VIRGIL'S INFLUENCE ON TACITUS IN BOOK 3 OF THE *HISTORIES*

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VIRGIL'S influence on Tacitus has long been an accepted fact of classical scholarship.[1] Several scholars have catalogued and defined the large number of Virgilian reminiscences found in Tacitus' historical works.[2] But the few who have attempted to understand Tacitus' purpose in his use of Virgil have not met with success.[3] Scholars so far have failed to interpret the meaning of Tacitus' Virgilian echoes. No one, for instance, has examined an entire book of Tacitus in an effort to find a structural design or even a coherency in Tacitus' use of Virgilian reminiscences.

Scholars have noted Tacitus' dependence on Virgil for single words,[4] grammatical constructions,[5] and short phrases.[6] Some have even observed a *color Vergilianus* in an extended passage of Tacitus' works.[7] Many of the over 500 correspondences suggested by scholars[8] can be discarded.[9] But even when one removes reminiscences which are unlikely or doubtful, there remain over 300 correspondences of a fairly certain nature.[10]

The great influence of Virgil on Tacitus is not, however, surprising if we consider Virgil's reputation in the first century A.D. During his lifetime, Virgil was known and admired for his *Eclogues* and *Georgics*. But Virgil's introduction into the school

1. The first detailed study was that of C. Goebel in *De poetico Taciti stili colore* (diss., Berlin, 1859). This was followed by E. Wölfflin's *Philologus* articles (XXIV [1865], 115–23; XXV [1866], 92–134; XXVI [1867], 92–166; XXVII [1868], 113–49), which dealt in brief with Virgilian imitations. A. Draeger, *Über Syntax und Stil des Tacitus* (Leipzig, 1882), repeatedly refers to Virgilian influence on Tacitus' style; see esp. pp. 111–15 and 127–29. But the most thorough and comprehensive study of Virgil's influence on Tacitus remains the dissertation of H. Schmaus, *Tacitus ein Nachahmer Vergils* (Erlangen, 1884; Bamberg, 1887).

2. See F. C. Bourne, "Poetic Economy in the Art of Tacitus," *CJ*, XLVI (1951), 171–76, and N. P. Miller, "Virgil and Tacitus," *Proc. Virg. Soc.*, 1961–62, pp. 25–34. Schmaus's work remains the most thorough attempt to catalogue the reminiscences.

3. Both Bourne and Miller are too general in their approach. Neither attempts to study any Tacitean passage in depth. But B. Walker, *The "Annals" of Tacitus* (Manchester, 1952), pp. 11–12, 71–74, and 155–56, offers several very interesting interpretations of individual reminiscences. Of less interest is R. Syme, *Tacitus* (Oxford, 1958), pp. 357–58. The most recent article is that of H. W. Benario, "Vergil and Tacitus," *CJ*, LXIII (1967), 24–27. Benario argues for the "spiritual compatibility" of the two authors, but his discussion is too general and adds little to our understanding of how and why Tacitus imitates Virgil.

4. Schmaus (n. 1 above; hereafter cited as Schmaus), pp. 7–9, notes that there are 319 words in Virgil which appear in Latin literature for the first time; fifty-seven of these are used by Tacitus.

5. Draeger (n. 1 above), pp. 93–95; *The "Annals" of Tacitus*, ed. H. Furneaux (Oxford, 1883), I, 38–74.

6. T. J. B. Brady, "Tacitus and Vergil," *Hermath.*, I (1874), 233–36; G. B. A. Fletcher, "Reminiscences in Tacitus," *CR*, LIX (1945), 45–50.

7. E.g., J. W. Mackail, *Latin Literature* (New York, 1908), pp. 218–20.

8. Miller (n. 2 above), p. 25. A precise count of Virgilian imitations is obviously difficult. But a compilation from dissertations, scholarly articles, and various commentaries indicates that there have been well over 500 passages in Tacitus suggested as Virgilian imitations.

9. E.g., Schmaus, p. 17, suggests that Tacitus in *Agricola* 8, *peritus obsequi*, imitated Virgil's use of an infinitive with *peritus* in *Ecl.* 10. 32, *cantare periti*.

10. In general, I accept, as possible Virgilian reminiscences, all those passages suggested by Schmaus and other scholars. But I reject their attempts to label as Virgilian reminiscences such things as single words, grammatical constructions, and rhetorical devices (e.g., anastrophe of prepositions). I define a Virgilian reminiscence, in a strict sense, as a phrase of two or more words found in passages of the works of Virgil and Tacitus which share a fairly similar subject and tone. But I consider, as likely correspondences, phrases which do not fit this definition but which are found among clusters of definite Virgilian reminiscences. This is especially true if there is also present in these passages a *color Vergilianus*. I define *color Vergilianus* as the collocation of Virgilian words (i.e., words of a fairly uncommon nature used by Virgil) in passages from the works of Tacitus in which the following are evident: (1) a similarity in character or event (e.g., the sack of Troy in *Aen.* 2 and the sack of Cremona in *Hist.* 3), (2) a similarity in tone or attitude (e.g., the note of despair in *Aen.* 9 and *Ann.* 1. 65–68), and (3) the clustering of distinct Virgilian reminiscences in passages which fulfill requirements (1) and (2). It is the discovery of these three elements which leads me to discuss the similarity in use of vocabulary in the two authors. Such words must be of a fairly uncommon nature, although not necessarily words which are found only in Virgil and then used by Tacitus.

curriculum after his death and the publication of the *Aeneid* assured him an even wider reading public.[11] Quintilian states that instruction in reading began with Virgil and that his works were read more than once.[12] Schools of rhetoric employed the *Aeneid* as a source of both study and topics for debate. Teachers illustrated the various techniques of rhetoric with examples from Virgil and encouraged their students to copy and imitate famous passages.[13] The study and general knowledge of Virgil had become so commonplace by the time of Juvenal that he could satirize the woman who at a dinner party praised Virgil, pardoned the dying Dido, and discussed the relative merits of Virgil and Homer.[14]

These references show that by the first century A.D. knowledge of Virgil among the Roman literary public was both thorough and widespread. This is important, for it not only indicates that Tacitus knew his Virgil well—and his frequent use of Virgil proves this—but also that the audience for whom he wrote must have known Virgil's works equally well. Tacitus could therefore expect his public to be aware of and to recall specific Virgilian passages he assimilated into his works.

For my analysis, I have chosen Book 3 of the *Histories*. Other books of the *Histories* have nearly as many Virgilian reminiscences as Book 3 (Book 1, thirty-five correspondences; Book 2, thirty-nine correspondences; Book 4, forty correspondences). But Book 3 has, in addition to a large number of correspondences (forty-six), incidents which seem to be based on parallel passages in the *Aeneid*. Some scholars, furthermore, have pointed out the marked Virgilian *color* in a number of the key passages in the book.[15] Book 3, for these reasons, provides material crucial to our understanding of Tacitus' use of Virgil.

