Editing and Commenting on Statius' *Silvae*

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Editing and Commenting on Statius' *Silvae*

Edited by

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Acknowledgements

I am convinced that Statius' *Silvae* are one of a kind.[1] This is why, although they are no longer a poorly-known text, I still deem it relevant to insist on their unique character and on how much there is to uncover about them (no matter how banal this assertion sounds). The present volume is a way of arguing my view on the uniqueness of the *Silvae*. In this task, I counted on the precious assistance of scholars whose research has had a most significant impact on the study of Statius' collection over the past many years.

My first words of gratitude are addressed precisely to those who have contributed to this volume. I am grateful for their confidence in this project, their endless patience, and above all their dedication to the *Silvae*.

I thank the colleagues at the Centre for Classical Studies (School of Arts and Humanities, University of Lisbon) who have accompanied each and every step of this project. Among them, William Dominik deserves a special acknowledgement for having generously commented on the volume's introduction and my own chapter; my work has benefited very much from his suggestions.

Antony Augoustakis, Joy Littlewood, and Cristina Pimentel have a place of their own. They know why.

My final words are for Kathleen M. Coleman. It was her commentary on the fourth book of the *Silvae* that first opened my eyes to these poems. Now it was she who supported and encouraged me throughout the process of editing this volume, saving me from many errors and tirelessly supplying answers to my lists of queries. I have learned so much from her about professionalism, accuracy, and the time it takes to do things right.

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centro de estudos CLÁSSICOS

1 Alwyn Harrison was responsible for the linguistic revision of several chapters of the volume. This work is financed with National Funds through FCT (Foundation for Science and Technology), project UIDB/00019/2020.

Figures

Abbreviations

Abbreviations of Ancient Authors and Works

Greek authors and works are abbreviated according to the *Liddell and Scott*, and the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* was used for the Latin authors and works. Authors and works not included in those dictionaries follow the norm of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Journals use the abbreviations of *L'Année Philologique*.

Hornblower, S. and Spawforth, A. eds. (2012[4]). *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Oxford.
Glare, P.G.W. ed. (2012[2]). *Oxford Latin Dictionary*. Oxford.
Liddell, H.G., Scott, R. and Jones, H.S. eds. (1940[9]). *A Greek–English Lexicon*. Oxford.

Abbreviations of Modern Works

PIR[2]	Groag, A. and Stein, A. (1933–). *Prosopographia Imperii Romani Saeculi*. Berlin.
RE	*Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. (1893–1980). Stuttgart.
TLL	*Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*. (1900–). Leipzig.

Notes on Contributors

Giancarlo Abbamonte
teaches Classical Philology at the Federico II University of Naples. His research focuses on the exegetical tradition of Aristotle's logical texts and on the poetry of Virgil and Statius. In particular, he has studied the Humanist genres of commentary (with reference to Statius' *Silvae*) and lexicography. He took part in the critical edition of Niccolò Perotti's *Cornu copiae* (ETS, 2002) and worked on the Humanist Iacopo d'Angelo from Scarperia (ca. 1370–1411), publishing together with Fabio Stok the critical edition of Iacopo d'Angelo's Latin versions of two works by Plutarch (*De Alexandri fortuna aut virtute* and *De fortuna Romanorum*) (ETS, 2017). At moment, he is studying the paratexts of the editions of classics printed in the Early Age (dedication, index, commentary, notes etc.) and the method used by the humanist Aulus Ianus Parrhasius (1470–1521) for organizing and managing information on the classical world.

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and *L'Organisation des spectacles dans le monde romain* (Fondation Hardt, 2012). Her articles on the *Silvae* include studies of Statius' use of mythological spokespersons, the stylistic function of parentheses, and the surprising absence of epigraphic quotation in a genre so intimately concerned with Roman social life and strategies of commemoration.

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studied Classics at the Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa and is a Researcher (tenure track) in Latin Literature at the Università di Milano. His main fields of research are Roman antiquarianism, Augustan culture, and Flavian poetry. He is the author of a commentary on the fragments of Varro's *De uita populi Romani* (Pisa University Press, 2015) and of a commentary on Statius' *Silvae* 1 (*I Carmi di Domiziano*, vol. 1 [Le Monnier, 2021]). He has also produced studies

of the Virgilian manuscript tradition, interpolations in Ovid, and Lucan's narrative technique. Other current projects include an Italian edition of Solinus' *Collectanea*, entries in the forthcoming *Tacitus Encyclopedia* (Wiley-Blackwell), and an online edition of the fragments of the Roman republican antiquarians.

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Commenting on Statius' *Silvae*: No Place for Dead Wood

Ana Lóio

> huc doctae stipentur aues, quis nobile fandi
> ius Natura dedit: plangat Phoebeius ales
> auditasque memor penitus dimittere uoces
> sturnus et Aonio uersae certamine picae
> quique refert iungens iterata uocabula perdix
> et quae Bistonio queritur soror orba cubili.[1]
>
> *Silv*. 2.4.16–21

20 *supra lin*. cornix, *in marg*. fo. 91

Lisboa, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, INC 478, fol. e I^{r}[2]

Two non-Italian, possibly Iberian, hands left several notes in the margins of a copy of Octavianus Scotus' edition of the *Silvae* with Calderini's commentary (Venice, 1483) that is now in Lisbon. One of the hands reproduces sentences from the commentary, at times summarizes them, signals the explanation of a given Latin or Greek word, offers a synonym for a Greek term, and isolates and copies verses that might be read as *sententiae*.[3] The most engaging notes are to the poem on Atedius Melior's *psittacus* (*Silvae* 2.4). In the passage on talking birds, a variant for *perdix* (verse 20) is given above the line, and the annotation 'fo. 91' suggests that the reader is referring to the edition containing the vari-

1 'Let scholar birds crowd hither, to whom Nature has granted the noble right of speech. Let Phoebus' fowl beat his breast and the starling, whose memory faithfully releases the words he has learned, and magpies transformed in Aonian contest and the partridge that links words remembered and repeated and the desolate sister making moan in Bistonian bedchamber' (trans. Shackleton Bailey [2015]).

2 *Thebais* (Comm: Placidus Lactantius); *Achilleis* (Comm: Franciscus Mataratius); *Silvae* (Comm: Domitius Calderinus). Add: *Vita Papinii*. Ovidius: *Sappho* (Comm: Domitius Calderinus). Domitius Calderinus: *Elucubratio in quaedam Propertii loca*; *Ex libro tertio Observationum*. Octavianus Scotus, 1483. Incunabula Short Title Catalogue: is00691000.

3 Lóio (2014) 58–59.

ant reading.[4] The hands can be dated to the end of the fifteenth century or the beginning of the sixteenth. We still do not know who these readers were,[5] but they illustrate a significant fact about scholarship on Statius: the study of the *Silvae* is almost as old as its rediscovery.[6]

1 Beginnings

Marginalia by the hands of Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459) and Niccolò Niccoli (Nicolaus de Niccolis, 1364–1437) are preserved in the oldest manuscript of the *Silvae* that has come down to us, known as **M** (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, 3678), upon which the entire textual tradition depends.[7] This is the copy of the manuscript, now lost, that Poggio discovered in a monastery in the area of Lake Constance in 1417.[8] He sent that copy to Italy at the beginning of 1418 for Francesco Barbaro (1390–1454) to deliver to Niccolò Niccoli.[9] Niccoli kept it probably until 1430,[10] notwithstanding Poggio's solicitations. It has been suggested that behind Niccoli's behaviour there might lie the project of writing a commentary on the *Silvae*.[11]

4 Lóio (2014) 61–62. According to Vollmer, the reading *cornix* was proposed by Jacques Dalé-champs (1513–1588), the author of an edition of Pliny's *Natural History* (he quotes the passage on talking birds twice, and not consistently: *Nat.* 10.12 [p. 22], 10.42 [p. 245]). A trace of an edition with the reading *cornix* instead of *perdix* at *Silv*. 2.4.20 is preserved in a quotation by Francesco Mario Grapaldi (1465?–1515) in the treatise *De partibus Aedium* (Parma, 1494): after citing verse 20 with the reading *cornix*, he comments that almost all the codices have *perdix* (Grapaldi [1494?] 54 [f. II^{v}]). See Lóio (2014) 62–63.

5 For *incunabula* of editions of the *Silvae* in Portugal, see Mendes (1995) 475–476 (§1666–1668).

6 For the scholarship on the *Silvae*, Anderson (2020) is now a fundamental tool, to be quoted frequently in this Introduction.

7 The exception is the *Genethliacon Lucani* (*Silvae* 2.7), which has a story of its own. It appears by itself, 'amongst heterogeneous matter' (Reeve [1983] 397), in L (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 29.32), which was discovered by Poliziano. The textual tradition of the *Silvae* is authoritatively discussed by Reeve (1977b), Reeve (1983) 397–399; see also Anderson (2020) 85–90. According to Reeve (1983) 397, L might be derived from the same source as **M**.

8 The source of this manuscript was probably the *Ovidii Metamorfoseon Sili et Staci volumen I*, which Reeve (1983) 398 situates in the second half of the tenth century. For a synthesis of proposals regarding the date and place in which the *Silvae* were rediscovered, see Abbamonte (2015) 177 n. 24.

9 Reeve (1977b) 220.

10 Reeve (1977b) 220, 223–224 n. 97 discusses the date.

11 Anderson (2020) 336. In this volume, the discovery of M is also addressed by Roman (p. 49); Abbamonte addresses the issue of Niccoli's control of **M** (pp. 25–27).

2 The Italian Phase

The aforementioned manuscript of the *Silvae* was in Italy but, for unclear reasons, it did not circulate before 1453, when Poggio moved to Florence, or perhaps even before his death in 1459. According to Reeve, **M**'s 'earliest dated descendant, written at Rome in 1463, already bears witness to thoughtful work on the text'.[12] Pomponio Leto (Pomponius Laetus, 1428–1498) was a pioneer in the exegesis of the *Silvae*. His notes, which are few and concentrate on *Silvae* 1.1, date from around 1470.[13] In the early 1470s, Niccolò Perotti (Nicolaus Perottus, 1429–1480) had started his commentary, which is preserved only up to *Silvae* 1.5.22. He composed an *Expositio Silvarum* at around the same time.[14] The edition with commentary by Domizio Calderini (Domitius Calderinus, 1446–1478) was the first to appear in print, being published soon afterwards in 1475 (A. Pannartz, Rome).[15] By the turn of the decade, Angelo Poliziano (Angelus Politianus, 1454–1494), a notable composer of *silvae*, had taught and commented upon the Latin poems that inspired his own poetry.[16] By the end of the century, the *Silvae* would attract the attention of Antonio Amiternino (Antonius Amiterninus, 1455/1460–1522),[17] Francesco Pucci (Franciscus Puccius, 1462–1512), and Aulo Giano Parrasio (Janus Parrhasius, 1470–1521).[18]

Perotti, Leto, and Calderini, who moved in the circle of the distinguished Humanist Cardinal Bessarion (1403–1472), composed the first nucleus of the modern exegesis of the poems.[19] Perotti and Leto's joint correction of Martial, alongside their studies of the *Silvae*, illustrates an interest in 'silver' Latin poetry

12 Reeve (1983) 398. Reeve (1977b) 220–225 synthesizes 'what is known and what is not known about the diffusion of the *Silvae* in the fifteenth century' (p. 220).

13 On Pomponio see Abbamonte (1997), Fera (2002), Anderson (2020) 302–303. Abbamonte (2013) 359–360 produces a list of manuscripts preserving Leto's emendations and notes. On Leto see also Abbamonte in this volume (pp. 28–29).

14 On Perotti see Abbamonte (1997) and Anderson (2020) 303–305. The date of Perotti's Statian studies is discussed in Abbamonte (1997) 11–12 and Anderson (2020) 303.

15 For Calderini see Fera (2002) 72–74, Coppini (2013), Abbamonte (2013) 359–360, Anderson (2020) 305–310.

16 On Poliziano see Reeve (1977a), Martinelli (1978) I–XXVI, van Dam (2008) 45–50, Abbamonte (2013) 344–357, and Anderson (2020) 313–317.

17 See Anderson (2020) 337–338. The work reputed to be Amiterninus' is lost.

18 For Parrasio see Abbamonte (2003), Abbamonte (2013) 362–367, and Anderson (2020) 328–331 (see also 322–324).

19 Abbamonte (2013) 368–369. Fera's understanding of the history of scholarship on the *Silvae* in the second half of the fifteenth century divides it clearly into 'BC and AC': 'before Calderini and after Calderini' (1447–1478). Abbamonte contradicts Fera's approach, according to which Calderini is a turning point between 'old' and 'new' exegesis.

in the Roman academy.[20] Calderini's commentary is the result of his seductive classes of around 1470–1473.[21] In fact, a crisis was provoked by his arrival in Rome and his appointment as Professor of the Roman *Studio* in 1470. He knew Greek; his methods and readings brought novelty; and, as a consequence, Leto's classroom became empty. And one may even find in the repetition of Calderini's name in the commentary, on an equal footing with Statius', a celebration of his achievements as a philologist.[22] However, it is possible that it was Niccolò Perotti who was expected to be the Statian scholar of the moment. At least in the preface to a *codex* made by Pomponio Leto for his student Fabio Mazzatosta, it is to Perotti's studies that Leto refers the reader. One wonders if the animosity between Perotti and Calderini might be explained by Calderini's 'intrusion' into a field of study that Perotti considered his own.[23]

Perotti, Leto, and Calderini are the initiators of the so-called 'Roman phase' of scholarship on the *Silvae*, which is the focus of Giancarlo Abbamonte (Chapter 1) in this volume. With Poliziano, the main setting of Statian studies will pass to Florence, to the circle of Lorenzo de' Medici. Poliziano lectured on Statius in the *Studio* in 1480–1481. His commentary is dated to around the same time; the *Miscellanea* adds to the discussion of textual problems in the *Silvae*. Poliziano's legacy encompasses also collections of precious notes that circulated among philologists.[24] Poliziano illustrates another peculiar angle of the reading of Statius' poems. They stimulated both scholarship and imitation, exegesis and poetic composition: in the present volume, Luke Roman (Chapter 2) proposes a joint evaluation of these diverging approaches by arguing that Poliziano's imitation of the *Silvae* might be interpreted as a means of commenting on Statius' compositions. Notwithstanding Poliziano's remarkable studies, Abbamonte calls for a 'redimensioning' of the scholar's contribution to the exegesis of the *Silvae*. Not only was Poliziano not the bringer of 'modernity', but his commentary, which still shows features of medieval exegesis, might be envisaged as a regression in the study of the poems. Indeed, Poliziano's concentration on exhibiting erudition in the correction of the text contrasts with Leto, Perotti, and Calderini's comprehensive approach to the texts, one that values all aspects of the study of Antiquity (rhetoric, poetics, contents of the poems).[25]

20 On the joint projects by Leto and Perotti see Abbamonte in this volume (pp. 31–35).

21 Reeve (1977b) 217.

22 Fera (2002) 72–73. On Calderini's work see Abbamonte in this volume (pp. 36–43).

23 Abbamonte (2013) 359–360. The codex is Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. Lat. 3279 f. 2r.

24 On the collections of Poliziano's notes circulating among Dutch scholars, see van Dam (2008) 53–54. These valuable notes comprise references to a *liber vetustissimus* that is thought to be Poggio's (now lost) manuscript of the *Silvae*.

25 Abbamonte (2013) 344–357, 368–369.

The enthusiasm for the *Silvae* in Naples has been associated with the arrival in the city of a student of Poliziano, Francesco Pucci (1462–1512), who would have brought along the master's method. He started teaching in Naples in 1483 and Maio, Sannazaro, and Parrasio were among his students. Another perspective argues that interest in the *Silvae* predates Pucci's arrival, and links it to Panormita and Pontano.[26] The Aragonese monarchs saw in the attraction of Humanists to their court, as well as the support of libraries of Greek and Latin classics, a strategy to strengthen their position *vis-à-vis* other courts. Statius' *Silvae* suit this context very well. They are a 'new' classic, and thus they help to promote the classical scholastic heritage, rather than the Gothic heritage associated with the previous Angevin kings.[27] Moreover, the *Silvae* offer a model for eulogizing patrons, a technique most suitable for the ambience of the court. The relevance of the 'new' genre, already practised by Poliziano, stimulated debate over the concept of *silva* and fostered new compositions in Latin, as illustrated by Panormita, Pontano, and Sannazaro.[28] As a 'Neapolitan child', Statius even replaces Virgil as the greatest poet of the city.

A student of Pucci, Aulo Giano Parrasio (Janus Parrhasius, 1470–1521), was particularly fascinated by Statius' occasional poetry. He was around twenty years old when Pontano invited him to lecture on the *Silvae* at the Academy in Naples in 1492.[29] Later he taught in Milan (1501) and Rome (1515), once the fall of the Aragonese dynasty at the beginning of the sixteenth century eliminated the court, thereby forcing him to search for other Humanistic centres.[30] In regard to Parrasio's scholarship, what comes down to us offers a clear picture of neither his production nor its objectives; however, it includes a printed edition with a word by word commentary interrupted at 1.2.[31] From this work it seems that Parrasio rehabilitated the 'Roman method' of approaching the *Silvae*: his work not only displays interest in the rhetoric, poetics, structure, and contents of the poems, but it is also less focused on polemics about the establishing of the text.[32]

26 Abbamonte (2015) 185–186. On Pucci see Fera (1995) 452–466.
27 Abbamonte (2015) 178.
28 Abbamonte (2015) 171–173, 178–179.
29 Reeve (1977b) 220.
30 Abbamonte (2015) 188.
31 Anderson (2020) 328–330. See also Reeve (1977b) 220, Abbamonte (2013) 363–367, and Abbamonte (2015) 186–188.
32 Abbamonte (2013) 369.

3 The Dutch Phase

Scholars in The Netherlands have made a significant contribution to the study of the *Silvae*. Van Dam, who has worked extensively on the theme,[33] compares the interest in the poems in the fifteenth-century Italian Renaissance with the enthusiasm for Statius' occasional poetry at the turn of the seventeenth century in The Netherlands. This interest can be identified in Leiden around the university, founded in 1575, where van Dam finds a match for Poliziano in Huigh de Groot. As in Italy, both the study of the poems and their imitation are involved.[34] The number of poets inspired by Statius is remarkable, as is made clear by van Dam's list of 28 'Dutch volumes, books, and poems with *silva* in it'.[35]

The commentary by Jan Bernaerts (Johannes Bernartius, 1568–1601) in 1599 is the first to appear after Calderini's, and it was preceded by an edition with thirty pages of notes in 1595. This work originates from the intellectual ambience of Leiden, where distinguished scholars are related to Bernaerts' enterprise in one way or another. For example, it is Joest Lips (Justus Lipsius, 1547–1606) who provided Bernaert with a manuscript of the *Silvae*, the lack of which had made Bernaerts postpone the commentary in 1595.[36] The exegesis by Jean Gaspard Gevaerts (Janus Casperius Gevartius, 1593–1666) is associated with the next generation, that is, with the scholars who were in the circle of Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609), namely Huigh de Groot (Hugo Grotius, 1583–1645), Pieter Schrijver (Petrus Scriverius, 1576–1660), Daniël Heins (Daniel Heinsius, 1580–1655), and Johannes van Meurs (Johannes Meursius, 1579–1639).

Scaliger, who arrived in Leiden in 1593, succeeded Lips and was responsible for the burst of interest in the *Silvae* in the Northern Netherlands. He possessed four editions of Statius and knowledge of Poliziano's notes (probably including what is thought to be the *marginalia* from Poggio's manuscript).[37] In a letter to Jan van Wouweren (1574/5–1612), who was composing a commentary, Scaliger wrote that these notes were from a 'very old manuscript' and would make a difference to his work.[38] Wouweren's edition was published in 1600. In the same year, there also appeared the edition of Lindenbrog (Fredericus Linden-

33 The most relevant studies are van Dam (1996), (2008), (2013).
34 Van Dam (2008) 45. For the relevance of the poetic output inspired by the *Silvae* see van Dam (2008) 50–52, 57–63.
35 Van Dam (2013) discusses the subject.
36 Van Dam (1996) 316–319.
37 Van Dam (1996) 322–324, van Dam (2008) 54.
38 Van Dam (2008) 53.

brogius, 1573–1648), who was another former pupil of Scaliger.[39] Gevaerts published an edition with commentary on the *Silvae* sixteen years later, to which he appended the *Papinianae Lectiones*. For this work Gevaerts was dependent upon a copy of the *Silvae* with emendations and notes borrowed from Huigh de Groot.[40] Gevaerts returned to the *Silvae* in 1619 in the *Electorum libri III*, while Groot came back to Statius' poems twenty years later, when Johan Friedrich Gronov (Ioannes Fridericus Gronovius, 1611–1671) was writing his *Diatribe in Statii Silvas* (1637).[41] But Scaliger's 'most ambitious pupil', in van Dam's words,[42] was probably Pieter Schrijver. He collected editions of Statius, wrote notes, and compiled them in booklets. Schrijver suggested emendations for Gevaerts' edition of 1616. In turn, Gevaerts quoted him frequently and proposed corrections to Gronov in his *Diatribe*.[43]

4 Other Phases

Commendation is owed to the 'eccellente commento di Markland, che apre la stagione moderna dell'esegesi staziana'.[44] Abbamonte situates the edition with commentary by Jeremiah Markland (Jeremias Marklandus, 1693–1776) in 1728 in the tradition of Italian scholarship. In his view the English scholar's work continues to display features that are in the 'genetic code' of the scholarship on the *Silvae*, that is, erudition and philological polemic.[45] Markland is said to be part of a Pleiad of English scholars of which Richard Bentley (1662–1742) was the most relevant, and in which Markland 'must … take pride of place'.[46] According to Housman, he was the only one besides Bentley to show similar competence in Greek and Latin.[47] Modern scholars emphasize Markland's talent as an editor (his conjectures still deserve a place in scholarly *apparatus*) and stress the maturity and accomplishment of his work on Statius' occasional poems.[48] The publication of a second edition of Markland's text by Karl Julius

39 Van Dam (1996) 322–323, van Dam (2008) 52.
40 Van Dam (1996) 321–322.
41 Van Dam (1996) 321 with n. 27, van Dam (2008) 61–63.
42 Van Dam (2008) 54.
43 Van Dam (2008) 54–55.
44 Abbamonte (2013) 369. On Markland see Collard (1976) and Brink (1985) 85–89.
45 Abbamonte (2013) 369.
46 Brink (1985) 86. The other members of the Pleiad were: Dawes, Taylor, Toup, Tyrwhitt, and Porson.
47 Housman (1920) 111.
48 This contrasts with the negative judgements of Markland's contemporaries. His works on

Sillig in 1827 is justified by the rarity of the first and includes *marginalia* preserved in Markland's working copy of the *Silvae*.[49]

The edition of the *Silvae* by Lemaire (1767–1832)[50] in 1825–1830, with his notes and those of Markland and Amar, was still the standard reference work at the end of the nineteenth century.[51] There was the expectation that Paul Friedländer (1824–1909), who had an uncommon knowledge of Latin literature of the first century CE, would embrace the task of commenting on the *Silvae*.[52] Instead, it was Friedrich Vollmer (1867–1923),[53] from the philological circle in Bonn,[54] who in 1898 produced a new edition with commentary. This edition-cum-commentary, published by Teubner, is still the most recent that covers the entire *Silvae*. Vollmer's text has been deemed to be conservative; contemporary reviews emphasize the need for a new publication that furnishes updated discussion on the material world, literary issues, and textual criticism.[55]

At the turn of the century, Vollmer's book was one among a number of new works on the text of the *Silvae*. Baehrens had edited the poems in 1876, and Klotz had published a Teubner edition in 1900. This was followed by a new edition by Phillimore for the Oxford Classical Texts in 1905 and yet another edition by Saenger in 1909 (St. Petersburg). It was only in the last decades of the twentieth century that the establishment of the text of the *Silvae* again attracted the

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Latin literature were not given credit, as a harsh comment by Wilamowitz illustrates. He condemned Markland's *Statius*, an edition with commentary of the *Silvae*, as 'gewaltsame Konjekturalkritic' ('violent conjectural criticism'). On this polemical stance see Brink (1985) 85–89, Collard (1976) 2, 12–13, n. 38.

49 The working copy is *Statii Sylvarum Libri Quinque*, ed. Basiliensis, 1531 (with Collard [1976] 12, n. 34). A note on the appearance of the second edition was published in 1828 in the section 'Critical Sketches' of *The Foreign Quarterly* 2.3, pp. 373–374 without indication of authorship.

50 A biographical note on Nicolas Eloi Lemaire can be found in Charle (1985) 120–121.

51 So the comments by Souter (1898) 314 and Wilson (1898) 317 suggest. The edition in question, in four volumes, is *P. Papinii Statii Quae Exstant Omnia Opera cum Varietate Lectionum et Selectis Variorum Adnotationibus Quibus Suas Addiderunt J.A. Amar & N.E. Lemaire*. Parisi: Colligebat Nicolaus Eligius Lemaire, 1825–1830.

52 Curcio (1899) 317. Friedländer had written commentaries on Petronius, Martial, and Juvenal.

53 For a biographical note on Vollmer see Killy and Vierhaus (2001–) 258. Reviews of Vollmer (1898): Wilson (1898), Souter (1898), and Curcio (1899).

54 An expression of Curcio (1899) 318.

55 Wilson (1898) 317, Souter (1898) 314, and Curcio (1899) 320–321. Reviews insist on the new book's contribution to expanding the readership of the *Silvae* and the study of poetry in Statius' time (see Wilson [1898] 323, Souter [1898] 315, and Curcio [1899] 317).

attention of scholars and new commentaries began to appear on single books, which was the form preferred in the new age of commentaries on classical texts.

5 Modern Prejudice

This is not to say that scholarship on the *Silvae* ceased to be produced for almost a century. It is true that editions were reprinted and corrected, while Frère and Marastoni produced new texts; in addition, numerous articles did see the light of day.[56] However, the critical attention given to Statius decreased significantly. This tendency was already evident in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It arose from a number of factors that readers of Statius have analysed in recent times.[57] The poet suffered from prejudice of various kinds. In the first place, Flavian poetry was deemed as a whole to be decadent in comparison with Augustan, particularly Virgilian, poetry. Post-Augustan and post-Virgilian production was secondary and, as is well known, belonged accordingly to a so-called 'silver age'.[58] Moreover, and still in contrast with Virgil, Statius' style was considered 'mannerist', a label which was used negatively as a reaction against the features that marked the Baroque period. Concerning the *Silvae*, appreciation of the poems was further hampered by their rhetorical and panegyrical nature, all the more because it involved the allegedly 'monstrous' Domitian. As a result of these critical prejudices, the 'occasional poems' stayed in the shadow of the Statian epics for a long time.

In the nineteen-sixties Hubert Cancik played a very important role in the rehabilitation of Statius in German scholarship.[59] He started his monograph on the *Silvae* by surveying what had been written about the poems in histories of literature. The picture was clear: the poems displayed a 'Rhetorik der Schmeichelei'; were the work of a 'virtuoser Improvisator' (Ribbeck); and 'Klientpoesie' (Ribbeck, Schanz-Hosius, Norden) characterized by 'artificiality' (Duff).[60] More recently, Zeiner mentions the same negative scholarly depictions of the *Silvae*, specifically Mozley's reference to Statius' 'lack of judgement' and Gossage's depiction of the poems as 'empty expressions of flattery.'[61]

56 Frère-Izaac (1944) for Les Belles Lettres; Marastoni (1961) for Teubner.
57 Zeiner (2005) 1–11, Dominik, Newlands, and Gervais, eds. (2015) 3–13.
58 On which see the discussion by Dominik (1993).
59 Dominik, Newlands, and Gervais, eds. (2015) 7, n. 16.
60 Cancik (1965) 9–12.
61 Zeiner (2005) 1.

In the Anglophone world, Kenney's chapter in the *Cambridge History of Classical Literature*, which appeared in 1982, was another step in a positive direction.[62] The reassessment of post-Augustan and post-Virgilian literature,[63] along with the figure of Domitian, was paramount.[64] The current generation of scholars is educated in literary theory and equipped with new resources to use in the re-evaluation of imperial literature.[65] The biased view of Flavian poetry, Statius, and particularly the *Silvae* took many decades to change,[66] but gradually there emerged an altered perception, as reflected in the title of Zeiner's introduction to her critical monograph on the *Silvae*: 'From "Slavish Flatterer" to Poet of Distinction'.[67]

6 Redemption

The 'redemption' of Statius, as it was appropriately called,[68] resulted in a boom of studies initiated in the late 1970s.[69] Significantly, editions and translations appeared in reference collections that provided a good text of the *Silvae* and allowed for the widening of their readership. Antonio Traglia edited the *Silvae* for the *Corpus Scriptorum Latinorum Paravianum* in 1978.[70] Twelve years later, Edward Courtney published in the Oxford Classical Texts series what is still the standard edition of the *Silvae*. In 2003, Shackleton Bailey's text and translation replaced Mozley's text and translation of 1928 in the Loeb Classical Library series.[71] The number of articles catalogued in *L'Année Philologique* for the last 30 to 40 years is impressive.

But the most significant sign of interest in Statius and of his growing readership arguably is the growth in the number of commentaries. In the case of the *Silvae*, they provide good evidence for a second phase of the 'rediscovery'

62 Kenney (1982) 561–572. Cf. Dominik, Newlands, and Gervais, eds. (2015) 7.
63 See, e.g., Gibson (2006) vii, Bessone and Fucecchi, eds. (2019) 1.
64 The 'rehabilitation' of Domitian was triggered by Mommsen. See Zeiner (2005) 7 with note 32 (bibliography) and Dominik, Newlands, and Gervais, eds. (2015) 7.
65 Dominik, Newlands, and Gervais, eds. (2015) 4.
66 The process knew several phases. An overview is offered by Zeiner (2005) 6–9.
67 Zeiner (2005) 1.
68 Dominik, Newlands, and Gervais, eds. (2015) 7–13.
69 An article on Flavian literature by William Dominik is now available at the *Oxford Bibliographies: Classics*.
70 An updated list of editions and translations of the *Silvae* is to be found at Harold Anderson's web site Via Stazio, which furnishes links to those available online.
71 In 2015 the volume was corrected by Christopher Parrott.

of Statius' occasional poems. In 1984, van Dam provided book 2 with a commentary; Kathleen Coleman produced one on book 4 in 1988; Laguna Mariscal's commentary on book 3 appeared in 1992; and Gibson's commentary on book 5 was published over a decade later in 2006.[72] It took indeed more than two decades to equip most of the *Silvae* with commentaries. A few years after Gibson's commentary, Newlands' commentary on book 2, published in 2011, could be the start of a new age of commentaries, of which a commentary on the entire *Silvae*, now in preparation by Antonino Pittà, would form a significant part.[73] Meanwhile, the last decades have seen the appearance of partial commentaries, which offer analyses of poems 1.1 (Geyssen); 1.2, 2.3, 3.4 (Pederzani); and 4.6 (Bonadeo).[74]

Few sole-authored monographs have been devoted to the *Silvae* over recent decades, but they have begun to appear more frequently during the past half century.[75] Among the monographs that have appeared are Cancik's *Untersuchungen zur lyrischen Kunst des P. Papinius Statius* (1965), Newmyer's *The Silvae of Statius: Structure and Theme* (1979), Bright's *Elaborate Disarray: The Nature of Statius' Silvae* (1980), Hardie's *Statius and the Silvae: Poets, Patrons, and Epideixis in the Graeco-Roman World* (1983), Carole Newlands' *Statius' Silvae and the Poetics of Empire* (2002), and Zeiner's *Nothing Ordinary Here: Statius as Creator of Distinction* (2005).[76] Moreover, several collections of essays on Statius have been published that have contributed immensely to an understanding of the poems.[77] However, only *Statius' Silvae and the Poetics of Intimacy*, edited by Augoustakis and Newlands in 2007, was entirely dedicated to the *Silvae*.[78] The present volume presents itself as an endeavour in the footsteps of that of Augoustakis and Newlands.

72 Van Dam (1984), Coleman (1988), Laguna Mariscal (1992), and Gibson (2006).

73 Newlands (2011), Pittà (2021); the second part of Pittà's commentary is in preparation.

74 Geyssen (1996), Pederzani (1995), and Bonadeo (2010).

75 Excellent studies of the *Silvae* have appeared in thematic volumes such as Nauta (2002). The *Silvae* have been studied together with Martial's epigrams by Johannsen (2006) and Rühl (2006); see also Leberl (2004).

76 Cancik (1965), Newmyer (1979), Bright (1980), Hardie (1983), Newlands (2002), Zeiner (2005), and Newlands (2012). Håkanson (1969) is almost entirely dedicated to the *Silvae*.

77 Delarue, Georgacopoulou, Laurens, and Taisne, eds. (1996); Nauta, van Dam, and Smolenaars, eds. (2006); Smolenaars, van Dam, and Nauta, eds. (2008); Bonadeo, Canobbio, and Gasti, eds. (2011); Augoustakis, ed. (2014); Dominik, Newlands, and Gervais, eds. (2015), Bessone and Fucecchi, eds. (2017); and Augoustakis and Littlewood, eds. (2019).

78 Augoustakis and Newlands (2007).

6.1 *Editing and Commenting on Statius' Silvae*

This volume originated in the conference *Editing and Commenting on the Silvae*, which was hosted by the Centre for Classical Studies at the School of Arts and Humanities, University of Lisbon, on March 16–17, 2017. The aim of the conference was to explore the peculiarities of working on the *Silvae*. The paramount feature of the collection, which necessarily shapes any scholarly approach, is its poor transmission. Due to the condition of the poems, the joint effort of considering text and interpretation together is an even more urgent requirement in scholarship on the *Silvae* than on almost any other Latin text. Editing and commenting on the *Silvae* are, therefore, inseparable tasks, a fact well illustrated ever since the very first generation of scholars studied Statius' poetry book in the Quattrocento. Pomponio Leto and Poliziano, to name but two pioneers of these studies, have left us testimonies of their early efforts towards correcting Statius' text and clarifying its meaning. Nowadays, we are still faced with the same challenges, although we count on five hundred years of editions and studies on which to build. Thus, the rationale behind this conference was to emphasize that, as inheritors of and contributors to Poliziano's scholarly tradition, we still have so much to discover.

The conference placed around the same table authors of recent commentaries on the *Silvae*, as well as scholars who had produced relevant studies of Statius' occasional poems; some of these researchers had also authored commentaries on the Statian epics, or translations of those texts accompanied by notes. It was a trait common to all participants that they had given careful thought to the text of the *Silvae* by editing, translating, or commenting on it. They were, therefore, equipped with the necessary experience to discuss the peculiarities of working on this particularly challenging text. The participants were asked to go back to their commentaries, translations, and other studies of the *Silvae* to reflect upon their distinctiveness and also to suggest issues and topics that a new generation of commentators should consider. Accordingly, the conference fostered a discussion of the exegesis of the *Silvae* with a focus on continuity and progression, from the earliest attempts to future endeavours.

The present volume publishes most of the papers delivered at the conference, which were selected on the criterion of consistency with the theme of the volume. Further chapters were commissioned. One of these is a chapter by Giancarlo Abbamonte on the very first generation of scholars to be seduced by the *Silvae*. This study consolidates the coherence of a volume focused on the continuity between the present-day work on Statius' collection and that produced from the time of its discovery in the Renaissance onwards. Emphasis is

due to the earliest scholarship on the *Silvae* because it is still largely unexplored. As Abbamonte's chapter shows, many Humanist commentaries still await an edition, and the complex web of relationships between scholars, as well as the circulation of ideas among them in letters, notebooks, and marginal notes in manuscripts, opens a fascinating world that awaits investigation. Abbamonte's perspective is complemented by Luke Roman's study of Poliziano, a most (the most?) distinguished Italian Humanist. Roman calls attention to a specific means of commenting on the *Silvae* inaugurated in the Italian Renaissance, which is the composition of poetry. From the Quattrocento on, there is an extensive list of poems and books titled '*Silvae*', written both in Latin and in the vernacular. They provide a very large amount of material for a scarcely explored branch of exegesis of Statius' collection. It is worth noting that, in this volume, considering poetry as a form of commentary is an approach common to the chapters by Luke Roman, Carole Newlands, and Federica Bessone. In fact, it might be envisaged as a trait of continuity in the reception of the *Silvae*. The latter scholars illustrate how Statius and Ovid comment on Virgil;[79] further, Newlands goes so far as to see Statius inaugurating the tradition of commenting on his very own *Silvae*.

If scholars of the Quattrocento were seduced by the major enterprise of correcting Statius' text, nowadays there is still space for further textual work. This was one of the main issues discussed at the conference and is now covered in this book by Antonino Pittà and Ana Lóio. Pittà's chapter is entirely dedicated to textual issues. Significantly, not only does he present corrections to a series of passages, but he also revives two Humanistic emendations, thus highlighting the importance of the Humanistic legacy for Statian studies. In turn, Lóio argues for the possibility of improving our understanding of damaged sections in Statius and Propertius by suggesting that they are closely related. It is very clear that new discoveries about Statius' text are intimately connected to the study of his complex engagement with his models. For the exegesis of a text whose tradition depends upon one sole manuscript, tracking down chains of reading and rewriting, and identifying echoes and relationships of dependency between poets continues to be a fundamental method of approach. If Pittà and Lóio show how much the text of the *Silvae* may still benefit from a close reading, other papers delivered at the conference and now included in this volume demonstrate how much there is still to uncover. Gianpiero Rosati discloses a hitherto (completely!) neglected engagement of Statius with an Ovidian passage—a well-known, large, and significant passage. In turn,

79 Newlands, pp. 167–171; Bessone, *passim*.

Bessone and Newlands reveal whole new shades of meaning in given passages by exploring Statius' interaction with Virgil. Again, from the identification of evidence for Statius' reading and rewriting of his predecessors, much is gained in terms of our understanding of the poems, while also much is produced that may result in further improvement of the text.

This volume has taken shape in the context of an ever-increasing interest in Flavian poetry, which has resulted in a dramatic growth of scholarship on the *Silvae*. As outlined above, the 'rediscovery' of the quality of the *Silvae* is relatively recent. As a consequence, the poems show great potential for original scholarship, which has been acknowledged in recent decades and is now being explored. The volume proposes seeing in the increasing relevance of the *Silvae* as a scholarly theme a second moment of their 'rediscovery'. Indeed, the history of scholarship appears to corroborate the perspective that we are currently experiencing a second wave of fascination with the *Silvae*, a wave that is more focused on literary issues than on textual criticism, and one that finds in the poems a myriad of literary, historical, cultural, political, social, and even environmental issues.

Commentaries have been afforded particular emphasis in this volume because this 'scholarly genre', to use Kraus and Stray's expression,[80] is a privileged means both for approaching a text and for considering the scholarship itself. The collaboration of scholars who study earlier commentaries with scholars who compose new ones allows for the use of the commentary format to review, expand upon, and improve previous interpretations of the *Silvae*. This was the case in Newlands' revisiting of a passage of her commentary to book 2, and likewise of Bruce Gibson's consideration of the role of translation in commenting on Statius' poems, after his own experience of producing a commentary to book 5 accompanied by a translation. Additionally, Pittà makes known some of the materials that will inform his commentary.

Commentaries also provide an opportunity to investigate themes fostered by the unique nature of the *Silvae*: it is an intriguing, sometimes puzzling and difficult text that exquisitely portrays the material world of the élite class of Flavian Rome even as it attests a deep understanding of previous Latin poetry through multifarious intertextual allusions. The concern with intertextuality has opened up a world of literary issues that will continue to challenge contemporary scholars in future years. Yet there is another perspective, quite innovative, that demands scholars' attention. Although the *Silvae* are full of descriptions that emphasize size, shape, texture, brightness, and colour, the

80 Most, ed. (1999); Gibson and Kraus, eds. (2002); and Kraus and Stray, eds. (2016).

visual dimension of these poems has not received much attention. Coleman's chapter examines Statius' verbal skill in recreating his patrons' material possessions.

The structure of this book reflects these approaches. The opening section is devoted to the first phase of 'rediscovery', that is, to the work produced in Italy when the *Silvae* began to circulate. The second section delves into the second phase of 'rediscovery' by covering themes and issues being pursued by the current generation of scholars. Lastly, the third section concentrates on a potential theme for future scholarship, that is, Statius' engagement with Augustan poetry.

7 Rediscovery

As mentioned just above, discussion of a 'second life' of the *Silvae*, as one might call it, involves the contexts of production of scholarship and the phases of its history; the maturation of intellectual circles; their influence upon each other in Renaissance Italy, seventeenth-century Netherlands, and Bentley's England; their relation to *studia* and universities at Rome, Florence, Naples, and Leiden; the courses they taught; the eminent individuals around whom they gathered such as Lorenzo de' Medici, Bessarione, and Scaliger; the displacement of scholars; personal enmities such as that between Perotti and Calderini; and political circumstances.

The two essays that comprise the initial section of the book, 'The (First) Rediscovery', focus on the first Italian scholars to have been stimulated to study Statius' compositions. In Chapter 1, 'Roman Humanism and the Study of the *Silvae* in the Fifteenth Century', Giancarlo Abbamonte examines the role of the Roman Humanists in the early stages of scholarship on the *Silvae*. The available data on the circulation of the work from the moment of its rediscovery are scrutinized with the conclusion that there is no evidence of its diffusion before the 1460s. Abbamonte identifies and contextualizes the main manuscripts that attest the exegetic activities of Perotti, Leto, and Calderini, and attributes to the last the responsibility of having introduced Statius' occasional poems into university *curricula*.

In Chapter 2, 'Poliziano's (Commentary on Statius') *Silvae*: Between Imitation and Exegesis', Luke Roman explores a work of paramount importance in the following generation of Statian studies. Calderini's commentary encouraged a response from Poliziano. Roman is interested in the varied, yet complementary aspects of Poliziano's erudition—scholarship, pedagogy, and poetry—and explores the poet's engagement with the literary past both as a commentator on and an author of *silvae*. Roman examines the last of Poliziano's four

silvae, the *Nutricia*, for its particularly rich scholarly background and perspective on literary history. Poliziano proves to be a dynamic and modern critic, a viewpoint that challenges some of the established ideas about the Quattrocento Humanists.

8 The 'Second' Rediscovery

The second section of this book, 'The Sequel: A New Age of Disclosure', is concerned with the experience of researchers who have written or are writing commentaries on the *Silvae*. It embodies a series of approaches that characterize contemporary scholarship such as delving into the underappreciated theme of the visual in the *Silvae* (Coleman); providing the *Silvae* with updated commentaries on all its books (Pittà); and revisiting a published commentary and reflecting upon its utility and constraints (Gibson).

Bruce Gibson approaches the purpose of providing translations in commentaries with the experience of having done so already in his commentary on *Silvae* 5 (Oxford, 2006). In Chapter 3, 'The Role of Translation in Commentary on Statius' *Silvae*', he delves into commentaries on Statius to investigate attitudes to translation by various scholars, including Markland, Slater, and two contributors to this volume, Coleman and Newlands. Gibson also explains the various uses of translation in his own commentary. Translation proves to be a fundamental tool to support textual criticism, the attribution of meaning to the text, and its elucidation.

Antonino Pittà is currently preparing an edition accompanied by the first complete commentary on the *Silvae* since Vollmer's. In Chapter 4, 'Notes from a New Commentary on Statius' *Silvae*', he offers a sample of his work in progress by illustrating textual problems of various kinds and proposing a new approach to 1.4.76–78. Solutions are advanced for instances of textual corruption with which editors have been dealing for centuries (1 *praef*. 1, 1.2.180, 4.9.30, 1.4.56), and neglected conjectures are recovered (1.1.85, 3.4.40–43). To illustrate the relevance of commenting on a text for its establishment, Pittà examines the association of Galatea with the province of Galatia in 1.4.76–78.

In Chapter 5, 'Commenting on the *Silvae*: Visuality, Versatility, Verisimilitude', Coleman highlights the relevance of the visual in the *Silvae*. Statius' artistry lies in translating the visual material into words, an undervalued approach to the poems in commentaries. In order to illustrate this, Coleman selects two- and three-dimensional objects described in the *Silvae* and compares them to items with similar features that have come down to us. Consideration of these items supports the interpretation of the poems in that the

description of the object clarifies its singular aspects (e.g., the texture of the ivory couch on which Hercules is invited to lie down in *Silv*. 3.1.37–38) and, at times, even identifies the very object that is being described (as is the case with the shield portrait of Lucan in *Silv*. 2.7.128–131).

8 Into the Future: the *Silvae* and the Augustans

In a moment in which bibliography on the *Silvae* is increasing dramatically, is it possible to anticipate some of the approaches and topics that will be explored in the next wave of scholarship? There is one approach that continues to be suggested as a means to unfolding further ideas about the *Silvae* that involves the complexity of Statius' reading of his models. His reception of Greek and Latin poetry is still an open, if challenging, area waiting to be explored. For centuries, literary issues were secondary to the consideration of material, cultural, and historical matters in the *Silvae*.[81] Scholars now are uncovering an ever more complex relationship of appropriation and transformation by Statius in his poetry and this trend seems destined to continue into the foreseeable future.

The third section of this volume, 'A Path to the Future: Statian Readings in Augustan Poetry', is thus devoted to one of the most relevant and potentially fruitful discussions of Statius' engagement with the past: the Augustan poets. The essays concentrate on arguably the three most relevant poetic models: Virgil and the elegiac poets Ovid and Propertius. In Chapter 6, 'Errant Poetics: Rethinking a Comment on *Silvae* 2.2.83–35', Carole Newlands revisits her commentary on the verses that precede the catalogue of marbles that decorate Pollius' exquisite *diaeta* (2.2.83–86). She examines an echo of a much debated 'error' of Virgil, the reference to Caieta's promontory before it had been so named in the *Aeneid* (6.900–901). Through a complex play of associations, Statius signals himself as the successor of Virgil in Naples. Parthenope's Bay is no longer the scenario of Virgil's youthful experimentation, but rather the place for Statius to compose mature, innovative poetry.

In Chapter 7, 'Commenting on an Ovidian Model: An Authorized Desertion in *Silvae* 1.2', Rosati puts Statius' reading of Ovid on a par with that of modern scholars who situate him 'between two worlds'. It was modernity that Statius took over from the unconventional Ovid, as is demonstrated by an unnoticed echo of the prologue of the *Remedia Amoris* in Cupid's *suasoria* of *Silvae* 1.2.

81 See above the comments of Wilson (1898) and Curcio (1899) on Vollmer's commentary.

The elegiac poet defies love's rules by offering *remedia* to the afflicted; in turn, Statius' audacity lies in proposing a 'new elegy' in which painful love gives in to legitimized, socially adjusted *eros*. Stella and Violentilla illustrate the elegiac love appropriate for the new times, the age of Domitian.

Federica Bessone analyses Statius' poem on the renewed temple of Hercules in Pollius' magnificent villa at Surrentum in Chapter 8, 'The Hut and the Temple: Private Aetiology and Augustan Models in *Silvae* 3.1'. The play with the velocity and sacred character of construction and writing, the metamorphosis of the temple, the conversion of the motif of poor hospitality, and the reading of 'national' aetiology expose Statius' engagement with Callimachus and especially the Augustan poets. Yet Bessone's analysis goes even beyond the generic complexity hitherto recognized by scholars who consider *Silvae* 3.1 to be one of Statius' most sublime poems. By identifying *Aeneid* 8 as its most relevant intertext, Bessone explains that Statius presents Pollius with his own myth of transformation. The villa becomes a microcosm of Rome, since, like the *urbs*, it was transformed from a primitive to a golden city.

The last discussion in this volume, Chapter 9, 'Untying the Commentator's Knot: Bonds and *Lacunae* in *Silvae* 4.4 and Propertius 2.1', by the editor, maintains that Statius' poem to Marcellus, *Silvae* 4.4, echoes Propertius' famous address to Maecenas that prefaces book 2. She emphasizes Statius' complex exploration of the echo's suitability to the new context, which involves the addressee's profile, the poet's status, and the structure of the book. Her argument is that a comparative analysis of the passages on friendship, which in both poems suffer from poor textual transmission, might add to our knowledge of the missing verses in Propertius and Statius.

9 Epilogue

In the introduction to her commentary on *Silvae* 2, Carole Newlands writes that 'there is nothing else quite like the *Silvae* in extant Roman literature'.[82] More than five hundred years of scholarship have tried to cope with the critical consequences of this fascinating reality. The *Silvae* enjoy an aura of enchantment by having been lost for centuries, along with the identity of its author, only to be brought to light again when the rediscovery of the Classics was at its zenith. Statius was a medieval educator with his *Achilleid*, led Dante to the highest part of Purgatorio mount and inspired his Hell, deserved a place of honour in Chau-

82 Newlands (2011) 3.

cer's House of Fame,[83] and is probably the figure who is featured along with Homer, Virgil, and Ovid in Luca Signorelli's frescoes in Orvieto's Cathedral. The *Silvae* is the book that dethroned Virgil from the *Studio* in Naples, fostered the creation of a new genre, offered a model for court poetry, and seduced the most prestigious Humanists in the most vibrant centres of Renaissance Italy and The Netherlands. The poems that comprise this collection preserve magnificent buildings otherwise lost; speak of stones otherwise unknown; and memorialize people, rituals, and social relationships that would have passed in silence. And now it appears that the *Silvae* are beginning to be rediscovered … yet again.

10 Editorial Note

Except when quoting an incunabulum, the editor has adopted -v- for lowercase consonantal -u- in Latin throughout the volume and regularized all texts to conform to this choice.

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PART 1

The (First) Rediscovery

CHAPTER 1

Roman Humanism and the Study of the *Silvae* in the Fifteenth Century

Giancarlo Abbamonte

In a famous letter written from Constance and dated between January and May 1418,[1] Poggio informs the Venetian Humanist Francesco Barbaro about his discoveries of Silius Italicus' and Manilius' poems, and of Statius' *Silvae*. Moreover, Poggio announces that the manuscripts containing these works have been copied for Barbaro and adds that—unfortunately—the scribe who transcribed them was not skilled at all. Then Poggio invites Barbaro to take a copy from them and to send the original ones to Niccolò Niccoli in Florence:

> … mitto ad te per Presbyterum Brandinum Pisanum, qui est ex familia cardinalis Pisani, Silium Italicum, libros v Statii Siluarum, item M. Manilium Astronomicum (*Astromicon* read Garrod [1909] 58 followed by Courtney [1990] ix). Is qui libros transcripsit ignorantissimus omnium viventium fuit, divinare oportet non legere, ideoque opus est ut transcribantur per hominem doctum. Ego legi usque ad xiii librum Silii, multa emendavi, ita ut recte scribenti facile sit similes errores deprehendere eosque corrigere in reliquis libris, itaque da operam ut transcribantur, postea mittas illos Florentiam ad Nicolaum.
>
> I am sending you by the priest Brandinus Pisanus, who belongs to Cardinal Pisanus' household, Silius Italicus, five books of Statius' *Silvae* and M. Manilius, the astronomer. The man who copied the books was the most ignorant of living men; one needs to use divination, not reading itself, and so it is very important that they be copied by a scholar. I have read as far as the thirteenth book of Silius and I corrected a lot, so that it might be easy for someone writing it correctly to avoid similar mistakes and to correct

1 See Clark (1899) 125–126. The council of Constance was officially closed on 16th May 1418.

> those in the later books, so see that they are copied and then send them to Nicolaus in Florence.[2]
>
> trans. GORDAN [1974][3]

Presumably, Poggio sent to Barbaro the manuscript of the *Silvae* which is now at the National Library of Madrid (nr. 3678, hence **M**)[4] and which also contained the astronomical poem of Manilius. This manuscript was re-discovered in 1879 by G. Loewe.[5] In fact, **M** contains corrections made by Poggio on a text written by a scribe who made many mistakes, both because he did not know Latin well and he was apparently unskilled in deciphering old scripts. It seems that Barbaro respected the wish of Poggio, for we find in **M** corrections by the hand of Niccoli.[6]

Afterwards, Niccoli kept Poggio's manuscript of the *Silvae* for many years in his library, as we know from a bitter letter sent by Poggio to Niccoli in 1430:

> Sed considera an recte hoc facias, in quo mihi uideris errare. Lucretium tenuisti iam per annos XIV, eodem modo Asconium Pedianum, sic et Petronium Arbitrum et Statium Siluarum orationesque illas, quas habes ex meis. Numquid tibi hoc equum uidetur, ut si quid aliquando ex his auctoribus legere cupio, tua incuria non possim?
>
> But consider whether you are doing right in this matter for you seem to me to be making a mistake. You have now kept the Lucretius for fourteen years and the Asconius Pedianus, too. You have also kept the Petronius Arbiter and the *Silvae* of Statius and the *Orations* which you got from me [Cicero's speeches]. Does it seem just to you that, if I sometimes want to read one of these authors, I cannot on account of your carelessness?
>
> trans. GORDAN [1974][7]

2 *Nicolaum* is the Florentine erudite Niccolò Niccoli (1365–1437), collector of manuscripts and friend of Poggio. On Niccoli see Bianca (2013).

3 Unless otherwise stated, like here, translations are my own. Latin text in Clark (1899) 125, reprinted by Walser (1914) 59 n. 1.

4 I am here using the *sigla* adopted by Reeve (1977).

5 On this manuscript see, at least, Krohn (1898) 38–43; Clark (1899) 125–129; Reeve (1977) 202; Reeve (1983) 397–399; and the preface of Courtney (1990): the manuscript can be seen at the following website: http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000100797&page=1 (last visited on 15.10.2022).

6 See Reeve (1977) 221 and Courtney (1990) x. The discovery of the manuscript is also addressed by Roman (pp. 49–50) in this volume, as well as in the introduction (pp. 2–3).

7 Poggio, *Lettere*, 38 (= Harth [1984–1987], vol. 1, 103, 29–34).

In this letter Poggio lets us know that he did not have the *Silvae* at his disposal from 1418, when he sent them to Barbaro. Therefore, we assume that the bibliophilic (or better, bibliomaniac) Niccoli kept **M** all these years and that only in 1430 did he finally return **M** to his owner. Moreover, it seems that Niccoli in these years did not allow anyone to read the poems, nor do we know if he made a copy of the *Silvae* for himself. In short, since its discovery to around 1430 **M** was neither read by anyone except Niccoli nor copied.[8]

However, the dates of the earlier manuscripts of the *Silvae* which have been copied, directly or not, from **M** show that the circulation of the poems started much later than 1430. In fact, the oldest copies of **M** are apparently posterior not only to the return of Poggio to Florence in 1453, but also to his death in 1459, when **M** seems to be listed in the inventory of the books and goods of Poggio.[9] As M.D. Reeve rightly pointed out, the oldest manuscripts belonging to the Florentine group, whose scribes had presumably more chances to see **M** directly, were produced around 1470.[10]

Almost certainly earlier than the Florentine group, two manuscripts of the *Silvae* were already produced in Rome at the beginning of the 1460's. The purpose of the present essay is to shed light on the decisive role played by the Roman circle of the Humanists in the scholarly study of the *Silvae* and their introduction of it into the scholastic curricula.[11]

Already in 1463, the MS. Città del Vaticano, BAV, *Vat. Lat.* 3283 (**Q**), was copied seemingly in Rome. It has been dubiously attributed to Bernardo Bembo, who lived in Rome at time.[12] The second testimony of the Roman group is

8 This point is also touched upon in the introduction to this volume (pp. 2–3).

9 The *Item* 59 of the inventory, published by Walser 1914, 421, might refer to **M**: 'Astronomicon cum multis aliis in papiro coopertum corio albo' ('The paper manuscript contains the astronomical poem together with many other poems, the cover is made of white leather'.) **M** contains actually first Manilius, and then the *Silvae*. However, Walser (1914) 59 n. 1, does not confirm the identification ('Der Band findet sich nicht im Nachlaß') and Reeve (1977) 221, is doubtful on the correspondence between **M** and the *item*.

10 They are the MSS. Florence, BML, *Conv. Soppr.* 6 (**X**) and Vienna, ÖNB, 140 (**B**): see Reeve (1977) 203–205, and 224. The scribe of **B** is Anastasio Vespucci, the father of Amerigo: see de la Mare (1983) 108 n. 9. The third manuscript of the first Florentine group, Vienna, ÖNB, 76 (**S**), written by Antonio Sinibaldi, is dated by A.C. de la Mare from about 1470 (Reeve [1977] 203 n. 7). Reeve (1977) 205 point out that the dates of **X**, **B**, and **S** let us believe that **M** was seemingly in Florence at that time.

11 Black (2007) 86 observes that in Tuscany the *Silvae* were 'put in the scholarly limelight by Poliziano' and that master Orlando Primerani, who was appointed as teacher at Volterra between 1498 and 1506, quotes Statius' *Silvae* in his poem where he explains his teaching program.

12 On **Q** see Scarcia Piacentini (1984) 506–507, and Gilles-Raynal (2010) 209. On the attri-

the MS. Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, *C*.95 (**G**). It is close to **M** and its script has been attributed to the young hand of the Humanist Pomponio Leto (1428–1498) around the same year as **Q**.[13] As the text of **G** reproduces many errors of the *ignorantissimus* scribe of **M**, we have to assume that Leto, whose presence in Florence in the early 1460's is not documented, had the opportunity to work on an 'honest' copy of **M**. Therefore, either this copy should be already in Rome after Poggio left the town or it was brought by someone to the *Urbs* from Florence before 1463.

