency in contexts treating of those persons persecuted by the emperors and those who are involved in the Pisonian conspiracy or victimized because of it, or in accounts of civil discord and death. Only four of the twenty Vergilian words and phrases in the present section are employed in passages dealing with other subjects.\(^{13}\)

Of the four examples last mentioned, three appear to be of stylistic importance only: *iniurias*, meaning "sense of injury", 11.6.2;\(^{14}\) the phrase *variusque rumor*, 11.23.1;\(^{15}\) and the verb *subvectassent*, 15.43.3.\(^{16}\) In the same context as *iniurias*, a debate concerning the abolition of advocates' fees, appears the phrase *aeternitatem famae spe praeusumat*, 11.7.1. N.P. Miller comments, "the appropriation of Aeneas' spe praesumite (Aen.ix.18) by advocates accused of illegally extorting fees... cannot be other than ironical." [op. cit., 32.7]

It is the darker side of events in Rome, however, as has been noted, which calls forth most Vergilian language. The list of imper-

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13. References for the present section are: 11.4.2 (Aen.5.269, 364; 8.286); 11.6.2 (3.604); 11.7.1 (11.18); 11.23.1 (9.464; 12.228); 13.30.2 (2.91; 10.819-20); 14.17.1 (2.411; 11.885); 14.45.1 (1.150); 15.43.3 (6.305; 11.131); 15.44.4 (7.15); 15.45.3 (7.111); 15.50.1 (11.335); 15.51.3 (Geo.3.46); 15.53.2 (Aen.11.641); 15.59.4 (9.455-6); 15.69.1 (1.705); 15.70.1 (2.369); 15.74.1 (1.356); 16.12.2 (7.717); 16.15.1 (11.224); 16.26.3 (3.177-8).


ial persecutions embraces men of all ranks. The dream of Petra, in which he sees Claudium spicca corona evinctum, 11.4.2, is the ostensibly charge upon which he and his brother are condemned. Brutal punishment is meted out to the Christians, the scapegoats for the fire in Rome, who crucibus adfixi atque flammati... in usum nocturni luminis urerentur, 15.44.4. Seneca, who seeks to dissociate himself from the plundering of temples by Nero, escapes an attempt to poison him dum persimplici victu et agrestibus pomis... vitam tolerat, 15.45.3. After two Torquati have been prosecuted for alleged revolutionary designs, the senate decrees that the month of June is to be re-named Germanicus since infaustum nomen Iunium, 16.12.2. A centurion is sent to Ostorius Scapula, multa militari fama, 16.15.1, because he is said to have consulted an astrologer concerning his own destiny and that of Caesar. Finally, there is Thrasea Paetus, the embodiment of virtus ipsa, whose friends urge him not to appear in the senate to face his accusers, but rather interemeratus... peteret finem, 16.26.3.

The words evinctum and interemeratus seem to be purely stylistic examples, but the remaining words and phrases derive added significance from their Vergilian counterparts. The punishment of the Christians, 15.44.4, is a horrible contrast to the beauty of the lights which burn on the island of Circe: urit odoratam nocturna in lumina.

17. Cf. Aen.5.269, 364; and 8.286.
cedrum, Aen. 7.13. The simple living of Seneca gains added dignity with the words agrestibus pomis, 15.45.3. The first meal of the Trojans after their landing on the banks of the Tiber had also consisted of simple fare: Cereale solum pomis agrestibus augent, Aen. 7.111. It was during this simple meal that Iulus' words, haec us, etiam mensas consumimus, had marked the end of the Trojans' wanderings.

The combination infaustum nomen Iunium, 16.12.2, is, however, highly ironic, for the phrase which Tacitus echoes is infaustum inter-luit Allia nomen, Aen. 7.717. The Allia is infaustum nomen because of a national disaster – the defeat of the Romans by the Gauls, the destruction of Rome, and the humiliation of a large ransom paid for the recovery of the city. In contrast, the scelera of the Torquati are nothing more than their being descendants of Augustus, a fact which arouses the hatred of Nero. Lastly, Ostorius Scapula, who won the civica corona for his heroism during campaigns in Britain, 16.15.1, is a valiant warrior like Turnus, whom multa... meritis sustentat fama tropaeis, Aen. 11.224. Turnus' courage and heroic exploits were his protection against the attacks of Drances. Ostorius' greatness as a soldier is his undoing, for it arouses the fear of Nero. R. Syme says of Ostorius' death, "Tacitus recounts his suicide with knowledge, with sympathy, and with indignation." 21 The association

19. While the detail preceding in 15.44.4, ferarum tergis contecti lan-iatu canum interirent, may be historically accurate, it is interesting that in the same context as the line imitated by Tacitus, Vergil describes the sounds of the animals into which Circe has transformed men, vv.15-20. Possibly Tacitus' selection of details has been influenced by the combination of details in Vergil's description of the island of Circe.

20. See also p.322.

with Turnus indicates both Tacitus’ sympathy with Ostorius, and his indignation at circumstances in which heroic potential is wasted, and even good qualities can cause the destruction of their possessor.

The account of the Pisonian conspiracy reveals a similar combination of Vergilian words and phrases which are employed either as purely stylistic elements, or as a means of suggesting associations with particular contexts in Vergil’s works. The conspirators seek qui fessis rebus succurreret, 15.50.1. Epicharis tries to enlist the support of Volusius Proculus, a navarchus at Misenum: accingertur modo navare operam, 15.51.3. Lateranus is chosen to lead the attack on Nero because he is corpore ingens, 15.53.2. After the plot has been betrayed, Piso waits for his assassins, soldiers stipendiis recentes, 15.59.4, whom Nero has chosen because of his mistrust of the vetus miles. Although he was not one of the conspirators, the consul Vestinus, who decora... servitia et pari aetate habebat, 15.69.1, is struck down because of Nero’s hatred for him. Lucan dies reciting his verses about a soldier who per eius modi mortis imaginem obsise, 15.70.1. The crushing of the plot ends with a vote of thank-offerings to the gods, propriusque honos Soli... qui occulta coniurationis numine resexisset, 15.74.1.

Two syntactical devices, the use of accingere with an infinitive, and of recens with a simple ablative, contribute to the effects of stylistic variety and compression which have been noted pre-

22. Cf. Geo.3.46, accingar dicere pugnas.
viously. The remaining examples add varied implications and associations to their contexts.

The words *consulse in medium et rebus succurrere tessis*, Aen. II. 335, end the speech of Latinus to the Council of the Latins, in which he points our that armed resistance to the Trojans is fruitless, and suggests a plan for coming to terms with them. The conspirators also begin to gather at a time of crisis, when Nero's brutal attacks are a general threat which makes his rule insupportable. They, too, seek to come to terms with a figure of power, but their method is attack, not compromise. F.C. Bourne suggests that possibly "there is reference to the fact that both schemes were abortive". [*op. cit.*., 176]

Shifting the emphasis slightly, I would suggest that the significance lies not so much in the fact that Latinus' attempt fails, but in his argument that the Latins must accept peace because they cannot hope to defeat the Trojans in battle. The conspirators face the absolutism of a despot, and their attempt to overthrow him will fail as surely as the Latin resistance failed, because they cannot match his power. Unlike the Latins, however, they do not have the choice of peace with honour. Whatever their motives for joining the conspiracy may be, they are at an impasse, where resistance and acquiescence may be equally disastrous.

Lateranus, who is conspicuous for his honourable motive in joining the conspiracy, 24 gains stature from the association with Herminius,

one of the Trojan followers of Aeneas \textit{(ingentem corpore, Aen. 11. 641)}. The stature of Vestinus is also increased by a reference in 15.69.1 to the regal magnificence and graciousness of the court of Dido:
\textit{centum aliae totidemque pares aetate ministri, Aen. 1. 705}. The phrase belies Nero's presentation of Vestinus as a threatening power in his citadel, surrounded by his picked band of followers who must be attacked and overwhelmed.\textsuperscript{25} Dido's servants were involved in peaceful preparations for the feast welcoming the Trojans. The association of the feast may carry over into the general context, for it is during his dinner-party that Vestinus receives the summons of the tribune, and commits suicide – a marked contrast to the joy, and the harmony between Trojans and Carthaginians at the feast of Dido. The luxury and magnificence of the setting, reinforced by association with the court of the Carthaginian queen, sharpens the contrast between Vestinus' potential and his fate, and underlines the wastefulness of his death.

Tacitus' description of the suicide of Lucan also suggests wasted potential. F.C. Bourne classes the Vergilian reminiscence among those which achieve their effect by means of contrast and irony, with "the horror of the 'mortis imago' in the streets of Troy (2.369), recalled in the equanimity of Lucan when he met his death. ..."\textsuperscript{26} We might also see in the allusion a form of literary compliment, in which Lucan's poetic talent is enhanced by the association of his

\textsuperscript{25} See 15.69.1, \textit{iubetque praeventire conatus consulis, occupare velut arcem eius, opprimere delectam iuventutem.}
\textsuperscript{26} \textit{op. cit.}, 176.
volneratum militem with Vergil’s description of the fallen in Troy. It is because Nero famam carminum eius premebat ... prohibueratque ostentare, vanus adsimulatione (15.49.3) that Lucan joins the conspiracy, and his dying act of defiance has a deepened pathos because of its Vergilian association.

The echo in 15.74.1, [Sol] qui occulta coniurationis numine re- texisset, of Aen.1.356, caecumque domus scelus omne rexit, may be an unconscious association. The murder of Sychaeus by Pygmalion is a crime against the bonds of family, the conspiracy a crime against the state. 27 In each case the action is one of treachery by close associates, and in each case there is an element of the supernatural, real or supposed, in its revelation. 28

The final three imitative phrases in the present section are used in the account of riots between the inhabitants of Pompeii and Nuceria (14.17.1, orta atrox caedes, and oriturque miserrima caedes, Aen.2.411, 11.885); in the description of an attempt by the people to stop the execution of the slaves of Pedanius Secundus, who had been murdered by one of household (14.45.1, saxe et faces minitante, and Aen.1.150, iamque faces et saxe volant); and in the obituary notice of L. Volusius (13.30.2, concessit; Aen.2.91, superis concessit ab oris, and 10.819-20, vita ... concessit ... ad manis). The Vergil-

27. See also 1.39.4, sanguine suo altaria deum commaculavisset, where a crime against the state is also depicted by an allusion to a crime against the family, Ecl.8.47-8, saxeus Amor docnit natorum sanguine matrem/commaculare manus (p.295-6).

28. Although retegere is also used by Horace of the discovery of something hidden (arcanum ... consilium retegis, C.3.21.15-16) the passage does not have similar connotations to those noted above.
ian models for orta atrox caedes deepen the tragic implications of Tacitus phrase describing strife between kindred peoples. As the band of Trojans led by Aeneas attempt to rescue Cassandra, they are attacked by their own countrymen, who do not recognize them in their Greek armour. The phrase re-appears in the Aeneid in the description of the pitiful slaughter of the Latins, caught outside the gates of their city between their own people and the attacking Trojans. The reminiscence at 14.45.1 may be an unconscious one caused by general similarity of subject-matter. The Vergilian phrase is part of a simile likening Neptune's power to calm the storm to the influence with which a man known for his pietas and worthy deeds can calm the passions of an angry mob. The action in the Annales is a violent protest against the execution of innocent people. Finally, L. Volusius is remarkable in that among all the descriptions of death in the present category, his is the only one of those noted in Vergilian language, which is the natural ending of a lengthy and honourable life, marked by the favour of the emperors. The simple dignity of the verb is a fitting comment.

MilitarY Affairs

Three passages in Books 11–16 provide examples of Vergilian language used in descriptions of campaigns of the Roman armies, of which two recount events in Britain. The former passage, 12.31–40, deals with the campaigns of Ostorius and the defeat of Caratacus, clashes between the Second Legion and the Silures after Caratacus' defeat,
and the attack upon Cartimandua who is aided by Roman forces. The latter, 14.29-37, describes the attack of Suetonius Paulinus upon the island of Mona which is the stronghold of the Druids, and the revolt of the Iceni and Trinovantes led by Boudicca. The third passage, 12.15-18, treats of the unsuccessful attempt of Mithridates Bosporanus to recover his kingdom.29

The two passages describing events in Britain differ in the use to which Tacitus puts Vergilian language. Four of the words and phrases in Book Twelve seem to be purely stylistic examples: 12.32.1, \textit{\textit{mare}}\textit{\textit{adspectat}}, and Aen.1.420, \textit{\textit{collis}}\textit{\textit{aspectat}}; 34, \textit{\textit{interemerata}}, \textit{\textit{corpora}}, and Aen.3.177-8, \textit{\textit{munera}}, \textit{\textit{interemerata}}; 36.3, \textit{\textit{precis degen-eres fuere ex metu}}, and Aen.4.13, \textit{\textit{denereres animos timor arguit}}; and 37.2, \textit{\textit{sors}}, \textit{\textit{informs}}, and Aen.12.603, \textit{nodum informs leti}. Although all of them are used elsewhere in the Annales either to call attention to their contexts or to suggest relationships with particular Vergilian passages,30 they do not seem to have specific connotations in the present context.

Two phrases seem to contribute rather more to the tone of the passages in which they appear. The death of Ostorius is noted with the phrase \textit{\textit{concessit vita}}, 12.39.3, the dignity of which has been

29. \textit{References are: 12.18.1 (Aen.11.122-3); 12.32.1 (1.420); 12.33 (9.393); 12.34 (3.177-8); 12.35.2 (2.411; 11.885); 12.36.3 (4.13); 12.37.2 (12.603); 12.39.3 (2.91; 10.819-20); 12.40.3 (8.606); 14.29.3 (1.111; 5.221); 14.30.3 (10.520); 14.33.2 (10.532-3); 14.34.2 (11.663); 14.37.1 (11.605-6); 14.37.1 (9.380).

commented upon previously. (See p. 265.) The enemies of Cartimandua are lecta armis iuventus, 12.40.3, and the phrase gives a touch of epic colour with its recollection of the followers of Aeneas, bello lecta iuventus, Aen. 8.606.

The remaining two phrases seem to have more definite Vergilian associations. Although Caratacus is inferior to the Romans in military strength, he is astu locorumque fraude prior, 12.33. Euryalus had been caught fraude loci, Aen. 9.397, and the phrase has ominous implications for the Romans who oppose Caratacus. In the first encounter with him the Romans are worsted: plus vulnerum in nos et pleraeque caedes oriebantur, 12.35.2. The phrase perhaps carries not only the military connotations of Aen. 2.411 and 11.885, oriturque miserrima caedes, but also the emotional tone of miserrima. The slaughter of the Romans, momentarily outwitted by their enemy, is a thing to be pitied, like the suffering of the disguised Trojans, attacked by their own people, and the plight of the Latins who are caught outside the walls of their city, between the Trojans and the city's defenders.

A larger proportion of the Vergilian words and phrases in the passage from Book Fourteen seem to be pointed references to contexts in the Aeneid, and the combination of examples used to describe the revolt of the Iceni and Trinovantes presents a more clearly defined interpretation of events. To be sure, there are "colour" words similar in effect to some of those employed in Book Twelve, such as the epic breve, 14.29.3 (cf. Aen. 1.111, brevia, and 5.221, brevibasque vadis), and the military phrase protentis hastis, 14.37.1 (cf. Aen. 11.
605-6, hastasque.../protendunt), which strengthen the impression of
other Vergilian words and phrases employed. The remaining four words
and phrases, however, suggest more specific relationships.

Tacitus' vivid and evocative description of the Druids on the
island of Mona contains the phrase cruore captivo adolere aras, 14.
30.3. The rite of human sacrifice is one which Aeneas, too, was
ready to perform for Pallas: captivoque regi perfundat sanguine flamma-
mas, Aen.10.520. Tacitus' phrase is perhaps most important for its
implicit comment upon Aeneas' action. Both deeds are saevae super-
stitiones, abhorrent to the Romans, and the Druids are further con-
trasted with them by the association with the remote realm of legend.
With regard to the phrase adolere aras, it may also have come direct-
ly from Vergil, though from a different context, since it is used
elsewhere only by Lucretius, and since it is combined with a Vergili-
ian phrase to depict a ritual action, as in the Aeneid.

31. The only examples of the combination are in Lucr.4.1237 and Aen.7.
71.

32. The passage also contains the poetic phrases preces... fundentes,
14.30.1 (cf. Aen.5.254, 6.55; Hor. Epod.17.53, preces; and Lucr.
4.584-5, querelas), and igni suo involvunt, 14.30.2 (cf. for in-
volvere used of smoke, flames, or water, Geo.2.508; Aen.6.336, 7.
76-7, 8.253; Luc.3.631; Sil.6.145; 12.621-22; and Val.F1.6.412).
F.C. Bourne considers that preces... fundentes is also taken di-
rectly from Vergil, specifically from Aen.6.55. "Here there is al-
so an awesome spectacle and a wild enthusiasm... but the very
reminiscence... rather contrasts the propriety of the wildness of
the British women and that of the Sibyl, and surely there is
this same contrast between the seemly and lawful prayers of the
pious Aeneas and the 'Druidae... preces... fundentes." On
sit., 174/ Although Tacitus' attitude to Aeneas is admittedly am-
bivalent, it seems illogical that in the same context he would de-
liberately contrast Aeneas and the Druids and then equate them in
the saevas superstitiones which they practise. The phrase must be
considered poetic because of the example in the Epodes of Horace,
but since the general context contains Vergilian language, a case
might be made for the derivation of poetic language from Vergil,
The revolt of the Iceni and Trinovantes is a direct result of the rapacity of the Romans. Caratacus had drawn to him those qui pacem nostram metuebant, 12.33, and, in 14.31, the implications of the pax Romana for those nondum servitio fracti are clearly stated. The kingdom of Prasutagus to which Caesar falls heir is dealt with as if it had been captured in war. At Camulodunum, the veterans treat the Britons like slaves and captives. The temple of Claudius is quasi arx aeternae dominationis, and its priests drain the peoples' resources. It is with justice, then, that the tribes rise against their Roman oppressors. But as they had been their victims in peace, so they are their victims in war.

