

VIRGIL'S INFLUENCE ON TACITUS IN BOOKS 1 AND 2 OF THE *ANNALS*

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IN TURNING to Books 1 and 2 of the *Annals* from Book 3 of the *Histories*,¹ we are confronted with a puzzling problem. In regard to both their structure and their use of Virgilian correspondences, the first two books of the *Annals* have little in common with Book 3 of the *Histories*. We find no simple structural principle as in the third book (that is, three distinct narratives, each leading to a climax and each interrelated by theme and imagery). We find no single book of the *Aeneid* which supplies all of the important correspondences and significant vocabulary. We find, in short, that Tacitus' use of Virgil as well as his organizational principles cannot be solved by one simple formula. Let us examine the structure of *Annals* 1 and 2 and the placing of the Virgilian correspondences within these books in an attempt to resolve this problem, for the solution of one problem may lead us to solve the other. Book 1 of the *Annals* can be divided into the following sections:

- (1) introduction, death of Augustus, accession of Tiberius (1–15);
- (2) mutiny in Pannonia and Germany (16–45);
- (3) interlude: Rome and Germany (46–54);
- (4) German campaigns (55–71);
- (5) Roman affairs: triumphs, law courts, flood, etc. (72–81).

As the outline reveals, there are five distinct parts to the book: the first and last deal with events at Rome, the second and fourth with affairs in Germany, and the middle portion with both Rome and Germany. The simple fact that emerges from this is that Tacitus has arranged his initial book of the *Annals* by contrasting

events at Rome with those in Germany (and, to a lesser extent, in chapters 16–30, Pannonia). An examination of the central portion of the book (chapters 46–54) reveals, furthermore, that Tacitus is contrasting personalities as well as events according to their geography. It is this central part of the book which incisively reveals Tiberius' fears of Germanicus' popularity and his success at quelling the revolt of the German legions. Each of the book's major episodes contains an important contrast between two personalities: (1) Augustus and Tiberius, (2) Germanicus and Drusus, (3) Germanicus and Tiberius, (4) Germanicus and Arminius. The brief fifth section (72–81) does not display a contrast of personalities, but it does serve to introduce themes important in subsequent books of the *Annals*, notably the trials for *maiestas*. Book 1 of the *Annals*, then, achieves a structural unity through a series of contrasts—first between affairs at Rome and in Germany and then between the major personalities.

Book 2, in contrast to the tight, logical structure of Book 1, is almost incoherently episodic. But within the book there are four important narrative passages:

- (1) Germanicus' final German campaign (5–26);
- (2) the trial of Libo Drusus (27–31);
- (3) Germanicus' travels to the East (53–61);
- (4) the death of Germanicus and subsequent events in the East (69–81).

Intertwining these major episodes is a string of events sharing a common theme, the conflict over royal succession. This basic theme parallels, sets in relief, and further defines the struggle between Ger-

1. For a discussion of Tacitus' use of Virgil in *Histories* 3, see Robert T. S. Baxter, "Virgil's Influence on Tacitus in Book 3 of the *Histories*," *CP*, LXVI (1971), 93 ff.

manicus and Tiberius in which the jealous emperor (according to Tacitus) first hampers and ultimately destroys the career of Germanicus, the people's favorite. It is not by coincidence that Tacitus prefaces the second book with an account of Vonones, who is driven from the Parthian throne even though he is capable of ruling his country. Tacitus thereby sets an ominous tone for the rest of the book. Furthermore, he juxtaposes the account of Vonones with the final German campaigns of Germanicus, who is recalled to Rome and then sent to the East, where he dies. The lives of the two men are in many ways dissimilar. But the fact that Tacitus planned the comparison between Vonones and Germanicus is underlined by his juxtaposing, in chapters 68 and 69–73, his accounts of the suspicious deaths of the two men. There are other episodes in *Annals* 2 which underline this dominant theme:

- (1) the impostor of Agrippa Postumus put to death by Tiberius (39–40);
- (2) Achelaus called to Rome by Tiberius and his death there (42);
- (3) the conflict between Maroboduus and Catualda (62–63);

2. This, at least, is the number of suggested Virgilian correspondences found in the dissertations of L. Robbert, *De Tacito Lucani imitatore* (Göttingen, 1917), and H. Schmaus, *Tacitus, ein Nachahmer Vergils* (Erlangen, 1884; Bamberg, 1887); the articles of G. B. A. Fletcher, "Reminiscences in Tacitus," *CR*, LIX (1945), 45–50, and J. Soubiran, "Thèmes et rythmes d'épopée dans les *Annales* de Tacite," *Pallas*, XII (1964), 55–79; and the commentaries of H. Furneaux (Oxford, 1883), E. Jacob (Paris, 1885), E. Koestermann (Heidelberg, 1963), and K. Nipperdey (Berlin, 1908). These works also furnished the correspondences for *Annals* 2.

3. The following passages are, in my opinion, mistakenly called Virgilian reminiscences (here and in subsequent notes, the first numbers in each pair refer to the *Annals*; all Virgilian passages are from the *Aeneid* unless otherwise indicated): 1. 1 from 3. 145 (Schmaus, p. 21), 1. 3 from 1. 358 (Schmaus, p. 52), 1. 4 from 1. 209 (Jacob, p. 13), 1. 5 from 6. 502 f. (Fletcher, p. 45), 1. 6 from 1. 207 (Jacob, p. 17), 1. 17 from 11. 169 (Jacob, p. 38), 1. 27 from 3. 305 (Schmaus, p. 52), 1. 60 from 1. 218 (Schmaus, p. 32), 1. 65 from 1. 466 (Schmaus, p. 32), 1. 74 from 10. 64 (Schmaus, p. 23), and 1. 75 from 1. 34 (Nipperdey, p. 134). Over half of the Virgilian passages have only one word in common with the phrases from *Annals* 1. Others show no important verbal correspondences between the two passages.

4. It is not necessary to quote these correspondences here.

- (4) the struggle between Rhescuporis and Cotys (64–67);
- (5) the death of Arminius, who is slain by treacherous relatives (88).

All of these episodes underline either Tiberius' duplicity or the problem of royal succession. They thereby echo the struggle between Tiberius and Germanicus.

Commentators and scholars have noted roughly thirty-eight Virgilian correspondences in Book 1.² In addition to these, I have discovered four more probable correspondences. Eleven of the former can be discarded as doubtful or fallacious.³ This leaves a total of thirty-one Virgilian correspondences for the book.⁴ There are thirty-two suggested Virgilian correspondences in Book 2, nine of which can be discarded.⁵ I have discovered seven more for a total of thirty for the entire book.⁶

The dominant personality in the first two books of the *Annals* is Germanicus. Of the thirty-one probable Virgilian correspondences in Book 1, twenty-five, including virtually all those of any significance, occur in portions of the book which deal with him. In addition, twenty of these correspondences are concentrated in the

The most important ones will be discussed as they occur. But I shall list here the Virgilian correspondences which I do not discuss in the main body of my paper (all Virgilian passages are from the *Aeneid*). 1. 3 from 11. 789 (Schmaus, p. 8), 1. 10 from 2. 264 (Schmaus, p. 16), 1. 15 from 1. 277 (Schmaus, p. 48), 1. 21 from 2. 436 (Nipperdey, p. 158), 1. 35 from 10. 475 (Jacob, p. 56), 1. 40 from 4. 686 (Schmaus, p. 34), 1. 41 from 6. 450 (Nipperdey, p. 61), 1. 44 from 6. 543 (Schmaus, p. 16), 1. 47 from 4. 15 (Schmaus, p. 9), 1. 56 from 10. 308 (Schmaus, p. 12), and 1. 74 from 1. 384 (Fletcher, p. 45).

5. The following are mistakenly termed Virgilian correspondences. See footnote 3 for my reasons for rejecting them. 2. 9 from 1. 723 (Schmaus, p. 46), 2. 17 from 10. 310 (Schmaus, p. 51), 2. 42 from 11. 264 (Schmaus, p. 39), 2. 42 from 1. 20 (Nipperdey, p. 180), 2. 45 from 3. 651 (Schmaus, p. 16), 2. 60 from 3. 613 (Schmaus, p. 31), 2. 64 from 3. 305 (Schmaus, p. 52), 2. 80 from 1. 18 (Jacob, p. 156), 2. 80 from 11. 599 (Schmaus, p. 49).

6. Again, it is not necessary to quote these correspondences here, except for those not discussed in the main body of my paper. 2. 29 from 3. 177 (Schmaus, p. 24), 2. 31 from 9. 401 (Schmaus, p. 40), 2. 33 from 2. 765 (Schmaus, p. 36), 2. 45 from 11. 193 (Schmaus, p. 11), 2. 45 from 12. 482 (Schmaus, p. 29), 2. 46 from 12. 277 (Schmaus, p. 36), 2. 78 from 3. 396 (Furneaux, p. 373), 2. 81 from 9. 763 (Schmaus, p. 18), and 2. 84 from 6. 464 (Schmaus, p. 38).

following chapters: Germanicus' speech before the mutinous troops (42–43), one correspondence; the final quelling of the mutiny (49), three correspondences; Arminius' rousing the Cherusci to war (59), two correspondences; the Roman expedition and burial of the remains of Varus' army (61–63), five correspondences; the battle between the Romans and the Cherusci (65–68), four correspondences; and the storm (70), five correspondences. Of these passages, the three chapters which contain most of the Virgilian correspondences derive many of them along with Virgilian vocabulary from single books of the *Aeneid* (chapter 61 from Book 6, chapter 65 from Book 9, and chapter 70 from Book 3).

Of the thirty probable correspondences in Book 2, twenty-two, including all of the significant ones, occur in parts of the book devoted to Germanicus. These twenty-two correspondences are found in the following important narratives: the final German campaign (5–26), sixteen correspondences; Germanicus' journey to the East (53–61), three correspondences; Germanicus' death (69–73), three correspondences. There is no specific Virgilian book which provides a majority of these correspondences, for there is no extended portion of the *Aeneid* which closely parallels the events in Book 2 of the *Annals*. However, a strong *color Vergilianus* is present in almost every narrative passage in which Virgilian correspondences are clustered.⁷

It is important to observe that Germanicus and Arminius share many of the characteristics of Aeneas and Turnus, their counterparts in the *Aeneid*. W. Edelmaier

in his dissertation, *Tacitus und die Gegner Roms*, points out the similarities between Aeneas and Germanicus and, especially, Turnus and Arminius.⁸ Tacitus characterizes the latter by *violentia*, *perfidia*, and *audacia*, all elements in Virgil's characterization of Turnus.⁹ But, as Edelmaier maintains, these are elements common to most of the enemies of the state depicted in Tacitus' historical works. Edelmaier also believes that Germanicus' qualities are closely related to Virgil's characterization of Aeneas as the archetypal Roman man and warrior who possesses *virtus*, *moderatio*, *iustitia*, *pietas*, and *fides*.¹⁰ These too are rather vague, imprecise terms. But if these qualities, like those of Arminius, are revealed in narrative portions of *Annals* 1 and 2 which contain specific correspondences and verbal echoes drawn from descriptions of Aeneas and Turnus in the *Aeneid*, then we may conclude that Tacitus did indeed have the Virgilian characters in mind as he was portraying Germanicus and Arminius. Let us examine some of the key portions of the first two books of the *Annals* to ascertain the validity of these preliminary observations.