Silvia Rizzo has rightly noticed that for many Latin authors discovered by Poggio there is an early circulation in Rome thanks to the activity of Leto, who sometimes had the opportunity to make copies of texts belonging to the library of Niccolò Niccoli. It happened probably after the latter's death (1437), when Niccoli's books were arranged in the monastery of San Marco, the first public library in modern Italy (1444).[14] However, for the *Silvae* no relationship between Poggio's or Niccoli's library and Leto's copy can be established. Paola Scarcia Piacentini has cautiously suggested that Leto had his exemplar of the *Silvae via* Venice, where he lived from 1467 to 1468.[15] The hypothesis would imply that Barbaro around 1418 made a copy of **M**, as Poggio had suggested, before sending it to Niccoli. However, there is no evidence of any early Venetian copy in the manuscript tradition of the *Silvae*, nor can we find certain traces of a circulation of the *Silvae* in the Venetian area or in Northern Italy before the above-mentioned Florentine and the Roman groups of manuscripts.[16] Finally,

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bution of this MS. to Bembo's library see Giannetto (1981) 222–223. Delz (1966) 429 is doubtful. **Q** can be seen at the following website: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.3283 (last visited on 15.10.2022).

13 Leto's young hand in **G** was first suggested by J. Delz (reported by Reeve [1977] 207). The hypothesis has been confirmed by Scarcia Piacentini (1984) 506–507, and Caldelli (2006) 124, who suggests a date around the early 1450's. The identification is accepted in the description of the manuscript made by D'Urso 2008 for *ManusOnLine*. On Leto's life and works see Zabughin (1910–1912), Accame (2008) and (2015) and the website http://www.repertoriumpomponianum.it/ (last visited on 15.10.2022).

14 Rizzo (1995) 393–394 refers, e.g., to a manuscript of Propertius, Rome, Bibl. Casanatense 15, copied by Leto (1470–1471) from the famous manuscript Wolfenbüttel, *Gud. Lat*. 224, brought in Italy by Poggio before 1427, when Niccoli borrowed from Poggio this manuscript: see Tarrant (1983) 524–525 and n. 18. The MS. Casanatense 15 is described in Pade (2008a).

15 Scarcia Piacentini (1984) 508.

16 For instance, Angelo Camillo Decembrio (ca. 1415–*post* 1467), who lived mostly in Ferrara, mentions many 'new' Latin works discovered by Poggio in his *Politia literaria*, finished in 1463, but he attributes to Statius only the two epic poems, *Thebaid* and *Achilleid*: see *Polit. liter*. 1.3.28. Decembrio quotes only passages taken from these two works: see *Polit. liter*. 3.27.37 and 4.47.11 (*Theb*. 3.661), 6.67.22 (*Ach*. 1.7 and 1.20), 7.81.160 (cf. *Ach*. 2.96–101), and

G seems to have been copied by Leto before he moved to Venice. Nevertheless, Scarcia Piacentini's hypothesis is an attempt to justify the problematic silence about the *Silvae* in the generation of Humanists living in Rome before Leto.

In particular, Pietro Odo da Montopoli (1425/30–1463), professor at the university of Rome from 1450 to his death, a teacher of Leto and a good friend of Valla and Tortelli, showed a sincere interest in the 'new' Latin authors discovered during the Council of Constance and later, as testifies his care for the text of Silius Italicus' *Punica*.[17] In fact, he was seemingly the first to lecture on the *Punica* in his classes, as Pietro Marso confirms in the preface of his commentary on the *Punica*, printed in Venice in 1483.[18] However, although Silius circulated in Rome, as testifies a copy of the *Punica* already existing in the Vatican library at the time of the pope Niccolò V (1447–1455),[19] Pietro Odo seems to have never known the *Silvae*.[20]

Lorenzo Valla (ca. 1407–1457), one of the most famous Humanists of the fifteenth century, lived first in Naples and then in Rome from 1448 to his death. He started in Naples his famous linguistic works (the *Elegantie*, the *Antidotum in Facium*, etc.), but he accomplished and polished up these works in Rome, where he profited from the rich funds of the Vatican library. For his research

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7.99.30 (*Theb*. 1.42). I am taking this information from Witten (2013). Scarcia Piacentini (1984) 504 n. 26 confirms that Decembrio did not know the *Silvae*. Sicco Polenton, instead, seems to know that Statius wrote the *Silvae*, but he never saw the poems. Otherwise, he would have known that Statius was from Naples. Instead, he still depends on the medieval biographies of Statius, which asserted that the poet was born in Gaul on the basis of the confusion between Papinius Statius and Statius Urculus, a Gallic rhetorician who lived in the Neronian age (see Ullman [1928] 119–121). On the Neapolitan origin of Statius see below. The passage where Sicco seems to hint at the *Silvae* is the following: *Epistulae habentur quaedam familiariter ad amicos soluta oratione scriptae* (Ullman [1928] 121). On the presence of Statius in Sicco's work see Stok (2011b) 157–159.

17 Pietro Odo annotated his own copy of Silius' *Punica*, Città del Vaticano, BAV, *Ottob. Lat.* 1258: see Rizzo (1995) 393 and Donati (2000) 23, 103 n. 76. The whole book of Donati is essential for the knowledge of Pietro Odo.

18 *Primus patrum nostrorum memoria huius poetae* [*Silius*] *sacros fontes reserare arcana ingredi ac publice in hac florentissima urbis Romae Academia profiteri ausus est Petrus Montopolita* … Petrus Marsus, *Praef. in Silii Italici Punica*, Venice, printer Baptista de Tortis, 1483 (ISTC is00507000). However, Muecke and Dunston (2011) 14 n. 5 believe that Pietro Odo lectured on Silius only once. On the presence of Silius in the Roman Humanism see also Muecke (2008).

19 Niccolò V's manuscript of Silius is in Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, *Lat*. XII.68 (4519): see Delz (1987) xx–xxii.

20 In a poem of Pietro Odo, where he lists the authors explained in his classes, Statius is not mentioned: see Campanelli and Pincelli (2000) 157–158.

about the linguistic uses of Latin, Valla needed to consult the largest possible number of Latin texts. Therefore he was interested in getting access to some authors discovered by Poggio, such as, e.g., Quintilian, whose work was carefully studied and often quoted by Valla.[21] However, Valla did not have the opportunity to know Statius' *Silvae* in Naples,[22] nor in Rome, for they are never quoted by him.[23] Moreover, in the *Raudensiane note*, Valla criticizes Petrarch and Antonius from Rho who did not distinguish between the rhetorician Statius Ursulus and the archaic poet Caecilius Statius. Instead, as we shall see, the medieval tradition made a confusion between the rhetorician Statius Ursulus and our Papinius Statius, whose Neapolitan origin was unknown until the discovery of the *Silvae*.[24]

Giovanni Tortelli (1406/12–1466) was the first librarian of the Vatican Library under pope Niccolò V and had at his disposal all the Vatican manuscripts and the net of cultural relationships of the Curia. In his lexicographical treatise entitled *De orthographia*, where he quotes from many Greek and Latin writers, he never quotes the *Silvae*.[25]

All these Humanists were active in Rome during the 1450's, but none of them seems to know the *Silvae*. In the case of Tortelli, who was the head of the Vatican library, we assume also that neither Poggio, nor anybody else took the trouble to leave any copy of the *Silvae* in the library, otherwise the librarian

21 See Cesarini Martinelli and Perosa (1996). Valla was also interested in Plautus, whose twelfth comedies (alphabetically ordered from *Epid.* to *Truc.*) Niccolò Cusano made known in Rome.

22 The name of Statius appears together with other Latin poets in a list of authors, whose books the Catalan Claver had to find and buy in Venice in 1453 for the Aragonian king of Naples: see Gargan (2010) 238.

23 Statius' *Silvae* are mentioned by Valla neither in the *Antidotum primum* against Poggio (see Wesseling [1978] *ad indicem*), nor in the *Antidotum in Facium* (see Regoliosi [1981] *ad indicem*), nor in Valla's notes on Quintilian (see Cesarini Martinelli and Perosa [1996] lxxiii). In the *Elegantie* Valla mentions only Statius' *Thebaid*: I owe this information to Clementina Marsico, who is about to publish the critical edition of the *Elegantie* together with Mariangela Regoliosi. I thank her for the help.

24 *In hunc errorem incidit Petrarcha* [*Fam. 24.7.8–9*]*, qualia multa peccat Vincentius Historialis* (*ut alii multi ex plebe litteratorum*)*, qui alium pro alio vel autorem vel principem virum ponit: velut Statium Tolosanum* [*Ursulus*] *pro Statio Caecilio* … Valla, *Raudensiane note* II.III.37 [= Corrias (2007) 362], quoted by Cesarini Martinelli and Perosa (1996) cxiv–cxv. The same passage with small differences is already in the first version of Valla's, *Raudensiane note* XVII.35 [= Corrias (2007) 526]. Statius' *Silvae* are not mentioned in the *Raudensiane note*: see Corrias (2007) *ad indicem*.

25 Although there is no critical edition of Tortelli's *De orthographia*, Donati (2006) is a preliminary work for the edition. There Donati never mentions the *Silvae* among the sources of Tortelli.

would have profited from this new text and surely informed his friends Pietro Odo, Valla, etc. Therefore, as far as we can figure out, the *Silvae* seem to have come out in Rome together with Leto, who is the decisive figure in the early circulation of the *Silvae* in the town, although we cannot say exactly where and when he himself came into contact with a copy of **M** that he used for his **G**.

Leto's keen interest in the *Silvae* is attested again around 1469–1471, when he copied a second manuscript of the *Silvae* from **G** for his pupil Fabio Mazzatosta, namely Città del Vaticano, BAV, *Vat. Lat.* 3875 (**I**).[26] It represents a more advanced step of Leto's studies on the *Silvae*, for here the Humanist corrected many mistakes of **M** which he had left in **G**.[27]

But Leto's scholarly activity on the *Silvae* can be recognised also in another Roman manuscript, Città del Vaticano, BAV, *Vat. Lat.* 6835 (**P**), which was written not by Leto, but by the Humanist Niccolò Perotti (1429/30–1480).[28] The manuscript, still unpublished, contains the first commentary on the *Silvae*, which is unfortunately incomplete.[29] In the preface-letter addressed to his nephew, Pirro, Perotti mentions the previous collaboration with Leto in interpreting and commenting on the difficult text of Martial:[30]

> Hinc post rudimenta grammatices, quae tibi nuper, qum [sic] Thusciae prouintiae praeessem, dedicaui, omnem hanc hyemem et maximam partem autumni in corrigendo atque exponendo Martiali una cum Pomponio meo Fortunato consumpsi. In qua re, nec dictu facile est, nec credibile auditu quos sustinuerimus labores, tum propter multarum rerum ac reconditarum uarietatem, quarum etiam uocabula uix aut nullo modo

26 On **I** and the 'codici Mazzatosta' copied by Leto see Maddalo (1991), and Accame (2008) 95–98. A detailed description of **I** is in Maddalo (1991) 60, who has first recognised the work of Bartolomeo Sanvito in the decoration of the manuscript (62 n. 56). **I** can be seen at the following website: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.3875 (last visited 15.10.2022).

27 Reeve (1977) 207, and Scarcia Piacentini (1984) 507.

28 For an updated bibliography on Perotti and his works see Charlet (2011) and (2015), and D'Alessandro (2015).

29 Perotti's commentary on the *Silvae* is at ff. 54^{r}–94^{v} and ends with the comment on *Silv.* 1.5.33. The manuscript is described by Gilles-Raynal (2010) 630–631. For the part containing Perotti's commentary on the *Silvae* see Reeve (1977) 209–210, Abbamonte (1997), and Abbamonte (2013) 357–360. Only the preface has been published by Mercati (1925) 156–158. **P** can be seen at the following website: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.6835 (last visited 15.10.2022).

30 The friendship between Leto and Perotti and the high esteem that both the Humanists had for each other is confirmed by Sabellico in his Leto's *Life*: see *Pomponii uita* 27 in Dell'Oro (2008) 214.

> intelligi poterant, tum propter errorum multitudinem, quibus undique totus || liber scatebat, quos emendare pene supra uires hominis fuit.
>
> MERCATI [1925] 156

> So, after I dedicated to you the *Rudimenta grammatices*, when I was governor of Tuscia, I spent all this winter and most of the autumn to correct and comment on Martial together with my friend Pomponius Fortunatus.[31] We cannot say easily, nor it is credible the number of efforts we sustained in this undertaking. They depended both on various, numerous and often hidden problems (among them there are also words which could be recognized barely or in any way) and on the multitude of errors which came out in every moment from the manuscript, whose correction was a task beyond human strength.[32]

Few lines later Perotti specifies that also this commentary on the *Silvae* was a collaborative work with Leto:

> Caeterum hoc opere non contenti, alium || quoque eiusdem aetatis poetam, etsi minime huic similem, bonum tamen nec minus uel corruptum uel difficilem emendandum exponendumque suscepimus, ne tibi deesset in quo mutare interdum studium posses … En igitur Siluas P. Papinii Statii ad te mittimus, a nobis proximis feriis emendatas atque expositas.
>
> MERCATI [1925] 157

> After all, since we [Leto and Perotti][33] did not content ourselves with this work [the explanation of Martial], we started to correct and to comment on another poet of that same era [Statius], so that you have the opportunity to vary your studies occasionally. Although Statius' poems are very different from Martial's, they are good … Thus we are here sending to you the *Silvae* of Papinius Statius, after they have been corrected and commented on by us in the last holidays.[34]

31 Leto sometimes calls himself either Pomponius the Lucky (*Fortunatus*) or Pomponius the Unlucky. On Leto's names see Accame (2008) 27–31.

32 *Vat. Lat.* 6835 ff. 54^{v}–55^{r}.

33 In this preface Perotti refers always to himself with the first singular person (*praeessem*, *dedicaui*, *nisi fallor*, *hortor*), whilst the first person plural is used when he talks of himself and Leto.

34 *Vat. Lat.* 6835 f. 55rv.

Perotti refers here to the collaboration with Leto on the text of Martial, which happened between autumn 1469 and winter 1470, whilst Perotti's commentary on the *Silvae* was finished by the summer holidays of 1470.[35] As a result of the cooperation between Leto and Perotti on Martial we have the MS. London, British Library, Kings 32, one of the above mentioned 'codici Mazzatosta'. Here Leto annotated Martial's text and Perotti integrated Leto's annotations with the etymologies and the meanings of the Greek words.[36]

Although it is a fragmentary work, what remains of Perotti's commentary on the *Silvae* seems not be addressed to a scholastic readership of students and teachers. In this work Perotti aims to explain in detail all the aspects of Statius' verses, as we can see, e.g., on *Silvae* 1.1.8–10 ('Age …'), where Statius compares the equestrian statue of Domitian to the Trojan horse. Perotti underlines the ironical tone of the poet:

> 8 NVNC AGE per ironiam loquitur. Age, inquit, miretur iam antiquitas equum Troianum quoi [sic] fabricando Dindymon et Ide, Phrygiae montes, decreuere, hoc est minores ob caesas arbores facti sunt. Dindymon et Dindymus utroque genere dicitur. Sacrum uerticem appellat montis summitatem, quia in eo Cybele deorum matri sacra celebrabantur. Age, inquit, miretur Palladium uetustas, quasi dicat colossi comparatione non esse mirandum.
>
> my transcription

> He speaks with irony and says: 'Come on, let the ancients admire the Trojan horse, which caused the mountains of Phrygia to be lowered because of its construction', that is, they became lower because their trees were cut … He says 'come on, let the ancients admire the Palladium', as if he said that it should not be admired in comparison with the colossus [the horse of Domitian].[37]

The erudite tone of the commentary is clearly seen in passages where Perotti accumulates rare classical sources, in order to explain an image or a passage of Statius. For instance, in *Silvae* 1.1.38 ('et sectae praetendit colla Medusae') Statius describes the cuirass of a little figure of the goddess Athena placed in the left hand of the emperor's statue. Perotti explains that on the breast plate

35 See Monfasani (1986) 99–100 n. 8, Abbamonte (1997) 11–12, *versus* Mercati (1925) 82 (1472).

36 On the date of this manuscript and the presence of Perotti's hand for the Greek words see Campanelli (1998), in part. 171, 174–175. The manuscript is described by Pade (2008b).

37 *Vat. Lat.* 6835 f. 57^{v}.

there was the head of Medusa and compares these verses with two epigrams of Martial and a passage of Servius' commentary on Virgil:

> Non est tibi, inquit, grauis Pallas, sed praetendit, hoc est porrigit tibi aegida, qua uti possis cum fuerit opus. In aegide Palladis Medusae caput erat. Facit de hac pulcherrimum epigramma Martialis libro septimo, cum ad Domicianum scribens inquit: "Accipe belligerae crudum Mineruae thoraca Ipsa Medusae quem timet ira comae Dum uacat hic Caesar poterit lorica uocari Pectore cum sacro sederit aegis erit". Item alibi: "Dic mihi, uirgo ferox, cum sit tibi cassis et hasta Quare non habeas aegida, Caesar habet". Seruius libro VIII: "‹A›egis munimentum pectoris aereum habens in medio Gorgonis caput: quod munimentum si in pectore numinis fuerit, ‹a›egis uocatur, si in pectore hominis, sicut in antiquis statuis imperatorum uidemus, lorica dicitur".
>
> my transcription

> [Statius says] Pallas is not too heavy [for Domitian], but she holds you out, that is offers you [Domitian] her aegis, so that you can use it whenever you need it. On the aegis of Pallas there was the head of Medusa. On it Martial composes a beautiful epigram in the seventh book, when he writes to Domitian: 'Receive the savage breast-plate of warrior Minerva, thou whom even Medusa's wrathful tresses dread. While 'tis unworn, this, Caesar, may be called a cuirass; when it shall repose on a sacred breast, 'twill be an aegis' (Mart. *Epigr*. 7.1).[38] And yet in another poem: 'Tell me, gallant maid, whereas thou hast thy helm and thy spear, why hast thou not thin aegis? 'Caesar has it'' (Mart. *Apophor*. 14.179).[39] In the commentary on the eighth book [of Virgil's *Aeneid*], Servius says: 'The aegis is a bronze protection of the chest, which has the head of the Gorgon in the center. If this protection is on the chest of a deity, it is an aegis, if on the chest of a man, as we see in the ancient statues of the emperors, it is called a cuirass'.[40]
>
> Serv. *A*. 8.435 var. (except MARTIAL's texts, my trans.)

Perotti here quotes passages of Martial and Servius. The first was not well known during the Middle Ages, probably because of his outspoken language.[41]

38 Engl. transl. by Ker (1919–1920) 1, 423.
39 Engl. transl. by Ker (1919–1920) 2, 503.
40 *Vat. Lat*. 6835 f. 58v.
41 See Hausmann (1980).

Only during the fifteenth century did manuscripts of his poems circulate among the Italian Humanists: the Roman circle played a decisive role also in Martial's fortune and Leto was probably one of the first teachers to use the poems of Martial in his classrooms.[42]

From a philological point of view, the text of Martial was studied by Leto and Perotti, as we have seen, but especially the latter spent many years on the epigrams of Martial.[43] His most famous work, a huge Latin lexicon entitled *Cornu copiae*, is structured on the base of Martial's epigrams, which are the starting points of all his lexicographical investigations about the Latin words.[44]

The second author quoted by Perotti is Servius, who was known during the Middle Ages thanks to the success of Virgil's poems in the scholastic curricula. Servius was certainly regarded as an *auctoritas*, in particular for explaining the meaning of the words and the differences between words, as we see also in this passage of Perotti.[45] An evaluation of the scholastic use of Servius in the Middle Ages is still a *desideratum* in our studies, but it seems that his commentaries were used especially at the higher levels of education.[46]

During the fifteenth century, Sozomeno da Pistoia (1387–1458), a grammarian with a 'Humanist inclination', mentioned Servius for giving examples of grammatical usages.[47] Servius' commentary was used by Guarino Veronese[48] and criticised by Lorenzo Valla, whilst the Roman circle tried to outdo Servius' text by increasing the number of the Virgilian interpreters with other ancient sources. Thus, Leto put in circulation the so-called Probus' commentary and studied the commentary on the *Georgics* ascribed to Servius and preserved only in the MS. Città del Vaticano, BAV, *Vat. Lat.* 3317.[49]

We can therefore conclude that, if in 1470 Perotti backs up his comments on a passage of the *Silvae* through quotations taken from Martial and Servius, he does not expect to be read by pupils of a school or of the university, who

42 See Black (2001) 140–141.

43 Perotti's long lasting critical activity on Martial is testified by his autograph manuscript, Città del Vaticano, BAV, *Vat. Lat.* 6848, which collects annotations written by Perotti during many years: see Ramminger (2001) and Pade (2005).

44 See the critical edition in eight volumes: Charlet *et alii* (1989–2001).

45 See Black (2001) 428–433. The use of Servius in marginal glosses is observed by Black (2001) 259 in the MS. Florence, BNCF ii.ix.113.

46 Black (2001) 255 mentions the MS. Florence, BML 38,22, containing Terence's comedies for scholastic use and observes that '… a couple of possibly more learned readers, working at same time, citing Priscian, Servius …'.

47 Black (2001) 129–131.

48 See Ramires (2008) and (2016).

49 On Servius in Roman Humanism, see Abbamonte (2012) 29–60 (on Servius and Valla), 125–170 (on the Virgilian studies of Leto).

probably did not even know the names of Martial and Servius. Instead, he is confident that his friends at the Roman academy gathered by Bessarion will appreciate these erudite quotations:

> Multa quippe reperies quae cognitu dignissima uidebuntur, non tibi solum sed aliis quoque contubernalibus nostris et diui Bessarionis Academiam sequentibus.
>
> MERCATI [1925] 157

> You [Pirro Perotti] will find many themes that are most worthy of being known not only by you, but also by our other comrades who are members of the academy of the divine Bessarion.[50]

That Perotti's commentary was not addressed to students needs not surprise us. Apart from a brief period of teaching in Bologna (1451–1452), he never worked again in the educational world for the rest of his life but was a bishop and above all a high servant of the pontifical administration.[51] If we exclude Perotti, whose interest in the *Silvae* is unquestionable, we have not yet met a Roman Humanist who first brought the text of the *Silvae* into their classrooms. As we have seen, Leto copied for his private student Fabio Mazzatosta a manuscript containing both Statius' *Silvae* and *Achilleid* and one containing the *Thebaid*.[52] Probably, Leto regarded Statius' poems worthy of being explained to his young pupil. However, Leto's use of Statius in private lessons does not imply a corresponding use in his teaching at the university of Rome. Moreover, neither Leto's works nor other sources provide any evidence that Leto lectured on the *Silvae* at the *Studium Urbis*.[53]

The situation changed dramatically with the arrival of Domizio Calderini (1446–1478) in Rome. In fact, he explained the *Silvae* and many other 'new' Latin works in his classrooms.[54] Calderini arrived in Rome around 1466–1467, where

50 *Vat. Lat.* 6835 f. 55^{v}. In the following lines of the preface Perotti lists all the member of this so-called academy of Bessarion: see Mercati (1925) 157–158. On the political meaning of this list made by Perotti see Stok (2011a) 81–84.

51 See Mercati (1925) 22–86 (government of Spoleto and Viterbo), 111–128 (government of Perugia), and D'Alessandro (2015).

52 It is the MS. Città del Vaticano, BAV, *Vat. Lat.* 3279.

53 For instance, in his life of Leto Marco Antonio Sabellico mentions the courses on Varro's *De lingua Latina*, on Sallust and Livy, and hints generically at Leto's lectures on Roman poets, but he does not mention explicitly Statius' *Silvae*: see Dell'Oro (2008) 216 (= Sabellico, *Pomponii uita* 29–32).

54 On the life of Calderini, his works and polemics with other Humanists see Levi (1900), Perosa (1973) and Ramminger (2014).

he was appointed secretary of cardinal Bessarion.[55] From 1470 until his death Calderini taught at the university of Rome, where his lessons were so successful that many students abandoned the classes of Leto for those of Calderini.[56] He was also the author of the first complete commentary still extant on the *Silvae*, which was printed in Rome in 1475.[57] The scholastic use of the *Silvae* by Calderini is testified by his pupil, Angelo Callimaco, who in a letter addressed to his brother from Velletri on July 1478, recalls the figure of Calderini, who had recently passed away, and praises his quality as professor:[58]

> Interpretatus est Marcum Valerium Martialem, qui propter antiquitatem et eius subtilitatem ignorabatur … et Iunium Iuuenalem, opus profecto difficile, multis erroribus et amfractibus plenum, quod commentariis suis tam mite et placidum fecit quam ovem. Taceo Sylvas Papinii et Sylium Italicum, quae cum maxima omnium attentione, ut in ceteribus operibus, professus est. Omitto divinam Aeneida, quam una cum Quintiliani Declamationibus legit, in quorum altero Homerum, poetarum principem, in altero Ciceronem magna ex parte declarauit. Praetereo ipsius Ciceronis Oratorem, Heroides Ovidii, Propertium, in quibus artificium et magnam amoris vim ostendit … Legit et publice et privatim Suetonium deditque auditoribus nonnulla dictata se digna.
>
> [Calderini] lectured on Martial, who was misunderstood because of his antiquity and subtlety … and on Juvenal, whose work is certainly difficult and full of errors and intricacies, but he made it mild and placid like a sheep with his commentaries. I omit to talk of Papinius' *Silvae* and Silius Italicus, whose works he taught with a care as great as for other works. I omit to talk of the divine *Aeneid*, on which he lectured together with

55 Perotti left his place as secretary of Bessarion in 1464, when he became governor of Viterbo, where he remained until 1469. We do not know when Calderini substituted Perotti.

56 On the success of Calderini at the university of Rome see the witness of his contemporary F. Floridus Sabinus quoted in Campanelli and Pincelli (2000) 140: 'The young Domitius taught Latin literature at the university of Rome, when Leto was still alive, and he so fascinated the soul of young people that almost everyone wished to listen to him. Therefore, they abandoned the classes of Leto and followed him'.

57 P. Papinius Statius, *Silvae* with the commentary of Domitius Calderinus, Rome, printer A. Pannartz, 13.viii.1475 ISTC is00697000. The incunable contains also Ovid's *Epistle to Sappho* with the commentary of Calderini, Calderini's discussion of some passages of Propertius and a miscellany of philological observations of Calderini. On the peculiar aspect of this book see Dionisotti (1968) and Campanelli (2001).

58 On Angelo Callimaco see Schizzerotto (1973).

> the *Declamations* of Quintilian. In commenting on Virgil he explained Homer, the prince of the poets, too. In commenting on Quintilian he fully explained Cicero, too. I shall not mention Cicero's *Orator*, Ovid's *Heroides*, and Propertius, whose poetical technique and power of love he made clear … He lectured on Suetonius both privately and at the university and distributed many *dictata* worthy of himself among his pupils.[59]

Callimaco here lists the Latin authors whose works Calderini lectured on over the years: among the Greek authors only Homer is mentioned, although Calderini was actually appointed as Greek professor at the university of Rome.[60]

Almost all the listed authors belong to the group of the 'new' authors discovered or rehabilitated during the fifteenth century (Martial, Statius' *Silvae*, Silius, Quintilian, Propertius)—Calderini evidently aimed to appear an up-to-date professor. On many of them Calderini published printed commentaries (Martial, Juvenal, Statius' *Silvae*, Silius, Ovid, Propertius);[61] on others we are informed that he wrote commentaries, which remain in manuscripts (Silius, Suetonius' *Declamationes*, Virgil). Probably he planned to publish them, but he did not accomplish his projects because of his unexpected death.[62]

However, the information given by Callimaco that Calderini lectured on Statius' *Silvae* at the *Studium Urbis* is confirmed by Calderini in a passage of the preface of his printed commentary on the *Silvae*, where he inserts the *Silvae* in the list of the works explained in the classes and commented on:

> Multa enim inerant cum uetustate et temporum ignoratione inuersa, tum poetae ingenio duriusculaque elocutione abstrusa, quae omnia tuo no-

59 The letter is preserved in the MS. Roma, Bibl. Univ. La Sapienza, *Alessandrino* 239, f. 31rv, quoted by Campanelli and Pincelli (2000) 160, whose text I reproduce here.

60 The documents of the public record confirm that Calderini was appointed as professor of rhetoric for the years 1473–1474, and as professor of Greek in 1473: see Dorati da Empoli (1980) 119, 125. Probably, Callimaco did not attend Calderini's Greek classes.

61 Except the *Silvae*, Calderini published printed commentaries on Martial (Rome 1474, ISTC ic00036000), Ovid's *Ibis* (Rome 1474 ic00040000), Juvenal (Venice 1475 ij00642000), Ps. Quintilian's *Declamations* (Rome 1475 iq00021500), Ovid's *Letter of Sappho* (Brescia 1476 ic00042000). Calderini's observations to some passages of Propertius were published together with the commentary on the *Silvae* (see above note 56).

62 On Calderini's commentary on Silius see Muecke and Dunston (2011). Traces of his comments on Suetonius are in the edition printed posthumously in Milan (1480, ISTC is00821000), whilst Calderini's interests in Virgil are testified by a commentary on the poems of the *Appendix Vergiliana*, which was posthumously printed in Milan about 1480 (ISTC ic00039000), and by some manuscripts with fragmentary comments on Virgil's major works: see Farrell (2008).

> mine emendare et explicare conati sumus, quanta ingenii doctrinaeque laude, non ausim affirmare, tantis certe laboribus, Augustine, ut maiores non attulerint: nec Martialis argutiae, nec uelatae Iuuenalis repraehensiones nec affectatae tenebrae Ouidii in Ibyn, nec inconstantes Propertii sensus et quaesitae fabulae, nec concisa Tranquilli sensa, nec aenigmata Ciceronis ad Atticum aut eius in Verrem iracundia eloquentiae artibus instructa. Quae omnia partim compositis, partim etiam editis commentariis interpretati sumus.
>
> my transcription
>
> There were many passages [of the *Silvae*] which had been perverted because of the antiquity of the *Silvae* and due to their ignorance produced by time. Others were misunderstood for the characteristics of the poet and his style that is sometimes difficult. We [Domitius] tried to correct them and to give an explanation in your name [Agostino Maffei]. We cannot say how successful our talents and doctrine have been, my dear Agostino, but we know that we worked for this commentary as hard as we did not for the previous [commentaries]: neither for the subtleties of Martial, nor for the veiled criticisms of Juvenal, nor for the striving obscurities of Ovid in the *Ibis*, nor for the inconstant feelings of Propertius or his refined tales, nor for the concise expressions of Tranquillus, neither for Cicero puzzling in the letters to Atticus nor for him staging his anger against Verres through the arts of eloquence. All these difficulties we have interpreted in our commentaries, which are partly accomplished, partly already published.[63]

Although Calderini seems to address the commentary to the dedicatee, Agostino Maffei, in whose name he states to have written this work, we find here a list of authors explained in the classrooms which is very close to that given by Callimaco. That confirms that Calderini's commentary on the *Silvae* was born in the classrooms and was regarded by the author himself in the same category with his other works written for teaching purposes.[64]

Moreover, after the dedication Calderini adds a poetic epistle in Phalecian hendecasyllables addressed to Francis of Aragon, son of the king of Naples, Ferrante. In the epistle, Calderini imagines himself addressing the poet Statius and inviting him to finally return to his beloved city, Naples. Calderini hints here at

63 Cald. *In Stat. Silv. Praef.* f. 3ᵛ.

64 The scholastic origin of Calderini's commentary on the *Silvae* is underlined also by Coppini (2013) 317–318.

the fact that the *Silvae* have definitively demonstrated that Statius was originally from Naples, and not from Toulouse, as the medieval tradition believed.[65] Calderini adds that Statius' return to Naples has been made possible by his book containing both the *Silvae* and their commentary. In fact, Calderini's book has cleaned up the poems, here imagined as the body of the poet who is now in the condition to go back to Naples with dignity.[66] Under the metaphor of the dusty body Calderini is here hinting at the pitiful condition of the *Silvae* before he edited and commented on them. In Naples (Calderini continues) Statius will be again admired and acclaimed by the family of the king Ferrante, by the whole town, and in particular by the youth of Naples, educated by the poetry:[67]

> Illic nam tibi cuncta blandientur
> et tellus popularibus sonabit
> certans plausibus. Hos dabit iuventus
> fossos quae bibit ungula liquores,
> proles regia, te fovebit illa …'
>
> ll. 13–17, edited by COPPINI [2013] 333, and ABBAMONTE [2015] 184–185

> There, everything will celebrate you and the earth will strive to make the people's applause resound. Applause that will offer the youth who drinks the beverages dug up by the nails [of Pegasus], and the royal lineage will favour you …[68]

Although Calderini underlines many times in the commentary his philological endeavour in correcting the text of the *Silvae*, the scholastic readership is implied in these verses, where Calderini presents his work to the Neapolitan youth as the right tool for appreciating the *Silvae*.

The layout of this incunable, too, reveals its educational nature and represents a novelty among the Quattrocento commentaries: every poem of the *Silvae* is immediately followed by the comment that refers to it. Every commentary to

65 On the medieval confusion between Statius and the Gallic rhetorician Statius Urculus, see above note 16. On the Humanistic lives of Statius and, in particular, on those written by Perotti and Leto see Pade (2015).

66 The title of the poem is *Domitius hortatur Statium Papinium ut redeat Neapolim in patriam, ubi ei blandietur Franciscus Aragonius regis Ferdinandi filius* ('Domizio invites Papinius Statius to return to his hometown, Naples, where he will be welcomed by Francesco d'Aragona, son of the king Ferrante') (Cald. *In Stat. Silv*. f. 4^{v}).

67 On the cultural and political meaning of the 'return' of Statius to the Aragonian Naples see Abbamonte (2015).

68 Cald. *In Stat. Silv*. f. 4^{v}.

each poem is in form of a letter to Agostino Maffei. In this way the reader finds easily and at a short distance the text of Statius and Calderini's interpretation, as it can be seen from the image of f. 8^{v}, where we note the last verses of *Silvae* 1.1 and the beginning of the comment on *Silvae* 1.1 in the form of letter.

The content of the comment recalls other works by Calderini, where precise explanations of the text, its construction and punctual paraphrases are offered to the readers, as we can see in the following examples taken from *Silvae* 1.1:

> Explanation of a word (*idest / scilicet*):
> *Silv*. 1.1.36 ('exploratas … ministras'): 'the examined servants [of Vesta]'.[69]
> Cald. *In Stat. Silv*. f. 10^{r} 'EXPLORATAS **idest** recognitas et coercitas a te [Domitian]' (my transcription): 'EXAMINED, i.e., approved and constrained by you'.
>
> Explanation of a sentence (*Nam*):
> *Silv*. 1.1.35 ('an tacita uigilet face Troicus igne'): 'or whether the brand of Trojan fire keep silent watch' (Engl. transl by Mozley 1,1928, 9).
> Cald. *In Stat. Silv*. f. 10^{r}: 'TACITA FACE **Nam** sub cinere seruabat ignis' (my transcription): 'SILENT GRAND In fact the Vestals kept the fire under the ashes'.
>
> Double interpretation of a sentence (*uel … uel*):
> *Silv*. 1.1.37 ('dextra uetat pugnas'): 'the right hand bids battle cease' (Engl. transl by Mozley 1,1928, 9).
> Cald. *In Stat. Silv*. f. 10^{r}: 'DEXTRA VETAT PUGNAS **Vel** dextra est inermis in statua **uel** ad dextram est templum pacis, quod non placet' (my transcription): 'THE RIGHT HAND BIDS BATTLE CEASE Either the right hand is unarmed or on the right there is the temple of the Peace, but I do not prefer this explanation'.
>
> Paraphrasis (*idest*):
> *Silv*. 1.1.79 ('tu bella Iouis'): 'thou dost win the wars of Jove' (Engl. transl by Mozley 1,1928, 13).
> Cald. *In Stat. Silv*. f. 11^{r}: 'TU BELLA IOVIS **Idest** tu gessisti bella pro Ioue Capitolino. Nam Domitianus cum patruo Sabino bellis Vitellianis puer adhuc Capitolium defendit' (my transcription): 'THOU DOST WIN THE WARS OF JOVE, i.e., you fought for defending the Capit-

69 I follow the translation and the comment on this line proposed by Geyssen (1996) 90.

> oline Jupiter. In fact, when he was still a boy, Domitian together with his uncle Sabinus defended the Capitol during the Vitellian war'.

From such passages it turns out clearly that Calderini's commentary is addressed to students and teachers. Besides them Calderini accumulates erudite information such as explanations of myths or geographical descriptions. They are accompanied with quotations and paraphrases drawn from an extensive selection of Greek writers (in original or in translation) and Latin ones, as we can see, for instance, in Calderini's explanation of the constellation named Orion (*Silv*. 1.1.45), where he combines astronomical, mythological, and meteorological information taken by Greek and Latin writers:

> Orion, auis Indica canora, ut scribit Clitharchus, eiusdem nominis qui ex deorum urina natus dicitur, ut Ouidius in Fastis canit. || Translatus est in caelum cum ense, sydus tempestosum. Hyginus ex Aristomacho, Pindaro, Hesiodo et Istrio fabulosa de hoc persequitur. Strabo loci meminit in agro Thebano, ubi fabula gesta dicitur.
>
> my transcription

> Orion is an Indian songbird, as Clitarchus writes, whose name is said to stem from the urine of the gods, as Ovid sings in the *Fasti* (5.533–536). He was transported to heaven together with his sword [and became] a bad weathering star. Based on the testimony of Aristomachus, Pindar, Hesiod and Istrio, Hyginus (*astr*. 2.34.1) presents the tale about Orion. Strabo (9.2.12) mentions the place in the Theban territory where the story is said to have taken place.[70]

After 1475 Calderini's commentary is often reprinted well into the sixteenth century, and the *Silvae* appear regularly in scholastic curricula. As we have seen, whilst the remaining part of Perotti's commentary shows that this text was conceived for a scholarly readership, both the notes of Leto and the printed commentary of Calderini aimed to insert the *Silvae* into the scholastic selection of Latin authors. However, all three Humanists were united in their common interest in explaining Statius' difficult language and the complex allusions he makes both to rare myths and to events of his own day.

Of course, behind this effort to explain the text of the *Silvae* there lay also an ambition to become the 'official' interpreter of a text which did not have a

70 Cald. *In Stat. Silv*. f. 10rv.

previous tradition of commentaries, like Virgil's poems did. This competition was probably also one of the reasons for the bitter quarrel between Perotti and Calderini.

Later, still in Rome, Aulo Giano Parrasio (1470–1521) held courses on the *Silvae* in two periods (1497–1499 and between 1515 and 1519).[71] During his first stay in Rome Parrasio also went to attend the course on the *Silvae* held by Antonio Amiternino (1455/1460–1522), but he left the class disappointed.[72] After Rome there were lectures on the *Silvae* in many Italian and then European towns. In the 1480's of Quattrocento Poliziano first lectured on the *Silvae* in Florence (1480) and then composed the first Latin poems of the Early modern age entitled *Silvae*.[73]

After the long silence of the Middle Ages the *Silvae* became known and read again thanks to the efforts of the Roman Humanists, in particular Leto, Perotti, and especially Domizio Calderini who brought the *Silvae* into his classrooms at the University of Rome. After 1475 Calderini's printed commentary guaranteed a large circulation of the *Silvae* and allowed Poliziano to feel free to entitle *Silvae* a collection of his poems and to take this genre of poems finally back home on the Parnassus.[74]

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71 See Abbamonte (2003).

72 Campanelli and Picelli (2000) 141.

73 Roman's chapter in this volume is dedicated to Poliziano's composition of *Silvae* and exegesis of Statius' *Silvae*.

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CHAPTER 2

Poliziano's (Commentary on Statius') *Silvae*: Between Imitation and Exegesis

Luke Roman

> Incipe adhuc gracili connectere carmina filo,
> *incipe, magne puer*; nec vota intexere Diris
> impia, nec Culici gemitum praestare merenti,
> nec te Lampsacium pudeat lusisse Ithyphallum,
> blandaque lascivis epigrammata pingere chartis …
>
> POLIZIANO, *Manto* 81–85

> Begin to weave together songs with thread still slender; begin, great child, and do not feel ashamed to weave impious prayers to the Furies, nor to furnish a mournful groan for the deserving Gnat, nor to play at Lampsacum's priapic verse, and embroider wanton pages with alluring epigrams.

In these lines, the Florentine Humanist Angelo Poliziano[1] leaps across the centuries to imagine the prophetess Manto exhorting the infant Virgil to begin (*incipe*) his poetic career. These imagined beginnings, couched in the form of retrospective Virgilian prophecy, already reveal a detailed knowledge of later outcomes, including the fact that Virgil would one day write lines closely reminiscent of this very exhortation to begin writing: ***Incipe, parve puer****, risu cognoscere matrem* ('Begin, small child, to know your mother with a smile …' *Ecl.* 4.60). Does Poliziano's *Manto* allude to Virgil's *Fourth Eclogue*, or, in the

1 On Poliziano, see Tarugi, ed. (1996); Orvieto (2009); Corfiati and de Nichilo, ed. (2009); Bettinzoli (1995), (2009); Celenza (2010); Godman (1998); Maier (1966); Leuker (1997); Séris (2002); on his philological and antiquarian scholarship, see Grafton (1977), (1991); Pyle (1996); Kenney (1974); Koortbojian (1996). All Latin citations of Poliziano's *Silvae* are based on the text of Bausi (1996). All translations from the Latin and Greek are my own.

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chronological fun-house mirror of retrospective narrative, does Virgil refashion the remembered words of the goddess Manto? Such bending of temporal linearity[2] continues in the following lines, which incorporate a dense fabric of allusions to poems not yet written within the *Manto*'s fictional time-frame, including those of Virgil's bucolic successor Calpurnius Siculus,[3] his georgic successor Columella,[4] and (pseudo-)Virgil himself.[5] Especially prominent in this intertextual matrix is the concept of 'weaving' (*connectere … intexere*), itself articulated through the interwoven threads of literary allusions.[6] Poliziano was in the ideal position to weave a literary textile of such intricate *poikilia*,[7] since his labours as commentator, textual editor, and teacher afforded him a rich storehouse of diverse material, the *disiecta membra* of philological erudition that enrich his commentaries and lectures.

To begin a poem or a poetic career, for Poliziano, is to begin weaving a rich tapestry of erudition. Scholarship, poetry, and pedagogy are themselves interconnected threads in the broader tapestry of the Humanist's life's work. Poliziano's engagement with Statius' *Silvae* affords an especially illuminating instance of the complicity and complementarity of these modes of approaching classical texts. The basic outlines of the story of the emergence and reception of Statius' *Silvae* among Italian Humanists are well known. Poggio Bracciolini sent back to Italy from Constance a copy of a manuscript of Statius' *Silvae* in 1418; the work began to circulate widely by 1453 and it was first printed in Venice in 1472. Domizio Calderini published a commentary in 1475, which provoked, as a corrective response, Poliziano's collation of Poggio's manuscript,

2 On allusive play with chronology, see, for example, Barchiesi (1993); Hinds (1998) 115–116 with further references; Jansen (2018) 30–32 and *passim*.

3 Nemes. *Ecl.* 1.3–4: ***Incipe***, *si quod habes* ***gracili*** *sub harundine* ***carmen*** / *compositum* ('Begin, if you have any song composed on slender reed-pipe'); see Bausi (1996) ad loc. for this and other intertexts. The four eclogues now usually ascribed to Nemesianus follow the seven eclogues of Calpurnius Siculus in the manuscript tradition without any separate indication of his authorship, and they were only first attributed to him in 1492 by Taddeo Ugoletti of Parma. Poliziano presumably considered the lines to belong to Calpurnius Siculus: see Fantazzi (2004) 193 n. 144.

4 Col. 10.227: ***gracili connectere carmina filo*** ('… weave together songs with slender thread').

5 For *merenti* ('deserving'), cf. *Culex* 413; for *vota … impia* ('impious prayers'), cf. *Dirae* 3; note also the apocryphal *Aeneid* verse-preface: *Ille ego, qui quondam* ***gracili*** *modulatus avena* / ***carmen*** ('I am he who once measured my song on slender reed …'); for *Lampsacium*, cf. Mart. 11.16.3. In general, see the discussion of Bausi (1996) ad loc.

6 Besides Columella (op. cit. n. 4), cf. *Ciris* 39; Calp. *Ecl.* 3.26, Verg. *Ecl.* 5.31, Tib. 3.7.5.

7 On weaving and *poikilia* in Poliziano's thought, cf. Lapraik Guest (2015) 220–226, especially 224; cf. Bausi (1996) xxvi.

Madrid 3678, and his own unpublished commentary.[8] Even while writing this commentary on Statius' *Silvae*, Poliziano also wrote and published his own collection of four *Silvae* in emulation of Statius.[9] He conceived of his *Silvae* as *praelectiones*, preliminary discourses to his courses on classical poetry at the Studio Fiorentino.[10] His first *silva*, the *Manto* (1482), was devoted to the works of Virgil; the second, the *Rusticus* (1483), to Hesiod and Virgil's *Eclogues* and *Georgics*; the third, the *Ambra* (1485), to Homer; and the final *silva*, the *Nutricia* (1486, second redaction 1491), to the study of classical poetry in general.

Poliziano thus assumes the role of both commentator on the *Silvae* and author of *Silvae*. Renaissance commentaries were closely integrated with the aims and practices of pedagogy: what we call commentaries were in some cases notes assembled from lectures by students.[11] Hence Poliziano's verse *praelectiones* and his prose commentary, even as they inform each other, were also both implicated in his pedagogical role. His engagement with Statius, and more broadly, with classical poetry, offers a rare opportunity to explore the mind of the Humanist simultaneously in its creative, didactic, and scholarly aspects.[12] This dialogue between commentary, teaching, and original composition continued even after the publication of Poliziano's *Silvae*. Poliziano gave lectures on his own *Ambra*, and one of his students wrote a commentary on the same poem, much of which probably derives from Poliziano himself.[13] He also intended to produce a commentary on the *silva* he considered his masterpiece, the *Nutricia*,[14] whose title can be translated 'a nurse's wages'. In a prefatory letter,

8 See Reynolds (1983) 397–399; Reeve (1977); Perosa (1994); van Dam (2008). For Poliziano's commentary, see the edition of Cesarini Martinelli (1978, henceforth C.M.), who dates the main period of the Commentary's composition to 1480–1481: xiv–xvii.

9 On Poliziano's *Silvae*, see Bausi (1996), Leuker (1997), Godman (1993), Galand (1987), Fantazzi (2004), Mengelkoch (2010), van Dam (2008), Bettinzoli (1995), Laird (2004).

10 On the Florentine Studio, see Hankins (1991), Verde, Garin, and Zaccaria (1973–2010).

11 For an insightful reading of Poliziano's *Ambra* along comparable lines, see Laird (2004) 28–29: 'The distinction between the texts designated for study and discourses provided by people who write in some way *about* those texts is virtually axiomatic, for classicists at least. But this apparently clear distinction can be undermined—and not only by postmodern theory and recent artistic practice'. On the use of Poliziano's poetry in the Renaissance classroom, see Coroleu (1999), (2014).

12 Cf. Bausi (1996) xii: 'Poliziano vi appare, contemporaneamente, nelle vesti di professore, poeta, filologo, critico letterario, storico e teorico della poesia, in un continuo sovrapporsi e alternarsi di ruoli che si traduce e si manifesta nella ricca stratificazione semantica propria di questi testi'; see also ibid., xxx–xxxi, and Godman (1993) 191.

13 Perosa 1994.

14 On the *Nutricia*, see Godman (1993), Bausi (1996), Leuker (1997) 160–260.

Poliziano explains that poetry was his nurse; hence this final *silva*, a 'history of poets' (*poetarum historia*), expresses gratitude to that nurse.[15] Although Poliziano's collection of *Silvae* will be considered as a whole, special focus will be devoted to the *Nutricia* because of its rich scholarly background and powerful articulation of the Florentine Humanist's conception of literary history. In thematic terms, this essay will explore the shared fabric of thought that organizes Poliziano's poetry and exegetical prose by tracing several interrelated concepts, some of which can already be seen woven together in the passage cited above: beginnings, preludes, and the non-linearity of literary time; miscellany and multiplicity; ranked lists and footraces; and the pervasively spatial figuration of literary endeavour.

1 Itineraries

The three strands of pedagogy, exegesis, and literary imitation are closely intertwined and mutually reinforcing in Poliziano's Humanist engagement with the classical past. A frequent node of intersection among these strands is Poliziano's interest in the lives and works of classical poets.

Consider, for example, the intricately erudite discussion of Argonautic poets in his *Nutricia*.

> Ecce alii primo tentatum remige pontum
> Palladiamque ratem tabulasque dedere loquaces,
> quorum Threicio personam primus ab Orpheo
> accepit, genitus Miscelli gente salubri;
> alter Alexandri Nilotidas abnegat arces
> exosus natale solum tumidamque colosso
> solis et irriguam pluvio Rhodon expetit auro.
> Huius in Ausonio vestigia pulvere Varro
> pone legit, *linguae haut opulens*, ut *barbara Narbo*,
> ut quem *parvus Atax* Latiae transcripserat urbi:
> *atque idem* imparibus proprios *exponit amores*
> *Leucadiamque suam* numeris, succedere magno
> Auruncae quondam *frustra conatus* alumno.
> Nam te, Flacce, sinu sulcantem caerula pleno,

15 The phrase 'history of poets' (*poetarum historia*) occurs in the first 1486 redaction of the preface: see Bausi (1996) xxxiv. This version can be found in Poliziano's correspondence: *Liber epistolarum* 9.1 = Maïer (1971) 118.

heu! iuvenem cursu excussit mors saeva priusquam
Aesonides Pagasas patriamque revectus Iolcon.
Nutr. 361–376

See, there are others who told of the sea essayed by the first oarsman, the raft of Pallas, and the talking planks: of these, the first, born of the healthy race of Miscellus [founder of Croton], assumed the character of Thracian Orpheus. Another, hating his native land, leaves the Nilotic city of Alexander, and seeks out Rhodes, puffed with pride in its colossal statue of the Sun and watered by golden rain. Varro follows behind in his footsteps in the Italian dust, hardly rich in eloquence, as barbarous Narbo and little Atax had transferred him to the citizenship of the Latin city. And the same sets forth his own loves and writes about his Leucadia in uneven measures, having once tried in vain to follow after the great nursling of Aurunca. And you, Flaccus, as you were plowing furrows in the cerulean waves with billowing sail, were cast from your course while still young—alas!—by cruel death, before Aeson's son arrived back at Pagasae and his native Iolcos.

A striking feature of this passage is the element of figurative spatial mapping. Poliziano the poet uses his scholarly knowledge of the *places* associated with classical poets to fill out the details of their metapoetic journeys, a motif well established in classical poetry and here pushed to an intense degree of self-awareness. In each case, themes of voyaging, transfer, and displacement pervade the mini-biographies of Argonautic poets. Orpheus of *Croton* assumed the persona of the *Thracian* Orpheus. Apollonius left Alexandria, we are told, for Rhodes.[16] Varro Atacinus was 'transferred' from Gallic Narbo to Roman citizenship, yet, in his literary efforts, he failed to shake off his provincial origins. Literary succession and emulation are often represented spatially in the classical tradition as the act of following in another's footsteps.[17] Thus emulative

16 As Lefkowitz (1981) 122 explains, Apollonius' move was much more likely from Rhodes to Alexandria.

17 Cf. Hor. *Ep*. 1.19.21–22 with Mayer (1994) ad loc., *Ep* 2.2.80, *Ars* 286; Lucr. 1.925–926; Call. *Aet*. fr. 1.26 in Pfeiffer (1950). On the theme of the walking tour in humanist texts, see de Beer (2017). The metapoetic and/or philosophical figure of the *via* ("path") or *iter* ("journey") is already pervasive in the works of the *tre corone*, Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio: see, for example, Eisner (2014) 765–81 on the image-cluster of the path, the guide, and the traveler. Poliziano's contemporary, Cristoforo Landino, makes this same fabric of motifs the basis of his allegorical interpretation of the epic journey in Homer, Virgil, and Dante: see, for example, McNair (2018) 150–5,169–73, 183–99.

failure is here figured as a failed spatial transition: *Ausonio vestigia pulvere Varro* / ***pone legit*** *… **succedere** magno / Auruncae quondam frustra conatus alumno* ('Varro *follows behind* in his footsteps in the Italian dust … having once tried in vain to *follow after* the great nursling of Aurunca', 368–369, 372–373).[18] Finally, Valerius Flaccus, as he was composing his *Argonautica*—a project figured by the epic image of a ship plowing the sea—was interrupted by death, and so he never reached his destination. Specifically, he failed to reach the end-point of the textual journey of his model Apollonius, who refers in his epic's final line to the landfall at Pagasae.[19]

Poliziano's appreciation of the classical figure of the metapoetic voyage is thus evident in the literary shaping of his pedagogical material. Much of this material and the interests behind it also feature in his exegetical prose texts. For example, the erudite reference to 'Orpheus' of Croton as an author of Argonautica finds a parallel in Poliziano's commentary on Statius where he differentiates at length the various Orpheuses mentioned in the philological record: *Orpheus Crotoniates, hexametrum poeta … scripsit Decaeterida, Argonautica et alia quaedam* ('Orpheus of Croton, a hexameter poet … wrote *Ten Years*, an *Argonautica*, and certain other works', ad Stat. *Silv*. 3.3.194 = C.M. 611).[20] Similarly, Poliziano's phrase 'Pallas' ship' (*Palladiamque ratem*, *Nutr*. 362) recalls his commentary on Statius *Silvae* 2.7.50 (*puppem temerariam Minervae*, 'the audacious boat of Minerva'), where he cites Apollonius of Rhodes[21] to explain that the Argo was built on Athena's advice: *fabricatam Argum **Palladis** monitu* ('the Argo was constructed at Pallas' bidding', C.M. 519).[22]

The reference to Varro of Atax affords an even more striking example of how Poliziano's exegetical and pedagogical erudition informs his poetic *materia*. In his commentary on Statius *Silvae* 2.7.77 under the lemma ARGONAUTAS, he offers a substantial biographical entry on Varro, citing a range of *testimonia* from Jerome, Ovid, Propertius, and Horace as well as Quintilian's assessment of

18 Cf. Juv. 1.19–20, likewise a spatial figuration of literary endeavour: *campo* / *per quem magnus equos Auruncae flexit alumnus* ('the field over which the great nursling of Aurunca [= Lucilius] guided his horses').

19 A.R. 4.1781: ἀσπασίως ἀκτὰς Παγασηίδας εἰσαπέβητε ('… gladly you disembarked on the shores of Pagasae.')

20 This relies almost word for word on the Suda, s. v. Ὀρφεύς. The *Ten Years* is elsewhere given as the *Twelve Years* (δωδεκαετηρίς: Schol. Lyc. 523).

21 A.R. 1.18–19: νῆα μὲν οὖν οἱ πρόσθεν ἐπικλείουσιν ἀοιδοὶ / Ἄργον Ἀθηναίης καμέειν ὑποθημοσύνῃσιν ('as for the ship, previous bards relate that Argus built it on Athena's instructions').

22 Cf. also on Stat. *Silv*. 1.1.5 (C.M. 69). For *tabulas … loquaces* ('talking planks'), cf. Claud. *Bell. Got*. 19 and Poliziano's commentary on the *Fasti* (Lo Monaco 1991, 106–113) with Bausi (1996) ad loc. For *cursu excussit* ('cast from [your] course'), see Verg. *A*. 3.200, *excutimur cursu* and Bausi (1996) ad loc.

Varro in *his* pedagogically oriented literary history (C.M. 532–533). If we compare this commentary with the passage on Argonautic poetry in the *Nutricia*, we can trace a shared texture of biographical reflection. For example, Poliziano emphasizes in the *Nutricia* that the *same* poet wrote about both Argonauts and his love for Leucadia in elegiac couplets: *atque* ***idem imparibus*** *proprios exponit* ***amores*** / ***Leucadiamque*** *suam* ***numeris***, ('And the *same* [Varro] sets forth his own *loves* and writes about his *Leucadia* in *uneven measures*', 371). These lines closely align with his statement in the Commentary, which he supports with citations from Ovid and Propertius: ***Idem*** *... cecinit* ***elegias*** *et* ***Leucadiam amavit*** ('The *same* Varro ... sang *elegies* and *loved Leucadia*', C.M. 532). His mention of Varro's failed attempt to write satire in the *Nutricia* (*frustra conatus*, *Nutricia* 373) incorporates Horace's negative evaluation of Varro's attempt to write satire, which is cited in the Commentary on Statius: *experto frustra* ('attempted in vain', *Satires* 1.10.46; C.M. 533).[23] Finally, Poliziano's phrase *linguae haut opulens* ('hardly rich in eloquence', *Nutr*. 369) in his poetic *silva* paraphrases the passage in Quintilian cited in the Commentary: *ad augendam facultatem dicendi parum locuples* ('insufficiently rich for building up one's powers of eloquence', Quint. *Inst*. 10.1.87; C.M. 533).

Nearly every line of poetry comes densely packed with allusions and an erudite philological patchwork paralleled in Poliziano's exegetical labours. The prose commentaries allow us, as it were, to leaf through the working notebooks of the *doctus poeta*, to trace the philological layers of intertexts and *testimonia* that he draws from, compresses, and transforms in his poetic survey.[24] This dynamic moves in both directions. Just as the prose exegesis seems to provide a kind of crypto-commentary on Poliziano's poetry, the poetry might be seen as 'commenting',[25] with more figurative expression and emotive tonality, on the *vitae* of poets documented in the *Commento inedito*. Both commentary and poem are in dialogue with Statius *Silvae* 2.7, an encomiastic survey of Lucan's poetic predecessors and career that constitutes a potential model for the versified literary history of Poliziano's *Nutricia*. While a full reading of Statius' poem would exceed the boundaries of this paper, it is worth remarking on some key features that might have piqued Poliziano's emulative and exegetical interests: the erudite list of Lucan's works, including lesser-known early or

23 See also Poliziano's unpublished commentary on Persius: *tentavit autem post Lucilium genus hoc scribendi Varro Atacinus, sed successu caruit* ('Varro of Atax attempted this mode of writing after Lucilius, but lacked success', Cesarini Martinelli and Ricciardi [1985] 12 and Bausi [1996] ad loc.).