The tribes attack and devastate Londinium and Verulamium, without mercy for their inhabitants. In this war there is no belli commercium, 14.33.2. The phrase foreshadows the destruction of the Britons. They will suffer retribution as Turnus did, when, by killing Pallas, belli commercia.../sustulit, Aen.10.532-3. By its association with the heroic warrior, the phrase deepens the tragic undertone of Tacitus' comment caedes patibula, ignes cruces, tamquam redditur supplicium, at praecreta interim ultione, festinabant.

The battle between the Romans led by Suetonius, and the Britons under Boudicca takes place at a site favourable to the Romans — in itself an ominous beginning for the Britons. In contrast to the ordered ranks of the Romans, Britannorum copiae passim per catervas et without, however, a deliberate recollection of a Vergilian context. The phrase igni suo involvent may also be poetic language derived from Vergil, for the reasons given above.
turmas exultabant, 14.34.2. Thus had Camilla and her followers joined battle, like the triumphant Amazonian queen about whom *feminea exsulant*. \[\text{Aen.11.665}\] The Britons are no match for the Romans, however, and their escape is blocked *quia circumiecta vehicula saepserant abitus*, 14.37.1. They are trapped like Nisus and Euryalus: *equites omnem... abitum custode coronant*, Aen.9.380. The associations with Turnus, the followers of Camilla, and Nisus and Euryalus, all of whom become victims of the strife between Trojans and Latins, as well as Tacitus' outline of the wrongs which the Britons have suffered at Roman hands, are a clear indication of where Tacitus' sympathies lie. We/, I think, justified in feeling a slight edge to his comment *clara et antiquis victoriis par ea die laus parta*, 14.37.2.

Mithridates Bosporanus has been mentioned previously in the context of Eunones' intervention with Claudius on his behalf. (See pp. 317-18.) The account of his battles with Eunones and the Romans provides no examples of Vergilian language, but one phrase gives the motive for Mithridates' appeal to Eunones, the fact that he regards the king as *propris odiis non infensus*, 12.18.1. Eunones is thus in marked contrast to Drances who, as far as Turnus is concerned, is *odiis et crimine... infensus*, 11.122-3. Hatred and treachery among one's allies give place to generosity and mercy in a military opponent. The phrase not only contrasts Drances and Eunones, but also ass-

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33. Vergil's account of the battle between the Etruscan allies of the Trojans, and Camilla and the Latin allies also provides the phrase *protentis hastis*, 14.37.1, mentioned earlier. It appears to be employed, however, simply as Vergilian military vocabulary, since Tacitus uses it of the Roman cavalry rather than of the opposing side, as Vergil did.
ociates Mithridates and Turnus, as does the phrase poenas... expenderet, 12.19.3, commented upon earlier. Thus the stature both of Eunones and of Mithridates is enhanced by Vergilian allusion.

Foreign Affairs

Those passages treating of foreign affairs, in which Tacitus employs Vergilian language, all deal with the successive conflicts for control of Armenia. Vergilian colour is generally light, but five of the eight words and phrases used seem to lend additional meaning to their contexts.\(^{34}\)

The intrigues of Pharasmanes, king of the Iberians, and his son, Rcadamistus, against Mithridates, king of Armenia, afford four examples of Vergilian imitation. Pharasmanes fabricates as a pretext for hostilities against his brother the charge that he had opposed him when he wished to seek aid from the Romans against the Albani (auxilio vocanti, 12.45.1). It was the gods upon whom Aeneas called for aid when the Trojan ships had been set on fire (auxilio... vocare deos, Aen.5.686). As far as Eastern affairs are concerned, the Romans are regarded as a supreme power, if not a virtual deus ex machina. The verb vertenterur, 12.45.4,\(^{35}\) is again used of the overthrow of a state, as in 1.4.1, verso civitatis statu, and 12.7.3, versa... civitas. Rcadamistus, like Augustus, seeks to achieve his purpose by treachery, and the fall of Troy is repeated in Armenia. The use of

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34. References are: 11.10.3 (Aen.11.124); 12.13.2 (7.745); 12.45.1 (5.686); 12.45.4 (2.625; 5.810-11); 12.46.3 (9.378); 12.47.2 (7.546; 11.292); 13.8.3 (11.641); 15.2.4 (5.269, 364; 8.286).
35. See pp.269, and 326.
celerare with an accusative, 12.46.3, obpugnationem/celerare, is a stylistic device repeated elsewhere in the *Annales* 36, but the phrase *in societatem coeant*, 12.47.2, 37 adds a suitably formal note to the description of the rites whereby treaties are concluded between Eastern rulers.

The remaining words and phrases are isolated examples. Like Aeneas, who is *fama ingens*, *Aen*.11.124, Vardanes is *ingens gloria*, 11.10.3, because of his military triumphs. He is not, however, another Aeneas, for he lacks the quality of *iustitia*. 38 He is *eo ferocior et subiectis intolerantior*, and the attributes which his military triumphs reveal lead to his downfall. Corbulo, the general appointed by Nero to deal with Eastern affairs, is *corpore ingens*, 13.8.3, words which Vergil had used of a Trojan warrior. 39 The strength of Corbulo seems to have been proverbial, 40 and it is fitting that this quality should be marked out by Vergilian language as his link with the age of heroes. As he sets out to assume the kingship of Parthia, Meherdates captures Ninos and a *castellum insigne fama*, 12.13.2, since it marks the site of the defeat of Darius III by Alexander.

The phrase is probably an unconscious reminiscence of *Aen*.7.745, where Vergil employs the same phrase of the warrior Ufens, and it would seem to be used for its stylistic compression. Finally, the

36. See p.278.
38. See *Aen*.11.126, *iustitiae prius mirer belline laborum*.
40. See *Juv*. S.3.251-3, *Corbulo vix ferret tot vasa ingentia, tot res/impositas capiti, quas... portat/servulus.*
verb evincire, which Vergil had used of ritual action, re-appears in the ritual of the crowning of Tiridates as king of Armenia by Vologaesus, 15.2.4, diademate caput Tiridatis evinxit. Its contribution, too, would seem to be chiefly stylistic.

Our consideration of individual Vergilian imitations and the relationships which exist between certain groups of words and phrases has suggested both similarities and differences in usage between Books 1-6 and 11-16. To begin with general characteristics, there are more examples of Vergilian language in Books 1-6 than in Books 11-16, the proportions of the total number in the Annales, including repeated words and phrases, being 64.6% and 35.4% respectively. Vergilian language thus plays a greater part in Tacitus' presentation of his material in the first hexad than in the later section of the work.

Additional points of difference are indicated if, continuing to treat Books 1-6 and 11-16 separately, we consider the proportions of imitations which are contextual or purely stylistic in importance in each section of the work; the distribution of contextual and stylistic examples in relation to the subject-matter of their contexts; the proportions of examples which are pointed references to Vergilian passages, again in relation to the subject-matter of their contexts; and, finally, the number of purely stylistic imitations in Books 1-6 and 11-16 respectively which are syntactical devices, unusual vocabu-

41. Cf. Aen. 5.269, 364; 8.286, where it is used of the crowning of the victors in the Funeral Games, and of the Salii.
lary, particular meanings of words, or phrases.

Firstly, Books 1–6 predominate not only in the number of examples of Vergilian language, but also in the proportion of them which lend additional significance to the contexts in which they are employed. Given below are the numbers and proportions of contextual and purely stylistic imitations in relation to the total number of examples in Books 1–6 and 11–16 respectively.

Contextual and Stylistic Imitations

1. Numbers and proportions in relation to the total number in Books 1–6

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2. Numbers and proportions in relation to the total number in Books 11–16.

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An examination of the distribution of imitations in relation to the five general categories of subject-matter used throughout the discussion reveals that Books 1–6 also predominate as far as the proportion of examples with contextual significance in each category is concerned, as shown below.
Context and Style: Numbers and proportions in each category in relation to the total number in each category in Books 1-6

<table>
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Context and Style: Numbers and proportions in each category in relation to the total number in each category in Books 11-16

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<td>71</td>
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All the Vergilian language employed in the digressions of the author appears in Books 1-6, and all the words and phrases are important for the contribution which they make to their contexts. In the remaining four categories, with the exception of "Internal Affairs", 
the percentage of contextual imitations is higher in Books 1-6 by more than 10%.

Thirdly, the two sections of the work differ in the proportions of imitations in each category which are pointed allusions to or general echoes of Vergilian words and phrases. By pointed allusions are meant significant reminiscences of specific Vergilian contexts, groups of phrases which by their combination suggest specific ideas about people and events, or phrases such as ferro accincti (6.2.3, and Aen.2.614, 671), or instaurari epulas iubet (6.50.3, and Aen.7.146; 8.283), which are an implicit comment upon the subject-matter of their contexts, but suggest ideas by means of more general Vergilian associations. General references include unusual vocabulary or meanings of words used for emphasis, words and phrases which lend Vergilian colouring to their contexts, or phrases which seem to carry a particular tone, such as the dignified vita concessit, 1.3.3, and Aen.2.91, 10.819-20. The proportion of pointed references is slightly higher in Books 1-6 than in 11-16. Of the 106 contextual examples in Books 1-6, 81 (76.4%) are pointed references, as compared with 34 (70.8%) of the 48 contextual examples in Books 11-16. If we divide the examples according to the subject-matter of their contexts, the

42. For example, the phrase Immotum... fixumque Tiberio fuit, 1.47.1 and Aen.4.15; quae fiducia reg, 3.11.2 and Aen.2.75; and vox pariter et spiritus eius reperentur, 13.16.2 and Aen.10.347-8.

43. For example, the association of the Germans with the Greeks and Latins in Books One and Two (1.62.2; 1.65.5; 1.68.2; 2.11.2; 2.21.1), or the presentation of the Iceni and Trinovantes as victims of the Romans, in Book Fourteen (14.33.2; 34.2; 37.1).

44. For example, aspectare, 1.4.1 and Aen.1.420; claris genibus, 6.9.3, and Aen.5.285, 12.25; and ferro accinctus, 11.22.1 and Aen.2.614.

45. For example, military language such as potentes hastis, 14.37.1 and Aen.11.605-6; hastae insentes, 1.64.2 and Aen.2.50, 10.579, 762; and Vergilian words such as brevia, 1.70.2, Aen.1.111, 1.221.
numbers and proportions in relation to the number of contextual examples in each category in Books 1-6 and 11-16 are as follows:

Contextual examples only: Number and proportion in each category which are pointed or general references.

### Books 1-6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Emperor and the Imperial Court</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>81.8</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
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<td>12</td>
<td>70.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Military Affairs</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>78.6</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Foreign Affairs</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
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### Books 11-16

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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Emperor and the Imperial Court</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>68.4</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Military Affairs</td>
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<td>Author's Digressions</td>
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<tr>
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There is considerable variation in the percentage of pointed allusions in each category in Books 1-6 and 11-16 respectively. The percent-
ages of pointed allusions in the categories "The Emperor and the Imperial Court" and "Military Affairs" are more than 10% higher in Books 1-6 than in 11-16. Since a large amount of Vergilian language is concentrated upon Tiberius and Germanicus, and since many imitations seem to be used deliberately and with telling effect, the higher percentages are not unexpected. The percentages of pointed allusions are, however, higher in Books 11-16 than in Books 1-6 in the categories "Internal Affairs" and "Foreign Affairs". The slightly higher percentage of pointed allusions in the accounts of internal affairs reflects accurately the importance of Vergilian language employed in the descriptions of the Pisonian conspiracy, and of those persons who become the victims of Nero. The conflict for power in Armenia, which is also an important subject in Books 11-16, and which has no exact counterpart in Books 1-6, provides all the examples of pointed allusions to Vergilian passages in the context of foreign affairs.

Finally, Books 1-6 and 11-16 are almost identical in the total number of purely stylistic imitations of Vergil which are employed, as shown below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Books 1-6</th>
<th>Books 11-16</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Syntactical Devices</td>
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<td>Vocabulary</td>
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<td>10</td>
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<td>Phrases</td>
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<td>8</td>
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<tr>
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<td>24</td>
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</table>
The numbers of syntactical devices and phrases used are almost equal in the two sections of the *Annales*. The difference is in the respective numbers of examples of vocabulary and particular meanings of words. In Books 11–16, examples of Vergilian vocabulary are slightly more numerous than in Books 1–6, whereas the first hexad contains a larger number of words whose meaning seems to have been derived from Vergil.

As far as the contexts of stylistic Vergilianisms are concerned, only the digressions of the author do not afford any examples. The number in accounts of foreign affairs is small in both sections of the work, and also in descriptions of military matters in Books 11–16. The remaining categories in both sections of the *Annales* each afford between seven and nine examples.

It has been noted previously that in Books 11–16 there is no marked tendency for stylistic Vergilianisms to be concentrated in passages related to individual characters, as was the case with Tiberius and Germanicus in Books 1–6.46 There are, however, certain types of characters or events, or certain subjects which, in both sections of the *Annales*, seem to call for the additional variety or compression which can be achieved by employing Vergilian language. Firstly, there are the military opponents of the Romans, or those involved in the internal dissensions of the Eastern kingdoms and Armenia.47 Only in Books 1–6 are Vergilian stylistic devices or words and phrases used

46. Those in contexts relevant to Tiberius are: 1.4.2; 1.80.2; 3.69.3; and 6.1.1; and those in contexts relevant to Germanicus, 1.41.3; 2. 61.1; 3.1.2; 3.2.2; and 3.19.2.
47. See 1.56.5; 4.25.2; 4.46.2; 6.35.2; 12.13.2; 12.34; 12.36.3; 12.37.2; and 12.46.3.
in passages which have some relation to the Romans themselves. The delator is also noted in less usual language. In addition to specific Vergilian allusions, the phrase recena praestura, 4.52.1, is used of Domitius Afer, and Tiberio abusque, 13.47.1, of Graptus, as well as the phrase contra... tendebant, 3.10.1, which is employed when Piso's accusers argue about the order in which charges are to be presented against him. In both sections of the Annales, purely stylistic examples appear in descriptions of nature, and in accounts of myth and ritual.

Books 11-16 differ from the first hexad in that there are two additional groups of people in relation to whom stylistic Vergilianisms are employed. Firstly, the favourite of Nero, Tigellinus, and those who carry out the orders of the Emperor are described in language based upon that of Vergil. Secondly, there are those persons involved in the Pisonian conspiracy, and those who become the victims of Claudius and Nero. In Books 1-6, Vergilian language which has some relation to Sejanus, or to those who are the victims of Tiberius seems generally to suggest specific associations with Vergilian contexts. The groups of characters and subjects mentioned above account for all but seven of the examples which we have classed as stylistic.

48. See 2.6.2; 2.25.2; 3.46.3. In Books 1-6 stylistic Vergilianisms are also used in descriptions of civil disorder. See 3.36.1, 36.3.
49. See 6.1.1; 12.32.1; 15.42.2.
50. See 6.42.4; 11.4.2; 15.2.4.
51. See 15.37.2 (two examples), of the feast of Tigellinus; 13.15.3, Locusta; and 15.59.4, the assassins of Piso.
53. The remaining references are: 3.14.5; 3.59.3; 6.4.2; 11.6.2; 11.23.1; 11.37.1; and 15.43.3.
so that there would seem to be a certain degree of consistency in their use.

As far as consistency in Tacitus' use of contextual imitations is concerned, we have suggested in Chapter IV that there are significant patterns of relationship between groups of imitative words and phrases in Books 1-6. Although there are differences in usage, there appear to be some similar patterns in Books 11-16, which complement and develop ideas presented in the first hexad by means of Vergilian associations.

There are two distinct and conflicting systems of values in Books 1-6, represented by Germanicus and Tiberius. Germanicus is heroic, the embodiment of positive, constructive values. Tiberius is anti-heroic, the embodiment of evil which is subtle, powerful, and destructive. In his destructive potential, he is the direct heir of Augustus. Although there is an element of ambivalence in Tacitus' attitude to Tiberius, and although Tiberius' potential is not entirely evil, the basic distinction between the two characters is clearly defined. The heroic in Germanicus is shared by the soldiers who follow him in his campaigns against the tribes in Germany, and those who suppress the revolt in Gaul, by Lentulus Gaetulicus, who successfully opposes Tiberius, and by Cremutius Cordus, who becomes his victim. On the opposing side, as instruments of destruction, there are Piso and the delatores.