Even a casual reader of the *Aeneid* retains a lasting impression of Aeneas' *pietas*. *Pius*, in fact, is the adjective that most often modifies Aeneas.¹¹ Tacitus does not employ either *pius* or *pietas* in his portrayal of Germanicus (*pius* occurs but twice in Tacitus' writings, once as a substantive). But why should he? There is hardly a passage dealing with Germanicus which does not characterize him by word or action as *pius*. Germanicus is mentioned briefly several times in the first few chap-

7. In brief, I define *color Vergilianus* as the collocation of Virgilian words and grammatical constructions, found in passages of the works of Tacitus in which the following correspondences with Virgil are evident to some degree: (1) a similarity in character and/or events, (2) a similarity in tone or attitude, and (3) the clustering of distinct Virgilian reminiscences in passages which fulfill requirements (1) and (2).

8. W. Edelmaier, *Tacitus und die Gegner Roms* (Heidelberg,

1964), pp. 134–39. But Edelmaier does not make a detailed analysis of individual words. His discussion is limited to generalities (for example, Arminius represents *violentia* just as Turnus does).

9. Edelmaier, p. 135.

10. Edelmaier, p. 138.

11. H. Merguet, *Lexicon zu Vergilius* (Leipzig, 1912), pp. 22–24.

ters of the *Annals*, chiefly to contrast him and his personal popularity with Tiberius. In 1. 3 we learn that Augustus so trusted Germanicus' ability that he placed him in command of the eight legions on the Rhine and ordered Tiberius to adopt him. In 1. 7 Tiberius fears that Germanicus' extraordinary popularity ("mirus apud populum favor") might lead him to seek control of the empire. Proconsular powers are bestowed upon the absent Germanicus in 1. 14.

Our first extended view of Germanicus, however, occurs at the beginning of chapter 33. Here news of Augustus' death reaches him while he is, characteristically, fulfilling his duties. A short biography is introduced into the narrative at this point. Tacitus describes his familial relationships and tells of the hatred of Tiberius and Livia. There were those, he continues, who hoped that Germanicus would further his father's accomplishments and restore *libertas*. Tacitus then contrasts the character of Germanicus and Tiberius. At the news of Augustus' death, Germanicus swears allegiance to the new emperor and instructs his troops and the province under his command to do the same. Tacitus again underlines Germanicus' *pietas*.

At about the same time as the insurrection of the legions in Pannonia, the troops under the command of Germanicus also revolt. Some of the mutinous troops state that should Germanicus desire the *imperium*, they would fight for him (1. 35, "et si vellet imperium promptos ostentavere"). But Germanicus, throughout the revolt, remains faithful to the emperor and, in fact, succeeds in quelling the mutiny through his own personal popularity. While the revolt is in progress, a deputa-

tion from the Senate in 1. 39 finds Germanicus, significantly, at the altar of the Ubians at Cologne, dedicated to Augustus. Tacitus once more stresses Germanicus' *pietas*, his devotion to Augustus as well as his religious nature. The revolt, however, is finally ended by Germanicus' address to his troops in chapters 42-43.

Germanicus begins his speech to his troops by stating that neither his wife nor his son is dearer to him than his father (Tiberius) and his country ("non mihi uxor aut filius patre et re publica cariores sunt").¹² This statement is certainly applicable to Aeneas as well, for he gave up his wife to seek a new homeland and during the journey lost his father too. Aeneas' devotion to Anchises is also paralleled by Germanicus' loyalty to Tiberius. Virgil uses *uxor* only twice in his works and never in reference to Creusa; he does use *filius* fairly often in reference to Ascanius. Aeneas' relationship with his father is of great importance, and Anchises is, of course, often addressed as *pater*. *Carus* is frequently used to describe Aeneas' familial relationships. The word occurs in 4. 354, "me puer Ascanius [sc. admonet] capitisque iniuria cari," and 5. 747 f., "[sc. Aeneas] Iovis imperium et cari praecepta parentis / edocet." The latter especially affirms Aeneas' close relationship with his father and his faith in Anchises' judgment, the very thoughts Germanicus is stating in his speech.

Germanicus says that he is removing from the madness of his troops both his children and his wife, *coniugem*, a word Virgil uses to describe both Creusa in 2. 673 f., "ecce autem complexa pedes in limine coniunx / haerebat parvumque patri tendebat Iulum," and Lavinia in 12.

12. Many of the words I discuss here are of a general nature and not specifically Virgilian. But I am not arguing that Tacitus uses *uxor*, *filius*, and *pater* here because Virgil does in specific passages in the *Aeneid*. It is rather my conten-

tion that these words occur in sections of Tacitus' work notable for their relationship with Virgil's writings, especially the *Aeneid*, in theme, event, and imitated phrases.

17, "cedat Lavinia coniunx." Although Germanicus is removing them from his raging soldiers (*furentibus*), nonetheless he would gladly sacrifice his family for the glory of his troops ("quos pro gloria vestra libens ad exitium offerrem"). Aeneas sacrifices his wife Creusa to his destiny.

Germanicus then reproaches the mutinous soldiers for having left nothing unventured or unviolated ("quid enim per hos dies inausum intemeratumve vobis?"). This is a correspondence with the Virgilian phrase, "ne quid inausum / aut intractatum scelerisve dolive fuisset" from *Aeneid* 8. 205 f.¹³ The Virgilian passage is taken from the description of Cacus, who in his frenzy not to leave any crime undone or untried steals the cattle of Hercules. The parallels between the two phrases are several and of interest. First, the words *quid*, *inausum*, and another perfect participle are common to both. Second, the word *sceleris* in the Virgilian phrase is found in the sentence immediately preceding the Tacitean phrase. Third, both acts are deplored and construed as deeds of madness (in Tacitus, *furentibus*; in Virgil, *furiis*). The irrational revolt of the German legions is, in its senselessness, not far removed from the irrational theft of Hercules' cattle by Cacus. We notice, as in *Histories* 3, that Tacitus has taken a Virgilian phrase and molded it to suit his own purpose. Tacitus does not quote Virgil word for word.

Germanicus questions whether his troops are worthy of being called soldiers because they have besieged the son of the emperor with their own earthworks and weapons. Notice again that he refers to himself not by his own name or the personal pronoun, but by the words *filium imperatoris*. Germanicus then reminds the soldiers that he is the descendant of Julius

Caesar and Augustus and that the garrisons of Spain and Syria would not dare to revolt for the reasons that the legions on the Rhine have. In addition, he states that Tiberius himself was formerly in command of the German legions. He questions whether he must carry news of the insurrection to his father ("hunc ego nuntium patri . . . feram?"). Once again he refers to Tiberius as his father. The report he must send to Tiberius is that centurions are murdered, tribunes driven out, generals imprisoned, and that the camp and river are red with blood ("infecta sanguine castra flumina"). *Infecta* recalls two similar uses in the *Aeneid*: 5. 413, "sanguine cernis adhuc sparsoque [*sc. arma*] infecta cerebro," and 6. 741 f., "aliis [*sc. animis*] sub gurgite vasto / infectum eluitur scelus."

Germanicus asks the troops why they took away the sword with which he was about to commit suicide ("cur enim . . . ferrum illud quod pectori meo infigere parabam detraxistis, o improvidi amici?"). Several words in this sentence have interesting uses in the *Aeneid*. *Ferrum* has several parallels, such as 9. 427 f., "in me convertite ferrum, / o Rutuli!" and 12. 950 f., "hoc dicens [*sc. Aeneas*] ferrum adverso sub pectore condit / fervidus." *Infigere* is used with *pectus* in 4. 4 f., "haerent infixi pectore vultus / verbaque." Tacitus, elsewhere in his historical works, never uses the phrase *pectori infigere*. Virgil employs the word *improvidus* only one time, in *Aeneid* 2. 199 f., "aliud . . . improvida pectora turbat." Notice that Virgil also uses this word in a phrase that contains *pectus*.

Germanicus reminds the troops that, had they allowed him to kill himself, he would at least have died without his army's guilt resting on him. Had he died, Ger-

13. Schmaus, p. 9.

manicus says, his soldiers would have selected a general who would have avenged the death of Varus and his three legions. Germanicus next invokes the spirit of Augustus and the *imago* of his father Drusus (*pater Druse*). The shade of Anchises visits Aeneas several times in the *Aeneid*. In 4. 351 f., Anchises appears to Aeneas in a dream ("me patris Anchisae . . . admonet in somnis et turbida terret imago"). In 6. 695 f., Aeneas addresses his father, "tua me, genitor, tua tristis imago / saepius occurrens haec limina tendere adegit."

Germanicus then commands his soldiers to cease the insurrection and to set the trouble makers (*turbidos*) apart if they are willing to restore to the Senate its legates, to their emperor obedience, and to himself his own wife and child. *Turbidus* occurs with some frequency in the *Aeneid*. It is often associated with enemies of the state, most notably Turnus: 9. 57 f., "huc turbidus atque huc / lustrat equo muros"; 10. 647 f., "ut . . . Turnus . . . animo spem turbidus hausit inanem"; and 12. 670 f., "ardentis oculorum orbes ad moenia torsit / turbidus." Tacitus employs *turbidus* to describe seditious troops nine times, three times in *Annals* 1.

As the foregoing shows, Germanicus' speech is not notable for the number of Virgilian correspondences or significant verbal echoes, even though it does contain one correspondence and a few words of interest. What is important is that it incisively delineates Germanicus' *pietas*. In his speech, Germanicus constantly refers to his father, Drusus, and his father by adoption, Tiberius, as well as his ancestors. Tacitus repeatedly underlines Germanicus' devotion to Tiberius. Germanicus states that the interests of the emperor and

of Rome are more important to him than even his family. Certainly, this attitude, which is eminently Roman, is reminiscent of Aeneas in the *Aeneid*.

Germanicus' speech causes the soldiers to return to their allegiance to emperor and Rome, and in chapter 49 the loyal troops fall upon the mutineers and slay them. Tacitus prefaces his account of the slaughter with the statement that no civil war of any period was like the present one ("diversa omnium, quae umquam accidere, civilium armorum facies"). Commentators maintain that Tacitus' use of *facies* here is taken from *Aeneid* 6. 103 f., "non ulla laborum, / o virgo, nova mi facies inopinave surgit."¹⁴ But line 560 of the same book, *quae scelerum facies*, could just as well be the source of the Tacitean use of the word. In addition, the occurrence of *scelerum* with *facies* instead of *laborum*, as in line 103, is closer to the meaning of Tacitus' phrase *civilium armorum facies*.