24 Cf. Bausi (1996) xxi–xxii and *passim*.

25 In this volume, poetry is approached as a means of commenting on the poet's predecessors by Newlands (especially p. 170) and Bessone (pp. 204–205, 216).

'preludic' poems;[26] the inclusion of embedded literary histories and generic catalogues; and, most conspicuously, the persistent topographical figuration of Lucan's poetic production.[27] Statius' text, the site of Poliziano's combined creative and exegetical intensities, affords a model for his lists of poets and obsessive interest in spatial metaphors and geographical erudition. Just as Poliziano's *Nutricia* can be read as both poetry and exegesis, Statius' *Silvae* are simultaneously the object of commentary and emulation.

2 Miscellanies

In passages such as these, we begin to appreciate the integration of Poliziano's scholarship and his poetics. Poliziano is rightly considered an innovative poet of early modernity; yet with equal validity he might be described as the last true *poeta doctus* of the classical tradition, a poet who viewed difficulty, metadiscursive self-consciousness, and allusive density as literary virtues. It is thus all the more striking that Poliziano viewed both his own and Statius' *Silvae* as appropriate *introductory* texts for students embarking on the study of classical literature. Indeed, the inaugural lecture delivered by Poliziano at the Studio Fiorentino in 1480 was his *Oration on Quintilian and Statius' Sylvae*.[28] The two authors selected for elucidation were provocative alternatives to the expected classics, Virgil and Cicero. Poliziano observed that it made more sense to introduce young students not right away to the highest-ranked authors (*summos illos*), but to those of the so-called 'second rank' (*hos … inferioris quasique secundae notae auctores*), so that they might imitate them more easily.[29] While this explanation seems reasonable in principle, problems arise if we attempt to apply it to the authors in question. For one thing, Statius, if anything, is *more* difficult than Virgil. The same goes for Poliziano's own *Silvae*. I wish to suggest a different or complementary reason for the propaedeutic value of *silvae*, one that emerges from a close reading of Poliziano's literary aesthetics. In the famous letter to Paolo Cortesi, Poliziano argues against the exclus-

26 See further below in the section entitled 'Preliminaries' on Poliziano's/Statius' concept of the prelude.

27 To cite only a few examples: the river Baetis metonymically refers to Lucan's Spanish *patria*, while the river Meles signifies Homer, and Mantua, Virgil (2.7.33–35). Statius spatializes the poetic domain as 'the groves of Thespiae' (*Thespiacis … lucis*, 16) and, self-referentially, 'Aonian woods' (*Aoniae … silvae*, 13).

28 See Fantazzi (2004) viii–ix, Godman (1993) 130; the text of the oration can be found in Maïer (1971) vol. 2, 492–498.

29 Maïer (1971) 492. See also Godman (1993) 137, Mengelkoch (2010) 91.

ive imitation of a single, 'perfect' author—Cicero in prose, Virgil in verse—in favour of multi-source allusivity, the cultivation of combined influences from different authors.[30] The passage on Varro Atacinus in Poliziano's *Nutricia* examined above, with its layered citation of a range of authors, provides merely one example of such multi-source allusivity and erudite literary density. The 'second-rank' Statius may at first glance appear less intimidating than Virgil, but he also happens to exemplify the multiplicity and heterogeneity championed in Poliziano's aesthetics. The same aesthetic and pedagogical principle of miscellany equally explains the presence of Quintilian in Poliziano's inaugural lecture. The tenth book of the *Institutio Oratoria*, which surveys a long series of various authors as potential influences to be incorporated into the aspiring orator's style,[31] provides a precedent for the propaedeutic survey of the *Nutricia*.

The mode of poetic composition that perfectly embodies Poliziano's refusal to limit himself to the imitation of a single exemplary author is thus what he describes as the intrinsically miscellaneous category of *silvae*. This emphasis emerges very quickly in the unpublished commentary on Statius. Prior to beginning line-by-line commentary, Poliziano offers a systematic account of the various genres of classical poetry. Ten pages long in Cesarini Martinelli's edition, it amounts to a substantial essay on ancient poetic modes (C.M. 51–61). This informal or secondary preface comes after both the commentary on Statius' prose preface to *Silvae* Book 1 and the commentator's prefatory *vita Statii* ('Life of Statius', C.M. 3–11). The explicit motive for this second preliminary essay is to help the reader appreciate the poetic / rhetorical modes (*genera*) of individual *silvae*:

> sed antequam ad argumentum ipsum ceteraque singulatim explicanda accedam, de singulis poematum generibus dicendum videtur, ut intelligatur quanam singulae ipsae Sylvae propria gaudeant appellatione signari.
>
> C.M. 51–52

> But before I come to the commentary itself and the line-by-line explication of passages, it seems I ought to discuss the poems' individual modes to clarify by what particular term individual *Silvae* are pleased to be designated.

30 Text in Garin (1952) 902–904, DellaNeva (2007) 2–5; see also Godman (1993) 148–155; on the 'Ciceronian controversy' more generally, see McLaughlin (1995) 187–274, DellaNeva (2007).

31 See Godman (1993) 132.

The implication is that *silvae* constitute a heterogeneous poetic mode composed of multiple sub-genres (*genera*). In the earlier biographical introduction to the entire commentary, Poliziano presents the *Silvae* as characterized by diversity of both occasion and subject matter:

> *diversis* item *temporibus atque argumentis* hos libellos fecit, quae Sylvae inscribuntur, opus et *argumenti varietate* et heroici carminis sublimitate et quadam velut oratoria pompa eminentissimum.
>
> C.M. 4

> Out of likewise diverse occasions and themes he fashioned those books which are entitled *Silvae*, a work especially notable for variety of subject matter, sublimity of heroic style, and a certain, so to speak, oratorical grandiosity.

Later in the same biographical preface, he cites a range of authors, above all the well-known passage in Quintilian Book 10, to demonstrate that Statius' title of *Silvae* implies 'multiple things heaped hastily together': *res multas temere congestas significans* (C.M. 8). Poliziano, while closely paraphrasing Quintilian, adds the word *multas* ('many').[32] He further suggests that Statius so excelled in the genre of *silvae* that this work surpassed his other, more polished compositions (*reliquos suos libros emendatiores supervectus*), which, conversely, were tiresome and flaccid because of their very length and homogeneity (*credo quod in longo opere, quasi in vasta planitie … flaccescebat oratio*, C.M. 9). Finally, he comments that Statius himself, while sometimes using the general designation *libelli* ('little books') or *sylvae*, also referred to individual compositions according to their specific generic modes: *etiam singulas diversis aliquando nominibus inscribit: nam et 'eglogam' et 'soterion' et 'epicedium' et 'epithalamium' et 'propempticon' et alias cum Graecas tum Latinas inscriptiones suae quamque Sylvulae accommodatam inveneritis* ('he also sometimes affixes different titles to individual [*silvae*]: for you may find "eclogue", "soterion", "epicedium", "epithalamium", and "propempticon" along with other titles, both Greek and Latin, each one applied to its particular *Sylva*', C.M. 10).[33]

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32 Quint. *Inst.* 10.3.17: *rebus temere congestis*.

33 He then aptly cites Plin. *Ep.* 4.14.8–9, on the diverse titles that can be applied to short, nugatory poetry (C.M. 10): see also Hershkowitz (1995), Riggsby (1998). The titles are considered to be a later addition by most modern scholars. See Coleman (1988) 28–32 on the question of their authenticity.

The *Silvae* thus encompass the variety of classical poetry and furnish an introductory compendium of its multiple forms for aspiring scholars. A comparable notion of heterogeneous multiplicity informs the introductory survey of classical genres mentioned above. This preliminary essay concludes with a grab-bag of diverse *poemata* ('poems'), which, Poliziano states, resemble the individual *Silvae* of Statius.

> Sunt quidem haec praecipua poematum genera. Multa item feruntur praeter haec, ut ithyphallica, manerus, borimus, lytiersas, linus, ut Centaurus ille Chaeremonis, cuius Aristoteles meminit, quod opus mixtum ex omni genere metrorum erat. *Sed haec omnia uno communi nomine poemata appellari possunt, quemadmodum et singulae Statii Sylvae*.
>
> C.M. 59[34]

> These, then, are the principal genres of poetry. Besides these, many more are passed down, such as ithyphallic verses, Maneros' dirge, the Mariandynian dirge, the harvest-song, the lay of Linos, and the Centaur of Chaeremon, which Aristotle mentions, which was a work blended from every kind of metre. But all these can be called by the shared name of poems, just like the individual *Sylvae* of Statius.

The *Silvae*, in other words, constitute an exemplary distillation of the principle of miscellany itself, a principle strikingly embodied by Chaeremon's *Centaur*, a 'blended work' (*opus mixtum*) named after the hybrid creature of mythology. A remarkably similar enumeration of diverse poetic modes occupies the culminating passage of Poliziano's history of classical poetry in the *Nutricia*. After surveying the major authors and genres of the Greco-Roman tradition, he ends his account by citing a hodge-podge of sometimes obscene and humorous subgenres. Here too he highlights a work combining multiple metrical forms, and uses the aggregate descriptive term *poemata*:

34 On the *manerus*, see Hdt. 2.79, Paus. 92.9.7; on the *borimus*, Poll. 4.54; the *linus*, *Il.* 18.570, Hdt. 2.79, Ath. 14.619c; the *Centaurus*, Arist. Po. 1447b, 21; and see the references in C.M. ad loc.; note also the discussion in Mengelkoch (2010) 88. For *lytiersas*, or, more properly, Lityerses (Λιτυέρσης, 'song of Lityerses', here rendered 'harvest-song'), see Ath. 14. 619a; Poll. 1.38, 4.54; Gow (1950) ad Theoc. 10.41; Serv. *Ecl.* 8.68. Lityerses was a name of a Phrygian 'culture-hero' (Dover (1971) ad Theoc. 10.41), an illegitimate son of Midas who forced strangers to compete with him in harvesting the fields; the punishment for (inevitable) defeat was death. This myth perhaps retroactively explains the origins of a form of song considered to be of Phrygian derivation and associated with both harvest and mourning.

> *Pammetron* hic cecinit; sillos dedit ille licentes;
> ille Menippeae ioca *miscellanea* perae
> infersit; satyros alius nudavit agrestes
> et patuere novae per mille *poemata* curae.
>
> *Nutricia* 711–714

> This one composed the *Pammetros*; that one produced licentious *silloi* [lampoons]; another stuffed miscellaneous jokes into Menippus' bag; still another represented rustic satyrs naked, and novel endeavours found expression in a thousand poems.[35]

These corresponding passages at the culmination of his poetic and prose surveys of classical poetic genres powerfully illustrate Poliziano's conception of multiplicity and miscellany as key features of the corpus of classical poetry, traits also intrinsic to his idea of *silvae* and literary creation as the interweaving of multiple styles and influences.

Poliziano shows special interest in Callimachus as an example of a poet with a brilliant capacity to produce *poemata* in a variety of meters and genres. He writes in the Commentary on Statius' *Silvae*: *Hic vero … tanta fuit diligentia, ut et* ***poemata omni genere metrorum*** *scripserit et soluta oratione multa composuerit, ita ut supra octingentos libri ab eo scripti extarent* ('He was a writer of such great diligence that he both wrote poems in every type of metre and composed many works in prose, with the result that there were over eight-hundred books written by him,' ad Stat. *Silv*. 1.2.253 = C.M. 264–265). Poliziano's poetic expression of this same basic idea in the *Nutricia* employs the typically Statian spatial figuration we have now come to expect: *centumque* ***poemata*** *pangens, / dissipat in* ***varios*** *Heliconia flumina rivos* ('and composing a hundred [different] poems, he disperses the rivers of Helicon into diverse rivulets', 432–433). His detailed catalogue of Callimachus' works in the *Nutricia* (426–433) is followed immediately by a discussion of Ovid that focuses on his exile (434–453). As Bausi correctly notes,[36] this transition suggests a parallel between Callimachus and Ovid, who also wrote a variety of works in different genres. It is tantalizing to speculate that Poliziano's collocation of the two poets here might be connected with both a passage in Statius' *Silvae* and his commentary on it. In his

35 See the comments of Bausi (1996) ad loc.: the *Pammetros* is a work of Diogenes Laertius, cf. D.L. 1.63; Poliziano's marginal note identifies Timon of Phlius as the author *silloi*: see D.L. 9.111–112, Gel. 3.17.4 and C.M. ad loc.

36 See Bausi (1996) ad loc. and xxiv–xxv.

epithalamium for Stella and Violentilla (*Silv*. 1.2),[37] Statius calls upon elegiac poets of the past to celebrate the wedding, including Callimachus (1.2.253) and Ovid, 'not sad even though [exiled] in Tomi' (*nec tristis in ipsis* / *Naso Tomis*, 254–255). This mini-catalogue of elegiac poets evidently appealed to the list-obsessed Poliziano: under the lemma *CALLIMACHUS* in his Commentary, he includes a lengthy discussion of Callimachus' varied literary production (C.M. 264–266), followed, a few short lemmata later, by *NASO*, a long discussion of the poet's exile in Tomi (C.M. 266–269). In other words, the poetic sequence in the *Nutricia*—Callimachus' multi-generic production followed by Ovid's exile—corresponds to a highly similar sequence in the Commentary, which can itself be traced back to the sequence of elegists in Statius *Silvae* 1.2.

Miscellany, as a core principle of Poliziano's poetics, scholarship, and pedagogy, defines both his emulation and exegesis of Statius. The title of Poliziano's major work of poetry, *Silvae*, occupies the same semantic domain as the title of his major scholarly publication, the *Miscellanea*, an innovative compilation of philological researches published in 1489. Both titles, for Poliziano, signify the collocation of diverse elements.[38] Indeed, in the passage cited above in Poliziano's *Nutricia* on the grab-bag of poetic modes, the Latin adjective used substantivally as the title of the scholarly work has been discreetly inserted:

> *ille Menippeae ioca* ***miscellanea*** *perae* / *infersit*
> 712–713
>
> another one stuffed miscellaneous jokes into Menippus' bag.[39]

In this dazzling meta-comment, Poliziano inserts the title of his *prose* work into his *poetic* discussion of a satiric genre whose defining feature was *the mixture of poetry and prose*. This intricate game of reciprocity, moreover, goes in both directions. In his unfinished second installment of miscellaneous scholarly observations (*Miscellaneorum Centuria Secunda*), Poliziano outlines the three types of satire: satyr plays, Menippean satire, and Roman verse satire. His examples of Menippean satire include such prosimetric authors as Varro

37 Rosati's chapter in this volume is dedicated to a hitherto unnoticed echo of Ovid in *Silvae* 1.2.

38 See the perceptive comments of Lapraik Guest (2015) 222; see also Bausi (1996) xv, Mengelkoch (2010) 94, 99, 104–105, McLaughlin (1995) 196–202.

39 On Menippean satire, see also Poliziano's remarks in his commentary on Persius: Cesarini Martinelli and Ricciardi (1985) 11, and Bausi (1996) ad loc.

Reatinus, Martianus Capella, Boethius, and Petronius (*Petronii Arbritri libros, prosa versuque compositos*, 'the books of Petronius Arbiter, written in prose and verse').[40] He emphasizes the multiplicity, variety, and miscellany intrinsic to the genre: ***varium*** *et elegans … et* ***omni fere numero*** *poema compositum, in quo* ***multa*** *iocosa,* ***multa*** *ex philosophia,* ***multa*** *ex vita et usu* ***admiscuit*** ('a poem *varied* and elegant … and written *in practically every metre*, in which he *mixed in* much jesting, much from philosophy, much from life and everyday experience', 43).[41] He even cites the lines on Menippus from his own *Nutricia*:

> De quibus ita nos in Nutriciis:
> Ille menippeae ioca miscellanea perae
> Infersit.
> Nam re vera miscellum continebant et iocum et eruditionem.
> C.M. 43
>
> On [this type of satire], we [wrote] as follows in the *Nutricia*:
> … another one stuffed miscellaneous jokes into Menippus' bag.
> For these works contained truly miscellaneous jest and erudition.

In Poliziano's hall of philological mirrors, twin commentaries on prosimetric miscellany in verse and prose comment on and allude to each other, at once describing and enacting the very principle of mixing verse and prose, and confirming both the exegetical value of poetry and the aesthetic dimension of scholarly prose. He furthermore specifies that Menippean satire mixes satiric jest and erudition (*miscellum … et iocum et eruditionem*). Poliziano's sophisticated meta-description of his own scholarly *modus operandi* thus culminates in the recognition that this very passage is itself an example of a scholar's poetry mixed in amidst his scholarly prose. Hence the prosimetric scholar-poet Varro emerges as one of the Florentine Humanist's emblematic predecessors.

The scholar-poet Callimachus too, we recall, was praised for writing in both media: *poemata omni genere metrorum … et soluta oratione multa* ('he composed poems in every type of metre … and many works in prose', C.M. 264–265). There is one more author (besides Poliziano himself) who fits this paradigm

40 Branca and Pastore (1978) 44, sect. 28.

41 Here Poliziano seems to echo Cicero's 'Varro' himself, speaking of his own Menippean satires: see Cic. *Ac*. 1.2.8 and C.M. ad loc.

perfectly, one who comes at the culmination of the history of poets in the *Nutricia*. After enumerating his various works in poetry and prose, Poliziano, in a highly Statian *makarismos*, praises his patron, Lorenzo de' Medici, for this same trait of miscellany: *felix ingenio, felix, cui pectore tantas / instaurare* ***vices****, cui fas tam magna capaci /* ***alternare*** *animo et* ***varias ita nectere curas*** ('fortunate in your talents, fortunate, to whom it is allowed to renew in your breast *such great variations*, to *alternate* such great endeavours in your capacious soul, and in this way *weave together diverse labours*', 773–775).[42] While Poliziano is notorious for his flattery of the Medici, this description arguably serves his own ends as well as Lorenzo's. He fashions his patron in the image of his aesthetic and scholarly program.

3 Preliminaries

Silvae, then, are defined as texts preliminary to the study of classical poetry at least in part because of the multiplicity and miscellany they embody. They both constitute the end-product of the diversity of classical poetic modes and furnish *prolegomena* to understanding them. This prefatory dimension of *silvae* is a leitmotif of Poliziano's literary, exegetical, and pedagogical thought. He felt it necessary to preface his line-by-line commentary on Statius' *Silvae* with an account of the various ancient genres of poetry. His own poetic *Silvae* were *praelectiones*, preliminary discourses. He prefaced his pedagogical career at the Studio Fiorentino with an inaugural lecture on Quintilian and Statius. This interest in prefaces and preludes, of course, goes back Statius himself, who, like his contemporary Martial,[43] wrote prose prefaces to his books of occasional poetry, and who declared at the opening of his *Achilleid* that his Achilles was merely a prelude (*praeludit*, 1.19) to a future, greater work on Domitian. Statius uses the same verb in the preface to *Silvae* Book 1 to describe the practice of writing more trivial works as a prelude to greater works to come: *sed et Culicem legimus et Batrachomachiam etiam agnoscimus, nec quisquam est illustrium poetarum qui non aliquid operibus suis stilo remissiore* ***praeluserit*** ('but we also read the *Culex* and even acknowledge the *Bat-*

42 Cf. Stat. *Silv*. 4.4.46–49: ***felix curarum****, cui non Heliconia cordi / serta nec imbelles Parnasi e vertice laurus, / sed viget* ***ingenium*** *et magnos accinctus in usus / fert* ***animus*** *quascumque* ***vices*** ('Happy in his concerns is he, who delights neither in Helicon's garlands nor in unwarlike laurels from Parnassus' peak; whose talent flourishes and whose spirit, girded for great employments, endures whatever chance may bring').

43 See Newlands (2009), Johannsen (2006).

rachomachia, nor is there any renowned poet who did not offer a prelude to his works with something in a more informal style', *Silv*. 1 *praef*.). Poliziano, in his commentary on Statius, provides a full explication of the term, complete with apt citations from Virgil's *Aeneid* and the above-mentioned passage of the *Achilleid*.

> PRAELUSERIT, ut: 'sparsa ad pugnam praeludit harena' [*Aen*. 12.106]. Nam in spectaculis, antequam committerentur ludi, solebant aut tauros per harenam irritare, aut aliud quippiam agere, quod ante ludos ipsos populo satisfaceret, idque *praeludium* dicebatur, quod ante ludos fieret. Unde etiam nunc qui hebeti gladio ludunt, antequam manus conserant, singuli prius gestus quosque et figuras ictusque usurpant, quod veluti exordium est futuri ludi. Ergo qui levia scribunt primo, mox graviora praeludunt suis libris. Idem Papinius:
>
> magnusque tibi praeludit Achilles.
>
> ad *Silv*. 1 *praef*. = C.M. 45

> PRAELUSERIT [MADE A PRELUDE], as in: 'made a prelude to the fight by scattering sand' [*Aen*. 12.106]. For in shows, before the games began, they were accustomed to either incite the bulls across the arena, or to do something else to gratify the populace before the games themselves, and that was called a 'prelude' [*praeludium*], since it takes place before the games [*ludos*]. Hence, even now, those who play-fight with a dull sword prior to engaging in actual battle individually practice each of their postures, motions, and blows beforehand, which is like a preface to the future show. Therefore, authors who first write minor works are making a prelude to more serious writings to come by means of their own books. Likewise, Papinius:
>
> and great Achilles is a prelude to you.

The medieval Latin word *praeludium* used here also occurs in Poliziano's *silva Manto*, where a prophetic account of Virgil's career begins with the description of the youthful works ascribed to him: *Atque haec prima novi fuerint elementa poetae, | haec fuerint timidae* ***praeludia*** *prima iuventae* ('And these shall be the first rudiments of the budding poet, these shall be the opening *preludes* of timid youth', 96–97). Poliziano, while playfully inverting Virgil's *audax iuventa* ('bold in my youth', *G*. 4.565), links preludes and pedagogy with the word *elementa* ('rudiments' or 'abc's'). Indeed, the prophetess Manto's command to the infant Virgil to 'begin' his poetic career (*incipe, magne puer*, 'begin, great child', *Manto* 82), cited at this essay's beginning, might double as an exhorta-

tion to Poliziano's student-readers to begin 'weaving' their own compositions. This propaedeutic *praelectio*, the *first* in the sequence of Poliziano's *Silvae*, reimagines the preliminary stages of Virgil's poetic career in order to prophesy, with distinctively Virgilian retrospection, the destined future greatness that came to fruition centuries ago.

The multiplication of preludes does not stop there. For not only is this opening *silva* preceded by a prose epistle to Lorenzo; it is then doubly prefaced by a second *praefatio* in elegiac couplets—a prefatory diptych that recalls Poliziano's doubly prefaced commentary on Statius. This verse *praefatio*, moreover, obsessively focuses on the inchoate and the preliminary.

> Stabat adhuc rudibus Pagaseo in litore remis
> quae ratis undosum prima cucurrit iter.
> …
> Occupat hanc *audax* digitosque affringit Achilles,
> *indoctumque rudi* personat ore puer.
> Materiam quaeris? Laudabat carmina blandi
> hospitis et tantae murmura magna lyrae.
> Riserunt Minyae; sed enim tibi dicitur, Orpheus,
> haec pueri pietas grata fuisse nimis.
> Me quoque nunc magni nomen celebrare Maronis
> (si qua fides vero est) gaudet et ipse Maro.
>
> *Manto*, *praef*. 1–2, 23–30

> The boat that first made a voyage on the waves still remained on the shore of Pagasae, its oars untried … The youthful Achilles boldly seizes [the lyre that Orpheus was playing], strikes it with his fingers, and sounds out an untaught song with inexperienced mouth. You ask the subject matter? He was praising the poetry of his charming host and the noble music of so great a lyre. The Minyans laughed; but this show of the boy's *pietas* is said have been exceedingly pleasing to you, Orpheus. Maro himself—if truth be believed—rejoices that I too now celebrate the fame of great Maro.

The sense of incipiency in *stabat adhuc* ('was still standing') is conspicuous, especially with the switch to the perfect tense (*cucurrit iter*, 'made a journey'): the journey that was completed on the shores of Pagasae in Apollonius' closing line remains in liminal stasis in the opening line of this preface. Indeed, the untried oars (*rudibus … remis*) implicitly point to the student notionally reading this *praelectio*, who might have felt himself to be *rudis*, 'inexperienced,

ignorant'.[44] Likewise, Achilles, in the role of Chiron's 'inexperienced' pupil (*rudi … ore*) and first-time practitioner, boldly (*audax*) picks up the lyre himself to sing an 'untrained' (*indoctumque*) song in praise of Orpheus, who is pleased by the boy's *pietas*, just as Maro will be pleased that Poliziano celebrates his name. Returning to the very origins of Greek mythology to offer a retrospective preface to his *praelectio*, Poliziano compresses multiple temporal frames by recalling, simultaneously, the first poet Orpheus, the Homeric Achilles, Apollonius' *Argonautica*, the object of his encomium, Virgil, and Statius' preludic *Achilleid*.[45] In the liminal space of the prelude, time loops back and forth between origin and afterlife, old age and youth, preliminarity and succession, prelude and conclusion, with dizzying effects.

Even as this prefatory scene draws on a dense labyrinth of literary memories that subverts the linearity of time and tradition, it resounds with the central concerns of Poliziano's *Silvae*: pedagogy, metapoetics, the prefatory as a creative, pedagogical, and exegetical category, and the 'passing of the pipes' from old master to bold, younger poet.[46] Moreover, like the later discussion of Argonautic epic in the *Nutricia*, the scene introduces Poliziano's/Statius' master-trope of spatial metapoetics by depicting the preliminary stage of the Argo's voyage in the preface to the 'poetic voyage' of his own *Silvae*. He thus doubly figures incipiency and preliminarity, making his prelude coincide with a first, 'rude' attempt at song and the start of an *iter*. The ending of the *Manto* returns to the same set of thematic preoccupations, including spatial metapoetics. At the start of the closing passage, Poliziano exhorts his young students to contemplate the vast sublimity of Virgilian poetry as if they were contemplating the beautiful immensity of the cosmos:

> Et quis, io, *iuvenes*, tanti miracula lustrans
> eloquii, non se immensos terraeque marisque
> prospectare putet tractus?
>
> MANTO 351–353

> Who, *o young men*, scanning the marvels of such vast eloquence, would not think he is gazing upon the boundless tracts of land and sea?

44 Poliziano offers a very substantial discussion of Ennius and evaluations of his poetry under the lemma RUDIS in the Commentary on Statius (ad Stat. *Silv*. 2.7.75k = C.M. 523–531).

45 Cf. Stat. *Ach*. 1.184–194.

46 On the thematic importance of this preface, see in particular Bausi (1996) xiii–xv.

Virgil's poetry is a sublime spectacle to which Poliziano's *praelectio* offers a prefatory exhortation. The ending, from this perspective, is itself only a preliminary stage, the moment immediately *before* the student plunges into his own studies of Virgil. In spatial terms, the *iuvenes* are standing at the edge of a vast mountain offering a panoramic view of the expansive terrain of Virgil's oeuvre. We might compare this closural exhortation of his young students (*iuvenes*) with the closing words of the preface to Poliziano's commentary on Statius. After stating that he will follow Domizio Calderini only insofar as he approves his ideas, and exhorting his readers not to be mesmerized by Calderini's authority at the cost of ignoring reasoned arguments, he turns toward his students in the final sentence:

> quare adeste quaeso animis, clarissimi *iuvenes*, atque hanc nostram operam boni consulite simulque Aristotelicum illud mementote, pro veritatis defensione etiam propria impugnare oportere.
>
> C.M. 11

> Therefore, most illustrious *young men*, please pay heed with your minds, and consult this work of ours in good spirit, and at the same time remember that saying of Aristotle: in defense of the truth it is proper to assail even what is near and dear.[47]

Poliziano, at the close of his preface, exhorts his students to prepare to fight on behalf of the truth. Now is the time to put aside the blunt sword of the *praeludium* and enter battle in earnest. Here, too, as at the end of the *Manto*, the *iuvenes* are presented with a spectacle—albeit a less sublime one: the spectacle of two adult men, Domizio Calderini and Angelo Poliziano, fighting a grim philological duel to the death. The young men will be more than just spectators, however. Poliziano's students, like ephebic initiates in classical epic, will learn the arts of war by fighting at the side of an older, more experienced warrior, becoming the continuators of their mentor's cause.

47 Based on Arist. *EN* 1096a, 14: *δόξειε δ᾽ ἂν ἴσως βέλτιον εἶναι καὶ δεῖν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ γε τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα ἀναιρεῖν, ἄλλως τε καὶ φιλοσόφους ὄντας: ἀμφοῖν γὰρ ὄντοιν φίλοιν ὅσιον προτιμᾶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν* ('Still perhaps it would seem better, and necessary, especially for those who are philosophers, to demolish even *what is close to us* [*τὰ οἰκεῖα,* cf. *propria*] in defense of the truth. Both are dear to us, yet it is our duty to prefer the truth'.)

4 Footraces

The Virgilian theme of the boldness (*audacia*) of the young student or poet is a driving force in Poliziano's vision of poetic innovation. The older poet or teacher is always in danger of falling behind, rendered obsolete by the fresh energy of youth. This theme of youth and old age is interwoven with another metaphor for literary competition that complements the metaphor of gladiatorial combat: the motif of the footrace. In the *Nutricia*, Poliziano states that Virgil follows close behind Homer (*proximus*) and might even have surpassed him if it were not for the reverence owed antiquity (*senectus*): ***Proximus*** *huic autem vel, ni veneranda* ***senectus*** */ obstiterit, fortasse* ***prior****, canit arma virumque / Vergilius* ('Closest to [Homer], or, if venerable old age did not obstruct, perhaps ahead of him, Virgil sings *Arms and the Man …*', *Nutr.* 346–348). Literary competition pervades the *Nutricia*: as Godman observes, such competition bends the rules of chronological linearity, as when, for example, predecessor poets express anxiety at potentially being surpassed by successors.[48] Virgil himself undergoes the same risk of being surpassed when Lucan makes his appearance on the scene: *torvo quem protinus ore* ***secundum*** */ respexit, captae vix ausus fidere palmae, Virgilius* (507–511, 'Virgil, barely daring to trust in the palm of victory he'd won, looked back with a grim glance at [Lucan], who was following close behind').[49] In yet another passage, Poliziano shows Ennius at once demoting and appropriating Naevius, plucking choice 'flowers' from his more primitive oeuvre.

> Et modo reprensi deflorans carmina Naevi,
> carmina quae quondam fauni vatesque canebant,
> mox gemet ipse suo natas in litore conchas
> praecultum purgare fimo et sibi ferre Maronem.
>
> *Nutr.* 474–477

> And now, plucking the flowers of the poems of Naevius, whom he criticized, the 'songs which once fauns and bards used to sing', he will soon himself lament that the highly refined Maro cleanses of filth and carries off for himself the pearls that originated on his shore.

By the end of the sentence, the tables are turned: it is now Ennius' turn (*mox … ipse suo*) to have the prize 'pearls' of his poetic seashore aesthetically cleansed

48 I would not fully agree, however, that 'chronology plays no role': Godman (1993) 189.

49 On the figure of Lucan in the *Nutricia*, see in particular Leuker (1997) 219–256.

and appropriated by Virgil. The process continues. As Stephen Hinds has acutely observed, it is a 'very simple but often neglected truth: archaic poets are never aware of the fact that they are archaic poets'.[50]

Poliziano's commentary on the *Silvae*, while it does not explicitly stage a footrace, repeatedly appeals to the underlying concepts of literary hierarchy expressed through a numerically ranked list and the spatial figuration of canonical ordering. In his prefatory remarks on poetic genres, he observes that, in the judgement of critics, Antimachus of Colophon held the second place after Homer among Greek hexameter poets, but by a long interval (*in id genus poesis* ***criticorum iudicio secundas*** *occupavit: nam Homero quidem est* ***proximus, sed longo intervallo tamen proximus***, C.M. 53) — a comment that itself alludes to the footrace in Virgil's *Aeneid* (***proximus huic, longo sed proximus intervallo***, 'next after him, but next by a long distance ...', Verg. *Aen*. 5.310). There is a very similar expression in the *Nutricia* where Poliziano discusses Antimachus and Statius, both of whom wrote Theban epics and follow Homer and Virgil at a great distance (*excipiunt gemini* ***procul*** *hos* ***longeque sequuntur****, / qui septem Cadmaea vocent ad moenia reges*, 'Long after [Homer and Virgil] come two poets, following at a distance, who summon the seven kings to the walls of Cadmus', *Nutr*. 353–354). The phrase *longe sequuntur* ('follow far behind') recalls Statius' own words of warning to his poem in the *sphragis* of his *Thebaid*: *divinam Aeneida ... longe sequere* ('follow the divine *Aeneid* from a distance', 12.816–817). We will return to this passage later, but for now it will suffice to note that such metaphorical spatializations of literary pursuit typically draw etymological support from the term *secundus* ('second, following'), both second in numerical order and subsequent in spatial terms. This whole conceptual matrix of spatially figured ranking, including the judgement on Antimachus, draws on the discussion of literary ranking in Quintilian Book 10:

> Sed quamvis ei *secundas* fere *grammaticorum consensus* deferat, et adfectibus et iucunditate et dispositione et omnino arte deficitur, ut plane manifesto appareat quanto sit *aliud proximum esse, aliud secundum*
>
> Quint. *Inst*. 10.1.53

> But although the nearly unanimous consensus of literary scholars awards him second place, he is deficient in the expression of sentiments, liveliness of style, orderly arrangement, and, in a word, art, so that it is quite evident what a great difference there is between being 'close behind' and being [merely] 'second'.

50 Hinds (1998) 55.

For Quintilian and Poliziano, then, we need to take into account not only ranked ordering, but also the spatially figured interval between the two. The vividly figurative motif of the footrace in Poliziano's poetic fleshing out of such literary ranking thus resonates with the spatial connotations already implicit in the language of critical and exegetical prose.

Quintilian holds great interest for Poliziano both for these ideas about literary hierarchy and also, more broadly, for his lists, sequences, and canons of authors offered in a pedagogical context. Poliziano includes such lists in his commentary on Statius, and the *Nutricia* is, at some level, a long list of poets from antiquity to the modern era. In order to construct such a canon, he relied on ancient sources ranging from the Suda to works of poetry such as Ovid *Epistulae ex Ponto* 4.16.[51] The latter poem, sequentially the final one of his exilic oeuvre, presents a long sequence of contemporary Roman poets. Poliziano refers to it in his commentary on Statius *Silvae* 2.7.48 to correct Domizio Calderini's 'absurdly' mistaken assumption (*Peccat ridicule Domitius*, C.M. 518) that Statius is referring to Homer when he mentions poets who wrote about the night of the fall of Troy. *Epistulae ex Ponto* 4.16 clearly shows that Statius is referring to non-extant Roman poets such as Camerinus and Taticanus.

> Ovidius in ultima elegia de Ponto poetae meminit Latini, qui sibi eam materiam sumpserit:
> quique canit domito Camerinus ab Hectore Troiam. [Ov. *Pont.* 4.16.19]
> Itemque de alio qui Phaeacida scripsit:
> et qui Maeonidem Phaeacida vertit, [Ov. *Pont.* 4.16.27]
> quem poetam ex quarto libro de Ponto duodecima epistola deprehendimus Taticanum fuisse. [*Pont.* 4.12.27–28]
>
> ad Stat. *Silv.* 2.7.48 = C.M. 519

> Ovid in the final elegy from Pontus recalls a Latin poet, who took that subject matter for himself.
> and Camerinus who sings of Troy from the time of the vanquishing of Hector.
> Again, Ovid on another poet who wrote the *Phaeacis*:
> and he who translated the Maeonian *Phaeacis*.
> This poet, we learn in the twelfth epistle of the fourth book from Pontus, was Taticanus.

51 On the precursors of Poliziano's *poetarum historia*, see Leuker (1997) 172–176.

These tantalizing references in Ovid clearly intrigued Poliziano, not least as testimony to the rich history of adaptations, continuations, and translations within the epic tradition. This philological interest in the reconstruction of the literary history of non-extant poets also manifests itself in his poetry. Ovid's final list from exile comes up in the *Nutricia* when Poliziano is discussing imperial Latin hexameter poets.

> Quosque sibi aequaevos puro vocalior ore,
> nequa laboranti incumbant oblivia famae,
> Naso refert, queruli tangens confinia Ponti?
>
> 535–537

> And [shall I pass over in silence, *an taceam* …? 526] those of his contemporaries whom Naso, a poet more sonorous in his pure speech, mentions lest oblivion weigh on their struggling fame, while he touches the borders of lament-filled Pontus?

Here the edges (*con-finia*) of Pontus refer at once to the end (*finis*) of Ovid's work, i.e., the last elegy of his oeuvre, the end of his life, and the territory of Pontus at the edge of the Roman world.[52] The rhetorical figure of *praeteritio* ('shall I pass over in silence …?') normally functions by concretely *mentioning* what it affects to pass over. Here, however, *praeteritio* lapses into literal neglect. Poliziano names none of Ovid's listed poets, but instead consigns them to a footnote, as if to say: 'See Ovid *Epistulae ex Ponto* 4.16 for further discussion and bibliography'. Their appearance both here and in the Commentary in the context of 'coming last' or at the end (*ultima*, *confinia*), along with *laboranti* (their 'struggling' fame), perhaps implies runners fallen behind in a race, struggling hard to keep up. There may be a deeper point, however: Poliziano too was nearing the end of his literary *opus* in this final *silva*, and, like Ovid, was offering a closing poetic commemoration of his fellow poets to posterity. As with *Silvae* 2.7, Poliziano showcases a predecessor-text that features lists of lesser-known poets, a treasure-trove of philological memory to be passed on to, or forgotten by, later generations. From this perspective, his attentive citation, in poetry and prose exegesis, of Ovid's 'final' words, manifests an awareness of the inevitable closure of his own life's work and the fragile commemorative capacity of texts.

52 The connection is made explicit in the translation of Fantazzi (2004) 144: 'in his last lamenting elegy from Pontus' (*queruli tangens confinia Ponti*, *Nutr*. 537).

5 Endings

Poliziano had a keen sense for endings. The *Nutricia*, in particular, foregrounds stories of poets' deaths culled from the ancient *vitae*. Old age and death not only afflict individuals; they prey on entire cultures and civilizations. This sharp awareness of the End is present from the beginning of the *Silvae*. In the opening passage of the first *silva*, the *Manto*, Poliziano introduces, with majestic emphasis, the goddess Nemesis: she is a fierce, terrible goddess who crushes human arrogance and ambition and confounds human life with her arbitrary interventions.

> *est dea, quae* vacuo sublimis in aera pendens
> it nimbo succincta latus, sed candida pallam,
> sed radiata comam, ac stridentibus insonat alis.
> Haec spes immodicas premit, haec infesta superbis
> imminet: huic celsas hominum contundere mentes
> successusque datum et nimios turbare paratus.
> *Quam veteres Nemesin*, genitam de Nocte silenti
> Oceano *dixere* patri …
> miscet et alterna nostros vice temperat actus,
> atque huc atque illuc ventorum turbine fertur.
>
> *Manto* 1–8, 12–13

> *There is a goddess who* goes forth, suspended aloft in the empty air, her flank wrapped in a cloud, but brilliant in her mantle, gleaming in her hair, and she resounds with whirring wings. She checks excessive hopes, and, hostile, menaces the proud; to her it was given to grind down the lofty minds of men, and to throw into disorder their successes and overweening projects. *The ancients called her Nemesis*, born of silent Night to Ocean her father … She confounds and regulates our actions with alternating changes, and she is borne hither and thither by a whirlwind.

Poliziano goes on to tell how Greek civilization, after attaining the heights of success, suffered at the hand of Nemesis. Greece came under the yoke of Roman arms; then was surpassed in eloquence by the oratory of Cicero, and finally, challenged even in the domain of poetry by Virgil. Virgil and Rome's triumphs are presented here according to a very Renaissance understanding of *translatio imperii et studii*:[53] a new civilization rises from the ruin of its predecessor.

53 Cf. Mengelkoch (2010) 85–86.

The culminating words of the prophecy of Virgil's greatness in the *Manto* drive this point home: 'antiquity, astonished, will yield all its glory to him' (*cui decus omne suum cedet stupefacta vetustas*, 308). Virgil outstripped his predecessors; by implication, modern Italian writers can now occupy the same position in relation to antiquity that Virgil held in relation to *his* past. With the marvelous phrase *stupefacta vetustas*, Poliziano dramatizes the power of the dominant modern poet to amaze and subjugate antiquity.

Given this poetic interest in the power of Nemesis to destroy civilizations and create space for new ones, it should not come as a surprise to us that Poliziano also devotes considerable scholarly energy to interpreting the figure of Nemesis. His commentary on the passage in Statius' *Silvae* where Invidia briefly fondles the doomed boy Glaucias on her lap turns into a disproportionately long essay, some eight pages in Cesarini Martinelli's edition, on the figure of Invidia/Nemesis (ad Stat. *Silv*. 2.1.122 = C.M. 393–401). Poliziano's central argument, based on a comparable passage in Statius *Silvae* 2.6,[54] is that Invidia and Nemesis are interchangeable here:

> INVIDIA. Nemesin, ut arbitror, intelligit …
>
> C.M. 393

> ENVY. Nemesis is meant, in my opinion …

Whereas conventionally one might view Nemesis as a punisher of arrogance and hubris and Invidia as the personification of the jealousy that seeks to undermine others' happiness, in Poliziano's reading of Statius the two figures merge to produce a force that destroys happiness and brings grief to humankind. It is a further striking feature of Poliziano's conception of literary history that such destruction often brings positive outcomes. Émilie Séris addresses this set of themes in Poliziano in her book *Les Étoiles de Némésis*:

> Nemesis figure moins l'inconstance de la fortune culturelle que sa transmission. C'est chez Politien une métaphore de la *translatio imperii et studii*.[55]

While Séris perceptively observes the intimate link between *fortuna* and cultural transmission in Poliziano's thought, it dilutes his position to state that

54 Stat. *Silv*. 2.68–79: *Invidia … Rhamnusia* ('Envy … the Rhamnusian goddess'); discussed at C.M. 396.

55 Séris (2002) 11.

Nemesis figures transmission *as opposed to* inconstancy. Rather, for Poliziano, the inconstancy of fortune *is* the driving force of cultural transmission. Nemesis enables cultural *translatio* not because she is a benign figure in Poliziano's conception, but precisely because she humbles and destroys civilizations according to her violent whim. This interpretation would accord with Humanist conceptions of the violent vicissitudes of historical *fortuna*. Leonardo Bruni, in his *History of the Florentine People*, compared imperial Rome to a mighty tree that overshadowed smaller seedlings growing nearby. After Rome's fall, other cities were able to rise up and flourish (1.10–11).[56] Just as Greece, according to the opening of the *Manto*, was humbled by Nemesis in being subordinated politically and even culturally to Rome, so Rome, in turn, fell, making way for the cultural renewal of Renaissance Italian cities.

Nemesis destroys civilizations and kills poets. In the *Nutricia*, Poliziano laments that the Rhamnusian goddess deprived the world of the glory that was Lucan (*Sed iniqua bonis Rhamnusia tantis / heu decus hoc orbi invidit*, 511–512). Indeed, Poliziano's final *silva* is, in some sense, a catalogue of the dead.[57] This might seem strange for a poem whose title thematizes nursing or the fostering of new life. Yet the poem's and perhaps the collection's defining thematic tension resides in this seemingly paradoxical collocation. The opening lines state that there is an ancient law that decrees that nurslings must be grateful to their nurses:

> *stat vetus* et nullo *lex* interitura sub aevo …
> *quae* gratos blandae officio nutricis alumnos
> esse iubet, longumque pia mercede laborem
> pensat, et emeritis cumulat compendia curis.
>
> 1, 6–8

> *There is a law*, ancient and destined never to perish in any age … *that* orders nurslings to be grateful for the office of the gentle nurse, repays her long labour with dutiful compensation, and heaps up savings for her completed term of solicitous service.

The syntax here (*stat … lex … quae*, 'there is a law … that') closely matches the opening of the *Manto*: *est dea quae …* ('there is a goddess who …' 1). This parallelism of language points to the powerful conceptual arc that extends from the

56 See the edition of Hankins (2001) vol. 1, 17.

57 See Bausi (1996) xxi; on the biographical focus, Godman (1993) *passim*.

first to the last of Poliziano's *Silvae*. The law of gratitude to literary nurses of the past represents the inverse of the rule of Nemesis, which manifests itself in the trampling and humbling of literary predecessors. Yet just as Nemesis' violence reveals itself to be a form of creative destruction, so the benevolent impulse of gratitude toward predecessors conceals the desire to benefit from their death. After announcing this law of gratitude to nurses, Poliziano offers a series of examples, the first of which is Aeneas' gratitude to his nurse Caieta: Poliziano's allusion to Virgil in these lines reminds us that, in the *Aeneid*, the hero must first abandon his Trojan nurse to the grave before continuing on his voyage to found the new land of his destiny.[58] Nurses are honoured and remembered, but also buried and left behind. The creative destruction of Nemesis thus finds its perfect and complicit mirror image in the burial of the fortuitously dead nurse.

A multi-layered allusion in the opening lines of the *Manto*, at once intertextual and intratextual, illuminates Poliziano's double-edged attitude toward the 'nurses' of the classical past. The opening phrase *est dea quae* engages in dialogue not only with his *Nutricia*, but also with the long entry on Nemesis in his Commentary on Statius' *Silvae*. Here he cites lines on Nemesis by Antimachus of Colophon, followed by a Latin translation of those same lines:[59]

> *Est dea quam Nemesin dicunt*, dea magna potensque
> C.M. 401
>
> *There is a goddess whom they call Nemesis*, a great and powerful goddess.

This Latin version of Antimachus obviously resembles both the incipit of the *Manto* (*est dea quae*) and the relative clause in the second sentence in the opening description of Nemesis (***quam Nemesin*** *…* / *…* ***dixere*** *patri*, 'whom our forefathers called Nemesis', 7–8). This opening homage to the goddess who oversees the violent succession of cultures thus shines an intertextual spotlight on the very poet singled out by Quintilian and Poliziano for the dubious honour

58 *Nutr*. 10–11: *Hinc Italos Phrygio* ***signavit nomine*** *portus*, / *Caietae memor, Aeneas* ('For this reason, Aeneas, in memory of Caieta, marked an Italian port with a Phrygian name'.). Cf. Verg. *A*. 7.3–4. *et nunc servat honos sedem tuus, ossaque* ***nomen*** / *Hesperia in magna, si qua est ea gloria,* ***signat*** ('and now your honour guards your resting place, and your name marks out [the site of] your bones in great Hesperia, if that is any glory'). In this volume, see Newlands' discussion of *A*. 7.1–4 in section 1, 'Virgil's Error' (pp. 167–171).

59 The lines of Antimachus (ἔστι δέ τις Νέμεσις μεγάλη θεὸς, ἣ … 'there is a great goddess, Nemesis, who …') are themselves cited in the passage of Strabo cited as *testimonium* by Poliziano: (Str. 13.1.13). The translation is that of the early 15th-century Humanist Gregorio Tifernate: see Bausi (1996) ad *Nutr*. 1.

of coming second after Homer 'by a long interval'. Antimachus' secondariness, the status of being surpassed (and also *translated* into Latin), perfectly matches the broader paradigm of cultural succession that is at stake in the *Manto*'s opening lines. His absorption into Latinity via translation enacts the very civilizational shift the passage describes. To be absorbed in this way, moreover, is to be consigned to the past—a point that Poliziano sharply emphasizes with a seemingly minor change of tenses: the shift from the Latinized Antimachus' present (*dicunt*, 'they call her [Nemesis]') to Poliziano's perfect tense (*veteres … dixere*, 'our forefathers called her [Nemesis]'). The implication is that Antimachus and his fellow Greek authors now belong irretrievably to a past civilization.

The closing sections of the *Nutricia* push the argument further, encompassing the Romans themselves within this vision of civilizational ruin. Just as the burial of Aeneas' nurse, by a kind of allegory of cultural *translatio*, signals the destruction of Troy and consequent rise of Rome, so classical antiquity itself must undergo death and burial to make way for modernity. Poliziano brings his entire discussion of ancient literature to an end in a passage that, as noted earlier, testifies to the immense variety of classical poetic genres.

> … et patuere novae per mille poemata curae.
> Quas ego, si Pyliae duplicentur tempora vitae
> iam mihi, si cunctas nostra in praecordia voces
> fama ferat, rigidoque sonent haec pectora ferro,
> non amplecti ausim numero, non ore profari
> evaleam tantaeve situm indagare senectae.
>
> *Nutr.* 714–719

> … and new endeavours found expression in a thousand poems. If I were to live twice as long as Nestor, if *Fama* should bring all her voices into my breast and my chest resound with hard iron, I would not dare to enumerate all these [poetic modes]; I would not have the strength to talk about or investigate the decay of such profound antiquity.[60]

60 On the 'many mouths' topos, see Hinds (1998), 34–47. Poliziano's contribution surpasses the escalating numbers of the classical tradition (*cunctas*), while ingeniously incorporating Virgil's own metapoetic *Fama* (*A.* 4.173–188) and Nestor's proverbial longevity. The choice to employ an inflationary classical topos famous for lapsing into triteness (*vatibus hic mos est*, 'This is the way of bards', Persius 5.1) to evoke the decay of the classical literary tradition is especially cutting. At the same time, the many deaths inflicted on literary cultures by Nemesis and the vicissitudes of Fortune cumulatively produce a rich and highly

Poliziano abruptly converts the splendid poetic achievements documented thus far in the *Nutricia*, both Greek and Roman, into a mouldering heap of dusty books, the decay (*situm*) of old age (*senectae*). It is not only the old age of classical literature that is at stake here, however. Poliziano also glances at his own old age as compared with that of Nestor. These words recall the closure of Statius *Silvae* 1.3, where the poet wishes Manilius Vopiscus a long, Nestorean life of literary leisure: *sic … finem Nestoreae precor egrediare senectae* ('so, I pray, may you surpass the limit of Nestor's old age', 1.3.110). The fact that this line caught Poliziano's interest is attested by the lemma in his commentary *NESTOREAE SENECTAE* (ad Stat. *Silv*. 1.3.110 = C.M. 311), which cites *testimonia* from Homer, Homeric scholia, Pindar, and Hesiod, to calculate the number of years Nestor lived. We might also note the sound-echo of *finem Nestoreae … egrediare senectae* in Poliziano's *situm indagare senectae*. Statius' closing line is positive in tone: with evident play on these lines' closural position, Statius hopes that Vopiscus will go on writing poetry, surpassing the *finem* ('end/boundary'). The *Nutricia*, by contrast, takes a broader and more severe perspective, extending 'old age' to include the entirety of classical literature and erasing any hint of Statius' encomiastic warmth. All things must eventually come to an end, both Vopiscus' elegant, literary life, and, eventually, classical poetry itself.

6 Short Cuts

With the 'nurse' of classical poetry duly buried and consigned to perpetual decay, Poliziano turns to the poets of modern Italy. Skipping over the Middle Ages, he resumes with Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, and Cavalcanti (720–725), who, in contrast with the senescent classics, represent a new, youthful flowering in the city called *Florentia* (*immensae veniunt praeconia laudis*, / *ingeniis opibusque potens, Florentia mater*, 'proclamations of immeasurable praise come to you, mother Florence, powerful in resources and intellects', 726–727). At the poem's close, after a praiseful survey of the varied literary output of Poliziano's patron Lorenzo de' Medici, he turns to the future of Humanist letters in the form of Lorenzo's son Piero, who, as Poliziano's pupil (*alumnus*),[61] climbs a mountain of the Muses that might be a new Helicon or Parnassus.

varied literary archive. The passing of the torch from one civilization to the next creates the very miscellany so prized by Poliziano. Aesthetic variation (*vices*) and historical vicissitude (*vices*) are thus closely linked phenomena.

61 The word *alumnus* is a key thematic term here, given that it can mean both 'pupil' and 'inhabitant of a place'. Virgil is designated as Manto's *alumnus* after the close of her speech

> … Lustris nondum tribus ecce peractis
> iam tamen in Latium Graiae monimenta senectae
> evocat, et dulci detornat carmina plectro,
> meque *per Aoniae sequitur compendia silvae*
> ereptans avide montem, iamque instat anhelo,
> it iam paene *prior*. Sic, o, sic pergat, et ipsum
> me superet maiore gradu, *longeque relinquat*
> protinus, et dulci potius plaudatur alumno,
> *bisque mei victore illo celebrentur honores*! (782–790)
>
> Absoluta est in Faesulano, VIII Idus Octobris MCCCCLXXXVI

> See, before he has completed fifteen years, he nonetheless summons the monuments of Greek antiquity into Latium, and lathes poems with an agreeable plectrum; and he follows me through the short cuts of the Aonian wood, eagerly scrambling up the hill, and already he presses on me, while I am out of breath; and already he is almost ahead of me. Thus, thus may he continue on and even surpass me with a greater stride, and soon leave me far behind, and may there rather be applause for my dear pupil, and in his victory may my glory be celebrated twice over!
>
> [This *sylva*] was completed in the [Medici] villa at Fiesole, 8 October 1486

This closing vignette, suggestively set in a metapoetic *silva* (785), combines pedagogy, literary emulation, the theme of youth and age, the spatial figuration of literary endeavour, and the footrace as metaphor for literary competition.[62] The aging teacher, gasping for breath (*anhelo*), falls ever further behind his precocious Medici pupil,[63] a scenario that boldly emulates the closing *sphragis* of Statius' *Thebaid* (12.810–819). There, as we recall, the author asks his work to avoid challenging the *Aeneid* directly, instead following at a distance (***longe sequere***, 817; cf. *Nutricia*: ***sequitur*** … *prior* … ***longe*** *relinquat*)—a key classical

in the *Manto* (312): i.e., both as the pupil/nursling of the prophetess Manto and as a son of the city of Mantua that takes its name from her.

62 I discuss this passage from a different viewpoint in Roman (2020) 213–220.

63 In reality, Piero was not such a brilliant disciple; hence, *Aoniae … compendia silvae* ('short cuts of the Aonian wood') might imply that he is skimming superficially over Greek literature; but see further on this phrase in the following paragraph. The reference to the weary Poliziano "out of breath" (*anhelo*) possibly alludes to a highly comparable passage in Boccaccio's Letter to Iacopo Pizzinga. Boccaccio exhorts Pizzinga to embark on his ascent of Parnassus and leave behind his predecessors as they "gasp for breath" (*anhelantibus*, in Branca [1992] 670).

locus for the use of *sequor* / *secundus* to describe literary rank. Marking out even more clearly this intertextual path is Poliziano's closing line, *bisque **mei** victore illo **celebrentur honores*** ('and in his victory may my glory be celebrated twice over!' 790), a direct echo of the last line of the *Thebaid*: *et meriti post **me referentur honores*** ('and after I am gone, well-deserved honours shall be paid', 819).[64] Whereas Statius' poem will outlive him (*dominoque legere superstes*, '… will you be read [long into the future], surviving your master?' 12.810), Piero, the object of Poliziano's solicitous labours, will outpace and survive his tutor. In place of the expected *sphragis* predicting the immortality of the book, Poliziano offers a prophecy of the glorious future career of his student/patron/rival. Piero is not only the triumphant 'victor' (*victore illo*, *Nutr*. 790) in this literary competition; he is also a budding ruler and warrior on the model of the Virgilian Ascanius.[65] As we think of his victory, we might recall the epic duels that close the *Thebaid* and the *Aeneid*. This closural vision of a new Medici Helicon attests equally to Poliziano's poetic boldness and scholarly erudition: he knowingly uses classical citations to juxtapose the spaces of literary *otium* in Statius' *Silvae* with the violent epic struggle for predominance depicted in his *Thebaid*.[66]

Another intertext brings out even more clearly the threat of violence in the present scene: an Ovidian allusion, as subversive as it is subtle, in the phrase *per Aoniae … compendia silvae* ('the short cuts of the Aonian wood', *Nutr*. 785): just as hounds chasing Actaeon take a 'short cut' over the 'mountain' (*per compendia montis*, 3.234)[67] before ripping him to pieces, Poliziano's pupil hunts

64 Note also Poliziano's triple *iam* (*iam … iamque … iam*, 'already … already … soon') echoing Statius' (*iam … iam … iam …* 'already … already … already', *Theb*. 12.812, 814, 815), which emulates and surpasses Virgil's closural *iam iamque* (*A*. 12.940).

65 *Nutr*. 780: *ibit in exemplum natus, mea maxima cura* ('your son, my greatest care, will follow your example'); cf. Verg. *A*. 1.678 (*mea maxima cura*: Venus speaking of Ascanius), *G*. 4.354 (Aristaeus).

66 The *Thebaid*'s ending also includes a prominent pedagogical aspect: *Itala iam studio discit memoratque iuventus* ('Now the youth of Italy zealously learn and commit to memory', 12.815); I am grateful to Bruce Gibson for pointing this out.