Book 3 of the *Histories* falls into three parts. The first (1–35) opens with the council of the Flavian generals as they decide to march into Italy from the North. After their troops are gathered, they begin their march which is interrupted by a few minor skirmishes. But they reach Verona safely and set up their command. Antonius, their general, then leads his troops against Bedriacum, where the Vitellians are defeated in battle. The victorious Flavian soldiers clamor to be led on to Cremona, and the first part of the book concludes with the siege and sack of the city. This portion of the book is organized quite simply. It concentrates interest in the Flavian army and builds to a clear-cut climax with the senseless destruction of Cremona and its inhabitants.

The second part of Book 3 (36–72) is more complex than the first. But as the first part concentrated on the Flavians, so the second deals in the main with the Vitellians. The sloth of Vitellius and Valens, his general, is depicted in the first few chapters. Tacitus then describes how the provinces turn to Vespasian and increase his army's size. As the Flavian position grows stronger, Vitellius becomes more indecisive and retreats. His attempt to abdicate is foiled. The second part of the book reaches a climax as the Vitellians besiege and burn the Capitol, which Sabinus occupied. The book draws to a close (73–86) with the defeat of Vitellius' army and Tacitus' vivid description of the entry of the Flavian armies into Rome and the death of Vitellius.

There are forty-six phrases in Book 3

11. Evidence for this can be found in Suet. *Gram.* 16; Mart. 5. 56; and Iuv. 8. 225–27.

12. *Inst. or.* 1. 8. 5.

13. See D. Comparetti, *Vergil in the Middle Ages*, trans. E. F. M. Benecke (London, 1895), pp. 34–35.

14. Iuv. 6. 434–37.

15. See Mackail, *loc. cit.* (n. 7 above).

that various commentators have called Virgilian reminiscences.[16] Twenty-one can definitely be discarded.[17] I have discovered six more probable correspondences. This leaves thirty-one possible Virgilian echoes, or approximately one reminiscence for every two paragraphs in the book.[18] An examination of the placing of these reminiscences reveals that twenty (two-thirds) are concentrated in only twelve chapters (one-seventh of the book). Included in these twenty are all the echoes of a significant nature (i.e., those which involve phrases of several words or more and recall a closely parallel situation in Virgil's works). A closer look shows that these twelve chapters are precisely those which describe the sack of Cremona, the burning of the Capitol, and the death of Vitellius, the three climactic events in Tacitus' narrative. Furthermore, sixteen (three-fourths) of the Virgilian reminiscences in these passages come from the second book of the *Aeneid*. From this, one may draw the conclusion that Tacitus is consciously clustering his Virgilian imitations in the three climactic passages of Book 3. To ascertain Tacitus' purpose and to observe his technique, let us examine in detail these three passages and their relationship to the episodes in Virgil from which they are derived, especially those in *Aeneid* 2 which describe the capture and sack of Troy.

Tacitus begins chapter 28 by pointing out that two sources, Messala and Pliny, attribute the command to march on Cremona to two different men, Hormus and Antonius. Tacitus is not able to determine which of his sources is correct. The second sentence reveals Tacitus' use of Virgil, and it is relevant to quote it here: "Non iam sanguis neque vulnera morabantur quin subruerent vallum quaterentque portas, innixi umeris et super iteratam testudinem scandentes prensarent hostium tela bracchiaque." There are several important words here. The first two nouns, *sanguis* and *vulnera*, set the mood for the rest of the episode. Both, of course, occur several times in *Aeneid* 2. In place of *milites*, Tacitus makes *sanguis* and *vulnera* the subjects of the verb *morabantur*. Tacitus gives these words a poetical coloring by personifying them. Virgil employs *quatere* in *Aeneid* 2. 608 ff., "hic . . . Neptunus muros magnoque emota tridenti /

16. This, at least, is the number of reminiscences found in Schmaus, the articles of Brady and Fletcher, and the commentaries of K. Heraeus (Leipzig, 1899), E. Wolff (Berlin, 1886), and A. D. Godley (London, 1903).

17. The following passages are, in my opinion, mistakenly called Virgilian reminiscences (all Virgilian passages are from the *Aen.* unless otherwise indicated): 3. 4 from 1. 9 (Schmaus, p. 44), 3. 6 from 7. 725 (Schmaus, p. 12), 3. 10 from 7. 788 (Schmaus, p. 9), 3. 13 from *Georg.* 4. 6 (Fletcher, p. 49), 3. 22 from 5. 805 (Schmaus, p. 11), 3. 24 from 11. 789 (Schmaus, p. 8), 3. 25 from *Georg.* 4. 547 (Schmaus, p. 25), 3. 25 from 4. 131 (Wolff, p. 28), 3. 46 from 11. 109 (Heraeus, p. 40), 3. 47 from 10. 737 (Schmaus, p. 39), 3. 56 from *Georg.* 1. 470 (Wolff, p. 61), 3. 58 from 1. 194 (Schmaus, p. 49), 3. 66 from 1. 529 (Schmaus, p. 46), 3. 70 from 10. 245 (Schmaus, p. 20), 3. 74 from *Ecl.* 3. 106 (Brady, p. 234), 3. 76 from 6. 171 (Schmaus, p. 40), 3. 77 from 9. 455 (Godley, p. 193), 3. 77 from 2. 55 (Godley, p. 193), 3. 80 from 7. 507 (Schmaus, p. 46), 3. 84 from 1. 33 (Heraeus, p. 79), 3. 84 from 4. 14 (Heraeus, p. 79). I would not term these passages Virgilian reminiscences. Over half of them have only one word related to the Virgilian passages. Several are based upon grammatical similarities not found exclusively in Virgil and Tacitus. Others show no important verbal correspondences between the Virgilian and Tacitean phrases.

18. It is not necessary to quote these correspondences here. The most important ones will be discussed as they occur. But I shall list here the chapters in which they occur in *Hist.* 3 and their source (all Virgilian passages are from the *Aen.* unless otherwise indicated). The six correspondences I have added to this list will be discussed as they occur in the main body of my paper. The following are the Virgilian reminiscences which are found in *Hist.* 3: 3. 10 from 7. 340 (Schmaus, p. 11), 3. 19 from 9. 455 (Schmaus, p. 36), 3. 23 from 5. 273 (Schmaus, p. 10), 3. 28 from 2. 369 (Schmaus, p. 20), 3. 29 from 2. 466 (Heraeus, p. 26), 3. 29 from 10. 245 (Schmaus, p. 20), 3. 30 from 6. 104 (Schmaus, p. 21), 3. 31 from 12. 693 (Heraeus, p. 27), 3. 31 from *Georg.* 4. 79 and *Aen.* 2. 315 and 727 (Schmaus, p. 49), 3. 33 from 5. 715 and 2. 525 (Heraeus, p. 29), 3. 33 from 3. 464 (Godley, p. 161), 3. 33 from 2. 624 (Schmaus, p. 49), 3. 34 from 7. 262 (Schmaus, p. 54), 3. 48 from *Georg.* 2. 428 (Schmaus, p. 36), 3. 52 from 4. 51 (Heraeus, p. 46), 3. 68 from 4. 337 (Fletcher, p. 49), 3. 71 from 2. 448 (Godley, p. 187), 3. 80 from 8. 111 (Schmaus, p. 11), 3. 81 from 10. 532 (Schmaus, p. 10), 3. 82 from 2. 332 (Schmaus, p. 35), 3. 84 from 2. 501 (Schmaus, p. 10), 3. 84 from 2. 354 (Wolff, p. 93), 3. 84 from 9. 669 (Heraeus, p. 80), 3. 84 from 6. 265 and 2. 755 (Schmaus, p. 22), 3. 85 from 4. 13 (Heraeus, p. 81).

fundamenta quatit." Elsewhere in the *Aeneid* (9. 608 and 10. 762) Virgil repeatedly uses this verb in descriptions of warlike ferocity. It is with this same sense that Tacitus uses the word here in chapter 28 and nowhere else in all of his historical works.