54. See pp. 311-13.
55. 3.46.1, praeasumpta spes.
56. 6.30.3, firmarent velint foedus; 4.34.4, Catonem caelo aequavit.
57. 3.11.2, quae fideuria reo; 1.74.2, egens ignotus inquinis; 2.27.1, rem publicam exedere.
In Books 11-16, there are also two sets of values. The conflict, however, is not between the heroic and the anti-heroic, but between the heroic and a debased, twisted form of itself. Nero is the youthful prince who began with the aura of Germanicus about him, and who might have been an Ascanius to the Aeneas of his grandfather. Instead, he becomes a mockery of him. We have noted in Chapter III that an essential quality which humanizes Aeneas and makes him acceptable to Tacitus as a figure of power is his pity for human suffering, which grows from his own experience of suffering. Germanicus, too, has this quality, as is shown clearly by the association of Germanicus and Aeneas in the account of the storm and Germanicus' reaction to it, and in his dying speech. Nero not only lacks the quality of pity for suffering, and twists Aeneas' words and reactions for his own purposes. He also becomes dehumanized, a destructive power which is irrational.

The destructive power of Nero places him in the ranks of evil on the side of Tiberius, but the nature of his power is somewhat different. The suggestion of irrationality or caprice in Tiberius is touched upon only lightly. What is stressed is his insight, and his

58. 12.8.2, pueritia...adolesceret; 12.58.1, Romanum Troia demissum;
13.17.3, subtrahere oculis acerba funera; 16.10.4, immobilem se precibus et invidiae iuxta.
60. See pp. 304-9.
61. 2.71.3, vindicabitis vos, si me notius quam fortunam meam fovebatis.
62. See ft. 58.
64. 1.47.1, Immotum...fixunque Tiberic fuit; 2.31.3, voluntarium mortem properavisset (see p. 234).
calculated malevolence. There is an element of the irrational in
the delatores and the soldiers who mutiny, 66 in Messalina, 67 and in the
Iceni and Trinovantes when they revolt against Roman rule. 68 Only in
Nero does power itself lose its rational basis. Along with irrational-
ity, there is a decrease in the stature of the figure of evil.
Tiberius had been god-like in his destruction, 69 but Nero has no aspect
of divinity.

The positive values represented by heroic qualities have also
suffered change, and a loss of vitality. It has been suggested that
the death of Germanicus represents the loss both of a heroic leader
and of a focus for the heroic potential of the Romans themselves (p.
311-13). No person of comparable stature emerges to oppose Claudius
and Nero. Heroic qualities are diffused among the Pisonian conspir-
ators, 70 and such figures as Corbulo, Rubellius Plautus, Seneca, Ves-
tinus, and Ostorius. 71 Except for Rubellius Plautus, however, their

65. 3.44.4, tanto impensius in securitatem compositus; 3.54.1, civi-
tatem verti; 4.40.3, quid si intendatur certamen tali coniugio;
1.47.2, infringi; 2.5.2, aversa patrui voluntas; 2.29.2, manus ac
supplices voces... tendens; 3.15.1, quantum Caesari in eam lic-
eret; 4.42.3, inclementiam; 4.58.3, moenia urbis adsiduas; 6.39.2,
undantem per domos sanguinem.
66. 2.27.1, rem publicam exadere; 1.39.4, sanguine suo altaria deum
commaculavisset; 1.42.2, quid... inausum intematurum ve voig.
67. 11.31.2, feminae pellibus accinctae; 11.37.4, lacrimae et questus
irriti ducebantur.
68. 14.33.2, bellli commercium.
69. 2.5.2, aversa patrui voluntas; 2.29.2, manus ac supplices voces
... tendens; 4.42.3, inclementiam; 4.67.4, auxilio vocare.
70. 15.50.1, qui fessis rebus succurreret; 15.53.2, corpore ingens; 15.
70.1, per eius modi mortis imaginem.
71. 13.8.5, corpore ingens; 14.22.2, hunc illum; 15.45.3, agrrestibus
pomis; 15.69.1, decranaque servitia et pari aetate habebat; 16.15.1,
multa militari fama.
increase in stature comes from association not with Aeneas, but with his Trojan followers or those who opposed him. It has also been suggested that the death of Germanicus is especially bitter because he and his followers had begun to relive the experiences of Aeneas and the Trojans, from which a new Troy emerged (pp.312-13). With the perversion of heroic potential in Nero, and the loss of effective leadership, the representatives of positive values are ineffectual. Like Cremutius Cordus, they reveal their potential chiefly when they are attacked or in the manner of their deaths, as they become the victims of Nero.

The fact that those who are heroic are also victims of Nero is partially responsible for a marked difference in emphasis between Books 1-6 and 11-16 in the implications of Vergilian language used of the victims of the emperors. In both sections of the Annales, relevant Vergilian language serves two basic functions. Firstly, it suggests that certain persons are in fact victims. Secondly, it enhances the stature of those whose position as victims is clearly indicated in the narrative of events. There are twenty-two relevant Vergilian words and phrases in Books 1-6, of which nineteen, by parallel or contrasting associations, emphasize that persons are victims, or ones who inflict suffering on others. Three imitations increase

72. 1.4.1, verso civitatis statu; 1.53.2, tene longa peremis; 1.62.2, imagine caesarem; 2.5.2, aversa patruui voluntas; 2.27.1, rem publicam exedere; 2.29.2, manus ac supplices voces, ... tendens; 2.51.3, voluntarium mortem proneravisset; 2.42.3, versa Caesarum subole; 2.71.3, vindicabitis vos, si me potius quam fortunam meam fovebatis; 2.84.2, dolorum tulit; 3.15.1, quantum Caesaris in eam liceret; 4.25.3, dux interfisco regniem bellum fore; 4.42.3, in-clementiam; 4.58.3, moenia urbis adsidens; 4.59.3, fidentem animi
the stature of the persons to whom they are applied. Of the twenty-one relevant examples in Books 11-16, nine associate persons with characters in the Aeneid who are in some sense victims, ten enhance the stature of the historical figures by their associations, and two perform other functions.

As far as those who become the victims of Nero are concerned, only Britannicus and the Pisonian conspirators are presented as victims by associative language. In each case the associations reinforce an impression which is already given either by the nature of the context, or by explicit comment. Except for the phrases used

4.67.4, auxilio vocare; 4.74.5, quibus infamiae amicitiae gravissimus imminebat; 6.39.2, undantem per domos sanguinem; 6.49.1, in formem exitum.

73. 4.34.4, Catonem caelo acquevit; 4.50.3, opperent; 6.9.5, clarissimus.

74. 12.7.3, Versa ex eo civitas; 12.19.3, neve poenas capite expendet; 12.35.2, plerique caedes oriabantur; 12.45.4, verterentur; 13.17.2, mors... properata sit; 13.17.3, superare oculus aerba funera; 14.33.2, belli commercium; 14.37.1, abitus; 15.50.1 qui sessis rebus succurreret.

75. 12.18.1, dies non infensum; 15.16.2, vox pariter et spiritus... raperentur; 14.22.2, hunc illum; 14.34.2, couiae... exultabant; 14.51.1, concessitque vita; 15.45.3, agrestibus ponit; 15.52.2, cornore ingens; 15.69.1 decoraque servitia et pari actate habebat; 15.70.1, per eius modi mortis imaginem; 16.15.1, multa militari fama.

76. 15.44.4, in usum nocturni luminis urerentur; 16.12.2, infamum nomen Lunium.

77. See 13.17.2; 13.17.3; 15.50.1, ftn.74.

78. The suggestion that all may not be well for Britannicus begins at 11.11.2, when he and Nero appear together in the Trojan Games, and continues with implication or direct comment until the formation of the plot to murder him. The conspiracy is first mentioned, with comment, in the last sentence of Book XIV, unde Pisoni timor et orta insidiarium in Neronem magna moles et improperea. Immediately preceding the account of its growth and betrayal are the omens and prodigies signifying disaster, 15.47, among them the birth of a deformed calf, which is interpreted to mean parari rerum humanarum aliud caput, sed non fore validum neque occultum, quia in utero repressum ac iter iuxta editum sit, 47.2.
of the Christians and the Torquati, the remaining examples, including
other imitative phrases used of Britannicus and the conspirators,
underline the fact that those who suffer eventual attack are persons
of stature, or that their potential has not been realized.79

In Books 1–6, in the case of Cremutius Cordus and the group of
senators accused after the downfall of Sejanus80 it is made suffi-
ciently clear by the nature of the charges against them that they are
being victimized. Vergilian language can therefore be used to sug-
gest the potential of those accused, and, in the case of Cremutius
Cordus, to make him heroic in defeat. In all cases the elevation in
stature of those attacked is an indirect comment upon the baseness of
their attackers. The majority, however, of the words and phrases
used of Tiberius and those persecuted by him underline the fact that
the situation is one of oppression. In contrast to the relatively
few phrases in Books 11–16 which have significance for more than one
person,81 the majority of the relevant examples in Books 1–6 have two
lines of association, that is, they comment upon the relationship
between Tiberius and individuals, or Tiberius and Rome itself. As
has been noted previously (p.235), the arrangement of details in the
trial of Libo Drusus, for example, is such that Tiberius emerges as a
ruthless tyrant, and Libo Drusus as his virtually innocent victim.

Vergilian association is one means whereby this interpretation of

79. See 13.16.2; 14.22.2; 14.51.1; 15.45.3; 15.53.2; 15.69.1; 15.70.1;
16.15.1, ftn.75.
80. See 4.34.4, and 6.9.3, ftn.73.
81. See 13.17.3, Britannicus and Nero; 16.15.1, Ostorius and Nero:
also 12.7.3, Rome and Agrippina; 12.19.3, Mithridates and Claudius;
and 12.45.4, Armenia and Rcadamistus.
events is presented. There is a similar two-fold implication in phrases used of Tiberius and Julia, Germanicus, Plancina, Votienus, and Nero and Agrippina.\textsuperscript{82} The same is true of such phrases as moenia urbis adsidens, 4.58.3, and undantem per domos sanguinem, 6.39.2.\textsuperscript{83} It seems clear that, particularly with regard to events or situations which may be susceptible of more than one interpretation, part of Tacitus' aim is to establish firmly and consistently the relationship between victim and oppressor. Except for Germanicus, the victims are important less in their own right, as in Books 11-16, than as an object lesson in the evils of absolutism and of Tiberius himself. As far as the Neronian books are concerned, the evils of Nero are more blatant than those of Tiberius, and facts speak for themselves.

Tacitus' general preoccupation in Books 11-16 with the characteristics of those who become victims carries over into military contexts. The Romans are at first the victims of Caratacus.\textsuperscript{84} Mithridates is another Turnus.\textsuperscript{85} Like Turnus, too, the Britons bring about their own downfall by an irrational act, the implications of which they do not foresee. Finally, they are caught in a trap (14.37.1, 82. See 1.53.2; 2.5.2; 2.71.3; 3.15.1; 4.42.3; and 4.67.4.
83. See also 1.4.1, Augustus and Rome; 2.27.1, the delatores and the state; and 1.62.2, the description of those slain by the Germans when Varus was defeated.
84. 12.33, locorumque fraude prior; 12.35.2, pleraeque caedes oriebantur.
85. 12.18.1, odiis non infensus; 12.19.3, neve poemas... expenderet (not in a military context, but included because of its relation to the preceding phrase).
86. 14.53.2, bella commercium.
abitus). There are also victims in the first six books: the Romans themselves, Tacfarinas, and the Thracians. Tacfarinas is associated indirectly with Turnus. As far as the Thracians are concerned, when they are threatened by the Romans with dispersal and the loss of their national identity, their choice of liberty or death marks them out as victims to the armed might of Rome. Associative language gives them heroic stature as they face defeat. Victims, however, are of secondary importance in military contexts in the first six books. Of chief importance is the presentation of what might be achieved under the leadership of Germanicus.

87. Tacitus' account of the revolt of the Iceni and Trinovantes differs considerably from his earlier description in the Agricola. Instead of presenting the Britons as people who have suffered injustice and been driven to desperate action, as in 14.31, he implies that they have exaggerated their suffering: Britanni agitare inter se mala servitutis, conferre injurias et interpretando ascendere, Agr.15.1. There is no bellii commercium with its tragic associations in the Agricola. Instead, nec ullam in barbaris ingenii saevitiae genus omisit: 1ra et victoria, Agr.16.1. The battle is dismissed in one sentence, and Paulinus credited with saving the province, 16.2. Possibly Tacitus was simply reserving comment and extended treatment until the triumph of Agricola over Calgacus and the united forces of the Britons, Agr.29-38, for it is in Calgacus' spirited speech that there appears the ringing condemnation of the Romans' expanding power, ending with the words ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant, 30.6. But this does not seem to be the whole answer. Tacitus' sympathies would appear to have broadened since the writing of the Agricola. It is interesting that in the Annales, the characters associated by Vergilian language both with victims in the Aeneid, and with those who embody heroic qualities are Germanicus and the Romans, Mithridates, Boudicca and the Britons, and the Pisonian conspirators. Germanicus' role has already been commented upon (pp.279-80; 311-13). In the remaining three cases, there is a revolt against a dominating power by those subject to it, in an attempt to regain personal or national stature which has been denied. As the dominant power establishes and maintains itself in Rome by acts of destruction, so the Roman imperium is preserved elsewhere at the expense of qualities which have independent value.

88. 1.62.2, imagine caesarum; 4.25.3, duce interfector quem belli fore; 4.50.3, oppeterent.
The difference in quantity of Vergilian language in military contexts in Books 1-6 and 11-16, and the difference between them in the number of chapters devoted to military matters have been noted previously (pp. 250-51). There are some points of similarity between the two sections of the work. We have suggested that there is a general pattern in Books 1-6, in which the German military opponents of the Romans are associated with the Greeks and Latins of the Aeneid, and the Romans themselves with the Trojans (pp. 311-12). There is a suggestion of a similar pattern when the Romans suffer at the hands of Caratacus, and when the Britons who revolt are likened to the followers of Camilla. In both sections of the work, it is the activities of Roman armies in the western section of the Empire, against tribes in Germany and Britain, which evoke the major proportion of Vergilian language in military contexts. There is no Vergilian language in the descriptions of the battles fought by Corbulo against Parthia and her adherents in the East. It has also been noted that Vergilian language is used to enhance the stature of the opponents of the Romans, and that, as far as Arminius and his followers are concerned, this enhancing of their stature carries over into the description of the battle between the Suebi and Cherusi. (pp. 313-14). All but two of the relevant phrases in Books Twelve and Fourteen are used of Mithridates or the Britons. Here the general similarities end.

89. 12.33, locorumque fraude prior; 35.2, plerique caedes oriebantur.  
90. 14.34.2, copiae ... exultabant.  
91. 12.18.1, odias non infensus; 12.33, locorumque fraude prior; 12.34, intemerata ... corpora; 12.40.3, lecta armis inventus; 14.30.3, cruore captivo adolere aras; 14.35.2, belli commercium; 14.34.2, exultabant; 14.37.1, abitus.
The most striking difference between Books 1-6 and 11-16 is in the treatment of the campaigns of Germanicus against the German tribes, and of Corbulo against Parthia, both of which are the chief military subject-matter of their respective sections of the work. We have pointed out the importance of the association of Aeneas and Germanicus, and the concentrated use of Vergilian language in the account of his campaigns. We have also noted that with the exception of the phrase corpora ingens, 13.8.3, describing Corbulo, there is no Vergilian language in the description of his activities in the East. Yet Furneaux speaks of the exaltation of the personality of Corbulo "through the desire of the historian to throw a strong light upon what he conceived to be a portrait of true Roman heroism, in contrast to the degradation and effeminacy of Nero". He continues, "Though evidently not altogether blind to the existence of defects in his hero, he has not allowed them to interfere with his idealization; and throughout the whole history of the war he has selected such incidents alone for prominence as concern Corbulo personally, and has frequently sacrificed the general narrative of events to biographical particulars." If Germanicus and Corbulo are both idealized heroes in contrast to an evil monarch, some explanation must be found for the concentration of Vergilian language in one case, and its almost total absence in the other.

There are several possible explanations, all of which may, in

varying degrees, have some relevance. Firstly, Tacitus has presented a fairly consistent pattern of associations for Germanicus. Unless, by a new arrangement of Vergilian material he could bring into prominence the salient characteristics of Corbulo, and distinguish him from Germanicus, the second account would be little more than a repetition of the first, and would in fact detract from the distinctiveness with which Germanicus is represented.

Secondly, as with Tiberius and Nero, there seems to be the basic distinction between historical events which require a specialized method of presentation if Tacitus' interpretation of them is to be clear and convincing, and events which do not require such treatment. Germanicus does not cut a particularly dashing figure in his initial attempt to deal with the mutiny. His threat to commit suicide convinces no one. Nor are the battles against the Germans the decisive victories which Germanicus' claims would suggest. The brief description of the initial encounter between Germanicus and Arminius ends with the words manibus aequis abcessum, 1.63.2, and the battle which precedes Germanicus' declaration of conquest is a qualified success: equites ambigue certavere, 2.21.2. Germanicus does not continue the attack, but returns to winter quarters, aestate... adulta, 2.25.1. It can still be said of Arminius, liberator haud dubie Germaniae... proeliis ambiguus, bello non vicitus, 2.88.2. As a general and a dip-

93. See 1.35.5, quidam singuli proptus incedentes feriret hortabantur; et miles... strictum obtulit gladium, addito acutiorum esse.
94. 2.22.1, debellatis inter Rhenum Albimum nationibus exercitum Tiberii Caesaris ea monumenta Marti et Iovi et Augusto sacravisse.
Cromat, Corbulo is the more imposing figure. In the first stages of the war, his military successes are unequivocal, in marked contrast to the débâcle of Paetus in Armenia (for which, however, Tacitus assigns Corbulo a share of the blame, 15.10.4). The withdrawal of the Romans from Tigranocerta after Vologaseses had been forced to end the siege is presented with less favourable implications for Corbulo (15.6). Yet it is the personal influence of the general which is credited with the final settlement of the Armenian problem (15.28.1), by which the Parthian Tigranes regains his kingdom and effective power, but accepts it as a donum of the Roman Emperor. The achievement of Corbulo stands on its own merits, whereas that of Germanicus, shorn of its Vergilian associations, poetic colouring and generally heightened language, is considerably less impressive.