67 Statius, perhaps echoing Ovid, employs similar phrases with *compendia* at *Theb*. 2.497, 2.658, 6.440, 10.483; cf. v. Fl. 1.484. For *Aoniae … silvae*, see Stat. *Silv*. 2.7.13, *Aoniae … silvae*. Statius frequently qualifies topographical features with the adjective *Aonius*: e.g., *antris* (*Silv*. 4.6.31), *vertice* (*Silv*. 5.1.113), *campos* (*Silv*. 5.3.92), *nemus* (*Ach*. 1.10). It seems significant that Poliziano uses both *compendium* and *alumnus* at the opening and close of the poem (*compendia, Nutr*. 8, 785; *alumnos, Nutr. 6; alumno, Nutr*. 789)—a ring-structure emphasizing how the old nurse (a role now occupied by Poliziano himself) is at once honoured (*compendia* = savings/compensation) and left behind (*compendia* = the speedy pupil's 'short cuts').

the old teacher to his last, gasping breath.[68] This new 'Aonian' mount of inspiration suddenly and worryingly discloses the poet's *disiecta membra*, a final metamorphosis. The dismemberment of Orpheus—well-known as the object of Poliziano's poetic and philological obsession throughout his career—is in the background here.[69] Nemesis and the humbling violence of retribution are also not far away. Perhaps, by praising Piero, Poliziano hopes to ward off the dread Rhamnusian goddess from himself (and sacrifice his pupil?).[70] Here, as elsewhere in Poliziano's scholarly and poetic corpus, violent destruction impels the dynamic of cultural continuation. The successor poet draws energy from the predecessor's decay and death, as youthful vigour asserts dominance over an enfeebled past. Juxtaposing Piero's scant fifteen years with antiquity's decaying monuments (*monimenta senectae*, *Nutr*. 783) and his own weakened body, Poliziano aligns the aging of poets with the death of civilizations. Now it is the youthful Piero, a bold warrior and apprentice poet, who resembles Achilles in the preface to the *Manto*, while Poliziano assumes the role of Orpheus, the old master still revered yet fading in his powers.

The core tensions intrinsic to Poliziano's conception of literary history animate this masterfully condensed *sphragis*. Nemesis' appearance at the beginning of the *Manto* offers a sublime, panoramic perspective on the competitive clash of ancient cultures, with Rome surpassing Greece. Now, at the end of his *Silvae*, we are afforded a different vista, one that is both more local and more specific: a prose subscription[71] reveals the sacred mount Piero ascends to be Fiesole, the

68 In 2007, scientists in Florence exhumed from their graves the bodies of Poliziano and the philosopher Pico della Mirandola, and they found high concentrations of arsenic in both: see the entertaining account of Garofano, Gruppioni, and Vinceti (2008) 133–160. It was hypothesized that Piero de' Medici had them murdered for supporting Savonarola. If this is correct, Poliziano's Actaeon allusion was darkly prophetic.

69 Beside his *Fabula di Orfeo* (1479/1480), note, for example, the long passage on Orpheus in the *Nutricia* (285–317).

70 The fact that Poliziano does *not* mention Invidia/Nemesis here, a common motif of poetic *sphragides*, including his explicit Statian model (*Theb*. 12.818, *livor*), is conspicuous. The mention of Nemesis at the close of the *Nutricia* would also have neatly echoed the opening of the *Manto*, creating a satisfying ring-structure. I would suggest that Nemesis is present here *sous rature*—an inter- and intra-textually implicit menace to be kept (hopefully) at bay.

71 On this subscription, which appears in the Bolognese edition of Platone de Benedetti (22 June 1491), but not in the Florentine *editio princeps* (Antonio Miscomini, 26 May, 1491), except in two exemplars where it was added in pen, see Galand (1987) 120, and Bausi (1996) xxxiii–xxxiv. Since de' Benedetti's edition was published during Poliziano's lifetime and probably overseen by him (Fantazzi [2004] 163), the subscription also likely derives from Poliziano. The *Rusticus* ends with a similar and highly Virgilian reference to the Medici Villa at Fiesole as site of composition (*Talia Faesuleo lentus meditabar in antro | rure*

location of Lorenzo de' Medici's villa, and symbol of a new Florentine Helicon. Consistently with Statius' and his own spatial figurations of literary endeavour, Poliziano ends his *Silvae* with an evocation of the wooded slopes of Fiesole as the latest site of *translatio studii*. Here too the Commentary on Statius' *Silvae* confirms and enriches our understanding of Poliziano's poetic continuation of Statian metapoetics. Commenting on *Silvae* 4.4.54, where Statius depicts himself playing the lyre and singing in the precinct of Virgil's tomb (*Maroneique sedens in margine templi*), he offers a succinct observation along with two parallels:

> MARONEI. Semper videlicet honorem Virgilio habet, ut Thebaide [12.816–817]:
>
> nec tu divinam Aeneida tempta,
> sed longe sequere, et vestigia semper adora.
>
> Martialis de Silio [11.48]:
>
> Silius haec magni celebrat monumenta Maronis,
> iugera facundi qui Ciceronis habet.
> Heredem dominumque sui fundique larisque
> non alium mallet nec Maro nec Cicero.
>
> C.M. 665–666

> MARONIAN. Clearly, he always shows Virgil veneration, as in the *Thebaid*:
>
> and do not challenge the divine *Aeneid*,
> but follow at a distance, and ever venerate its footsteps.
>
> Martial on Silius:
>
> Silius honours these memorials of great Maro,
> Silius, who owns the acreage of eloquent Cicero.
> Neither Maro nor Cicero would prefer anyone else
> as heir and owner of his home and estate.

The first citation, the previously discussed lines commanding the *Thebaid* to 'follow at a distance' in the *Aeneid's* 'footsteps' (*longe sequere, et vestigia semper adora*, 12.817), provides both a fitting parallel for the spatial metapoetics

suburbano Medicum, 'Such things I composed at my ease in the Fiesolan grotto at the suburban estate of the Medici', 557–558); likewise, the *Ambra* ends with a description of the Medici Villa at Poggio a Caiano (590–625). The subscription to the *Nutricia*, while exceptional in some sense, coheres both with the collection's closural focus on Medici villas and with Poliziano's interest in offering prose commentary on his own poetry.

of *Silvae* 4.4[72] and further confirmation of the *Thebaid sphragis*' intertextual relevance for the *Nutricia*'s closural pursuit-scene. In the second citation, Martial commemorates Silius' similar act of Virgilian veneration through ownership of the site of the poet's tomb, an estate formerly owned by Cicero. Taken together, Poliziano's two citations draw connections between different works to illustrate a shared paradigm of spatial metaphors for poetic succession, implicitly encouraging us to move back from *Silvae* 4.4 and consider more broadly the phenomenon of literary veneration through topographical contiguity in the *Thebaid* and other texts. The same cross-generic appreciation of the spatio-monumental concretization of literary transmission informs the closing passage and subscription of the *Nutricia*. Indeed, the two passages cited in the *Commento* correspond precisely to the two primary modes of spatial figuration of poetic succession in the *Nutricia sphragis*: pursuit or 'following' (*longe sequere / sequitur*) and land ownership (Virgil's/Silius'/Cicero's estate; the Medici estate at Fiesole). The specific sites of spatialized emulation, however, are always shifting. Like Statius in *Silvae* 4.4 and Martial in the epigram on Silius, Poliziano grounds the inheritance of the classical legacy in a particular built structure and plot of land—*absoluta est Faesolano* ('completed at the Fiesolan estate')—even while appealing to the classical paradigm of the open-ended transferability of figurative poetic terrains, such as Helicon and Parnassus, to new places and new literary modes.

The dense fabric of cross-references among Poliziano's exegetical, pedagogical, and poetic endeavours allows us to trace how his ideas about the transmission of culture across space and time inform both his conception and practice of literary creativity. The miscellaneous patchwork of genres and texts woven together by the Florentine Humanist coheres with his vision of the multilocative and multi-temporal dynamics of literary history. Poliziano resists and fragments the notion of singular, integral, stable, perfect authors and texts as eternal and unmoveable monuments of literary classicism. Instead, he evokes a centreless, anti-hierarchical spatio-temporal matrix, in which constantly shifting rankings clash with chronological priority and a seemingly static canon undergoes surprising transformations. In one sense, Poliziano's story 'comes to an end' on the teleologically valorized slopes of Fiesole: literary history culminates in the political and cultural triumphs of the Medici. The larger picture, however, tells another story, one of migrations, endings, deaths, new

72 In this volume, Newlands' chapter is particularly relevant for the study of the spatial metapoetics of the *Silvae* (see in particular pp. 174–178).

beginnings—a story ruled by Nemesis. From that perspective, every ending is also a prelude, just as every prelude implies an ending.

The only constant in Poliziano's mapping of sites of culture is the mobility of traditions, authors, and texts.[73] The figure of Nemesis as violent driver of cultural change and the burial of the nurse of classical literature frame his *Silvae* at the beginning and end. Both scenarios involve a spatial itinerary—the path from Greece to Rome, the continuation of Aeneas' journey. The persistent, underlying theme is that of the *iter*, which represents the journey taken by an individual poem as well as the endless voyage of literary culture itself, as it undergoes multiple *translationes* to previously unknown regions. This matrix of criss-crossing spatial itineraries corresponds, in turn, to the miscellany of densely woven allusions on the textual plane. In the rich fabric of his poetic reminiscences and philological *testimonia*, Poliziano emphasizes the multiple over the singular, the mixed over the pure, the mobile over the static. The Humanists of the quattrocento have often been viewed as backward-looking, the last priests of the cult of classicism before the explosive innovations of vernacular culture and experimental science. Recent re-evaluations, however, have called this judgement into question, arguing that Humanist modes of inquiry, including techniques of textual editing and commentary, paved the way for later advances in knowledge.[74] Poliziano's attentiveness to the particularities of socio-cultural change, a core feature of his scholarly and aesthetic temperament, implies an openness to the unknown and unforeseen, the preludic anticipation, at once fraught with foreboding and hope, of what comes *next*.

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73 Cf. Mengelkoch (2010) 96, 115.

74 Grafton (1991) pioneers this approach.

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PART 2

The Sequel: A New Age of Disclosure

CHAPTER 3

The Role of Translation in Commentary on Statius' *Silvae*

Bruce Gibson

1 Introduction

The status of translation within published commentaries on classical texts has had a mixed history. One can think for instance of a classic commentary such as the three volumes of Fraenkel's commentary on the *Agamemnon*, which comes with a complete translation.[1] On the other hand, the commentaries that advanced students might encounter at school or University, such as the 'Oxford Reds' for commentaries on texts such as books of Virgil's *Aeneid*, or the volumes of the Cambridge 'Green and Yellow', are not volumes that typically provide a separate translation at all.[2] In part, this might be seen as an understandable consequence of the need to supply texts which could be studied at school or undergraduate level, and it is certainly not a straightforward task to conduct classes on a text with students who are expected to be able to translate the text they are studying, but who happen also to have the translation open in front of them.[3]

Scholarship on commentaries has flowered in recent years. Three noted edited volumes on commentaries have been at the heart of recent scholarship on classical commentaries, Glenn Most's *Commentaries–Kommentare* (1999), Roy Gibson and Christina Kraus' *The Classical Commentary* (2002), and, most

1 Fraenkel (1950); see further the important treatment of Fraenkel's commentary by Stray (2016).

2 On 'Oxford Reds', see Henderson (2002), (2006), (2007); on Cambridge's 'Green and Yellow' (Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics) series of commentaries, see Easterling (2007), Gibson (2016) 347–351, 363 and n. 73, and note the memorable comment of Bartera (2016) 130: 'these commentaries are often learned commentaries disguised as school commentaries'.

3 Note that a feature of commentaries published by Aris and Phillips has been the use of facing translation: see further, e.g., Fantham (2002) 411 n. 13, Rowe (2002) 297 n. 10, who also has useful remarks on the importance of translation at 304 with nn. 28 and 29. For discussion of anxiety in earlier periods over even having notes on the page available as an impediment to the practice of translation in a classroom setting, see, e.g., Stray (2007) 94–95, Kraus (2016) 330–331; cf. Stray (1998) 96–102 on nineteenth century debates on the place of English as opposed to Latin for explanatory notes in classical books and in grammars for school use.

recently, in 2016, the volume edited by Christina Kraus and Christopher Stray entitled *Classical Commentaries: Explorations in a Scholarly Genre*.[4] Within several of the papers in these volumes, there are important observations on the place of translations in commentaries: thus Susan Stephens considers how the absence of translations in many scholarly editions of fragmentary texts carries with it sometimes unhelpful assumptions about audience;[5] Patrick Finglass offers several valuable pages on the role of Jebb's elegant and influential translations in his editions of Sophocles, and their tendency at times to obscure textual difficulties;[6] Salvador Bartera notes the varied provision of translation of harder passages from Tacitus in school commentaries in the nineteenth century;[7] Penelope Wilson looks at the interrelationship of translation and commentary in Jean-François Vauvilliers' 1772 translation (with commentary) of a selection of Pindaric odes.[8]

The most recent of these three volumes explicitly offers a chapter with the word 'translation' in its title. The paper in question, 'Translation and Commentary' by Stuart Gillespie,[9] deals with Pope's translation of Homer's *Iliad* and its accompanying notes, instead of offering more general reflections on the use of translation in the classical commentary considered more broadly. Nevertheless, Gillespie's paper does make an important point about what translation can do, which is to point towards the way in which for Pope, 'poetical' responses to the *Iliad* can themselves be analogous to the contribution which can be offered by commentary. Gillespie quotes a useful passage from the *Essay on Criticism* (1712) on the way in which Homer is best understood through looking at the text of Virgil, which is described as '*Comment*' here:[10]

> Be *Homer*'s Works your *Study*, and *Delight*,
> Read them by Day, and meditate by Night …
> Still with *Itself* compar'd, his *Text* peruse,
> And let your *Comment* be the *Mantuan Muse*.
>
> ALEXANDER POPE, *Essay on Criticism* 124–125, 128–129

4 Most (1999), Gibson and Kraus (2002), Kraus and Stray (2016).
5 Stephens (2002) 81–83.
6 Finglass (2016) 28–33; cf. Stray (2007) on Jebb and Sophocles.
7 Bartera (2016) 125–129.
8 Wilson (2016).
9 Gillespie (2016).
10 Gillespie (2016) 301–302. In this volume, see Roman's discussion of Poliziano's composition of *Silvae* as a means of commenting on Statius' *Silvae*.

Very similar to this, but in prose, is the passage in Pope's Introduction to his translation of the *Iliad*, in which he again advises the avoidance of commentaries in undertaking a translation:

> What I would further recommend to him, is to study his author rather from his own text, than from any commentaries, how learned soever, or whatever figure they may make in the estimation of the world; to consider him attentively in comparison with *Virgil* above all the ancients, and with *Milton* above all the moderns.[11]

Both of these passages from Pope convey the important idea that one poetic text more broadly can provide a commentary on another.

This is obviously something different from the experience of the writer of the academic commentary on Statius' *Silvae*, but there is nevertheless an important point latent here, with Pope's translation of Homer's *Iliad* envisaged as a work which in itself is a kind of commentary on Homer's *Iliad*, even in the format of a translation. We can similarly compare Victoria Moul's 2007 article which looks at Ben Jonson's translation of Horace as a kind of commentary.[12] The issue here, however, in both cases is not so much the question of translation's role when published with a commentary, but what translation on its own can do in terms of explicating a text.[13]

2 Translation and Statius

If we turn to Statius, even something published purely as a text and translation of Statius can nevertheless also be felt to contribute in the manner of a commentary. Shackleton Bailey's Loeb edition of Statius' *Silvae* comments on the fact that his translation will be of interest to commentators:[14]

> The notes to my translation include, beside basic information to make it intelligible, much hermeneutic and/or revelatory material, such as may

11 For this quotation, see the edition of Shankman (2009) 20.

12 Moul (2007).

13 Fowler (1999) 429 offers brief but important reflection on the difference between commentaries and 'rival models for criticism such as the *translation* model, whereby the text in some way is transformed into another representation of itself in the act of criticism, or the *performance* model in which criticism bears the same relationship to the original text as a performance does to a play-text or musical score'.

14 Shackleton Bailey (2003) 10.

> concern any commentator to come. Textual matters are mostly relegated to the Critical Appendix.

Whereas the position taken by Shackleton Bailey, that the notes to the translation can be of help to future commentators, may be regarded as a variation on the regular use of commentary on a Greek or Latin text as an exegetical tool, there have been more unqualified recognitions of the role of translation. Consider the recent translation of selections of the *Silvae* by Anthony Howell and Bill Shepherd, which has been considered one of the more lively translations.[15] Carole Newlands, in an important review of the translation in the journal *Translation and Literature*, however, points out that the translation often illuminates something that might have been overlooked:[16]

> A sense of this poetry's tonal range is evident too: Howell and Shepherd are alert to Statius' humour and wit, a quality often overlooked by translators and critics, as well as to his emotional depth.

Likewise, Newlands also points out in her closing remarks that the translations can draw attention to elements of nuance, or even of subversion in the midst of praise poetry:[17]

> As twenty-first-century readers of Statius they also importantly appreciate the possibility of subversion in panegyric, and note his skilful use of irony.

Turning from translations of Statius to commentaries, the preface to Michael Dewar's excellent commentary on *Thebaid* 9 offers a striking discussion of the function of translation in a commentary:[18]

> The translation can lay no claim to literary merit, but seeks merely to provide a reasonably accurate key to a difficult text without wholly sacrificing the flavour and exuberance of the original.

15 Howell and Shepherd 2007. Newlands (2011) 30 praises 'the vivacious "versions" of Howell and Shepherd (2007), which have helped begin the process of removing the taint of fustian from the *Silvae*, making them more accessible'.

16 Newlands (2009) 115.

17 Newlands (2009) 116.

18 Dewar (1991) vii.

What seems to be implied here is something rather unambitious: the choice of the word 'key' evokes those old-fashioned and very literal translations of texts such as those published in the famous series 'Kelly's Keys to the Classics'.[19] Nevertheless, Dewar's comment here rather undersells the high quality of his translation, and the fact that it does play an exegetic part in the overall aim of the volume of commentary on *Thebaid* 9, as well as succeeding splendidly in conveying the 'flavour and exuberance' of Statius' writing.[20] The value of translation for commentaries had, twenty years before Dewar's commentary, been noted by Cambridge University Press in 1971, when giving guidelines for what Cambridge 'Orange' commentaries should seek to do: the first guideline is: 'To elucidate the sense where necessary; sometimes translation is the most economical way of doing this'.[21]

A rather more positive sense of what translation might hope to achieve is conveyed with admirable economy by Kathleen Coleman in the 'Editor's Preface' to her edition of *Silvae* 4 where she remarks (1988: v), 'I hope that the translation will elucidate both text and commentary'. This raises the intriguing possibility that not only might a translation have something to contribute to our understanding of the text, but that a translation might also reveal something about the commentary. From this point of view, the discussion of translation in the second volume of the three-volume critical text and translation of Statius' epic poems produced by Barry Hall, Anne Ritchie, and Mike Edwards is worth pausing on for a moment.

In introducing their translation of the Statian epics, Ritchie and Hall begin with the unremarkable point that they are seeking to make an accurate prose rendering of the Latin: 'Our translation of the *Thebaid* and *Achilleid* has one primary objective, and that is to represent in English prose as far as we can what we believe to be the uppermost meaning of Statius' Latin'. However, the editors then make the point that characterizations such as 'the brusqueness of Tydeus' and 'the dignified utterance of Adrastus' can be something which they are aiming to achieve.[22] They then go on, much more strikingly, to adumbrate, what they see as an additional purpose for translation:[23]

19 See, e.g., Lewers (1860), a literal translation of Cicero's *De senectute* and *De amicitia*.

20 For Dewar's language of 'flavour and exuberance', compare the speculation of Slater (1908) 4 on what more extensive translation of Statius by Pope would have looked like: 'He would have reproduced something of the brilliancy and finish of the original'.

21 Easterling (2007) 178; cf. Gibson (2016) 349.

22 Hall, Ritchie, and Edwards (2007) 2.vii.

23 Hall, Ritchie, and Edwards (2007) 2.viii.

> We have a secondary purpose also in providing a translation, and that is to obviate the need to write critical notes on the lines where we print conjectures, ours or those of others. The others have in some cases set down their arguments on paper and published them, but our noble precursors Gronovius, Heinsius, Bentley, and Markland often do no more than record their suggestions, with or without a commendatory *scribe* or *lege* or *recte*. That indeed was all they needed to do since they could count on a readership which knew Latin intimately and was not only receptive to change but positively eager to welcome it, if it was good. Today change is so far unwelcome in many quarters that even the slightest alteration of a text comes in for protest, and large-scale alteration is met with incredulity. It is as though there were a conspiracy to agree in the comfortable belief that emendation has had its day and the texts of the Latin poets are now as good as they possibly can be. We, however, believe that our great predecessors, the giants on whose shoulders we stand, would have been the first to acknowledge that, while they themselves had indeed done much, there was still much to be done.
>
> We may sum up like this. Because we do not see that five pages of commendation are better than five lines, if the conjecture is right, we have decided to skip even the five lines and let the translation speak for us. If the translation is true to the text and both are true to the precise sense required by the content, we consider that we have done enough to prove our case.

Here we see the power that translation can have in the process of editing a critical text. Scholars may not always applaud the textual choices that are made in a work such as Hall's edition of the *Thebaid*, which self-consciously aims at a bold approach to the text of Statius' epic poems; nevertheless, there is an extremely important point here, that translation can have a key role in the process of explaining textual decisions made by editors.[24] Very striking, however,

24 Cf. the positive assessment of Berlincourt (2010): 'Was a new English rendering really needed, after the recent ones by Shackleton Bailey and, for the *Thebaid* only, Ross and Joyce? My answer is decidedly positive. In the first place, in keeping with its declared objective (11 vii) of staying as close as can be to the Latin text and of adopting a language both natural and attentive to variations of stylistic level in the original, the present translation is very thorough and easy to read, and it succeeds in being an effective aid. Admittedly, what it helps us understand is an idiosyncratic text of Statius' epics, but exactly here is the second, related, reason why this translation is most welcome—it is an indispensable companion to Hall's text. Since the new text has been established with a strong focus on Statius' intended meaning, it is of vital importance that the reader gets, on every point,

is the closing remark to the effect that translation can simply replace critical discussion ('Because we do not see that five pages of commendation are better than five lines, if the conjecture is right, we have decided to skip even the five lines and let the translation speak for us'), which looks back to the critical practice of much earlier scholars who might simply propose an emendation to the text and say nothing more by way of explanation.

In fact, the process of elucidating the text and providing glosses that one might be inclined to call translation does not even need to be done in a different language. Here is Markland's Latin note (and his text) on *Silvae* 5.1.185–186 where Statius represents Priscilla telling Abascantus that after the death of his wife Priscilla the fates and gods have no further power over him:[25]

> *Non in te Fatis, non jam caelestibus ullis*
> *Arbitrium: mecum ista fero.*]
> Recte haec interpretantur Gevartius, Elect. III, 9. et Barthius. Sensus est: nulla Fata invida, nulli Dii, posthac tibi nocebunt: consumtae enim et exhaustae sunt eorum vires hac tanta plaga quam tibi per interitum meum intulerunt: Ego omnia infortunia mecum aufero.
>
> *Neither the Fates, nor any of the gods now have any*
> *power over you: all that I am taking with me*.[26]
> Gevartius, Elect. III, 9 and Barthius interpret these words correctly. The sense is: No inimical fates, no Gods, will harm you after this: for their strength has been spent and exhausted by this blow so great that they have brought to bear on you through my death: I am taking all unlucky things away with me.

This note shows Markland both offering straightforward rendering (signalled with *Sensus est*) of Statius in what we would call paraphrase or even translation if this was a different language, with *nulla Fata invida, nulli Dii, posthac tibi nocebunt* and *Ego omnia infortunia mecum aufero*, but also expounding the text in the manner of a traditional commentator with the words that separate those two renderings, where he expands on Statius' point, and explains that the fates and the gods have used up all their powers in the blow which

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a clear view of how the editor understands what he chooses to print'. In this volume see Pittà, who frequently resorts to translation in order to elucidate his decisions about the text.

25 Markland (1728) 352.

26 The translation of these lines from Statius is my own: Gibson (2006) 15.

they have inflicted on Abascantus through bringing about Priscilla's fatal illness and impending death. For all that we do not here have an example of translation into another language, the note shows neatly how part of the commentator's task can be to render the sense of the text being commented on: *Sensus est*.

A recent work on the text of Statius, Gauthier Liberman's very important edition and textual notes,[27] which engages with tremendous energy in textual criticism of the poems, also makes considerable use of translation in its argumentation. Here for instance is Liberman's note on the phrase *luxuriae confine timens* at *Silvae* 5.2.74, from a passage where Statius praises the virtues of the young Crispinus:

> *Silv*. 5.2.73–75 (with the text and typography of Liberman)
> *hi*nc hilaris probitas et frons tranquilla nitorque
> luxuriae confine t*im*ens pietasque per omnes
> dispensata *mod*os …
>
> 74 *timens* Barth, approuvé par Markland: *tenens* M, défendu par Gibson qui traduit abusivement 'which keeps to the right side of luxury'. Håkanson observe avec raison que *confine tenens* signifie '"splendour dwelling in the boundary zone to luxury", which is quite the opposite to what must be expected between *pudor et docti legem sibi dicere mores* on the one hand, *pietasque per omnes | dispensata modos* on the other, and in comparison with 1,3,92'. La confusion *teneo/timeo* est un classique …

Here the textual issue in terms of palaeography focuses, as Liberman rightly points out, on the classic confusion of *timeo* and *teneo*. But the discussion begins with two possible approaches to translation, according to whether one reads *timens* or *tenens*. What is interesting here is not so much the issue of what text one might read, but instead the way in which translation in this note is actually the first method used to address the textual problem. Only secondarily does Liberman turn to the issue of the possible corruption of *timens* to *tenens* in palaeographical terms. The issue of sense and meaning is rightly at the heart of this note, and it is notable not only that Liberman places the palaeographical question second, but also that he, reasonably enough, does not feel the need to give extensive documentation on the latter point.

27 Liberman (2010).

Another occasion where translation allows something similar occurs at *Silvae* 5.1.235–237, where Statius praises his father's influence and support for his poetic endeavours. Here I cite first from my text and translation,[28] before moving on to examine how I approached the passage in my commentary.

> tu cantus stimulare meos, tu pandere facta
> heroum bellique modos positusque locorum
> monstrabas.
>
> You spurred on my song, you expounded the deeds of heroes and showed me the modes of war and the placement of scenes.

On a straightforward level, we may feel that translation seeks to present a clean view of what a passage means—it may be wrong on some occasions, but the process of providing a translation is an attempt to offer readers a sense of what the passage means, of how it should be construed. Within a commentary, however, a commentator has more scope to explore ambiguities. In this passage, there are two areas under consideration: one concerns how one construes the initial infinitives, and one concerns the meaning of the various noun phrases.

First, the issue with the verbs. The note below on the passage begins by looking at the question of whether *monstrabas* should be construed with the infinitives or whether or not they should be seen as historic. In retrospect, I suspect that I was perhaps rather dogmatic on some of the issues here, though at least one effect of the note is that it does encourage the reader to consider different outcomes.

> The language is nevertheless ambiguous. *cantus stimulare meos*, which establishes poetic instruction as the theme of these lines, must be taken as a historic infinitive. This passage seems an exception to the rule that the historic infinitive is not found in the second person (K.–S. i. 135).[29] Nevertheless even an unparalleled rarity is preferable to construing *stimulare* with *monstrabas*; it is far more convincing for Statius to say that his father gave impetus to his poetry, than to say that his father showed him how to give impetus to his poetry. The remaining portion of the sentence can be construed in two ways. *pandere facta heroum* is either another

28 Gibson (2006) 52–55.

29 Kühner and Stegmann (1962) 1.135.

> historic infinitive clause, or an object clause dependent on *monstrabas* (for this construction see *OLD* s.v. *monstro* 2). With a historic infinitive, Statius' father gives instruction on the deeds of heroes of a descriptive kind, similar to his teaching of Homer (148), where merely the content of a poem is taught. For *pandere* in a didactic context compare 156–157 *tu pandere doctus | carmina Battiadae*. Alternatively, with *pandere* dependent on *monstrabas*, *pandere facta heroum monstrabas* would mean 'you used to show/were showing me how to expound the deeds of heroes', so that Statius is claiming that his father taught him the techniques of epic.[30]

The note then moves on to discussion of the noun phrases:

> The ambiguities continue. Thus *bellique modos*, the 'modes of war', can be construed either as an addition to *pandere facta heroum*, or with *positusque locorum*, as the object of *monstrabas*. *positusque locorum* has an air of paradox, perhaps referring, as Gatti in *ThLL* x/2. 92. 36–39 speculates ('an intellegas quomodo poeta locos ponere i. describere debeat'), to the procedures for topographical description; see also Curtius (1953), 200, who compares 'terrarumque situs' at Hor. *Ep*. 2. 1. 252 and Luc. 10. 178. The phrase might also have structural connotations, denoting the arrangement of subjects in a poem; for *locus* as a technical term for a topic, see *OLD* s.v. *locus* 24.

Looking back with hindsight at this part of the note, and setting it alongside the translation, I am probably most troubled by the printed translation's 'the placement of scenes' for *positusque locorum*, a choice which was I suspect motivated unconsciously by the desire to avoid translating the phrase as 'the placement of places' or something similar, which would in a sense be an unthinking first attempt at translating *positusque locorum*.

On occasion, the commentator's note can take the form of evaluation of rival translations, as part of an aim of providing exegesis of the text, without consideration of textual matters. Here is the note in my commentary on *Silvae* 5.1.87–88, from a larger passage where Statius explains the various responsibilities of Abascantus (*Silv*. 5.1.83–87). I present my text and translation, and then the specific note on 87–88:[31]

30 Gibson (2006) 356.

31 Gibson (2006) 8–9, 110.

ille paratis
molem immensam umeris et uix tractabile pondus
imposuit (nec enim numerosior altera sacra
cura domo), magnum late dimittere in orbem
Romulei mandata ducis, uiresque modosque
imperii tractare manu;

He placed on shoulders that were ready a massive burden, a weight that could scarcely be carried (for no other task in the sacred household is more varied), the dispatch of the orders of the Romulean lord into the great world far and wide, and the handling of the powers and means of command.

87–88. **uiresque modosque | imperii tractare manu:** Slater's translation 'to have in hand and to control all the strengths of the Empire'[32] not only ignores *modos* but applies an almost geographical meaning to *imperii*, which seems better taken as referring to the emperor's *imperium*, his right of command. Mozley's 'to handle all the powers and modes of empire'[33] is a closer translation. Weaver (1994), 349 interprets this phrase and the succeeding lines as evidence for Abascantus actually travelling with Domitian on campaigns, but the indirect questions of lines 88–91 seem to point to knowledge of the far corners of the empire from a distance.

Here, the issue of translation of *imperii* is at the heart of the discussion. Whatever one makes of the position I advocate in this note, it is certainly true that there is an issue which arises with how to translate *imperii*, which I translate in the printed translation as 'command': should it be seen as referring to the geographical concept of the Roman empire's territories, or is it more about command in more abstract terms? In a way, one is tempted here to see Mozley's translation as the most successful, partly because of the subtle difference between his 'empire', and Slater's 'the Empire', where the addition of the definite article, alongside the initial capital for 'Empire', slides the meaning unambiguously towards the meaning of geographical empire, whereas Mozley's empire can evoke geography, but it also evokes a slightly older usage in English where 'empire' denotes the capacity of command (*OED* II, 'Senses relating to rule or government') in ways analogous to usages of Latin *imperium*.

32 Slater (1908) 173.
33 Mozley (1928) 275.

A good example of the complementarity of commentary and translation is found in Gabriel Laguna's translation and note on *Silvae* 3.1.164–165. Commenting on *nunc ipse in limine cerno* in line 164, Laguna notes the emphatic usage of *ipse*:[34]

> **Nunc ipse in limine cerno | solventem voces et talia dicta ferentem:** el *ipse* enfático (⟨⟨con mis propios ojos⟩⟩) subraya el carácter milagroso de la epifanía: cf. Verg. *ecl.* x.26 *Pan deus Arcadiae venit, quem vidimus* ***ipsi.*** La correción de Domicio a *ipsum* es innecesaria. Courtney, por su parte, imprime incomprensiblemente un punto y coma tras *limine*.

The translation offered for *ipse … cerno* in the parallel text and translation has 'Ahora veo con mis propios ojos al diós'.[35] The reader of the translation alone might wonder why we have the idiomatic phrase 'con mis propios ojos' introduced when there is no word for eyes in the Latin, but the commentary starts by making the excellent observation that *ipse* should be seen as emphatic, and repeats the phrase from the translation, 'mis propios ojos' and then illustrates the point with a parallel from Virgil's *Eclogues*. But there is also more that we can learn here on the role of translation. Having confirmed his view of the usage of *ipse* as emphatic and made the point both through providing a translation and through providing a parallel, Laguna considers other approaches to editing the text (in terms of punctuation) which are not needed. The translation also, by the way, helps to enforce the point made about there being no need for the emendation of Domizio Calderini, *ipsum*, since the translation has 'veo … al diós', indicating that the sense of the god Hercules being the object of Latin *cerno* can be clearly understood from the context. The translation in this case works very well as a means of reinforcing the commentary and also subtly suggests why various approaches to editing the text might not be needed.

Another aspect of translation worth considering is the way in which the process of translation can sometimes force an issue,[36] and can make the commentator take a view on how a word is to be rendered. At *Silvae* 3.1.17–19, Statius comments on the rapid process of building the temple to Hercules:

34 Laguna Mariscal (1992) 185.

35 Laguna Mariscal (1992) 67.

36 In this volume, Pittà makes a similar point about the process of close reading (see section 5, on Galatea in *Silv.* 1.4.76–78, pp. 117–120).

> stupet ipse labores
> annus, et angusti bis seno limite menses
> longaevum mirantur opus.

I give here Laguna's translation of the text:[37]

> El año mismo queda estupefacto ante los trabajos; y unos breves meses, separados por doce barreras, admiran esta obra destinada a perdurar.

In his commentary, Laguna discusses the issue of the sense that is to be given to the word *longaevum* here,[38] rejecting the idea that the temple is old, given that it is a new construction; likewise, he argues that the suggestion of Vollmer, that *longaevum* is an acknowledgement of the fact that the temple took a long time to build, misses the point that this was a work which in fact was constructed rapidly, hence the amazement of the year at the building's completion. The year would hardly be amazed if this was a long, drawn-out construction. Laguna instead proposes that the word should be understood as prospectively long-lasting, 'duradero', 'perenne', and in his translation translates the word as 'esta obra destinada a perdurar'. Arguably, the process of translation with a commentary compels taking a definitive view on meaning in the same way as establishing a critical text will also involve the editor in making decisions on what text to print. The use of a translation is therefore something which usefully makes the commentator take a view on the meaning of a particular passage.

On occasions, translations have an important role to play in the process of editing the text itself. This is already apparent in Slater's 1908 translation of Statius (without accompanying text). After explaining that he has used the recent Oxford edition of J.S. Phillimore,[39] Slater acknowledges that he has on occasion made alterations to the text, at times introducing existing conjectures or indeed new ones of his own published for the first time with his translation:[40]

> It seemed convenient to accept that text as a general rule, even in places where other readings presented greater attractions. But it will probably be admitted that more latitude is permissible in Statius than in other

37 Laguna Mariscal (1992) 59.
38 Laguna Mariscal (1992) 134–135. See also Bessone's discussion of the passage in this volume (pp. 209–210).
39 Phillimore (1904); a second edition would follow in 1917.
40 Slater (1908) 5.

> authors, and I have therefore occasionally allowed myself to adopt—usually in passages of more than ordinary difficulty—either a rival emendation, or a stop-gap conjecture of my own. The author of each such reading is named in the note. The variants for which I am myself responsible are indicated by an asterisk; some of these last were published in the *Journal of Philology* (vol. xxx, pp. 133–160),[41] others are new.

In a context where the appropriate locations for publication of textual criticism on ancient texts were (and arguably remain) journal articles or critical editions, it is strikingly and impressively unorthodox that Slater chose the format of a translation as a means of disseminating his most up-to-date work on the text of Statius' *Silvae*.

Recent Statius commentaries often make use of translations as an argumentative method in arguing for particular readings in the text. A good example is Harm-Jan van Dam's commentary on 2.6.95, where van Dam's text prints *ubi nota reis facundia raptis?*, which occurs as part of a passage where Statius is encouraging Flavius Ursus to resume his typical activities such as forensic oratory and not surrender himself overmuch to grief for the loss of Philetos. Harm-Jan van Dam, whose commentary does not come with a translation, nevertheless makes extensive use of translation and near-translation in his note on the text here. I quote parts of what is quite a long note, where van Dam argues that instead of reading *reis*, we should read *aliis*, which gives a quite different sense:[42]

> The usual explanation of this phrase is 'where is your eloquence, which is well-known to defendants who are brought into court?'. This then leads to the conclusion that Ursus was a solicitor …
>
> The text is not completely satisfying … [various parallels for usages of *rapere* are given here]
>
> The question can imply 'Ursus, you are neglecting your profession'; but then it fits somewhat strangely in the context of reproaches that Ursus does torment Philetus and himself. Or St. merely means 'why do you not use your famous eloquence now to cure yourself?' This is what E.-F. (153 § 74)[43] takes it to mean, and it seems to be the most obvious explanation. It is possible that Statius throws in the defendants here (*reis*) as an extra

41 Slater (1907).

42 Van Dam (1984) 444–445.

43 Esteve-Forriol (1962) 153.

> compliment to Ursus. Nevertheless, the text would, I think, be more satisfactory with *aliis* instead of *reis*.
>
> The phrase *ubi nota aliis facundia raptis?* would mean 'where is your eloquence, which is well-known when others are dead?'. The question then implies 'you could always console others, now help in consoling yourself'. It is the answer to *quid … foves et … amas*, as *solvisti* is the answer to *quid … crucias*. This argument is frequently employed by Statius himself, as 'I am able to console, for I am experienced' … [parallels omitted] … or as 'I could always comfort others, but now I seem to be unable to comfort myself' … [parallels omitted]
>
> The corruption *nota reis* could have its origin in *nota liis* …
>
> Though *aliis* is attractive, I do not venture to print it here.

This shortened form of the note, deliberately omitting what we often suppose to be the bread and butter of the commentary,[44] the collection of parallels (which van Dam certainly provides generously throughout the whole of his commentary), shows neatly how translation and paraphrase can loom large in discussion of the writing of textual notes on the poem. In contrast to Barry Hall's position discussed above where the translation is a convenient way of avoiding not only the long textual note, but even the textual note of five lines, we can see here instead how translation can be a crucial part of the exegetical process for the commentator, even when confronted with a question of editing the text.[45]

It is interesting to compare Carole Newlands' commentary on the same book of the *Silvae*. When she engages with the same problem, she prefers to accept the reading *reis*, but also makes use of translation as a key exegetical tool. Again, I cite the commentary leaving out the parallels provided:[46]

> **95 ubi nota reis facundia raptis?** 'where is that eloquence well known to defendants suddenly called away to court?' Ursus seems to have been a lawyer. But *rapere* in the sense of 'summon to court' otherwise always appears with an adjunct such as *in ius* … [parallels omitted] Van Dam thus proposes taking *rapere* in its sense of 'to snatch away by death' (2.1.1n.) and by emending *reis* to *aliis*, with the idea that since Ursus was skilled

44 On parallels, see the discussion of Gibson (2002).

45 Again, Pittà's chapter in this volume provides an excellent illustration of the relevance of translation for editing the text.

46 Newlands (2011) 222. See also Newlands in this volume on the process of writing her commentary (pp. 167–169).

> in consolation 'when others had been snatched away by death', he should now do a better job of consoling himself. But this sense is strained and invalidates St.'s role as a consoler. *Raptis* pinpoints the difference between the living and the dead by a play on the two meanings—not those snatched away by death but those snatched off to court have now to be Ursus' proper concern. The call to resume one's duties is typical of consolatory literature …

Even for two scholars on opposing sides of the argument, the process of translation, of understanding the sense, is a crucial aspect of the interpretative process for the commentator. This is also perhaps a moment to comment on a particular feature of the Cambridge Green and Yellow commentaries. For sure, these commentaries do not provide a separate translation of the text that is being commented on, which is hardly surprising given that they are 'aimed primarily', as the Cambridge University Press website tells us, at 'undergraduate and graduate students of either language'.[47] However, a striking feature of recent Green and Yellow commentaries is a greater willingness to provide translations of words or phrases, as we see Newlands doing here. Providing a translation gives the commentator an immediate opportunity in cases where the sense is disputed to put her cards on the table and make it clear how the sense is to be construed. One could well argue that the textual note in Newlands' commentary is much more economical than van Dam's, but both commentators share the approach of offering a translation at the outset of their notes, as a way into further discussion, even though neither of these two editions of *Silvae* 2 is printed with a full accompanying translation.

3 Conclusion

The topic of the role of translation within critical scholarship on ancient texts is clearly vast. In this paper, I hope to have shown, using recent commentaries on Statius' *Silvae*, that translation is a vital resource which finds a place even in the most traditional areas of classical philology, the editing of text and the writing of commentaries. Whether or not the editor or commentator provides a complete translation of the text, translation is a key exegetical tool. It provides commentators and editors who avail of it with a means of exploring different ways

47 On the 'Green and Yellow' series, see n. 2 above. See also Newlands (pp. 167–168) in this volume.

of construing the sense of a passage of Greek or Latin, and it can act as a supplement to the notes in commentary, making clear what the editor believes the sense of the passage to be. It is also a key means for the process of editing a text.

It is worth reflecting that the practice of translation more broadly is beginning to enjoy the respect it properly deserves as a research endeavour within the academy. Beyond the confines of the discipline of 'Translation Studies', translation has historically enjoyed less prestige in universities. A measure of changing attitudes to translation, however, is evident in a joint appeal issued in 2015 by academics from learned societies in a number of disciplines in the United Kingdom, including, from the world of classics, the Council for University Classical Departments and the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies. The signatories to the document were asking for translation to be given proper consideration as research. The specific context for their document, 'Translation as Research: A Manifesto',[48] was the United Kingdom's Research Excellence Framework (REF), the process whereby research in different disciplines is assessed at a national level, usually at intervals of around six years. Their comment on the significance of translation, which they describe as comparable to 'more established forms of research, such as the production of scholarly editions', is a useful point of closure for this paper, which has sought to show how translation is something of vital importance even to the editor and the commentator working on classical texts:

> Translations require and embody high levels of specialized knowledge and scholarship, both linguistic and cultural (or do so in many cases). In this regard translation is closely comparable to other more established forms of research, such as the production of scholarly editions. In some instances a particular scholar will be perfectly placed to translate a particular text. Moreover, the process of translation can be expected to deepen and alter the translator-scholar's own understanding of the text, in ways that feed into teaching and further scholarship. And this process can produce a translation—also an interpretation—that is original, significant and rigorous, that contributes to the creation, development and maintenance of the intellectual infrastructure of subjects and disciplines, and that is a significant intervention in intellectual and cultural life.[49]

48 Diverse Signatories (2015).

49 Diverse Signatories (2015), Section 4(i).

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CHAPTER 4

Notes from a New Commentary on Statius' *Silvae*

Antonino Pittà

The recent release of J.B. Hall's painstaking account of readings and conjectures on Statius' *Silvae*[1] shows what a challenge the *Silvae* may be, due to their remarkable mixture of a poorly transmitted text and a flamboyant, allusive, and cryptic style. Despite continued efforts of scholars through almost seven centuries, the text of the *Silvae* still looks puzzling and deeply corrupted, often beyond repair. This does not imply that nothing more can be done. Some difficult passages, when approached from a perspective combining intertextuality, study of language, and attention to *Realien*, could be seen in a new light. As a result, original corrections may still be proposed.

The aim of this paper is to give a brief overview of certain textual problems that I discuss in my commentary[2] on the first book of Statius' *Silvae*, as well as in a forthcoming edition of the entire collection of the *Silvae*.[3] I shall propose some novel emendations to the transmitted text alongside 'rediscoveries' of previous conjectures neglected by the most recent editors, and attempt to explain an unusual locution by means of a new approach to the text. I hope to give a broad sample of the various problems presented by the *Silvae* and to suggest some attractive, albeit tentative, solutions.

1 *tu quoque, Stella …*

It will be useful to start at the very beginning of the work: the first sentence of the preface to the first book of the *Silvae*.[4] Statius dedicates the work to his friend, patron, and colleague Arruntius Stella, whom he addresses in glowing language. In ms. **M**,[5] the first lines of the preface are transmitted thus:

1 Hall (2021).

2 Volume 1 (= Pittà [2021]) treats the preface as well as *Silv*. 1.1, whilst Volume 2 (forthcoming) treats other poems of Book 1 relating to Domitian and his entourage (*Silv*. 1.4 and 1.6).

3 The volume is going to be published in the series 'Scrittori greci e latini' (Fondazione Lorenzo Valla, Milan), in collaboration with Gianpiero Rosati. I will produce a critical text of the whole work and a commentary on Books 1, 3, 5.

4 See also Pittà (2021) 92–99, esp. 94–95.

5 For the textual transmission of the *Silvae* see Abbamonte (ms pp. 1–2) and Roman (ms p. 2) in this volume.

> Diu multumque dubitavi, Stella iuvenis optime et in studiis nostris eminentissime, qua parte **e**t voluisti, an hos libellos, qui mihi subito calore et quadam festinandi voluptate fluxerunt … congregatos ipse dimitterem.
>
> Much and long have I hesitated, my excellent Stella, distinguished as you are in your chosen area of our pursuits,[6] whether I should assemble these little pieces, which streamed from my pen in the heat of the moment, a sort of pleasurable haste … and send them out myself.
>
> trans. SHACKLETON BAILEY [2015]

Statius declares that he has hesitated for a long time whether or not to collect the extemporaneous poems (*libelli*) that he had written at different times in 'the heat of the moment' (*subito calore*). The problem lies in the reference to Stella, an excellent young man (*iuvenis optimus*) who, according to Statius, is most distinguished in poetry (*in studiis nostris*). Actually, Stella wrote only elegiac poetry; therefore, Statius adds that, for the time being, Stella can only display his excellence as a poet in his chosen field (*qua parte … voluisti*; cf. Tac. *Dial.* 10.3, *in hac studiorum parte*, 'in this field of study'). At this point, the transmitted text shows a conjunction (*et*) which is very difficult to explain and which scarcely makes sense. In fact, it cannot be integrated into the syntactic structure of the period.

In his critical edition of the *Silvae*, Courtney still adopts the reading *qua parte et voluisti*, although he had expressed some doubts about the text in an earlier paper.[7] His awkward attempt at supplying a translation ('most eminent in the pursuit of us poets, which was the field in which you actually [et] desired [sc. eminence]') clearly shows that the transmitted text cannot be accepted.

The easiest solution, suggested already by a corrector in **M** and accepted by the majority of modern editors (including Shackleton Bailey and Hall[8]), is the deletion of the second *et* within the section (the one highlighted in the quotation above): such solution is also mirrored by Shackleton Bailey's translation. But this solution seems too easy and drastic to be accepted without hesitation. In the first place, the mistake must be explained as the result of the inverted

6 A literal rendering of *in studiis nostris eminentissime, qua parte et voluisti* would be 'most distinguished in our field of pursuit, in the area you *too* chose to devote yourself to'. Such attempt at giving a translation gives an idea of how difficult it is to identify the exact function of *et* within the sentence.

7 Courtney (1984) esp. 328.

8 For a complete overview of conjectural emendations to this passage, see Hall (2021) 1.

dittography of the last syllable of the word ***parte***, repeated as *et* (*parte et*); obviously, this is a rather tortured explanation. Furthermore, the text thus restored (*qua parte voluisti*)[9] would mean something like 'Stella, you excellent poet, at least in your own field', which seems like a strange sort of diminution of Stella's praise, scarcely befitting a *captatio benevolentiae* addressed to the dedicatee. Courtney recognized the problem ('this might seem to limit the compliment') but did not find a convincing way to justify it.

A new possibility suggests itself if we try to devise a simpler explanation for the origin of the mistake. My suggestion is that the original text was *qua parte* ***tu*** *voluisti*; the corruption could then have originated through haplography followed by an attempt to rearrange the confusing result:

a) qua parte tu voluisti > qua partetuoluisti
b) qua partetuoluisti > qua parte et voluisti

The restoration of the personal pronoun (*tu*) transforms what might seem to be a diminution of Stella's praise into an unqualified celebration: the reason Stella only demonstrates his excellence in the field of elegy is because he *has decided* to do so. Of course, if he wanted to practice other genres, he would prove to be just as excellent.[10] Accordingly, the text can be translated: 'Stella, distinguished as you are in the field of your choice'. The general tone of this statement can be compared with a well-known passage from the preface of Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations* (1.1): *meum semper iudicium fuit omnia nostros aut invenisse per se sapientius quam Graecos aut accepta ab illis fecisse meliora,* ***quae quidem digna statuissent, in quibus elaborarent*** ('it has always been my conviction that our countrymen have shown more wisdom everywhere than the Greeks, either in making discoveries for themselves, or else in improving upon what they had received from Greece—in such subjects at least as they had judged worthy of the devotion of their efforts', trans. King [1927]; the Romans have not yet

9 Courtney (1984) 328 (who, anyway, prints *qua parte et voluisti*) remarks that *qua parte voluisti* would give a nice clausula (4th paeon + trochee, -˘˘˘ + -x, like the previous *mult**umque dubitavi***). However, this is not necessarily an argument in favor of deletion, since the evidence of Statian prose is too limited for such a statistical criterion. In any case, the clausula in question occurs in Statius' prefaces less frequently than other clausulae, such as the double cretic; as for the aforementioned *multumque dubitavi*, it is an allusion to Cic. *or.* 1, which justifies the choice to adopt a 'Ciceronian' clausula. On the other hand, it must be admitted that *tu voluisti* would give a hexametric clausula, that is normally avoided in prose (but cfr. ***complexus amabam***, in the preface to Book 2).

10 See Merli (2013) 76, n. 28.

displayed all of their skills, simply because they have not devoted themselves to certain fields of wisdom; for the same reason, Stella's excellence as a poet only manifests itself in elegy due to his disdain for other genres).

This use of *tu* is very frequent in the preface to *Silvae* 1, where Statius appeals to Stella in similar ways (e.g., l. 20, *respondebis illi* ***tu****, Stella carissime*, 'dearest Stella, you will answer him'; l. 23, *at fortasse* ***tu*** *pro collega mentieris*, 'but maybe you will tell a lie, on behalf of your colleague') in order to emphasize the intimacy of the friendship which binds the two poets. The emendation is thus consistent with the style and manner of expression found elsewhere in the epistle to Stella.

2 The glory of an imperial minister

Again, an *et* which gives us trouble! And Stella again! At 1.2.178–181[11] Venus prophesies Stella's successful career, crowned by responsibility for planning Domitian's Dacian triumph:

> iamque pater Latius, cuius praenoscere mentem
> fas mihi, purpureos habitus iuvenique curule
> indulgebit ebur, Dacasque (**et** gloria maior!)
> exuvias laurosque dabit celebrare recentes.
>
> And presently the Latian Father, whose mind I may lawfully know, shall vouchsafe the young man purple robes and curule ivory and grant him to celebrate Dacian spoils and recent laurels—a yet greater glory!
>
> trans. SHACKLETON BAILEY [2015]

The references to the *toga praetexta* and to the ivory of a *sella curulis* at lines 179–180 suggest that Domitian had granted Stella a seat in the Senate.[12] Then, in an emphatic juxtaposition, Statius alludes to the organization of the emperor's triumph, underscoring this detail with an exclamation—*et gloria maior!*—which indicates that this will be the pinnacle of Stella's career.[13]

11 Rosati's chapter in this volume is dedicated to Statius' reading of the preface of Ovid's *Remedia Amoris* in *Silvae* 1.2.

12 Stella was a knight by birth: see Demougin (1992) 433.

13 On this parenthesis see Coleman (2010) 292–317. Coleman classifies it under 'Expressions of loyalty'.

At line 180, *et* makes sense only if it is included within the parenthesis; otherwise, the syntax of the whole period is broken and confused, resulting in the juxtaposition of two conjunctions, *-que* and *et*, that cannot function together in this context. In this case, *et* should be understood adverbially in the sense of *etiam* rather than as a connective 'and'.[14] If this reading is correct, then Statius would be declaring that the organization of the emperor's triumph was 'a yet greater glory' than the magistracies previously held by Stella. However, this formulation is awkward (no convincing parallels have been found)[15] as well as pleonastic: the concept might equally well be expressed without *et*, which does not contribute any significant information. Moreover, in a period so rich in parataxis (*indulgebit purpureos habitus eburque curule dabitque celebrare Dacas exuvias laurosque recentes*), it would be very difficult for a reader (especially in the absence of modern punctuation marks) to understand that the single *et* at line 180 should be read as *etiam*. On the contrary, it is far more likely that a different monosyllable has been corrupted into *et* because of the abundance of connectives present in the immediate context.

This was the opinion of Otto and Baehrens, who tried correcting the transmitted text to either *haec gloria maior* or *ea gloria maior*. Although their suggestions are not completely persuasive, they are probably on the right path.

A very easy correction[16] would be: *EN gloria maior!* The restoration of this lively exclamation ('and here is a yet greater glory!') fits well with the triumphant account of Stella's career, so full of enthusiasm.[17] One striking parallel can be found in the very similar description of the final step of Crispinus' career at *Silvae* 5.2.173–174, *en ingens reserat tibi limen honorum / Caesar et Ausonii committit munia ferri!* ('Behold! Mighty Caesar unbars for you the doorway to offices and entrusts you with the duties of Ausonia's sword').

14 Housman (1903) *ad* Man. 1.780 was the first to suggest this reading of the passage.

15 In all the passages quoted by Pederzani (1995) ad loc. *et* has the meaning of 'and', instead of *etiam*. In addition, it is not preceded by *-que*, as in the case of *Silv*. 1.2.180: as a consequence, it does not look ambiguous.

16 Thanks to the apparatus criticus ad loc. in Hall (2021) 54–55, it came to my knowledge that the correction had been already proposed by F. Hand, in his supplementary notes (Leipzig 1812) to Gronovius' *Diatribe in Statii Silvarum libros V* (1637). When I first gave this presentation, I was not aware of it.

17 For the insertion, in Statius' *Silvae*, of 'parenthetical expressions of loyalty' to convey a political message, see Coleman (2010) 309–311. Differently from the more 'neutral' *et*, *en* would emphasize the notion of 'the extraordinary honour entrusted to Stella' (Coleman [2010] 309).

Statius normally employs the construction of *en* with the nominative, as if it were equivalent to *ecce*: see, for instance, *Theb*. 12.302, *en locus officio!* ('here is an opportunity to show our loyalty!'). The confusion between *en* and *et* is frequent in the manuscript tradition (cf. [Verg.] *Dirae* 93). For another probable case in the *Silvae*, see 4.1.8–9, transmitted by **M** as *subiere novi Palatia fasces / et requiem bis senus honor*. Shackleton Bailey[18] changes the nonsensical *requiem* to *redit en!*, presumably for reasons similar to those which underlie the emendation suggested here for *Silvae* 1.2.180.

3 Fresh and healthy eggs[19]

At *Silvae* 4.9 Statius mocks his friend Plotius Grypus, who gave him the worst present ever, a volume of the speeches of M. Iunius Brutus. To emphasize Grypus' poor judgment, Statius lists some cheap presents that his friend could have given him instead of such a boring book. The list includes different kinds of common foods, as for instance at lines 29–31:

> non enlychnia sicca, non replictae
> bulborum tunicae, nec ova **tantum**,
> nec lenes alicae, nec asperum far?
>
> (Were there) no dry lamp wicks, no peeled-off onion jackets? No eggs **even** or mild groats or rough spelt?

The transmitted *tantum* is not easy to explain. Editors who retain it, such as Courtney, are forced to regard the expression *nec … tantum* as equivalent to *ne … quidem* (Vollmer: 'nicht nur keine Eier?'; compare also the translation of Shackleton Bailey, given above).[20] There are no convincing parallels for this usage, however; Shackleton Bailey suggests adopting Polster's emendation *nec ova tandem*, where *tandem* is equivalent to *saltem*,[21] but this usage is likewise dubious. In her commentary on *Silvae* 4,[22] Coleman obelizes *tantum* and sug-

18 Accordingly, his translation of the passage is 'New rods have entered the Palace, and see, the twelvefold honor returns'. Courtney had already proposed *rediens*.

19 For a fuller discussion of this correction, see Pittà (2017).

20 Even though Shackleton Bailey prints *tandem*, his translation conveys the general meaning expected by editors who retain the text of **M**.

21 Already suggested by Baehrens.

22 See Coleman (1988) ad loc.

gests that this form is a corruption of an original adjective modifying *ova*. This statement sheds some light on the problem, though it may be the case that we don't need to look for an adjective (which in fact would be very difficult to find), but for something different.