Virgil uses *testudo* once in *Aeneid* 2. It occurs as the Greeks attack Priam's palace in line 441, "cernimus obsessum . . . acta testudine limen." Tacitus underlines the significance of the word by juxtaposing it with *scandentes*. Neither author uses *scandere* very often. Virgil, in fact, employs it but twice, both times in *Aeneid* 2 in descriptions of the Trojan horse. In line 237 f. Virgil depicts the horse's entry into Troy, "scandit fatalis machina muros / feta armis." In line 400 f. some of the Greeks hide in the horse during the battle, "pars ingentem formidine turpi / scandunt rursus equum." Tacitus uses this word only three other times. In both *Histories* 2. 35 and *Annals* 14. 8, *scandere* means "to climb on board" a ship. In *Histories* 4. 8 Tacitus uses the word in the metaphorical sense of surpassing the emperor's power. Tacitus' use of *scandere* here, however, seems to recall deliberately the Trojan horse which brought destruction to Troy. Furthermore, he juxtaposes this word with *testudo*, a military formation, but whose primary sense is "tortoise." Tacitus almost personifies the tortoise here and in chapter 29, and he makes it a symbol of the destructive forces exerted against Cremona just as the Trojan horse in the *Aeneid* becomes a symbol of the devastating forces unleashed against Troy. In Tacitus' historical works, this word occurs only nine times. The battle of Cremona accounts for six of its uses. This is significant. The other uses of the word (*Hist.* 4. 23 and *Ann.* 12. 35 and 13. 39) do not occur in passages noteworthy for Virgilian reminiscences or vocabulary.

It may be noted that in this sentence Tacitus does not clearly define the subject of the verbs. It is a vague "they." In addition, the verbs themselves, like *testudo*, are representative of an impersonal natural force. *Subruere* means not only "to undermine" but also more elementally "to break down." I have already noted Virgil's special use of *quatere* which Tacitus adopts. This verb is used to describe the clashing of symbols in the worship of Cybele (*Georg.* 4. 64) and the tremor of earthquakes (Ov. *Met.* 12. 521 and 15. 71). *Prehensare* is used to describe the physical act of grabbing or seizing and as such is used by Virgil to describe the Greeks clutching the Trojan battlements in *Aeneid* 2. 444, *prensant fastigia dextris*. We have, then, in this first sentence a deliberate effort on Tacitus' part to recall the impersonal, animal-like forces of nature (horse and snakes) which symbolically caused the destruction of Troy.

The concluding phrase of chapter 28, *omni imagine mortium*, is a clear-cut reminiscence of *Aeneid* 2. 369, "luctus ubique pavor et plurima mortis imago," which describes the desolate scene of Troy.[19] Tacitus must have had Virgil's phrase in mind when he wrote this passage. Both authors use *imago* many times, but nowhere else do Tacitus and Virgil employ this word as they do here. In each author's works, this is the only occurrence of *imago* with *mors*. The closest parallel in Tacitus is his phrase from *Annals* 1. 62, "exercitum imagine caesorum insepultorumque tardatum." But there the word occurs with the concrete *caesorum* rather than the abstract *mortium*.

It is important here to note exactly how Tacitus employs Virgil. First, he does not quote; he paraphrases. He changes *plurima* to *omni*, *mortis* to *mortium*, and reverses the word order from *plurima mortis imago* to *omni imagine mortium*. Second, the

19. Schmaus, p. 21.

reminiscence is brief. It consists of only three words, including the substitution of *omni* for *plurima*. Even so, the relationship with the Virgilian phrase is an unmistakable one. Tacitus' technique of imitation is very close to that of the composer Richard Strauss in the final phrase of his song "Im Abendrot." Following the words "Ist das etwa der Tod?" Strauss imitates one of the main themes from his tone poem *Tod und Verklärung*. Strauss seems thereby to be answering his own question affirmatively. Furthermore, the imitated phrase suggestively links the two works in the listener's mind. This same kind of linking occurs here in Tacitus' imitation of Virgil. Tacitus uses this Virgilian reminiscence to invite his readers not only to recall the mood and context of the parallel phrase in *Aeneid* 2 but also to relate it to the passage in *Histories* 3. Tacitus subtly causes his readers to associate their feelings about the sack of Troy with the ensuing destruction of Cremona. Thus, this Virgilian correspondence, as many others in Tacitus' works, adds a powerful evocative dimension to Tacitus' narrative.

Notice that Tacitus places this correspondence in the final phrase of the chapter. There is a crescendo here from the first non-Virgilian sentence to the final Virgilian reminiscence, a crescendo which is heightened by the Virgilian vocabulary and imagery found in the second sentence. From this examination of chapter 28, we can conclude that Tacitus, by means of the phrases, words, and imagery borrowed from Virgil, is deliberately recalling the description of the fall of Troy in the *Aeneid*. A close scrutiny of the remainder of this episode will help to confirm these initial observations.

In the next chapter, the Flavian general, Antonius, leads the attack. The Vitellians are unable to repel the Flavians, and their weapons fall off the approaching *testudo*. Again through Tacitus' use of *testudo* the attackers are not described as men but rather as a beast of nature. The verb *labi* and its related forms are also closely associated by Virgil to the Trojan horse and the snake-flame imagery in *Aeneid* 2. In line 240 the horse enters Troy, "mediaeque minans inlabitur urbi." In line 262 the Greeks descend from the horse, "demissum lapsi per funem." The noun *lapsus* is used in *Aeneid* 2. 225 ff. where the snakes escape after killing Laocoön and again in line 236 as the horse enters Troy. Elsewhere *labare* describes the physical collapse of a Trojan tower (vs. 463) and the doors to Priam's palace (vs. 492), the first instance caused by the Greeks (horse) and the second by Pyrrhus (snakes). The collapse of the tower is significantly developed by Tacitus in the remainder of his sentence.

In desperation the besieged forces push a huge ballista onto the attackers who are described as *subeuntes*. *Subire* occurs frequently in *Aeneid* 2 and is closely related to the horse and serpent motifs. The snakes in lines 216 ff. attack Laocoön as he comes to the aid of his two sons, *auxilio subeuntem*. In line 240 the horse enters Troy, *illa subit*. Notice how both authors use *subire* in the sense of coming up to the walls. In *Aeneid* 2. 467 as the tower totters and collapses on the Greeks, others advance in attack, *ast alii subeunt*. Tacitus uses *subire* with this sense only five times. Significantly enough, three of the five instances occur in the three climactic passages of *Histories* 3.

