

VIRGIL AND TACITUS

A paper read to the Virgil Society on 20th January 1962

by Miss N.P.Miller, M.A.

\* The notes to this article appear on pages 33 and 34.

-----

It is a commonplace of literary criticism that the influence of Virgil on the language and style of Tacitus is both deep and wide. Commentators<sup>(1)</sup>\* list words and phrases peculiar to the two authors, writers of literary studies<sup>(2)</sup> note affinities of style and temperament, scholars producing theses<sup>(3)</sup> make exhaustive and minute comparisons of parallels. And anyone who reads at all widely in the works of Tacitus will agree that echoes of Virgil are fairly frequent and fairly obvious. How frequent are they? and how significant? The older critics tended simply to note parallels and to speak generally of 'influence'; more recent work has tended both to question the genuineness of some of the parallels<sup>(4)</sup> and to suggest that the influence may be more than linguistic.<sup>(5)</sup> It is the purpose of this paper to review the evidence and the views of those who comment on it, and to suggest, firstly, that the lists of Virgilian parallels in Tacitus can be substantially cut: secondly, that in spite of that, the influence of Virgil on Tacitus is strong and deep: and lastly that Tacitus often makes deliberate and unexpected use of a Virgilian echo for his own purposes. For none of these propositions can a striking originality be claimed. But most writers on them have dealt with the problems piecemeal, as their own linguistic or historical interests demanded. It is hoped that by attempting a more general approach, a more comprehensive view of Tacitus' debt to Virgil may emerge.

Perhaps one should begin with the parallels. From my own and other people's observations, a list of some 500 Tacitean passages said to echo just over 400 Virgilian words or phrases can be compiled. The removal of repetitions and of slight or insignificant echoes reduces the lists to about 300 each. These examples range from single words like adsultus (Ann.ii,21 and Aen.v,442), eburnus (Ann.ii,83 and Aen. vi,647), facies (Hist.iii, 30 and Aen.vi,104) and globus (Ger.13 and Aen.ix,409), in whose form or use Tacitus is said to echo or imitate Virgil, through syntactical usage like et for inverse cum (Hist.ii,95 and Aen.v,858), sine fine used adjectivally (Hist.iv,8 and Aen.i,279), auro solidus (Ann.ii,33 and Aen.ii,765) and euadere with the accusative (Ann.xiv,6 and Geor.iv,485), to phrases such as belli commercium (Ann.xiv,33 and Aen.x,532), uisae per caelum rutilantia arma (Hist.v,13 and Aen.viii,528) and manus ac supplices uoces tendens (Ann.ii,29 and Aen.iii,176), where the reminiscence of a well-known Virgilian passage is fairly obvious.

But the evidence, viewed thus statistically, can be misleading. Many of the words and phrases said to be Virgilian can be found in poets before Virgil, and so are probably part of the general 'poetic' tradition affected by the Silver Latin prose writers. preces fundere e.g. (Ann.xiv,30) may be found in

Horace, Epod.xvii,53; haurio (Hist.i,41) in Lucr.v,1324; caelo aequare (Ann.iv,34) in Lucr.i,79; ingruo (Ann.xiv,61) in Plaut. Amph,236. Others appear in Sallust, and the influence of Sallust on Tacitus, though without the compass of this paper, is admitted to be considerable; so that facies belli and facies locorum (Hist.i.85 and Ann.xiv,10) are just as likely to come from Sallust, Jug.46,5 and 78,3 as from Virgil; as are such words and expressions as globus (Ger.13 and Hist.iii,68D) and aras cruore foedare (Hist.iii,84 and Sall.H.i,22D). Others again may be found in Livy, e.g., Curtius or Seneca (sometimes in more than one of these), or in Augustan poets other than Virgil; when globus e.g. appears in Livy i, 12 and Curtius x,7,1; extrema pati (Hist.ii,46) in Livy viii,25; locorum fraude (Ann.xii,33) in Curtius v,5,1 and obstruere auris (Hist.iv,69) in Seneca, Ben.iii,17; when too male fidus (Hist.i,52) can be found in Ovid, Trist.I,vi,13; eburnus (Ann.ii,83) in Horace, Sat.II,vi,103 and Propertius ii,13,21; and tegumen spinis consertum (Ger.17) in Ovid, Met.xiv,166, they may be assumed to fall well within the natural development of the language, the common literary stock of Silver prose. The beginnings of many so-called poetic constructions used by Tacitus can be found in Livy (et for inverse cum e.g. in xliii,4 and euadere with the accusative in xxi,32,13), and traced through writers such as Seneca (cf. praedico with impersonal subject in Hist.v,13 and Sen.Q.N.ii,32,5; adigo with the infinitive Ann.iv,29 and Sen.De Ira ii,36,6), thus indicating that apparent oddities of syntax are not necessarily imported straight from Virgil into Tacitean prose, but are to some extent the result of the natural changes of a living language. While even the phrases which seem so Virgilian may find echoes in e.g. Tibullus (cf. manus ac supplices uoces tendens, Ann.ii,29 with Tib.iii,4,64), Ovid (lac concretum Ger.23 with Met.xii,436) and Livy (argenti et auri pondus Ann.iii,53 with xxvi,49); so that the link between Virgil and Tacitus is perhaps not so direct as once it appeared. And examples of this kind can be multiplied.