At *Fasti* 4.696, Ovid employs the word *matres*[23] to refer to brooding hens (compare the phrase 'mother hen' in English): *nunc matris plumis ova fovenda dabat* ('now she would set the eggs to be hatched under the plumage of the brooding hen', trans. Frazer [1931]); see also Columella 8.11.15, *sequiturque grex velut matrem gallinam singultientem* ('the flock follows the cackling hen like a mother'). This phrase is also quite common in the poetry of the Flavian Age: see, for example, Juvenal 11.70–71, *grandia praeterea tortoque calentia faeno / ova aderunt ipsis cum matribus* ('there'll also be large eggs, still warm in wisps of hay, along with their own mother hens', trans. Braund [2004]), and especially Martial 3.58.39, *et dona matrum vimine offerunt texto* ('they present the hen mothers' gifts in wicker baskets'), where *dona matrum* is clearly a periphrasis for *ova*. These examples of a connection between *ova* and their *matres* in poetic language leads us to suspect that the original text of *Silvae* 4.9.30 may have been:

> bulborum tunicae, nec ova MATRVM
>
> no onions, no eggs of mother hens?

This emendation is supported by a very close parallel at Martial 7.31 (like *Silv*. 4.9 written in hendecasyllables), where the poet lists some items of farm produce that he has sent as a present to a friend. The package includes both hens and eggs, mentioned in the opening line of the epigram: *raucae chortis aves et ova matrum* ('birds of the cackling poultry yard, eggs of mother fowl', trans. Shackleton Bailey [1993]). As we can see, the expression *et ova matrum* is remarkably similar to our proposed emendation *nec ova matrum*, and it occurs here in the same metrical position and in a very similar context (Martial lists the presents he gives, Statius the ones he received).

23 On the collocation of *mater* and *ova* (referring to 'brooding hens') cf. *TLL* 8.0.445.21–24 s.v. *mater* (V. Bulhart).

4 Pleasant servitude

Rutilius Gallicus, the powerful *praefectus Vrbi*, was stricken by a sudden illness. What were the reasons for the disease? Old age? Not at all, since Gallicus is not so old. Rather, his illness was due to stress as a result of the countless responsibilities of his office. Such a statement, however, might appear to chastise Domitian indirectly for the excessive workload he imposes on his ministers. In order to preclude this false impression, Statius specifies that Gallicus was very glad to burden himself with the tiring work of imperial service, which is actually described as a sort of *servitium amoris*. Thus, in the transmitted text, we read:

> non illud culpa senectae
> (quippe ea bis senis vixdum orsa excedere lustris),
> sed labor intendens animique in membra vigentis
> imperium vigilesque suo pro Caesare curae,
> **dulce opus:** hinc fessos penitus subrepsit in artus
> insidiosa quies et pigra oblivio vitae.
>
> *Silv*. 1.4.52–57

> That was not the fault of his age, for scarce had it begun to pass twice six lusters, but stress of work, the rule of a strong mind over the body, cares vigilant for his Caesar, a pleasant job. Hence insidious rest crept deep into the weary limbs and sluggish oblivion of life.

At the end of the list of factors underlying Gallicus' illness, we might expect a striking expression, a bright *iunctura*, that would aptly express this special union of hard work and love for the emperor. In fact, Shackleton Bailey's translation of the sentence ends with the phrase 'labor of love'. This translation, however, does not quite capture the sense of the transmitted *dulce opus*. On the contrary, *dulce opus* ('pleasant job') seems like too plain and feeble an expression to serve as a fitting conclusion to this passage.[24] The language of *servitium amoris* normally requires something stronger, and far more paradoxical: for instance, Ovid *Amores* 2.9b.2, *usque adeo dulce puella malum est* ('a girl is such a sweet burden'), and, in the *Silvae*, the description of Philetus' slavery as *dulce servitium* (2.6.15–16; note that Philetus is probably not only the slave, but also the lover of his master).

24 Which led Gronovius to change *vigiles … curae* at 55 into *vigilis … curae* (gen.), so to restore a term depending on *dulce opus* (sc. *dulce opus vigilis curae*): see Hall (2021) 109.

Accordingly, we should change *dulce opus* to *dulce ONVS* (*n* and *p* can easily be confused in lower-case script). Working in the emperor's service is a 'pleasant burden', a paradox which aptly defines Gallicus' willingness to work to the limit of his resistance. The oxymoron *dulce onus* is attested in Ovid (*Am*. 2.16.29–30, where it is said of the beloved: *tu nostris niveos umeris impone lacertos: / corpore nos facili dulce feremus onus*, 'O, place your snowy arms about my neck; I shall bear the sweet burden along with easy stroke', trans. Showerman [1914]) and in Statius himself (*Theb*. 9.212–213, *nusquam tibi dulce superbi / regis onus*, 'the sweet burden of your proud master disappeared': Tydeus is the sweet burden of his horse; we can find other similar expressions in Statius, such as *amicum pondus* 'the loving burden of his friend's body', at *Theb*. 10.378). This *iunctura* also recurs in a very similar context in Venantius Fortunatus (*Carm*. 7.7.21–22, *subdis amore novo tua membra laboribus amplis: / pro requie regis dulce putatur onus* 'seized by extraordinary love, you submit your limbs to huge stress: sweet labor in the king's service is regarded as relaxation').

5 Fierce Galatea

I shall now examine a case not of textual corruption, but of features that can only be detected by means of a close reading of the text. At *Silvae* 1.4.76–78 Statius refers to Gallicus' campaigns in Galatia, Pamphylia, and Pannonia:

> hunc Galatea vigens ausa est incessere bello
> (me quoque!) perque novem timuit Pamphylia messes
> Pannoniusque ferox
>
> Lusty Galatia dared assail him in war (me too), and through nine harvests
> Pamphylia feared him, as did the bold Pannonian
>
> trans. SHACKLETON BAILEY [2015]

We might ask why Statius used the personification *Galatea* to refer to the province of Galatia. The easiest answer is that *Galatia* (four short syllables) cannot fit the hexameter, so that Statius was forced to adopt the novel form *Galatēa*, which ordinarily refers to the homonymous nymph. While this is certainly true, it is nevertheless possible that the choice could also be motivated by other more subtle considerations.

To answer this question, we need to consider the reference in its context. This passage is part of a dialogue in which the god Apollo (the *persona loquens*)

gives an account of Gallicus' career. Apollo begins with the war against the Galatians, since this reminds him of a similar historical episode in which he himself was involved. In 279 BC the Galatians attacked Apollo's sanctuary at Delphi and, according to legend, were deterred from their sacrilegious attempt through the supernatural intervention of the god. In Apollo's view, therefore, he and Gallicus are united by their conquest and punishment of a common enemy. This is the import of the allusive phrase *me quoque!*, an example of the common technique of 'reflexive intertextuality' that Statius' learned reader is expected to recognize and understand.[25]

A very similar situation is found in Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos* (4). Here, too, Apollo (still unborn, but speaking from his mother's womb!) gives a long speech and prophesies King Ptolemy's future career. While this is somewhat different from the retrospective account of Gallicus' accomplishments, the overall context is clearly quite similar, and it is striking that Apollo is the speaker in each instance. Already in Callimachus' encomium, Apollo emphasizes the Galatian attack against the temple at Delphi on the one hand, and Ptolemy's campaigns against the Galatians on the other. According to the god's prophecy, both he and Ptolemy shall fight against the barbarians: Apollo, when they will dare to violate his sanctuary; Ptolemy, when he will punish the rebellion of Galatian mercenaries[26] (171–187):

καί νύ ποτε ξυνός τις ἐλεύσεται ἄμμιν ἄεθλος
ὕστερον, ὁππόταν οἱ μὲν ἐφ' Ἑλλήνεσσι μάχαιραν
βαρβαρικὴν καὶ Κελτὸν ἀναστήσαντες Ἄρηα
ὀψίγονοι Τιτῆνες ἀφ' ἑσπέρου ἐσχατόωντος
ῥώσωνται νιφάδεσσιν ἐοικότες
…
τέων αἱ μὲν ἐμοὶ γέρας, αἱ δ' ἐπὶ Νείλῳ
ἐν πυρὶ τοὺς φορέοντας ἀποπνεύσαντας ἰδοῦσαι
κείσονται βασιλῆος ἀέθλια πολλὰ καμόντος.

Yea and one day hereafter there shall come upon us a common struggle, when the Titans of a later day shall rouse up against the Hellenes barbarian swords and Celtic war, and from the furthest West rush on like snowflakes … Of these (sc. shields) some shall be my guerdon; others,

25 See Coleman (2010) 305–306 on such parenthetical remarks and their role in 'contributing a subjective point of view'.

26 On these historical episodes and their influence on Hellenistic poetry, see Barbantani (2001) 188–208, esp. 196; Giuseppetti (2013) 123–164, esp. 156–164.

> when they have seen the wearers perish amid fire, shall be set by the banks of Nile to be the prizes of a king who laboured much.
>
> trans. MAIR [1921]

In Statius' encomium of Gallicus, Apollo proceeds in much the same way. He recounts Gallicus' exploits against the Galatians and alludes to his own campaigns against them with the pregnant aposiopesis *me quoque!*, which expresses the idea of a joint undertaking in much the same way as Callimachus' ξυνός ... ἄεθλος. Gallicus thus appears as a human counterpart to the god, so that the parallel between Gallicus and Apollo in Statius' poem clearly recalls the earlier parallel between Ptolemy and Apollo in the hymn of Callimachus.[27]

But the *Hymn to Delos* is not the only text in which Callimachus mentions the Galatian attack on Delphi. One Callimachean fragment in hexameters, which has been attributed to an epyllion significantly entitled *Galatea*,[28] refers precisely to this episode, with expressions very similar to those found in the hymn (cf. ll. 174–175): see fr. 379 Pfeiffer, οὓς Βρέννος ἀφ᾽ ἑσπερίοιο θαλάσσης / ἤγαγεν Ἑλλήνων ἐπ᾽ ἀνάστασιν ('whom [sc. the Galatians] Brennos led from the Western sea to destruction of the Greeks'). The correspondence between the two passages is impressive and can probably account for Statius' employment of the form *Galatea* at *Silvae* 1.4.76. As has been convincingly argued by Pfeiffer, in his *Galatea* Callimachus would almost certainly have mentioned Galates, the son of the nymph Galatea and the mythic eponym of the Galatian people.

To sum up, Callimachus, in a poem entitled *Galatea*, likely gave an account of the nymph's genealogy, including the fact that one of her sons, Galates, gave his name to the Galatians, the same people who, some centuries later, made an attack on Delphi. The same episode was then mentioned, in similar terms, in Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos*, a text which Statius was undoubtedly familiar with. Thus, Statius could find in Callimachus not only a model for the idea that the *laudandus* and Apollo were both enemies of the Galatians, but also an etymological connection between the Galatians and Galatea. In conclusion, an

27 For a detailed account of Statius' imitation of Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos*, see Coleman (1999) 76–78. For the points of contact between the two texts, see Coleman (2010) 303–304.

28 The title *Galatea* is given by Athenaeus (7.284c Καλλίμαχος δ᾽ ἐν Γαλατείᾳ), with reference to fr. 378 Pfeiffer. The attribution to the *Galatea* also of fr. 379—which is cited by the scholia to Dionysius Periegetes 74, with the only indication of Callimachus as the author—was suggested by R. Pfeiffer, in the commentary on the fragment (Pfeiffer [1949–1953] vol. I, 304–306). On this work, see also Barbantani (2001) 186–187; Barbantani (2011) 180–181 and 196–198; D'Alessio (2007[4]) 675, nn. 1 and 3; Giuseppetti (2013) 160–161.

allusion to these interrelated Callimachean texts could explain the presence of *Galatea* at *Silvae* 1.4.76 far better than straightforward metrical considerations.

6 Two 'rediscoveries'

The last section of this paper discusses two conjectures that have been neglected by recent editors but that may deserve closer attention.

A) In the first poem of the *Silvae* (1.1), Statius compares the statues of Domitian and Caesar in the Forum. At ll. 84–90 it is said that the statue of Caesar (a work of Lysippus, which had originally been a portrait of Alexander the Great, whose head was then replaced by that of Julius Caesar) looks very poor in comparison with Domitian's great equestrian statue. I quote the text as it has been transmitted, since this is the reading adopted by the majority of editors:

> cedat equus Latiae qui contra templa DionES
> Caesarei stat sede fori, quem **traderis ausus**
> Pellaeo, Lysippe, duci (mox Caesaris ora
> mirata cervice tulit); vix lumine fesso
> explores quam longus in hunc despectus ab illo.
> quis rudis usque adeo qui non, ut viderit ambos,
> tantum dicat equos quantum distare regentes?
>
> *Silv*. 1.1.84–90

> Let that horse yield who stands in Caesar's Forum opposite Latian Dione's temple, whom you, Lysippus **(so 'tis said)**, **dared** make for Pella's captain (soon it was amazed to bear Caesar's likeness on its neck); with your tired eyes you would scarcely discern how far down the view is from this horse to that. Who so unschooled as, seeing both, not to declare the horses as far apart as their riders?
>
> trans. SHACKLETON BAILEY [2015]

The problem lies in the expression *quem traderis ausus* (sc. *esse facere*) *Pellaeo duci*. At first glance, the text as transmitted seems to make sense.[29] However, the

29 The verb *audeo* regularly takes a direct object without infinitive. For this use, cf. *OLD* s.v. 4a–b. However, Mart. 12.94.7, *audemus saturas* ('we dare write satires'), quoted by Liberman (2010) ad loc., is not an adequate parallel. Throughout this epigram, Martial uses different verbs to describe the composition of works in different genres (cf. 1, *scribebamus epos*, 'we wrote epic poetry' and 8, *ludo levis elegos*, 'I have fun creating swift ele-

doubt expressed concerning Lysippus' authorship sounds quite strange. The world of Statius' *Silvae* is a world of certainties. There must be no doubt that Caesar's statue is the work of Lysippus, so that the statue of Domitian can be compared with the best model available and can prove even better than Lysippus' masterpiece. The qualification 'so 'tis said' would sound bathetic in the context of a poem whose purpose is to praise and extol Domitian's Rome. In support of this assertion we can turn to some passages from *Silvae* 4.6 that are very similar in terms of content and expression. Here Statius displays his knowledge of the 'history' of another of Lysippus' statues, a small portrait of Hercules owned at different times by various powerful kings and leaders, including Alexander the Great, Hannibal, and Sulla. Statius expresses no doubts either about its attribution to Lysippus or about its owners: see for instance lines 59–60, *digna operi fortuna sacro:* ***Pellaeus*** *habebat /* ***regnator*** *laetis numen venerabile mensis* ('the sacred work has a worthy history. Pella's ruler had it on his cheerful board, a venerable deity'), and 75–76, ***mox*** *Nasamoniaco decus admirabile regi / possessum* ('presently the wondrous treasure became the property of the Nasamonian king Hannibal'). These passages are clearly modelled on 1.1.84–90 but show no traces of the apparent hesitation expressed in the earlier poem (*traderis ausus* etc.). In addition to this, the word *traderis* seems trivial and unimpressive in contrast with the solemn and emphatic style of the rest of the sentence. In particular, the juxtaposition of *traderis* with a pathetic device like the apostrophe to Lysippus[30] sounds very odd, as though one were to say, 'that great tragedy which you, divine Shakespeare, are supposed to have written'! At *Silvae* 4.6, the tone of the apostrophe to Lysippus is very different (ll. 36–37): *deus ille, deus! seseque videndum / indulsit, Lysippe, tibi* ('a god he was, a god! And he granted you, Lysippus, to behold him').

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gies'). Therefore, *audemus* does not simply mean 'we write' (*audemus scribere*), but also expresses the boldness (*audacia*) of Roman satire.

30 Compare the section devoted to works of art in the recently discovered anthology of the 'New' Posidippus. In particular, Ep. 65 (= *Anth. Plan.* 119) opens with a solemn apostrophe to Lysippus, sculptor of a vivid and fierce-looking portrait of Alexander: Λύσιππε, πλάστα Σικυώνιε, θαρσαλέα χεῖρ, / δάΐε τεχνίτα, πῦρ τοι ὁ χαλκὸς ὁρῇ, / ὃν κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρου μορφᾶς ἔθευ. οὔ τι γε μεμπτοὶ / Πέρσαι· συγγνώμα βουσὶ λέοντα φυγεῖν ('Lysippus, sculptor of Sicyon, bold hand, cunning craftsman, its glance is of fire, that bronze thou didst cast in the form of Alexander. We do not blame the Persians at all: cattle may be pardoned for flying before a lion', trans. Paton [1918] with adjustments). This bronze statue shows remarkable likeness to the equestrian statue of Domitian in *Silv.* 1.1, not only as a portrait of a great ruler, but also for the reaction it provokes in its spectators: in Posidippus, Alexander appears as proud and dreadful as when he terrified the Persians on the battlefield; with this image compare *Silv.* 1.1.7 and, in some respects, 1.1.52–54. On the role played by Posidippus in promoting Lysippus through his poetry, see Stewart (2005) 183–196.

A far more convincing reading is attested (probably by conjecture) in some Humanistic manuscripts,[31] and was adopted by Aldus Manutius in his edition of the *Silvae* (1502), but has been constantly neglected by modern editors or, at best, merely quoted in the apparatus (Courtney and Shackleton Bailey do not mention it at all). Manutius suggests a minor emendation to *quem traderis ausus / Pellaeo, Lysippe, duci*, printing instead:

> quem traderE ES ausus
> Pellaeo, Lysippe, duci
>
> (that horse) you *dared offer* to Alexander

This slight emendation restores the complement of the verb (*ausus es tradere*), improves the general sense, and removes the inapposite doubt concerning Lysippus' authorship. Above all, it develops a striking parallel with the prose preface to book one (which was likely composed after 1.1, when the first three books of Statius' *libelli* were collected, revised, and rearranged). In the preface, Statius describes the composition of the poem on Domitian's statue in terms that strongly recall *Silvae* 1.1.85–86 as emended by Manutius: *centum hos versus, quos in equum maximum feci,* ***indulgentissimo imperatori*** *postero die quam dedicaverat opus* ***tradere ausus sum*** ('I ventured to hand over these hundred lines on the Great Horse to our most indulgent Emperor the day after he dedicated the work'; cf. *tradere es ausus Pellaeo duci*). This echo is too strong to be accidental. We are thus left with the impression that Statius wanted to parallel Lysippus' offer of a 'horse' to Alexander with his own offer of a literary *equus maximus* to Domitian.[32]

B) At *Silvae* 3.4.40–43 it is said that Earinus, Domitian's eunuch lover, is more beautiful than the famous heroes Endymion, Attis, Narcissus, and Hylas:

> cedet tibi Latmius ultro
> Sangariusque puer, quemque inrita fontis imago
> et sterilis consumpsit amor. te caerula Nais
> mallet et adprensa traxisset fortius **urna**

31 See the apparatus criticus ad loc. in Hall (2021) 21.

32 Among modern scholars, only Liberman discusses Manutius' emendation, but he does so only in order to reject it. In any case, his main argument against it is very weak. He finds the prodelision *tradere es* in the clausula to be hard and rough, but this feature is well attested, for instance at Tib. 1.9.53, *at te, qui puerum donis corrumpere es ausus* ('but you,

> The boys of Latmos and Sangaris shall freely yield to you, and he that a vain image in a fountain and a barren love consumed. The cerulean Naiad would have preferred you and seized your **urn** in a stronger grip to drag you down.
>
> trans. SHACKLETON BAILEY [2015]

If the nymphs could choose, they would have abducted Earinus instead of Hylas. According to the myth, Hylas was kidnapped when he was drawing water with an urn. However, the image of a nymph 'seizing the urn' is quite strange and scarcely consistent with other poetic accounts of the myth, where it is said that the nymphs seized Hylas' arm, not his urn: cf. Apollonius Rhodius 1.1236–1239, αὐτίκα δ ἥ γε / λαιὸν μὲν καθύπερθεν ἐπ᾽ αὐχένος ἄνθετο πῆχυν / κύσσαι ἐπιθύουσα τέρεν στόμα, *δεξιτερῇ δὲ / ἀγκῶν᾽ ἔσπασε χειρί*, μέσῃ δ ἐνὶ κάββαλε δίνῃ ('at once she raised her left arm over his neck in her longing to kiss his tender mouth, *while with her right hand she pulled on his elbow* and plunged him into the midst of the swirling water', trans. Race [2009]); Theocritus 13.47, ταὶ δ ἐν χερὶ πᾶσαι ἔφυσαν ('the Nymphs all clung to his hand', trans. Hopkinson [2015]); see also Valerius Flaccus 3.562–564, *illa avidas iniecta manus heu sera cientem / auxilia et magni referentem nomen amici / detrahit* ('greedily casting her arms about him, as he calls, alas! too late for help and utters the name of his mighty friend, she draws him down', trans. Mozley [1934]). Propertius' account of the episode also implies that the Naiads seized Hylas' arm when he dipped his hands into the water (1.20.43–47): *tandem haurire parat demissis flumina palmis / innixus dextro plena trahens umero. / cuius ut accensae Dryades candore puellae … prolapsum leviter facili traxere liquore* ('at length, with lowered hands he prepares to cup the water, leaning on his right shoulder to draw a full measure. When the tree-nymphs, fired by his beauty … pulled him nimbly through the yielding water', trans. Goold [1990]). Furthermore, it is very likely that Statius was inspired by the representation of this myth in private paintings and mosaics, where a nymph seizing Hylas' arm is a ubiquitous element. (Hylas is sometimes also portrayed with an urn to suggest the reason that he came to the spring, but this is not the rule.) Numerous examples of these scenes are catalogued in Muth,[33] of which probably the most striking is a mosaic from Vienna (Musée de Saint-Romain en Gal).[34]

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who dared bribe a boy by your gifts') and 1.9.77, *blanditiasne meas aliis tu vendere es ausus* ('did you dare sell my words of love to other people?').

33 See Muth (1999).

34 A reproduction of the mosaic may be found in Muth (1999) 112, fig. 2. The mosaic is not registered in the *LIMC s.v.* 'Hylas'.

It is therefore very tempting to change the transmitted *urna* to *uLna*. The resulting *adprensa traxisset fortius ulna* ('seized your arm in a stronger grip, she would have dragged you') would restore the scene that we expect on the basis of the surviving iconographic and literary record. Although this emendation is already attested in some Humanistic manuscripts, modern editors nevertheless continue to reject it; I would argue that the time for its adoption is long overdue.

We may now draw some conclusions. The textual issues discussed above are related to many areas of pursuit that are equally essential to an adequate understanding of Statius' *Silvae*. Passages have been examined of different content and linguistic register, which range from the conversational style of prose prefaces and the witty tone of a mock-epic catalogue (*Silv*. 4.9) to the solemnity of poetic discourse on imperial power (*Silv*. 1.1; 1.2; 1.4). Statius' most complex allusions have been deciphered with reference to a variety of cultural phenomena, including the Alexandrian engagement with the literary tradition in its whole (*Silv*. 1.4) and forms of 'visual allusion' to contemporary iconography (*Silv*. 3.4). I hope that this selective choice of *adversaria* might suffice to give an idea of how exacting—and exciting at the same time—a novel examination of Statius' text may be.

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CHAPTER 5

Commenting on the *Silvae*: Visuality, Versatility, Verisimilitude

Kathleen M. Coleman

1 Introduction

This chapter addresses a seminal feature of the style of the *Silvae* that demands commentators' attention: the wealth of visual detail, and Statius' extreme economy and precision in conveying it, albeit often in arcane terms. 'Economy' is perhaps an odd word to use of these florid poems, many of them more than a hundred lines long, but amid all the baroque extravagance and excess, Statius deploys an extraordinary crispness in conveying the impact of the material surroundings and possessions of his patrons. Their material world reflects their wealth and status, and so one way for him to flatter them is to replicate this world in words. The distinction that Statius conveys is not only material: indeed, non-tangible assets such as pedigree are even more important than material possessions.[1] But the focus of this chapter is on materiality, to demonstrate Statius' capacity for shaping the verbal to capture the visual and convey its essence.[2]

The verbal evocation of a feature of a patron's surroundings is a form of ecphrasis, a description, often extended, of an object or a work of art, frequently an artifact of the imagination. More than a hundred years ago, Thomas Shearer Duncan argued that, in the *Thebaid* and the surviving scrap of the *Achilleid*, Statius seems to be describing pictures or sculptures of objects or scenes rather than the objects or scenes themselves.[3] Duncan's main aim was to show that Statius expands epic motifs in a way that suggests pictorial influence, and he

1 Zeiner (2005).

2 The 'commentator' here is envisaged as a scholar applying the techniques traditionally employed in a commentary on a Greek or Latin text to respond to the 'material turn' or 'new materialism' in scholarship, rather than employing the theoretical approaches of 'Thing Theory' or 'Object-Oriented Ontology'. For an application of these theories to descriptions of arms and armour in Homer and Virgil, see Blake and Dyer (2021).

3 Duncan (1914). Compare Pittà in this volume (pp. 120–122), proposing an emendation at *Silv.* 3.4.43 on the basis that Statius is reproducing a standard detail in the depiction of Hylas from the iconographic register.

paid little attention to the *Silvae*. The 'pictorial' aspect of these occasional poems, however, must have posed an even greater compositional challenge to Statius than the task of bringing epic to life, since his patrons could compare his evocation of their treasures with the treasures themselves and should not find his treatment wanting. Even those among his contemporary readers who had never visited his patrons' households must have been familiar with the sort of objects they possessed and could have appreciated Statius' skill in conveying their character and quality. That material world, however, is lost to us, and we must rely on the commentator to recapture it for us.

Now, a century after Duncan's book was published, a methodologically sophisticated study of visuality in Statius' oeuvre has appeared, *Visualizing the Poetry of Statius: An Intertextual Approach*, by Christopher Chinn. Noting the frequency of allusions to sight and seeing throughout both the epics and the *Silvae*, Chinn traces 'visual intertexts' in Statius' descriptive passages in order to show *inter alia* how their function in their new context may convey an entirely different message from the original, such that, for example, moral criticism of luxury possessions by Horace becomes in the *Silvae* a validation of a materialist lifestyle—a validation that requires the reader to recall the original ecphrasis and appreciate its new application. Chinn also deploys theories of vision, especially the pioneering work on the gaze in film by Linda Mulvey and the phenomenological account of vision by the philosopher Maurice Merleau-Ponty, to suggest that some of Statius' intertexts introduce an erotic element into the way in which his patrons' estates and possessions are presented to the reader's view.

In contrast to the methods deployed by Chinn, my study focuses on an approach that compares Statius' wording with surviving artifacts and images. Our methods, although different, highlight some similar aspects of the visual in the *Silvae*, notably Statius' appreciation of the craft that created his patrons' treasures and his emphasis on illusion. Statius' powers of observation and his capacity to capture the essential features of works of art with enhanced verisimilitude—including tessellated mosaic, fresco painting, ivory carving, sculpted relief, bronze statuary, and marble inlay—is one of the most captivating aspects of his poetry. In what follows, I have selected six instances in which a comparison with surviving images and artifacts can sharpen our appreciation of the way in which he uses language to convey the immanent quality of the fine décor and precious objects in which his patrons took pride or to replicate the experience of encountering them as a visitor. I shall start not with an ecphrasis, however, but with something closer to Duncan's approach to scenes shared by the *Thebaid* and contemporary painting, namely a mythologizing treatment of an event in the life of one of Statius' patrons, to show that the atmosphere that he evokes is conveyed also on the walls of contemporary houses. Such whim-

FIGURE 5.1 Herculaneum V 17/18, fresco of cupids playing with a tripod and a giant *cithara*. REPRODUCED BY COURTESY OF THE MINISTERO DELLA CULTURA—PARCO ARCHEOLOGICO DI ERCOLANO.

sical representations were employed by poets and artists alike to add grace and colour to everyday experience.

2 Tumbling Cupids

In a general way, both Statius' poetry and contemporary works of art respond to a taste for exuberant mythologizing representations, combined with a rhetoric of excess, whereby an artist—whether poet or painter—piles on details and does not indulge in one when a dozen, so to speak, will suffice. In the

FIGURE 5.2 Pompeii VI 15, 1, Casa dei Vettii, 'room of the Cupids', fresco of cupids garlanding a goat for sacrifice.
PHOTOGRAPH: SCALA / ART RESOURCE, NY.

FIGURE 5.3 Pompeii VI 15, 1, Casa dei Vettii, 'room of the Cupids', fresco of cupids driving chariots drawn by deer.
PHOTOGRAPH: SCALA / ART RESOURCE, NY.

wedding poem for the young senator Arruntius Stella and his bride Violentilla, Statius explains how Violentilla succumbs to Stella's suit. Venus' troop of Cupids are longing to shoot Violentilla with their infatuating arrows. Statius gives the chief Cupid a speech of supplication on Stella's behalf to address to Venus, but first he describes the tumbling Cupids pestering their mother with a barrage of questions. I have put in bold in both text and translation the volley of question-words, six in three lines:

> fulcra torosque deae tenerum premit agmen Amorum:
> signa petunt **qua** ferre faces, **quae** pectora figi
> imperet, **an** terris saevire **an** malit in undis,
> **an** miscere deos **an** adhuc vexare Tonantem.
>
> *Silv*. 1.2.54–57

> A tender company of Erotes swarms over the goddess' couch and cushions. They seek her sign: **where** does she bid them carry their torches, **what** hearts are to be pierced? **would** she rather they rage on land **or** in the waves? **should** they confound the gods **or** go on tormenting the Thunderer?
>
> trans. SHACKLETON BAILEY/PARROTT [2015], adapted

The repeated interrogative pronouns *quae … qua* and the string of alternatives *an … an … an … an* convey the high spirits, eagerness, and pestering nature of the Erotes. There is a certain whimsical realism about this evocation that is instantly recognizable in the visual register, as in a fresco from *insula* 5, 17–18 at Herculaneum that shows Erotes fooling around with garlands and thyrsuses, settling an enormous crater into place on a tripod, and using four hands to play a huge cithara (Fig. 1). The picture seethes with childlike energy just like Statius' language, with its insistent repetitions. One gets a similar sense of busy and boisterous Erotes from the frieze in the 'room of the Cupids' off the peristyle in the House of the Vettii at Pompeii (VI 15, 1), where among other activities some of them are preparing to garland a goat for a sacrifice (Fig. 2), while others are engaged in a whimsical and accident-prone chariot race with deer for steeds (Fig. 3). It is not necessary to assume that Statius had a particular painting in mind; the same humorous and imaginative empathy, a legacy of the Hellenistic world, evidently guided both poet and artists in conveying the behavior of divine children.[4]

4 Cf. the description of Eros, bribed with a ball by his mother, Aphrodite (A. R. *Arg*. 3.146–148, trans. Race [2008]): μείλια δ' ἔκβαλε πάντα, καὶ ἀμφοτέρῃσι χιτῶνος / νωλεμὲς ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα θεᾶς ἔχεν ἀμφιμεμαρπώς· / λίσσετο δ' αἶψα πορεῖν αὐτοσχεδόν ('He dropped all his playthings

3 The 'Unswept Floor'

One of the ways in which Statius compliments his patrons on their fine possessions is by conveying the experience of a visitor upon first encountering them. Manilius Vopiscus has a mosaic pavement that surpasses the fashionable ἀσάρωτος οἶκος, 'unswept floor' (literally: 'unswept room'): *varias … picta per artes / gaudet humus superare novis asarota figuris*, 'the ground, variously decorated, is pleased to surpass the "Unswept" with its novel designs' (*Silv*. 1.3.55–56). Statius' *mot juste* for this design shows his mastery of technical detail.[5] Simultaneously, his allusive *asarota* (presumably a neuter plural), instead of the regular term, ἀσάρωτος οἶκος, indicates how famous the original was.[6] It was designed by Sosus of Pergamum and much copied thereafter (Plin. *Nat*. 36.184):

> celeberrimus fuit in hoc genere Sosus, qui Pergami stravit quem vocant asaroton oecon, quoniam purgamenta cenae in pavimentis quaeque everri solent velut relicta fecerat parvis e tessellis tinctisque in varios colores.
>
> The most famous exponent of this craft [i.e., mosaic-making] was Sosos, who laid a pavement at Pergamum that is called the 'asarotos oikos', because from tiny *tesserae* dyed various colours he rendered the remains of a meal and other débris that is usually swept away, as though it had been left behind on the floor.

Several examples roughly contemporary with Vopiscus' floor survive, none of them identical with any other. The débris with which they are strewn includes fish heads, eggshells, lobster claws, scraps of fruit and vegetables, nuts, and much else, all the items astonishingly realistic in their rendering and the consistency of their relative scale. A version from Aquileia, dated to the second half of the first century CE, covered an entire floor measuring 2.49 × 2.33 m. (8 ft. 2 in. × 7 ft 8 in.), barring a square *emblema* in the middle; it is displayed at the Museo Nazionale Archeologico di Aquileia.[7] Five *emblemata* from the House of Salonius at Uthina (modern Oudna, in Tunisia), measuring 60 × 70 cm. (23.6

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and with both hands grabbed hold of the goddess' tunic on both sides and clung tightly. He begged her to hand it over right away, then and there').

5 Kreuz (2016) 486 n. 216.

6 For the form, see *TLL* 2.0.749.80–750.2 s.v. *asarotos* (F. Vollmer). An alternative adjectival formation is attested at Sid. *Carm*. 23.57–58 *aureas … portas / exornas asaroticis lapillis* ('you decorate golden doors with scattered stones'); the context of golden doors suggests that the original meaning of 'unswept' now applies to a scattering of decorative motifs.

7 Parlasca (1963) 277 Abb. 13; Fathy (2017) 6 and Figs. 3–4.

FIGURE 5.4 Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano, 'Unswept Floor' mosaic, detail. PHOTOGRAPH: BRIDGEMAN IMAGES.

× 27.6 in.) and dated to the late first or early second century, are on display in the Musée National du Bardo in Tunis.[8] The most famous version, from a villa of the Hadrianic period south of the Aventine, is now in the Museo Gregoriano Profano in the Musei Vaticani; measuring 4.05 × 4.05 m. (13 ft. 3 in. × 13 ft. 3 in.), it consists of a wide border surrounding a central area that is largely destroyed.[9] A still later example, from the Maison des Mois in El Djem in the early third century, comprised a narrow U-shaped frieze in a *triclinium*; it is on display at the Musée Archéologique de Sousse.[10]

The Romans' taste for artistic verisimilitude, so evident in their portraiture, is frequently endorsed by ancient authors, most notably Pliny the Elder, who amid other admiring references to deceptive images describes birds pecking at paintings of grapes (*Nat.* 35.65).[11] The urge to approach Roman images as direct representations of reality means that 'Unswept Floor' mosaics have been

8 Ennaïfer (1996) 72 Fig. 43; Fathy (2017) 6–7 and Fig. 5.

9 Fathy (2017) 6 and Figs. 1–2. For a discussion emphasizing the play between art and realism, see Andreae (2003) 47–51.

10 Fathy (2017) 7 and Fig. 6.

11 The importance of veracity in Pliny's canon of artistic achievement is not incompatible with aesthetic sensibility: see Isager (1991) 136–140, Perry (2000).

paired with literary evidence for messy eating at Roman meals.[12] But a mosaic is not a photograph. On the surviving examples, the débris is artificially arranged, with each item distinctly rendered separate from the rest, none of them overlapping, and there are no puddles of wine, which we know the Romans spilled copiously at dinner; this absence of realism plays up the fiction, while on the mosaic in the Vatican the three-dimensional effect of the shadow underneath each item plays it down, emphasizing instead verisimilitude, each shadow cast by a consistent light source.[13]

We cannot know whether Vopiscus' floor was as complex as the Vatican mosaic, but the play with perspective on that example may help us to appreciate Statius' description. The edge of a coffered ceiling, rendered as a frame around the outside of the border, and a scalloped edge, rendered around the inside, complicate the perspective, and on one of the four sides the scattering of débris is replaced altogether (albeit perhaps in a later intervention?) by a frieze of tragic masks with the signature of 'Heraklitus' in elegant Greek lettering underneath. Multiple viewpoints are being juggled simultaneously (Fig. 4).

Statius' compliment to Vopiscus employs the paradox of trampling wealth underfoot:

> dum vagor aspectu visusque per omnia duco
> calcabam necopinus opes. nam splendor ab alto
> defluus et nitidum referentes aëra testae
> lustravere (*Hall*: monstravere *M*) solum, varias ubi picta per artes
> gaudet humus superare (*Markland*: superatque *M*) novis asarota figuris.
> expavere gradus.
>
> *Silv*. 1.3.52–57

> While I lingered, absorbed in looking, and swept my gaze over it all, I was inadvertently treading on wealth. For brilliance pouring down from above and tesserae reflecting the dazzling air illuminated the floor, where the ground, variously decorated, is pleased to surpass the 'Unswept' with its novel designs. My steps were in shock.
>
> trans. COLEMAN

12 Hagenow (1978).

13 The verisimilitude is further heightened if the entrance to the room cast shadows in the same direction as the shadows represented on the floor: see Thomas (2021) 193–194. The emphasis on light (*splendor*) and glitter (*nitidum*) is enhanced by *lustravere* (Hall 2021 ad loc.) in place of the epideictic verb *monstravere*.

Statius' initial remark, *calcabam necopinus opes*, 'I was inadvertently treading on wealth', most obviously refers to the price tag attached to a mosaic floor, a labour-intensive installation and therefore a costly artifact;[14] furthermore, the rendering of leftovers from a lavish meal itself betokens wealth and overabundance.[15] Statius' reaction, *expavere gradus*, cannot denote disapproval of Vopiscus' expenditure; as Bruce Gibson has demonstrated, even though traces of a negative stereotype of wealth occasionally surface in the *Silvae*, they are always turned into a positive evaluation of the attitudes and lifestyles of Statius' patrons.[16] Nor would it be tactful for Statius to express shock at the apparent mess on the floor, unless he were teasing Vopiscus; we know too little about their relationship to be able to judge the likelihood of that interpretation. Rather, the clue may lie in *gradus*, an unexpected location for a sensation of *pavor*. We do not know whether Vopiscus' floor combined the 'Unswept Floor' motif with other competing perspectives, such as the coffered ceiling and scalloped edging in the example in the Vatican, but Statius' emphasis on the visual effect of the light streaming from above and reflected off the floor beneath seems to hint at the unsettling effect of this complex mosaic, and it is the representation on it, with *figurae* apparently even more daring than the original ἀσάρωτος οἶκος, that causes him almost to lose his balance: *expavere gradus*, 'my steps were in shock'.

The attribution of emotion to Statius' steps, a type of transference akin to personification, is accompanied by the personification of the ground itself, which 'is pleased', *gaudet*, with the variety of its representation. These personifications compound the fantasy that is already present in the decoration on the floor, which simulates the detritus of a real meal. Statius personifies his own physical and emotional response precisely in a context in which mosaic has brought a flat surface to life, a transformation likewise akin to personification. Commentators tell us what Statius' *asarota* refers to, but a look at the mosaics themselves is necessary to appreciate how he conveys the instability engendered by the decoration underfoot.

14 Chinn (2022) 248, contrasting this passage with Horace's description of a mosaic floor as an example of urban luxury that tries to usurp natural beauty (*Epist.* 1.10.19), notes that Statius' emphasis on human skill 'deemphasizes the distinction between the natural and the artificial'.

15 Meyer (1977) 108.

16 For *Silv.* 1.3 as an example of Statius' use of this technique, see Gibson (2015) 129–131. The *paupertas* of Molorchus, traditionally held up as the epitome of humble hospitality, is explicitly contrasted by Statius with the *divitiae* of Pollius Felix, whose construction of a lavish new shrine for Hercules he praises as a great improvement on the previous cramped premises, too small to accommodate the requisite fleets of acolytes (*Silv.* 3.1.28–33, 82–88): see Fabbrini (2005) 213–222.

4 *Missilia*

Wealth, combined with power, can defy expectations. Just as Vopiscus' floor tricks the eye of the beholder, so in a banquet hosted by Domitian in the Flavian amphitheatre food rains from above. The distribution of *missilia* is a practice widely attested at Roman spectacles, whereby small gifts were scattered at random among the spectators. In describing it, Statius is at his most allusive:

> vix Aurora novos movebat ortus,
> iam bellaria linea pluebant:
> hunc rorem veniens profudit Eurus,
> quicquid nobile Ponticis **nucetis**
> fecundis **cadit** aut iugis **Idumes**
> quod ramis pia germinat Damascos
> et quod percoquit aestuosa[17] Caunos
> largis gratuitum **cadit** rapinis,
> molles gaïoli **lucuntuli**que
> et massis amerina non perustis
> et mustaceus et latente palma
> praegnantes **caryotides cadebant.**
>
> *Silv*. 1.6.9–20

> Scarce was Aurora moving another dawn and already dainties were raining from the line—such the dew that rising East Wind poured down; the best that **falls** in Pontic **nutteries** or **Idume**'s fertile hills, what pious Damascus grows upon her boughs and what summery Caunus ripens—free of charge **falls** the lavish loot. Soft mannikins and **pastries**, Ameria's solidities unscorched, must cakes and pregnant **dates** from an invisible palm—down they **fell.**
>
> trans. SHACKLETON BAILEY/PARROTT [2015]

A painting from Pompeii, of which the exact provenance is unknown, illustrates the mechanism employed in this distribution (Fig. 5).[18] Rings are strung on parallel cables that have been pulled taut, slack cables are looped through the rings, and the four corners and the sides of a piece of cloth resembling a

17 Adopting the emendation *aestuosa* (Imhof) for the unmetrical *Ēbosea*, which requires an artificially lengthened first syllable: see Kreuz (2016) 187.

18 Killeen (1959). A second painting at Pompeii is attested from the *tablinum* in the Casa della Caccia Antica, VII 4.48.

FIGURE 5.5 Pompeii, painting of *missilia*, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples, inv. 9624. REPRODUCED BY COURTESY OF THE MINISTERO DELLA CULTURA, MUSEO ARCHEOLOGICO NAZIONALE DI NAPOLI, PHOTOGRAPH BY LUIGI SPINA.

pillowcase are attached to them. The slack cables have evidently been jerked to make the cloth bounce, dispensing various pastries, nuts, and dates. This is exactly the effect that Statius describes: goodies showering from above. He even specifies nuts, pastries, and two types of date, one from Idume in Palestine and the other, Caryotides, shaped like nuts. By his triple repetition of *cado* (and, perhaps, his interlaced word-order, although this is common in the *Silvae*) he is conveying the same tumbling effect that the painter achieves by overlapping one object with another, the opposite of the technique of isolated representation on the 'Unswept Floor'.

5 An ivory couch

Craftsmen and artists have their jargon. Their patrons pride themselves on knowing the *mots justes* for the process of manufacturing their commissions.

The poets who celebrate these commissions know the jargon, too, as with Statius' description of the ivory couch on which he invites Hercules to recline in the new shrine that Pollius Felix has built for him on his estate at Surrentum:

> hic tibi Sidonio celsum pulvinar acantho
> texitur et signis crescit torus asper eburnis.
>
> *Silv*. 3.1.37–38

> Here are cushions piled high for you, embroidered with Sidonian acanthus, and a couch moulded with ivory carved in high relief.
>
> trans. SHACKLETON BAILEY/PARROTT [2015], adapted

Ivory was a luxurious material in the Roman world, its use in sanctuaries a fitting honour for the gods.[19] The key word in Statius' brief but vivid description is *asper*. Its primary meaning is 'rough to the touch', and it is translated as 'rough' in the revised Loeb edition: 'a couch rising rough with figures of ivory'.[20] But a rough couch would be uncomfortable, hence the adaptation 'a couch moulded with ivory carved in high relief'. Gabriel Laguna's note, 'con bajorrelieves' ('with bas-reliefs'), is both succinct and precise.[21] The texture of the word is enhanced by looking at comparanda in both diction and material culture.

The architectural term *asperitas* in Vitruvius' *De architectura* is relevant. Vitruvius is describing a pseudodipteral temple designed by the Greek architect Hermogenes, in which the distance between the *cella* and the edge of the stylobate is wide enough for a double row of columns, although only the outer row is present (Vitr. *Arch*. 3.3.9, trans. Granger [1931], adapted): *columnarum circum aedem dispositio idem est inventa, ut aspectus propter asperitatem intercolumniorum habeat auctoritatem* ('For the arrangement of the columns round the temple was so devised that the view of them was impressive, because of the high relief given to the intercolumniations'). Similarly, Vitruvius describes the *trompe l'oeil* effect of columns, statues, domes, pediments, and other features painted by the artist Apaturias of Alabander inside the ecclesiasterion at Tralles as deceiving the eye of the beholder *propter asperitatem* (*Arch*. 7.5.5).

Asperitas here has been defined as '"high relief" engendered by the play of shadow and light'.[22] 'High relief': that is the point of *asper*, which refers

19 For a succinct account of the provenance and working of ivory in Antiquity, see Lapatin (2015*c*) 171–179.

20 Shackleton Bailey/Parrott (2015).

21 Laguna Mariscal (1992) 142.

22 Gros (2008) 8. For a 3-D computer simulation of the pseudodipteral temple at Magne-

FIGURE 5.6
Herculaneum, Villa dei Papiri, seaside pavilion, ivory tripod leg, detail.
REPRODUCED BY COURTESY OF THE MINISTERO DELLA CULTURA—PARCO ARCHEOLOGICO DI ERCOLANO.

to something 'raised'. A rough texture has 'raised' elements; Pollius' couch is 'raised', too, but not in a rough way. Fragments of an ivory tripod leg excavated in 2007 at the seaside pavilion belonging to the Villa dei Papiri at Herculaneum, although now discoloured, display intricate scenes carved in high relief, among which boisterous cupids are depicted performing various ritual activities, their busy concentration conveying the same energy as Statius' Cupids promoting Violentilla's courtship (see § 2, above); the intricate detail conveyed by the depth of relief is evident in the depiction of a psyche sacrificing at an altar before a statue of Dionysus, with a set of panpipes hanging above her head and a cupid on a rocky outcrop playing a double *aulos* behind her (Fig. 6).[23] In the Metropolitan Museum in New York, a wooden couch and matching footstool

sia designed by Hermogenes that illustrates the effect of *asperitas* in the rendering of the columns, see Haselberger and Holzman (2015).

23 Lapatin (2015*c*) 267 and Pl. 164.

FIGURE 5.7 Couch and footstool with bone carvings and glass inlays, restored from fragments possibly found in the villa of Lucius Verus on the Via Cassia outside Rome. 1st–2nd century CE. Couch: 105.4 × 76.2 × 214.6 cm. (41.5 × 30 × 84.5 in.). Footstool 23.5 × 44.5 × 64.8 cm. (9.25 × 17.5 × 25.5 in.).
THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, NEW YORK, INV. NO. 17.190.2076. GIFT OF J. PIERPONT MORGAN, 1917. WWW.METMUSEUM.ORG.

with bone carving and glass inlay have been reconstituted from fragments surviving from the villa of Lucius Verus on the Via Cassia outside Rome (Fig. 7); although the carving is bone, rather than ivory, it provides a close analogue to Pollius Felix' couch. Lions' heads are carved along the base, busts at the base of the head- and footrests, and birds, animals, and human figures at the top of the legs and on the corners of the footstool. *crescit torus asper* refers to the way in which the carving is not incised on a flat surface but raised proud of the background.

Asper is the *mot juste* in Latin for anything involving repoussé metalwork—cups, coins, or metal objects.[24] The fourth-century lexicographer Nonius Marcellus gives three definitions for this word: *insuave*, 'unpleasant'; *nocens*, 'noxious'; and *exasperatum, non leve*, 'worked in relief, not smooth' (*De compendiosa doctrina* 244 M). For the latter he quotes Virgil on silver cups with relief decoration (*A.* 9.26): *bina dabo argento perfecta atque aspera signis / pocula* ('I shall give two cups finished in silver and moulded in relief'). Claudian uses

24 *TLL* 2.0.806.81–816.31 s.v. *asper*, 821.18–823.20 s.v. *asperitas* (O. Hey).

the same verb as Nonius, *exasperare*, to describe one of the divine blacksmiths, Brontes, creating a shield decorated in relief (*III Cons. Hon.* 193): *Brontes innumeris exasperat aegida signis* ('Brontes moulds the shield in countless shapes'). The remarkable feature of the couch that Pollius Felix has commissioned for his new shrine of Hercules is not that it is rough to the touch, but that it is carved to imitate the raised decoration of repoussé metalwork, *crescit torus asper eburnis*, 'moulded with ivory carved in high relief'. Statius and, doubtless, Pollius know exactly the word to use.

6 A shield portrait

Just as a single term could convey the surface of Pollius' couch, so one emotive word can convey the angle at which a portrait was displayed. Some thirty years after Lucan's death, his widow commissioned a *genethliacon* from Statius to commemorate her late husband's birthday. After an agonized lament for Lucan by the muse Calliope, the poem ends with a comforting vision for his widow:

> nec solacia vana subministrat
> vultus, qui simili notatus auro
> stratis praenitet incubatque somno
> securae.
>
> *Silv.* 2.7.128–131

> Nor idle the solace afforded by the face expressed in resembling gold that shines above her couch and watches over her peaceful slumber.
>
> trans. SHACKLETON BAILEY/PARROTT [2015], adapted

The commentators tell us that Polla had a portrait of Lucan over her bed, but they do not explain what kind. Friedrich Vollmer says 'wohl ein clupeus gemeint', without further elaboration.[25] Carole Newlands adds the pertinent observation that *'incubare* … here … suggests benevolent protection'.[26] Harm-Jan van Dam, while emphasizing that *incubare* has generally negative associations, concedes that here the ramifications are positive; but, under the influence of the controversy among scholars who take the negative (*nec*) at the beginning of the sentence to mean that either 'Polla does not have an image of

25 Vollmer (1898) 382.
26 Newlands (2011) 254.

FIGURE 5.8 Testamentum Relief. Early 2nd century CE. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo, Archivio Fotografico dei Musei Capitolini, Galleria inv. no. 308.

Lucan, because those images give only vain comfort' or 'Polla has got an image, but … this is not very important to her', he remarks in a note on *securae* that 'Polla is untroubled, though it is not the portrait which effects this'.[27] When we consider what sort of portrait this was, however, Statius' diction acquires extra resonance. As Vollmer so laconically said, it must have been a shield-portrait, an *imago clipeata*, like the portrait set into the so-called Testamentum Relief in the Musei Capitolini (Fig. 8). The youthful figure on the couch is presumably the deceased; the woman at the right, his mother; the small figure on the left, a servant; and the portrait in the shield, the father, who evidently predeceased his son. Such *imagines clipeatae* are sometimes depicted hanging where the physical objects would have been displayed, as in a painting from Oplontis, where *imagines*—made of gold, like Lucan's—are suspended below the ceiling (Fig. 9).[28]

27 Van Dam (1984) 504.

28 To my knowledge, no *imagines clipeatae* in gold survive, although portraits of some of the emperors do, made of gold and hollow, that were possibly intended to be displayed aloft in military contexts: see de Pury-Gysel (2017).

FIGURE 5.9 Oplontis, villa of Poppaea, room 15 (23), east wall, painting of *imagines clipeatae* displayed below ceiling.
PHOTOGRAPH: BRIDGEMAN IMAGES.

There are two noteworthy features about these shield portraits. The first is that the figures are not like most modern portraits, which are painted onto a flat canvas. Nor are they static busts. They are figures in relief, rising out of their frame towards the viewer, almost as though they are in motion. The second noteworthy feature is the position and angle at which they were displayed. A depiction from the Casa del Bell' Impluvio at Pompeii illustrates both these features: the relief is pronounced, and the shields are tilted downwards (Fig. 10). That is what Statius must mean when he says *incubat somno / securae*, the portrait 'watches over her peaceful slumber'.[29] The protective

29 'Watches over' has been substituted for 'hovers' (Shackleton Bailey/Parrott [2015]) to convey the prepositional compound and protective resonance of *incubat*.

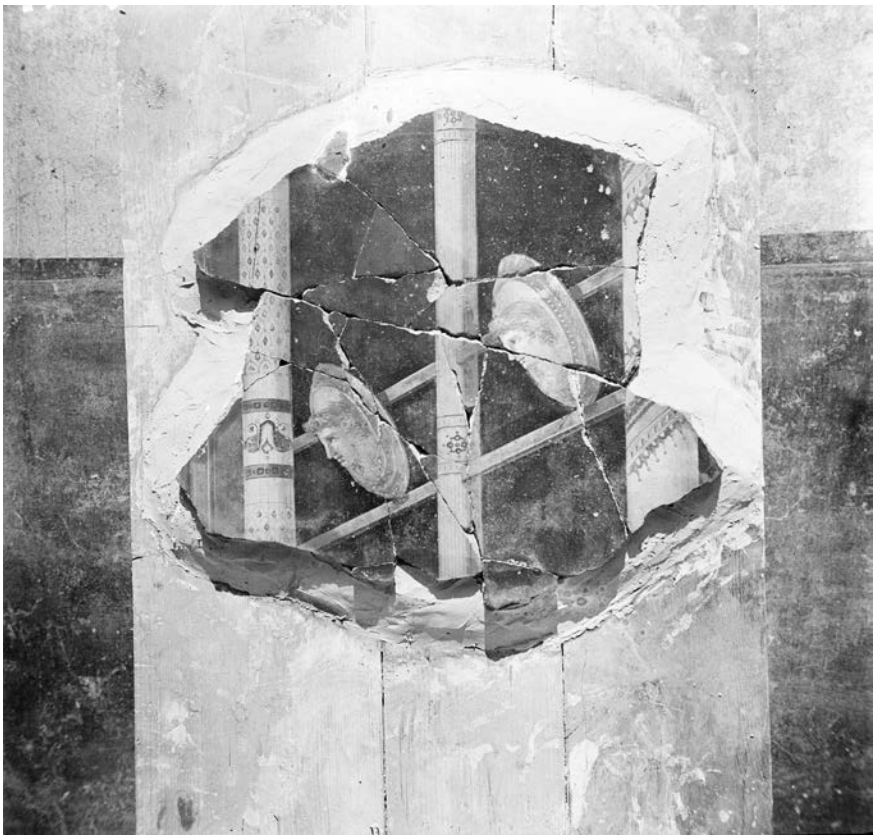

FIGURE 5.10 Pompeii I 9, 1, Casa del Bell' Impluvio, painting of *imagines clipeatae* tilted downwards.
REPRODUCED BY COURTESY OF THE MINISTERO DELLA CULTURA—PARCO ARCHEOLOGICO DI POMPEI.

function of these portraits seems to be reinforced by their shield-shape.[30] *Incubare* is the word for 'keeping watch', as with the guard from Seneca's *Thyestes* (*Thy*. 570–571, trans. Fitch [2004]): *pavidus … pinnis / anxiae noctis vigil incubabat* ('Guards crouched in dread on the battlements, to watch the anxious night').[31] Fitch's word 'crouched' for *incubabat* in Seneca conveys exactly the forward-tilting angle implied by *in-* that Statius' *incubat* also conveys, a vivid detail that would be destroyed by Markland's conjecture *excubat*.[32] The way in

30 Koortbojian (2005) 292.
31 *TLL* 7.1.1061.22–1063.73 s.v. *incubo*, at 1063.34–38 (B. Rehm).
32 Defended by Liberman (2010) ad loc.

which Lucan's portrait, rising from its frame, hangs tilted towards Polla's sleeping form (*incubat*) delivers the 'benevolent protection' noted by Newlands. As with his reference to the *asperitas* of Pollius' ivory couch, Statius is sensitive to three-dimensional effects and succinct in conveying their verisimilitude.

7 The Hercules Epitrapezios

Statius devotes an entire poem to the Hercules Epitrapezios statuette that was the prized possession of the art connoisseur Novius Vindex and is alleged to have been previously owned by Alexander the Great, Hannibal, and Sulla.[33] This pedigree is claimed for the statuette by both Statius (*Silv*. 4.6.37) and Martial (9.43.6, 9.44.6), and so it must have emanated from Vindex himself, rather than being the invention of one of these poets. Alexander is at least plausible, since Lysippus, to whom Statius and Martial attribute this piece, was Alexander's favourite sculptor.

It is generally thought that 'Epitrapezios' does not describe a dining pose 'at table', which would imply the *accubatio* position, whereas Vindex' Hercules is seated; hence it should mean 'for a table', a centrepiece.[34] The pose that Statius describes is like that of twenty-one extant miniatures, one of which is a plaster cast of an original that was probably ancient.[35] All of them except one are either badly damaged or heavily restored. The only intact example, found in the peristyle of a Roman villa near the R. Sarno in 1902, comprises a bronze statuette seated on a limestone base.[36] The entire ensemble is 75 cm. high (29.5 in.). The base is over 67 cm. wide (26.4 in.) and nearly 54 cm. deep (21.25 in.). This would be a cumbersome object to display on the table in a Roman *triclinium*—a conversation killer, one would think, for the guests reclining round three sides, rather than the spur to sophisticated conversation that Statius evokes. Vindex' statuette was smaller, less than a foot tall (*intra … pedem*, *Silv*. 4.6.38–39).[37]

33 A monograph devoted to this poem does not contain any illustrations, but the introduction includes a long discussion, 'Il bronzetto dell'*Hercules Epitrapezios*: problemi di iconografia e di *Kopienkritik*', which concludes that the poem plays on a shift between objective and textual 'reality' ('tra un realtà oggettiva e una realtà "testuale"'): Bonadeo (2010) 24–42.

34 Coleman (1988) 174; Bartman (1992) 151.

35 See the catalogue at Bartman (1992) 171–186.

36 Bartman (1992) 182, catalogue no. 16; Lapatin (2015*b*). The *skyphos* in the figure's right hand, visible in early photographs, is now lost.

37 The smallest extant Hercules Epitrapezios in bronze, displayed in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul, is only 5 cm. tall (2 in.): Bartman (1992) 177, catalogue no. 10 (inventory number unknown).