Obruere, by which Tacitus depicts the disorder caused by the falling ballista, is used by Virgil to describe Aeneas and his companions as they are overwhelmed in battle in lines 410 f. and 424. Tacitus employs *obruere* only six times in military narratives, twice in *Histories* 3 (29 and 71). Virgil uses *obruere* in the same way only five times, twice in *Aeneid* 2.

Tacitus bases his description of a falling

ballista on a parallel passage in *Aeneid* 2.[20] Quoting the sentence from *Histories* 3 and lines 464–69 from *Aeneid* 2 will clarify this. "ipsam postremo ballistam in *subeuntes propulere*, quae ut ad praesens disiecit obruitque quos *inciderat*, ita pinnas ac summa valli *ruina* sua *traxit*; simul iuncta turris ictibus *saxorum* cessit." ". . . convellimus altis / sedibus *impulimusque*; ea lapsa repente *ruinam* / cum sonitu *trahit* et Danaum super agmina late / *incidit*. ast alii *subeunt*, nec saxa nec ullum / telorum interea cessat genus." There are several important verbal parallels in the two passages: *subeuntes/subeunt*, pro*pulere*/im*pulimus*, *ruina/ruinam*, *traxit/trahit*, *incidit/inciderat*, *saxorum/saxa*. The parallels are too numerous to be a mere accident.

Tacitus uses *incidere* to describe the fall of the ballista. Virgil uses this same verb to describe the fall of a Trojan tower on the Greeks. Neither Virgil nor Tacitus elsewhere uses *incidere* to describe the fall of a tower. In both authors the word is a fairly uncommon one. In Tacitus the ballista drags along the parapet in its downward rush, *ruina sua trahit*. This same phrase is found in Virgil's description of the Trojan tower's sudden collapse, "ea lapsa repente ruinam . . . trahit." Tacitus continues his narrative with the description of the collapse of a tower under a bombardment of stones. This recalls not only the falling tower in line 465 but also lines 467–68, "nec saxa nec ullum / telorum interea cessat genus."

In this sentence we can observe how Tacitus makes use of Virgil. As I have pointed out before, Tacitus never quotes Virgil word for word. Rather, he takes a Virgilian phrase and molds it to suit his own purpose. Here Tacitus borrows Virgil's description of the Trojan defenders as they push a tower onto the Greek troops, but he applies it to the Vitellians hurling a ballista over the ramparts, part of which topples from the engine's downward thrust. The Virgilian passage continues with the description of the Trojans hurling stones down on the Greeks. Tacitus, however, now describes the collapse of a tower caused by the stones hurled by the attackers. Thus Tacitus borrows from Virgil a phrase or even, as here, a whole descriptive passage, but he alters and adapts it to suit his own purpose.

The phrase "completur caede quantum inter castra murosque vacui fuit" has two interesting parallels in the *Aeneid*. First, Schmaus has suggested that Tacitus' use of *caedes* for *caesi* is derived from Virgil's similar usage in *Aeneid* 10. 245 and 11. 207.[21] Second, *completur* is closely associated in *Aeneid* 2 with the Trojan-horse motif (vs. 20) and then the attacking Greeks (vs. 495). Tacitus in chapter 29 thus continues to use words associated with the major images of Virgil's *Aeneid* 2. In addition, he borrows Virgil's description of the collapse of the Trojan tower. But Tacitus not only borrows vocabulary and descriptive phrases, he also takes the mood of the second book of the *Aeneid*. Nowhere is this more evident than in Tacitus' choice of verbs. An examination of the verbs in chapter 29 shows that they all share a physical, almost violent, sense of motion. This is particularly evident in *superiacta*, *laberentur*, *propulere*, *disiecit*, *obruit*, *inciderat*, *traxit*, *nituntur*, *perfregit*, *inrupisse*, and *perrupere*. These verbs echo one of the dominant images of *Aeneid* 2, the violent forces of nature which destroy Troy.

Chapter 30 opens with almost a direct quotation from *Aeneid* 6. 103 f., *laborum . . . nova . . . facies*. Tacitus changes the word

20. Heraeus (n. 16 above), p. 26, points out the similarity of Virgil's phrase "turris super agmina incidit" from *Aen.*, 2. 466 with Tacitus' phrase *quos inciderat* in chapter 29. But no one has so far discussed the other numerous relationships between the two passages.

21. Schmaus, p. 20.

order to *nova laborum facies*.[22] Again, there are interesting parallels between the two passages. The phrase in *Histories* 3 describes the new difficulties facing the Flavians in their attack. The phrase from the *Aeneid* occurs in Aeneas' response to the Sibyl who had warned of the war which awaits the Trojans in Italy. Tacitus' imitation of this Virgilian phrase which recalls the great struggles of the Trojans in Italy thus expands the meaning and significance of the battle for Cremona.

The series of new obstacles facing the Flavians is stated by Tacitus in language which vividly recalls portions of the second book of the *Aeneid*. The words *rapi ignis* call to mind two of the key themes in *Aeneid* 2, the sack and burning of Troy, the very thoughts contained in lines 374 f., "alii rapiunt incensa feruntque / Pergama." Lines 664 f., "hoc erat, alma parens, quod me per tela, per ignis / eripis," contain the two words of Tacitus' phrase.[23] The fire imagery, one of the central images in Virgil's account of the fall of Troy, is closely connected with the snake imagery. The Greek attack, for instance, is indirectly compared to fire in line 505.

Most commentators maintain that Tacitus' phrase, "iam legiones in testudinem glomerabantur," recalls *Georgics* 4. 79, *glomerantur in orbem*.[24] I suggest that it also recalls the two passages in *Aeneid* 2 where this word occurs with the military sense found in Tacitus. In lines 315 f., Aeneas desires to gather a band of men to fight the Greeks, "glomerare manum bello . . . ardent animi." *Glomerare* is also used in this way in lines 726 f., "quem . . . non . . . movebant / tela neque adverso glomerati ex agmine Grai."

Cremona . . . excisa has an interesting parallel in *Aeneid* 2. Line 637 not only uses the same phrase (*excisa . . . Troia*) but also describes a situation similar to the passage in the *Histories*.[25] In the former, Anchises does not want to prolong his life after the fall of Troy. In the latter, the populace of Cremona fear for their lives when Cremona is taken by the Flavians. Both authors use this verb very rarely (Virgil six times, Tacitus eight). In fact, Virgil uses *excidere* with a city one other time (*Aen.* 12. 762), Tacitus only two other times (*Hist.* 2. 38 and *Ann.* 14. 23).

The Vitellians, in fear of reprisals, overturn the statues of their emperor and eradicate his name from his monuments. The soldiers then free Caecina and entreat him to plead their cause. But he refuses, *aspernentem tumentemque*. The word *tumentem* is found in the simile in Book 2. 381 in which the snake rises in anger, *tumentem*. Tacitus uses *tumere* with this meaning once, Virgil only twice.