Yet this does not seem to be the whole truth either. Even when allowances have been made for the indirect influence of Virgil on the language Tacitus was using - allowances for the use of his works as a text-book in the schools which trained later writers, for his status as the author of the great national epic (both facts which would make his words so familiar to the literate that they might well employ phrases with as little sense of significant quotation as many today use phrases from the Authorised Version and the Prayer Book); when we have allowed too for the natural development of the language which might make a word which was poetic to the Augustans normal usage to the Romans of a later age, the sheer number of such words and phrases which can be traced back to Virgil, together with those which do indicate direct borrowing, and certain factors in Tacitus' use of such phrases, suggests that the connection may still be significant.

To assess 'influence' is always a tricky business. There is the danger that the critic may exaggerate a connection because the coincidence of his own reading makes it appear more pointed and peculiar than in fact it is: so the word or phrase must be traced as far as possible in other relevant writers - and in dealing with ancient literature we do not always have the relevant writers; and if we do, their failure to use the word or phrase may be purely accidental, because of a difference of subject-matter or personal predilections: furthermore, in assessing the value of any connections observed,

as in most literary judgments, a certain subjective element is inevitable. On the other hand, the coincidence referred to may sharpen the critic's eye to appreciate a connection which he might otherwise have failed to see: and if the observations of many different critics, duly checked as far as our material allows and valued accordingly, combine to produce a formidable amount of evidence, we can, I think, safely assume that there is 'influence', and we may be able to distinguish aspects of it and assess their importance.

But if any assessment of influence is tricky, that of the influence of an Augustan poet on a particular writer of Silver Latin prose is especially so. The influence of poets on any period of prose was probably stronger than our somewhat artificial divisions would allow it to be: Cic. De Orat.i, 128 and Varro, L.L.ix,17 both imply an acceptance of poetic influence on ordinary language. But the writers of the Silver Age quite deliberately cultivated a style which borrowed vocabulary, syntax and form of sentence from the poets, and especially from the Augustan poets (Tac. Dial.20 advises the orator to use Horace, Virgil and Lucan - poeticus decor...ex Horatii et Vergilii et Lucani sacrario prolatus). So that it will be necessary to see whether Tacitus' use of Virgil differs either in quantity or kind from the practice of other writers of his age. Also, history was considered by the ancient critics to be a kind of prose poem (est proxima poetis et quodam modo carmen solutum Quint.x,1,31), and we must therefore try to discover how if at all his use of poetic diction etc. compares with that of other historians.

Sallust, Livy and Seneca (to take as 'controls' two historians of different types and a Silver prose writer, all stylists) all show fairly obvious signs of poetical influence and both Livy and Seneca have strong affinities with Virgilian Latin. Sallust<sup>(6)</sup> shows a number of words and phrases already known from Plautus, Terence and Lucilius (e.g. animos tollere Jug. 101,7 and Plaut. Truc. 640: Ter.Hec.507: Lucil. 779 Warm.), and others whose presence later in Horace, Virgil and Tibullus suggests a poetic character (cf. dis-simulator Cat.5,4 and Hor. Epp.I, ix,9; furta belli Hist.i, 86D and Virg. Aen.xi,515; gratiam reddere Jug.110,4 and Tib. II, i.36): there are also about twenty adjectives and a similar number of verbs which he appears to have been the first to introduce into prose (ferinus e.g., nemorosus, noxius, densere, foedare, stagnare): and a certain number of personifications and metaphorical usages. From Livy<sup>(7)</sup> we have a larger collection of similar 'echoes' - and a much larger field of writing in which to find them. Critics differ in their estimate of the amount of poetical vocabulary used by Livy, the more modern ones tending to be more conservative<sup>(8)</sup>. But there is admittedly a fair amount of poetic colouring, and some of it is Virgilian: more than used to be imagined is probably common literary stock, and some of it comes from colloquial rather than poetic sources. Seneca<sup>(9)</sup> constantly cites Virgil, in quotations of from one to six lines, and also shows Virgilian influence in vocabulary, syntax and usage: but the number of such expressions is very small compared with those quoted for Tacitus. The influence of Virgil on Seneca is strong, but it shows itself more in direct quotation than in any effect on his style, and so is hardly comparable with the problem of Virgil and Tacitus.