Two damaged specimens are possible analogues: one, found at a Roman villa southwest of Jagsthausen in Baden-Württemberg, was probably 20 cm. high (almost 8 in.), and the other, now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, is 17 cm. high (6.7 in.).[38]

The damaged state of the surviving examples, however, means that by limiting our attention to exact analogues for the Epitrapezios pose, we risk focusing exclusively on size, which is only part of what Statius emphasizes about Vindex' statuette. He was also captivated by the transcendent impression of divinity that it conveyed:

> … deus ille, deus! seseque videndum
> indulsit, Lysippe, tibi parvusque videri
> sentirique ingens! et cum mirabilis intra
> stet mensura pedem, tamen exclamare libebit,
> si visus per membra feres: 'hoc pectore pressus
> vastator Nemees; haec exitiale ferebant
> robur et Argoos frangebant bracchia remos'.
> †ac† spatium * * *
> * * * tam magna brevi mendacia formae!
>
> *Silv*. 4.6.36–43

> A god he is, a god, and he granted you the privilege of gazing upon him, Lysippus, small in appearance and mighty in impression, and although his measure stands miraculously within a foot, nevertheless when you carry your gaze over his limbs you will want to exclaim: 'By this stout breast the scourge of Nemea was crushed, these arms wielded the destructive wood and smashed Argo's oars' … So great is the deception of that tiny form.
>
> trans. COLEMAN [1988]

The revelation of the godhead to the artist is a widely attested *topos* in Antiquity, discussed in detail in the modern commentary on *Silvae* 4.[39] Yet, the same commentary (mine!) does not examine how extant bronze miniatures convey the aura of divinity that so impressed Statius. Precisely thirty-five years later, I will attempt to fill that *lacuna*, taking as my starting point a Hellenistic

38 Stuttgart, Württembergisches Landesmuseum inv. R 89.61 = Bartman (1992) 185, catalogue no. 20. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum inv. VI 342 = Bartman (1992) 185–186, catalogue no. 21.

39 Coleman (1988) on *Silv*. 4.6.36–38.

statuette (c. 150–130 BCE) in the Antikensammlung in Munich, known as the 'Loeb Poseidon' after its donor, the American philanthropist James Loeb. In its current state, this statuette is 29.5 cm. tall (11.6 in.), but originally, when its feet and base were intact, it must have been slightly taller (Fig. 11). The god's pose, relaxed but erect; the trident that he grasps (a modern substitute for the lost original); his sleek body and powerful muscles; his hair and beard, luxuriant and unruly: all these features transcend human stature. As the Director of the Antikensammlung has recently put it, 'Like virtually no other work, this bronze statuette shows Poseidon in his divine perfection and at the same time symbolizes the essence of the god of the sea'.[40]

Vindex' statue type seems likely to have been one of the so-called 'Corinthian bronzes' that were fashionable in the Flavian and Trajanic periods. Pliny the Younger devotes an entire letter to his recent purchase of a lifelike *Corinthium signum* of an old man and to his plans to have a base created for it, inscribed with a dedication to Jupiter, so that he could dedicate it in the temple of Jupiter at Comum (*Epist.* 3.6). 'Corinthian bronzes' have recently been identified by Christopher Hallett with a group of small bronze statuettes that had previously prompted wildly differing interpretations.[41] They are usually 30–45 cm. in height (roughly 12–18 in.), partly hollow-cast in pieces, showing fine detail in their surface modelling, and often inlaid with jewels or precious metal to highlight such features as the eyes, nostrils, or lips. The scale and evident quality of the Loeb Poseidon suggest that it may be just such a statuette.

One of this extant group of bronze statuettes is a Hercules, complete with lionskin and club, although standing rather than, like Vindex' treasure, seated; it was found in 1959 in the sanctuary of Hercules Curinus at Sulmona in the Abruzzi (Fig. 12). Its base does not record the name of the artist, as Martial says that Vindex' did (9.44.5–6): *inscripta est basis indicatque nomen. / Λυσίπ-που lego, Phidiae putavi* ('The base is inscribed and gives the name. I read "by Lysippos", but I thought it was by Phidias'). Instead, like Pliny's projected base, it records the dedication of the object by the owner, in this case a certain M. Attius Peticius Marsus. The statuette, including the base, is only 39 cm. high (15 in.).

40 Knauss (2017) 254 ('Wie kaum ein anderes Werk zeigt diese Bronzestatuette Poseidon in seiner göttlichen Vollkommenheit und versinnbildlicht gleichzeitig das Wesen des Meergottes').

41 See the discussion of the 'Spes Castellani' in the British Museum at Hallett (2012) 71–74, demonstrating (n. 13) that, like several other bronze statuettes of this type, the 'Spes Castellani' had been thought too good to be true and accordingly declared a modern forgery in neo-classical style.

FIGURE 5.11 Bronze statuette, 'Loeb Poseidon'. 150–130 BCE. H 29.5 cm. (11.6 in.). State Collection of Antiquities and Glyptothek Munich, inv. 15.
PHOTOGRAPH BY RENATE KÜHLING.

FIGURE 5.12 Bronze statuette of Hercules on bronze base. Found in sanctuary of Hercules Curinus at Sulmona in 1959. Third century BCE or first century CE. H 35.9 cm. (14 in.); H with base 39 cm. (15 in.); W 17.5 cm. (7 in.); D 14 cm. (5.5 in.).
MUSEO ARCHEOLOGICO NAZIONALE D'ABRUZZO, VILLA FRIGERJ, INV. NO. 4340, AUTHORIZED BY THE MINISTERO DELLA CULTURA—DIREZIONE REGIONALE MUSEI ABRUZZO. THE IMAGE PUBLISHED MAY NOT BE REPRODUCED OR DUPLICATED BY ANY METHOD.

Its maximum width is 17.5 cm. (7 in.), its maximum depth 14 cm. (5.5 in.). These dimensions would fit a Roman dining table without hindering communication between the guests.

The detail on the body of Marsus' bronze Hercules is exquisite, especially the bone structure and the muscles. Just as with the power conveyed by the Loeb Poseidon, it is reminiscent of the way in which Statius' description revolves around the antithesis between the tiny compass of the statuette and the mighty labours of the hero that it represents. The open hand behind the hero's back would have held golden apples, and he evidently wore a wreath on his head, perhaps also of gold, and would have had jewels inset in the depressions for the pupils of his eyes. These statuettes seem to be late Hellenistic miniatures, modeled—whether directly or indirectly—upon a life-size original. Just like Vindex' statuette, this one is based upon an original by Lysippus. It might even be a replica of a miniature from the workshop of Lysippus himself, an interpretation encouraged by the identification of the base as a separate piece made of a different bronze alloy.[42] Alternatively, Hallett suggests that these statuettes may have been created for the Roman market, where they became especially fashionable in the period immediately following the dictatorship of Sulla.[43] This Hercules probably dates from the first century BCE or CE, which would make it a close parallel to Vindex' statuette, except for the pose.

The paradox of conveying god-like stature in a tiny compass was the challenge facing both sculptor and poet. The artist who created Vindex' Hercules Epitrapezios took up a commission—and his chisel—to convey divine power in miniature form; Statius faced the challenge of conveying the sculptor's achievement with only words and metre as his tools, capturing the visual through language. When a commentator on *Silvae* 4.6 looks in detail at extant statuettes that fulfil the criteria of 'Corinthian bronzes', the divine perfection realized in their exquisite modeling of the human form brings home the force of Statius' climactic *sententia*, *tam magna brevi mendacia formae*: the viewer is deceived into thinking that in that tiny sculpture divinity is truly emanant.

42 Lapatin (2015*a*) 219.

43 Hallett (forthcoming).

8 Marble inlay

Not all pictorial decoration is representational; some is abstract. Abstract décor poses a particular challenge to verbal description, because it excludes representational equivalents. Statius has to replicate the opulent effects of 'marble' without the help of narrative elements.[44] This decoration, fashionable and expensive, plays a prominent role in his description of four separate buildings: Violentilla's house in Rome (*Silv*. 1.2.148–151); the baths of Claudius Etruscus, also in Rome (*Silv*. 1.5.34–41); Pollius Felix' villa at Surrentum (*Silv*. 2.2.85–94); and Domitian's palace on the Palatine (*Silv*. 4.2.26–29). Statius mentions varieties that his patrons display and some that they do not. His allusive references make identification difficult, but a tentative catalogue follows on the next page; exclusions are enclosed in square brackets.[45]

The most sumptuous buildings, such as the baths of Caracalla, might boast columns and furnishings—basins, seats, latrines, etc.—among their marble installations.[46] Statius mentions columns in his description of Domitian's palace; otherwise, no furnishings or architectural features are specified. Instead, the rapid juxtaposition of brief phrases designating different types of marble, sometimes combined with a swift succession of deictic adverbs, matches the effect of *opus sectile*, slabs of marble cut into geometric shapes and fitted together.[47] *Opus sectile* is a more expensive medium than mosaic, since it requires larger pieces of marble, and in major complexes it was reserved for the most important rooms. In the Baths of Caracalla, for example, it decorated the floors on the main axis (*caldarium*, *tepidarium*, *frigidarium*, and *natatio*), where it reflected the marble revetments on the walls, whereas the rooms on the transverse axis were paved with tessellated mosaic.[48] Describing such sumptuous décor is not the moment for calling a spade a spade: Statius' high-flown geographical and mythological allusions to his patrons' varieties of marble aptly convey their rarity and expense.

44 Not all the stones that Statius mentions are calcite based, as true marbles are.

45 The catalogue entries in Borghini (1989) are accompanied by photographs of examples from the churches and monuments of Rome illustrating the remarkable range of colour, stripes, and mottling in the different varieties. Pensabene (2013) supplies detailed discussion of the types, region by region. Gnoli (1971) is still useful for his attention to the allusions to marble in the ancient authors.

46 Gensheimer (2018) 159–160.

47 Van Dam (1984) and Coleman (1988) do not speculate about the type of marble decoration employed. Newlands (2011) on *Silv*. 2.2.85–94 presumably envisages *opus sectile* when she says, 'probably displayed as flooring and as veneer on the walls'.

48 Gensheimer (2018) 154.

TABLE 5.1 The Distribution of Marble in the Ecphrases of the *Silvae*

Colour	Variety keyed to catalogue in Borghini (1989)	House of Violentilla 1.2.148–151	Baths of Etruscus 1.5.34–41	Villa of Pollius Felix 2.2.85–94	Palace of Domitian 4.2.26–29
White	*marmor Lunense* (Carrara) no. 95				29 *Luna*
	marmor Thasium no. 100		[34 *Thasos*]	92 *Thasos*	
	alabastrum (alabaster) no. 2	149 *flexus … onyx*	[35 *onyx*]		
Green	*marmor Carystium* (*cipollino*) no. 56	149–150 *concolor alto vena mari*	[34 *undosa Carystos*]	93 *gaudens fluctus aequare Carystos*	28 *glaucae certantia Doridi saxa*
	lapis Lacedaemonius (green porphyry from Greece, serpentine)[49] no. 121	148–149 *dura Laconum saxa*	[35 *ophites*]	90 *Amyclaei caesum de monte Lycurgi*[50]	
Yellow	*marmor Numidicum* (*giallo antico*) no. 65	148 *Libycus … silex*	36 *flavis Nomadum decisa metallis*	92 *Nomadum … flaventia saxa*	27 *mons Libys*
Pink	*marmor Chium* (*portasanta*) no. 125			93 *Chios*	28 *Chios*
	marmor Phrygium (*pavonazzetto*) no. 109	148 *Phrygius … silex*	37 *cavo Phrygiae … Synnados antro*	87 *Synnade quod maesta Phrygiae fodere secures*	27 *Iliacus*[51]
Red	*Syenite* (Aswan granite) no. 74				27 *Syene*
Purple	*porphyrites* (*pyrropoecilus*, porphyry) no. 116	150–151 *rupes … nitent quis purpura saepe Oebalis et Tyrii moderator livet aëni*	39, 37 *quoi … Tyri livens fleat et Sidonia, rupes, purpura*		

49 *Lapis Lacedaemonius* and serpentine are the same stone: see Borghini (1989) no. 49, Pensabene (2013) 295–297. The flecks in the porphyry reminded the Roman masons of snakeskin, hence *ophites* (from ὄφις, 'snake'): cf. Plin. *Nat.* 36.11 *ophites serpentium maculis similis, unde et nomen accepit* ('snakestone is like the markings on snakes, hence the name'), *TLL* 9.2.702.37–48 s.v. *ophites* (P. Flury). It is not clear whether Statius distinguishes serpentine (*ophites*, 1.5.35) from *lapis Lacedaemonius* (*dura Laconum saxa*, 'hard Laconian rock', 1.2.148–149; *Amyclaei caesum de monte Lycurgi*, 'marble quarried from Amyclaean Lycurgus' mountain', 2.2.90). Martial (6.42) mentions both *lapis Lacedaemonius* (*Taygeti … metalla*, 11) and serpentine (*ophitae*, 15) in his description of Claudius Etruscus' baths, evidently not realizing that they are identical, whereas Statius simply mentions *ophites*, and then only to signal its absence.

50 Classified as green porphyry, which he calls *verde antico*, by van Dam (1984) 249 and as serpentine by Newlands (2011) 144.

51 This identification is not 100% secure: see Gnoli (1971) 127 n. 2.

8.1 *Violentilla's house*

The striking polychromatic complexity of *opus sectile* is widely attested in the villas and bath buildings of the Roman world. Statius' evocation of Violentilla's marble achieves a comparable effect in words:

> **hic** Libycus Phrygiusque silex, **hic** dura Laconum
> saxa virent, **hic** flexus onyx et concolor alto
> vena mari, rupesque nitent quis purpura saepe
> Oebalis et Tyrii moderator livet aëni
>
> *Silv*. 1.2.148–151

> **Here** are Libyan and Phrygian flint, **here** hard Laconian rock shows green, **here** are versatile alabaster and the vein that matches the deep sea, here shines marble that is often envied by Oebalian purple and the blender of the Tyrian cauldron.
>
> trans. SHACKLETON BAILEY/PARROTT [2015], adapted

The triple iteration of the deictic adverb *hic* performs two functions: it gives a sense of the original moment of spontaneous delivery, with Statius gesticulating at what he is describing, and it also conveys the notion of juxtaposition with considerable verbal economy. There are no clumsy adverbial phrases, 'at right angles to this one', 'diagonally opposite that one', and so on; simply 'here', 'here', and 'here'.

The diction is intricate: it is a combination of geographical definitions (*Libycus* and *Phrygius* refer, respectively, to yellow marble, *giallo antico*, from north Africa and grey-pink *pavonazzetto* quarried at Docimium in Phrygia), mythological allusions (*purpura Oebalis*, which envies Violentilla's porphyry, describes the famous *rosso antico* of Sparta by means of an allusion to the Spartan king, Oebalus), and nouns, adjectives, and verbs conveying colour (*purpura*, *concolor*, *virent*); the actual terms for types of stone are used sparingly (here only *silex* and *onyx*). The effect is exotic both spatially (marble from all those far-off places) and temporally (marble evoking the ancient myths); it incorporates extreme polychromy (virtually the entire colour spectrum is replicated in Violentilla's house alone); and the overall effect is that the person who has commissioned such decoration and this versatile poetic evocation of it must be extremely wealthy, discriminating, and sophisticated.

8.2 *The baths of Claudius Etruscus*

The other examples, Claudius Etruscus' baths, Pollius Felix' villa, and Domitian's palace, work similarly, although with Etruscus' baths Statius uses a *praeteritio*, the only time he applies this device to marble:

> **non huc** admissae Thasos aut undosa Carystos;
> maeret onyx longe queriturque exclusus ophites:
> **sola** nitet flavis Nomadum decisa metallis
> quoique Tyri livens fleat et Sidonia, rupes,
> purpura, **sola** cavo Phrygiae quam Synnados antro
> ipse cruentavit maculis lucentibus Attis.
> **vix** locus Eurotae, viridis cum regula longo
> Synnada distinctu variat.
>
> *Silv.* 1.5.34–41

> **Not** admitted **here** are Thasos or wavy Carystos; alabaster sulks afar, serpentine grumbles in exclusion: **only** stone hewn from Numidia's yellow quarries shines, and the one at which Tyre's and Sidon's purple would weep for envy, **only** what Attis himself bloodied with gleaming flecks in Phrygian Synnas' hollow cave. There is **scarcely** space for Eurotas, whose long green streak picks out Synnas.
>
> trans. SHACKLETON BAILEY/PARROTT [2015], adapted

Statius says that Etruscus' baths explicitly do *not* display marbles that are grey-green (from Carystos, i.e., *cipollino*), green (serpentine), white (from Thasos), or translucent (alabaster), but exclusively yellow (Numidia's *giallo antico*), purple (porphyry), and greyish pink (*pavonazzetto*). His mention of marbles that are not there has puzzled scholars. Friedrich Vollmer suggests that Etruscus chose marbles that complemented the skin tones of the bathers.[52] Carole Newlands, quoting the Elder Pliny for evidence that white marble was popular before coloured marbles came to Rome, suggests that Thasian may have been too plain and common for Etruscus; Carystian marble came in many varieties (Newlands suggests it was therefore not sufficiently singular for Etruscus' baths); and alabaster and serpentine were suitable for small objects (she suggests that it would therefore not have suited a poem of high style celebrating a work of monumental architecture; but *opus sectile* is comprised precisely of small slices of stone cut into geometric shapes, so the correlation of these varieties of marble and small objects is not relevant here).[53]

52 Vollmer (1898) 298.

53 Newlands (2002) 210, citing Plin. *Nat.* 36.5.44 (Thasian), 7.48 (Carystian), 11.55–56

The point, however, is surely that Etruscus flouts convention: grey, green, white, and translucent are the colours of water, a thoroughly predictable combination for a bath: Statius applies the adjective *undosa*, 'wavy', to the grey-green Carystian marble that Etruscus does not have, and his description of Pollius Felix' marble décor ends with a reference to Carystian *cipollino* 'rejoicing to match the waves', *gaudens fluctus aequare* (*Silv*. 2.2.93), an entirely appropriate image for the décor in a villa perched on a cliff overlooking the sea. But Etruscus' baths do not have water-coloured marbles. Instead, they display the unexpected: they appear decked out in yellow, purple, and pink. It is tempting to conclude that Etruscus, the son of a freedman, lacked taste. This would match the judgement of Erling Holtsmark, who concludes from Statius' emphasis on the enormous size of the bath that it was 'a thing of gross misproportion … monumentally lacking taste'.[54] Holtsmark accordingly interprets the poem as an *anti-laudatio*, gentle mockery of the sort of extravagance against which Seneca rails in the letters to Lucilius.[55] But mockery, however gentle, is antithetical to Statius' role as cheerleader for his patrons' wealth and lifestyle. Faced with Etruscus' bizarre colour scheme, the tactful response is to praise him as *avant-garde*: by including a list of marbles that are *not* found in his baths, Statius implies that Etruscus has kicked over the traces of traditional ornament deemed suitable for a bath and chosen a boldly innovative effect.

Statius' evocation of Etruscus' baths, achieved by describing what both is and is not there, is in marked contrast to Martial's epigram attempting (unsuccessfully) to persuade his friend Oppianus to visit these same baths. Martial's catalogue of Etruscus' marbles mentions *pavonazzetto* and *giallo antico*, as Statius' does, but he omits the purple porphyry that Statius mentions, specifically *includes* the serpentine and alabaster that Statius *excludes*, and adds *lapis Lacedaemonius*, as though it were different from serpentine:

> illic Taygeti virent metalla
> et certant vario decore saxa
> quae Phryx et Libys altius cecidit,
> siccos pinguis onyx anhelat aestus
> et flamma tenui calent ophitae.
>
> Mart. 6.42.11–15

(serpentine), 12.59–61 (alabaster). Chinn (2022) 276–277 does not comment on the oddity of Statius' mention of what is not there, but interprets *queritur … exclusus ophites* as evoking an 'elegiac background' for his ecphrasis.

54 Holtsmark (1973) 219.

55 E.g., Sen. *Ep*. 86.6, 90.9, 115.8.

> There the quarries of Taygetus are green and stones which the Phrygian and the Libyan have deeply hewn contend in varied beauty. Sleek alabaster breathes arid heat and snakestones are warm with slender flame.
>
> trans. SHACKLETON BAILEY [1993]

The competing claims of Statius and Martial for the decoration of Etruscus' baths are easily compared in a table:

TABLE 5.2 Types of Marble Included/Excluded in the Baths of Claudius Etruscus

	***Silv.* 1.5.34–41**	**Mart. 6.42.11–15**
marmor Thasium	Excluded	
alabaster	Excluded	Included: 14 *onyx*
cipollino	Excluded	
lapis Lacedaemonius/serpentine	Excluded	Included: 11 *Taygeti … metalla*, 15 *flamma tenui calent ophitae*[56]
giallo antico	Included	Included: 13 *Libys*
pavonazzetto	Included	Included: 13 *Phryx*
porphyrites	Included	

Statius has been interpreted as correcting the list of marbles furnished by Martial, whose epigram is therefore assumed to have been published first.[57] Certainly, Statius is flaunting his own first-hand observation, and his concern for verisimilitude. Martial's error is extraordinary; at the very least, it suggests that he populated his poem with fashionable types of marble without seeing the baths themselves. But it is even more extraordinary that he left his poem uncorrected when the book was circulated, since he evidently missed the point of Etruscus' unconventional colour palette, which deliberately eschewed the predictable and flaunted a palette that was bold—if, to us, garish.

8.3 *The villa of Pollius Felix*

The concept of 'competition' that Martial deploys in his description of Etruscus' marbles (6.42.11, *certant*) is only implicit in Statius via the specificity of

56 Martial's duplicate mention suggests that he thinks that green porphyry and serpentine are two different stones: cf. n. 49, above.

57 Vollmer (1898) 298; Grewing (1997) 295, 300. Contrast Bradley (2006) 5, who suggests that Martial's epigram is 'perhaps in parody of the *Silvae*'.

what is included or excluded. It is missing altogether from his description of the marbled room in Pollius Felix' villa, where the emphasis is primarily upon provenance and colour, conveyed via recondite geographical and mythological-historical allusions:

> **hic** Grais penitus desecta metallis
> saxa: **quod** Eoae respergit vena Syenes,
> Synnade **quod** maesta Phrygiae fodere secures
> per Cybeles lugentis agros, ubi marmore picto
> candida purpureo distinguitur area gyro;
> **hic** et Amyclaei caesum de monte Lycurgi
> quod viret et molles imitatur rupibus herbas;
> **hic** Nomadum lucent flaventia saxa Thasosque
> et Chios et gaudens fluctus aequare Carystos.
>
> *Silv*. 2.2.85–93

> **Here** are marbles hewn from the depth of Grecian quarries: **here** vein-splashed product of eastern Syene, **here** what Phrygian axes hewed in mournful Synnas amid the fields of wailing Cybele, where on painted stone the white space is picked out with purple circles. **Here** too is marble quarried from Amyclaean Lycurgus' mountain—it is green, mimicking soft grass with its rocks—**here** glisten the yellow stones of Numidia and Thasos and Chios and Carystos rejoicing to match the waves.
>
> trans. SHACKLETON BAILEY/PARROTT [2015], adapted

As in the description of Claudius Etruscus' baths (*Silv*. 1.5.37–38), here, too, the 'red-on-white' effect of grey-pink *pavonazzetto* is likened to the flawless skin of Cybele's devotee, Attis, now blood-spattered, whose self-mutilation is located in the mythological tradition at Synnas in Phrygia, where the marble comes from; and green porphyry imitates the colour of verdant grass, simultaneously evoking the philosophical tradition via the association of Laconia with the Spartan law-giver Lycurgus.[58] Statius' patrons, and his wider readership, need to know their mythology, as well as their marbles.

The patron in this case, Pollius Felix, had the advantage of knowing the context; he could see which way the room faced, towards the city of Naples, whose Greek character remained its defining feature throughout the Roman period.[59] For the readers who cannot see the view themselves, Statius specifies it at

58 Krüger (1998) 118–120.

59 For a map tracing the unimpeded views of locations on the north side of the Bay of Naples

the beginning of his description, alluding to Naples as 'Parthenope' after the Siren associated with the site (*Silv*. 2.2.83–85): *una tamen cunctis procul eminet una diaetis, / quae tibi Parthenopen derecto limite ponti / ingerit* ('Yet above all the rest one room stands out, bringing Parthenope to you straight across the sea'). The enjambement, suggesting the all-encompassing nature of the view (and evoking the image of the Siren making a beeline for Pollius), precipitates the declaration that the interior décor of the room is Greek (2.2.85–86): *hic Grais penitus desecta metallis / saxa* ('Here are marbles hewn from the depth of Grecian quarries'). Next comes Statius' description of the individual marbles, stressing in each case their Greek associations. As Bettina Bergmann has pointed out in plotting Statius' poem onto the remains of the Roman villa at Capo di Sorrento, 'the Greek world is brought into view … Both views and marbles embellish Pollius' villa like the *spolia* of captured places'.[60] The modern commentator needs to take Statius' hint that the provenance of the marbles in the room at the top of Pollius' villa matches the atmosphere evoked by the Greek city across the bay.[61]

8.4 *Domitian's palace*

The element of competition, absent from Statius' description of the marbles in Pollius' villa, is prominent in his evocation of Domitian's palace, where the different stones rival one another in catching the emperor's eye:

> **… aemulus illic**
> mons Libys Iliacusque nitet, simul atra (multa *M*) Syene
> et Chios et glaucae **certantia** Doridi **saxa**,
> Lunaque portandis tantum suffecta columnis.
>
> *Silv*. 4.2.26–29

> The mountains of Libya and Troy glitter **there in rivalry**, with dark Syene and Chios and **the rocks that vie** with the grey-green sea, and Luna deputed to carry the columns.
>
> trans. COLEMAN [1988], adapted

from the villa at Capo di Sorrento, see Kreuz (2016) 451 Abb. 4. For the Greek character of Roman Naples, see Taylor (2021) 291–346, a chapter entitled 'Haven of Hellenism: Greek Culture in Roman Naples'.

60 Bergmann (1991) 62–63.

61 The connection between Pollius' Neapolitan view and his Greek marbles is absent from a detailed discussion of the *prospectus* from his villa by Kreuz (2016) 447–462.

FIGURE 5.13 Ostia I 14, 5, House of Eros and Psyche, Tablinum D, *opus sectile*, detail. 7.5 × 7.5 m. (24 ft. 7 in. × 24 ft. 7 in.). Late 3rd/early 4th century CE. Museo Ostiense. PHOTOGRAPH: BRIDGEMAN IMAGES.

Aemulus is the first word that Statius uses in his description, translated here by the phrase 'in rivalry', and the notion of competition is reinforced by the phrase *certantia … saxa*, literally 'vying rocks'. With this diction, he is not only employing a conventional *topos* of encomium, a suitable evocation of his subjects' struggle for the emperor's attention; he is also conveying a specific visual effect evoked by the contrasting colours.[62] A viewer looking at one of these *opus sectile* floors can see what lies behind this choice of words: a floor like that from the *tablinum* (room D) on the north side of the House of Eros and Psyche at Ostia (I 14, 5)—admittedly some two centuries after Statius' time, but I think not anachronistic in its design—blends quite well at a distance.[63] But close up, one gets the definite impression of a struggle for dominance: every colour leaps out in turn, as the viewer focuses on different shapes in the design, a little like a *trompe l'oeil* perspective panel, where some shapes recede while others project and then the sequence seems to go into reverse and what formerly projects now recedes and *vice versa* (Fig. 13).

62 Coleman (1988) on *Silv*. 4.2.26 *aemulus*.

63 For a description of the floor of the *tablinum*, with a plan of the house and a detailed drawing of the floor designs in mosaic and *opus sectile*, see Becatti (1961) 28–29 (no. 49), with Fig. 12 and Pl. CCXXI.

FIGURE 5.14 Palace of Domitian on the Palatine, banquet hall, *opus sectile* floor. WILLIAM L. MACDONALD COLLECTION, DEPARTMENT OF ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY.

The same effect is evident in the remains of Domitian's palace, although the floors are not preserved in their entirety and the revetments on the walls scarcely at all. The varieties of stone listed by Statius comprise *giallo antico* from Libya, *pavonazzetto* from Phrygia, Aswan granite from Syene (the text is corrupt, but the word *Syene* seems secure), *portasanta* from Chios, *cipollino* from Carystos, and gleaming white Luna marble for the columns. Some of those marbles are combined with others in the shallow apse of the banquet hall where Statius dined in Domitian's presence; these may date from a renovation by one of the late antique emperors, but the effect is a striking evocation of Statius' description (Fig. 14).[64]

Colour contrast and patterning are difficult concepts to convey in words, but with his combination of geographical epithets, mythological allusions, and colour terms, Statius manages to convey something of the opulence and variety of the marble decoration flaunted by his patrons. A commentator's close observation of the colour schemes and effects of floors and revetments in *opus sectile*

64 For the remains of Domitian's magnificent banquet hall, built on top of two dining halls of Nero, one pre- and the other post-dating the Great Fire of 64, see the text and plans at Claridge (2010) 149–152.

can reveal the subtlety and variety in Statius' treatment of the different ways in which his patrons deploy this luxury material. The range of visual effects demands a versatile wordsmith.

9 Conclusion

This paper has argued that, by paying attention to *comparanda* from art and material culture, commentators can enrich our appreciation of Statius' poetics in replicating and enhancing the material surroundings of his patrons in the *Silvae*. First, they can point to ways in which art and poetry apply similar interpretations to similar circumstances, as with the cupids tumbling with enthusiasm to further Stella's courtship of Violentilla. Second, they can demonstrate with what precision Statius conveys special features of his patrons' luxury possessions, recreating through words their visual qualities: the relief on the couch in the shrine for Hercules on Pollius' estate; the immanent divinity of Vindex' statuette; the brashly unconventional colour scheme of the marble decoration in Etruscus' baths; the dialogue between Pollius' 'Greek'-clad retreat and the view it affords of a Greek city. And, third, they can convey the experience of an onlooker encountering these objects in three dimensions: the instability of Vopiscus' 'Unswept Floor' mosaic; the shower of *missilia* at Domitian's banquet in the Flavian amphitheatre; the protective tilt of Lucan's shield-portrait above Polla's bed. These examples could be multiplied many times over.

In this selective discussion I hope to have shown that the *Silvae* are remarkably visual; that Statius is a poet so versatile as to be able to convey the effects of multiple artistic media with signal economy and precision; and that he deploys a range of techniques, from the single *mot juste* to mythological allusion to convey the verisimilitude with which he renders the material culture of his leisured contemporaries. A closer look at this feature of his style in the *Silvae* has the capacity to reinforce and augment a traditional philological and literary commentary.

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PART 3

A Path to the Future: Statian Readings in Augustan Poetry

CHAPTER 6

Errant Poetics: Rethinking a Comment on *Silvae* 2.2.83–85

Carole Newlands

This paper is about error. Notoriously, the sole copy of the *Silvae* that has been transmitted to us from the fifteenth century is full of errors, thus creating particular challenges for the commentator. This paper is also about my own errors, in particular a missed opportunity in my commentary on Book 2 of Statius' *Silvae* to discuss an allusion to Virgil *Aeneid* 6.900–901 at *Silvae* 2.2.84–85.[1] Ironically, this omission of mine concerned lines where, it is generally agreed, Virgil himself erred. In an Appendix at the end of the paper I try my hand at writing the note on *Silvae* 2.2.84–85 that I wish in retrospect I had written. The main body of this paper, however, allows me to unpack Statius' allusion and, in the process, to acknowledge the participation of Ovid and Valerius Flaccus in an interesting and diverse chain of reception for Virgil's error.

But before I turn to my 'error', I want to offer a few comments on the experience of writing a commentary on Book 2 of Statius' *Silvae*. My chief aims in writing the commentary were to elucidate the text and to convey the pleasures of poetry that is unmoored from conventional generic expectations. I also wished to move the *Silvae* away from the persistent view of this poetry as trifling and mannered and to demonstrate instead its innovative quality, the vividness and energy of its improvisational style, and its complex engagement with Flavian society. Book 2 of the *Silvae* particularly appealed to me as here Statius first develops the importance of regional identity to his poetics and literary profile, thus confronting directly, as we shall see, the issue of Virgilian succession in the imperial age.[2]

One of the pleasures of writing a 'Green and Yellow' commentary is the connection with a community of scholars, both past and present. Not only do you work with a tradition of scholarship that goes back to the Humanists, but you also have the advantage of contemporary readers to comment on your work. In my case, I benefited greatly from the insights of Philip Hardie

1 Newlands (2011). For another study of Statius' engagement with Virgil in the *Silvae* see Bessone's chapter in this volume.

2 He first acknowledges his Neapolitan origins at *Silv*. 1.2.260–265.

- 978-90-04-52906-9

and Stephen Oakley, the general editors on the Latin side of the 'Green and Yellow' commentaries, who at regular intervals would send their penciled marginalia on my drafts of each poem of *Silvae* 2. Writing a commentary is an act of collaboration with past and present authorities that follows a time-honoured procedure of philological criticism and Humanist methods of reading.[3] It also involves engagement with acts of correction, given the corrupt state of the sole manuscript copy (M). For centuries these poems have been the sport of particularly zealous textual critics eager to remove oddities of style or diction that have been assumed to be textual errors.[4]

A further challenge of the *Silvae*, moreover, lies in their refusal to be pegged into any particular genre. Statius creates his own aesthetic terminology for an improvisational poetics based on anti-Callimachean speed of composition united with Callimachean polish and learning. This generic instability provides the commentator with a good degree of freedom but also without traditional evaluative guidelines. Caroline Vout has described classical studies as not 'a linear trek back to a particular moment or ancient proof, but a labyrinthine route' involving the crediting of centuries of authors and artists with an active engagement with the past.[5] This is particularly true of the act of writing a classical commentary, a particularly intimate form of reception.

Practical considerations, such as the strict word limit for the 'Green and Yellows', can also create difficulties for the commentator. While the compact and succinct nature of the 'Green and Yellows' as well as their affordability are attractive for modern readers, the constraint in length forms a challenge intensified by the many grammatical and stylistic issues that have arisen from the corrupt textual tradition of the *Silvae*. Not surprisingly, I had a good deal of material, several notebooks' worth, which had to be cut from the final commentary. Moreover, as Roy Gibson points out in his essay in the Kraus and Kray volume on *Classical Commentaries*, the guidelines for the 'Green and Yellow' commentaries include an emphasis on literary comment also. Here, unlike with pointed grammatical comments, succinctness is a particular challenge to achieve.[6] The commentary form does not generally allow for discursive writing and the exploration of hypothetical thought; it does not allow the commentator to take a thought and run with it. At best it can suggest possibilities for analysis that open the way to further discussion. The Lisbon seminar in spring

3 On Humanist methods of reading see Grafton and Jardine (1990). The chapters by Abbamonte and Roman in this volume are dedicated to the Humanist exegesis of the *Silvae*.

4 Thus, for instance, Shackleton Bailey's (2003) Loeb edition responds to Courtney's (1992) *OCT* by offering more than 250 emendations. See Shackleton Bailey (2003) 8–9.

5 Vout (2018) 15.

6 Gibson (2016) 349–352.

2019 provided a welcome opportunity for me to rethink my work on Book 2 of Statius' *Silvae* in the light, moreover, of reviews that, while generous, brought my omissions and errors to light.[7]

In particular, the Lisbon seminar gave me the opportunity to explore my missed acknowledgement of the curious allusion to Virgil's *Aeneid* at *Silvae* 2.2.84–85. I write 'curious', because the allusion concerns two lines at the end of Book 6 (900–901) where Virgil has been suspected of having made a mistake. Seth Lerer has suggested that the making or uncovering of mistakes can lead to literary adventure.[8] Recently Basil Dufallo has defined 'Roman error' not only as wrongdoing but also as 'a variety of wayward, novel, *errant* forms of thought and representation that these flaws have inspired'.[9]

As I shall explore in this paper, Virgil's 'mistake' at the end of Book 6 not only dramatises issues of poetic authority for his successors, it also opens the way for deviations, for errant poetics, using 'errant' in its sense of creative wanderings and departures from a powerful model. Thus, even Virgil's brief error or inconsistency allows his successors the opportunity to assert their creative autonomy and suggest new possibilities and directions for Flavian poetics. The original error creates deviant paths for reception.

1 Virgil's Error

The lines of Statius in question come from *Silvae* 2.2, his poem celebrating Pollius' villa on the Bay of Naples:

> una tamen cunctis, procul eminet una diaetis
> quae tibi Parthenopen **derecto limite** ponti
> ingerit: hic Grais penitus *desecta metallis
> saxa …
>
> *Silv*. 2.2.83–86
> *SHACKLETON BAILEY/**M**, *delecta* (selected)

> Yet there is one special private room, one higher than all the rest, which over a straight track of sea brings Parthenope to you: here are marbles hewn from the heart of Grecian quarries.

7 E.g., Bonadeo (2011); Dewar (2015). For other considerations on writing a 'Green and Yellow' commentary see Gisbon on Newlands (ms pp. 11–12).

8 Lerer (2002).

9 Dufallo (2018) 1.

What I overlooked in my commentary on line 84 was Statius' allusion to the last two lines of *Aeneid* 6 (900–901):

> tum se ad Caietae **recto** fert **limite** portum.
> ancora de prora iacitur; stant litore puppes.
> *A.* 6.900–901
>
> Then he makes for the harbor of Caieta in a straight line. The anchor is thrown from the prow; the ships are moored by the shore.

These lines are among the most problematic in Virgil's *Aeneid*. First of all, the most ancient manuscripts read *litore*, not *limite*, at line 900;[10] but *litore* makes for an awkward repetition with *litore* in the following line, and most recent scholars now accept *limite*.[11] More problematic is what Ovid in the *Metamorphoses* perceived, in Sara Myers' words, as 'Vergil's chronological mistake'.[12] Virgil makes Aeneas sail for a port on a promontory that he calls Caieta but that could not yet have that name. It is not until the start of Book 7 that Aeneas' old nurse Caieta dies and is buried, and at that point the place is given her name:

> tu quoque litoribus nostris, Aeneia nutrix,
> aeternam moriens famam, Caieta, dedisti;
> et nunc servat honos sedem tuus, ossaque nomen
> Hesperia in magna, si qua est ea gloria, signat.
> *A.* 7.1–4
>
> You too, Aeneas' nurse, gave eternal fame to our shores, Caieta, in your death; and now your honour guards your resting place, and, if this has any glory, your name marks your bones in great Hesperia.

The anachronism is particularly curious because it occurs at a key point of closure in the *Aeneid*, the end of Book 6, which is also the end of the first half of the *Aeneid*. When Aeneas's ships anchor at so-called Caieta, they are on the border between Campania and Latium, poised to make their final voyage north to the river Tiber and to the foundation of their new city. Geographical division marks a definite break in the text between its so-called Odyssean and Iliadic halves, or

10 See Servius on *A.* 3.16.

11 See Austin (1977) on *A.* 6.900, noting that *limite* is attested in manuscripts later than the ninth century.

12 Myers (2009) on *Met.* 14.157.

we could say between its Greek mythological adventures and its proto-Roman adventures. A voyaging ship, moreover, is a common metaphor for literary composition. Ovid, for instance, follows Virgil's image of the moored ships when at the end of Book 1 of the *Ars Amatoria* he uses the image of the weighing of anchor to indicate that he is at the midpoint of his poem:[13]

> pars superat coepti, pars est exhausta laboris;
> hic teneat nostras ancora iacta rates.
>
> *Ars* 1.771–772
>
> One half of the labour I have undertaken is left, one half is complete; here let the thrown anchor moor our ships.

The image of Aeneas' ships at rest at the end of *Aeneid* 6 emphasizes the midpoint of the poem and the conclusion of the Trojans' sojourn in Campania. But Virgil's reference to Caieta, who has yet to die and be buried before Aeneas can sail further north to the mouth of the Tiber, undermines that firm sense of closure.

Servius excuses Virgil by interpreting the reference to Caieta at line 900 as an example of prolepsis.[14] In a similar spirit James O'Hara points out that Book 6 of the *Aeneid* is particularly full of inconsistencies, and he attempts to account for them in terms of the plurality of voices in this book.[15] Such an explanation does not work for these closural lines, however. Not only does prolepsis weaken the closural force of this important division in the text and narrative but, in addition, the word *limes* has particular force in the Roman mindscape.[16] As Elaine Fantham comments of *limes*, 'like *finis* and *terminus*, it denotes a sanctioned limit that cannot/should not be moved'.[17] Virgil's phrase *limite recto* not only marks the direct course of Aeneas' ships north, but it also metaphorically draws a textual boundary line between the two halves of the *Aeneid*. The phrase *limite recto* thus has spatial and temporal connotations. It marks the material boundary of the book's first half; it also marks the temporal boundary of the narrative

13 Hollis (1977) on *Ars* 1.771–772.

14 Servius on *A.* 6.900, *ad Caietae portum: a personae prolepsis: nam Caieta nondum dicebatur*.

15 O'Hara (2007) 91–95.

16 Austin (1977) ad. loc. translates *limite* as 'coastline', but this translation does not do justice to the word's spatial and closural connotations.

17 See Fantham (1992), on Luc. 2.11, *fatorum inmoto … limite*: '*limite*, here a time-limit for destruction, is originally spatial, the track of a boundary line or pathway'.

as Aeneas emerges from the Underworld to a new stage of the narrative in Italy. Virgil is usually scrupulously neat in his book divisions.[18] Ironically, where Virgil draws a straight line in the text, the metaphorical division wavers.

Moreover, as Stephen Hinds has pointed out, in Book 14 of the *Metamorphoses*, where this part of Aeneas' voyage is treated, Ovid identifies Virgil's naming of Caieta at *Aeneid* 6.900 as a mistake (*Met*. 14.157): *litora adit nondum nutricis habentia nomen* (he approaches the shores that did not yet have his nurse's name). With *nondum* Ovid not only draws attention to Virgil's 'chronological mistake', he also corrects it.[19] It has been well recognized that Ovid was a highly astute reader and commentator of Virgil; indeed, Llewellyn Morgan in his recent review of Kraus and Stray's collected essays on the classical commentary argues that 'in Ovid's oeuvre, poetry and commentary achieve an unparalleled symbiosis'.[20] Sergio Casali, moreover, has argued that Ovid's relationship to Virgil taps into a growing exegetical tradition on the poet in the first century CE.[21] With this 'correction' Ovid establishes his textual authority as poet and as reader of Virgil. At the same time, in Book 14 of the *Metamorphoses*, with characteristic artistic bravura, he exaggerates Virgil's awkward book division by an almost 300-line interpolation between Aeneas' arrival at the promontory and the death and burial of Caieta (158–444); and he delays providing the actual name Caieta until line 443, the penultimate line of the episode. Virgil's mistake is the motivation for Ovid to 'wander' off the course of Aeneas' voyage. In this lengthy interpolation he tells afresh, among other stories, that of Achaemenides from the end of *Aeneid* 3, and he invents Achaemenides' mythic double, Macareus.[22] As Philip Hardie comments in *The Epic Successors of Virgil*, 'the instability of the Virgilian world is an open-ended invitation for succeeding epic poets to revise and redefine'.[23]

The phrase *recto limite* occurs in imperial poetry nine times after Ovid, but only two of these instances involve a similar context to that of *Aeneid* 6, namely a journey by sea. Statius uses the phrase at *Silvae* 2.2.84 and Valerius Flaccus at *Argonautica* 4.614. Neither allusion comes at the end of a book, but both seem to preserve the metaphorical force of *recto limite* by marking a definite bound-

18 Hinds (1998) 109.

19 Hinds (1998) 107–111. On Ovid's '*Aeneid*' see Myers (2009) 11–18.

20 Morgan (2017). In this volume, Roman makes a similar point about Poliziano's own *Silvae* and his studies of Statius' *Silvae*; see also Bessone on Statius as commentator on Virgil (pp. 204–205, 216).

21 Casali (2007).

22 Hinds (1998) 111–115; Myers (2009) on *Met*. 14.223–240.

23 Hardie (1993) 3.

ary within each poem; both, moreover, though in different ways, play upon the concept of error. Let us take a brief look at Valerius Flaccus before turning to Statius.

2 Phineus' Error (V. Fl. 4.613–616)

Valerius Flaccus picks up on the closural, spatial, and temporal force of *limite* in Book 4.613–616 of the *Argonautica* when Phineus concludes his prophecy to Jason and his Argonauts concerning their journey:

> inde omnem innumeri reges per litoris oram,
> hospitii quis nulla fides; sed limite recto
> puppis et aequali transcurrat carbasus aura:
> sic demum rapidi venies ad Phasidis amnem.
>
> Next along the entire line of coast are countless kings whose welcome you cannot trust; but let your sailing ship speed past with a straight course and with a steady breeze: so finally you will come to the river of the rapid Phasis.

As in the *Aeneid*, the phrase *limite recto* refers to the straight course of ships, at the point, moreover, when the Argonauts, like the Trojans, are coming close to their intended goal. In Phineus' prophecy the phrase *limite recto*, like Virgil's use of it at the end of *Aeneid* 6, has therefore metaphorical force as it seems to mark the virtual end of the trials of their journey with its terrible monsters—the voyage across the sea represents their version of travelling through the Underworld.

There has, however, been recent controversy over Phineus' prophecy, which clearly is limited in its knowledge of the actual events that will unfold at Colchis. The phrase *limite recto* occurs towards the end of Phineus' prophecy to the Argonauts, at the precise point where he switches from predicting the dangers of the voyage to assuring them—erroneously—of a swift end to their trials in Colchis (619): *nec plura equidem discrimina cerno* (indeed, I do not see any more difficulties, 619). For Gesine Manuwald, Phineus is an instrument of a cruel, unjust Jupiter who withholds information from humans for his own divisive purposes.[24] Tim Stover, countering the argument that the *Argonautica* projects a pessimistic world view, sees Phineus as a spokesman for the positive advance-

24 Manuwald (2009).

ment of Jupiter's imperial agenda; he demonstrates a renewal of the vatic voice designed to counter Lucan's unreliable, internally divided prophets.[25] Stover does not discuss, however, Phineus' 'error' at the end of his prophecy, an error significantly made just five lines after the allusion to Virgil's error. Although Phineus admits that the Colchian king Aeetes is engaged in civil war with his brother (617–619), he conveys a false idea of the ease with which the Argonauts will accomplish their predicted goal. The phrase *limite recto*, resonant with Virgilian error, underscores Phineus' error. Valerius, through an internal narrator, perhaps permits himself to have a little sophisticated fun with the master's slippage at the very point in the poem when a short break in the tension is warranted before the arrival in Colchis.

At the same time, however, Valerius engages seriously with a prominent topos of Virgil's epic poem, incompetent or deceptive prophecy.[26] Significantly, it is the old *vates* who makes the mistake, not the contemporary poet. Through Phineus, Valerius makes witty acknowledgement that Virgil—the greater, but also the older, *vates*—sometimes erred, and thus created room for poetic manoeuvre within the epic tradition. Virgil's mistake, together with Ovid's correction, gives Valerius creative licence to assert a degree of poetic autonomy as he recasts the well-travelled epic tradition of prophecy in a way that emphasizes the uncertainties of imperial travel and ambition. Indeed, it is not only the kings strung along the final coastline before Colchis that are not to be trusted (613–614); Phineus, though bearing the attributes of the inspired seer, wreathed with fillets and Apolline laurel (548–549), encourages the Argonauts to speed on (*transcurrat*, 615) to what will prove to be the most dangerous and monstrous site of all, Colchis. Virgil's Sibyl prophesied the ghastly truth when she foresaw *bella*, *horrida bella* on Aeneas' arrival in Latium (*A*. 6.86). But Phineus, a king shaped by the pen of an imperial poet attuned to despotic politics, is either deceptive or deceived when he claims to foresee no further dangers and thus fails, to the Argonauts' cost, to utter the truth.

3 Statius at Pollius' Villa (*Silv*. 2.2.83–86)

Let us now turn to Statius' very different use of the phrase *derecto limite ponti* at *Silvae* 2.2.84.[27] It will be helpful to cite again the lines of verse in which the phrase occurs:

25 Stover (2012) 150–171.

26 O'Hara (1990).

27 *Derecto* is a variant of *recto*, a past participle of *dirigo* meaning 'to arrange along a fixed

> una tamen cunctis, procul eminet una diaetis
> quae tibi Parthenopen derecto limite ponti
> ingerit: hic Grais penitus desecta metallis
> saxa …
>
> *Silv*. 2.2.83–86

> Yet there is one special private room, one higher than all the rest, which over a straight track of sea brings Parthenope to you: here are marbles hewn from the heart of Grecian quarries.

The phrase occurs some twenty lines before the end of Statius' ecphrasis of the villa of Pollius Felix, Statius' patron on the Bay of Naples (2.2.1–106). Although the context is very different from that of Phineus' prophecy, nonetheless here too *limite* serves as an internal demarcation, separating Statius' description of the interior of the villa from his climactic catalogue of splendid coloured marbles. These decorate the *diaeta*, the most exclusive room in the villa, one that confirms Pollius' artistic taste and economic power (85–93). *Limite* delineates the special character of this descriptive catalogue within the poem.

Limes, as I have observed elsewhere, is one of the code words of Statius' *Thebaid*, signifying a world where boundaries are constantly violated, with tragic results.[28] For instance, *limes* appears as a programmatic word in the poem's opening to indicate the necessary constraints of Statius' epic theme, *limes mihi carminis esto / Oedipodae confusa domus* (let the confused house of Oedipus be the boundary of my poem, *Theb*. 1. 16–17). In *Silvae* 2.2, by contrast, the straight line over the sea that connects Naples to Pollius' villa symbolizes the harmonious cultural relationship between the city and the owner of a *domus* which is the very opposite of *confusa*; rather it is the home of a close-knit married couple, Pollius and Polla, who own great art and have adopted Epicurean values.[29] The *diaeta*, with its marbles transported from across the empire, symbolizes both secluded withdrawal and imperial luxury, made possible by the merchant ships that would presumably have been part of the villa's view, for the Bay of Naples at this time was Rome's major port for trade with Egypt and the East.[30]

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line or in a fixed direction', 'to align', or 'to demarcate'; here it refers to a direct line of sight or of passage over the sea. Manuscripts and editions vary over the prefix *de–* or *di–*; see *OLD dirigo*.

28 Newlands (2012) 45–86, esp. 47.

29 On Pollius and Polla see Newlands (2011) 21–22; Dewar (2014) 45–49.

30 Late in the first century CE Ostia at the mouth of the Tiber provided a second major harbor along with Puteoli (modern Pozzuoli) on the Bay of Naples for mercantile trade with Egypt and the East; see Casson (1974) 129–130.

The phrase, *derecto limite Parthenopen / ingerit*, aestheticises commercial transactions. And, as Gianpiero Rosati has shown, this is typical of Statius' overall poetic strategy in the *Silvae* of aestheticizing political and economic power.[31] Pollius' style of life itself, in particular, emblematises the Neapolitan way of life in the Flavian age, ennobled by art and myth.[32] Statius' Naples is not only the centre of empire-wide, prestigious economic relationships; it also offers a rich and pluralistic literary culture within which Statius, as a native son of Naples, is the blazing star.

Thus far Statius seems to have used the Virgilian phrase *recto limite* in an unproblematic way, to highlight the climactic section of his description of the villa's interior. But by exploring the allusion a little further, we find that the phrase, embedded in a context that praises both Naples and the villa, offers further, and corrective, engagement with Virgilian poetics and Virgilian topography.

We are alerted to the Virgilian allusion in line 84 by the word *Parthenopen*, which is juxtaposed to *derecto limite* by a metrical *limes*, a third foot strong caesura, (*quae tibi*) *derecto limite Parthenopen* / (*ingerit*). Parthenope is the old name for Naples, called after the Siren whose body was washed up on the shore of Naples after Odysseus' ship passed by; she gave her name to the city and was buried there in a special tomb.[33] In Roman poetry the name Parthenope is especially associated with Virgil, who claims at the end of his *Georgics* that 'Parthenope' inspired him to write the *Eclogues* and the *Georgics*, while he was flourishing in the pursuit of 'ignoble *otium*':

> illo Vergilium me tempore dulcis alebat
> Parthenope studiis florentem ignobilis oti,
> carmina qui lusi pastorum audaxque iuventa,
> Tityre, te patulae cecini sub tegmine fagi.
>
> *G.* 4.563–566

> At that time Parthenope nurtured me as I flourished in the pursuit of ignoble leisure, I who sang the songs of shepherds and in the boldness of youth sang of you, Tityrus, beneath the shade of a spreading beech tree.

In Virgil's use of Parthenope, there is slippage between the city and the Siren. Virgil's close identification between the poetic self who wrote pastoral and

31 Rosati (2006).

32 Rosati (2006) 31.

33 For the myth see Lycoph. *Alex.* 712–736.

georgic poetry and the Siren Parthenope is suggested by a probable translingual pun on his Greek nickname 'Parthenias', the virgin, and 'Virgilius/virgo'.[34]

At *Georgics* 4.564 Virgil calls the *otium* offered by Parthenope 'ignoble' not simply out of modesty. As Richard Thomas comments, the epithet *ignobilis* makes a strong contrast with Octavian's thundering wars on the Roman frontier described in the first part of the *sphragis*:[35]

> haec super arvorum cultu pecorumque canebam
> et super arboribus, Caesar dum magnus ad altum
> fulminat Euphraten bello victorque volentes
> per populos dat iura viamque adfectat Olympo.
>
> *G.* 4.559–562

> I sang these things about the cultivation of fields and cattle and also about trees, while great Caesar thunders in war by deep Euphrates, and as victor gives laws throughout willing peoples and aims at a path to Olympus.

Here Virgil carefully distinguishes his pastoral and georgic poetry from epic poetry. As we saw at *Georgics* 4.563–564, Parthenope is personified with maternal, non-epic language, *dulcis alebat* (563). The word *fulminat*, on the other hand, connotes the anger of Jupiter characteristic of epic. In the conclusion to the *Georgics* Virgil thus claims Parthenope as his Muse of pastoral and georgic poetry, and of the arts of peace (*G.* 4.563–566). Ekkhard Stärk comments that with this *sphragis* Virgil immortalized Naples for both poetry and a way of life that emphasizes the importance of Greek arts to Roman cultural identity and literary traditions.[36] Statius develops the importance of Naples even further and indeed, as a published epic poet, he 'corrects' the geographical movement north of Virgil's later career.[37]

The Siren Parthenope was evidently honoured by a tomb at Naples that was the object of cult in ancient times.[38] In like manner, Virgil's close association with Naples was enhanced by his own burial in a tomb just outside Naples. At *Silvae* 4.4.49–55 Statius refers to sitting beside the tomb, summoning up poetic inspiration. As Stephen Hinds notes, 'the name Parthenope maintains its strong

34 Hinds (2001) 248 n. 47; O'Hara (1996) 264.
35 Thomas (1988) 239–241.
36 Stärk (1995) 142.
37 In the preface to the *Silvae* (1 *praef.* 5–7) Statius claims to have recently published the *Thebaid*.
38 Cf. Str. 5.4.7; Plin. *Nat.* 3.62.

Virgilian resonance in poetic usage through a strongly felt association between the Siren's tomb and the poet's own'.[39] In *Silvae* 2.2 the word *Parthenopen* at line 84 thus operates as a kind of Alexandrian footnote, alerting the reader to specific engagement with Virgil.

However, when Aeneas sails directly north from Cumae at the end of Book 6 —*recto limite*—he leaves behind the Hellenised Bay of Naples for Latium and war. At this point, as Alessandro Barchiesi has observed, Aeneas leaves behind the rich artistic culture of the Bay of Naples, represented by the sculptor and inventor Daedalus, who arrives in Italy before Aeneas to carve with marvelous skills his own adventures on the doors of the temple of Apollo at Cumae (*A.* 6.14–33).[40] There will be no comparable artistic or architectural marvels to be found in Aeneas' immediate future in Latium, with the exception of the divine gift of the marvelous shield crafted by Vulcan.