Tacitus continues by saying that comrades took sides and hurled missiles at one another, *ingerunt tela*. *Ingerere* occurs twice in the *Aeneid*, both times with *hastas* as the direct object. The word is found first in 9. 763 f., "hinc raptas fugientibus ingerit hastas / in tergus," and then in 12. 330, "raptas fugientibus ingerit hastas."¹⁵ Tacitus' use of the word is very close to these two Virgilian examples. Tacitus uses this word only fourteen times, four times with missiles as here.

The fighting is accompanied by shouting, wounds, and blood, *clamor*, *vulnera*, *sanguis*, all words commonly found in battle descriptions in the *Aeneid*. Chance controls everything, *cuncta fors regit*, a phrase reminiscent of *Aeneid* 12. 405, *nulla . . . fortuna regit*.¹⁶ As soon as the mutinous troops realize that reprisals are being taken

14. E.g., Furneaux, p. 244.

15. Strangely enough, no commentator seems to have discussed the relationship between the two authors' use of *ingerere* here.

16. Again, this Virgilian line seems not to have been referred to by commentators as a possible source for Tacitus' phrase.

against them, they seize weapons, *arma rapuerunt*. This phrase is found twice in the *Aeneid*, first in 7. 340, “*arma velit poscatque simul rapiatque iuventus*,” and then in 8. 220, *rapit arma*.¹⁷ Tacitus uses this phrase only four times. But in each other instance (*Histories* 1. 38, 1. 80, and 5. 10) the form of *rapere* is a participle, unlike the examples here and in the *Aeneid*.

After vengeance has been taken against the dissident soldiers, Germanicus marches into the camp. With tears in his eyes, he says that the slaughter is not a cure but a calamity, “*non medicinam illud plurimis cum lacrimis sed cladem appellans*.” *Lacrima* is often used in the *Aeneid*, especially in reference to Aeneas. In 2. 361 f., Aeneas asks “*quis . . . possit lacrimis aequare labores?*” In 6. 867, Anchises approaches Aeneas, “*tum pater Anchises lacrimis ingressus obortis*.” Note here especially the use of *ingressus*, a word found with *lacrimis* in Tacitus’ sentence also. Earlier, in 6. 467 f., this word is found in the phrase *Aeneas . . . lacrimas . . . ciebat*. Again in 11. 41 and 12. 400, *lacrimae* are associated with Virgil’s hero.

Even the slaughter of the mutinous troops does not drain the soldiers of their savagery, and the desire comes over them to advance against the enemy, “*cupido involat eundi in hostem*.” A similar desire comes to Turnus in 9. 760 f., “*furor ardentem [sc. Turnum] caedisque insana cupido / egit in adversos*.” Notice here the use of *furor*, which is found in Tacitus’ sentence with *cupido*. *Aeneid* 1. 150 also contains several words found in Tacitus’ sentence, “*iamque faces et saxa volant, furor arma ministrat*.” In addition, the last phrase *furor arma ministrat*, contains the same idea as the sentence in chapter 49.

Germanicus, sensing the enthusiasm of the troops, orders a bridge to be con-

structed across the Rhine in order that his forces may invade Germany. To the recently mutinous troops, he adds other divisions whose discipline had not been affected by the mutiny of the others, “*quarum ea seditione intemerata modestia fuit*.” A similar phrase, *intemerata fides*, occurs in Sinon’s speech to the Trojans in *Aeneid* 2. 142 f., “*per si qua est quae restet adhuc mortalibus usquam / intemerata fides*.”

Chapter 59 of *Annals* 1 introduces us to the character of Arminius. The surrender of Segestes, the father-in-law of Arminius, is reported to the Cherusci and is received with hope by the advocates of warfare and with sorrow by the opponents of war. The phrase *fama vulgata* is found several times in the *Aeneid*.¹⁸ It occurs in the first book in lines 456 f. in connection with the fame of the Trojan war, “*videt . . . bella . . . iam fama totum vulgata per orbem*.” It is also found in 8. 554 and 12. 608. This phrase occurs only twice in Tacitus’ historical works.

It is important to note here the significance of the similarities between Turnus-Lavinia-Latinus and Arminius—his wife—Segestes. Turnus and Arminius are both the leaders of the native populations threatened by the intrusions of Aeneas and Germanicus. Latinus and Segestes are both the elder leaders of their people who welcome the invaders and bring their daughters with them. Lavinia was engaged to Turnus but then is betrothed to Aeneas. The daughter of Segestes is married to Arminius, who had taken her from her original fiancé, but she is captured by the Romans when her father gains asylum with them. The separation of the daughters of Latinus and Segestes from Turnus and Arminius is one of the reasons for hostility between both the Trojans and Latins

17. Schmaus, p. 11.

18. The use of this phrase by both authors has, apparently, never been commented upon.

and the Romans and Cherusci. These correspondences are significant, and Tacitus seems to stress their similarity.

At the report of Segestes' surrender and his daughter's capture, Arminius, violent by nature, is overcome by the thought that his wife and unborn child are held by the Romans, "super insitam violentiam, raptam uxorem, subiectus servitio uxoris uterus vecordem agebant." *Violentia* is one of the key elements of Virgil's characterization of Turnus. This word occurs four times in the *Aeneid*, each time in reference to Turnus. It is found in 11. 354, "nec te ullius violentia vincat"; 11. 376, "talibus exarsit dictis violentia Turni"; and in 12. 9 and 12. 45. Notice that in three of the four examples, the word is connected with the reception of a message or report as in the Tacitean passage.

Arminius rages among the Cherusci and demands that they fight against Segestes and Germanicus, "arma in Segestem, arma in Caesarem poscens." This certainly is reminiscent of the passage in *Aeneid* 7. 456-74 in which Turnus incites the Rutulians to repel the Trojans from Italy, especially lines 468, "et iubet arma parari," and 472, "Rutuli exhortantur in arma." Elsewhere the phrase *arma poscens* and the verb *poscere*, used in the sense of demanding war, occur frequently and almost exclusively of Turnus in the *Aeneid*. Some examples are 7. 340, "arma velit poscatque simul rapiatque iuventus"; 7. 583 f., "cuncti . . . bellum / contra fata deum perverso numine poscunt"; and 10. 661 and 12. 326.¹⁹

Arminius boasts to his people that before him three legions and three Roman generals have fallen, *procubuisse*. This word, which occurs but six times in Tacitus, recalls a similar use in *Aeneid* 11. 393 f., "qui . . . Evandri totam cum stirpe

videbit / procubuisse domum," which refers to Turnus' slaying of Pallas. Arminius continues by saying that he engaged in warfare not with the help of treason or against a pregnant woman, but in daylight against armed men. To this day in the groves of Germany, he says, Roman standards are to be seen which he had hung, *suspenderit*, for the gods of their fathers. *Suspendere* occurs in 12. 511 f., in a description of Turnus hanging heads from his chariot, "curruque abscisa duorum / suspendit capita." This word is also found in lines 768 f. of the same book, this time in a religious context similar to the passage in chapter 59 of *Annals* 1, "solebant . . . votas suspendere vestis."

Arminius states that Segestes can live on the Roman side of the Rhine, but the Germans could never excuse the fact that they had seen the rods, axes, and toga between the Elbe and Rhine rivers. Arminius concludes his speech with a ringing call to arms. The Cherusci must follow him to glory and victory if they love their country, their parents, their ancient ways better than foreign masters, "si patriam, parentes, antiqua mallent quam dominos." In *Aeneid* 7. 182 there is a description of the interior of the palace of Latinus with its statues of former kings who had fought for their fatherland, "Martiaque ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi." In 12. 236 f., Cameris stirs up his fellow Rutulians by reminding them that if their fatherland is conquered they must obey proud masters, "nos patria amissa dominis parere superbis / cogemur." The latter contains the same words, *patria* and *domini*, as the phrase in the *Annals*. The contexts, furthermore, are similar in both passages.

Chapter 60 of *Annals* 1 consists, for the most part, of Germanicus' military orders to meet the attack of the Cherusci. There is,

19. None of these lines seems to have been suggested by commentators as a possible source of the Tacitean phrase.

however, one interesting Virgilian correspondence in this chapter. Germanicus is forced to take action to prevent the war from getting out of control, "ne bellum mole una ingrueret." The Virgilian source for this phrase is usually said to be 1. 33, "tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem."²⁰ But this is certainly doubtful. The phrase is, rather, a correspondence with 8. 535, *si bellum ingrueret*, as Aeneas learns that Venus is bringing the arms from Vulcan for him. Not only are the words the same, but so also are the contexts. Germanicus takes precautions to prevent the German war from raging out of control; Aeneas is about to receive from his mother the arms which will enable him to overcome Turnus and the Rutulians. This is yet another example of Tacitus' use of Virgil in his characterizations of Germanicus and Arminius.

Germanicus in his advance into Germany draws near to the Teutoburg Forest, the scene of Arminius' slaughter of Varus and his legions. The desire comes to Germanicus to pay the final tribute to the dead soldiers and their general, "igitur cupido Caesarem invadit solvendi suprema militibus ducique." J. Soubiran²¹ has noted the poetic elements in the opening phrase of chapter 61. In addition to the alliteration in *cupido Caesarem* and *solvendi suprema*, Soubiran points to the use of the poetic *cupido* in place of the prosaic *cupiditas*. *Solvere* is used three times in the *Aeneid* (3. 404, 6. 510, and 11. 4) in passages describing religious rites for the dead. Each time Aeneas is involved in performing the rites. Examples of Aeneas' religious piety abound in the *Aeneid*. Tacitus is here once again stressing the same quality in Germanicus. And it is important to note that

this is the sole use of *solvere* by Tacitus in a religious context.

Germanicus' army is deeply moved by the thought of their dead comrades, human fate, and the chances of war, *casus bellorum*. The word *casus* is found several times in the *Aeneid* with a similar sense. Some of the examples are 1. 204 f., "per varios casus per tot discrimina rerum / tendimus in Latium"; 5. 700, "pater Aeneas casu concussus acerbo," and 12. 32 f., "ex illo qui me casus quae, Turne, sequantur / bella vides." The last example, in addition to *casus*, contains the word *bella*, which is also found in Tacitus' sentence.²²

Caecina is sent with an advance guard to explore the secret passages of the forest, and to put bridges and causeways over the marshes and treacherous plains. The main body of soldiers proceeds through frightening places, ugly both to the soldiers' sight and to memory, "incedunt maestos locos visuque ac memoria deformis." Commentators, if they cite a Virgilian passage at all, maintain that the words *maestos locos* are derived from the Virgilian phrase *maestae arae* found in *Aeneid* 3. 63 f. and 5. 48.²³ The first refers to the funeral of Polydorus; the second occurs in Aeneas' speech to Acestes as he recalls the death of his father. Both contexts then are appropriate to Tacitus' use of the words in *Annals* 1. To these two examples, however, I should add 6. 434, "proxima deinde tenent maesti loca," in which the shades of the dead are described. Here the two words are juxtaposed even though *maestus* does not modify *locus*. But Virgil's description of the souls in the underworld certainly is close to the impressionistic, other-worldly atmosphere of the Tacitean passage.