Sallust, then, uses poetic vocabulary rather as Tacitus does, but to a much smaller extent: his decor comes more from archaism than from poetic colouring. Livy writes in a period when prose was farther from poetry than it was in the Silver Age and when any influence tended to be more indirect: the poeticus decor is there, but it is less startling and less extensive. And Seneca uses

his Virgil in quite a different way. The difference between their use of the poets and Tacitus' use of Virgil is not merely one of quantity, however, nor even that Tacitus employs poetic figures and techniques as well as poetic vocabulary. He does employ these. He has an eye for metaphor, examples of which range from phrases like exuere Lepidum (Ann.i,2), erigere aciem (Ag.18), haurire animo (Hist.i,51) to the figurative use of nouns and adjectives (e.g. cruda ac uiridis senectus Ag.29; tacentes loci Hist. iii,84 and facies pacis Ann.xiii, 38). He uses personified abstract nouns freely (e.g. nox legiones pugnae exemit Ann.i,64; circumsteterat Palatium expectatio Hist.i,17; quos bellum aperuit Ger.1). He employs some of the archaic forms beloved by the poets (e.g. quis for quibus Ann.i,8, dative forms in -u (senatu Ann.iii,47), words like dissertare Hist.iv,69 and perduellis Ann.xiv,29). His syntactical usage is often more akin to the poets' than to that of other prose writers - his use e.g. of the accusative with eudere Ann.i,51, genitive of reference with adjectives (modicus uoluptatum Ann.ii,73), ablative of respect with adjectives (corpore ingens Ann.xiii,8: contrast ingenti corpore Sall.Hist.ii,47D) and his use of the infinitive (fuera animus iuuare Ann.i,56; propulsare famem adacti Ann.xiv,24): and it includes Graecisms like frigidus iam artus Ann.xv,64 and quibus bellum uolentibus erat Ag.18. All this, together with the instinct for brevity and variety of expression which Tacitus shares with the poets, and his pictorial presentation of much of his material (cf. the description of the field of Bedriacum Hist.ii,70 or of the camp of Varus Ann.i,61) produces a strong poetic colouring on the prose of Tacitus. It is, I think, considerably stronger than any comparable colouring in the works of Sallust, Livy and Seneca. Yet examples of metaphor and personification can be found in their writings: auaritia fidem subuortit Sall. Cat. 10,4; peditum equitumque nubes Livy xxxv, 49,5; rebus lassis Sen.Ben.vi,25,4. Sallust too, uses far more archaic words and forms than does Tacitus (words like obsequela Hist.ii,49D, forms like senati Cat.30,3 etc.). And many of the syntactical expressions and the Graecisms of Tacitus can be paralleled from one or more of these authors (cf. aeger animi Livy i,58,9; impello with the infinitive Livy xxii,6,6; ut militibus uolentibus esset Sall.Jug.100,4).

The difference still does not seem to me to be merely one of quantity. Admittedly the amount of poetic colouring must affect the impression we receive of any writer's style. But it does not explain the different quality of the impression. If one may risk rash generalisations, the essence of Sallustian Latin is rather antithesis and archaism than poetry: Livy is too diffuse in style to have much essential kinship with the poets: and Seneca, though brilliant and epigrammatic, has the mind of a rhetorician and not of a poet. And here, at last, is perhaps the clue. Does Tacitus have something of the temperament and mind of a poet? Does he show any trace of a poet's approach to his material? and if so, has he any special kinship with Virgil?