Soon the troops show olive branches and fillets on the walls as a sign of their surrender. Schmaus has suggested that the phrase "cum Antonius inhiberi tela iussisset" is derived from "et vos tela inhibite" (*Aen.* 12. 693).[26] The surrendering troops come out with eyes downcast. At first, the Flavians are kindly disposed to them, but at the sight of Caecina, they are deeply angered, *exarsere*. This situation is similar to that in *Aeneid* 2. 575 as Aeneas at the sight of Helen becomes enraged, *exarsere ignes animo*. Only once in *Aeneid* 2 does Virgil use *ardere* to describe the physical burning of Troy. In every other occurrence of the word, it describes the frenzy of men in battle (vss. 311 and 316), an excited mental state (vss. 105 and 172), or the physical appearance of eyes (snakes, 210;

22. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

23. No commentator, to my knowledge, has pointed out the similarity between these two phrases.

24. See, e.g., Schmaus, p. 49.

25. No commentator seems to have commented upon this similarity.

26. Heraeus (n. 16 above), p. 27.

Cassandra, 405). Tacitus adopts these very qualities in his use of the word. Tacitus uses this word only seven times, most often with Tiberius as the subject, and only three times (twice in *Hist.* 3) in military descriptions.

Both chapters 32 and 33 contain fewer Virgilian reminiscences and words than chapters 28–31. Even so, there are a number of words that have parallels in Virgil. But the fact that the last two chapters of the episode contain relatively few Virgilian echoes or expressions is important. It shows that even within a scene or narrative of a single event Tacitus does not consistently use Virgil. That is, he reveals here the same tendency to cluster his Virgilian reminiscences within an episode that he shows within a book or other larger unit. This too lends weight to the view that Tacitus is consciously using Virgil. If Tacitus were not consciously grouping the reminiscences, we would expect them to be spread rather evenly throughout his works. Since this is not so, we may conclude that Tacitus was aware of his use of Virgil and probably had a plan or design for the use of the correspondences.

There are a few words from the first part of chapter 33 which have interesting parallels in *Aeneid* 2. *Misceri* occurs several times in *Aeneid* 2; in lines 486 f. its use is similar in mood to Tacitus'. Compare "at domus interior gemitu miseroque tumultu / miscetur" with "stupra caedibus caedes stupris miscerentur." Commentators almost unanimously point out that Tacitus' *grandaevos* is related to *longaevos* in *Aeneid* 5. 715, *longaevosque senes.*[27] But it is equally related to the same word's occurrence in *Aeneid* 2. 525, *longaevum* [*Priamum*]. Tacitus may have based his phrase *gravia auro . . . dona* on a parallel phrase in *Aeneid* 3. 464, *dona . . . auro gravia.*[28] But there is no important thematic relation between the two passages.

The last sentence of chapter 33 contains perhaps the most significant Virgilian echo in the entire Cremona narrative, an echo which binds this passages inextricably to *Aeneid* 2. Lines 624 f., "tum vero omne mihi visum considere in ignis / Ilium," become in Tacitus "omnia sacra profanaque in igne considerent."[29] Tacitus deliberately recalls the sack of Troy in his description of the fire which sweeps Cremona. He makes two significant changes in the Virgilian passage. First, Virgil says that all Troy "seemed" (*visum*) to sink in flames. Tacitus, however, makes the precise statement that "everything . . . sank in flames." There is no hint of doubt in the Tacitean passage (the subjunctive depends upon *cum*). Second, Virgil's *omne . . . Ilium* becomes in Tacitus *omnia sacra profanaque.* Tacitus deliberately avoids specifying the city as Virgil does because he wants to paint a scene of complete conflagration and to apply the phrase in a general sense to the destruction of the Roman world. The sack of Cremona, after all, is only the prelude to more significant events which follow—the burning of the Capitol and the death of Vitellius.

In turning to chapter 71 of *Histories* 3, one is struck by two facts. First, this passage has a number of Virgilian words and phrases found in *Aeneid* 2. Second, many of its words and all of its key images are found in the Cremona episode. Tacitus' first sentence focuses attention on the subject of this chapter, the Capitol. The Mons Capitolinus was a hill with two peaks, the Capitolium proper and the Arx. It served as both a citadel and sanctuary and is mentioned in literature chiefly in connection with religious observances, especially triumphs, and with military operations.[30]

27. *Ibid.*, p. 29.
28. Godley (n. 16 above), p. 161.
29. Schmaus, p. 49.
30. See Hor. *Carm.* 3. 30; Verg. *Aen.* 6. 836 and 8. 653.

To the Romans it stood as the tangible symbol of Rome's permanence.[31]

Virgil, naturally, does not mention the Capitol in his account of the sack of Troy, but he does use the word three times in the prophetic portions of Book 6 and Book 8. In line 836 of Book 6 Virgil portrays Aemilius' triumphal approach to the Capitol. In *Aeneid* 8. 347 f. Evander leads Aeneas to the Capitoline Hill; even in its wild and uncivilized state the *religio . . . dira* of the hill awed the onlookers. This line describes the religious sanctity of the Capitol. Line 653 of Book 8 reveals it as the symbol of Rome's survival as Manlius prevents the Gauls from capturing the citadel. Such are the feelings and ideas evoked by the Capitolium, which is to be destroyed by the forces of civil strife, *furens miles.*

No one needs to be reminded of the importance of *furere* in the *Aeneid.* This word assumes special importance in Book 2. It is twice used in similes, both times to describe raging forces of nature—winds in line 304 and a river in line 498. Virgil again uses this word to describe the blast of winds which emanate from the burning Troy. *Furere* also depicts Neoptolemus (vs. 499) and Juno (vss. 612 f.) as they lead the Greek attack against Troy. In Tacitus the raging soldiers gather under no leadership as Martialis returns to the Capitol.

The soldiers rush through the forum and reach the gates of the Arx Capitolina, which symbolized the very heart of Rome and her power. The *arx Troiae* in *Aeneid* 2, like the *arx* of the Capitol, is the symbol of Troy's power and her very existence. In line 56 of Book 2, Aeneas comments that had the Trojans heeded Laocoön, Troy would still stand, "Priamique arx alta maneres." Here, with the mention of Priam, the permanence of the citadel of Troy is equated with the survival of the ruler. Their power and existence are apparently dependent upon one another. The destruction of one leads to the destruction of the other. Both the serpents and the Greeks seize the Trojan citadel, and Priam dies as it burns. This corresponds exactly to *Histories* 3 in which the burning of the Capitol precedes the death of the Emperor Vitellius. This same juxtaposition of *arx* and Priam occurs in line 760 as Aeneas passes through Troy, "procedo et Priami sedes arcemque reviso." It is not surprising that Aeneas' first thought upon waking and seeing Troy overrun by the Greeks is to hasten to the defense of the citadel, "concurrere in arcem / cum sociis ardent animi."