20. Jacob, p. 78. But the phrase *bellum ingrueret* is found only in Tacitus and *Aen.* 8. 535; *TLL*, VII, 1579.

21. Soubiran, p. 56.

22. An examination of *casus*, *TLL*, III, 573-85, reveals that his word is never juxtaposed with *bellum* except in the Virgilian

line quoted. The phrase *casus belli* occurs only, in addition to Tacitus' use of it here, in Cic. *Pro Font.* 43, in a passage which has nothing in common with Tacitus' and in which the two words *casus* and *belli* are separated by thirteen others.

23. Schmaus, p. 21.

The word *deformis* from the phrase *visuque ac memoria deformis* also occurs in Virgil's description of the underworld in *Georgics* 4. 478 f., "quos circum limus niger et deformis harundo / Cocyti tardoque palus inamabilis unda." Notice here too the occurrence of *palus*, a word also found in Tacitus' sentence. It is significant that Tacitus is using vocabulary found in Virgilian descriptions of the underworld.

The troops come upon the remains of Varus' camp which had been overrun by Arminius and the Germans. Then they see the half-ruined wall and the ditch in which the remnants of Varus' army had taken refuge, "dein semiruto vallo, humili fossa accisae iam reliquiae consedis intellegantur." *Fossa* is used in the *Aeneid* in battle descriptions, twice in conjunction with the word *vallum*. The passages are all found in Book 9: first in 142 f., "quibus haec medii fiducia valli / fossarumque morae . . . dant animos"; then in 505 f., "Volsci . . . fossas implere parant ac vellere vallum"; and finally in 567, "invadunt et fossas aggere complent." In 7. 157, Virgil's description of Aeneas establishing the Trojan camp, we find the same noun-adjective combination, *humili* . . . *fossa*, as in Tacitus' description of Varus' camp.

In the middle of the plain, Germanicus and his troops discover the white bones of the Roman soldiers which were either scattered or heaped up in piles, "medio campi albertia ossa, ut fugerant, ut restiterant, disiecta vel aggerata." It is remarkable that no commentator seems to have discussed correspondences between Tacitus' phrase *albertia ossa* and several lines from the *Aeneid*, for the phrase is both highly poetic and Virgilian in its musical rhythm.²⁴

24. Soubiran, p. 58, notes the poetic rhythm of these lines and lists phrases from Lucan and Statius which are rhythmically similar. But the phrase *albertia ossa* is clearly modeled on Virgil's use of the words. *Albere*, *TLL*, I, 1489, is used in Latin most often with *caelum*, *terra*, *aqua*, and *lux*; infre-

quently with men and animals. Only Tacitus, before Claudian, and Ovid (*Fast.* 1. 588) use it with *ossa*. No author except Virgil juxtaposes *ossa* with *albus*.
The words *albus* (or the verb *albere*) and *ossa* occur together twice in the *Aeneid*. In 5. 864 f., the Trojans approach the Sirens' cliffs where they see the bones of men drawn to their own destruction, "scopulos Sirenum . . . difficilis quondam multorumque ossibus albos." In 12. 36, the same words occur as the Rutulians expostulate with Turnus, "campique ingentes ossibus albert." Notice too that the whitening bones are here located on the plains, *campi*, just as in the passage from the *Annals*. Elsewhere Tacitus never uses *albere* with *ossa*, only with *spuma* (*Annals* 6. 37), *folia* (*Annals* 11. 4) and *os* and *membra* (*Annals* 15. 64). The conclusion is obvious. Tacitus must have had the Virgilian passages in mind when he was writing his description of the remains of Varus' camp. In addition, two of these reminiscences serve to link Germanicus with Aeneas.

The phrase *disiecta vel aggerata* is derived from several passages in the works of Virgil. One striking parallel is found in *Georgics* 3. 556 f., Virgil's description of the plague at Noricum, "iamque catervatim dat stragem atque aggerat ipsis / in stabulis . . . cadavera."²⁵ In *Aeneid* 2. 608 f., the desolation of Troy is depicted, "hic ubi disiectas moles avolsaque saxis / saxa vides." Finally, in 11. 870 f., Virgil describes the rout of the Rutulians, "disiectique duces desolatique manipuli / tuta petunt." None of these passages is exactly parallel to the Tacitean phrase. But, as I have observed before, Tacitus never quotes Virgil. Rather, as here, he assimilates the Virgilian phrases into his narrative and changes them accordingly.

The soldiers come upon fragments of the weapons, limbs of the horses, and human skulls nailed to the trunks of trees,

quently with men and animals. Only Tacitus, before Claudian, and Ovid (*Fast.* 1. 588) use it with *ossa*. No author except Virgil juxtaposes *ossa* with *albus*.

25. Schmaus, p. 8.

"adiacebant fragmina telorum equorum-que artus, simul truncis arborum antefixa ora." The word *fragmen* is usually found in poetry. In Tacitus it means the fragments of the Roman weapons. It has a similar use in *Aeneid* 12. 741 in reference to the shattered weapon of Turnus, "fulva resplendent fragmina harena." *Artus* is also found in the *Aeneid* in passages much like the one in *Annals* 61. Two examples of this word's use are 9. 490 f., "quae nunc artus avolsaque membra . . . tellus habet"; and 9. 753 f., "conlapsos artus atque arma cruenta cerebro / sternit humi moriens."

The phrase "simul truncis arborum antefixa ora" has several interesting parallels in the *Aeneid*. In Virgil's description of Cacus' dwelling in 8. 196 f., there are heads hanging from his doors, "foribus . . . adfixa superbis/ora virum tristi pendebant pallida tabo." In 9. 471 f., the heads of Nisus and Euryalus are affixed to spear points, "simul ora virum . . . movebant . . . atro . . . fluentia tabo." We should also recall a passage discussed above in which Turnus' chariot is described with human heads hanging from it, 12. 511 f., "curruque abscisa duorum / suspendit capita." In all of these examples, as in Tacitus, the inhumanity of the act is transferred to the individual who commits it.

The survivors point out the spot where Varus was first wounded and where he died by his own hand, "primum ubi vulnus Varo adactum, ubi infelici dextera et suo ictu mortem invenerit." The phrase *vulnus . . . adactum* is taken from Evander's lament over the dead body of his son Lausus in 10. 850, "nunc alte vulnus adactum."²⁶ Some commentators point out that this phrase may also be derived from 10. 140, *vulnera derigere*, as the Trojans attack the Rutulians.²⁷ But surely line 850 is closer

both in vocabulary and in meaning to the Tacitean passage. Both of the passages contain the same words, *vulnus adactum*; moreover, the deaths of Lausus and Varus are caused by Turnus and Arminius.

Finally, the soldiers show the torture pits and recall the arrogance with which Arminius insulted (*inluserit*) the Roman standards and eagles. *Inludere* occurs in reference to Turnus in 9. 634, "i, verbis virtutem include superbis," as Ascanius replies to his boasts. Notice that the verb *inludere* is accompanied by *superbiam* in Tacitus and *superbis* in Virgil. Nowhere else in Latin literature are these words juxtaposed.²⁸ This is one more link between Turnus and Arminius. The verb *inludere* occurs infrequently in each author's works, but never, except here, in combination with *superbia*. Virgil uses this verb to mean "to make sport of" only twice. Tacitus uses the verb seven times with this meaning, but only once in reference to battle.

The Roman soldiers bury the dead bodies found in Varus' camp and then proceed against the Germans. After a few skirmishes, Germanicus returns to Amisia. At the same time, Caecina begins his return as quickly as possible. But Arminius slows down the Roman retreat and forces Caecina to pitch a camp. Chapter 65 begins as night falls on the Roman camp. It is a night of unrest. The barbarians fill the valley and woods with the sounds of their carousal. The Roman camp, in contrast, is characterized by languid campfires, and the soldiers, gathered in groups, are more unable to sleep than alert for guard-duty. Since this passage, to a large extent, corresponds to a similar one in *Aeneid* 9. 159–71, it will be helpful to quote both passages here.²⁹

26. This line, apparently, has not been previously suggested as the source of Tacitus' phrase.

27. E.g., Schmaus, p. 20.

28. *TLL*, VII, 388–90.

29. Edelmaier, p. 137, briefly mentions the correspondence between these passages.

Nox per diversa inquires, cum barbari festis epulis laeto cantu aut truci sonore subiecta vallium ac resultantis saltus complerent, apud Romanos invalidi ignes, interruptae voces, atque ipsi passim adiacerent vallo, oberrarent tentoriis, insomnes magis quam pervigiles.

Interea vigilum excubiis obsidere portas cura datur Messapo et moenia cingere flammis. bis septem Rutuli, muros qui milite servant, delecti; ast illos centeni quemque sequuntur purpurei cristis iuvenes auroque corusci. discurrent variantque vices fusique per herbam indulgent vino et vertunt crateras aenos. conluent ignes, noctem custodia ducit insomnem ludo.

haec super e vallo prospectant Troes et armis alta tenent, nec non trepidi formidine portas explorant pontisque et propugnacula iungunt, tela gerunt.

There are a number of interesting correspondences between the two passages. Both passages open at night—Tacitus' with "nox per diversa inquires" and Virgil's with lines 166 f., "conluent ignes, noctem custodia ducit / insomnem ludo." Both of the besieging forces spend the night in revelry. Compare "cum barbari festis epulis laeto cantu aut truci sonore" in Tacitus with Virgil's line 165, "indulgent vino et vertunt crateras aenos." *Sonor* occurs in *Aeneid* 9. 649 f., "Apollo omnia longaevo similis . . . et crinis albos et saeva sonoris arma." It is important to note that both Virgil and Tacitus use this noun only three times.