To make brief generalisations about prose style may have been rash: an attempt to define poetry may well be disastrous. And yet we must have more than a vague idea about the essential components of poetry (and especially of epic poetry) if we are to decide whether or not Tacitus has affinities with its writers. It is hoped that the statements which follow, while not pretending to be complete or definitive, are neither positively untrue nor actively misleading. Poetry, then, seems to be an imaginative presentation of a subject important to the poet, in clear, concentrated language and significant form, which crystallizes the writer's and affects the reader's emotions: its pattern may be impres-

sionistic rather than logical, its use of words should combine beauty with meaning: the rhythm of its language and the visual image it presents are both important.

Epic poetry may seem at first sight to fit this definition ill. Yet I think that a good epic poem falls well within it. How far epic poetry differs from narrative verse was seen long ago by Aristotle<sup>(10)</sup> when he contrasted the organic unity of Homer's epics with the confused detail of the Little Iliad: the length of the pattern is not of the first importance - what matters is that it should fit the poet's conception. A good epic poem is still an imaginative work, still concentrated, still significant: its epic pattern allows it to be enriched by episodes but the episodes are not (in a good epic) irrelevant. If the Aeneid does not tell us something of Virgil's feelings about Rome and the life of men, then I am much mistaken in it: and if we remain unmoved by our reading of it, we have our deserts. Narrative demands a reasonably logical pattern, but neither Homer nor Virgil is bound by the simple demands of a story: and both use the movement of their verse to help in the creation of the image they desire.

Are there any points of contact here between the epic poet and the imperial historian? I think there are. First, imaginative presentation of an important theme: very few people have ever seriously believed that Tacitus did not care about his subject or consider it important<sup>(11)</sup>: and the clue to the great problem of Tacitus as an historian - factual and non-factual material, emotional overlay, impressionistic treatment: call it what you will - may be precisely here. Tacitus was, I think, fundamentally a serious and careful historian, and many of his statements, once considered improbable, are on further investigation proving to be perfectly accurate.<sup>(12)</sup> But the problem of the presentation of his material remains, and it is here that the 'poetic mind' or 'poetic approach' may help to provide an explanation (whether it provides an excuse is a different matter). Poetry, you will remember, is more philosophic than history<sup>(13)</sup>, and when Tacitus presents his material in an impressionistic manner designed to suggest his interpretation of its significance, he is treating it as part of a universal, handling it in fact like a poet. Then, his presentation is certainly concentrated, words and phrases, episodes and books having the maximum meaning and the maximum emotional significance. He is writing about human life in his history of the Roman Empire, and he uses episodes and dramatic tableaux in the body of his narrative.<sup>(14)</sup> And in doing all this he is using, as we have seen, poetic language and poetic imagery.

Not only that: within the general framework of his likeness to the epic poets, he has a special affinity with Virgil, for which his education cannot be wholly responsible. Other poets too figured in the school curriculum, and other Silver writers, also trained on Virgil, do not use his words in the same way. Virgil and Tacitus have a certain fundamental melancholy in common, a brooding quality of mind, a grandeur of conception, a love of Rome. Tacitus, perhaps naturally, is more inclined to suspect the worst in human behaviour: but like Virgil he is interested in its motives, and like Virgil he sees and is affected by its sadness. Given then this fundamental kinship: given the status of Virgil and the natural development of Latin already indicated: given the 'poetic approach' of Tacitus and his instinct to present his material in a somewhat 'epic' form, a strong Virgilian colour is inevitable. Even the accidental coincidences of phrasing are not without significance, the unconscious reminiscences and the words and phrases which though part of the Silver Latin literary lan-

guage, can yet be traced back to Virgil. An odd echo or so of an earlier writer in a man's style may be indirect, accidental and so irrelevant; but large numbers of such echoes usually indicate a knowledge of the original source, however much the phrases may have become part of the common literary language. The Authorised Version and the Prayer Book may again illustrate this point: people say e.g. 'Till the day break and the shadows flee away' with only the vaguest notion of its context (which incidentally might surprise them), but a frequent use of such phrases surely indicates direct acquaintance with their source.