Fores occurs twice in *Aeneid* 2, in lines 450 and 453. In both instances it refers to the entrance of Priam's palace besieged by Greeks. Tacitus uses the word to describe the entrance of the citadel besieged by the Vitellian troops. The occurrence of *porticus* in Tacitus' next sentence calls to mind another passage in *Aeneid* 2 that depicts the palace of Priam. In lines 526 ff. Polites tries to escape from Neoptolemus, "Polites / unus natorum Priami . . . porticibus longis fugit." The three words, *arx, fores, porticus,* all of which describe physical parts of a building, occur in *Aeneid* 2. In each instance they are associated with Priam. The *arx* is the physical symbol of Priam's power; *fores* and *porticus* are parts of his residence. Virgil equates the destruction of the citadel, the collapse of the doors to Priam's palace, and the devastation of the house itself with the death of Priam. The collocation of these three words in chapter 71 is unique in Tacitus' works. Tacitus uses *arx* in reference to the Capitol only five times, four times in *Histories* 3 (chaps. 69, 70, 71, and 77). He uses *fores* often (twenty-two times), but only three times (all in *Histories* 3. 71) to refer to the doors of the Capitol. Tacitus

31. S. B. Platner, *The Topography and Monuments of Rome* (Boston, 1904), p. 280.

employs *porticus* eleven times, three times in reference to the Capitol (again, all three examples are found in *Histories* 3. 71).

The besieged Flavians defend themselves by hurling stones and roof tiles on their attackers. The Vitellians are taken by surprise; they have only their short swords to defend themselves, and their impatience will not allow them to wait for siege weapons to be brought against the encircled Flavians. They then hurl firebrands into the portico and follow where the flames lead. *Ignis*, of course, assumes an important part in the description of the burning Troy in *Aeneid* 2 (vss. 624 f., 705 f., and 758 f.). It is interesting to note that here the fire and firebrand are used against a sacred temple as in the Cremona episode.

The forces of Vitellius, Tacitus continues, would have penetrated the burned doors of the Capitol if Sabinus had not obstructed the entrance with the statues and memorials of their ancestors. The phrase *decora maiorum* is a Virgilian reminiscence taken from *Aeneid* 2. 448, *veterum decora . . . parentum.*[32] Not only are the words almost identical but also their contexts. In Tacitus, the Flavians, after the doors of the Capitol have been burned down, barricade its entrance with statues of their ancestors. In Virgil, the Trojans, as the doors of Priam's palace are being battered down, roll down on the attacking Greeks the *decora* of their ancestors. As this scene presages the imminent death of Priam and the destruction of Troy, so the scene in Tacitus can be taken to presage the death of Vitellius and the fall of Rome to the Flavians.

The attackers enter the Capitol through various approaches, *aditus invadunt*. This recalls a very similar phrase in *Aeneid* 2. 494, *rumpunt aditus*, as the Greeks break into the palace of Priam. Once again, Tacitus employs words which relate the Vitellians' entry into the Capitol to the Greek entry into Priam's palace. *Invadere* occurs two times in *Aeneid* 2 (vss. 265 and 414) to describe the Greek attack on Troy.

One way of entering the Capitol is through the sacred grove of the temple, *asylum*. This word is found in *Aeneid* 2. 761 as Aeneas returns to Troy and sees the conflagration. He observes Priam's palace and the temple of Juno, "et iam porticibus vacuis Iunonis asylo." Notice the juxtaposition, as in Tacitus, of *porticibus* and *asylo*. A second means of entrance for the Vitellians is by the hundred steps, *centum gradibus*, near the Tarpeian rock. *Gradus* occurs in *Aeneid* 2. 442 in a similar context, the Greek attempt to enter Priam's palace. In Tacitus this word is used to describe the Vitellian attempt to enter the Capitol. The violence of the Vitellian attack was unexpected by the besieged troops, *improvisa utraque vis*. *Improvisus* and *vis* are used several times in *Aeneid* 2 (vss. 182, 379, 50, and 617) to describe the suddenness and violence of the Greek attack. Thus the sudden attack of the Vitellians has a parallel in the suddenness of the snakes' appearance and the violence of the Greek assault on Troy.

The attack through the grove was both nearer and fiercer, "propior atque acrior per asylum ingruebat." *Ingruere*, "to attack," "rush upon," or "fall upon violently," is a relatively rare word in Latin. Most of its uses occur in two authors, Tacitus and Virgil. Tacitus' use here is similar to Virgil's phrase in *Aeneid* 2. 301, *armorumque ingruit horror.*[33]

The next sentence contains several words of importance not only because they are associated by Virgil with the Trojan horse, but also because they are verbal echoes of

32. Godley (n. 16 above), p. 187.

33. No one seems to have suggested this relationship before.

the description of the attack on Cremona. Tacitus relates how the attackers could not be stopped by the Flavians as they entered the citadel through the buildings near the Capitol. Tacitus describes this scene with the verbs *sistere* and *scandere*. In my discussion of the Cremona episode I have commented on both authors' use of these verbs. But let us recall that Virgil uses both words as verbal complements of the Trojan horse, and that Tacitus transferred this image by means of the *testudo* to his description of the attack on Cremona. *Scandere* is a verb used very seldom by both authors. In each instance in *Aeneid* 2 it depicts the Trojan horse. I have noted before the significance of the juxtaposition of *scandere* and *testudo* in chapter 28. In chapter 71, there is no *testudo*, but Tacitus does use the same participial form, *scandentes*. Note too how the phrase *per coniuncta aedificia* is almost a description of the *testudo*, a military formation of closely joined (*coniuncta*) shields. In addition, the attack seems propelled by an inanimate force of nature just as in the Cremona narrative. The attackers are not personalized by a specific name; they are again a vague "they." The final clause of Tacitus' sentence emphasizes the height of the buildings on lower ground adjacent to the Capitol. This recalls the menacing height of the Trojan horse which seems to look down upon Troy as it enters the city which it will destroy (2. 46 f.). Here the buildings neighboring the Capitol are so lofty that the Vitellian forces are able to enter the Capitol from the rooftops. It seems, then, that Tacitus is again deliberately recalling the Trojan horse by words Virgil used to describe the horse and its movements.

Tacitus states that it is uncertain which side started the fire that destroyed the Capitol. The more common view maintains that the Flavians started the fire in an effort to repel the Vitellian forces, *nitentes ac progressos*. Virgil uses *niti* two times in *Aeneid* 2. It first occurs in line 379 f. in the snake simile, "improvisum aspris veluti qui sentibus anguem / pressit humi nitens," and then in lines 442 f., which describe the Greeks attacking the palace, "postis . . . sub ipsos / nituntur gradibus." Notice that both of these lines contain words (*improvisum* and *gradibus*) which are used by Tacitus only a few sentences before.

The flames spread to the portico adjoining the temple. The phrase *lapsus ignis* is very similar to two phrases in Virgil's description of the sack of Troy. *Lapsus* describes the fleeing snakes in lines 225 f. and the entrance of the horse into Troy in lines 235 f. The significance of *ignis* has already been commented upon. Virgil in Book 2 repeatedly describes the violent forces launched against Troy in terms of the gliding *lapsus* of a snake (vs. 225), the horse (vs. 236), and the Greeks themselves (vs. 262). The *lapsus* launched against Troy later becomes the flames that destroy the city. Here Tacitus uses this same image to describe the flames that consume the Capitol.

Soon the fire in the Capitol reaches the wooden eagles that supported the roof, *fastigium*. Several times in Book 2 of the *Aeneid*, Virgil uses this same idea, that is, the roof as the last attainable part in an attack on a building. The Greeks attack the palace of Priam: they batter the doors, place ladders against the walls, and finally reach the rooftop in line 444. The fire rages through Troy, and at last the flames lick the very rooftops of the city in lines 758 f.