There are two Virgilian passages from which the clause "laeto cantu aut truci sonore subiecta vallium ac resultantis saltus complerent" may have been derived. The first is 5. 150, *colles clamore resultant*,³⁰ which is much shorter than Tacitus' passage but still contains its central thought. The other is 8. 305, "consonat omne nemus strepitu collesque resultant."³¹ This line is closer to Tacitus' clause; it contains the same verb, *resultare*, the verb *consonare*, which is similar to the

noun *sonor*, and the noun *nemus*, which is similar in meaning to *saltus*. These two Virgilian lines have been cited by various commentators as the sources of the passage in chapter 65. There is, however, another Virgilian line from the *Georgics*, 2. 391, which is much closer to the words found in Tacitus, "complentur vallesque cavae saltusque profundus." Both passages share the words *comple*, *vallis*, and *saltus*. Nowhere else in Tacitus are these words juxtaposed. In addition, the contexts are similar. In Tacitus the valleys and forests resound with the revelry of the Cherusci. In Virgil the valleys and forests echo with the sounds of the rustic revelry in honor of Bacchus.

Other words in the opening sentence of chapter 65 are found in Book 9 of the *Aeneid*. Weak fires are seen in the Roman camp; the phrase *conluent ignes* is found in 9. 166. Scattered voices, *interruptae voces*, are heard in the Roman camp. *Interruptus* occurs in 9. 239, not with *voces*, but with *ignes*. *Vox* is used significantly in 9. 112 f., "tum vox horrenda per auras / excidit et Troum Rutulorumque agmina complet." *Vallum* occurs nine times in Virgil's works, eight times in *Aeneid* 9. Virgil uses *insomnis* to describe the Rutulians in 9. 166 f., "noctem custodia ducit / insomnem ludo."

During the night, Caecina's sleep is disturbed by a terrifying dream, "ducemque terruit dira quies." The word *quies* is not used by Virgil in Book 9. But Tacitus' noun-verb combination *dira quies* may have been derived from the Virgilian combination *dura quies*, found in 10. 745 and 12. 309. Tacitus uses *quies* eight times in dream descriptions, but never, except here, with *dira* and *terrere*.

The appearance of Quintilius Varus in Caecina's dream is reminiscent of the

30. Nipperdey, p. 123.

31. Schmaus, p. 24.

appearance of Hector in Aeneas' dream in 2. 270–96. Although there are no verbal echoes, nevertheless there are several interesting correspondences between these two dream passages. Both Varus and Hector appear in a dream on the night before an important battle, both are leaders previously defeated and slain by their comrades' opponents, and both appear in the begrimed state of their defeat and death.

At daybreak, the legions sent to the wings of the Roman army abandon their position either through fear or willfulness. Arminius does not at once attack the Roman army. But when he sees the baggage caught in the mire, the troops in a state of confusion (*milites . . . turbati*), and the order of the Roman standards unsure, he orders his forces to break into (*inrumpere*) the disordered Romans. *Turbare* is found often in Book 9; it occurs in line 13, *turbata arripe castra*, line 397, *subito turbante tumultu*, and in lines 734 f., “adgnoscent faciem invisam atque immania membra / turbati subito Aeneadae.” Tacitus uses the participle *turbatus* only four times in military narratives. *Inrumpere* is found only five times in Virgil's works; it is used twice in Book 9 (lines 683 and 729).

Arminius leads the Cherusci attack with a select company of his soldiers; he cuts through the Roman line and directs his blows at their horses, “scindit agmen equisque maxime vulnera ingerit.” The verbs *scindere* and *ingerere* are important here. *Scindere* is not often used by Virgil, but it is found twice in *Aeneid* 9. Turnus leads an attack on the Trojans in lines 146 f., with words reminiscent of those describing Arminius in the *Annals*, “sed vos, o lecti, ferro quis scindere vallum / ap-

parat?” The same word also occurs in lines 477 f., “evolat infelix [*sc. mater*] et femineo ululatu / scissa comam muros . . . prima petit.” Tacitus uses *scindere* only six times, and this is the only example in which the word means “to break through.” Virgil uses *ingerere* only twice. In both examples, Turnus is the subject, once in 9. 763 and then in 12. 330.

The horses, slipping in their own blood and in the mire, “sanguine suo et lubrico paludum lapsantes,” scatter all they meet, *disicere obvios*, and trample those lying under them, *proterere iacentes*. The phrase *sanguine suo lapsantes* comes from *Aeneid* 2. 551, “in multo lapsantem sanguine.”³² *Lapsare* is a poetic word and according to Furneaux³³ not found in prose before Tacitus. The verbs *disicere* and *proterere* are also of interest. The former is used twice (12. 482 and 12. 689) by Virgil in the phrase *disiecta per agmina* to describe the Trojan troops in a state of chaos. The latter is used in 12. 329 f., where Turnus *agmina curru / proterit*. *Proterere* occurs only three times in Tacitus' historical works.

The battle is fought for the most part around the Roman eagles. It is impossible either to advance them against the storm of spears, *ingruentia tela*, or to plant them in the swampy soil. *Ingruere* occurs twice in the *Aeneid*. Tacitus may have had in mind both 2. 301, *armorum . . . ingruit horror*, and 12. 283 f., “it toto turbida caelo / tempestas telorum ac ferreus ingruit imber,” when he wrote his phrase.³⁴ *Ingruere* in Tacitus is never elsewhere associated with *tela* or any kind of weapon. Notice in the last Virgilian example that the word *telorum* is also found.

Caecina, while he is attempting to keep

32. Schmaus, p. 9.

33. Furneaux, p. 267.

34. The phrase *ingruentia tela* (*TLL*, VII, 1579) occurs in Orosius, Claudian, Ammianus, and Lactantius as well as

Tacitus, whose use of it must have come from Virgil's “telorum . . . ferreus ingruit imber.” Livy uses *ingruere* with *quid bellici terroris* in 6. 6. 6, *periculi* in 5. 21. 4, *fato* in 5. 32. 6, and *morbi saevitiaque* in 4. 30. 8.

the battle line in order, falls from his horse which has been stabbed by the attacking Germans, "dum sustentat aciem, suffosso equo delapsus." The phrase *suffosso equo* is taken from 11. 671, "suffosso revolutus equo dum colligit."³⁵ In both examples, the phrase is used with a perfect participle. The verb *suffodere* occurs only three times in Tacitus' works, twice in the phrase *suffosso equo*.

One advantage for the Roman troops is that the Germans give up the slaughter in their desire for booty. While the enemy is thus engaged, the legions struggle into open parts of the plain to set up their camp. Chapter 66 opens as a stray horse, having broken free from its tethering, throws into panic the men who try to stop it, "forte equus, abruptis vinculis, vagus et clamore territus, quosdam occurrentium obturbavit." There are a number of words and phrases in this sentence that have interesting parallels in passages from Book 9 of the *Aeneid*. Commentators point out that Tacitus' description of the horse breaking loose is derived from 11. 492 f., "qualis ubi abruptis fugit praesepia vinclis / tandem liber equus."³⁶ But there are two passages from Book 9, separated from one another by only six lines, which have much in common with the Tacitean description. The first occurs in lines 117 f., as the ships break loose from their moorings, "sua quaeque / continuo puppes *abrumpunt vincula* ripis." The other is in lines 123 f., "*conterritus ipse / turbatis* Messapus *equis*." Both of these lines taken together contain all of the main elements in Tacitus' sentence. The passage from Book 11, however, shares only the words *equus* and *abruptis vinculis*.

The ensuing panic is so great that the soldiers, believing that the Germans have broken into the camp, rush to the gates,

"tanta inde consternatio inrupisse Germanos credentium ut cuncti ruerent ad portas." Virgil twice employs the verb *inrumpere* in Book 9 to describe the Rutulian attack: first in line 683, *inrumpunt aditus Rutuli*, and then in lines 728 f., "qui Rutulum in medio non agmine regem / viderit inrumpentem." Some of the important uses of *ruere* in Book 9 are line 182, "pariter . . . in bella ruebant," and line 695, "Dardanium ruit ad portam fratresque superbos." Notice that *ruere* occurs in the last example with *porta*.

Caecina, realizing that the fear is unfounded, tries to restrain his troops. But he is unable to control them until he bars their way with his own body, "Caecina comperto vanam esse formidinem cum tamen neque auctoritate neque precibus ne manu quidem obsistere aut retinere militem quiret proiectus in limine portae miseratione demum quia per corpus legati eundum erat clausit viam." *Formido* is found twice in Book 9, both times in conjunction with words that appear in Tacitus' sentence. It occurs first in lines 169 f., "nec non trepidi *formidine portas* / explorant," and then in line 756, "*diffugiunt* versi trepida *formidine* Troes." Virgil also uses *proiectus* to describe a body cast on the ground in 9. 444 f., "tum super exanimum sese proiecit amicum / confossus." The Tacitean phrase *clausit viam* is approximated in 9. 67 f., "quae via clausos / excutiat Teucros vallo?"

Caecina then gathers his forces before his quarters and speaks to them of the crisis which faces them. He declares that their one hope for safety lies in fighting, but they must be discreet and remain within their rampart until the enemy approaches to take it by storm. He then reminds the troops that many physical obstacles still remain in their path: forests

35. Furneaux, p. 267.

36. E.g., Robbert, p. 33.

(*silvas*) and swamps as well as the enemy. *Aeneid* 9. 378, with its juxtaposition of *silvas* and *fugam*, is very close to Caecina's speech, "celerare *fugam* in *silvas* et fidere nocti." At the conclusion of his short speech, Caecina distributes the remainder of the horses among the troops for the attack against the enemy, in *hostem invaderent*. Virgil uses *invadere* five times in Book 9.

Chapter 68 turns attention to the Germans who are as excited as the Romans through their hope and cupidity, "haud minus inquires Germanus spe cupidine . . . agebat." The same words *cupido* and *agere* are found in Virgil's description of Turnus in 9. 760 f., "furor ardentem caedisque insana *cupido* / *egit* in adversos."

At daybreak, the Germans begin to fill in the ditches and struggle to grasp the top of the Roman rampart. But as they swarm over the fortifications, the Roman trumpets give the signal for the attack. With a shout, the Romans pour down on the Germans. The ensuing battle finds the Romans victorious, and the Germans retreat after suffering heavy losses.

In chapter 69, Agrippina prevents the destruction of the Roman bridge across the Rhine. Germanicus, in chapter 70,³⁷ orders Publius Vitellius to lead on a land journey two of the legions which he had brought on his ships. This would lighten the fleet in case it should find itself grounded at ebb tide. Commentators point out the similarity between the Tacitean phrase "quo levior classis mari innaret," and 8. 691, *pelago* . . . *innare*.³⁸

At first Vitellius has an uneventful journey over dry ground with gently running tides, *adlabente aestu*. Virgil uses the verb *adlabi* twice in *Aeneid* 10, once with *aestus* in line 292, "sed mare inoffensum crescenti adlabitur aestu." A short while

later a storm from the north arises, aggravated by the equinox during which the sea is especially rough, *maxime tumescit*. Virgil uses *tumescere* twice in the *Georgics* in reference to the sea: first in 1. 356 f., "continuo ventis surgentibus aut freta ponti / incipiunt agitata tumescere," and then in 2. 479 f., "qua vi maria alta tumescant."