There are about 100 such words and phrases in Tacitus.<sup>(15)</sup> There are also just over half that number where the intermediate tradition (as far as our evidence goes) consists of isolated examples in writers like Statius, Silius and Lucan, where the suspicion must be strong that Virgil is the common and direct source<sup>(16)</sup>. And there are nearly 100 examples where the connection seems to be direct and often significant.<sup>(17)</sup>

These echoes appear fairly evenly throughout the works of Tacitus, and are drawn from all the works of Virgil, with the Aeneid, naturally, as the main source. The range of the echoes has already been discussed and the fact (it is hoped) established that the connection between Virgil and Tacitus is a strong one, even if it is of a somewhat different kind than was once imagined. It remains to ask whether we can discover to what purposes Virgilian echoes are put in the writings of Tacitus.

Firstly and most obviously, they are used as poetic words and phrases are used by all Silver prose writers - to give novelty, colour and interest to the prose style. Broadly speaking, Silver literary prose was written in short, abrupt sentences, which aimed at capturing the attention of the sophisticated. The shorter the sentence, the more arresting it has to be: and one of the standard ways of making it arresting was to use vocabulary and syntax borrowed from the poets. This is the poeticus decor recommended in the Dialogus, and in using it Tacitus is following the custom of the age. Some of these phrases (e.g. balsama sudantur Ger.45 and Geor.ii,118; also Ovid, Met.x,308 and Justin xxxvi, 3,4: ferro uiam inuenire Hist.ii,20 and Aen.ii,494; also Livy iv,28,4: undantem sanguinem Ann.vi,39 and Aen.x,908; also Livy xxiv, 38, and Stat.Theb.x, 716) can be traced through the work of intermediate writers, others (e.g. cruda ac uiridis senectus Ag.29 and Aen.vi,304 - the two halves of the phrase are found elsewhere (Sil.xvi,331: Stat. Sil.iii.1.174) but the whole phrase only in Virgil and Tacitus: recens caede Hist.iii,19 and Aen. ix,455: breuia Ann.i,70 and Aen.i,111) Tacitus seems to take straight from Virgil. Many echoes of this kind are probably of no great significance, except as an indication that Tacitus' style has affinities with the style of his age, and by their number, as a pointer to Tacitus' knowledge of and familiarity with Virgil's works. Both of these facts we knew already. But even in this category we can see signs that Tacitus is not always using poetic vocabulary merely to give colour and dignity to his style. Often the poetic word, while still performing that service, also draws attention to its context and points a remark or description. In Ann.i,4 e.g. aspectare attracts our attention to the statement omnes exuta aequalitate iussa principis aspectare, and it is difficult to believe that Tacitus did not mean it to do precisely this. And in Ann.ii,29 the picture of Libo manus ac supplices uoces ad Tiberium tendens impresses us strongly with its suggestion of the pathetic victim of an arbitrary tyrant: which is no doubt its intention.

Sometimes, again, poetic vocabulary is used to give economy of expression. This too is a characteristic not unknown in other Silver writers, and not unconnected with the desire to give dignity to a prose narrative. But here again the affinity between Tacitus and the poets is especially strong. The concentration of expression is especially dear to him, the technique of packing each separate word with its maximum meaning, and so placing it in its phrase that it both gives and acquires extra significance thereby. Both the accusative and genitive of respect with adjectives e.g. provide a neater, more striking and more significant form of expression than the normal methods used by classical prose. The adjective can be applied to the person, the whole expression is more concentrated and therefore more effective. clari genus Ann.vi, 9 has obvious affinities with Cressa genus Aen.v,285 and genus indecores Aen.xii, 25: so has egregius cetera Ag.16 with cetera Graius Aen.iii,594: and trepidus admirationis Ann.vi,21 with trepidae rerum Aen.xii,589. Here too belongs the poetic use of the infinitive, a shorter and more pointed construction than the subordinate clause of literary prose. Cf. adloqui animus erat Ann.v,7 and perficere est animus Aen.iv,639: coniectare erat Ann.xvi,34 and cernere erat Aen.vi,596: accingeretur nauare Ann.xv,51 and accingar dicere Geor.iii,46. Some of these constructions (e.g. genus, cetera, est with infinitive) are found in other poets and Livy: others, like accingor with infinitive, seem to be peculiar to Virgil and Tacitus. Here again we must recognise both the influence of the age and the effect of Tacitus' own personality: and here again the personal preference for Virgil is noticeable. It is of course natural that an historian who was at all poetically minded should find an epic poet a more fruitful source of poeticus decor than a lyric poet or a satirist. But occasional echoes of Horace and Ovid show that Tacitus knew their work<sup>(18)</sup> and it is clear that Tacitus was familiar with Lucan's great Silver epic.<sup>(19)</sup> Yet the number of poetic echoes which either originate from Virgil or are drawn directly from his works is, by comparison, impressive: and these echoes are by no means all of epic structure, epic approach or epic context (quite a number come from the Georgics). The conclusion seems clear that Tacitus both knew and liked Virgil best.