Statius' use of the phrase *limite recto* thus, I suggest, marks a point of poetic and topographical *redirection*. Whereas Virgil's phrase *limite recto* marks a geographical and cultural turn away from Greek arts towards politics and war, Statius' *derecto limite* draws Roman poetry back to the art and wealth of Greek culture, now however integrated into the Roman imperial economy on the Bay of Naples and concentrated in *Silvae* 2.2 in Pollius' villa; here, under Pollius' patronage, Statius has the freedom to develop his innovative poetics. Statius does not make, as Virgil does at the end of *Georgics* 4, a geographical division between 'woods' and 'war'. Rather, Statius' *Silvae* integrate strategies of epic and non-epic poetry outside the ambit of heroic poetry. For instance, the catalogue, a staple of epic poetry, is here adapted to a small room in Pollius' villa that is, however, decorated with gorgeously coloured marbles from across the empire. The catalogue of marbles (85–94) is a bold appropriation of an epic topos that also deploys on a much grander scale a theme of Hellenistic epigram, the description of rare and precious stones, jewels, that we find, for instance, in Posidippus' *Lithika*. At the end of *Aeneid* 6 Virgil clearly marked the division between the Odyssean and Iliadic type of epic; so too at the end of *Georgics* 4 his two-fold *sphragis* made a clear generic distinction between epic poetry and the rural poetry written at Naples. By contrast, in *Silvae* 2.2 Statius' phrase *derecto limite* is implicated in a refusal to disaggregate his new writing into well-defined genres—or separate topographical sites.[41]

Significantly, however, in Statius' lines a slippage similar to Virgil's at the end of the *Georgics* occurs between Parthenope as city and Parthenope as

39 Hinds (2001) 248–249.

40 Barchiesi (2005) 295–300.

41 In the *Silvae* Statius uses the term *Neapolis* for the city only once (4.8.6).

Siren/Muse. Shackleton Bailey's translation of lines 84–85, *quae tibi Parthenopen derecto limite ponti / ingerit*, reflects the possibility of double meaning. His wording, 'which over the sea's straight track presents you with Parthenope', can mean either that the *diaeta* has a view of the city of Naples by a direct line of sight, or that it physically brings the Siren Parthenope to Pollius by a straight track over the sea. Very possibly both meanings are in play, for a fine view, often with literary and historical associations, was an important feature of a Roman villa that was incorporated into its architectural design.[42] *Ingero* in general is a word that describes physical action, the equivalent of Greek *eisagein*, according to *TLL*.[43] The Virgilian phrase *recto limite*, moreover, is associated with movement across the sea. The geographical location of Pollius' villa adds weight to this second reading, for his home was built on the promontory of Sorrento that, according to legend, was named after the Sirens who had inhabited three small islands nearby.[44] Thus, in addition to the primacy of the view of Naples from the *diaeta*, lines 84–85 suggest that Parthenope, Virgil's Muse, is brought by a straight track across the sea to Pollius' villa, the centre of literary patronage for Statius. In his dedication of Book 3 of the *Silvae* to Pollius Felix, Statius acknowledges that he found inspiration for many of the *Silvae* at Pollius' villa (3 *praef*. 3–4): *multos ex illis in sinu tuo subito natos* (many of these originated suddenly in your protection).[45]

According to my particular reading of *ingeritur*, therefore, the Siren Parthenope, who traditionally drew men to their deaths, is drawn to Pollius' villa in a symbolic transfer of Virgil's Parthenope, his Muse, to his successor on the Bay of Naples, Statius.[46] 'Bringing Parthenope' to the villa thus can serve as a metaphor for a literary and artistic *translatio imperii* of a different sort from that envisaged at the end of *Aeneid* 6 when Greek Campania is left behind as the ships head north and Virgil's epic enters the terrain of martial epic. Virgil's Muse, now Statius' Muse, fully embraces Greek art and culture thanks to imperial peace and commerce. By linking Parthenope by a direct line to the villa of his patron, Pollius, Statius points both to his prestige as Virgil's successor, and also to new social and literary circumstances for the production of poetry involving

42 Cf. *Silv*. 2.2.73–85 with Newlands (2011) ad loc.; Hinds (2001) 247–251.

43 *TLL* 7.1.1548.74–76 s.v. *ingero* (J.B. Hofmann). It has negative physical force at *Theb*. 7.467 (*Tisiphone fratrem huic, fratrem ingerit illi,/ aut utrique patrem*). Cf. *OLD* 1b: 'obtrudes upon the sight', an expression appropriate particularly for the first meaning.

44 On the debated location of the Sirens see Str. 1.2.12–13; Bömer (1986) 35–36. Later in the poem Statius imagines the Siren flying from her nearby rocks to hear the better songs to be heard at Pollius' villa (*Silv*. 2.2.116–117).

45 There is perhaps a pun on *in sinu*, which can also refer to the Bay (of Naples).

46 See further Newlands (2012) 153–155.

the protection of a like-minded patron. For Statius, the Bay of Naples is the site not for early work, the poetry of youth, as it was for Virgil, but for poetry of mature innovation, the *Silvae*. Virgil, like Aeneas, left his 'Parthenope' for Rome and martial epic. But here in Naples, as *Silvae* 3.2.142–143 tells us, Statius also set about finishing his *Thebaid*. Moreover, he announces that he will here embark on a second epic, the *Achilleid* (*Silv*. 4.4.87–100).[47] As a sign of genre, therefore, 'Parthenope' is no longer confined to the 'lesser' forms of pastoral and agricultural poetry, as in Virgil's *sphragis*, but now accommodates epic poetry.

Statius' allusion to Virgil's error at *Silvae* 2.2.84 thus marks a thematic boundary in the text where Statius, through subtle correction of Virgil, is able to assert, in new social and political conditions, a different poetic course. Statius frames his relationship to Virgil here in partly topographical terms. The centre of epic composition has shifted from the Virgilian frontier of *Georgics* 4, where Caesar thundered, past Rome to Naples, which has now assumed a culturally and generically expanded role in Roman poetry. In the *Silvae* Parthenope is always in part Virgil's Parthenope. But, as Gianpiero Rosati reminds us, she is also Statius' Parthenope, by right of birth as well as by poetic succession: *mea Parthenope* (*Silv*.1.2.260).[48] While Pathenope represents distinguished poetic and local traditions, she is also associated with literary innovation and expansion in the imperial world.

4 Conclusion

I will end these discursive thoughts on a speculative note. We have discussed Statius' contemporary, the epic poet Valerius Flaccus. But I find no allusion in this passage to the other major Flavian epicist, Silius Italicus, the senator and ex-consul who retired to the Bay of Naples. He was the restorer of Virgil's tomb, a matter of some interest to Statius' literary contemporaries Pliny and Martial.[49] He was also the owner of the land on which the tomb stood, and indeed of several villas in Campania, as Kathleen Coleman discusses in her commentary on *Silvae* 4.[50] But I wonder whether Silius does not hover silently on the margins of *Silvae* 2.2. Statius' patron Pollius Felix, though very rich and owner of at least two villas on the Bay of Naples, was probably a freedman.[51] By con-

47 A point discussed by Lóio (pp. 224–228) in this volume.
48 Rosati (2011).
49 Cf. Plin. *Ep*. 3.7.8. Mart. 11.50.
50 See Coleman (1988) on *Silv*. 4.4.54.
51 On Pollius' other property on the Bay of Naples see Newlands (2011) on *Silv*. 2.2.109–110.

trast, Silius Italicus had high sociopolitical standing; if he wished to compete with him, Statius had to do so on literary ground.[52] Underlying this poem, I suggest, is perhaps an implicit conflict over who has the stronger claim as Virgil's successor on the Bay of Naples.[53] The drawing of Virgil's Muse into Pollius' villa could be seen as an assertion of Statius' exclusive rights to Virgil's mantle. Silius had Virgil's tomb; but Statius had Virgil's Muse within his patron's villa.

To sum up my remarks, the end of Virgil's *Aeneid* 6 provided a productive avenue for self-reflexivity on the part of Flavian poets, one whereby they could define their relationship to Virgil and his canonical text. For both Valerius Flaccus and Statius, Virgil's mistake provided an opening for creative error, for 'wandering' within and outside the bounds of Roman literary tradition, while also maintaining to varying degrees the polemical attitudes that underlie much literary allusion, another Virgilian inheritance. While Valerius' response to Virgil's error is quite witty, in the *Silvae* Virgil's 'error' motivates Statius' appropriation of Parthenope and allows him to assume the self-appointed role of Virgil's successor on the Bay of Naples—and indeed in contemporary Roman poetry. An exploration of this allusion reveals Statius' concern in the *Silvae* to position himself as a major new presence in Roman literary history, one well suited, moreover, to shift the axis of poetic achievement from Rome to Statius' home town of Naples.[54] In redrawing and expanding the geographically calibrated boundaries of the Virgilian system of genres, Statius removes from his native city any sense of cultural inferiority in relation to Rome.[55] Statius' Naples is more than a pastoral retreat or a site for youthful play. Indeed, the small but majestic *diaeta*, as Michael Dewar comments, suggests 'an almost imperial power … within Pollius' small corner of the Roman world'.[56] Both a cultural asset to Pollius' villa and a major source of literary inspiration for Statius, Virgil's Parthenope has become truly an imperial Muse.

In Late Antiquity, as Helen Kaufmann has pointed out, the *Silvae*, unlike Virgil's poetry or Statius' own *Thebaid*, did not attract commentators.[57] Since the *Silvae* were subsequently lost in the Middle Ages, the commentary tradition on these poems begins shortly after Poggio's discovery of the unique manuscript of

52 Lovatt (2010).

53 The conflict will repeat itself in the Renaissance. On Statius as a successor of Virgil in Italian studies see the introduction (p. 5) and Roman on Poliziano's lecturing at Florence (p. 50).

54 The Virgilian allusion also goes unmentioned in the 1984 commentary of Van Dam on Book 2 and in Liberman's 2010 commentary on the *Silvae*.

55 See Statius' praise of Naples as a superior city to Rome in *Silv*. 3.5.

56 Dewar (2014) 45.

57 Kaufmann (2014) 491.

the *Silvae* in 1416–1417. The poor copy made of this manuscript (**M**) apparently contained no notes; thus the commentary tradition on the *Silvae* begins with the Humanists of the early modern period, who launched a tradition obsessed with correction of the errors in the manuscript's sole copy **M**.[58] There is a pleasing irony, therefore, in finding Statius himself a forerunner of that tradition. He corrects Virgil in order to comment on the authority of his own poetry and of his beloved Naples; in short, he initiates the labyrinthine process of reception of the *Silvae*.

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Appendix

I will attempt here to answer the question of how I might incorporate these errant ideas presented above into new notes on *Silvae* 2.2.84 and 84–85. The challenge resides not only in the spatial constraints of the 'Green and Yellows' but also in the complexity of Statius' poetry. An attempt to summarise in lemma-language the substance of this paper is bound to be inadequate. If I were, however, given the opportunity to rewrite the notes, I would first of all combine them into one lemma on *Silvae* 2.2.84–85. I would note the allusions to Virgil, to Ovid, and to Valerius Flaccus, thus emphasizing the richly intertextual fabric of the *Silvae*. And I would add, 'By bringing Parthenope (an old name for Naples) to Pollius' villa by a straight line over the sea, Statius suggests that his patron is representative of the Neapolitan way of life with its rich artistic culture (see Rosati [2011]). Parthenope is also Virgil's Muse of pastoral and georgic poetry (see Verg. *G.* 4.583–584). Bringing her over the sea to the villa serves as a metaphor for the transfer of literary authority from Virgil to Statius and, correspondingly, for the expansion of "Neapolitan" poetry to epic'. Such a lemma,

58 Abbamonte's chapter in this volume discusses the first phase of scholarship on the *Silvae*, which was featured by Roman scholars. The introduction to this volume offers an overview of the exegesis on the *Silvae* from the discovery of **M** until the present.

I would hope, would allow readers to embark on their own explorations of Statius' literary allegiances and innovations.

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CHAPTER 7

Commenting on an Ovidian Model: An Authorized Desertion in *Silvae* 1.2

Gianpiero Rosati

Silvae 1.2 is an epithalamium addressed by Statius to his friend Arruntius Stella, an elegiac poet, in celebration of his marriage to Violentilla. Several years ago, I proposed reading this text as a sort of allegory, Statius' metapoetic discourse on the history of the Latin erotic elegy, and the completion of its parabola.[1] I will not repeat here the arguments illustrated on that occasion; what interests me is to focus on an important, hitherto unnoticed aspect, suggested by Statius' metapoetic discourse. In a text that is a discourse on the elegiac genre, its key themes and its typical lifestyle, one expects, from a poet as learned and refined as Statius is, a dialogue with the great models of Latin elegy. This, of course, is also a clear demonstration of the literary quality of the work, and of how an attentive, modern commentary should explore its inter-textual nature and the close connections it establishes with some great literary models.[2] In this sense there is much work to be done: considered until recently to be mainly, if not exclusively, a document of social and cultural history, the *Silvae* still have much to reveal about their literary texture.[3] But let us move on to the analysis of *Silvae* 1.2.

After the lengthy opening proem of the epithalamium (1–46), and a few verses transitioning to the section on the reasons (*quae causa*, 46) that made Stella's marriage possible, Statius narrates the *aition* of the event—an *aition* which, in the mythicized world of the *Silvae* where gods and men live side by side, involves the direct intervention of the goddess of love herself. One day, awakening after a night spent in the embrace of Mars, Venus is encircled by the amorini who, as always, await her instructions as to who—mortal or

1 Cf. Rosati (1999) 158–163 and Rosati (2005) 140–143.

2 On Statius' engagement with great literary models in the *Silvae* see in this volume Newlands and Bessone on Virgil and Lóio on Propertius; see also Bessone (pp. 212–216) and Pittà (pp. 115–118) on Statius' engagement with Callimachus.

3 The particular contribution of commentaries toward this end is of course essential: the renewed esteem of Statius' work in recent decades has stemmed, not coincidentally, from van Dam (1984), Coleman (1988), and subsequent commentaries by other scholars (especially Laguna Mariscal [1992], Gibson [2006], and Newlands [2011]).

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immortal, anywhere in the universe—will become the target of their arrows. As the goddess dithers over her directive, one of the amorini, in eager anticipation (*cui plurimus ignis / ore* [whose brand had most of fire], 61–62), evidently authoritative due to his merits in the field as an infallible archer (*manusque levi numquam frustrata sagitta* [and whose light hands no shaft had ever failed], 62) and respected by his cohorts (*pharetrati pressere silentia fratres* [his quivered brethren kept mum], 64), addresses to her a persuasive plea (65–102):

> 'Scis ut, mater', ait '*nulla mihi dextera segnis*
> *militia: quemcumque hominum divumque dedisti,*
> *uritur*. At quondam lacrimis et supplice dextra
> et votis precibusque virum concede moveri,
> o genetrix: *duro nec enim ex adamante creati,*
> *sed tua turba sumus*. Clarus de gente Latina
> est iuvenis, quem patriciis maioribus ortum
> nobilitas gavisa tulit praesagaque formae
> protinus e nostro posuit cognomina caelo.
> *Hunc egomet tota quondam* (*tibi dulce*) *pharetra*
> *improbus et densa trepidantem cuspide fixi.*
> *Quamvis Ausoniis multum gener ille petitus*
> *matribus, edomui victum dominaeque potentis*
> *ferre iugum et longos iussi sperare per annos*.
> Ast illam summa leviter (sic namque iubebas)
> lampade parcentes et inerti strinximus arcu.
> *Ex illo quantos iuvenis premat anxius ignes,*
> *testis ego attonitus, quantum me nocte dieque*
> *urgentem ferat: haud ulli vehementior umquam*
> *incubui, genetrix, iterataque vulnera fodi.*
> Vidi ego et *immiti* cupidum decurrere campo
> *Hippomenen*, nec sic meta pallebat in ipsa.
> Vidi et *Abydeni iuvenis certantia remis*
> *brachia* laudavique manus et saepe *natanti*
> *praeluxi: minor ille calor quo saeva tepebant*
> *aequora*: tu veteres, iuvenis, transgressus amores.
> Ipse ego te tantos stupui durasse per aestus
> firmavique animos blandisque madentia plumis
> lumina detersi. Quotiens mihi questus Apollo
> sic vatem maerere suum! *iam, mater, amatos*
> *indulge thalamos. Noster comes ille piusque*
> *signifer armiferos poterat memorare labores*

claraque facta virum et torrentes sanguine campos;
sic tibi plectra dedit, mitisque incedere vates
maluit et nostra laurum subtexere myrto.
Hic iuvenum lapsus suaque aut externa revolvit
vulnera; pro! quanta est Paphii reverentia, mater,
numinis: hic nostrae deflevit fata columbae'.

Silv. 1.2.65–102

['Mother, you know' says he 'that *my right hand is never slack in any service; whomsoever you give me, man or god, burns*. But for once, mother mine, allow me to be moved by men's tears and suppliant hands, their vows and prayers; for *we are not created from hard adamant, we are your children*. There is a distinguished young man of Latian breed. Nobility produced him rejoicing, born of patrician forbears, and forthwith gave him a name from our heaven, presage of beauty. *Him I once pierced with all my quiver—it was your pleasure—as he trembled in a hail of darts, no mercy. Much was he sought by Ausonian dames for their daughters, but I conquered the undefeated one, commanded him to bear the yoke of a potent mistress and hope through long years*. As for her, I but lightly grazed her with the tip of my brand—for such was your command—and a flaccid bow. *Ever since, I am witness in my wonderment to what fires the tormented youth keeps down, how night and day he bears my urging. None, mother, did I ever lean upon harder, thrusting wound on wound*. I saw eager *Hippomenes* running down the *cruel* field, but even at the post he was never so pale; and I saw *the arms of the youth of Abydos rivalling oars*, and praised his effort, and often *lighted him as he swam*; but *his ardour that warmed the cruel sea was less*. You, O youth, have surpassed the loves of old. I myself was amazed at your endurance through such fevers and strengthened your spirit, wiping your moist eyes with my balmy plumes. How often has Apollo complained to me of his poet's distress! *Mother, grant him now the bridal of his desire. He is our companion, our loyal standard-bearer. He could have told of martial toils, famous deeds of heroes, fields streaming with gore; but he gave his quill to you, preferring to walk softly in his poesy and twine his bay in our myrtle*. He tells of young folk's errors, of his own and others' wounds. How he reveres Paphos' deity, mother! He bewailed our dove's demise'.][4]

4 Translations of Statius are from Shackleton Bailey (2003) (sometimes slightly modified).

This 'soldier' of Venus (soon revealed to be Amor/Cupid himself) begins by recounting his merits: he has always fought selflessly, carrying out her orders and striking men and gods alike (65–67). But now, in the name of that merit acquired on the 'battlefield', and of the compassion of Venus and her family, he asks his mother to make an exception and be merciful to a man who has long suffered (67–68). The target in question is a handsome youth of noble lineage who has already paid a heavy tribute to the goddess of love: in fact, Cupid had already pierced him with scores of arrows (74–75), and he had long devoted his elegiac *seruitium* to a powerful *domina* that thwarted his hopes (76–78). His beloved Violentilla, on the other hand, on orders from the same goddess (who evidently wished there to be no corresponding love, but only a mild fondness), had barely been grazed by Cupid's standard weapons, the torch and the bow (79–80). Stella, the designated victim, suffered unparalleled pangs of love (81–84), more than any of the great mythical lovers like Hippomenes (85–86) and Leander (87–90), to the point that Cupid himself was compelled to console the weeping suitor (91–93) and urge Apollo to implore mercy for his poet-protégé (93–94). For his merits as a lover, an elegiac poet—always a faithful *signifer* of the poetry of Venus, rather than a singer of the bloody wars of epic—and a devotee of the goddess, Stella's desire is fulfilled (95–102), and he wins the hand of his beloved.

Cupid's *suasoria*—a plea for permission to renounce his duty as a 'soldier of love'—has an important poetic precedent, which, oddly, has escaped the attention of scholars. The proem of Ovid's *Remedia amoris* is a plea which the poet addresses to Cupid, alarmed by the mere title of the new work: he has always been an exemplary devotee of the god, a much-appreciated master of the *Ars amandi* that he has no intention of repudiating with the new work (1–40):

> Legerat huius Amor titulum nomenque libelli:
> 'Bella mihi, video, bella parantur' ait.
> 'Parce tuum vatem sceleris damnare, Cupido,
> *tradita qui toties te duce signa tuli*.
> Non ego Tydides, a quo tua saucia mater
> in liquidum rediit aethera Martis equis.
> Saepe tepent alii iuvenes: *ego semper amavi,*
> *et si, quid faciam, nunc quoque, quaeris, amo*.
> Quin etiam docui, qua posses arte parari,
> et quod nunc ratio est, impetus ante fuit.
> *Nec te, blande puer, nec nostras prodimus artes,*
> *nec nova praeteritum Musa retexit opus*.
> Siquis amat quod amare iuvat, feliciter ardens

gaudeat, et vento naviget ille suo.
At siquis male fert indignae regna puellae,
ne pereat, nostrae sentiat artis opem.
Cur aliquis laqueo collum nodatus amator
a trabe sublimi triste pependit onus?
Cur aliquis rigido fodit sua pectora ferro?
invidiam caedis, pacis amator, habes.
Qui, nisi desierit, misero periturus amore est,
desinat; et nulli funeris auctor eris.
Et puer es, nec te quicquam nisi ludere oportet:
lude; decent annos mollia regna tuos.
Nam poteras uti nudis[5] ad bella sagittis:
sed tua mortifero sanguine tela carent.
Vitricus et gladiis et acuta dimicet hasta,
et victor multa caede cruentus eat:
tu cole maternas, tuto quibus utimur, artes,
et quarum vitio nulla fit orba parens.
Effice nocturna frangatur ianua rixa,
et tegat ornatas multa corona fores:
fac coeant furtim iuvenes timidaeque puellae,
verbaque dent cauto qualibet arte viro:
et modo blanditias rigido, modo iurgia posti
dicat et exclusus flebile cantet amans.
His lacrimis contentus eris sine crimine mortis;
non tua fax avidos digna subire rogos'.
Haec ego: movit Amor *gemmatas* aureus alas,
et mihi 'propositum perfice' dixit 'opus'.

Rem. 1–40

[Love, having read the name and title on this book,
said: 'It's war, you declare against me, I see, it's war'.
'Cupid, don't condemn your poet for a crime, *who has so often*
raised the standard, you trusted him with, under your command.
I'm not Diomede, by whom your mother was wounded,
she, carried back to the clear heavens on Mars's steeds.
Other young men often grow cool: *I've always loved,*

5 Here the text has been disputed: see full discussion in Rosati (1985). I give the text by Kenney (1994) (who notes in the apparatus my proposal of emending *nudis* to *crudis*). In any case, the authenticity of lines 25–26, sometimes doubted, seems to me guaranteed by Statius' passage.

and if you ask me now, too, what I do, I love.
Indeed I've taught, as well, by what art you can be won,
and what was passion before, is now reason.
Sweet Boy, I've not betrayed you or my art,
and this new Muse unravels no prior work.
Let him rejoice in happiness, any eager man who loves
and delights in love: let him sail with the wind.
But any man who suffers badly from the power of a worthless girl,
shouldn't die, if he understands the help that's in my art.
Why should any lover hang from a high beam,
a sad weight, with a knotted rope round his neck?
Why should anyone stab himself with cold steel?
Lover of Peace, you earn dislike for such hateful death.
Let him who'll die of wretched passion unless he quits it,
quit it: and you'll be the cause of no one's funeral.
And you're a boy: you're not fit for anything but play:
play then: a sweet dominion suits your years.
For you might have used naked arrows with which to war:
but your shafts are free of deadly blood.
Your stepfather Mars may fight with swords and sharp spears,
and as a victor stride through the carnage:
you cultivate your mother's arts, which are safe to use,
through whose fault no parent's ever bereaved.
Make doors burst open to nocturnal fights,
and the entrance be buried in many fine garlands:
have young men and shy girls meet secretly,
and cheat watchful husbands by whatever art:
and now let the lover who's shut out, speak flatteringly,
and now curse the rigid doorpost, and, weeping, sing.
You, be content with these tears, with no guilt for death:
it's not fitting for your torch to plunge beneath greedy pyres'.
So I spoke: golden Love moved his *jewelled* wings,
and said to me: 'Finish the work you planned'.]

trans. KLINE [2015]

This, too, is a *suasoria*, an appeal for understanding addressed to the god of love, of whom the poet has always been a faithful soldier (4; 7–8; 11–12), and for permission to abandon the battlefield just this once, to aid one who is suffering in despair and risks a tragic end (20–22, 37–38). And all in the name of mercy and mildness, fundamental qualities in the realm of love, 'family traits'

fitting for a boy like Cupid and his mother (23–24, 29–30). The conclusion of the scene, with Cupid giving his consent by a beat of his little wings (39), is analogous to the scene in Statius where Venus grants her approval of the marriage, then flies away in a chariot driven by her son Cupid (*sic fata levavit / sidereos artus thalamique egressa superbum / limen Amyclaeos ad frena citavit olores. / Iungit Amor laetamque vehens per nubila matrem / **gemmato** temone sedet*, 'Thus speaking, she raised her starry limbs and left the proud threshold of her bower, summoning her Amyclaean swans to the reins. Love yokes them and sits on the *jewelled* pole, wafting his happy mother through the clouds', 1.2.140–144).

The importance of the Ovidian model is clear from the entire context, but it is confirmed by a series of details and specific pieces of the inter-textual mosaic that document the intensity of Statius' dialogue with the Augustan poet. Here I will indicate just a few of the most evident cases. Firstly, the phrase *tua turba sumus* (*Silv*. 1.2.70), with which Cupid asserts his direct descent from Venus and his attachment to her value system, occurs in only one other case in Latin poetry, and in a similarly 'programmatic' context, in the proemial elegy of Ovid's *Amores* (1.1.6), where the young poet tries to free himself from the dominion of Cupid, who is thwarting his ambitions as an epic poet. *Pieridum vates, non tua turba sumus* ('poets are the Muses', we're not in your crowd'), the callow poet protested in vain, using an expression that now comes—but here with a positive spin—from Cupid's lips, to acknowledge his faithfulness to his divine mother's power.

Then, when Cupid recalls having noted Hippomenes—with his ardor for Atalanta—amid the mythical personages Stella surpassed in the intensity of his passion (*Vidi ego et inmiti cupidum decurrere campo / Hippomenen, nec sic meta pallebat in ipsa*, 85–86), we must take his reference not in a generic sense, but as a specific allusion to the narration of the episode in the *Metamorphosis* (10.560–707). In Ovid, the story is told by Venus herself to Adonis, with whom the goddess has fallen hopelessly in love after her son Cupid, affectionately embracing her, involuntarily wounded her with one of his arrows (10.525–526), and this tale is in turn part of the narration handled by Orpheus, which occupies nearly the entire book (10.148–739). Only an immeasurable passion could induce Hippomenes to subject himself to the law laid down by the beautiful and hard-hearted Atalanta (*illa quidem inmitis*, 'her heart was pitiless', 10.573) at the risk of his own life—a risk he manages to avoid thanks to the intervention of Venus herself. While Cupid is not a direct participant in the scene, he can certainly be said to have been aware of a story that was set in motion by his own action.

The other 'surpassed model' of passion is Leander, of whom Cupid recalls having admired his ability as a swimmer capable of competing with a boat,

and of having lit his way one night as he swam through the cold waves of the sea, warmed by the fire of his love (*Vidi et Abydeni iuvenis certantia remis / brachia laudavique manus et saepe natanti / praeluxi: minor ille calor quo saeva tepebant / aequora*, 86–90). Now, all of the motifs listed above have a central function in the epistolary couplet of the *Heroides* (18–19) in which Ovid relates this romantic myth of love and death, from the idea of arms-as-oars (*remis ego corporis utar*, 'I will use the oars of my body', 18.215) to the image of a torch-bearing divinity clearing the path for the young suitor (in Ovid, it is the Moon, recalling her own passion for Endymion: *Luna fere tremulum praebebat lumen eunti, / ut comes in nostras officiosa vias*, 'the moon offered only a trembling light, to my going, like an obliging companion on the road', 18.59–60). Leander's passion is so fiery as to warm the cold night sea he traverses, as Ovid's young lover noted (*frigora ne possim gelidi sentire profundi, / qui calet in cupido pectore, praestat amor*, 'Love aids me, warming my eager heart, so I will not be chilled by the deep cold', 18.89–90).[6]

The 'ancient loves' Stella is said to have surpassed with the intensity of his suffering (*tu veteres, iuvenis, transgressus amores*, 90) are thus not generic ones of myth, but the specific ones described in Ovid's poetry—that is, their literary forms. The reference to the Ovidian model is explicit, in fact I would say declared, both in *ille* and in the phrase *veteres amores* which seems to be a sort of tag, a label/brand of poetic memory (like we know is *memini*, 'I remember'),[7] and to indicate a specific inter-textual relationship (as, e.g., Catullus 96.3, Tibullus 2.4.47, Ov. *Ep*. 16.257, etc.).[8]

But there is at least one other Ovidian hypotext that emerges compellingly from Statius' epithalamium (and I will obviously limit myself to the section of Cupid's speech, although others could be cited, beginning with the story of Alpheus and Arethusa at 1.2.203–208, with a meaningful 'reprise with variations'). When Cupid notes the disparity with which the two components of the nuptial pair were treated—an entire quiver of arrows launched at Stella (74–75) compared with an all but innocuous, loose-bowed flick of an arrow for Violentilla, which protects her from the fires of passion (79–80)—, the reader cannot help but recall the archetypal story of 'one-sided' love, that of Apollo and Daphne in the first book of the *Metamorphosis*. In fact, this is where the idea appears of a different—actually, in that case opposite—effect produced by the god's intervention on the two components of the couple, the subject

6 On the three motifs cf. Rosati (1996), respectively 147–148, 80–81, and 93–94.

7 Cf. Miller (1993).

8 I have discussed this usage in Rosati (2009) 228.

and the object of desire. Hence Cupid, irritated, had in fact reacted to Apollo's arrogant words:

> dixit et eliso percussis aere pennis
> inpiger umbrosa Parnasi constitit arce
> eque sagittifera prompsit duo tela pharetra
> diversorum operum: fugat hoc, facit illud amorem;
> quod facit, auratum est et cuspide fulget acuta,
> quod fugat, obtusum est et habet sub harundine plumbum.
> Hoc deus in nympha Peneide fixit, at illo
> laesit Apollineas traiecta per ossa medullas;
> protinus alter amat, fugit altera nomen amantis.
>
> *Met.* 1.466–474

> [Then winging through the air his eager way
> He stood upon Parnassus' shady peak,
> And from his quiver's laden armoury
> He drew two arrows of opposing power,
> One shaft that rouses love and one that routs it.
> The first gleams bright with piercing point of gold;
> The other, dull and blunt, is tipped with lead.
> This one he lodged in Daphne's heart; the first
> He shot to pierce Apollo to the marrow.
> At once he loves; she flies the name of love.]
>
> trans. Melville [2008]

As observed in the commentaries, the image of the double-headed arrow with opposite effects seems to exist nowhere but in Ovid[9] (although the idea of the co-presence of love and anti-love as abstract principles, the Catullan *odi et amo*, is of course frequent in Greek literary culture), and in any case, regardless of its possible presence in earlier authors' works, it is evident that Statius drew inspiration from that specific scene. With one meaningful, and understandable, variation: while Cupid strikes Stella many times, provoking an ardent passion, he merely grazes Violentilla with his weapon (a softened blow, which recalls another Ovidian invention, namely the *tela secunda*, a delicate sort of lightning bolt that Jupiter uses to lessen the impact of his erotic assault on

9 Cf., e.g., Barchiesi (2005) ad loc.

Semele, at *Met*. 3.305–307).[10] With this variation, Statius preserves the idea of asymmetry—a basic element in elegy, which causes the lack and activates the dynamics of desire—, and thus of passion fueled by the very impossibility of fulfillment, but without equating Violentilla with the Diana-model (the one used by Ovid), which would suggest a rejection of eros and of a civilized lifestyle. This latter solution would not have suited a figure like Violentilla, for whom a virginal role was out of the question (she had already been married before wedding Stella), as was an attitude of radical aversion to the sphere of eros; and this element of Statius' 'new elegy' contributes to demonstrating the conciliatory tendency that sets it apart from any sort of fundamentalism.

There is in any case a further confirmation of the centrality of the Ovidian model in a Callimachean motif (from Acontius and Cydippe, a source-text for so many elegiac topics: *Aet*. 3, fr. 67.9–10 Pf.),[11] adopted first in the Catullan epithalamium (62.42–44 *multi illum pueri, multae optavere puellae: / idem cum tenui carptus defloruit ungui, / nulli illum pueri, nullae optavere puellae*, 'many there are have desired it, boys and girls equally, yet when its bloom fades, nicked off by a sharp thumbnail, none there are to desire it, neither boys nor girls', trans. Green [2005]) and later in the epic tradition by Virgil (*A*. 7.54–55 *multi illam magno e Latio totaque petebant / Ausonia*, 'many wooed her from wide Latium and all Ausonia' and 11.581–582 *multae illam frustra Tyrrhena per oppida matres / optavere nurum*, 'many a mother in Etruscan fortresses wished for her as a daughter-in-law in vain') and Ovid (*Met*. 3.353–355 *multi illum iuvenes, multae cupiere puellae; / sed fuit in tenera tam dura superbia forma, / nulli illum iuvenes, nullae tetigere puellae*, 'many youths, and many young girls desired him. But there was such intense pride in that delicate form that none of the youths or young girls affected him', which is a reworking/variation of Catullus). It is the topos of the 'many suitors', which Statius develops here in a version that focuses on the elegiac poet-lover Stella's monomaniacal passion for Violentilla after he is struck by Cupid's arrows (*quamvis Ausoniis multum gener ille petitus / matribus*, 76–77), but on the structural level recalls the rejection-of-eros produced in Daphne by the anti-erotic arrow: *multi illam petiere, illa aversata petentes / inpatiens expersque viri nemora avia lustrat* …, 'many would woo her; she, rejecting all, manless, aloof, ranged through the untrodden woods …', *Met*. 1.478–479. And finally, according to a technique typical of Statius, there is an explicit—but delayed, and somehow dissimulated—citation of the model mentioned above: to celebrate Violentilla's beauty, the poet turns to an enco-

10 Cf. Barchiesi (2007) ad loc. More in Pontiggia (2018) 170 n. 2.

11 As Tissol (1992) has shown.

miastic motif already employed in elegy (the one in which Propertius declares Cynthia worthy of Jove's attentions: *Romana accumbes prima puella Iovi*, 'you will be the first Roman maiden to lie with Jove', 2.3.30), and asserts that Apollo would have preferred her to Daphne: *hanc si Thessalicos vidisses, Phoebe, per agros, / erraret secura Daphne* ('if Phoebus had seen her in Thessaly's fields, Daphne had safely strayed', 1.2.130–131), which is an obvious reference to Ovid's text.

The significance as hypotext of the Ovidian story of Apollo and Daphne is thus particularly evident: the *primus amor Phoebi* ('the first love of Phoebus', 1.452), which marks eros' initial appearance in the Ovidian poem, and in the history of the world it narrates, originated with the *saeva Cupidinis ira* ('the cruel ire of Cupid', 453). In the 'asymmetry' of an unrequited passion, the story is the matrix of every ill-fated love—which elegiac love must always be—, and thus of Stella's love for Violentilla as well.

But there is another specific link that connects Statius' *Silvae* 1.2 to Ovid's *Remedia*. Cupid's *suasoria*-speech in favor of Stella, in which he entreats Venus to spare him the torments of love, is the same one made by Ovid, the 'improper' elegiac poet (and apparently likewise an apostate: even a title like *Remedia amoris* contradicts the elegiac axiom that *omnis humanos sanat medicina dolores: / solus amor morbi non amat artificem*, 'medicine can cure all human pains: only love loves not a doctor of its disease', trans. Goold, Prop. 2.1.57–58) who justifies himself before Cupid for writing a work that teaches readers how to avoid the tragic effects of an unhappy love. What Statius proposes, as interpreter of a post-elegiac 'new elegy', is an eros understood as a mature phase, in contrast with his youthful elegiac eros (*Silv*. 1.2.182 *ergo age, iunge toros atque otia deme iuventae*, 'up then, join beds and away with youth's idleness!'), which was a source of suffering. Further confirmation of this may be seen in the reference to the tragic love stories of myth (Hippomenes and Leander) that Statius evokes, and that Stella's love for Violentilla 'surpassed'. That model of passion—indubitably intense but destined for a fatal outcome—is also surpassed in that it becomes a model to avoid,[12] superseded by a type of love that is not rebellious or clandestine, but rather is adapted to the social context in which it occurs.

It is a now-legitimized eros, integrated into social life; a modern eros, suited to the new age of Domitian.[13] But in this Statius merely acknowledges his fellowship with Ovid, the last of the elegists but also a champion of both literary and ethical modernity, who had imparted a way of living in accordance with

12 I owe this suggestion to Richard Tarrant.

13 On the 'post-Ovidian elegy as the voice of modernity' cf. Rosati (2005) 135–140.

the lifestyle of the new Augustan Rome, abandoning the traditionalist nostalgia of conventional elegy. So Statius, too, like many modern scholars, sees in Ovid the pivotal role of a 'poet between two worlds'.

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CHAPTER 8

The Hut and the Temple: Private Aetiology and Augustan Models in *Silvae* 3.1

Federica Bessone

In the preface to the third book of the *Silvae*, Statius introduces the opening poem as a paradigm of the *temeritas* of his *libelli*, which often 'came to birth' suddenly on Pollius Felix' lap (*in sinu tuo subito natos*): an example of the *audacia stili nostri* that the patron knows well, having often been alarmed by it.[1] It is in the 'sanctuary of [Pollius'] eloquence' that the poet, initiated into the inner *sanctum* of literature, has conceived many of his works:[2]

> Tibi certe, Polli dulcissime et hac cui tam fideliter inhaeres quiete dignissime, non habeo diu probandam libellorum istorum temeritatem, cum scias multos ex illis in sinu tuo subito natos et hanc audaciam stili nostri frequenter expaveris, quotiens in illius facundiae tuae penetrale seductus altius litteras intro et in omnes a te studiorum sinus ducor. securus itaque tertius hic Silvarum nostrarum liber ad te mittitur. habuerat quidem et secundus ⟨te⟩ testem, sed hic habet auctorem.
>
> Stat. *Silv*. 3 praef. 1–9

> To you at least, dearest Pollius, most deserving of the tranquility to which you so faithfully cling, I do not have to justify the temerity of these little pieces. For you know that many of them came suddenly to birth on your lap and you have often been alarmed by this audacity of my pen, when you take me aside into the sanctuary of your eloquence and I enter more deeply into letters, led by you into every cranny of study. So this third book of my Extempore Poems is sent to you without apprehension. The second had you as witness, but this one has you as sponsor.

If Pollius served as the 'witness' (*testis*) of the second book of the *Silvae*, here he appears as the 'sponsor' (*auctor*) of the third—indeed, as the *auctor* of the *liber*,

1 Translations of the *Silvae* are by Shackleton Bailey (2015²), with minor modifications.

2 Newlands touches on this point in her chapter in this volume (p. 176).

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the patron almost becomes conflated with the poet. After this pronouncement, Statius introduces the opening poem of the book:

> nam primum limen eius [*sc*. libri] Hercules Surrentinus aperit, quem in litore tuo consecratum, statim ut videram, his versibus adoravi.
>
> Stat. *Silv*. 3 *praef*. 9–10
>
> For its threshold is opened by Hercules of Surrentum; as soon as I saw him consecrated on your beach, I paid him homage with these verses.

In a continuation of the solemn atmosphere of the preface, the *incipit* of *Silvae* 3.1 reaffirms the crucial role of the patron and the overlap of his work with that of the poet. The *Hercules Surrentinus Polli Felicis* ('The Hercules of Pollius Felix at Surrentum') opens with an apostrophe to the god, framed by references to the activities of Pollius:

> intermissa tibi renovat, Tirynthie, sacra
> Pollius et causas designat desidis anni
>
> Stat. *Silv*. 3.1.1–2
>
> Lord of Tiryns, Pollius renews your interrupted cult and gives his reasons for a neglectful year.

After a year of neglect, Pollius renews the sacred rites of Hercules and explains the reasons for their interruption. It is the patron who celebrates the rites and expounds their origin. These activities, however, are more typically associated with the *vates* ('bard') who inaugurates an aetiological work: thus the work of Statius can be glimpsed metaphorically behind that of Pollius, the poetic creation behind the sacred construction and its dedication.

In the complex structure of this poem, the *persona* of Statius withdraws to leave the god and the patron in the foreground—in this, the contrast with *Silvae* 2.2 is remarkable.[3] Only beginning at v. 8 do expressions of amazement

3 The first person structures *Silvae* 2.2 from the opening lines, beginning with the statement of the poem's occasion at vv. 6–12 (*huc me … detulit* …, 'Hither I came …'); later on it presides over the mimetic fiction of the guided tour, moving through the space of the villa (vv. 42–44). Its pervasive presence shapes every aspect of the text. Markedly personalized is the issue of poetic inspiration at vv. 36–42; even the inclusion of the poet within a generic *nos* at v. 129, a troubled crowd (*vilis turba*) that contrasts with the ataraxy of Pollius described in the following lines, emphasizes Statius' personal ambition.

(*vix oculis animoque fides*, 'Eyes and mind scarce credit it') trigger the rhetoric of wonder which is the proper function of the poet's voice in the *Silvae*, but which here takes on rather impersonal forms (v. 15 *cernere erat*, 'we could see').[4] The invocation of Hercules (vv. 23–48) is expressed in the neutral register of a hymn, and the ecphrastic elements within it are not personalized (vv. 37–38; 46–48); similarly devoid of personal inflections is the invocation of Calliope at vv. 49–51. Only at the beginning of the aetiological narrative—the anecdote of the picnic on the beach, translated to the temple of Hercules beneath a summer storm—does Statius refer to himself in the first person (v. 61 *ast ego*, 'As for me, … I …') and recall his presence in the villa as 'no stranger', no mere guest (v. 65 *non hospes*), before blending into a generic 'us' along with the rest of the company (v. 68 *ducimus*, 69 *gravati*, 70 *defendimus*, 76 *diffugimus*, 85 *huc omnis turba coimus*, 'we were spending … escaping … warding off … We scatter … Hither all our number gather'). The role of the poet-priest is emphasized only in hindsight, after a second hymn which concludes the *aition* with an invitation to take part in the games (see vv. 163–164 *haec ego nascentes laetus bacchatus ad aras / libamenta tuli*, 'These offerings I have brought to the nascent altars, a happy reveler'); but that is only a moment, before the poet yields the floor to the god, who has appeared at the temple (vv. 164–165 *nunc ipsum in limine; cerno / solventem voces et talia dicta ferentem*, 'Now I see himself on the threshold, opening his mouth and speaking thus'): it is Hercules who finally pronounces the tribute to Pollius and seals it with an oath, reported in the final three verses of the poem.

A triangulation of god, patron, and poet thus structures the poem: in the foreground, at the beginning and end, stand the god and the honorand, while Statius reserves for himself an apparently subordinate role in the middle of the narration. One detail is especially significant. The praise that in *Silvae* 2.2 had been expressed by the poet and introduced with the formulaic *macte* (2.2.95–96 *macte animo quod Graia probas, quod Graia frequentas / arva*, 'Bless your heart that you favor things Greek and spend your days in Grecian country!') is here uttered by the god, to the greater glory of Pollius (v. 166 *macte animis opibusque meos imitate labores*, 'Hail to your spirit and your wealth, imitator of my labors'). Moreover, the formula in this instance recalls a Virgilian model, namely, Apollo's congratulations to the victorious Ascanius in *Aeneid* 9

4 Contrast *Silv*. 2.2.42–45 *vix ordine longo / suffecere oculi, vix, dum per singula ducor, / suffecere gradus. quae rerum turba! locine / ingenium an domini mirer prius?*, 'My eyes scarce held out in the long procession, scarce my steps, as I was led from item to item. What a multitude of objects! Should I marvel first at the place's ingenuity or its master's?'.

(*A.* 9.641–642 *macte nova virtute, puer, sic itur ad astra, / dis genite et geniture deos*, 'Blessings on your new manhood, my boy. That's the pathway to heaven, you, who are born of a god, and will some day beget gods!'[5]), acknowledging a military deed equal to those of the god himself (cf. *A.* 9.654–655 *primam hanc tibi magnus Apollo / concedit laudem et paribus non invidet armis*, 'Great Apollo concedes you first honours. He doesn't envy your matching his weapons and prowess').

Thus, through his *imitatio Herculis*, Pollius is elevated to the level of a national epic hero destined to become a god. The conclusion of the poem, on the other hand, represents a diminution of the Virgilian sublime, from the promise of immortality to wishes for a long life for Statius' patrons, along with a prophecy of eternal honors for the temple (vv. 171–183). The terms accompanying *macte* signify the gap between a war-epic ideology and the exaltation of Pollius' peaceful and civilizing work: here *virtute* is replaced by *animis opibusque*, an unparalleled hendiadys of moral and material resources, where daring goes hand-in-hand with wealth; these concepts, usually considered to be in opposition to one another, have now become synonymous (we shall return to this later on).

The relationship with the *Aeneid* demonstrates the complex generic identity of Statius' poetic experiment.[6] The sublimity of the epic paradigm is diminished, but at the same time its audacity is challenged, with a god bursting into the daily life of the villa. By masking his voice behind the figure of Hercules, the officiating *vates*—the occasional poet—lends divine authority to his celebratory gesture, and an almost epic dimension to the 'minor' text of the *Silvae*, while repurposing the traditionally playful tones of Hellenistic encomium.[7]

Back to the beginning. The long proemial sentence (vv. 1–7) is a synopsis of the occasion, the transformation of the sacred building within the space of a year from a shelter on the empty shore, open to sailors, to an imposing structure with an elegant portal and lofty marble columns:

5 Translations of the *Aeneid* are by Ahl (2007) and, on p. 215, by Fairclough (1999).

6 For Statius' employment in *Silvae* 3.1 of 'epic-style conventions in the expansion of an epigrammatic genre (an *anathematikon* of a temple)', as well as of 'occasional' material from ceremonies of dedication, see Hardie (1983), 119 and 125–128. On Statius' complex engagement with the *Aeneid* in the *Silvae* see also Newlands' discussion of *Silv.* 2.2.83–85 with *A.* 6.900–901 in this volume.

7 On mythological spokespersons in the *Silvae*, their poetic function, and their models in Hellenistic encomium, see Coleman (1999) 73–78 (on Hercules' speeches to Pollius) and (2003) 43 (on *Silv.* 3.1).

> quod coleris maiore tholo nec litora pauper
> nuda tenes tectumque vagis habitabile nautis,
> sed nitidos postes Graisque effulta metallis
> culmina
>
> Stat. *Silv*. 3.1.3–6[8]

> for you are worshipped under a larger dome, no pauper on a bare beach with a shelter for stray sailors to lodge in, no, you have shining doorposts and a roof supported by Grecian marbles.

The temple constructed by Pollius supplies Statius' poem, and the whole book, with a sumptuous façade, 'realizing' the program of Pindar in *Olympian* 6: 'Let us set up golden columns to support / the strong-walled porch of our abode / and construct, as it were, a splendid / palace; for when a work is begun, it is necessary to make / its front shine from afar' (trans. Race [1997]; Χρυσέας ὑποστάσαντες εὐ- / τειχεῖ προθύρῳ θαλάμου / κίονας ὡς ὅτε θαητὸν μέγαρον / πάξομεν· ἀρχομένου δ' ἔργου πρόσωπον / χρὴ θέμεν τηλαυγές, Pi. *O*. 6.1–5). In *Silvae* 3.1 the architectural metaphor has become reality. The shining building, supported by precious columns (vv. 5–6, *nitidos postes Graisque effulta metallis / culmina*, 'shining doorposts and a roof supported by Grecian marbles'), is not only an analogue of the poetic composition, or a dazzling opening image: it is a real building, whose description in turn serves to commemorate its patron. This, too, is a celebration of a victory: the construction of the temple exalted as a heroic enterprise. By evoking Pindar, Statius signals an important model for his occasional poetry, and indicates its renewed function in Flavian society: the legacy of the *Epinikia* in the world of the *Silvae*. The ekphrastic poetry essayed by Statius, as an homage to a cultured and wealthy social class, is a reflection on the poet's ability to celebrate the power of the elite and to immortalize its prestige. Thus, in *Silvae* 3.1 Pollius' temple becomes 'Statius' poetic temple' (as Carole Newlands has defined it): the private equivalent of the temple metaphor in the proem of *Georgics* 3, where Virgil had announced his program for a new historical epic.[9]

The temple of Hercules is a new addition to the architectural wonders of Pollius Felix' villa: *Silvae* 3.1 is the continuation of *Silvae* 2.2, the ekphrasis of the *Villa Surrentina*. The continuity between these two books in the name of the patron is declared in the *praefatio*, as we have seen (*Silv*. 3 *praef*. 7–9), and

8 The elevation of a new temple is an upgrade (*maiore*) that is exalted by Statius as a second ascent of Hercules to heaven (vv. 6–7).

9 Newlands (1991); see also (2013a) 67–74. On Virgil's proem see now Citroni (2015).

is now demonstrated at the beginning of the proemial poem. The first word of *Silvae* 3.1 is *intermissa*, a 'motto' that—as has been observed—echoes the opening words of the fourth book of Horace's *Odes*[10] and, as in the *Odes*, signals the resumption of a relationship with a deity: not the wars waged against the poet once again by Venus, but the rites renewed by the patron to Hercules.[11] In Horace, *intermissa* signals an interruption of years (*diu*), those which have elapsed between the first three books of the *Odes* and the fourth, and which have seen the poet grow old (Hor. *Carm.* 4.1.3–4; 6–7); in Statius, by contrast, it indicates a short pause—less than a year for the rebirth of the temple—as well as the rapid succession between *Silvae* 2.2 and 3.1, which date from 90 and 91 CE, respectively, and which were probably placed next to one another in the edition of the first three books in 93. More than that, *intermissa* is also a statement of poetics. The notion of a temporal 'interval' signifies continuity in change: for Horace, this meant a belated erotic lyric alternating with imperial celebratory poetry; for Statius, it means the prosecution of a private encomiastic discourse—in a book devoid of explicit praise of the emperor.[12]

There is a specific link between *Silvae* 3.1 and 2.2: the Hercules enshrined in the new temple in *Silvae* 3.1 is the same god who, in the *Villa Surrentina*, presides over the fields, while Neptune protects the shore (*Silv.* 2.2.21–25 … *felicia rura tuetur / Alcides* … [*hic servat terras* …], '… Alcides protects the happy fields … [one protects the land …]'). There, the sea god already possesses a temple, while Hercules seems to be bereft of one. At the beginning of the third book, that 'obscure' guardian of the fields (*inglorius*, *Silv.* 3.1.9), contemplated retrospectively, has become an *agrestis Alcides* ('bumpkin Alcides', *Silv.* 3.1.10–11): the adjective transforms the rural associations of the god almost into a charge of *rusticitas*, rough rustic simplicity, which has now been surpassed by the elegance of the new venue.

There is, however, a deeper continuity between the two poems, which the studies of Carole Newlands have brought to light: an affinity in ideological vision and literary construction.[13] The building of the temple, like that of the villa,

10 See Laguna (1992) ad loc.

11 On the religious sense of *intermitto*, indicating the failure to observe the regular performance of divine rites, see *TLL* 7.1.2228.49–59 s.v. *intermitto* (V. Reichmann–W. Ehlers).

12 A further, subtle implication of the allusion to Horace is pointed out by Newlands (2013b) 258–259 ('Statius rejects Horace's personal amatory theme for the celebration of married love and domestic piety, expressed through hospitality and the building of the temple to Hercules'). See Lóio in this volume (pp. 224–232) on problems posed by the emperor's coexistence with another patron in the fourth book of the *Silvae*.

13 On *Silv.* 2.2 see Newlands (2002) 154–198; (2011) 120–157; (2012) 149–156.

is represented as a victory of technology over nature—a work of civilization for the benefit of the community. Even this singular example of a sacred building in a private context continues the discourse of *Silvae* 2.2 on Pollius' architectural achievements, interpreted as a principle of civilization: a domestication of wild nature that ideally transcends the boundaries of private property, involves the community of friends,[14] and, thanks to poetry, extends as an ideal model to human society more broadly. That precise vision is now extended to religion, which becomes another principle of civilization. A look at two crucial, parallel passages of the two poems allows us to spot the same conception in an identical series of terms; a *natura* made of *rupes* and *lustra* becomes the object of *domare* ('taming') and is turned *in usum*, or *in usus*:

> qui rigidas **rupes** infecundaeque pudenda
> **Naturae** deserta **domas** et **vertis in usum**
> **lustra** habitata feris, foedeque latentia profers
> numina!
>
> *Silv*. 3.1.167–170

> … tamer of stark rocks, barren Nature's empty disgrace, who turn the wilderness to use, haunt of wild beasts, and bring forth deities from shameful hiding!

> his favit **Natura** locis, hic victa colenti
> cessit et ignotos docilis mansuevit **in usus.**
> mons erat hic ubi plana vides, et **lustra** fuerunt
> quae nunc tecta subis; ubi nunc nemora ardua cernis,
> hic nec terra fuit: **domuit** possessor, et illum
> formantem **rupes** expugnantemque secuta
> gaudet humus. nunc cerne iugum discentia saxa
> intrantesque domos iussumque recedere montem
>
> *Silv*. 2.2.52–59

> Some spots Nature has favored, in others she has been overcome and yielded to the developer, letting herself be taught new and gentler ways. Where you see level ground, there used to be a hill; the building you now enter was wilderness; where now you see lofty woods, there was not even

14 The luxury picnic in *Silvae* 3.1.68–87 looks like a 'chic' version of the Epicurean model of an ideal community of friends designed by Lucretius (*DRN* 2.29–33), on which see Morelli (2012).

> land. The occupant has tamed it all; the soil rejoices as he shapes rocks or expels them, following his lead. Now behold the cliffs as they learn the yoke, and the dwellings as they enter, and the mountain bidden to withdraw.

Already in *Silvae* 2.2, as in our poem, the contrast between past and present, between 'now' and 'then', encapsulated in the formula 'here where there was, now there is', emphasizes the process of transformation through a dialogue with Augustan models—the eighth book of the *Aeneid* is often cited as precedent for the passage of *Silvae* 2.2 just quoted, especially for verses 54–56 (*hic ubi … nunc … ubi nunc … hic*). Similar expressions—modeled on those with which the narrator of the *Aeneid* follows Evander and Aeneas as they walk to the Palatine:

> hinc ad Tarpeiam sedem et Capitolia ducit
> aurea nunc, olim silvestribus horrida dumis
>
> Verg. *A.* 8.347–348

> Up to Tarpeia's rock and the Capitol Hill he escorts him, golden now; in the past just bristling forested thickets—[15]

recur in *Silvae* 3.1, in the exclamations of the poet before the new temple and in Hercules' exhortation to the enterprise:

> steriles hic nuper harenas
> ac sparsum pelago montis latus hirtaque dumis
> saxa nec ulla pati faciles vestigia terras
> cernere erat. quaenam subito fortuna rigentes
> ditavit scopulos? […]
>
> *Silv*. 3.1.12–16

> A little while ago all we could see here was barren sand and sea-splashed mountainside and rocks shaggy with scrub and earth scarce willing to suffer print of foot. What fortune has suddenly enriched these stark cliffs?

15 Cf. also 8.98–100: *cum muros arcemque procul ac rara domorum / tecta vident, quae nunc Romana potentia caelo / aequavit, tum res inopes Evandrus habebat*, 'When, in the distance, they saw a town's fortress and walls, and some scattered buildings—a place Rome's dominant power raises high as the heavens now, but in those days no more than Evander's impoverished holdings'.

> 'quid enim ista domus, quid terra, priusquam
> te gauderet erum? longo tu tramite nudos
> texisti scopulos, fueratque ubi semita tantum
> nunc tibi distinctis stat porticus alta columnis
> ne sorderet iter'
>
> *Silv*. 3.1.96–100

> For what was that house, that land before it rejoiced in you as its master? You covered the bare cliffs with a lengthy road, and where there had been only a track now stands your lofty arcade with its separate pillars, to give the route some elegance.

Silvae 3.1 is thus a continuation of *Silvae* 2.2, but it is also an exploration of new paths, in both an ideological and a literary sense. Here the theme of private luxury, and its moral legitimacy, is linked to the theme of divine worship; thus, it intersects with a prominent debate in the public discourse of the Augustan age, namely, the function of poverty and wealth in the religious sphere as a reflection of the wealth (and morality) of a community. *Silvae* 3.1 re-enacts the ethical-political debate that animated Roman culture between the late Republic and the early Empire, and translates it to the private space of the villa, an ideal microcosm that provided new ground for reflecting on social values and served as a laboratory of ethical models for the Flavian elite.

From the very beginning, this theme is introduced in a peculiar way. Not only is Pollius' wealth praised, but a god is said to have gone from being 'poor' to 'rich': Hercules is described with the adjective *pauper*, just like Vesta and Vertumnus in the aetiological elegies of Propertius' fourth book (Prop. 4.1.21 *Vesta coronatis pauper gaudebat asellis*, 'Vesta was poor and rejoiced in garlanded mules'; 4.2.60 *ante Numam grata pauper in urbe deus*, 'till Numa's time a poor god in a city I love').[16] The recent past of the villa at Surrentum thus takes on the features of the remote past of Rome. Now let us look again at vv. 3–6 (quoted above). Here we encounter a contrast between the barrenness of the terrain and the resplendence of Greek building materials (*litora … nuda … Graisque effulta metallis / culmina*)—and, by extension, between two opposing literary worlds. On the one hand, the architectural splendor

16 See Fedeli, Ciccarelli and Dimundo (2015), ad locc. For another *pauper deus* (contrasted with Roman luxury in religious matters), cf. Luc. 9.519. Translations of Propertius are by Goold (1990).

is expressed with a formula nearly identical to that which, in *Silvae* 2.2, is used to describe the *diaeta*, the loftiest room of Pollius' villa: 2.2.83–86 *una tamen cunctis, procul eminet una diaetis / quae tibi Parthenopen derecto limite ponti / ingerit. hic Grais penitus desecta metallis / saxa …* ('But one room stands far out, one room from all the rest, which over the sea's straight track presents you with Parthenope. Here are marbles hewn from the depth of Grecian quarries …'). On the other hand, the *litora nuda* evoke the 'bare rock' from which, in Propertius 4.1, 'Tarpeian Jupiter thundered' (Prop. 4.1.7 *Tarpeiusque Pater nuda de rupe tonabat*). Within a year, Pollius' villa seems to have retraced Rome's historical development, from primeval simplicity to Flavian splendor.