The land is flooded with water. The sea, the shore, and the plain all look alike, and solid land cannot be distinguished from the water nor shallow water from deep, "eadem freto, litori, campis facies neque discerni poterant incerta ab solidis, brevia a profundis." *Discernere* occurs in a sea passage in *Aeneid* 3. 201, "ipse diem noctemque negat discernere caelo." *Incertus* is used in a sea description in the same book in lines 5 ff., "classem . . . molimur . . . incerti quo fata ferant"; in 1. 110 f., "tris [sc. navis] . . . in brevia . . . urget"; and in 10. 289, *brevibus se credere*. Tacitus uses *brevia* three times to mean "shallow water," once in the singular and never with *incerta* as here.

The troops are struck down by the waves or sucked in by whirling water, "sternuntur fluctibus, hauriuntur gurgitibus." Three of these words have interesting parallel uses in the *Aeneid*. *Sternere* occurs three times in Virgilian descriptions of the sea, usually in storms: 3. 509, "sternimur optatae gremio telluris"; 5. 820 f., "tumidumque sub axe tonanti / sternitur aequor aquis"; and 8. 88 f., "mitis ut in morem stagni placidaeque paludis / sterneret aequor aquis." *Haurire* is found in conjunction with *gurgēs* in 9. 23, "summoque hausit de gurgite lymphas." Tacitus employs *haurire* five times in descriptions of sea storms. *Gurgēs* alone occurs three times in *Aeneid* 3: first in line 197, "dis-

37. Soubiran, pp. 64–69, discusses the poetic influences on this chapter. He cites Ennius, Catullus, Horace, and Ovid, in addition to Virgil.

38. E.g., Schmaus, p. 42.

persi iactamur gurgite vasto"; then in 420 ff., "Charybdis . . . imo barathri ter gurgite vastos / sorbet in abruptum fluctus"; and finally in 564, "tollimur in caelum curvato gurgite." *Gurges* occurs but once in Tacitus' historical works.

Caught in the swirling storm, the soldiers are scattered and submerged when the ground vanishes beneath them, "subtracto solo disiecti aut obruti." Tacitus may very well have had in mind the phrase *subtrahitur . . . solum* from Virgil's description of the ship race in 5. 199.³⁹ The phrase *disiecti aut obruti* also has its antecedents in the *Aeneid*. Commentators usually find the origin of this phrase in 6. 336, "obruit auster aqua involvens navemque virosque."⁴⁰ But there are a number of lines from Virgil's storm scene in Book 1 that Tacitus probably had in mind while writing his chapter. Some of these passages are 42 f., "ipsa Iovis rapidum iaculata e nubibus ignem / disiecit . . . rates"; 69 f., "incute vim ventis submersasque obrue puppes / aut age diversos et disice corpora ponto"; and 128, "disiectam Aeneae toto videt aequore classem."

Neither shouts nor exhortations avail against the opposing deluge, *adversante unda*. Everything is swept up with equal violence, "cuncta pari violentia involuebantur." Commentators point out that this passage may be derived from *Georgics* 2. 308, "et totum involvit flammis nemus."⁴¹ The grammatical similarity is close but the contexts of the two passages are different. A closer correspondence in meaning and vocabulary is found in a passage already cited above, 6. 336, and in 3. 198, *involvere diem nimbi*. At last the troops reach higher ground where they find safety. At daybreak they set out for the river where Germanicus finds them and takes them back to safety.

Book 2 of the *Annals*, like Book 1, contains a number of important Virgilian correspondences that are clustered within passages also noteworthy for their *color Vergilianus*. But Book 2, unlike Book 1, does not derive its correspondences in extended passages from specific books of the *Aeneid*. This is largely the result of the absence of parallel incidents in the *Aeneid* and *Annals* 2. Tacitus, however, does continue to develop his characterization of Germanicus by using correspondences with Virgil's characterization of Aeneas.

Book 2 opens with a discussion of affairs in the East, particularly the expulsion of Vonones from the Parthian throne (1-4). This both sets an ominous tone for the rest of the book and prepares for Germanicus' journey to the East and his death at Antioch. It also introduces one of the major themes of the book, the struggle for royal power and the Roman manipulation of foreign kingdoms. All of the incidents related to this theme reflect either directly or indirectly on Tiberius and his manipulation of Germanicus' career.

Tacitus narrates the final German campaign of Germanicus in chapters 5-26. The preliminary description of the formation of the fleet, the march to the Visurgis, and the colloquy of Arminius and Flavus (5-10) contains no Virgilian correspondences and little *color Vergilianus*. But the abortive attack of the Batavi against the Cherusci (11) does contain a marked *color Vergilianus* and several Virgilian correspondences. The following sentence in which each word is found in Virgil's works is typical of this chapter's strong *color Vergilianus*, "dein coorti et undique effusi trudent adversos, instant cedentibus collectosque in orbem pars congressi, quidam eminus proturbant." In addition, the phrase *collectos . . . in orbem* recalls

39. E.g., Schmaus, p. 42.

40. E.g., Nipperdey, p. 129.

41. E.g., Jacob, p. 88.

Georgics 4. 79, *glomerantur in orbem*.⁴² Chariovalda, the leader of the Batavi, urges his men to attack the massed enemy, “*ingruentes catervas globo perfringerent*.” *Ingruere* is a rare word in Latin. Most of its uses are found in Virgil and Tacitus. The phrase *ingruentes catervas* may recall *Aeneid* 11. 899, *ingruere infensos hostis*. Chariovalda is struck by a shower of enemy spears and falls lifeless on his horse, *suffosso equo labitur*, a Virgilian correspondence found in 11. 670 f., “*habenas / suffosso revolutus equo dum colligit*.”⁴³ Forcellini lists Tacitus and Virgil as the only Latin authors who use the phrase *suffosso equo*.⁴⁴ In fact, Virgil uses the verb *suffodere* only in 11. 670, and Tacitus only three times (twice with *equo*, *Annals* 1. 65 and 2. 13). Tacitus must have been influenced by Virgil in his use of this verb. Furneaux, in his commentary, notes that *labitur* is used only by poets to express falling in death.⁴⁵ This meaning is found in *Aeneid* 11. 818.

The next four chapters relate Germanicus’ actions before the important engagement with Arminius and the German forces on the next day. After an informer relates the German plans to the Romans (12), the Roman troops can hear the neighing horses of the Germans, *fremitum equorum*, and the sound of the German troops, *agminis murmur*. The first phrase may echo its occurrence in *Aeneid* 11. 607, *fremitusque ardescit equorum*.⁴⁶ This phrase is found only seven times in Latin literature, once in Virgil and twice in Tacitus, as well as in Lucretius 5. 1076, Caesar *Bellum civile* 3. 38, and Livy 2. 64 and 31. 33. *Agminis murmur* may recall a similar phrase

in *Aeneid* 12. 239, “*serpitque per agmina murmur*,” Virgil’s description of the sound of unrest that sweeps through the Latin troops.⁴⁷ *Murmur* occurs very seldom in Latin military narratives, and only Virgil and Tacitus employ this word with *agmen*.⁴⁸ Germanicus realizes that the decisive moment is near, *summae rei discrimine*. These words closely parallel a phrase in Aeneas’ speech in 1. 204, “*per tot discrimina rerum*.”⁴⁹ Germanicus, at this critical moment, decides to test the hopes and fears of his soldiers, *spem aut metum*. These same words occur in *Aeneid* 1. 218, *spemque metumque*.⁵⁰ Tacitus combines *spes* and *metus* several times in his historical works, but Virgil employs the combination only once. It is likely that Tacitus borrowed this phrase from Virgil. And note that the last two Virgilian phrases are separated from each other by only fourteen lines.

Germanicus in chapter 13 decides to disguise his appearance in order to go unobserved among his troops. As he passes unnoticed through the camp, he enjoys hearing conversation about himself, *fruitur . . . fama sui*, a phrase similar to *Aeneid* 7. 90 f., “*fruiturque deorum / conloquio*.” The Roman troops extoll the virtues of their commander, *laudibus ferrent*. These words occur three times in the *Aeneid* (in 1. 625, 8. 287 f., and 11. 791 f.). Germanicus also hears the soldiers agree that the breakers of the peace, *ruptores pacis*, must be punished. A similar phrase occurs in *Aeneid* 12. 202 as Latinus prays that peace not be broken, “*nulla dies pacem . . . rumpet*.” The description of Germanicus in disguise among his troops as he hears

42. No one seems to have noted this similarity before.

43. Furneaux, p. 302.

44. Forcellini, V, 732.

45. Furneaux, p. 302.

46. No one seems to have suggested this phrase as a possible Virgilian correspondence.

47. Again, no one seems to have pointed out the parallel between the two phrases.

48. According to *TLL*, VIII, 1675–77, *murmur* and *agmen* do not occur together elsewhere in Latin literature.

49. No one, apparently, has suggested this as a Virgilian correspondence.

50. No one, to my knowledge, has cited these words as the source for Tacitus’ phrase.

them praise him resembles the passage in *Aeneid* 1 in which Aeneas, surrounded by the protective mist, hears Ilioneus and Dido praise him. In fact, the phrase *laudibus ferrent* occurs in this passage too. But there are no other close verbal correspondences between the two scenes.

During the night, Germanicus has a dream (14). The phrase *laetam quietem* is similar to *prima quies . . . gratissima* from Aeneas' dream in 2. 268 f. It is interesting to note that in these passages both Germanicus and Aeneas have dreams before important battles. But Varus' dream in *Annals* 1. 65 is closer to Aeneas' dream in *Aeneid* 2. Germanicus' dream, however, does have a point of comparison with Aeneas'. Aeneas sees Hector spattered with gore, *aterque cruento pulvere*, and his hair *concretos sanguine*, and Germanicus sees his robe spattered with the blood of a sacrifice, *sanguine sacri respersa*. This last phrase may also recall *Aeneid* 7. 547, *respersi sanguine*.⁵¹ Virgil uses this phrase only once, Tacitus twice. It has been suggested that the words *vidit se operatum* may be related to *Georgics* 1. 339, "sacra refer Cereri laetis operatus in herbis."⁵²

Tacitus then narrates the speeches of Germanicus and Arminius before their encounter (14–15). There are no important Virgilian correspondences here, except, perhaps, for the phrase *miscuerunt manus*, which is close to *Aeneid* 12. 720, *vulnera miscent*.⁵³ The battle description in chapters 16–17 is striking for its *color Vergilianus*. Koestermann, in his commentary, notes the similarity between Tacitus' *pura humo* and Virgil's *puro . . . campo* in 12. 771.⁵⁴ There are many verbs here found in Virgil: *prorumpere*, *incurrere*, *circumgredi*,

invadere, *intrare*, *impellere*, *ruere*, *detrudere*, *operire*. In addition, the words *diversa fuga* are found in *Aeneid* 12. 742, and *iniecta tela* in 2. 726 f. and 9. 807. *Diversa* appears combined with *fuga* only once in Virgil and several times in Tacitus. Tacitus employs *iniecta tela* one time, Virgil twice. Tacitus may have borrowed these phrases from Virgil. Tacitus also employs a poetic use of the ablative in the phrase *collibus detrudebantur*, which is similar to *detrudere finibus hostem* in *Aeneid* 7. 469.⁵⁵ The verb *niti* occurs only in poetry with the meaning "to climb," as in *Aeneid* 2. 443.⁵⁶

The Roman forces defeat the Germans. But their building of a victory mound so enrages the Germans that they attack the retreating Romans (19). The phrase *arma rapiunt* is a Virgilian correspondence found in both *Aeneid* 7. 340 and 8. 220.⁵⁷ In the following battle, Germanicus again leads the Romans to a bloody victory. The noun *adsultibus* in chapter 21 is probably borrowed from Virgil, because it occurs, before Tacitus, only in *Aeneid* 5. 442.⁵⁸ Each author uses the word once.