Finally, there are the passages where the Virgilian echo seems designed to remind the reader (who was also well-trained on Virgil and might be assumed to know the poems well enough to recognise reminiscences) of a specific Virgilian passage, and by this association to add overtones of meaning and significance to the Tacitean passage. To produce an effect by association is of course itself a poetic characteristic, and part of the conciseness and concentration which is natural to the art. And in some of the passages where such association is marked, Tacitus is using the device in just this way. Many of the passages already discussed show this characteristic, as do e.g. the account of the capture of Cremona (Hist. iii,28-33) and of the Sack of the Capitol (Hist.iii, 71). Both of these descriptions are full of echoes of the capture and sack of Troy as depicted in Aeneid ii. Not only verbal echoes like imagine mortium, in igne considerent, ingruere, miscere, but a similar pictorial approach and a common compassion help to link the two authors. uulnus adactum (Ann.i,61) recalls another famous example of folly punished in Aen.x,850: uisae per caelum rutilantia arma (Hist.v,13) gains in impressiveness by its reminiscence of Aen.viii,528: and the epic breuia for 'shallows' (cf. Aen.i,111) helps the description of the epic storm in Ann.i,70. These specific echoes are simply more particular examples of the categories already discussed, for they are giving, by means of the economy of association, colour and dignity and meaning to the

Tacitean passages.

Sometimes, however, the association is even more specific and pointed, and it is pointed in a peculiarly Tacitean way. When e.g. Tiberius' intention is described in Ann.i,47 as imotum fixumque, and we recall that the other famous use of the phrase is to describe (Aen.iv,15) Dido's intention never to wed again, we cannot but wonder if Tiberius' purpose will prove to be as unstable as Dido's: quae fiducia reo in Ann.iii,11, applied to Piso and recalling the similar fiducia (quae fiducia capto) of Sinon in Aen. ii,75 helps to suggest that Piso too is not to be trusted: the comparison with Drances (Aen.xi,340) implicit in seditionibus potens (Hist.ii,86) does not improve our estimate of the worth of Antonius Primus: and the appropriation of Aeneas' spe praesumite (Aen.xi,18) by advocates accused of illegally extorting fees (Ann.xi,7) cannot be other than ironical. There are too many examples of this kind (20) for them to be classed merely as products of the fevered imagination of literary critics wise after the event. Poeticus decor and especially Virgilian decor is an important element in Tacitus' presentation of his material, and therefore affects our estimate of him as an historian. It is undoubtedly one of the methods he employs to suggest his own interpretation of the facts he is recording: and it is to Virgil, and especially to the Aeneid, that he most frequently resorts when he is looking for a telling parallel or ironical contrast.

These passages, then, are deliberate reminiscences of Virgil. Many echoes in the first two categories (interest and economy) are probably quite unconscious. Verbal echoes, where one unusual word will often produce the other which accompanies it in a well-known passage: similar phrases produced by a similar context, especially when two writers are approaching their material in very similar ways: familiar poetic vocabulary coming naturally when a 'poetic' passage is required - all these may be so unconscious as to prove only that the language of Virgil is part of the fabric of Tacitus' literary language. It is of course possible to draw up rough lists dividing the echoes into categories of conscious and unconscious reminiscence: no one critic's list will ever agree with any other's, and they may well obscure the essential point, which is that there are reminiscences, conscious and unconscious, and that their number, range, contexts and the effects they produce show indisputably the influence of Virgil on Tacitus. On the other hand, the passages in the last category, where the effect depends on the association of a specific Virgilian passage, may reasonably be accepted as deliberate parallels. Twists to an original phrase, words from a significant context, an epic description consciously imported - these and similar practices help to produce the effect Tacitus is seeking, and show the use to which Tacitus is putting Virgil. The ambivalence of the title 'Virgil and Tacitus' was quite deliberate.

None of the parallels, whether unconscious or deliberate, whether providing variety of style, economy of language, illuminating comparisons or ironical contrasts, seems to me to be 'poetic colouring' as it is usually understood: they do not form a ribbon or bow attached to the fabric of prose to brighten it up or make it a little more impressive, they are one of the essential threads of the fabric itself. The decor Vergilianus of Tacitus has been absorbed and integrated from the work of one great writer into that of another.