The verbs used with *aquilae* are most interesting. Tacitus personifies the wooden supports by using the words *traxerunt* and *aluerunt*. The eagles reach out for the flames and nourish the conflagration. It would be natural for the flames to reach out for the wooden eagles, but here Tacitus reverses

the normal method. It is almost as if the eagles were the very agents of their destruction, just as Romans fighting Romans destroy themselves. Tacitus, of course, realized the significance gained by making the eagles, the symbol of Rome's supremacy over her enemies, take an active part in the destruction of the Capitol, the symbol of Rome's permanence and indestructibility.

The Capitol burns to the ground with its doors closed, neither defended nor pillaged. Tacitus thereby underlines the senselessness of its destruction. The following paragraph contains an excursus on the history of the Capitol similar to the one appended to the Cremona episode. Again Tacitus' personal feelings obtrude. The burning of the Capitol, he says, was a "facinus . . . luctuosissimum foedissimumque rei publicae populi Romani." The Capitol had been burned before in civil war, but now it was openly besieged, burned, and destroyed by the *furor* of the emperors.

By chapter 82 the Flavian army has reached the outskirts of Rome. Efforts are made to ward off the impending encounter, but even the embassy of Vestal Virgins fails to change Antonius' intention to march on Rome. The death of Sabinus and the burning of the Capitol have made any communication between the opposing forces impossible. Antonius, however, attempts to restrain his troops just as he did before the battle of Cremona. But as before, the soldiers' desire for battle cannot be controlled, and they march on Rome. The Flavians move on the city in three columns. The Vitellians offer effective resistance at only one point, in the left part of the city near the gardens of Sallust where the narrowness of the streets affords the defenders an opportunity for opposing the Flavians.

Tacitus' phrase "per angusta et lubrica viarum" is very close to Virgil's line 332 of *Aeneid* 2, "obsedere alii telis angusta viarum,"[34] in which the Trojans, in an effort to stop the Greek advance into Troy, attempt to block the narrow streets. This general idea is used by Tacitus as well as the specific phrase *angusta viarum*. Attention has been brought to Tacitus' use of the snake imagery found in *Aeneid* 2 in his narrative of the battle of Cremona and the burning of the Capitol. Here Tacitus not only adopts Virgil's phrase *angusta viarum*, but he also adds words which describe snakes. The very word *via*, a street at once long and narrow, calls to mind a snake To this word Tacitus adds *lubrica*, the word with which Virgil describes the snake in the simile in 2. 471 ff. Although Virgil never uses *flectere* to describe a snake, Ovid does in *Metamorphoses* 8. 883. It seems, then, that in this passage Tacitus is deliberately employing words which recall the snake imagery found in *Aeneid* 2 and the other two climactic passages of *Histories* 3.

Tacitus then describes the disgusting behavior of the Roman populace which watches the fighting as though it were in the Circus. It urges on the combatants with shouts of encouragement and demands that soldiers in hiding be dragged out and put to death. Tacitus continues his narrative with the observation that an onlooker would imagine that the whole city was both mad with frenzy and drunk with pleasure, *furere . . . et lascivire*. It is true that armies had fought in Rome before, but never were the people so indifferent and bent on their own idle pleasures. In fact, they enjoyed the public misfortune. The reader recalls the order of events in *Aeneid* 2. First the Trojans welcome the horse into their city with a wild celebration. Then as the city sleeps after the revelry, the Greeks attack and devastate Troy. In Tacitus, however, the public revelry occurs simultaneously with the fighting. The effect is highly ironic

34. Schmaus, p. 35.

for the populace continues its revelry even while the city is being overrun.

As in the battle for Cremona, the fiercest and most determined fighting occurs at the Praetorian camp held by the Vitellians. The Flavians attack the camp with all the means used in the destruction, *excidiis*, of the strongest cities. This word occurs in *Aeneid* 2. 642 f. Several of these weapons and techniques are found in Virgil's narrative of the Greek attack on Troy—the *testudo* in line 441, and the *agger* in the simile in line 496 ff. The *testudo* has already been fully discussed in the Cremona episode, where it was personified by Tacitus to represent the same violent forces launched against Cremona that the Trojan horse represented in the Greek assault on Troy. Here this Roman military formation is used against Rome herself.

The Flavians are also fighting to return the temples to the gods, even if this involves the burning and desecration of them as in the attack on the Capitol. Each occurrence of *templum* in *Aeneid* 2 is accompanied with an act of violence or impiety (vss. 164 ff., the theft of the Palladium; and vss. 403 ff., the rape of Cassandra). But the Vitellians, even if they lack numbers and fortune, strive to spoil the victory, to delay the peace, and to defile the altars of the city with blood, "domos arasque cruore foedare," an obvious reminiscence from lines 501 f. of *Aeneid* 2.[35] There, Aeneas tells how in the royal palace he saw Priam, "per aras / sanguine foedantem quos ipse sacraverat ignis." Tacitus as I have noted in the Cremona narrative does not directly quote Virgil. In place of *sanguine*, he uses *cruore*. He also adds *domos* to *aras* and thereby makes his phrase more general. But the situations are identical: Priam, as Troy falls, desecrates the altar with his blood, and the Vitellians, as Rome falls to the Flavian armies, befoul the sacred altars with their blood. Notice that Tacitus identifies the men not as *milites* but as *Vitelliani*. He thereby indirectly associates Vitellius with this desecration of the temples as Virgil directly does with Priam.

The phrase "suprema victis solacia amplectebantur" is also a reminiscence of a Virgilian phrase from *Aeneid* 2.[36] Aeneas in line 354 ends his address to his comrades with the exhortation, "una salus victis nullam sperare salutem." These two phrases have only the word *victis* in common, but the tone and intent of each is the same. There is only one hope for the conquered, death. The verb *amplecti* is often used in *Aeneid* 2. Virgil twice uses it to depict the murderous embrace of the serpents, first in line 214 and then in line 218. The word is then transferred to the women terrified at the Greek onslaught inside the palace of Priam, first in line 490 and then in line 514.

Many of the defenders die on the towers and battlements, and after the gates are broken down, they form a solid mass in opposition to the advancing Flavians. The phrase *convolsis portis* has several parallels in *Aeneid* 2. Its closest counterpart is found in lines 507 f. as Priam sees the doors to his house wrenched off, "uti . . . convolsa . . . vidit / limina tectorum." But lines 445 f. have a very interesting juxtaposition of words which is very similar to Tacitus' word order, "*super turres et* propugnacul*a* moeni*um* exspiravere; *convolsis*": preposition, *turris*, neuter plural noun, genitive plural noun, *convellere*. The corresponding phrase in the *Aeneid* is "*contra turris ac* tect*a* dom*orum* / culmina *convellunt*."