Thirdly, there is a marked difference in the personalities of the two leaders, and in their fates, a difference which makes Germanicus the more ready subject for the growth of legend. Germanicus is the handsome, youthful prince, a man of great personal charm, who died young. Since Germanicus never faced the practical test of ruling, the same comment might be made about him as Tacitus makes later about Britannicus' reputation for quickness of mind: retinuit famam sine experimento (12.26.2). Added to his youth and appealing personality is his emotional inheritance, as it were, from his father, Drusus, who

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95. See 13.39, taking of Volandum; 13.41, surrender and destruction of Artaxata; and 14.23–5, occupation of Tigranocerta and taking of Legbera.

96. See 2.13.1, cum hic nobilitatem ducis, decorem alius, plurimi patientiam comitatem, per seria per iocos eundem animum laudibus ferrent; 1.33.2, nam iuveni civile ingenium, mira comitas et diversa a Tiberii sermone vultu, adrogantibus et obscuris.
was associated in the popular mind with the cause of libertas. After Germanicus' death, the similarity with Marcellus would further enhance his already considerable emotional appeal. Add to this the fact that Germanicus recovered two of the standards lost by Varus, thus avenging a Roman disgrace, and the elements needed for the legend of the romantic hero are complete.

Corbulo is made of sterner stuff. An experienced campaigner, eloquent, of commanding physical appearance and physical hardiness, he is a harsh disciplinarian, ruthless towards the follies of his subordinates, uncompromisingly right, and highly conscious of his own personal glory. That firm qualities were needed in the

97. 1.33.2, quippe Drusi magna amud populum Romanum memoria, credebaturque, si rerum patitus forst, libertatem redditurum; unde in Germanicum favor et spea eadem.
98. 2.41.3, avunculum eiusdem Marcellum flagrantibus plebis studiis intra inventam eruntum.
99. Although the recovery of the standards lost by Crassus to the Parthians is on a different level, the fact that they are referred to so frequently (e.g., Aen. 7.606, Parthique rapaces signa; Hor. C.4.15.6-8, et signa nostra restituit Iovi/derepta Parthorum superbia/postibus; Ov. P.5.593, Parthe, refera aequas) suggests that Germanicus' action would not be without its effect.
100.13.8.3, corpore ingens, verbis magnificis et super experientiam sapientiamque etiam specie inanium validus.
101.13.35.4, ipse cultu levit, capite intecto, in armine, in laboribus frequens adesse, laudem strenuis, solacium invalidis, exemplum omnibus ostendere.
102.11.18.3, feruntque militem, quia vallum non accinctus, atque alium, quia puigione tantum accinctus foderet, morte punitis, quae nimia et incertum an falsa iactata originem tamen e severitate ducis traxere; 13.35.4, qui signa reliquerat, statim capite poenas lucubrat.
103.15.36.3, increpitantque Pacsum et praefectos militesque tendere extra vallum iussit.
104.15.12.2, primum e percussis Paccium... obvium habuit, dein pleonasque militum; quos... redire ad signa et Clementiam Paeti experiri monerat; se nisi victoribus immitem esse.
105.15.10.4, nec a Corbulone prosperatum, quo gliscentibus periculis etiam subsidii laus augeretur.
East is evidenced by his success, but they are material for a Regulus Ode, not romantic legend.

Finally, if Germanicus is to be presented as a foil to Tiberius, the logical context is one in which he has assumed a position of leadership. It is the German campaigns, when he is matched against a military leader of some stature, rather than the diplomatic mission and its intrigues in the East, which provide scope for such a presentation.

The patterns of relationship between groups of imitative words and phrases in Books 1–6, which have been suggested in Chapter IV, their recurrence and extension in Books 11–16, and certain differences in usage and emphasis in the two sections of the work, both of which have been considered in the present chapter, provide the basis for the discussion of thematic relationships between the Annales and Vergil's works in the chapter which follows.
CHAPTER VI

Thematic Relationships Between the Annales and the Works of Vergil

The term "thematic relationships" is used broadly to include relationships both in idea and in situation between the Annales and Vergil's works. As far as relationships in idea are concerned, there are general similarities in attitude and approach between the two writers, as well as those which are suggested by Tacitus' use of Vergilian language. Vergil and Tacitus have, for example, a common antiquarian interest, a common feeling that it is those persons outside Rome, whether in the Italian towns, the provinces, or in the Italian countryside, who are the preservers of traditional values. In his use of omens and prophecies, Tacitus generally follows the practice of Vergil rather than Livy, in that he integrates them into the narrative of the Annales so that they serve a dramatic function. Possibly the recurrence of divine signs and admonitions during Nero's reign has some connection with the prodigies at the death of Julius Caesar, Geo. 1.466-88, on the same principle as the Clausus - Britannicus relationship suggested earlier (p.322). Nero's fall, like that of Caesar, ushers in a period of civil conflict which is ascribed to the wrath of the gods. Since the section of the Annales treating of the end of Nero's reign is no longer extant, this suggestion remains inconclus--

1. See ftn.4 and Geo.1.489ff.
ive. Tacitus' method of creating his own distinctive prose style, too, his use of language apparently derived from the poets, from earlier prose, and from archaic literature, as well as his method of pointing out associations by means of the language of other writers are in the Vergilian manner.

None of these points, however, seems as fundamental as the relationships suggested by the patterns which exist between imitated words and phrases in their Vergilian contexts, and between groups of Vergilian imitations within the *Annales* itself, and it is upon these latter relationships that we shall concentrate. Such limitations are not as circumscribed as might at first appear, since many of Tacitus' basic ideas concerning the significance of the historical events depicted in the *Annales* are suggested by or expressed in the language which he has drawn from Vergil. Although many of the themes in the *Aeneid* which seem to interest Tacitus and to be relevant to the *Annales* are in fact universal ones, there seems to be a basic kinship between the two writers in the way in which they approach these themes. Part of our task, therefore, will be to attempt to indicate what constitutes this basic kinship.

Several points of similarity in approach between Vergil and Tacitus have been pointed out by scholars. R. Syme has remarked upon Tacitus' ability to suggest Vergil's "pictorial and musical effects", and to "conjure up the Virgilian strain of mystery, majesty, and compassion".² N.P. Miller suggests that "when Tacitus presents his

² *op. cit.*, I.357.
material in an impressionistic manner designed to suggest his inter-
pretation of its significance, he is treating it as part of a univer-
sal, handling it in fact like a poet". She continues, "Virgil and
Tacitus have a certain fundamental melancholy in common, a brooding
quality of mind, a grandeur of conception, a love of Rome. Tacitus,
perhaps naturally, is more inclined to suspect the worst in human be-
aviour: but like Virgil he is interested in its motives, and like
Virgil he sees and is affected by its sadness." We shall return to
certain of these comments in the course of the discussion, but we
shall take as our starting-point the ideas of Vergilian compassion
and the melancholy which Vergil and Tacitus share.

We have suggested in Chapter III (p.191ff.) that it is the tragic
elements in the Aeneid, those scenes which present an essentially
hostile world, upon which Tacitus draws most consistently, and that
one of the ideas underlying many of the Vergilian passages used is
the theme of power and the individual's relationship to it (p.229ff.).
Not only are the same ideas present in many of the Tacitean contexts
in which Vergilian imitations are used, but they also pervade Tacitus' general method of presenting his material in the Annales as a whole.
As in the Aeneid, the gods are irresponsible and essentially hostile;
nature is violent and destructive; human beings possess the potential
for destructive action, for treachery and betrayal; and the general
lot is suffering and death. We shall consider these concepts in turn.

3. op.cit., 29.
The idea of the wrath of the gods and of divine retribution appears in the *Histories* as the setting for Tacitus' account of the conflicts for power after Nero's fall, but the anger of the gods had descended upon Rome long before Nero's reign. At one stage it was an avenging force exercised on behalf of Rome. With the phrase *versa Caesarum subole*, *Ann.* 2.42.3, the deaths of Augustus' heirs become the result of divine retribution for the overthrow of the state (pp. 262, 278). But the weapon is double-edged, for among those who died were Drusus and Marcellus, the favourites of the Roman people, 2.41.3. Soon it is turned directly against the Romans themselves. The Roman general, Varus, falls *fato et vi Armini*, 1.55.3. The wrath of the gods makes its presence felt during the army mutinies at the accession of Tiberius, when Germanicus ascribes to their anger the irrational attack by the soldiers upon the senatorial *legati*. It is the wrath of the gods against Rome which is responsible for Sejanus' rise to power and for the lack of resistance among those who are attacked by Nero; and the weakness and failure of nerve among the conspirators who plot to overthrow Nero is *fatalis*, 15.61.3.

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4. *Hist.* 1.3, nec enim umquam atrocioribus populi Romani cladibus magisve iustis indiciis adprobatum est non esse curae deis securitatem nostram, esse ultionem.

5. See 1.39.6, *tum fatalem increnans rabiem, neque militum, sed dem deum ira resurgere;* and the superstitious dread of divine anger among the Pannonian legions, 1.28.2; 1.30.3.

6. 4.1.2, *non tam sallertia (quippe in dem artibus victus est) quam deum ira in rem Romanam, cuius pari exitio viguit ceciditque.*

7. 16.16.2, *ira illa numinum in res Romanas fuit, quam non, ut in cladibus exercituum aut captivitate urbium, semel edito transire licet.*
Not only do the gods take a destructive part in crucial events, but also there are ominous rumblings of divine displeasure at human action, particularly during Nero’s reign. The burial of Britannicus is accompanied by violent storms. The year which saw the failure of the Pisonian conspiracy and Nero’s subsequent attacks upon innocent persons is marked by storms and an epidemic in Rome as signs of divine judgment. Nero’s attack on Agrippina is hampered by the fact that the night on which she is to meet her death by shipwreck is calm and starlit; and, on a lighter note, Nero pays the penalty for bathing in the fons aquae Marciae, and is deluded by fortuna concerning the discovery of a buried treasure, reputedly the gold hidden by Dido when Carthage was founded. Only once are the gods represented as more benevolent powers: when Rome is saved from famine by the arrival of supplies of grain.

The deaths of Drusus and Marcellus suggest another idea concerning the gods, an idea which recurs in the Aeneid and the Annales: divum inclementia, divum. Germanicus speaks out against the gods as he is dying (2.71.1). If we consider both his own words and his role

8. 13.17.1, in campo tamen Martis sepultus est, adeo turbidis imbris, ut vulgus iram deum portendi crediderit adversus facinus, cui plerique etiam hominum ignoscébant.
9. 16.13.1, Tot facinoribus foedum annum etiam díi tempestatibus et morbis insignivere.
10.14.5.1, Noctem sideribus inlustrem et placido mari quintam quasi convincendum ad scelus díi praebuere.
12.12.43.2, quindecim dierum alimenta urbi, non amplius, superfluissa constitit, magnaque deum benignitate et modestia hiemis rebus extremis subventum.
in the **Annales** as the embodiment of heroic, positive values (pp. 279-80), his death is the supreme example of **divum inclementia**, for Germanicus was Rome's last hope. It is the implacable will of the gods which overwhelms both the guilty and the innocent in its anger, and is unmoved even by acts of loyalty and devotion. It is another mark of their implacability that prophecies and omens may be interpreted falsely, and that men's hopes in the gods' protection and favour may be aroused without foundation. The seers, for example, speak in riddles when they say that Tiberius will never return to Rome from Campania. The portents following the murder of Agrippina are a mockery and a delusion. In spite of his attempts to avoid the public gaze, Rubellius Plautus is trapped by omens which lead to his destruction, since they are reputed to mark him out as Nero's successor. Buoyed up by their previous successes, the Britons go to their destruction with the tragic confidence, **adesse tamen deos iustae vindic-tae**, 14.35.2. When it is rumoured that Octavia is to be reinstated as Nero's wife, the people of Rome **laeti Capitolium scandunt deosque tandem venerantur**, 14.61.1, but their rejoicing is short-lived, and the futility of their worship soon becomes clear. The link between gods and men has been broken, and men are now at their mercy.

13.4.74.5, quibus infanae amicitiae gravis exitus imminebat; 16.16.2, ira illa numinum in res Romanas fuit (ftn.7, p. 368).
14.16.33.1, /Cassius Asclepiodotus/ florentem Soranum celebraverat, labantem non desperuit, exutusque omnibus fortunis et in exilium actus, aequitate deum erga bona malaque documenta.
15.4.58.3, veraque quam obscuris tegentur.
17.14.22.2, hunc illum numine deum destinari credebant.
It has been suggested (pp.193-6) that in the Aeneid the ruthless-
ness of the gods is directed not only against their victims, but also
against their favourites and those who are their instruments of pun-
ishment. The same is true of Sejanus. It was because of the anger
d of the gods that Sejanus rose to power (ftn.6, p.368), and under their
aegis he sets about his systematic work of destruction. The fact
that he is the instrument of divine wrath does not, however, protect
him from being destroyed in turn. His fall from power also suits
the divine purpose admirably, since Tiberius continues his task.

Tacitus' recurring comments on the hostility of the gods are
somewhat similar in their effect to the recurring theme in the Aeneid
of the hostility of Juno, and the gods' anger against Troy. In each
case, a dramatic framework is provided for the human actions depicted,
a framework which, by suggesting the strength of the hostile forces
which oppose men, both enhances the stature of the human participants
in the action and, at the same time, emphasizes their basic helplessness.
Here, then, is one expression of the "fundamental melancholy"
which Vergil and Tacitus share.

Tacitus goes beyond Vergil, however, when he associates divine
power with mortals (e.g., p.279). To be sure, Augustus is hailed in
Georgics One as a hero who will become a benevolent deity, vv.24-42,
and in Aen.6.792, he is divi genus; the Caesar of Aen.1.286-90 voca-
bitur . . . quoque votis; and Tityrus, in the first Eclogue, owes his
security to a deus. Vergil's attribution of divinity to Augustus
seems to be a mark of his own hopes in Augustus' leadership, and his
thankfulness for the restoration of peace, rather than an acknowledgement that the power which Augustus holds as princeps is absolute. It was not until the reign of Tiberius that the realities of the Principate became clear, and it is upon Tiberius that Tacitus concentrates Vergilian language which had shown the divine as a force for dissolution. What Tacitus seems to be doing is, in effect, both suggesting the true nature of Tiberius' power, and perhaps providing a comment, in the light of later experience, upon the strain of imperial optimism which appears in all of Vergil's works.

Tacitus shares with Vergil the idea that nature can be an instrument of divine wrath, or a powerful source of danger to men. The chief example of the violence of nature, the storm which scatters the fleet of Germanicus, Ann.2.23-4, has already been considered in detail (pp.304-9). It has also been noted earlier (p.240) that Tacitus tends to draw upon Vergilian descriptions of nature in her more violent moods, and that in one case he gives a violent implication to a Vergilian phrase which had depicted nature's beauty. Only once, in his description of the island of Capri (Ann.4.67), does Tacitus re-

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18. See, e.g., 1.30.3, durabat et formido caelestis irae, nec frustra adversus impios hebescrete sidera, ruere tempestates; 16.13.1, Tot facinoribus foedum annum etiam dii tempestatibus et morbis insignivere: and, in Vergil's works, e.g., the prodigies after the assassination of Caesar, Geo.1.466-88; the storm, Aen.1.81-123, and the drought and sickness which beset the Trojans in Crete, 3.137-42.

19. See, e.g., 1.63.4, angustus is trames vastas inter paludes... cetera limosa, tenacia gravi gaeno aut rivis incerta erant; 1.64.2, cuncta... Romanis adversa: locus uligine profunda, idem ad gradum instabilis, procedentibus lubricus... neque librarum pilar inter undas poterant; the storm and tides which trap the Romans, 1.70; the destruction of grain ships by storm and fire, 15.18.2; the fire in Rome, 15.38-41; and the shipwreck of part of the fleet from Misenum, 15.46; and in Vergil's works, e.g., the destructiveness of storms, Geo.1.311-34, Aen.2.304-8; and the plague, Geo.3.478-566.
veal a sensitivity to natural beauty which has some kinship with
Vergil's love of the countryside, a quality which is ever-present in
his poetry.