Germanicus praises his troops and then builds a victory trophy on which the following inscription is placed: "debellatis inter Rhenum Albimque nationibus exercitum Ti. Caesaris ea monumenta Marti et Iovi et Augusto sacravisse." The initial word, *debellatis*, recalls two important occurrences of the word in the *Aeneid*, both of which are found in speeches of Anchises to Aeneas, first in a dream in 5. 730 f., "gens dura atque aspera cultu / debellanda tibi est," and then in the underworld in 6. 853, *debellare superbos*. Note that Tacitus describes the inscription as *superbo cum titulo*.

51. No one seems to have suggested that this phrase is a Virgilian correspondence.

52. Schmaus, p. 42.

53. Furneaux, p. 305.

54. Koestermann, p. 282.

55. Koestermann, p. 283.

56. Furneaux, p. 308.

57. Schmaus, p. 11.

58. Furneaux, p. 311.

The troops then return to their winter quarters by a journey on land. Some of them set sail in the fleet with Germanicus. Soon a violent storm descends on the ships and destroys the fleet (23–24).⁵⁹ There are many Virgilian correspondences in this passage. The phrase *placidum aequor* has a counterpart in *Aeneid* 10. 103. These words occur only once in Tacitus and twice in Virgil. The words *velis impelli* parallel *remis impellere* in *Georgics* 1. 254.⁶⁰ The phrase “mox atro nubium globo effusa grando” is very close to *Aeneid* 10. 803 f., “effusa si quando grandine nimbi | praecipitant.” The words *tumidis terris* are said to correspond to the Virgilian phrase *veretument terrae*, from *Georgics* 2. 324.⁶¹ The phrase *disiecit naves* is a Virgilian correspondence from *Aeneid* 1. 43.⁶² Tacitus uses this verb with ships once, Virgil twice. This marked *color Vergilianus* continues in chapter 24. Furneaux notes the similarity between *manantes per latera* and *laxis laterum compagibus* from Virgil’s storm description in 1. 122.⁶³ Tacitus’ use of *oppeteret* without *mortem* has a parallel in *Aeneid* 1. 96.⁶⁴ There is a closer relationship between the two passages than the occurrence of the verb *oppetere*. Virgil’s use of the verb is in Aeneas’ despairing outburst in the great storm that engulfs the Trojans in Book 1. Tacitus uses the verb to describe the companions of Germanicus restraining him from killing himself after the storm has destroyed his fleet. And note, furthermore, that after each storm, Aeneas and Germanicus climb cliffs to look for their lost comrades (“Aeneas scopulum interea conscendit,” 1. 180; “apud scopulos et prominentis oras,” *Ann.* 2. 24). The

phrase *relabente aestu* corresponds to *unda relabens* in *Aeneid* 10. 307.⁶⁵

The destruction of the Roman fleet encourages the Germans to hope for victory in another battle. This leads Germanicus to take immediate reprisals as a warning to them. The phrase *recluderent humum* in chapter 25 recalls Virgil’s *tellus . . . recluditur* in *Georgics* 2. 423.⁶⁶ This verb occurs often in Tacitus’ works, but otherwise, almost without exception, only in poetry. Another Virgilian correspondence is *excindit hostem*, which is related to *excindere gentem* in *Aeneid* 4. 425 and 9. 137 as well as *populos excindere* in 7. 316.⁶⁷ After leading his troops to their winter quarters, Germanicus is recalled to Rome by Tiberius.

In chapters 53–61, Germanicus travels to the East to assume his command there. Again, several important Virgilian correspondences link Germanicus to Aeneas. Several chapters, furthermore, are notable for the presence of a *color Vergilianus*. Although there are no specific books of the *Aeneid* which provide most of the Virgilian phrases and words found in chapters 53–61, there are, nevertheless, a number of striking correspondences between the figures of Germanicus and Aeneas.⁶⁸ Recall the wanderings of Aeneas in the *Aeneid*. After Troy’s fall, he sails first to Thrace and thence to Delos to consult the oracle of Apollo. Next he sails to Crete and thence to Greece, where he visits Buthrotum and Actium. After sailing past southern Italy and around Sicily, Aeneas is driven to the shores of Africa. He finally reaches Italy after first returning to Sicily. Germanicus’ travels reverse those of Aeneas. He leaves

59. Soubiran, pp. 69–75, discusses the poetic nature of this passage.

60. Furneaux, p. 312.

61. Furneaux, p. 312.

62. Furneaux, p. 313.

63. Furneaux, p. 313.

64. Furneaux, p. 314.

65. No one seems to have noted this correspondence before.

66. Furneaux, p. 315.

67. Schmaus, p. 22.

68. J. Savage, “Germanicus and Aeneas,” *CJ*, XXXIV (1938), 237–38, shows the parallels between Germanicus at Actium and Aeneas at Carthage. But Savage does not discuss the other correspondences in the travels of the two men.

Italy for Greece where he visits Actium and Athens. He then sails for Lesbos, visits Troy, and consults the oracle of Apollo at Colophon. After settling affairs in Syria, he travels to Egypt. There are a significant number of correspondences between the travels of the two men. Both go to Greece, specifically to Actium, both consult an oracle of Apollo, both are in Troy, and both go to Africa. But their journeys are reversed. Whereas Aeneas travels west to a rebirth of Troy in Italy, Germanicus travels east to his death at Antioch. Aeneas travels into the future and leaves the past behind. Germanicus' journey, however, as Tacitus repeatedly stresses, is into the past.

In chapter 53, Germanicus receives his second consulship at Nicopolis in Achaia. Since the violence of the stormy sea has postponed his sailing, he travels by land to Actium while his ships are being repaired. Recall that Aeneas visits Actium (3. 278–88) after a storm has driven him to the gulf there and while his fleet is being refitted. Germanicus visits the camp of Antony and sees the spoils dedicated by Augustus. Recall that Aeneas establishes a monument at Actium. While Germanicus is at Actium, he remembers the deeds of his ancestors and is moved by the recollection of the famous battle. J. Savage⁶⁹ has suggested that Germanicus' reactions, as he ponders the past of his family, parallel Aeneas' as he sees the Trojan war depicted on the walls of the temple in Carthage (1. 450–93). Both Germanicus and Aeneas experience joy and grief as they consider the past in these two passages. Significantly both Aeneas and Germanicus, after leaving Actium, travel into the past in their next stops in Greece. Aeneas sails to Buthrotum, where Helenus and Andromache have established a second Troy.

The survivors of Troy settle there in an attempt to relive their former life. Germanicus, after visiting Actium, proceeds on to Athens, where the Athenians recall their former glory. Tacitus emphasizes here the past grandeur of the Athenians, who receive Germanicus "vetera suorum facta dictaque praeferentes."

In chapter 54, Germanicus crosses to Lesbos, where Agrippina gives birth to Julia. Germanicus then travels to several Thracian ports before he enters the Black Sea through the Bosphorus. Again Tacitus emphasizes Germanicus' interest in the past, "cupidine veteres locos et fama celebratos noscendi." The phrase *extrema Asiae* may recall *Georgics* 2. 170 f., "Caesar / qui nunc *extremis Asiae* iam victor in oris / . . . avertis . . . Indum." The winter storms prevent Germanicus from visiting Samothrace.

Germanicus then travels to the site of Troy. Again he is impressed by the vicissitudes of fortune, *varietate fortunae*, just as he was at Actium and as Aeneas was at Carthage. Furneaux points out that Tacitus' use of *relegere* with *Asiam* is rare and almost exclusively poetic.⁷⁰ It may recall *Aeneid* 3. 690 f., "relegens errata retrorsus / litora." In fact, it probably does, because each author uses *relegere* only once. Germanicus then visits Colophon to consult the oracle of Apollo. The oracle foretells Germanicus' early death. Aeneas too consults an oracle of Apollo at Delos. But, for him, the oracle speaks of a great future, not a premature death.

Chapters 55–58 relate the actions of Piso, his attacks on Germanicus in Athens and his attempts to win over the Roman forces in Syria. Germanicus, however, devotes himself to more urgent affairs in Armenia, where he crowns Artaxias III as king. In chapter 57, Germanicus and Piso

69. See n. 68.

70. Furneaux, p. 349.

finally confront one another. Then, at a banquet given by the dependent king of the Nabataei, Piso rebukes Germanicus both for his extravagance and for wearing a golden crown.

Germanicus visits Egypt in chapters 59–61. Again Tacitus stresses that Germanicus is making a journey into the past to see the faded splendor of a once powerful kingdom. Tacitus describes how the young Caesar adopts Greek dress and how he wears sandals in the manner of Scipio in Sicily during the Punic Wars. Germanicus' adoption of foreign dress is very similar to Aeneas' dress at Carthage, where he too wears foreign clothing at the court of Dido. And recall that, in chapter 57, Piso castigated Germanicus for his extravagance and the fact that, unlike a Roman, he was wearing a crown. According to Tacitus, Tiberius also criticized Germanicus for his manner of dress and his going to Egypt.

But Germanicus, unaware of the emperor's displeasure, travels up the Nile beginning from Canopus. Tacitus relates that the city received its name from Menelaus' helmsman who died there. The phrase *rectorem navis* occurs in *Aeneid* 5. 160 f., "cum . . . Gyas . . . rectorem navis compellat voce." Tacitus uses *rector* in place of the more common *gubernator* once, and Virgil twice. Aeneas loses his helmsman Palinurus shortly before he lands in Italy. And recall that Palinurus, like Canopus, is assured of immortality because the place in which he is buried will be named after him. Tacitus writes that Menelaus was driven to the shore of Libya by a storm, "ad mare terramque Libyam deiectus est," which parallels Aeneas' reaching Africa after being driven off course by a storm in 1. 158, "Libyae vertuntur ad oras." Germanicus visits the

temple of Hercules, "quem indigenae ortum apud se et antiquissimum perhibent eosque qui postea pari virtute fuerint in cognomentum eius adscitos." Remember that Aeneas at the site of Rome in Book 8 hears Evander tell the story of Hercules' exploits with Cacus. Individually, these parallel incidents would be unimportant, but placed together, as they are in chapters 59–60, they further link Germanicus to Aeneas.