NOTES.

1. e.g. Furneaux (Oxford 1896) p.74.
2. e.g. J. W. Duff, A Literary History of Rome in the Silver Age (London 1960) p.474: W. Y. Sellar, Virgil (Oxford 1897) p.63.
3. e.g. H. Schmaus, Tacitus ein Nachahmer Vergils (Diss. Erlangen 1884: Bamberg 1887): C. Grenville Cole, The Poetical Elements in the Diction and Syntax of Tacitus (New York 1909).
4. G. B. A. Fletcher in Ut Pictura Poesis (Leiden 1955) pp.75-86.
5. F. C. Bourne in Class.Journ. 1951, pp. 171-6: R. Syme, Tacitus (Oxford 1958) pp. 357sq.: B. Walker, Annals of Tacitus (Manchester 1952) p.71.
6. L. Constans, De Sermone Sallustiano (Paris 1880).
7. O. Riemann, Études sur la langue et la grammaire de Tite-Live (Paris 1879): K. Gries, Constancy in Livy's Latinity (New York 1949).
8. Cf. e.g. S. G. Stacey in Archiv für Lateinische Lexikographie (1898) pp. 17-82 with Gries.
9. S. Consoli in Rivista di filologia (1921) pp. 456-67.
10. Poet. 1459<sup>a</sup>17 sq.
11. Bacha, Jerome and Fabia, perhaps.
12. See e.g. K. Wellesley in Rhein.Mus.(1960) pp. 272 sq.
13. Arist. Poet. 1451<sup>b</sup>, 5-7.
14. Cf. e.g. the description of the camp of Varus (Ann.i,61): the fire of Rome (Ann.xv,38 sq.)
15. e.g. urgentibus fatis (Ger. 33 and Virg. Aen.ii,653: also Livy v,36,6 and Lucan x,30): crudescere (Hist.iii,10 and Aen. vii,788: also Livy vi, 18 and Val. Flaccus ii,509): somno et uino (Ann.iv,48 and Aen.ix,236: also Ovid, Am.i, 4,53 and Her. xiv,33): locorum fraude (Ann.xii,33 and Aen.ix,397: also Ovid, Tr.IV, ii,33 and Curtius v,5,1): perosus (Ann.xiv, 26 and Aen. ix, 141: also Ovid, Met.viii,183: Livy iii,58,1 and Lucan ix,860).
16. e.g. uir uirum legeret Hist.i, 18 and Aen.xi,632: Suet. Aug.35: ubere agri Hist.iii,34 and Aen.vii,262: Lucan iii, 68: fatisco Ann.iii,38 and Georg. i,180: Sil.ii,316 and Stat. Theb. i, 217: lecta armis iuuentus Ann.xii,40 and Aen. viii,606: Stat.Theb. ii,484.

17. e.g. etiam uictis uirtus Ag.37 and Aen.ii,367: raresco Ger.30 and Aen.iii,411: insignis equo ostroque Hist.ii,20 and Aen.iv,134: angusta uiarum Hist.iii,82 and Aen. ii,332: trudis Ann.iii,46 and Aen.v,208: consiliis et astu Ann.vi, 32 and Aen.xi,704.
18. See Furneaux p.74 and G. B. A. Fletcher in C.R.1945 pp.45 sq. Cf. e.g. ex illo contaminatorum grege Ann.xv,37 with Hor. Od.i,37,9: impiger militiae Ann.iii,48 with Hor. Epp.II, i,124: culpam inuidia uelauisse Ann.vi,29 with Ovid. Her. v,131: ira citra ultima stetit Ann. xii,22 with Ovid. Tr.ii, 127.
19. See L. Robbert, De Tacito Lucani Imitatore (Göttingen 1917). Cf. praecipua concordiae fides Hist.ii,5 with Luc.ii,243: aemulatione fortunam moraretur Hist.iii,65 with Luc.i,393.
20. Cf. also the effect of expendere poenas Ann.xii,19, associating Mithridates with Turnus (Aen.x,669): the cruel twist in uictis solacia Hist.iii,84 - in Aen.v,367 it refers to a consolation prize: the ironical contrast between the sack of Troy (Aen. ii,765) and Roman luxury in Ann.ii,33: and many others.