The hostility and violence of the gods and the external world
has its counterpart in human relationships. Although, as Miss Miller
notes (see p.367), Vergil's view of human nature is less dark than
Tacitus', there is abundant evidence that Vergil is aware of the po-
tential for guile, treachery, and destruction within the human person-
ality. Not only is Tacitus closely akin to Vergil in this idea, but
also, in order to strengthen his own presentation, he has used lan-
guage from almost every speech or situation in Vergil's works in
which this destructive potential is depicted. The presence of trea-
chery and destructiveness in the Annales, however, extends beyond
those scenes which contain Vergilian language, and it pervades every
sphere of private and public life. To cite only a few representative
examples, Serenus is falsely accused by his own son of plotting a
revolution (4.28-30); Nero makes elaborate preparations to lull
Agrippina into a false sense of security in order to have her killed
(14.4-8); Livia betrays her husband, Drusus, to Sejanus (4.3, 7-8);

by pretending friendship, Latiaris traps and betrays Sabinus who had

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20. The Vergilian passages concerned are: Ecl.8.47-8, Medea's murder
of her children; Aen.1.356, the murder of Sychaeus; 2.57ff., the
scene between Sinon and the Trojans; 2.81-93, the betrayal of Pal-
amedes; 2.250ff., the attack of the Greeks on Troy, aided by Sin-
on; 2.264, Epeos, builder of the Wooden Horse; 4.597-9, Dido's
feeling that Aeneas has betrayed her by leaving; 6.442, those de-
stroyed by love; 6.494ff., Deiphobus; 10.517ff., Aeneas' vengeance
for the death of Pallas; 11.122-31, Drances' betrayal of Turnus; 11.
702ff., Ligus' attempt to trick Camilla; 12.227ff., Juturna's
rousing of the Latins to break the truce; and 12.603, Amata's self-
destruction.
maintained his loyalty to the family of Germanicus (4.68-70); advocates are corrupted by bribery and betray their clients (11.5); when their plot has been discovered, the Pisonian conspirators turn upon one another in a vain attempt to save themselves (15.58, 60, 61, 66-7); Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, is lured to Rome by the Augusta with false hopes of pardon by Tiberius for an apparent slight while Tiberius was in Rhodes (2.42); Nero is reputed to have poisoned two of his most influential freedmen (14.65); and Caratacus, the leader of the Britons, who seeks aid from Cartimandua, is taken prisoner by her and delivered to the Romans (12.36).

The account of the overthrow of Mithridates, king of Armenia, 12.44ff., reads in some respects like a miniature fall of Troy. There is the elaborate plan which is made to set a trap for the king. Rhadamistus has the cunning of a Sinon, and his ability to play upon the feelings of others. Like him, he pretends to be an outcast, and, like him, he is received kindly. Mithridates is as unsuspecting as Priam and the Trojans, and he, too, falls because of qualities which are in themselves good, family loyalty, and belief in the good faith of others. When he does begin to suspect the motives of the Roman prefect, Pollio, it is too late. Again, like Priam, it is before the altars of the gods that Mithridates is attacked, and innocent persons, his wife, and his sons who wept for their father, suffer in his fall from power. As in the account of the fall of Troy, there is the idea of a tragic reversal of fortune. Although some persons rejoiced to see Mithridates overthrown, because he had been a harsh ruler,
contra, qui tantam fortunae commutationem miserarentur, 12.47.4.

As is evident from the comments on the fall of Mithridates, for example, Tacitus does not simply record historical events. Such incidents are important not only because they reveal certain characteristics of the persons involved, but also because they build up an impression of one aspect of the human personality itself, an aspect which Tacitus considers to be of some importance. His treatment of the destructive potential in the human personality is thus one example of Tacitus' method of universalizing his material, a method which Miss Miller has commented upon as characteristic of a poet (p.366). Given that Tacitus draws consistently upon the scenes in Vergil's works which depict the darker side of the characters involved, and given Tacitus' own interest in this aspect of human nature, we are perhaps justified in seeing something more than a general similarity in approach between the two writers. Possibly Tacitus' method of presenting his material, in this instance, owes something to the method of the poet from whom he derives his imitative language.

The account of the overthrow of Mithridates contains another idea which Vergil and Tacitus share, the idea that an individual or a group has only limited insight into the motives which prompt the actions of others. The theme of the limitations of human insight, particularly the idea of mutual incomprehension, is, however, considerably older than Vergil. It is fundamental to drama, notably in the Antigone, and it is present in the relationship between Agamemnon and Achilles, in the Iliad, as pride clashes against pride. The chief
examples in Vergil’s works are the scene between the Trojans and Sinon in Aeneid Two, in which the Trojans’ failure to understand the cunning and duplicity of Sinon is matched by his keen insight into the way their minds work, and his instinct for the approach which will stir their feelings; and the love affair of Dido and Aeneas, in which Dido fails to understand Aeneas’ motives for leaving, and he in turn fails to understand the implications of her violent reaction to his departure. Both are sections of the work from which Tacitus has derived imitative language, and it has been suggested that the same ideas may be present in other Vergilian passages upon which Tacitus draws (pp.198–200).

The idea of mutual lack of comprehension is less common in the Annales. It is perhaps present to some extent in the relation between Tiberius and Agrippina, the widow of Germanicus, based upon the clash in personality between them. Agrippina, who is not particularly gifted with subtlety or tact, chooses the wrong approach when she attacks Tiberius after the accusation of Claudia Pulchra, and vaunts her descent from Augustus (4.52). Nor does she help herself by refusing to eat the fruit which Tiberius offers her while they are dining together (4.54). Tiberius, however, fails to realize that her fearful reactions are influenced by the wiles of Sejanus, and neither comprehends the extent to which their natural antipathy to one another is being played upon by Sejanus for his own purposes.

More common, however, is the relationship of the type depicted in the scene between Sinon and the Trojans. It is almost a perversity
in the nature of things, particularly in the first six books of the
Annales, that if an individual has points of vulnerability or weak-
ness in judgment, they will be found by someone whose insight is keen-
er and used against him. Sejanus, for example, makes use of Tiberi-
us' inability to forget slights or injuries, and plays upon his
naturally retiring nature to persuade him to depart to Capri. The
inexperience of Germanicus' son, Nero, his voces... contumaces et
inconsultae (4.60.1) are turned against him by Sejanus' agents until,
seu loqueretur seu taceret iunvis, crimen ex silentio, ex voce (4.
60.2). Sabinus falls a prey to his sense of isolation in a time of
difficulty, disarmed by the apparent sympathy of Latiairis. Firmius
Catus collects evidence against his friend, Libo Drusus, invenem im-
providum et facilem inanibus (2.27.2), by persuading him to dabble in
the occult, and Tiberius sits quietly, paying out the rope with
which Libo Drusus will hang himself. Piso pays dearly for his mis-
placed confidence in the Augusta and Tiberius, not realizing that, as
far as they are concerned, he is expendable (3.13-16).

21. 1.69.5, accendebat haec onerabatque Seianus, peritia morum Tiberii
odia in longum iaciens, quae recondet auctaque promeret.
22. 4.41.3, igitur paulatim negotia urbis, populi adcursum, multitud-
inem adfluentium increpat, extollens laudibus quietem et solitud-
inem, quis abesse taedia et offensiones ac praecipua rerum maxi-
me agitari.
23. 4.68.2-4, Latiairis... mox laudare constantiam, quod non, ut
ceteri, florentis domus amicus adflictam deserisset... et
postquam Sabinus, ut sunt molles in calamitate mortalium animi,
effudit lacrmas, inuxit questus, antentius iam onerat Seianum... ac
iam ultro Sabinus quaerere Latiairem, ventitare domum, dolores
suos quasi ad fidissimum deferre.
24. 2.28.2, /Tiberius/ non vultu alienatus, non verbis commotior (adeo
iram condiderat); cuntactaque eius dicta factaque, cum prohibere
posset, scire malebat...
In his treatment of the theme of limitations in insight and their disastrous consequences, Tacitus reveals a sensitivity to the interaction of personalities which he has in common with Vergil. He also reveals that, like Vergil, he has the instincts of a dramatist. By concentrating upon the way in which individuals react to one another and to the circumstances in which they find themselves, Tacitus gives a dramatic unity to such episodes as the overthrow of Mithridates and the trapping of Libo Drusus and Sabinus, just as Vergil presents dramatically the relationship between Dido and Aeneas, or between the Trojans and Sinon, or creates a miniature tragedy in the episodes of Nisus and Eurylaus, and of Camilla. In addition, as Tacitus uses incidents revealing the destructive potential in persons to build up a general impression of this aspect of the human personality, so he uses the idea of the limitations in human insight to suggest dramatically how this potential shows itself in human relationships, what weaknesses in others it preys upon, and what suffering it causes. Again, specific situations reveal truths of more general significance, and Tacitus treats his material in the manner of a poet.

Another theme which recurs both in the works of Vergil and in the Annales is the theme of human suffering. We have noted particularly, among those figures in the Aeneid who suffer, Andromache, Dido, Deiphobus, Priam, Turnus, Mezentius, and Aeneas himself (p.200). As in the Aeneid human suffering seems to be all-embracing, so in the Annales it is a universal experience. It ranges, for example, from the unhappy fate of the Ampsivarii, driven from their homeland, and
wandering in exile until they are eventually slain or made captive by hostile tribes (13.55–6), and the plight of the Britons, victimized by their Roman masters (14.31); the sorrow of the widow of Rubellius Plautus, *impea luctu continuo nec ullis alimento nisi quae mortem arcerent* (16.10.3); the misery of Arruntius who commits suicide after the indignity of a false accusation (6.48); and the grief in Rome and in the East at the death of Germanicus (2.72, 82, 84): to the pain of the emperors themselves, Tiberius' sorrow at the death of Drusus (4. 8–9; 4.13.1); his agony of mind when he writes to the senate on behalf of Cotta Messalinus (6.6.1); and Nero's paroxysm of fear, both after the first plot to kill Agrippina has failed (14.7.2), and the second attempt has succeeded (14.10.1).

Tacitus and Vergil also share the idea that sometimes there is a marked disproportion between the depth of pain suffered and the seriousness of the wrong action which causes it, and that suffering seems to fall indiscriminately upon the guilty and the innocent alike (p.200). Again the theme is a universal one, and it is especially important to tragic drama. Vergil and Tacitus, however, are alike in their concern, firstly, to indicate that this disproportion is a general fact of human existence, secondly, to seek some explanation for it, and, thirdly, to show its effect upon the human personality.

The idea of a lack of proportion appears in the *Annales*, for example, in several accounts of treason trials in Books 1–6. The charges against Granius Marcellus are *sinistros de Tiberio sermones habuisse*, 1.74.3, that he had placed his own statue higher than those
of the Caesars, and that he had removed the head of Augustus from one statue and replaced it with an image of Tiberius. Marcellus is saved from condemnation only by the intervention of Piso. The crime of Libo Drusus dwindles to his too credulous belief in astrology (2.30.1-2). Cremutius Cordus is charged with praising Brutus and Cassius in his history (4.34). Tiberius' anger at Votienus extends to Aquilia and Apidius Merula who are punished with excessive severity (4.42), and Paconianus is executed because of verses about Tiberius which he wrote while in prison (6.39). As far as the treason trials are concerned, Tacitus seems to find the explanation for this disproportion in the personality of Tiberius whom he credits with the power of a hostile divinity (pp.282, 283-4, 288). Like the inclementia divum in the Aeneid, the inclementia of Tiberius (4.42.3) sweeps all before it. As Vergil shows how such characters as Andromache, Priam, Dido, Turnus, and Aeneas react to this imbalance and the suffering which they must face, so Tacitus shows the reactions of individuals like Libo Drusus, panic-stricken and driven to an ignominious suicide, or Cremutius Cordus, undaunted by circumstances and passionately defending the right to freedom of speech. The ultimate significance of such scenes, for both writers, lies precisely in the human qualities of strength or weakness which are revealed and both writers show their

25. Like the trial of Libo Drusus (pp.282-5), the fate of Paconianus, as depicted in 6.39, is an excellent example of the fact that this sense of disproportion is sometimes due to Tacitus' method of presentation, rather than to the actual nature of events themselves. Contrast 6.3.4, Caesar Sextium Paconianum praetorium percultit magno patrum gudio, audacem maleficiun, omnium secreta rimantem delectumque ab Seiano, cuius ope dolus C. Caesari pararetur. quod postquam patefactum, prorupere concepta pridem odia. . . .
compassion for the characters whom they depict.

The accounts of those persons in the *Annales* who suffer, even though they are guilty of no wrong actions, reveal these same preoccupations, and the list of such persons is a lengthy one. There are, for example, Germanicus and his sons, Nero and Drusus; Silanus who was to have married Octavia, and his sister, Calypina (12.4, 8); Octavia herself (14.59, 63-4) and Britannicus (13.16-17): those persons whose offence is that they are in some degree related to Augustus — Agrippa Postumus (1.6), Junius Silanus (13.1), Rubellius Plautus (14.22, 58-9), Torquatus Silanus (15.35), and his nephew, Silanus (16.7-9): the children of Sejanus (5.9), and the wife and children of Mithridates (12.47): the members of the household of Pedanius Secundus, who are all executed because Secundus had been murdered by one of his slaves (14.42-5): Statilius Taurus, a former proconsul of Africa, falsely accused of extortion and magic, because Agrippina coveted his gardens (12.59); Sulla, who is attacked because Nero, unjustifiably, mistrusts him (13.47): and, to end our partial list, Thrasea Paetus, Helvidius and Montanus (16.21ff)\(^{26}\), and Servilia, the daughter of Soranus, who suffers for her filial pietas (16.30-33).

Both Vergil and Tacitus are conscious of the universality of suffering, and the unreasonableness of it, and both seek to find some more general meaning and significance in events, even if at times it can be only such meaning as that of Vergil's comment *fus versum aiue*

\(^{26}\) Tacitus' presentation of Thrasea Paetus as the innocent victim begins in 16.21, and it is in terms of this section of the work that he is included as one who suffers innocently.
nelas, Geo. 1.505, or Tacitus' similar comment, made in a tone of infinite weariness, after his harrowing description of the death of Octavia:

dona ob haec templis decretae quem ad finem memoria-bimus? quicumque casus temporum illorum nobis vel aliis auctoribus noscent, praesumptum habeant, quotiens fugas et caedes iussit princeps, totiens grates deis actas, quaeque rerum secundarum olim, tum publicae clades insignia fuisse. 14.64.3.

As in the Aeneid, death and the meaning of death are important subjects in the Annales. Very rarely does Tacitus simply state that a death has occurred, without further comment. There are approximately eighty accounts of deaths, in which either his language itself has marked emotional overtones, or a death is presented in a manner highly suggestive of its significance. After the compulsory suicide of Ostorius, Tacitus himself gives one reason why the theme of death has great meaning for him: *detur hoc inlustrium virorum posteritati, ut, quo modo exsequiis a promiscua sepultura separantur, ita in traditione supremorum accipiant habeantque proprium memoriam*, 16.16.2.

There is perhaps an additional reason which lies behind the one just stated, one which Tacitus suggests elsewhere in words which cannot be entirely a flight of rhetoric: *mox nostrae duxere Helvidium in carcerem manus; nos Maurici Rusticique visus foedavit; nos innocent et sanguine Senecio perfudit*, AGR. 45.1. Although Tacitus' feeling of corporate responsibility does not, in this particular case, seem to be one which is shared by Vergil, characteristic of both writers are the sense of personal involvement, and the idea that death is tragic loss and diminution.
In the *Aeneid*, death has both positive and negative implications (pp.202-5). It may be an act of self-sacrifice, affirming the validity of a human relationship, such as the deaths of those who fell defending Troy, of Nisus, or of Lausus. It may be a means of regaining personal integrity, like the deaths of Dido and Mezentius. It may be an act of brutality and violence, like the deaths of Priam and Dryops. Or, like the suicide of Amata and Aeneas' slaying of Turnus, it may be an act of irrationality.

Tacitus, too, treats the deaths of individuals in such a manner that his accounts form patterns of relationship and carry wider implications, and, in some cases, the implications he finds are very similar to those which Vergil has suggested in the *Aeneid*. In the *Annales* death also has both positive and negative aspects. It may be an affirmation of personal courage, dignity, and resolution, or it may express devotion to a personal relationship. The brutality of an oppressor may be revealed, or the weakness and irrationality of the person who suffers death, or, in general, death may appear as degradation. Finally, the idea of loss, or unrealized potential may be paramount.

It would seem to be significant that, although Tacitus treats in vivid detail the horror of the death of Octavia, for example, or the re-

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27. See, for example, 1.3.3, Marcus Agrippa; 4.35, Cremutius Cordus; 6.29, Scaurus; 6.48, Arruntius; 11.3, Asiaticus; 15.62-4, Seneca; 16.11, Vetus, Sextia, and Pollita; 16.19, Petronius; and 16.35, Thrasea Paetus.
28. E.g., 5.9, Sejanus' children; 6.23-4, Drusus; 13.25, Montanus; 14.57, Sulla; 14.63-4, Octavia; and 15.44, the Christians.
29. E.g., 4.22, Silvanus; 6.9.2, Vistilius; 6.49, Papinius; 11.37, Messalina; 15.68, Faenius Rufus.
30. E.g., 2.41, Drusus and Marcellus; 2.71, Germanicus; 15.16-17, Britannicus; 14.51, Burrus; 15.69, Vestimus; 15.70, Lucan; and 16.15, Ostorius.
fined cruelty of Drusus' torture and death, it is generally upon
those descriptions which reveal positive qualities of composure,
courage, and dignity that, like Vergil, he tends to dwell. In such
description, Tacitus shows clearly the deep compassion for human suf-
fering which he shares with Vergil, and also reveals a gift of pathos
which is Vergilian in its effectiveness.