Germanicus then proceeds to Thebes, where he visits the massive remains of the ancient Egyptian city. He sees the remnants of Egypt's former glory, *priorem opulentiam*. Notice that Tacitus once more states that Germanicus is encountering the faded glory of a once powerful nation's past. One of the priests in the temple translates for Germanicus the account of Rhamses' conquests and tribute lists. After visiting the massive statue of Memnon and the great pyramids, Germanicus continues his travels up the Nile. Recall that Aeneas also sees a representation of Memnon in the temple at Carthage: "agnovit . . . acies et nigri Memnonis arma," 1. 488 f. The phrase *instar montium*, which describes the pyramids, may recall the phrase *instar montis*, which Virgil applies to the Trojan horse in 2. 15.⁷¹ Tacitus uses *instar* three times and Virgil five times. Each author combines this word with *mons* only once. Furneaux notes that Tacitus' use of *eductae* with *pyramides* is Virgilian and without precedent in earlier prose authors.⁷²

On his return to Syria from Egypt, Germanicus discovers that his commands have all been rescinded or ignored by Piso. Germanicus soon falls ill. Tacitus skillfully plays upon the complicity of Piso and, indirectly, Tiberius and Livia. There is a strong suspicion of poison because of

71. Schmaus, p. 48.

72. Furneaux, p. 357.

the savage force of the sudden illness. Germanicus' condition improves and then quickly worsens. As death draws near, his friends gather around the dying man's bed, and Germanicus addresses them in words of pathetic simplicity. Germanicus first mourns his fate and complains that he is being separated from his parents, children, and fatherland. He then turns on Piso and Plancina and asks his friends to carry out his instructions and to indict Piso for his crimes. Finally, Germanicus requests Agrippina to restrain her passions and not to arouse enmity when she returns to Rome. Germanicus then dies.

This passage is not particularly striking for Virgilian verbal correspondences. But there are a number of poetic, especially Virgilian, elements in Germanicus' death scene. In chapter 69, the phrase "admotas hostias, sacrificalem apparatus, festam Antiochensium plebem" is notable for the poetic diction of the adjectives *sacrificalem* and *festam*.⁷³ The use of *erutae* with the ablative is found chiefly in poets.⁷⁴ Koestermann suggests that Tacitus' use of *rimantes* may be a borrowing from Virgil.⁷⁵ *Effundendus spiritus* in chapter 70 is close to the Virgilian phrase in *Aeneid* 1. 98, *animam hanc effundere*,⁷⁶ and the use of *deficere* in *defectum Germanicum* is poetic.⁷⁷ The phrase *iustus dolor* in chapter 71 may recall *Aeneid* 8. 500 f., "quos iustus in hostem / fert dolor."⁷⁸ Only five other Latin authors employ this phrase.⁷⁹ It is found in Tacitus twice and in Virgil only once.

In chapter 72, the words *ingenti luctu* are also found in Anchises' advice to Aeneas in 6. 868, "o gnatē, ingentem luctum ne quaere tuorum." Tacitus' diction continues to be poetic and striking. *Circumia-*

centium is a very rare word, and *indolere* and *venerabilis* occur primarily in poetry. Tacitus' final summation of Germanicus' character could probably apply with equal suitability to Aeneas: "tanta illi comitas in socios, mansuetudo in hostis; visuque et auditu iuxta venerabilis, cum magnitudinem et gravitatem summae fortunae retineret, invidiam et adrogantiam effugerat."

There is a strong and important parallel between Germanicus and Aeneas in *Annals* 2. 69–73, even though there are few strict Virgilian correspondences and only a moderate amount of *color Vergilianus*. J. Savage has pointed out the similarity between the sentiments expressed by Germanicus to his friends and those spoken by Aeneas to Ascanius in *Aeneid* 12. 435–40.⁸⁰ It will be helpful to quote the two passages here:

si quos spes meae, si quos propinquus sanguis, etiam quos invidia erga viventem movebat, inlacrimabunt quondam florentem et tot bellorum superstitem muliebri fraude cecidisse. erit vobis locus querendi apud senatum, invocandi leges. non hoc praecipuum amicorum munus est, prosequi defunctum ignavo questu, sed quae voluerit meminisse, quae mandaverit exsequi. flebunt Germanicum etiam ignoti; vindicabitis vos, si me potius quam fortunam meam fovebatis

[*Ann.* 2. 71].

disce, puer, virtutem ex me verumque laborem, fortunam ex aliis. nunc te mea dextera bello defensum dabit et magna inter praemia ducet. tu facito, mox cum matura adoleverit aetas, sis memor et te animo repetentem exempla tuorum

et pater Aeneas et avunculus excitet Hector

[*Aen.* 12. 435–40].

Savage has shown how both Germanicus and Aeneas seem to tell their listeners to venerate them as men who have struggled

73. B. Walker, *The Annals of Tacitus* (Manchester, 1952), p. 58.

74. Furneaux, p. 365.

75. Koestermann, p. 385.

76. Furneaux, p. 366.

77. Koestermann, p. 385.

78. This correspondence has, apparently, not previously been noted.

79. *TLL*, V, 1851.

80. J. Savage, "Germanicus and Aeneas Again," *CJ*, XXXVI (1942), 166–67.

against great odds and to leave the trappings of their high positions to the admiration of others.

The question that remains to be discussed is why Tacitus has employed so much Virgilian vocabulary and so many Virgilian correspondences in *Annals* 1 and 2. The answer is similar to the explanation for Tacitus' use of Virgil in *Histories* 3, for Tacitus continues to cluster his Virgilian correspondences in chapters that are otherwise notable for their *color Vergilianus*. These chapters, furthermore, are the most dramatic parts of his narrative—for example, Germanicus' visit to the Teutoberg forest and his death scene at Antioch. Tacitus' use of Virgil in *Annals* 1 and 2 is still both practical and aesthetic. The Virgilian correspondences and *color Vergilianus* define the structure of the two books and add a colorful epic dimension to Tacitus' historical narrative.

But Tacitus uses Virgil in a new and striking manner in *Annals* 1 and 2. In his portrayal of Germanicus and Arminius, Tacitus has employed correspondences in single words and phrases as well as parallel incidents from Virgil's characterization of Aeneas and Turnus. The primary purpose of this is similar to Tacitus' purpose in his use of Virgilian words and phrases elsewhere in his narrative, for the numerous correspondences in characterization between the *Annals* and *Aeneid* also elevate and ennoble Tacitus' portrayal of Germanicus and Arminius. Through his use of Virgil, Tacitus adds an epic, heroic dimension to his characters. Germanicus, after all, is very much in the old heroic mold, for he is a commanding human figure, a man subject to great passion and intense emotions as well as to his sense of duty. Germanicus' life is tragic, and Tacitus' use

of Virgil in his characterization gives an added dimension to his tragedy. Arminius, although a less fully developed character than Germanicus, is also given a heroic coloring by his close resemblance to Virgil's Turnus, a resemblance that Tacitus stresses and develops. J. Soubiran has shown that Tacitus' characterization of Germanicus is based not only on Virgil's Aeneas but also, to a lesser degree, on Lucan's Caesar and Seneca's Ajax.⁸¹ We should recall, too, that Tacitus compares Germanicus directly to Scipio (2. 59) and Alexander (2. 73). In fact, Germanicus' death scene is reminiscent of the death of Alexander. Both men are felled by a sudden illness in a foreign land, and both are surrounded by their close friends as they deliver their final words. And, as Tacitus clearly states, both of these heroic men die while still very young.

But Tacitus may have intended his readers to be aware of more than the epic grandeur and nobility that are transferred to his characters through his use of Virgil and other literary and historical allusions. A sensitive reader of the *Annals* would be reminded of the contrasts, as well as of the parallels, between Aeneas and Germanicus and Turnus and Arminius. And, although this is almost without parallel in classical literature, Tacitus may have intended his readers to see an ironic contrast between his characters and those of Virgil.⁸² Tacitus' characterization of Germanicus is striking, because, in so many ways, it is the reverse of Virgil's characterization of Aeneas. Aeneas, defeated and desolate, leaves Troy for Italy, where he achieves a spiritual rebirth. Germanicus, however, leaves Italy at the summit of his power and travels to the East, where he suddenly dies. The climactic moment in the *Aeneid* is the

81. Soubiran, p. 78.

82. Significantly, a similar interpretation has been demonstrated for Lucan's use of Virgil by L. Thompson and R. T.

Bruère, "Lucan's Use of Virgilian Reminiscence," *CP*, LXIII (1968), 1-21.

final confrontation between Aeneas and Turnus. Both of these heroes, like Germanicus and Arminius, represent the nobility and integrity of their people. But Turnus must give way to Aeneas. The Trojans must triumph in order that they may be peacefully assimilated into the Italian people, and in order that Rome may be founded and, ultimately, the principate established. In this sense, according to Virgil, the death of Turnus has a meaning. But *Annals* 2 concludes with the deaths of both Arminius and Germanicus. Their deaths, especially that of Germanicus, signal the triumph of the perverted principate, represented by the grim, foreboding figure of Tiberius. And note the terrible irony, surely intended by Tacitus, of Tiberius' refusal to poison Arminius and his complicity in the death of Germanicus, who, Tacitus says, may have been poisoned.

In a real sense, the *Annals*, like Lucan's *Pharsalia*, are an anti-*Aeneid*. They are Tacitus' answer to the optimism—and I believe that the *Aeneid* is essentially an optimistic, pro-Augustan work—of Virgil's

Aeneid. It is no mere coincidence that the *Annals* begin with the death of Augustus and that they catalogue the growing perversion of the principate. This is in sharp contrast with the *Aeneid*, in which Virgil repeatedly prophesies the coming greatness of Rome under Augustus. Germanicus plays a central role in Tacitus' vision of imperial Rome, for Tacitus' narrative of the tragedy of Germanicus is the historian's dramatic indictment of the principate. Germanicus' life and his death, in many ways, form an ironic contrast with Virgil's Aeneas.

Whether or not this interpretation is a valid one (and I believe that it is), it is certainly correct to say that Tacitus, in *Annals* 1 and 2, continues to employ Virgil with great significance. Tacitus' use of single words, phrases, and correspondences between both characters and events in Virgil's works and the first two books of the *Annals* adds a powerful evocative dimension to his historical narrative.

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