Tacitus now shifts from the fighting of the two armies to the Emperor Vitellius himself. Compare this shift from a general to a specific subject with how Virgil presents the general scenes of battle in the first part of Book 2 and then in line 506

35. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

36. Wolff (n. 16 above), p. 93.

focuses attention on the king himself. This correspondence is certainly underlined by Tacitus' use of the phrase *capta urbe* with Vitellius' name, for this very phrase is found in line 507 of *Aeneid* 2 immediately after mention of Priam's name, "urbis uti captae casum . . . vidit." Virgil also uses this phrase in lines 642 f., again in reference to Troy, "satis una superque / vidimus excidia et captae superavimus urbi."

As the Flavians seize Rome, Vitellius is carried in a chair from the Palatine to his wife's house on the Aventine, where he hoped to remain concealed and then escape at night to Tarracina. But led by his fear and fickle nature he returns to his palace on the Palatine, which is now as empty as it is vast. Even his slaves have escaped or avoid meeting him. Commentators usually maintain that Tacitus modeled his phrase "terret solitudo et tacentes loci" on Virgil's *loca . . . tacentia* from Book 6. 265 of the *Aeneid*,[37] and indeed the similarity is striking. But there are two passages from *Aeneid* 2 which are almost as similar and which are found in a context closer to that of Tacitus. In lines 726 f. Aeneas with his family leaves Troy, and as he walks through the city even the breezes frighten him, "me . . . nunc omnes terrent aurae." Even closer to Tacitus' phrase in chapter 84 is line 755 in which Aeneas returns to Troy, "horror ubique animo simul ipsa silentia terrent."

Vitellius tries to hide but he is found by a tribune. The soldiers lead him away bound, his clothes in tatters. While many people cried out against him, no one grieved, for the ugly end of his life prevented onlookers from pitying him. His captors forced him to raise his face to the insults and to see his falling statues. Finally he was put to death at the Gemonian steps where the body of Flavius Sabinus had lain. Tacitus adds here a brief excursus dealing with Vitellius' life and character similar in form to those which conclude the Cremona and Capitol episodes.

The problem that remains to be discussed is why Tacitus imitated Virgil so often in Book 3 of the *Histories*. Even if we consider that both authors dealt with a similar subject, Tacitus' use of images, reminiscences, and vocabulary found in *Aeneid* 2 is very striking. One obvious reason for Tacitus' imitations is that they give a comprehensive structural unity to the whole book. It has been noted that two-thirds of the Virgilian correspondences and all of the significant ones occur in three passages of Book 3, the three climactic episodes of the book. Tacitus' imitations of imagery, phrases, and even single words from *Aeneid* 2 help to bind the elements of the book into a coherent whole. Tacitus achieves this by two means. First, he repeats images and vocabulary within *Histories* 3. Second, he utilizes, in the three climactic passages of his narrative, phrases borrowed from *Aeneid* 2. And most of the key words and all of the images are also found in *Aeneid* 2. The following chart will show the parallel images in *Aeneid* 2 and *Histories* 3:

AENEID 2	CREMONA	CAPITOL	VITELLIUS
horse	*testudo, scandere*	*scandere*	*testudo*
fire	*conflagrare, exardere*	*faces, flamma*	*faces*
snake	*tumere, labi*	*lapsus*	*lubricus, flectere*

The *testudo-scandere* complex in *Histories* 3 and the Trojan horse in *Aeneid* 2 are related both in their physical appearance and movement and in single words associated by Virgil and Tacitus with both images. The fire imagery is found in each of the Tacitean episodes as well as through-

37. E.g., Schmaus, p. 22.

out *Aeneid* 2. The snake imagery is one of the major themes in *Aeneid* 2, and words related to snakes are found in each of the three climactic episodes of *Histories* 3.[38] The correspondences of words and imagery in the three episodes of *Histories* 3 and *Aeneid* 2 and the addition of the reminiscences from the rest of the *Aeneid* lend an almost contrapuntal effect to the three passages from Book 3 of the *Histories* and unify them in a way not possible by other means.

But there is another significant relationship between the works of the two authors. I have demonstrated that *Histories* 3 falls into three parts, each of which builds to a climax: the sack of Cremona, the burning of the Capitol, and the death of Vitellius. The second book of the *Aeneid* also falls into three parts: the scene on the shore and the entry of the horse into Troy (1–249), the fall of Troy (250–558), and Aeneas' departure (559–804).[39] In addition, Tacitus' technique is similar to Virgil's. Both *Histories* 3 and *Aeneid* 2 move from general, relatively impersonal scenes (the entry of the horse into Troy and the sack of Cremona) to scenes of destruction and devastation (the fall of Troy and the burning of the Capitol) and finally to more personal scenes (the departure of Aeneas and the death of Vitellius). These patterns, then, also reveal a close relationship between *Aeneid* 2 and *Histories* 3.

I have tried to prove in my general discussion of *Histories* 3 and in my specific analysis of the three climactic passages from this book that the Virgilian reminiscences are too numerous and grouped in too significant a manner to be merely accidental. If Tacitus consciously planned this complex series of echoes, he must have had some purpose in mind. And I have shown how Tacitus clustered his Virgilian reminiscences in the three climactic episodes of the *Histories* and that this clustering provided a structural framework for the book. But Tacitus' use of Virgil provides more than a structural unity to *Histories* 3. I have shown that every passage in Book 3 which contains a large number of reminiscences has, in addition, a marked *color Vergilianus*. Tacitus by means of Virgilian imitations and vocabulary, borrowed largely from *Aeneid* 2, provides a distinctly poetical color and epic grandeur to the major episodes of this book. The vivid effect achieved by Tacitus in the sack of Cremona, the burning of the Capitol, and the death of Vitellius would be greatly diminished with the removal of the *color Vergilianus* found there. And through his use of specific Virgilian reminiscences from well-known parts of the *Aeneid*, Tacitus causes his readers to associate the effect of the Virgilian passage with that of his own. Tacitus thereby adds a further dimension to the already powerful climactic scenes of *Histories* 3. Tacitus, then, uses Virgilian reminiscences, vocabulary, and imagery for both practical and aesthetic reasons.

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38. There are also a number of important verbal correspondences between the three Tacitean passages and *Aen.* 2. The following are words found in *Aen.* 2 and each of the three episodes in *Hist.* 3: *telum, subire, disicere, obruere, porta, ignis, armatus, miles, trahere, fax, templum.* The following words are found in *Aen.* 2 and the Cremona and Vitellius episodes: *sanguis, vulnus, testudo, mors* (*moriens*), *turris, inrumpere, caedes, vacuus, moenia, excidere* (*cadere*), *ira, vulgus, pervius, domus, abditus, excidium, inludere* (*ludibrium*), *cruor, excepta vox, eruere, incidere* (*concidere*). The following words are found in *Aen.* 2 and the Cremona and Capitol episodes: *scandere, labi* (*lapsus*), *niti, iacere.* The following words are found in *Aen.* 2 and the Capitol and Vitellius episodes: *agmen, tormenta, furere.* The relative lack of words in the Capitol episode is due to the fact that it is only one paragraph long. Both the Cremona narrative and the death of Vitellius are much longer and therefore are more likely to have vocabulary in common with *Aen.* 2.

39. This is the division suggested by G. Duckworth in his *Structural Patterns and Proportions in Vergil's "Aeneid"* (Ann Arbor, 1962), pp. 29–30.