Tacitus' emphasis upon death as a positive act is especially
marked in Books Fifteen and Sixteen. Deaths which are acts of bru-
tality, or which show weakness of character virtually disappear, al-
though many such deaths are depicted in the earlier books.31 Instead,
there are, for example, the extended descriptions of the calmness and
courage of Seneca (15.62-4) and Thrasea Paetus (16.34-5); the compos-
ure and affection of Vetus, Sextia, and Pollita (16.11); and Petron-
iius' independence and refusal to indulge in heroics (16.19). Later-

31. The only examples are: 15.59, the suicide of Piso; noted only
briefly, which seems to be presented as the easy way out of a dif-
ficult situation; 15.68, the lamentations in the will of Faenius
Rufus; 15.44, the brutality of the Christians' deaths; and 16.6,
the death of Poppaea as a result of Nero's fit of anger.

There is an interesting difference in emphasis between the
 treatment of death in Books 15-16, when Nero has freed himself
 from external restraints, and that in the second fragment of Book
 5, and Book 6, during the corresponding stage of Tiberius' career
 after the downfall of Sejanus. The deaths which mark the end of
 Tiberius' reign, even those for which he is in no way responsible,
such as the suicide of Papinius, 6.49, are preponderantly acts of
 horror, brutality, or ignominy. See, e.g., the execution of the
 children of Sejanus; 5.9; the deaths of Vistilius, 6.9, and Proc-
 ulus, 6.18; the general execution of those imprisoned on a charge
 of conspiracy, 6.19; the death of Drusus, 6.23-4; Pemponius Labeo,
 6.29; Pacconianus, 6.39; and of Vibullius Agrippa, 6.40. The gen-
eral impression created in not without its effect upon the pre-
sentation of Tiberius himself— as was probably Tacitus' inten-
tion. His treatment of death in the latter section of Book 5, and
 in Book 6, is another means whereby Tacitus can brand Tiberius as
 a brutal oppressor.
anus dies silently, without betraying that his executioner is also
privy to the plot (15.60); Lucan, with a gesture, defiantly reciting
his poetry (15.70). All have become victims of Nero, some because
they took part in the Pisonian conspiracy, others because of family
connections, or their own values and personalities, and, by the way in
which each faces death, he affirms the integrity and dignity of the
human personality.

We have noted that Tacitus derives imitative language from Ver-
gil's descriptions of death (pp.202-5), that he himself uses accounts
of death to reveal specific human qualities, as Vergil does, and that
some of the qualities depicted are similar to those which Vergil has
shown in the Aeneid. This method of treating death seems to be par-
ticularly characteristic of Vergil and Tacitus. Livy, for example,
does not seem to attach sufficient importance to descriptions of
death to give them the stature of a theme. Nor do other Latin poets
seem to treat the idea of death in the Vergilian manner. In this
case, we can, I think, say not only that Tacitus sees in Vergil's
works a method and outlook to which he responds from his own experi-
ence, but also that his own presentation of death as a theme in the
Annales has been influenced specifically by what he found in Vergil.

The theme of death and the role of the victim are closely assoc-
iated both in the Annales and in the Aeneid. The guilty and the inno-
cent suffer alike in Troy's collapse, and the victors, in their turn,
do not escape retribution. All those who oppose the destiny of Aeneas,
whatever their motives or the independent worth of the qualities they
possess, must of necessity give way before his overriding purpose.

The years of wandering take their toll of his followers. His military victory in Italy costs the lives both of Trojans and of their allies. Even Aeneas himself is, to some extent, a victim of his own task, since all personal desires must give way before it: *Italiam non sponte sequor.*

The *Annales*, too, has its lengthy roll of victims, as is evident from the comments made previously on the ideas of treachery and betrayal, suffering, and death. Those who are thought to espouse the cause of *libertas* must be attacked, and, if possible, destroyed, whether they are Romans like Cremutius Cordus,32 Thrasea Paetus,33 and Germanicus;34 or military opponents of the Romans such as Arminius,35 Tacfarinas,36 the Thracians,37 or Boudicca and the Britons.38 The critics of the emperors must be silenced, and those who oppose them crushed.39 All those who are threatening because of their imperial connections must be exterminated.40 Some persons are caught up in events

32. 4.34.4, Marci Ciceronis libro, quo Catonem caelo aquevit, quid aliiu dictator Caesar quam rescripta oratione, velut apud indices, respondit?
33. 16.22.2, "ut quondam C.Caesarem" inquit "et M. Catonem, ita nunc te, Nero, et Thraseam aida discordiarum civitas loquitur."
34. 1.33.2, /Drusus/ credebaturque, si rerum potitus foret, libertatem redditurus; unde in Germanicum favor et spes eadem.
35. 2.88.2, liberator habet dubie Germaniae.
36. 4.24.1, posse reliquos /Romanos/ circumveniri, si cuncti, quibus libertas servitio potior, incubuissent.
37. 4.46.2, sin ut victis servitutem indicaretur, esse sibi ferrum et iuventutem et promptum libertati aut ad mortem animam.
38. 14.31.2, commotis... Trinovantibus et qui alii nondum servitio fracti resumere libertatem... peiperant.
39. E.g., Calpurnius Piso, 4.21; the conspiracy of Sejanus and the punishment of those thought to be involved in it, 5.6-8; 6.7-19, passim; the Pisonian conspiracy, 15.48-74; and VESTINUS, 15.68-9.
40. See p.381.
whose significance they do not fully comprehend. Others arouse the
malice of the tyrant, or become the objects of irrational mistrust,
hatred, or greed.

Vergil and Tacitus have a common interest in the circumstances
which cause persons to become victims, and, as in their treatment of
the destructive potential in the human personality, the limitations
of human insight, and the themes of suffering and death, both reveal
a strong preoccupation with human reactions and motivation. Vergil's
interest ranges from minor characters such as Mago, who tries to ran-
som his life from Aeneas (10.522-36); Pandarus, who, reckless with
grief at his brother's death, falls a victim to Turnus (9.735-55); or
Ligus, who tries to save himself by his wits when he realizes that he
cannot escape Camilla (11.702-20): to figures like Nisus and Euryalus
who become, for the moment, characters of supreme importance as they
try to escape from Volcens and fail (9.367-445): and, finally, the
major characters, like Dido, whose response to Aeneas' departure is
presented in searching detail.

Tacitus' interest in the reactions of those who become victims is

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41. E.g., Nero and Drusus, the sons of Germanicus, 4.59-60; those who
court the favour of Sejanus, 4.74.5; Sejanus' daughter, 5.9; and
Servilia, the daughter of Soranus, 16.30-31.
42. E.g., 1.13, 6.48, Arruntius; 1.13, 6.29, Scaurus; 4.18, Silius; 4.
28-30, Serenus; 11.1-3, Asiaticus; 12.59, Taurus; 13.47, Sulla;
and 15.60-65, Seneca.
43. See Aen.4.450-73, Dido's agonies as she hears voices calling from
her husband's tomb and the ferae carmen of the owl, and dreams
that Aeneas is pursuing her or that she wanders alone through a
deserted land, seeking for her Tyrians but unable to find them;
4.586-629, her destructive frenzy which turns to cold implacable
hatred as she pronounces her curse upon the departing Trojan
fleet; and 4.651-62, her brief, dignified words before her death.
correspondingly wide, His presentation of Libo Drusus and Cremutius Cordus has already been noted (p. 380), and the emphasis upon death as affirmation in Books 15 and 16 of the Annales has been commented upon (pp. 384-5). The work as a whole is full of light touches or more extended descriptions which illuminate the personalities of those who become victims: Drusus, the son of Germanicus, for example, feigns madness, and then dies, formally cursing Tiberius for the murder of his family (6.24); Asiaticus comments wryly on the fact that he has been worsted by a woman's tricks and the vile tongue of Vitellius, and orders that his pyre be moved so that the fire will not damage the leaves of the trees (11.3.2); and Agrippina, deserted by her serving-woman, faces her assassins, at first refusing to believe that Nero has sent them, then crying out "ventrem feri" (14.8).

In many cases, both writers, again, show in a dramatic form the reactions of those who become victims, and, partly by this dramatic presentation, partly by a keen sensitivity to suggestive detail and by the technique of verbal economy, both achieve a particularly intense concentration upon them which, in effect, elevates each character to the status of a major figure as long as he is the centre of attention.

Thus far the Annales has paralleled the more negative aspects of the Aeneid, the only affirmative element being the spirit in which some persons face their destruction. There is, however, another more constructive force which, we have noted, Tacitus seems to find in the Aeneid in the characters of Diomedes and Latinus, the spirit of compromise growing from an acceptance of personal limitations (pp. 205-6;
In this Vergilian theme, Tacitus has support for and confirmation of an approach which is an integral part of his own experience. His spirited defence of Agricola, Agr. 42.4-5, speaks not only for his father-in-law, but also for his own actions during the reign of Domitian:

Domitian. ' . . natura praecepts in iram . . moderacione tamen prudentiaque Agricolae leniabatur, quia non contumacia neque inani iactatione libertatis faram fatumque provocabat. sciant, quibus moris est illicita mirari, posse etiam sub malis principibus magnos viros esse, obsequiumque ac modestiam, si industria ac vigor adsint, eo laudis exceedere, quo plerique per abrupta, sed in nullum rei publicae usum nisi ambitiosa morte inclaruerunt.

Tacitus' friend, Pliny, had followed a similar course. Although he takes pains to describe in a letter to Tacitus (Ep. 7.33) how he had attempted to defend his colleague, the same Senecio of whom Tacitus writes nos innocentii sanguine Senecio perfudit, Agr. 45.1, and, in a letter to another friend (5.11), tells how he aided the philosopher Artemidorus with funds and visited him outside Rome while he himself was praetor, both he and Tacitus pursued their official careers successfully under Domitian, and compromise and acceptance of personal limitations were a fact of existence.

The idea of compromise, moderation, and acceptance of one's limitations is an important one, too, in the Annales. When he is commenting upon the character and successful career of Marcus Lepidus,
nascendi, ut cetera, ita principum inclinatio in hos, offensio in illos, an sit aliquid in nostris consiliis liceatque inter abruptam contumaciam et deforme obsequium pergere iter ambitione ac periculis vacuum. 4.20.3. In some cases, compromise does seem to work. The pontifex, L. Piso, also walked a path between insolence and servility, and died in his eightieth year.⁴⁵ Cn. Lentulus treated his poverty with tolerance and his later wealth with moderation, and also died a natural death.⁴⁶ L. Volusius amassed a fortune, and remained unharmed by his friendships with the Emperors.⁴⁷ Memmius Regulus survived both his own distinction and the praise of Nero because he, too, showed moderation.⁴⁸ Even the spirited compromise of Lentulus Gaetulicus is accepted by Tiberius,⁴⁹ and Germanicus' advice to Agrippina, as he is dying, is also given in a spirit of compromise and acceptance.⁵⁰

As far as the present theme is concerned, Tacitus and Vergil seem to speak with one voice, and the personal importance for Tacitus of

⁴⁵ 6.10.3, nullius servils sententiae sponte auctor et, quotiens necessitas ingrueret, sapienter moderans... sed praecipua ex eo gloria, quod praefectus urbi recens Continuam potestatem et insolentia parendi graviorem mire temperavit.
⁴⁶ 4.44.1, Lentulo super consulatum et triumphalia de Getis gloriae fuerat bene tolerata paupertas, dein magnae opes innocenter partae et modestae habitae.
⁴⁷ 13.30.2, cui tres et nonaginta anni spatium vivendi praecipuaeque opes bonis artibus, inoffensa tot imperatorum amicitia fuit.
⁴⁸ 14.47.1, auctoritate constantia fama, in quantum praemembrante imperatoris fastigio datur, clarus, adeo ut Nerō aeger valetudine... responderit habere subsidium rem publicam... in Memmi Regulo, vixit tamen post haec Regulus, quiēte defensus et quia nova generis claritudine neque invidiosis opibus erat.
⁴⁹ 6.30.3, firmarent velut foedus, quo principa ceterarum rerum poteretur, ipse provinciam retineret.
⁵⁰ 2.72.1, exseret ferociam, saevienti fortunae summitteret animum, neu regressa in urbem aemulatione potentiae validiores iniritat.
the idea of compromise would appear to be an additional reason for the concentration of imitated language in the speeches of Diomedes and Latinus (Aen. 11.252–93; 302–35), and his selection of details which present Latinus as a figure of rational control and acceptance.

Tacitus, however, goes somewhat beyond Vergil when he suggests that the method of compromise may itself have limitations. Prasutagus’ naming of his two daughters and Caesar as the heirs to his kingdom of the Iceni, for example, 14.31.1, leads to the victimization of his family and people, and his kingdom’s destruction. Seneca’s attempt to retire gracefully from public life, with Nero’s blessing, staves off attack but does not prevent it (14.52–6; 15.60–64). Thrasea Paetus’ refusal to attack Nero by appearing in the senate to defend himself against charges, and his preventing of Arulenus from using the tribune’s power of veto (16.25–6) do not save him from condemnation (16.34–5). Compromise depends upon some degree of mutual acceptance of rights and limitations, and there may be situations in which it is no longer effective. As a method, therefore, it is not infallible.

In the discussion thus far, we have attempted to indicate some of the themes which recur in the Aenaid and the Annales, and to show in which respects Vergil and Tacitus are alike in their presentation of these basic ideas. We have noted a similarity in approach between the two writers in their treatment of the themes of the hostility of the gods, the limitations in human insight, human suffering, the disproportion between actions and punishment, and the idea that certain
persons are victims. We have also suggested the possibility of more specific Vergilian influence upon Tacitus' presentation of the themes of the destructive potential in the human personality, and of death, and have pointed out the importance which both writers attach to the idea of compromise in relationships with persons of authority. The ideas which have been commented upon provide some of the basic elements for the more comprehensive theme of power and the relationship of the individual to it. There are, in addition, certain similarities in situation between the Aeneid and the Annales which appear to be relevant, and these will be noted before we attempt to define more exactly Tacitus' ideas concerning power and the individual.

Firstly, the association of Germanicus with Aeneas by means of Vergilian language is supported by certain details and situations which also recall Aeneas. As he is on his way to Athens, Germanicus' fleet is beset by a storm, and while the ships are being refitted, sinus Actiaca victoria inclusos et sacratas ab Augusto manubias cas-traque Antonii cum recordatione maiorum suorum adiit, 2.53.2. John J. Savage comments, "Elsewhere (Aen.III.278-288) . . . Vergil has paid a significant tribute to the victor of the battle of Actium. There he depicts Aeneas taking part in a dedicatory ceremony wherein a Greek shield, with an appropriate inscription, is hung on the pillars of a temple on these same shores."51 We might also note, in the same general context, that Germanicus also visits Ilium, quaeque ibi varie-
tate fortunae et nostri origine veneranda, 2.54.2; that, like Aeneas,

he visits an oracle of Apollo (2.54.2, adpellitque Colophona, ut Clarii Apollinis oraculo uteretur); and that he receives what is reputed to have been an ominous prophecy (2.54.4, et ferebatur Germanico per ambages, ut mos oraculis, maturum exitum cecinisse). The travels of Germanicus perform the same function as the wanderings of Aeneas, in that they associate him with founding legends and mythology, and with ancient history.

There are also apparent similarities in situation to the Aeneid in the accounts of the German campaigns, and these similarities also reinforce ideas which have been presented by means of Vergilian language (pp.311-13). The capture of the wife of Arminius, for example, is curiously stressed. She is an added source of strife between Arminius and his father-in-law, Segestes, because Arminius had taken her from the man to whom she was betrothed (1.55.3). When Segestes and his followers are rescued from the Germans attacking them, she is vividly portrayed. It is the capture of his wife which rouses the

52. Cf. Aen.6.86-7, bella, horrida bella,/et Thybrim multo spumantem sanguine cerno. The phrase relegit Asiam, 2.54.2, for which E. Koestermann notes parallels in Aen.3.690-91, relegens...litora, and Ov. Trist.1.10.24, we have classed as poetic, since there are similar usages in the poetry of Valerius Flaccus, Seneca, and Statius. It may, however, be significant that the word appears in the account of Germanicus' travels in a context which may have general Vergilian associations, that it is placed between references to Ilium and the oracle of Apollo at Colophon, and that the example in the Aeneid is in the context of Aeneas' voyage along the coast of Sicily during the course of his wanderings.

53. E.g., the founding legend of Canopus, and the myth of Heracles, 2.60; the kingdom of Rhameses II, whose tribute rolls rival those of Parthia and Rome, 2.60.3; the pyramids, recalling past kings of Egypt, 2.61.1; and the ancient history of Greece, 2.53.3.

54. The fact that Tacitus apparently makes some reference to the child of Arminius in a lost section of the work (1.55.6) does not in itself seem sufficiently to explain the importance given to Arminius' wife.

55. 1.57.4, uxor Arminii eademque filia Segestis, mariti magis quam
fury of Arminius and causes him to stir up the tribes against the Romans, with sneers at their martial prowess (1.59.1-2); and, later, when the Suebi and Cheruscii are at war, Marobodius belittles Arminius because his wife and child are captives of the Romans (2.46.1). The ill-feeling between Segestes and Arminius over Segestes' daughter recalls in a general way the difference between Latinus and Turnus concerning the marriage of Lavinia, and, as Arminius fights against the Romans, *praeta uxor*, 1.59.1, so Turnus fights against the Trojans, *conjugem praecepta*, Aen.9.138.

The difference between Segestes and Arminius in their attitude to the Romans also recalls the difference between Latinus and Turnus concerning Aeneas and the Trojans. Latinus is aware that the interests of the Latins and the Trojans are in accord (Aen.7.270-72, *generos externis adfore ab oris, hoc Latio restare canunt, qui sanguine nostrum/nomen in astra ferant*). He refuses formally to initiate the conflict with the Trojans by opening the Gates of War (7.618-19), and warns Turnus and the Latins of the madness of their course of opposition (7.594-600). His attempts at reason, however, are of no avail, and against his own good judgment he becomes a party to the resistance (12.29-37) because his people have been roused against the Trojans (7.623-40). When the Latins suffer reverses, he tries to act as peace-maker (11.302-35; 12.19-45), and, throughout, he remains convinced that peace with the Trojans and acceptance of them is the only reasonable course.

parentis animo, neque evicta in lacrimas neque voce supplessa, compressis intra sinum manibus gravidum uterum intuens.
Segestes is a loyal ally of the Romans and seeks peace with them because, like Latinus, he is convinced Romanis Germanisque idem conducere, 1.58.1. His efforts, however, are thwarted by the nature of his own people: nam barbaris, quanto quis audacia promptus, tanto magis fidus rebusque motis potior habetur, 1.57.1. When Varus is defeated by Arminius, Segestes is drawn, reluctantly, into war with the Romans: consensu gentis in bellum tractus, discors manebat, 1.55.3. Like Latinus, however, he remains unshaken in his conviction that peace is the way of reason.

Arminius and Turnus have in common their youth, and their conviction that the way to deal with an opposing power is to fight it. Both are fighting against those who have wronged them personally, according to their own view of the situation (Aen.1.59.1, ranta uxor; and Aen.9.138, coniuge praerupta), and both are convinced of the justice of their cause.

Finally, there are two passages which are generally suggestive of Turnus' attack on the Trojan camp, Aen.9.25-167. Turnus attacks the Trojans while Aeneas is away seeking Etruscan aid against the Latins. The Trojans are separated from their leader, and they are virtually prisoners in their own camp. Arminius also attacks the Roman forces under Caecina when they are separated from their leader, 1.64-8, and, for a time, the Romans are in a difficult position, surrounded by their enemies. Although the Vergilian phrases used in the present passage recall the attack by the Greeks upon the palace of Priam (p.300), the additional association in situation with Turnus'
attack on the Trojans' camp would not be inconsistent with Tacitus' general method of presenting the Germans.

The second passage is the speech of Arminius before the final battle with the Romans, 2.15. The speech contains fairly traditional elements of "eve of battle" addresses to the soldiers: the casting of scorn upon the courage and military skill of the opponents, a reference to previous victories over them, and a reminder of what is at stake in the present conflict. A less traditional element, however, is Arminius' emphasis upon the Roman fleet: **classem quippe et avia Oceani quaesita, ne quis venientibus occurreret, ne pulsos premaret; sed ubi miscuerint manus, inane victis ventorum remorumve subsidium**, 2.15.2. Turnus, too, has much to say about the Trojan fleet, after his attempt to burn it has been thwarted by the intervention of Cybele.

The Trojans have lost their means of escape: **maria invia Teucris, nec spes alla fugae: rerum pars altera adempta est, terra autem in nostris manibus**, 9.130-32. Turnus has no need for ships: **non mille carinis/est opus in Teucros**, 9.148-9. Although the latter two similarities in detail which have been noted are in themselves slight, and could be said to arise simply from the fact that Vergil and Tacitus are treating subject-matter which is generally similar, the fact that Tacitus uses Vergilian language with a fair amount of deliberation in his account of the German campaigns, together with the fact that the relationship between Germanicus, Segestes, and Arminius is strongly reminiscent of that between Aeneas, Latinus, and Turnus, may indicate that these incidental similarities are not without some sig-
nificance in the general pattern.

The relationship of Segestes and Arminius to Germanicus, in which their respective attitudes to Germanicus' power are compromise and acceptance, and forcible resistance, is a basic situation which recurs elsewhere in the Annales. In some cases, the parallel is a strict one, with the person of greater age and experience advocating reason and acceptance of terms with the opponent, and youth determined upon the method of attack. The reaction of the Thracians, besieged by Poppaeus Sabinus, shows this divergence in attitude. *Dinis, provectus senecta et longo usu vim atque clementiam Romanam edoctus, nonenda arma, unum adfectis id remedium disserebat*, 4.50.2. The young men, however, follow Tarsa and Turesis, who refuse to surrender. The situation repeats itself when Thrsea Paetus faces the prospect of accusation in the senate. His friends give him contradictory advice concerning the course of action which he should follow, some saying that he should appear to defend himself, others that he should maintain his own integrity, and the integrity of the senate, by absenting himself from its deliberations, 16.25-6. Among those who advise the former course is Rusticus Arulenus, *flagrans invenis*, who wishes to take an active part on Thrsea Paetus' behalf: *eundine laudis offerebat se intercessurum senatus consulto: nam plebi tribunus erat*, 16.26.4. The reaction of Thrsea is one of reason and restraint: *cohibuit spiritus eius Thrsea: ne vana et reo non profutura, intercessori exitiosa inciperet*, 16.26.5. He accepts his fate.

The methods of compromise and attack appear, also, in other at-
tempts to cope with power. We have noted Germanicus’ advice to Agrippina that she should restrain her temper and not compete with those more powerful than she (p. 390). Agrippina is incapable of taking the advice of her dying husband, and the savagery of Tiberius against her is an almost predictable result. Germanicus’ comment also underlines the manner in which his attitude has been presented by Tacitus. Germanicus’ efforts are directed generally towards conciliating Tiberius, and he accepts his position as Tiberius’ subordinate. It would appear that as well as possessing the heroic qualities of Aeneas, Germanicus has some of the wisdom and spirit of Latinus, as far as his relationship with Tiberius is concerned.

The importance of Lepidus as a figure of compromise has been noted (p. 389–90). Closely following Tacitus’ comments upon him is the account of the accusation of Calpurnius Piso, 4.21, an outspoken critic and opponent of Tiberius. The virtual juxtaposition of Lepidus and Piso, the one a moderate who is able both to prevent some of the excesses of the regime and to retain the good-will of Tiberius, the other a blatant opponent of the emperor who suffers for his outspokenness, would not seem to be entirely accidental.

56. See 1.34.1, Germanicus quanto summae speci propri, tanto impensius pro Tiberio niti; 2.5.2, quanto acriora in eum studia militum et aversa patru voluntas, celerandae victoriae intentior; 2.22.1, the comment on Germanicus’ omission of his own name from the victory monument, metu invidiae an ratus conscientiam facti satis esse; 2.26.5, his prompt return to Rome at Tiberius’ summons, quamquam fingea seque per invidiam parto iam decori abstrahit intellecter.

57. See the trial of Marcellus, in which Piso’s comment to Tiberius is preceded by the words manebant etiam tum vestigia morientis liber- tatis, 1.74.5; Piso’s case against Urgulania, a friend of the Augusta, 2.34; and 2.35, his opposition to the adjournment of the senate, proposed because of Tiberius’ intention to be absent from Rome.
Finally, there is the relationship between Burrus and Seneca, Agrippina, and Nero. Agrippina's method of attempting to cope with Nero is authoritarian control and frontal attack. Burrus and Seneca, on the other hand, attempt to restrain Nero rather than to dominate him: *iuventus in vicem, quo facilius lubricam principis actatem, si virtutem aspernaretur, voluptatibus concessis retinerent*, 13.2.1. Acte, for example, is acceptable because she has no personal ambitions, and prevents Nero from seeking companionship among women of higher rank (13.12.2). When Nero persists in his wish to drive a racing-chariot, and to sing and play the *cithara, ne utraque perverseretur, alterum concedere*, 14.14.2. Nero has his private race-course. When he achieves his desire to appear on the stage, during the *ludi Juvenalium*, Burrus is present, *maerens... ac laudans*, 14.15.4. Neither the approach of Burrus and Seneca, nor of Agrippina is, in the end, successful with Nero, but Burrus and Seneca survive somewhat longer than Agrippina does.

Gathering together the various ideas which have been suggested, we can now attempt to define more exactly the way in which Tacitus presents his view of the problem of the relationship between power.

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58. E.g., 12.64.3, truci... ac minaci... quae filio dare immerium, tolerare imperitantem nequabit; 13.5.2, quin et legatis Armeniorum causam gentis apud Neronem orantibus concedere suggestum imperatoris et praesidere simul parabat, nisi... Seneca admonisset, venienti matri occurrener; 13.13.4, Caesar... deligit vestem et gemmas misitque domum matri... sed Agrippina non his instruit cultus suos, sed ceteris arcessi proclamat et dividere filium, quae cuncta ex ipsa haberet; her threats against Nero through Britannicus, 13.14.2-3; and, after his death, her espousal of the cause of Octavia, and her courting of military officers and nobles, quasi quaereret ducem et partes, 13.18.2.
and the individual. An attempt has been made earlier to formulate Tacitus' view of the problem, in terms of the language which he uses from the Aeneid (pp.229-30), and the basic ideas suggested are strikingly consistent with his presentation of the material in the Annales as a whole.

There are three main figures of power in the Annales, Germanicus, Tiberius, and Nero, and each represents a slightly different kind of power. Germanicus shares the power of Aeneas through his kinship with the heroic potential of his ancestor, and his own experience of suffering (see pp.279; 311-13). Tiberius is a power whose qualities are a mixture of good and evil, but the destructive elements in his personality are stronger, and they are gradually revealed and finally become dominant during the course of his reign (see pp.279; 291). Nero is at first the object of hopes for a revival of the power of Germanicus, but, in reality, his power is the most destructive in its brutality and irrationality (see pp.321; 352-3).

The chief ways of attempting to cope with power in the Annales remain the methods of compromise and attack. In some cases, the two methods are juxtaposed within a basic situation; in others, the emphasis is upon individual figures of compromise, or upon individuals or groups of individuals whose method is attack. The figures in the

59. Claudius does not figure in this pattern because he is not presented as a power in the same sense as the three figures mentioned, but rather as the tool of his wives and freedmen.
60. See pp.394-5; 397-9.
61. See pp.389-90.
62. See p.386, the military opponents of the Romans, and those who oppose or criticize the emperors (excluding Calpurnius Piso, for whom see p.398).
Annales who typify the limitations of the individual’s insight, whether into his own nature, the nature of others, or into the implications of actions, are a host. Not only are there the limitations of those who attack power directly or indirectly and suffer for it, such as Sabinus, Votienus, Calpurnius Piso, Agrippina, and the Pisonian conspirators. There are also the limitations of those who attempt to compromise and fail, like Seneca and Prasutagus, or of those whose actions, while not directly hostile, provide an opening for attack, such as Libo Drusus, Nero, the son of Germanicus, the friends of Sejanus, Thrasea Paetus, and Servilia. All become the victims of power.

There is, however, an additional group of victims, those who suffer attack through no fault of their own, sometimes because of essentially good qualities which they possess. It is because of a deterioration in the nature of power itself that they become ones who suffer. The potential both for good and for evil, which was present in Aeneas, has, in his descendants, become effectively split. Germanicus alone retains the potential for constructive action, but he suffers defeat at the hands of those who are the forces of evil. Neither Tiberius nor Nero has the capacity to feel pity for the suffering of others, so that the only internal check, as it were, upon the destructiveness of power is removed. For some persons there is no real choice between attack and compromise, just as for others, attempts at

63. See p. 381.
64. See pp. 311-13.
65. See pp. 261; 283-4; 321; and 352-3.
compromise and the approach of reason are fruitless. The last hope for those with any faith in the dignity and integrity of the human spirit is the courage and resolution with which such individuals face the fact that they are to be destroyed.

The presentation of the figures of power in the Annales would also seem to be related to the Imperial theme in Vergil's works. It has been suggested earlier that the attribution of the destructive power of the gods to Tiberius may be, to some extent, Tacitus' comment upon the Imperial optimism of Vergil (p. 372), and this idea can be expanded further. We have noted that Vergil speaks of Augustus as a benevolent deity (p. 371). Augustus is to be the founder of a new Golden Age in which the rule of Saturn will again appear on earth.

The new Age of Saturn will be a time of peace and plenty. There will be a re-assertion of those virtues which made Rome great, virtues which, for Vergil, are exemplified in the values of a life of pastoral simplicity. Vergil's ideas concerning the re-establishing of an age

66. See pp. 332, 381, 387 (ftns. 41 and 42), and 391.
68. See Aen. 6.792–4, Augustus Caesar, divi genuss, aurea condict/saecula qui rursus Latio regnata per arma/Saturno quondam. ...: Aen. 7.202–4, neve ignora Latinitos/Saturni gentem haud vinclo nee legibus sequam, /sponte sua veterisque dei se more tenentem; and 7.270–72, generos externis adfere ab oris., hsec Latio restare cantum, qui sanguine nostrum/nomen in astra ferant.
69. See Aen. 1.291–4, aspera tum positis mitescens saecula bellis; canes Fides et Vesta, Romo cum fratre Quirimus/iura dabunt; dirae ferro et compagibus artis/ Claudentur Belli portas; Vergil's "Arcadian longings", passim; and esp. Geó. 2.493–540, a passage contrasting life in Rome and in the countryside, ending, hanc olim veteres vitam coluere Sabini, hanc Remus et frater, sic fortis Etruria crevit/scilicet et rerum facto est pulcherrima Roma, vv. 532–4; and vv. 538–40, aureus hanc vitam in terris Saturnus agebat; necdum etiam audierant inflari classica, necdum/impositos duris crepitare incudibus ensis.
of peace are closely related to his presentation of the characters in
the Aeneid, and through them, he suggests a possible limitation to
the realization of his ideal, the irrational element in the human per-
sonality, which must be brought under control.  The relationship be-
tween the Imperial theme, and the personalities and fates of the char-
acters in the Aeneid might be expressed in the following terms:

Troy has fallen: the days of the old myths and their
values have ended. But out of Troy's destruction,
under the leadership of the descendants of Aeneas,
we may build a new city which will proclaim the best
values of the ages which have passed away. Our suc-
cess in this venture rests upon the mixed qualities
of the human personality, and it is here that the
danger lies. Unless we can, by insight, experience,
and suffering, learn to control the destructive po-
tentialities within ourselves, we shall fail in our
task.

The Rome of the Annales is sadly different from the new city to
which Vergil had looked forward with such high hopes. The old values
have not been re-asserted. Peace and plenty have not materialized.
The deterioration which Vergil had suggested to be an inherent ten-
dency of the natural world (see 1.197-203), and perhaps a potential in
human affairs, has, in the Annales, become a reality both in the peo-
ple of Rome and in the gens Julia itself.

70. There is an irrational element in most of the important characters
in the Aeneid, such as Dido, Turnus, Amata and the Latins, Nisus,
Euryalus, Camilla, and Mezentius. Note esp. the irrational in
Aeneas in his reaction to the slaying of Pallas, 10.515ff., and
the relationship between Aeneas and Turnus, ending with the slaying
of Turnus, 12.945-52; and also the binding of Furor, which ends
Jupiter's speech, Aen.1.294-6.

71. Aeneid Two; Aen.12.820-28, the speech of Juno, ending, occidit,
occideritque sinas cum nomine Troia.

72. See e.g., the irrational in Aeneas, fn.70, and the chaos in the
kingdom of Latinus when reason no longer rules.

73. See, e.g., Tacitus' description of the senate under Tiberius, 3.
65.2, and our comments on the emperors, p.400.
We have noted in Chapter III that Tacitus is very familiar with certain sections of the Aeneid; that he is acquainted with the speech of Jupiter in Aeneid One, which is one of Vergil's main statements of his Imperial ideal; that Tacitus draws consistently upon the tragic themes of the Aeneid, and that he has fairly clearly-defined views of its characters. We have also indicated in Chapters IV and V that Tacitus uses the greater proportion of his Vergilian imitations for contextual reasons, sometimes with considerable deliberation, and that the relationships between groups of Vergilian imitations indicate specific ideas about events and personalities in the Annales. Taken together, these points would suggest that Tacitus has given conscious consideration to the ideas which Vergil presents in his work, and that he has assessed them with some degree of seriousness.

It has been noted earlier (p.117) that Quintilian describes historical writing as carmen solutum; that Sallust and Livy make use of poetic language; and that in his use of one Vergilian allusion (p. 241), Tacitus seems to be placing both his times and his own work within the perspective of the epic tradition.

Given all these factors, and the kinship in outlook between the two writers, as is evident from the fact that certain basic themes appear in Vergil's works and re-appear in the Annales, I would suggest that, on one level, the Annales is a commentary upon the Vergilian ideal, and that Tacitus' commentary might be expressed in the following way:
The ideal of a new Troy, built upon the best values of a former age, is one which might have achieved under the leadership of an Aeneas, but now it is only a poet's dream. Instead of building a new city, we have lived again through Troy's fall, and our fall continues. Your fears were well-founded. Our failure has indeed been a failure of the human personality, and at the heart of it has been a failure in the qualities of leadership. Gradually the destructive potential has been released until, in the last of the Julio-Claudians, it holds complete sway. As the days of our oppression lengthen, so we become more like our oppressor, and those of us who hold other values are, one by one, destroyed. The Golden Age which you prophesied has not come to pass. We have not yet appeased the anger of the gods: divum inclementia, divum.

74. See the association of Germanicus with Aeneas in language and situation, pp. 279-80, 311-13, 392-3, and the subduing of furor among the soldiers who rebel, p. 311.

75. See the pattern of Vergilian associations in Books 1-6 in the category "The Emperor and the Imperial Court", pp. 278-80, beginning with the phrase verso civitatis statum, 1.4.1, and a similar phrase at 12.7.3, Versa ex eo civitas, of the rise to power of Agrippina.

76. See Tacitus' presentation of the decline in national character, passim.

77. See Tacitus' representation of Augustus, Tiberius, and Nero, esp. in relation to Vergilian language used of them, pp. 278-80, 351-3, and 400-401.

78. See the outlines of Vergilian associations for Books 1-6, "The Emperor and the Imperial Court", pp. 278-80, and "Internal Affairs, pp. 291-2; and the presentation of Nero in Books 13-16, and Vergilian language used of him, pp. 352-3, and 400-401.

79. See Tacitus' comments on the kinship in spirit between Nero and the people of Rome, e.g., 13.17, 18, the condemning of the murder of Britannicus; 14.12, the reaction of the senate to the news of Agrippina's death, and 14.13, Nero's triumphal reception in Rome; 14.14, the people's approval of Nero's chariot-racing; and 16.4, their reactions to Nero's performance during the quinquennial games: and comments, passim, upon the growth and spread of delation, and the character of the delatores.

80. See the discussion of death as affirmation, pp. 384-5, and the comments upon victims, pp. 386-7, and note especially Germanicus,
Tacitus is clearly aware of the discrepancy between Rome under the Julio-Claudians, and Vergil's expectations and hopes for the new regime. It is his consciousness of this discrepancy, and his attempt to determine the reasons for it in terms of the figures of power and relationships with them which is, I think, one reason for Tacitus' use of Vergilian language in the *Annales*.

Cremutius Cordus, the Pisonian conspirators, Seneca, and Thrasea Paetus, all of whom are the exponents of positive values.

81. Note the theme of the wrath of the gods in the *Annales*, and Sejanus as the instrument of the gods' anger, pp. 368-71; and Tiberius and the delatores as the embodiment of the gods' power to destroy, pp. 279-80, 291-2: and compare Vergil's comment on Italy during the civil war, *Geo.* 1.501-2, *satis iam pridem sanguine nostro/Laomedonteae luisus periuriae Troiae*. 
CHAPTER VII
Conclusions

In the preceding chapters, we have attempted to show in detail the nature and extent of Vergil's influence upon Tacitus' language and themes in the *Annales*. Certain conclusions have been drawn in the course of the discussion, and we shall now attempt to formulate them in more general terms.

The number of probable Vergilian imitations in the *Annales* must be reduced substantially. In some cases, parallels which have been suggested by scholars are invalid, and in others, another writer is a more likely source for Tacitus than is Vergil. A number of words and phrases which were considered to be Vergilian are in fact generally current among the poets or historians, are accepted prose usage in the pre-Augustan, Augustan, or Silver periods, or are used by prose writers in all three periods of Latin literature. They, too, cannot be considered evidence of a direct relationship between Vergil and Tacitus.

There is, however, a fairly large group of words, phrases, and constructions which are used only by Vergil and Tacitus, apparently, or by Vergil, Tacitus, and one post-Vergilian writer who seems to be imitating Vergil independently. In addition, certain words and phrases which are also employed by the poets or which appear in the works of one prose writer other than Tacitus may, nevertheless, have been derived directly from Vergil, the evidence being either that they ap-
pear in Vergil's works in close proximity to words and phrases which seem to have been imitated directly by Tacitus, or that they are used in the Annales in contexts which contain probable examples of direct Vergilian imitation. When we have rejected as basic evidence those parallels which are invalid, and those examples which may have been drawn from writers other than Vergil, or which seem to be generally accepted usage, the list of highly probable Vergilian imitations in the Annales still remains a lengthy one.

In Vergil's works, there are more examples of imitated language in the Aeneid, as might be expected, than in the Eclogues and Georgics, although several of those in the Georgics are of considerable importance for Tacitus' view of his own writings. Within the Aeneid, more imitated words and phrases appear in speeches or narrative passages relevant to particular characters than in general narrative, so that Tacitus would appear to be interested chiefly in the characters of the Aeneid, the ideas which Vergil presents through them, and in the interaction of personalities. There are certain sections of the Aeneid with which Tacitus seems to have been particularly familiar: the description of the storm and Jupiter's speech concerning the gens Julia in Book One, Book Two in general, the account of the attack by Nisus and Euryalus upon the Rutulians' camp and their deaths at the hands of Volcens in Book Nine, the embassy of the Latins to Aeneas and Drances' speech in Book Eleven, and the opening speeches of the Council of the Latins, also in Book Eleven. Jupiter's speech is
important for its statement of Vergil's Imperial theme, but the lan-
guage which Tacitus draws from the other scenes noted, and the use
which he makes of it in the *Annales* show that what interests him most
are the motives and reactions of the human participants in the events
depicted.

Tacitus appears to have fairly definite views of the chief char-
acters in the *Aeneid*. Aeneas is a heroic leader, of great potential
for constructive action because of his human sensitivity, but there
is a certain degree of ambivalence in Tacitus' attitude to him. This
ambivalence appears both in the nature of the language which Tacitus
has used from Vergil's description of Aeneas' reaction to the slaying
of Pallas, and in his choice of language relevant to Turnus, which
makes no reference to the elements of *furor* and *violentia* in his per-
sonality. Tacitus would appear to see the conflict between the two
characters not in terms of the virtually black-and-white character-
ization with which Vergil is sometimes credited, but rather as a
struggle of good against good, with the most dangerous potential, the
capacity for destructive, irrational action, being in the character
of Aeneas himself. Aeneas is the more dangerous figure, since he
possesses the greater personal power and is supported by the gods, and
it is in their reactions to him that the other major characters, Dido,
Turnus, and Latinus, reveal their own strengths and weaknesses. Dido
and Turnus both attempt to oppose the destiny of Aeneas and fail, Dido
because of her emotional nature and the self-deception to which it
leads her, Turnus, because he cannot grasp, until it is too late, the
full significance of the Trojans' appearance in Italy, and because he cannot foresee that his slaying of Pallas, and his thoughtless act of taking the belt from Pallas' body will call forth an irrational reaction from Aeneas, and lead to his own destruction. Latinus, in contrast, is, for Tacitus, a figure of authority and rational control, and it is his attitude of compromise, and acceptance of the Trojans and Aeneas, an attitude similar to that of Diomedes, whose speech is reported in the Council of the Latins, that Tacitus seems to see as one of the chief positive forces in the relationships among the characters in the Aeneid.

Although Tacitus does draw upon the lighter side of the Aeneid, such passages as the boatrace and the boxing-match in Book Five, it is the tragic elements in Vergil's epic, those scenes depicting the hostility of the gods, acts of violence, human suffering, and death, that he seems to find most congenial and most relevant to his own historical writing. With the exception of those passages from the Georgics in which Vergil comments upon his own works, the language which Tacitus derives from the Eclogues and Georgics reveals these same general preoccupations. Tacitus' point of view, therefore, as far as Vergil's works are concerned, seems to be strikingly consistent. Whether he has drawn consciously or unconsciously upon certain passages in Vergil's works, this consistency in attitude which his Vergilian borrowings reveal must be the result both of considerable study of the works themselves, and of conscious consideration of their implications and significance.
The use which Tacitus makes of Vergilian language in the Annales very largely supports this suggestion of conscious assessment of the significance of Vergil's ideas. The greater proportion of the examples of Vergilian language are used for contextual rather than stylistic reasons, and, in general, they are an important means whereby Tacitus suggests his interpretation of historical events.

As far as his method of using Vergilian imitations is concerned, in some cases Tacitus makes an allusion to a Vergilian context by means of quotation, and in other cases he works verbal variations on Vergilian phrases to suit the needs of his own context. The most extended passage of variation and adaptation is his description of the storm, Ann. 2.23-4, which might be termed a classic example of the application of contemporary literary theory concerning "creative" imitation. Not only has Tacitus made Vergil's description of the storm in Aeneid One his own, as it were, by rigorous compression of language, by the use of phrases from other Vergilian contexts, and by changes in points of emphasis, but also he has integrated it into the Annales as a passage of considerable significance for the characterization of Germanicus. What results is a passage which shows clearly its relationship with Vergil's description, and, at the same time, proclaims Tacitus' own artistic originality.

In addition, phrases from the same general context in the Aeneid may appear in widely differing contexts in the Annales, and passages in the Annales which contain several Vergilian phrases may make use of language from scenes not directly related to one another in the
Aeneid. The attack of the Germans upon the Roman camp in Annales
One, for example, draws upon the attack of the Greeks upon the palace
of Priam in Aeneid Two, as well as the battles between the Trojans
and Latins in the last six books of the Aeneid; and Germanicus' visit
to the site of Varus' defeat recalls both the slaughter in Troy on the
night of its fall, and the grief of Mezentius at the death of his son,
Lausus. The impression created is that there is a body of Vergilian
language with which Tacitus is very familiar, and that words and
phrases appear when he is aware, consciously or unconsciously, of a
meaningful relationship between his own passage and a scene of Vergil.
In the case of those imitative words and phrases which do seem to be
used consciously, Tacitus' purpose appears to be to focus upon a par-
ticular context as many significant associations as possible, with the
greatest possible degree of condensation in verbal form. His use of
Vergilian language is, in this sense, an extension of his more general
method of concentrating the maximum amount of meaning in the minimum
number of words.

Vergilian language is a very important part of the level of im-
pression, or the non-factual element in the Annales. We have noted,
for example, that it is used to prejudice the reader against Tiberius
in certain contexts, and to impress him favourably with Germanicus in
others, or to point a contrast between the potential which the youth-
ful Nero was thought to have, as a descendant of Germanicus, and his
true nature as it was revealed in the course of his reign. Some imi-
tative words and phrases are isolated examples highlighting the im-
plications of their immediate contexts, and the range of characters and situations to which Vergilian language is applied is remarkably wide. Other imitations, while bringing additional meaning to their immediate contexts, suggest ideas which are picked up by Vergilian language in other passages so that, as we have attempted to show by the summaries of Vergilian associations in Chapters IV, V, and VI, more complex patterns of relationships are established. At the risk of overstating the case, I would suggest that these patterns of relationship are, in one respect, more important than the implications of the individual imitations of which they are composed. It is the consistency of the Vergilian associations for Tiberius and Germanicus, for example, by which Tiberius is presented as the destroyer and Germanicus as another Aeneas, who was cut off before his potential could be realized, the consistency with which certain persons are associated with those characters in the Aeneid who are victims of the fall of Troy or of Aeneas' mission to found a new city, or the repeated touches of the heroic for those who fall because of the Pisonian conspiracy, which indicate that the patterns themselves are evidence of the attitude with which Tacitus is approaching his historical material.

The study of Vergilian language does not, of course, provide all the answers to the problem of Tacitus' method of presentation. It does, however, provide one means of approach to the problem. We have suggested the importance of the theme of power and relationships with figures of power both in the Aeneid and the Annales. We have also suggested that Tacitus is conscious of the discrepancy between the
hopes which Vergil had in the rule of Augustus and the actualities of
the reign of the gens Julia; that his examination of this discrepancy
in terms of the figures of power and relationships with them is one
reason for his use of Vergilian language, whether consciously or un-
consciously; and that, to some extent, Tacitus is writing in terms of,
and commenting upon the Vergilian Imperial ideal. A basic problem
which faced the Rome of Vergil’s time remains a problem which faces
the Rome of the Annales. In spite of Vergil’s confident prediction,
Furor has not yet been tamed. He is still a dread figure ore cruento.
APPENDIX

Listed below are the words and phrases discussed in Chapter III as additional evidence of a direct verbal relationship between Vergil and Tacitus, together with those which have been noted as possibly direct imitations of Vergil, because of the fact that they are used in the Annales in heavily Vergilian contexts. References for the Annales only are given, and page numbers refer to the contexts in which the words and phrases are discussed.

14.1 vertere = evertere 3.36.3; 3.54.1; 12.7.3; 12.45.4. p.171.
15.2 de nomine 6.34.2. p.165.
17.3 si quis tot casus vita superaverit p.177.
17.3 diversus meaning "distant" 2.60.1; 3.2.2; 3.59.3; 4.25.2; 4.46.2; 15.37.2. p.177.
30.3 ruere tempestatas p.176
42.2 inausum p.296.
42.2 interemeratum 1.49.4; 12.34; 16.26.3. p.176.
47.2 infrungi with a person as object. p.172.
49.4 interemerata See 1.42.2.
56.5 fuerat animus... iuvare Animus est with an infin. p.177.
70.1 classis... innaret p.306.
70.2 brevia meaning "shallows". 6.33.3; 14.29.3. p.164.
70.5 vagante fama p.171.
25.1 dolo simul et casibus objectaret p.176
5.2 celerandae victoriae intentior Celerare (trans.). 12.46.3. p.177.
2.17.6 niti meaning "climb". p.170.
23.2 placidum aequor p.306.
23.3 dissecitque naves p.163.
24.2 oppeteret with mortem understood. 4.50.3. p.163.
25.2 excindere used of persons. p.167.
31.3 mortem properavisset 11.37.1; 13.17.2. p.177.
43.1 actatem... ade levisse 12.8.2. p.176.
54.2 relegit Asiam p.393.
60.1 diversum See 1.17.3.
72.2 ingenti luctu p.177, 272.
81.2 hastas... ingerere p.176.
3.2.2 diversa See 1.17.3.
10.1 contra... tendebant p.177.
28.2 deditque iura p.166.
36.3 leges... versas See 1.4.1.
54.1 civitatem verti See 1.4.1.
59.3 diverso terrarum See 1.17.3.
4.25.2 diversos pastus See 1.17.3.
34.4 Catonem caelo aequavit p.175.
46.2 diversas in terras See 1.17.3.
50.3 oppeterent (sc. mortem) See 2.24.2.
58.3 moenia urbis adsidens Adsidere with an accusative. 6.43.1. p.177.
6.1.1 interluit p.176.
33.3 brevia See 1.70.2.
34.2 de nomine See 1.15.2.
6.42.4 insigni regio evinxit Evincire. 11.4.2; 15.2.4. p.174.

43.1 adsidendo castellum See 4.58.3.

11.4.2 evinctum See 6.42.4.

37.1 caedem... properavisset See 2.31.3.

12.7.3 Versa... civitas See 1.4.1.

8.2 pueritia... adolescet See 2.43.1.

19.3 poenas... expenderet p.172.

33.1 locorumque fraude p.177.

34 intemerata... corpora See 1.42.2.

45.4 verterentur See 1.4.1.

46.3 obpugnationem... celerare See 2.5.2.

58.1 Romanum Troia demissum Meaning "descended". p.169.

13.17.2 mors... properata sit See 2.31.3.

14.29.3 breve et incertum See 1.70.2.

30.1 preces... fundentes p.338.

30.2 igni suo involvunt p.338.

30.3 adolere aras p.338.

33.2 belli commercium p.168.

58.4 adasque p.175.

15.2.4 evinxit See 6.42.4.

37.2 diversis e terris See 1.17.3.

43.3 subvectassent Subvectare = subvehere. p.174.

50.1 fessis rebus succurreret p.175.

16.26.3 intemeratus See 1.42.2.
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criminatator, valescere, destrudere: the argument is a bit confused here. These
read like exx. from the definitive list, which they are not. A matter of
arrangement, I think. p.110 n.13 is quite clear.

I find the arrangement of the Virgilian material confusing. It is a possible
arrangement, but difficult for the uninitiated to follow. I think that one list,
with sections divided chronologically and relevant parallels noted as they came, would
be simpler and easier to follow.

The arithmetic of this bothers me. It doesn't quite tally with the sections
mentioned sup. I make it

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aen.I</th>
<th>poetry 6</th>
<th>prose 17</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>total 43</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>24 (basic 10)</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII</td>
<td>(basic 18)</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Or am I just not reckoning repetitions correctly?

But the basic parallels have their own validity.

Seven exx. - I can only find five.

How are these numbers related to those on p.160?

Book x has also a 'marked preference for narrative'.

The categories are certainly applicable. Would other ones have been more so?

Yes. Cf. Agam., Troad., Hec. etc.

A good synthesis, and admirably varied in presentation.

I make it 35 exx. (excluding repetitions) about Aen.

There is some very interesting criticism in the sections about contents and speakers.

Misprints: p.214 1.7 necessary
- p.236 1.6 seems Segestes
- p.318 1.17 advisers
- p.335 1.2 Tacitus
- p.382 Aeneid
- p.419 Hildeghein

Bibliography: Dr. A. Draeger?
No reference to Paratore?

An index would have been nice, but perhaps a life's work.