In verses 8–22, the gaze of the poet guides the reader and incredulously compares the vision of the eyes with that of memory. A pair of rhetorical questions underscores the transformation that has made Hercules unrecognizable:

> vix oculis animoque fides. tune ille reclusi
> liminis et parvae custos inglorius arae?
> unde haec aula recens fulgorque inopinus agresti
> Alcidae? sunt fata deum, sunt fata locorum
>
> Stat. *Silv*. 3.1.8–11

> Eyes and mind scarce credit it. Are you that lowly warden of a doorless threshold and a petty altar? Where did bumpkin Alcides find this new mansion, this unlooked-for splendor? Gods have their destinies and places do, too.

Here Statius seems to adopt an Ovidian model, from the praise of *cultus* in the third book of the *Ars amatoria*: the verses that proclaim the unrecognizability of the Capitoline Hill with its new temple to Jupiter:

> aspice quae nunc sunt Capitolia, quaeque fuerunt:
> alterius dices illa fuisse Iovis
>
> Ov. *Ars* 3.115–116

> See what the Capitol is now and what it was: you would say they belonged to different Jupiters.

In Statius' ekphrastic procedure, the visual comparison suggested in the *Ars* is 'realized'. In Ovid the invitation to 'look' (*aspice*) is a gesture of rhetorical vividness, contrasting the Capitol of the past with that of today: this is almost a

comment[17] on the tradition of comparing Rome's past and present and on the trope of the 'double image' employed in the archaeological walk of Propertius (4.1) and in Virgil's 'prophetic' walk in *Aeneid* 8. Here in the *Silvae*, however, where the passage of centuries seems compressed within the space of months, a visual comparison which had been merely figurative now becomes literal. Statius mobilizes the experience of his own vision, both past and present, and transforms the effort of visual imagination that Ovid had demanded of his readers into an exercise in visual memory. The remote past of the Augustans, evoked through rhetorical vividness, here becomes a recent past still alive in the eyes of the occasional poet.

O velox pietas! With this unprecedented 'iunctura' (*Silv*. 3.1.12), Statius anticipates the encomium of Pollius in a passage that nevertheless still insists on the divine origins of the transformation. The poem as a whole exhibits a shifting balance between divine and human agency in the construction of the temple, and alternately emphasizes either the ease with which the project was completed or the difficulties involved: here the supernatural element prevails, and what will later be represented as a 'technological miracle', facilitated by divine assistance, appears for the time being as a divine miracle, made possible by human *pietas*.

The close succession of various expressions of speed in vv. 10–18 (*recens*, *velox*, *nuper*, *subito*, followed by *angusti bis seno limite menses*) recalls the Augustan model of the antithesis between *nunc* and *olim* but updates it by replacing *olim* with *nuper*: *Silv*. 3.1.12–13 *... nuper ... dumis* ... Once again, the primitive Capitoline Hill shapes Statius' description; this time it is the Capitoline of *Aeneid* 8, with its 'thickets': Verg. *A*. 8.347–348 *... aurea ... olim ... dumis*. From *olim ... dumis* to *nuper ... dumis*: this special effect of acceleration, compressing an interval of centuries into just a handful of months, produces the illusion of a miracle, captured in the vision of 'unexpected splendor' (vv. 10–11).

It is as though we have witnessed a metamorphosis. This *fulgor ... inopinus* recalls the famous scene in Ovid's poem in which the straw suddenly takes on a golden color and the *casa* is transformed into a *templum*:[18]

17 On poetry as commentary see Roman in this volume on Poliziano's *Silvae* and Statius' *Silvae*; see also Newlands, who studies *Silv*. 2.83–85 as a comment on *A*. 6.900–901.

18 See Newlands (2013b) 248–249, on the way in which Ovid's metamorphosis wittily evokes *A*. 8.348; and 251–253, on how *Silv.* 3.1 evokes Ovid ('The central twist of Ovid's story, the metamorphosis of the cottage into a temple, is wittily replayed in *silv*. 3, 1 ... There is no actual metamorphosis, but the swift construction of the temple and the change in the landscape provide an occasion for wonder, a key trope of metamorphosis [3, 1, 12]—*o velox pietas!*').

> dumque ea mirantur, dum deflent fata suorum,
> illa vetus dominis etiam casa parva duobus
> vertitur in templum; furcas subiere columnae,
> stramina flavescunt aurataque tecta videntur
> caelataeque fores adopertaque marmore tellus
>
> Ov. *Met*. 8.698–702

> and while they wonder and in tears bewail / their lost possessions, that old cottage home, / small even for two owners, is transformed / into a temple; columns stand beneath / the rafters, and the thatch, turned yellow, gleams / a roof of gold; and fine doors richly carved / they see, and the bare earth with marble paved.

The 'temple' in *Silvae* 3.1 is also a 'hut' prior to its transformation: Statius deliberately places the two terms next to one another in v. 82 *stabat dicta sacri tenuis casa nomine templi* ('There stood a little hut called by the name of a sacred temple').[19] The history of Pollius' temple is almost a reenactment of the myth of Philemon and Baucis: a hut changed into a temple thanks to the *pietas* of an exemplary couple.[20] Here the miracle is repeated, but this time with the collaboration of man: magnificence is not a reward granted by the gods for simple human piety, but the work of a patron who possesses wealth and culture and who practices *imitatio dei*.

Later on in the poem, the dialogue with the Ovidian episode will continue with the theme of hospitality, rich or poor, offered to the god, and will fully involve the ideological message of the *Silvae*. Here it is the spectacle of the metamorphosis that lends its poetic color to the disappearance of the last trace of *rusticitas* from the *villa Surrentina*. If the background to Statius' description is the Augustan contrast between the splendor of the present and the simplicity of the past, then the story of Philemon and Baucis is the myth that transforms that contrast into an emblem. It is an apologue, which summarizes in itself the Augustan value system and its inherent tensions: magnificence which is not at odds with simple piety, and luxury which preserves the virtues of Rome's origins.[21]

19 *Casa* is also the word used at *Theb*. 4.160–161 to describe Molorchus' hut, which had hosted Hercules in Callimachus' *Victoria Berenices*: see Newlands (2013b) 243, Micozzi (2019), and Parkes (2012) ad loc.

20 On the complex relationship between *Silvae* 3.1 and the Philemon and Baucis episode, see Fabbrini (2005) 213–219, and especially Newlands (2013b), who discusses the praise in both poems of an exemplary married couple.

21 Contrasting interpretations of the Ovidian episode, especially concerning the relation-

O velox pietas! is the manifesto of a new ethic, and, at the same time, of a new poetics.[22] There is no need to go back to the analogy between architectural and literary construction, but one detail can be observed. The unprecedented 'iunctura' *subiti … templi* ('sudden shrine'), which Statius employs at v. 49,[23] seems to have been coined to reflect the poetry of the *Silvae*: the character of these *libelli*, which 'streamed from [his] pen in the heat of the moment', *subito calore*, and which 'came suddenly to birth', *subito natos*, as Statius claims in the prefaces to the first and third books.[24] Lines 16–19 of *Silvae* 3.1 are intended to be read as a poetic program. The comparison with the magical music of Amphion and Orpheus, already exploited in *Silvae* 2.2, here extols the wondrous nature of both the construction of the temple and the extemporaneous poetry that celebrates it, each of which combines speed and refinement, ease and elegance. This is precisely the boast made in the *praefatio* about the poetic inauguration, of both the temple and the book (*Silv*. 3 *praef*. 9–11). Moreover, the analogy with Amphion and Orpheus here (vv. 16–17 *Tyrione haec moenia plectro / an Getica venere lyra?*, 'Did these walls arrive by Tyrian quill or Getic harp?') suggests that the poet himself, like the mythical singers from the origins of civilization, is a civilizing hero: a protagonist of the civilizing process that is commemorated in his poem and that is the joint achievement of both poet and patron.[25] Finally, even the astonishment of the twelve 'narrowly bounded' months at this *longaevum opus* (vv. 17–19 *stupet ipse labores / annus et angusti bis seno limite menses / longaevum mirantur opus*, 'The year itself is amazed at

ship between gods and humans as outlined by the internal narrator, Lelex, are given by Gamel (1984), Green (2003), and Gowers (2005). See also Newlands (2013b) 249–251 ('In Ovid's myth the notion of cultural progress is problematized; the notion of *moral* progress, central to the Augustan contrast between past and present and made so complex in the *Aeneid*, is absent from Ovid's myth').

22 Cf. Newlands (2013b) 253.

23 In the playful invocation to Calliope introducing the *aition* (vv. 49–51), *subiti … templi* clashes with the solemn epic term *exordia*, which traditionally suggests distant origins—this witty proem challenges epic conventions.

24 *Silv*. 1 *praef*. 2–4 *hos libellos, qui mihi subito calore et quadam festinandi voluptate fluxerunt*, 'these little pieces, which streamed from my pen in the heat of the moment, a sort of pleasurable haste'; 3 *praef*. 3–4, quoted above. On the poetics of *impromptu* in the *Silvae*, see Rosati (2015). In this volume, Pittà (pp. 107–110) discusses a textual problem posed by *Silv*. 1 *praef*. 2–4.

25 In Bessone (2014) I sought to demonstrate that Orpheus and Amphion, the founders of poetry, offer the most authoritative legitimation of the modern poetics of *impromptu* composition espoused by the *Silvae*; with this reference to the mythical singers, Statius constructs his own mythology at the same time as he mythologizes Pollius' construction of the temple.

its labor, the twice six months, so narrowly bounded, marvel at a work built to last') serves as an image of the aesthetic paradox of the *Silvae*: the power of occasional poetry to eternalize the ephemeral.[26]

In *Silvae* 3.1, the aesthetics of surprise sprints ahead of the rest of the collection. The analogy between the sacred building and its poetic representation allows for an especially daring realization of this aesthetic principle. The 'sudden shrine' (*subiti … templi*) of verse 49 appears elsewhere as a 'nascent shrine', or, better, a 'shrine that is being born' before our eyes: *templis nascentibus* (v. 28), *nascentes … ad aras* ('to the nascent altars', v. 163).[27] A 'sudden' temple and a 'nascent' temple: in almost every respect, Pollius' construction resembles the poetry that celebrates it, one of those *libelli … subito nati*, the 'little pieces … come suddenly to birth', which are introduced with affected modesty in the *praefatio*. The metaphor of 'birth' emphasizes the surprise resulting from a development that has been hidden from view: this is the impression of the *impromptu*, an improvisation prepared beforehand. Later, when the poet finally describes Hercules' excavation of the rock, he shrouds it in the dark of night, and makes us witness the surprise of the artisans at the 'diminishment' of the mountains when they return at dawn (vv. 127, 134–135 *decrescunt scopuli, et rosea sub luce reversi / artifices mirantur opus*, 'The cliffs diminish and the workmen returning at rosy dawn marvel at the progress'). I observe in passing that the word *decrescunt* is derived from the passage on *cultus* in the third book of the *Ars amatoria*: one of the few reservations expressed by Ovid about contemporary refinement—the luxury of marble quarried from the mountains—has now disappeared in the world of the *Silvae*.[28]

Templis nascentibus is an announcement worthy even of imperial panegyric. *Tot nascentia templa, tot renata* ('so many temples coming to birth, so many reborn') is the formula with which Martial, in *Epigram* 6.4 (v. 3), exalts Domitian's renewed Rome—just as *renata aula* ('renascent hall') will designate the new imperial residence on the Palatine Hill in *Silvae* 4.3 (vv. 160–161). The sixth book of Martial's *Epigrams* dates from 90 or 91 CE, precisely the same years in which Statius composed this remarkable encomium for the birth of a private

26 Statius almost seems to recall the epilogue of the *Thebaid* (12.810–812): the poetic labor of twelve years, which resulted in an immortal epic, is here matched by a building completed in less than twelve months, and celebrated by a poem composed in less than one day, which is also destined for immortality. See also the discussion around the translation of *longaevum* by Gibson in this volume (pp. 100–101).

27 For 'the Roman concept of the *natalis templi*, the temple's day of dedication', alluded to here by Statius, see Hardie (1983) 128.

28 Ov. *Ars* 3.121–128, cf. 125 *nec quia decrescunt effosso marmore montes*, 'nor because mountains diminish as the marble is dug from them' (trans. Mozley [1979]).

temple (the *terminus post quem* of *Silvae* 3.1 is the summer of 91): Pollius' project thus reenacts on a smaller scale, in the context of a villa, the emperor's citywide initiative of sacred construction. To celebrate the accomplishment of his private patron, Statius invokes the great Augustan models who had sung the transformation of a 'city of bricks' into a 'city of marble' (Suet. *Aug*. 29), even with respect to the temples of the gods; and these are the same models that the poet of the *Silvae* invokes elsewhere for the purpose of imperial encomium.

Silvae 3.1 as a whole represents an implicit dialogue with the eighth book of the *Aeneid*, and this same paradigm is quoted explicitly in *Silvae* 3.4, where Domitian, with the 'new masonry' of his palace, 'levels the home of ancient Evander with the topmost stars'—a gesture that repeats to the letter, and surpasses, the model of Augustus, the 'Roman power' which, as Virgil said, 'has now leveled the poor […] possessions of Evander with heaven':

> nec mora. iam Latii montes **veterisque** penates
> **Evandri**, quos mole **nova** pater inclitus orbis
> excolit et summis **aequat** Germanicus astris
>
> *Silv*. 3.4.47–49

> In a trice, there are the Latian Hills and the home of ancient Evander, that Germanicus, renowned father of the world, adorns with new masonry and levels with the topmost stars;

> cum muros arcemque procul ac rara domorum
> tecta vident, quae nunc Romana potentia caelo
> **aequavit**, tum **res inopes Evandrus** habebat
>
> Verg. *A*. 8.98–100

> When, in the distance, they saw a town's fortress and walls, and some scattered buildings—a place Rome's dominant power raises high as the heavens now, but in those days no more than Evander's impoverished holdings.

The public discourse of Augustan poetry is thus reappropriated by Statius both for Domitian's public magnificence and for the private splendor of Pollius—although the distinction between private and public in *Silvae* 3.1 almost fades away.

Thus the same expression, *nascentia templa*, exalts the patron's resourcefulness and innovation and declares, metaphorically, the novelty of this poem—a new temple for new times. Here, too, Statius enters into dialogue with Augus-

tan poetry: not only with the metaphor of the temple in the proem of *Georgics* 3, but with the *arae recentes* set up to celebrate the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, to which Propertius, in elegy 4.6, offers up a libation of songs:[29] Prop. 4.6.7–8 *spargite me lymphis, carmenque* ***recentibus aris*** */ tibia Mygdoniis* ***libet*** *eburna cadis* ('Sprinkle me with water, and by the fresh turves of the altar let the ivory pipe pour forth libation of music from Phrygian jar'). The solemn debut of the elegiac poet-*vates*, priest of the rite, is echoed by Statius in *Silvae* 3.1 when he represents himself, once the rite has been concluded, as the officiant at the dedication of the temple: *Silv*. 3.1.163–164 *haec ego* ***nascentes*** *laetus bacchatus* ***ad aras / libamenta*** *tuli* ('These offerings I have brought to the nascent altars, a happy reveler'). This is one of many points of contact with Propertius 4.6, which might serve as the topic for a future study.[30] The image of poetry as a 'libation' is accompanied here by an analogous characterization of the *arae* as *nascentes* rather than *recentes*. There is no agreement among scholars on the meaning of *recentibus* (*aris*) in Propertius, whether it refers to the relatively recent dedication of the temple (twelve years earlier, in 28 BCE), and whether, in that case, it

29 On Statius' reception of Propertius see Bessone (2018a).

30 The private rite at the new temple within the villa corresponds to Propertius' private rite commemorating the dedication of Apollo's temple on the Palatine; both 'aetiological' poems are represented as sacred offerings; by means of a parallel 'pre-battle' speech by the god, Pollius' victory over wild nature, with the assistance of Hercules, is equated to Augustus' victory at Actium with the aid of Apollo. Cf., in each poem, the *incipit* announcing a sacred rite (Prop. 4.6.1 *sacra … sacris*; *Silv*. 3.1.1 *sacra*); the invocation of Calliope (Prop. 4.6.11–12; *Silv*. 3.1.49–51, with Statius' humorous commendation of Hercules to the Muse as 'your loud accompanist, making mock music with his sonorous bowstring', wittily alluding to Apollo's double function as god of war and of poetry in Propertius); and Hercules' exhortation to Pollius at *Silv*. 3.1.110 ***nec te, quod*** *solidus contra riget umbo maligni / montis et immenso non umquam exesus ab aevo, /* ***terreat*** ('And be not daunted because a solid hump of unfriendly mountain that measureless time has never consumed stands stark in the way'), which quotes Apollo's exhortation to Augustus at Prop. 4.6.47 ***nec te, quod*** *classis centenis remigat alis, /* ***terreat*** ('Nor let it frighten you that their armada sweeps the waters with many hundred oars'). Cf. also Prop. 4.6.57 *vincit Roma* ***fide*** *Phoebi*, 'Phoebus keeps faith and Rome conquers', with *Silv*. 3.1.114 *'incipe et Herculeis* ***fidens*** *hortatibus aude'*, 'Begin; trust Hercules' urging and dare!'; the apostrophe at Prop. 4.6.37 *'O Longa* ***mundi servator*** *ab Alba, / Auguste'*, 'O saviour of the world who are sprung from Alba Longa, Augustus', with *Silv*. 3.1.91 *'Tune,' inquit '****largitor opum*** *…?'*, ''Are you,' he says 'the lavish donor …?'''; and the god's promise of active intervention at Prop. 4.6.39–40 and 53–54 with a similar pledge at *Silv*. 3.1.112–113. On Apollo's role in Prop. 4.6 see Miller (2009) 80–94. Coleman (2003) 43 compares Hercules' speech in Statius with that of the Propertian Apollo for 'the frank and intimate tone adopted by the god' ('The playfulness that has been observed in Propertius' treatment of Apollo is neither ironic, parodic, bitter, nor trivialising, but a precursor of the whimsical and flattering role play that was congenial to the Flavian age'). In this volume, Lóio discusses Propertius' influence in *Silvae* 4.4.

presupposes an official or a private celebration of this (or another) anniversary; or whether the elegy is unconnected to a public feast and represents a wholly private initiative: *recentes* would then indicate an altar 'expressly built', 'set up just for the occasion' (not 'fresh with clods', as has sometimes been suggested). What is certain, as Paolo Fedeli observes in his commentary, is that *recentes* announces by way of metaphor the literary novelty of this elegy.[31]

However we understand *recentibus aris* in Propertius, and however Statius may have understood it, with the phrase *nascentes … ad aras* the Flavian poet indicates that he is going beyond his model: perhaps he signals the contrast between a years-deferred celebration and a 'live' one (the dedication thus serving as the 'birth certificate' of the temple). Certainly, he takes the claim of poetic novelty to an extreme: rather than an elegiac song 'poured out' as an offering upon a 'recent' altar, Statius offers up an *extempore* song at an altar and a temple that *are being born* before our eyes—this is the marker of a new aesthetic. Indeed, in *Silvae* 3.1 it is as though the very rapid process of construction were still under way, prolonging itself in the work of ornamentation, both architectural and poetic—a work in progress.

The 'tense' of this poem is present progressive: even after being completed, the work of art continues fashioning itself before the eyes of the reader. An ekphrastic element introduced into the hymn to Hercules is particularly revealing (vv. 37–38): *hic tibi Sidonio celsum pulvinar acantho / texitur et signis crescit torus asper eburnis*, 'here are cushions piled high for you, embroidered with Sidonian acanthus, and a couch rising rough with figures of ivory'. The present tense verbs *texitur* and *crescit* give the illusion of a work *in fieri*, which 'is interwoven' and 'rises' at this very instant to welcome the god.[32]

Texitur, as a self-reflexive marker, also gestures toward the making of the text: at the same time as it 'mirrors' an architectural construction represented as being still in progress, Statius' writing also mirrors itself—and its aspiration to rise. The 'lofty bed' that 'is being woven' (*celsum pulvinar … / texitur*) becomes a 'poetic symbol', opposite to the 'basket of slender willow' that the bucolic poet 'weaves' (*texit*) at the end of the tenth *Eclogue* (Verg. *Ecl.* 10.70–72 *haec sat erit, divae, vestrum cecinisse poetam, / dum sedet et gracili fiscellam texit hibisco, / Pierides*, 'These strains, Muses divine, it will be enough for your bard to have sung, as he sits and weaves a basket of slender willow', trans. Fairclough [1999]);

31 See Fedeli in Fedeli, Ciccarelli, and Dimundo (2015) ad loc., alongside Hutchinson (2006) and Coutelle (2015).

32 *Texitur, tollitur*, and *attollitur* (in this order) are the verbs that describe the setting up of the funeral *torus* for Opheltes at *Theb.* 6.54–71 (cf. also 64 *medio Linus intertextus acantho*, 'in the middle among acanthus is woven Linus').

an image whose 'sovrasenso poetologico' (Cucchiarelli [2012] ad loc.) 'era già colto, a ragione, da Servio (Serv. ad Verg. *Ecl.* 10.71)'. There the bucolic poet himself, before 'standing up' (*surgamus*), entrusts his work to the Muses, so that they will make it 'of highest worth' (*maxima*) for Gallus, as the poet's love for him 'grows (*crescit*) from hour to hour' (vv. 72–75 *vos haec facietis maxima Gallo, / Gallo, cuius amor tantum mihi crescit in horas, / quantum vere novo viridis se subicit alnus. / surgamus* …, 'These strains ye shall make of highest worth in Gallus' eyes—Gallus, for whom my love grows from hour to hour as fast as the green alder shoots up when spring is young'): thus in the *envoi* of the *Eclogues* Virgil sets out a program for a higher form of poetry.

The word *crescit* at *Silvae* 3.1.38 also sets before our eyes the transformation that is under way: while suggesting poetic elevation, it recalls an image from an aetiological passage of Propertius, the 'golden temples' that 'have grown up for gods of clay' in elegy 4.1 (Prop. 4.1.5 *fictilibus crevere deis haec aurea templa*). A centuries-old process is thus retraced at speed and reenacted in the 'present progressive'—the Augustan discourse on 'clay gods', which since the late Republican age had been exploited for the moralistic criticism of luxury and which had been developed in aetiological poetry, can be glimpsed in the background of this private aetiology in praise of a Flavian patron.[33]

Another effect is similarly remarkable. The invitation to Hercules, marked by the present continuous verbs *texitur* and *crescit*, can almost be considered an ekphrastic reformulation of a characteristic trope of *theoxenia* scenes, namely, the preparation of the bed that will welcome the guest.[34] The *pulvinar* and *torus* of vv. 37–38, set up for the ceremony of the *lectisternium*, are the sacred equivalents of the table apparatus; and the precious materials, embroidered purple and carved ivory, represent a luxurious version of the modest bed and cushion that connote humble hospitality in the Callimachean literary tradition—a tradition that serves as an important model for this poem. It is enough to recall the willow bed, covered with a mattress of soft grass, on which Philemon and Baucis spread a blanket that they brought out only on holidays; this blanket, too, was old and miserable, but even so the gods lay down on it (Ov. *Met.* 8.655a–660 *in medio torus est de mollibus ulvis* / 656a *impositus lecto sponda pedibusque salignis; / vestibus hunc velant quas non nisi tempore festo / sternere consuerant, sed et haec vilisque vetusque / vestis erat, lecto non indignanda saligno. / accubuere dei*, 'They place a mattress of soft river-sedge / upon a couch (its

33 See Pittà (2015) on Varr. *de vita p.R.* fr. 6 (= 15 R.; 295 Salvadore). On the Roman debate about private and public luxury between the late Republic and early Empire, cf. La Penna (1989), Romano (1994).

34 On the literary tradition of *theoxenia* see Hollis (2009²) 341–354.

frame and feet were willow) / and spread it on their drapes, only brought out / on holy days, yet old and cheap they were, / fit for a willow couch. The Gods reclined'; cf. also 639–640 *membra senex posito iussit relevare sedili, / quo superiniecit textum rude sedula Baucis*, 'the old man placed a bench / and bade them sit and rest their weary limbs, / and Baucis spread on it a simple rug / in busy haste').[35] With this we can also compare the bed that, in *Aeneid* 8, had welcomed Hercules, and on which Evander places Aeneas, 'lying on a mattress of leaves' (*A.* 8.366–368 *dixit, et angusti subter fastigia tecti / ingentem Aenean duxit stratisque locavit / effultum foliis et pelle Libystidis ursae*, 'This said, he ushered Aeneas, a man of considerable stature, under the roof of his far from august house, and laid him a blanket bolstered with mattressing leaves and the hide of a Libyan sow-bear').

In *Silvae* 3.1 the hospitality motif undergoes multiple developments. Hercules is awaited as a guest in the new temple, 'an abode most worthy of celestial guests'—*hospitibus superis* (v. 33), which recalls *dis hospitibus* in the narrative of Philemon and Baucis (*Met.* 8.685).[36] The *aition* of the temple is a picnic by the sea, which by chance was relocated to the old temple during a sudden storm; thereupon 'great Alcides' (*magnum Alciden*, v. 83) stood cramped in that *tenuis casa* which, 'tiny' (*parva*) as it was, 'closed in on' him (*premebat*)—unlike the 'palace' of the 'poor Evander', the *angustum tectum* which, in *Aeneid* 8, hosts the 'imposing Aeneas' (*ingentem Aenean*, *A.* 8.367; cf. 8.123, 178, 364 *hospes*) after having 'received' and 'contained' (*cepit*) 'victorious Alcides' (*A.* 8.362–363 *'haec' inquit 'limina victor / Alcides subiit, haec illum regia cepit'*, 'This is the threshold victorious Hercules crossed, and this palace was ample enough to contain him'). Moreover, Hercules himself asks Pollius for a worthy venue where he can let his sister Minerva visit as a 'guest' (*hospita*, v. 109), together with Jupiter and the other gods—and, once he has become 'rich' (*dives*, v. 136), he makes good on his promise and 'invites' the goddess to a temple that is at last 'worthy'.

The invitation of the god is formulated by Statius in programmatic terms, with a series of antitheses opposing the evil places and people associated with Hercules' labors to the place and person that are now ready to welcome him:

> huc ades et genium templis nascentibus infer.
> non te Lerna nocens nec pauperis arva Molorchi
> nec formidatus Nemees ager antraque poscunt

35 Translations of the *Metamorphoses* are by Melville (1986). On Ovid's allusion to the Roman rite of *lectisternium* in this passage, see Leigh (2002).

36 Cf. Newlands (2013b) 241.

> Thracia nec Pharii polluta altaria regis,
> sed felix simplexque domus fraudumque malarum
> inscia et hospitibus superis dignissima sedes
>
> Stat. *Silv*. 3.1.28–33

> come hither and bring your guardian spirit to your nascent shrine. Guilty Lerna is not inviting you, nor the acres of pauper Molorchus, nor the feared field of Nemea, nor Thracian caverns, nor the polluted altar of the Pharian king, but a happy, innocent house, ignorant of wicked guile, an abode most worthy of celestial guests.

The negative coordinating conjunctions (*non … nec … nec … nec*) reject a series of undesirable traits associated with the Lernaean hydra, the Nemean lion, Diomedes, and Busirides, and expressed here by a variety of adjectives and participles: *nocens*, *formidatus*, *Thracia* (as a synonym for 'ferocious'), *polluta*.

But there is an intruder in this series. Statius has put it in evidence and does not want it to escape us: *nec pauperis arva Molorchi* (v. 29). On the one hand, this item is superfluous, since the Nemean enterprise is recalled immediately afterwards (v. 30); but it is also essential, since the point is precisely this: not only is Pollius' hospitality innocuous, in contrast with the threats represented by the hydra and Hercules' other labors; it is also magnificent, in contrast with the poverty of Molorchus. This is because poverty, in the *Silvae*, is no longer a virtue: rather, it has become an undesirable quality.[37]

The reference to Molorchus also constitutes a literary program. While composing aetiological poetry, Statius outlines the aetiology of his own poetry, from the remote paradigm of Callimachus to Augustan models: in particular, he recalls the opening of *Aitia* 3, with the myth of Hercules as a guest of Molorchus inserted into the *Victoria Berenices* as the *aition* of the Nemean games; and, together with it, the proem to *Georgics* 3, which had likewise cited 'Molorchus' grove' in a programmatic context (Verg. *G*. 3.19–20 *cuncta mihi Alpheum linquens lucosque Molorchi / cursibus et crudo decernet Graecia caestu*, 'For me all Greece will leave Alpheus and the groves of Molorchus, to compete in the foot

37 See Newlands (2013b) 251 ('from virtuous poverty to virtuous luxury'); 252 ('poverty is something shameful, not a moral virtue'); 255 ('a shift in values whereby wealth, not poverty, enables virtue'); for the legitimation of wealth and luxury in the *Silvae*, see also Newlands (2002) 124–138, Rosati (2006). For the ideal of hospitality without poverty, cf. the praise of Iulius Martialis at Mart. 4.64.29–30 *credas Alcinoi pios Penates / aut, facti modo divitis, Molorchi*, 'you would think it the hospitable household of Alcinous, or of Molorchus, newly become rich'.

race and with the brutal boxing glove' [trans. Fairclough (1999)]: an image of the appropriation and renewal of a literary tradition). These are two texts linked by a self-conscious gesture of poetic succession, two archetypes of encomiastic poetry, one in a dynastic, the other in an imperial context. At the beginning of the third book of the *Georgics*, Virgil evokes Callimachus in order to surpass him on the very basis of Callimachean principles, and to attempt a new path (*temptanda via est*, 'I must essay a path', Verg. *G*. 3.8). As he opens the third book of the *Silvae*, Statius likewise distances himself from Callimachus while at the same time strongly evoking the Callimachean paradigm—Carole Newlands wrote an important study on this nearly thirty years ago.[38]

But there is another Virgilian text, closely modeled on Callimachus, that Statius also adopts as a model in *Silvae* 3.1. The theme of humble hospitality, which was at the center of the Callimachean *aition*, is reworked by Virgil in the aetiological context of *Aeneid* 8: the story of Hercules, Aeneas, and Evander on the primitive Palatine is, in its ethical and aesthetic dimensions, a revision of the story of Hercules and Molorchus. I have dealt with this topic elsewhere,[39] and shall merely summarize my conclusions here. Perhaps because the presence of Hercules, the 'guest' of Evander shortly before Aeneas' arrival, is evoked in the past tense in Virgil's narrative, the role of the god as a paradigm has gone relatively unnoticed.[40] The eighth book of the *Aeneid* is often mentioned for its exaltation of poverty, in contrast to the modernizing ethos of the *Silvae*. However, something of Statius' humor, and his allusive engagement with the *Aeneid*, is lost if we fail to take a holistic view of the Virgilian model from the perspective of *Silvae* 3.1. The essential point here is the *imitatio Herculis* that Evander proposes to Aeneas, and that Hercules himself proposes to Pollius Felix—this time, however, in the opposite direction.

In the *Aeneid*, Evander takes Aeneas to his home, recalls the modest hospitality offered to Hercules, and invites the hero likewise to make himself '**worthy** of god' by '**daring** to despise **wealth**' and 'regarding poverty without hostility': Verg. *A*. 8.364–365 ***aude**, hospes, contemnere **opes** et te quoque **dignum** / finge deo rebusque veni non asper egenis* ('Have the courage, my guest, to scorn riches; make yourself, too, worthy of deity, and come not disdainful of our poverty').

38 Newlands (1991).

39 Bessone (2019) 145–148, § *From Evander's royal palace to Pollius' villa: Hercules guest, from poor to rich* (*Silv. 3.1*).

40 Even by Leite (2012) 29–44, who nevertheless cites Evander's speech at *A*. 8.99–101 in her discussion of the 'dignity of poverty', which is celebrated by the Hellenistic poets and by Virgil, but from which Statius distances himself (p. 39 n. 26). Laguna (1992) registers the correspondences between the hymns and aretalogies of the god in Virgil and Statius, and considers other details as well.

The exhortation—*aude*—which sounds almost as though it is addressed by the author to the reader,[41] encapsulates a foundational value of Augustan ideology, the exaltation of the humble origins from which Rome's power has grown; at the same time, this value exists in tension with Virgil's praise of Augustan Rome, especially at the beginning of the book and in the 'archaeological walk'.[42]

In *Silvae* 3.1, by contrast, Hercules himself, somewhat ashamed of his unworthy dwelling within a luxury villa (not so much on his own account, but what will Juno think?), invites Pollius (the Epicurean of *Silvae* 2.2) to give him a '**worthy**' seat, that is, one commensurate with the magnificence of Pollius' many endeavors, both public and private (106 *da templum* ***dignasque*** *tuis conatibus aras*, 'Give me a temple and an altar worthy of your endeavors'; cf. 33 *dignissima*; 138 *dignis invitat Pallada templis*, 'he invites Pallas to a worthy temple');[43] he then urges Pollius to '**dare**' the heroic labor of the building (*Silv*. 3.1.114 *incipe et Herculeis fidens hortatibus* ***aude***, 'Begin; trust Hercules' urging and dare'); and finally praises him for 'imitating' his *labores* by means of his ethical and material resources, *animis* ***opibusque*** ('your spirit and your **wealth**').

Three key terms—*audere, dignus*, and *opes*—signify three crucial concepts whose valence changes between the *Aeneid* and the *Silvae*. The exhortation used by Hercules, *aude*, is the same one employed by Evander: but while the form of the imperative is identical, its signification is reversed: here Hercules rejects his role in the *Aeneid* as a Stoic model for imperial ideology. The smiling god of the *Silvae* corrects the epic Virgil and updates him to meet the requirements of a new literary world, the Flavian world of private encomium. In this, Statius is simply using Virgil to comment on Virgil,[44] exposing the tensions inherent in the *Aeneid* and in Augustan ideology itself: Evander's poverty clashes with the splendor of Augustus' Rome, which the epic narrator himself offers up for the admiration of his contemporaries.

At one point, however, Statius' Hercules resembles that of Virgil. This is when the god, while exhorting Pollius to build the new temple, nevertheless concedes that he 'cheerfully' enters the old inadequate dwelling—the sole trace of a Pollius *pauper et indigus*:

41 Gransden (1976) 132.

42 *A*. 8.98–100 and 347–348, quoted above. On Virgil's elaboration of Callimachus see O'Rourke (2017) and de Jonge (2018); on Statius' reworking of Virgil and his Callimachean models in the *Thebaid*, see Bessone (2011) 156–163.

43 Cf. Newlands (2013b) 251 (''Worthiness' has changed its semantic value').

44 On poetry as commentary see note 17.

> vix opera enumerem: mihi pauper et indigus uni
> Pollius? et tales **hilaris** tamen intro penates
> et litus quod pandis amo
>
> *Silv*. 3.1. 102–104

> Is Pollius a needy pauper just for me? Even such a home I enter cheerfully and love the shore you open up.

Hercules seems momentarily to obey the precept that the *pauper Evandrus* had modeled precisely on his example, *rebusque veni **non asper** egenis* (*A*. 8.368). But that is just a moment. Immediately afterwards, in a worldly tone, the god returns to the thought of Juno who, from her temple close by, is laughing at him (104–105 *sed proxima sedem / despicit et tacite ridet mea limina Iuno*, 'But Juno nearby looks down on me and silently laughs at my threshold'). The magnificence, public and private, of Flavian Campania leaves no room for a traditionalist nostalgia for the past.[45]

Rather than Virgil's Hercules, Statius' god more closely resembles the Janus of Ovid's *Fasti*, the two-faced deity who says he approves of ancient times, and temples, but admits that he delights rather in his own era, and in temples of gold; because *maiestas*—understood as luxury—is 'fitting for a god':

> nos quoque templa iuvant, quamvis antiqua probemus,
> aurea: maiestas convenit ipsa deo.
> laudamus veteres, sed nostris utimur annis:
> mos tamen est aeque dignus uterque coli
>
> Ov. *Fast*. 1.223–226

> We too delight in golden temples, even though we approve of the old ones; grandeur itself is fitting for a god. We praise past years but enjoy our own—and yet each custom is equally worth keeping.
>
> Trans. Wiseman (2011)

Convenit: this is the same concept of τὸ πρέπον ('the appropriate') that is expressed by the word *dignus* in Statius' text, but which here signals a rupture with Virgil; in the *Silvae* there is no longer any question of accepting poverty as a way of making oneself 'worthy of a god' (a formula Seneca liked to cite);[46]

45 Cf. Newlands (2013b) 253 ('Statius' poem suggests the distance of his Flavian age from Augustan values by removing nostalgia for 'the good old days').

46 Cf. Bessone (2018b).

rather, it is the sumptuous venue that is 'most worthy of celestial guests' (thus, in Ov. *Ars* 3.117–118, the Augustan *Curia* is at last *dignissima*, 'most worthy of so august a gathering', trans. Mozley [1979]); splendid altars that are 'worthy' of Pollius' magnificence; and, finally, a luxurious temple that is at last 'worthy' of a visit by Pallas.

Educated in the Ovidian ideology of *cultus*, Statius comes down resolutely in favor of modern times, just like his Hercules: a god who knows, indeed, how to adapt to modest hospitality, and who can enter a humble abode smiling and well-disposed, but who, rather than being 'poor' (*pauper*) and inhabiting an empty beach and a sailor's shelter (*nec litora* ***pauper*** */ nuda tenes tectumque vagis habitabile nautis*, *Silv*. 3.1.3–4), prefers to be 'rich' (*dives*) and to 'look down from his great tower upon the waves':

> et ingenti **dives** Tirynthius arce
> despectat fluctus.
> *Silv*. 3.1.136–137

It is precisely this image that serves as a bold emblem of the message of *Silvae* 3.1: looking down on the waves here is not the Lucretian sage, nor his 'worldly' incarnation, the Epicurean Pollius of *Silvae* 2.2, but a god who has become rich. The 'high citadel of the mind' from which, in 2.2, the wise patron looks down with superior contempt on human folly—

> celsa tu mentis ab arce
> despicis errantes humanaque gaudia rides
> *Silv*. 2.2.131–132[47]

> you from your mind's high citadel look down upon our wanderings and laugh at human joys

has become the 'imposing citadel' of a 'wealthy' deity, with a panoramic view of the sea; from here Hercules 'challenges' his neighbor Juno and 'invites Pallas to a worthy temple' (vv. 137–138). The light tone and playful atmosphere of these details mitigates our embarrassment at finding that the encomium of Pollius' Epicurean wisdom has been transformed into an encomium of the worldly 'wealth' of a god.

47 Cf. Lucr. 2.7–10.

Luxury and religion: *Silvae* 3.1 poses a double challenge for the rhetoric of Statius, who in *Silvae* 2.2 had already been engaged in reconciling wealth with the Epicureanism of his patron. Here, Pollius is praised not only for his luxury, but also for his *pietas* (v. 12). Like luxury, however, religion also appears here as a principle of civilization. Hercules' final encomium to Pollius theorizes this, tracing a history of human progress in miniature: 3.1.166–170 *macte animis opibusque meos imitate labores, / qui rigidas rupes infecundaeque pudenda / naturae deserta domas et vertis in usum / lustra habitata feris* ***foedeque latentia profers / numina!*** The transfer of Hercules from a hut to a temple is presented here as a praiseworthy revelation of divinity, on par with the domestication of wild nature—a fundamental stage of human development. It is a vision of civilization and progress with which Lucretius would not agree, but for which, instead of the *De rerum natura*, Statius could cite, if necessary, Philodemus' *De pietate*—the same Philodemus who, as has been observed, furnishes in his *Oeconomicus* a model of Epicureanism more suited to Roman society and to the wealthy villa owners whom Statius addresses.[48]

Perhaps, however, the private aetiology of *Silvae* 3.1 once again seeks its models in the poetry of the Augustan age. In the eighth book of the *Aeneid*, the primeval Capitoline Hill is inhabited by a mysterious divine presence hidden between the rocks and the forest, a *religio dira* that terrifies the peasants:[49]

> iam tum religio pavidos terrebat agrestis
> dira loci, iam tum silvam saxumque tremebant.
> 'hoc nemus, hunc' inquit 'frondoso vertice collem
> (quis deus incertum est) habitat deus: Arcades ipsum
> credunt se vidisse Iovem, cum saepe nigrantem
> aegida concuteret dextra nimbosque cieret'
>
> Verg. *A.* 8.349–354

Even then, grim awe of the place terrified superstitious peasants. When no more than boulders and woods, it could strike them with terror. 'This

48 See Newlands (2002) 137–138, Asmis (2004), and, for Philodemus' view on the gods, Obbink (2002).

49 See Hardie (1986) 217–218 and n. 155. On vv. 347–354 see also Fratantuono and Smith (2018), who discuss the passage's Lucretian models and its elaboration by Seneca in *Ep.* 41.2–3 (cf. Davies (2010) ad loc.), with further bibliography. On Tacitus' reception of this passage in *Hist.* 1.40.2, see Joseph (2012) 93–95. For the Capitoline Hill as a sacred place since the earliest times, see Moralee (2018) 5–9; and on the poetic motif of the 'numinous grove', McKeown and Littlewood (forthcoming) on Ov. *Am.* 3.1.1–2.

> grove,' he said, this hill with the leaf-covered summit, is some god's dwelling, though *which* god we don't know. Arcadians believe they have sighted Jupiter up there in person and shaking his aegis, which often darkens the sky, in his hand, as he rouses the storm clouds to action.

The still unknown god that Evander speaks of is the Capitoline Jupiter, whose seat Augustus will finally transform into a golden temple. By transforming the 'hut' in Pollius Felix' villa into a 'temple', Statius has recreated for his patron the Augustan myth of Rome's metamorphosis, from brambles to golden shrines.

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CHAPTER 9

Untying the Commentator's Knot: Bonds and *Lacunae* in *Silvae* 4.4 and Propertius 2.1

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For editors and commentators, to study, on the one hand, parallels between texts and, on the other, the complex chain of reading and rewriting is a regular and fundamental practice. This traditional method of approach is all the more important when the text suffers from poor transmission, as is the case with Statius' *Silvae*. As is explained elsewhere in this volume, the whole textual tradition of that work rests on a single manuscript (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Ms. 3678).[1] Therefore, examining echoes of Statius' occasional poems and identifying compositions that have influenced the poet prove to be particularly valuable in establishing and clarifying the text.

My aim in this chapter is to illustrate that premise by showing that there is still space for improving upon Statius' text while simultaneously elucidating the poet's referents. I will argue that Propertius 2.1 and *Silvae* 4.4, which are linked by Statius' interaction with Augustan elegy, are capable of shedding light on one another, thus enhancing our limited reading and understanding of poorly transmitted parts of both poems.

Silvae 4.4 is a letter addressed to Marcellus, the dedicatee of the fourth book of the collection. Using a personified *epistula* as messenger, Statius urges his patron to benefit from summer rest (12–45), while he pictures himself at Naples, next to Virgil's tomb (51–55),[2] singing to Marcellus, whose physical and intellectual excellence, as well as ancestral virtue, predict a brilliant future in Rome under Domitian (56–77). Finally, the poet updates Marcellus on the course of his poetic career, asking his advice on whether to embrace the enterprise of composing an imperial epic, now that the *Thebaid* is finished (87–105).[3]

1 In this volume, the rediscovery of the *Silvae* and its sole manuscript are addressed in the introduction (pp. 2–3) and in the chapters by Abbamonte (pp. 25–27) and Roman (pp. 49–50). Priscian quotes one verse from the *Silvae* (13, p. 10, l. 23).

2 In this volume, see Newlands (pp. 175–176) on these verses and Roman (pp. 80–81) on Poliziano's interpretation of them.

3 On *Silvae* 4.4 see Coleman (1988) 135–157; see also Vollmer (1898) 460–467, Hardie (1983) 164–171, Lockwood (1995) 107–111, Liddell (2003) 129–136, Rühl (2006) 230–238, Newlands (2010) 111–116, McCarter (2012) 465–478.

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The poem is remarkably complex, due in great part to rich, meaningful allusions to Horace and Virgil.[4] I would like to add Propertius 2.1, an elegy to Maecenas, to its intricate background (which already includes the other composition addressed by Propertius to his patron) by suggesting that it provides Statius with the appropriate language and metaphors for approaching a cultivated patron—perhaps with an interest in philology—who is close to the *princeps*; thus this elegy furnishes a precedent for how to address the issue of writing an imperial epic. More importantly, the acknowledgement of Statius' indebtedness to Propertius 2.1 in the brief catalogue of eternal friends that illustrates his relationship with Marcellus at *Silvae* 4.4.100–105 offers new ground for discussing textual issues posed by both poems.

1 Maecenas and Marcellus: *secundae curae*

At the end of *Silvae* 4.4, Statius addresses the issue of the kind of epic he is going to write. Directed by an un-Callimachean Apollo to the possibility of writing *arma maiora ducis* (95–96), the poet is torn between *impetus* and *timor* (96–97) and is left with doubts about his aptitude for the task. Statius keeps within the scope of mythological epic in passing from Thebes to Troy. This leads to his asking Marcellus' opinion about the path to take, before concluding his farewell with the expression of deep friendship for his patron:

> nunc vacuos crinis alio subit infula nexu:
> Troia quidem magnusque mihi temptatur Achilles
> sed vocat arcitenens alio pater armaque monstrat
> Ausonii maiora ducis. trahit impetus illo
> iam pridem retrahitque timor. stabuntne sub illa
> mole **umeri** an magno vincetur pondere cervix?
> Dic, Marcelle, feram? fluctus an sueta minores
> nosse ratis nondum Ioniis credenda periclis?
> Iamque vale et penitus voti tibi vatis amorem
> corde exire veta. nec enim
> * * * * *
> Tirynthius almae
> pectus amicitiae, cedet tibi gloria fidi

4 See Hardie (1983) 164–171, Coleman (1988), 137–138, McCarter (2012) 468–470 on Horace's *Epistles*, Coleman (1988) 153 and Liddell (2003) on the *Georgics*, Lockwood (1995) 108 on Ovid.

> Theseos et lacerum qui circa moenia Troiae
> Priamiden caeso solatia traxit amico.
>
> *Silv*. 4.4.93–105 COLEMAN

> Now a head-dress with a different knot covers my bare hair: it is Troy and heroic Achilles whom I am undertaking, but the archer god summons me elsewhere and brings before me the still greater campaigns of our Ausonian lord. For a long time now my inclination has dragged me in that direction and fear has dragged me away again. Will my shoulders sustain that burden or will my neck be crushed under the enormous weight? Tell me, Marcellus, shall I bear it? Or should my craft, accustomed to lesser waves, not yet be entrusted to the dangers of the Ionian sea? Now farewell and don't let affection for a poet who is deeply attached to you disappear from your heart. For … Hercules … not … a heart of life-giving friendship. The fame of faithful Theseus will be eclipsed by you, as will the hero who dragged Priam's mutilated offspring round the walls of Troy as reparation for his slaughtered friend.
>
> trans. COLEMAN [1988]

The end of *Silvae* 4.4 lays emphasis on the friendship that brings together poet and patron by affirming that Marcellus will surpass two proverbial examples of loyalty (*cedet tibi*, 103): Theseus and Pirithous, Achilles and Patroclus. Coleman notes that the verses are 'generally reminiscent' of Horace's *Ode* 4.7, particularly the expression *neque enim* and the reference to the pair 'Theseus/Pirithous' in a brief catalogue of eternal friendships.[5] I propose that Statius was influenced by a strikingly relevant passage of Propertius 2.1. After insisting that his beloved is his only subject-matter (1–16), Propertius lists the themes that he would never sing of, even if he possessed the required talent to compose epic poetry (17–24), before announcing what he would celebrate: first Caesar, then Maecenas. The latter is inseparable both from Caesar and his glorious deeds (25–34) and from Propertius' poetry:[6]

5 Coleman (1988) 157. Hor. *Carm*. 4.7.25–28 *infernis* ***neque enim*** *tenebris Diana pudicum / liberat Hippolytum, /nec Lethaea valet* ***Theseus*** *abrumpere caro / vincula* ***Perithoo***, 'Diana does not rescue her chaste Hippolytus / from the darkness beneath the earth, / nor does Theseus have the strength to break the Lethean chains / that bind his dear Pirithous', trans. West (1997).

6 Fedeli (2005) 39 lists the most relevant bibliography. For bibliography on Propertius' relationship with Maecenas, see Cristofoli (2014) 181–220.

te mea Musa illis semper contexeret armis,
et sumpta et posita pace fidele caput:
Theseus infernis, superis testatur Achilles,
hic Ixioniden, ille Menoetiaden.
Prop. 2.1.35–38 Fedeli

35 contexerit N A F Δ: contexuit ς: connexerit *Itali*; sed cf. ThLL IV 693,18 sqq. **37–38** *del. Fontein, quem nonnulli uiri docti secuti sunt: ante 3,9,33 sq. transt. Postgate: 3,9,33 sq. post. u.* 38 *transt. Housman: lacunam ante u.* 37 *statuit Jacob, ante u.* 39 *recte statuit Vulpius; elogium enim indissolubilis inter Augustum et Maecenatem amicitiae nimis breue et ex abrupto intermissum mihi uidetur; cf. etiam B.-B. 190: ordinem traditum def. Jones CIR 75 (1961) 198* **37** inferius A (*corr.* A^2) F

… my Muse would always be weaving you into these exploits, you the soul of loyalty in commending as in rejecting peace. Theseus to the shades below, Achilles to the gods above proclaims a comrade's love, the one of Ixion's, the other of Menoetius' son.
trans. GOOLD [1990]

The verses of Propertius and Statius display precisely the same examples of loyalty in friendship and in the same order. Propertius refers to Theseus' and Achilles' dear friends by means of patronymics, *Ixioniden* and *Menoetiaden* (2.1.38): Pirithous was the son of Ixion, the king of the Lapiths, and Patroclus' father was Menoetius, one of the Argonauts. Statius employs a patronymic as well, when alluding to Hector, *lacerum … Priamiden* (4.4.104–105), the son of Priam, the celebrated king of Troy. *Theseus*, with Greek inflection in Statius, occurs at the beginning of the verse in Propertius and Statius (Prop. 2.1.37, Stat. *Silv*. 4.4.104); one also may identify some similarity of thought between *almae pectus amicitiae* (*Silv*. 4.4.102–103) and *fidele caput* (Prop. 2.1.36).[7] Independently of the many questions raised by Propertius' verses (see below), scholars who accept the couplet in this position generally agree that the examples of Theseus and Achilles, following the case of Augustus and Maecenas, support the depiction of the friends as inseparable and eternal. Yet another pair of friends is at stake, Maecenas and Propertius, as the juxtaposition of *te* and *mea*

7 Vollmer (1898) 467 calls attention to the similarity of verse 105 with Propertius 2.8.38 (*fortem illum Haemoniis Hectora traxit equis*, 'he dragged the valiant Hector behind his Thessalina horses', trans. Goold [1990]) and to the comparison of *almae pectus amicitiae* (*Silv*. 4.4.102–103) with *fidele caput* (Prop. 2.1.36).

musa (35) at the beginning of the couplet makes clear. Statius develops this idea in his focus upon the relationship between poet and patron. If Maecenas would always be the subject of Propertius' poetry, Marcellus should be part of Statius' heart forever (101–102). Propertius illustrates the idea of inseparability of poet and patron by resorting to myths that could provide material for the type of epic he will not compose;[8] on the contrary, Statius literally concludes his poem by singing the end of Achilles' saga in Troy (already adumbrated),[9] as if the poet were already writing his next epic or answering the question he had just posed to Marcellus.

The hypothesis of a reminiscence of Propertius 2.1 in *Silvae* 4.4 is strengthened by further relevant features of the context in which it occurs; Propertius 2.1 might have attracted Statius for specific reasons beside the encoding of the *recusatio*. Statius' interest could lie in the fact that it is the first instance of Maecenas being explicitly addressed as a 'second' or a 'subordinate' figure next to Augustus: *bellaque resque tui memorarem Caesaris, et tu / Caesare sub magno* ***cura secunda*** *fores*, 25–26 ('I should tell of your Caesar's wars and policies, and after mighty Caesar you would be my second theme', trans. Goold [1990]).[10] This is most adequate for the delicate circumstances of *Silvae* 4.4. The letter to Marcellus occupies the fourth place in the book after a sequence of three poems devoted to *laudes* of Domitian.[11] The poet thus faces the challenge of reconciling Domitian's presence in *Silvae* 4 with the book's dedication to another patron. Statius may be seen to perform this task from the very beginning of the book in the opening and at the end of the prefatory epistle:

> Inveni librum, Marcelle carissime, quem pietati tuae dedicarem …
> … hunc tamen librum tu, Marcelle, defendes, si uidetur, hactenus; sin minus, reprehendemur. vale.
>
> *Silv*. 4 *praef*. 1, 32–35 COLEMAN

> I have contrived a book, my dearest Marcellus, that I could dedicate to your caring affection. […] In spite of everything you, Marcellus, will defend this book, if you see fit, up to this point; if not, we shall stand rebuked. Farewell.
>
> trans. COLEMAN [1988]

8 Williams (1980) 169.

9 *Silv*. 4.4.35–36 *talis cantata Briseide venit Achilles / acrior et positis erupit in Hectora plectris*, 'Just so, when he had sung about Briseis, Achilles came forth more fiercely' (trans. Coleman [1988]).

10 See Citroni (2018) 84–85.

11 In agreement with the principle acknowledged by Statius: *a Ioue principium* (*Silv*. 1 *praef*.).

It is tempting to find a hint at a relationship of loyalty between Marcellus and Domitian (a fundamental point after Saturninus' conspiracy) in the eulogy of the patron's *pietas* towards the emperor. However, this is probably not at issue in the trope *pietati tuae*.[12] White goes so far as to state that Marcellus will defend *this* book in particular because Domitian is an important part of it.[13] It follows that, for a man whose loyalty to Domitian is stressed, it would surely be an honour—not at all an embarrassment—to be the dedicatee of a book that includes encomiastic poems to the Emperor, in addition to being 'second' to him.

Another important aspect of Statius' conscientious negotiation between Domitian and Marcellus in *Silvae* 4 is the careful articulation of the book, which is achieved by the combination of several motifs: the sending of the letter, which frames the second section of book 4 with *Silvae* 4.4 and 4.9 (Statius' epistle to Marcellus running through the previously extolled *Via Domitiana*,[14] and the rebuke to Plotius Gryphus); the new road, which facilitates the thematic turn from public to private,[15] that is, from Domitian at *Silvae* 4.1–4.3 to Statius' other patrons at *Silvae* 4.4–4.9; and the use of hendecasyllables in *Silvae* 4.3 and 4.9, which performs in both poems a closural function by finishing the two sections.[16] These motifs aid in creating the sense that the poems devoted to Statius' non-imperial patrons form a 'second booklet' by forging an adequate context for Marcellus' composition to appear as a preface, as suits the poem addressed to the dedicatee of a book. Lastly, the very motifs, echoes and language that structure and enrich *Silvae* 4.4 seem to have been carefully chosen in order to turn Marcellus' poem into a new preface by endowing book 4 with a second beginning: the considerations about Statius' 'career' as poet, the gesture of turning to the patron for advice on the path to pursue,[17]

12 Coleman (2012) 195 argues that the expression *pietati tuae* is an example of 'the use of the polite third person by substituting abstract qualities associated with the Great Man who is being addressed (the 'Your Majesty' formula)'; see also Coleman (1988) 55. White (1973) 279 with n. 3 thinks otherwise.

13 See White (1973) 279: 'The word *hunc*, by its position at the head of the sentence, and by its disjunction from its noun, is made to carry the strongest possible emphasis. It means "this book in contrast to my others", and Statius is thinking again of the fact that so much of Book 4 is devoted to the emperor'.

14 Newmyer (1979) 128.

15 McCarter (2012) 453, 466.

16 Van Dam (1984) 453 notes the clausural function of the metre in *Silv*. 4.3. For the complex significance of the hendecasyllable in the *Silvae*, see Morgan (2010) 52–76, 106–113. Newmyer (1979) 122–123 and Bright (1980) 66–70 discuss structural aspects of book 4.

17 Poems exhibiting these features become a common channel for flattering a patron of literature. An epistle, a *libellus*, or even a metre are personified and apostrophized, receiving

and the affirmation of Statius' role as poet and his place within the Roman poetic tradition (*Silv*. 4.4.46–55, 78–105). To these aspects I add the echoes of Propertius' poems to Maecenas, particularly the reminiscence of the prefatory elegy 2.1, which lend themselves to Statius' strategy for complimenting Marcellus.

The very profile of Marcellus is also comparable, in many respects, with that of Maecenas. Marcellus, *consul suffectus* in 105 and, as mentioned above, probably *curator Viae Latinae* (*Silv*. 4.4.59–60),[18] was not a poet; nor does the evidence point to the support of a literary circle, but we have reasons to believe that Marcellus was at least an enthusiast for literature. He is the dedicatee of Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria*, and he might be the Marcellus to whom Probus addressed a letter on the accentuation of Punic names (Gel. 4.7), an interest that might have been stimulated by Statius' friend Septimius Severus, who was partly of Punic ancestry.[19] What is more, Statius' canvassing of his patron on the writing of an 'imperial' epic may be more than the recreation of a traditional motif. The poet may be hinting at an actual close relationship between his patron and the emperor. As Coleman puts it, 'he may be genuinely seeking the advice of Marcellus as a person who could sound out the emperor's reactions to such an undertaking'.[20] Elegy 2.1 offered grounds on which to sustain a compliment for both poet and addressee in equating Statius with Propertius and Marcellus with Maecenas: Marcellus' (supposed) intellectual pedigree; his interest in literature, be it genuine or amplified in order to flatter him and gain his attention; and his devotion to the emperor.

Furthermore, this reminiscence of Propertius' poem to Maecenas in the final verses of *Silvae* 4.4 is not isolated. The imagery of Statius' *recusatio* at verses 97–100—that is, the metaphors of navigation and of the bearing of a burden that precede the verses on friendship—has been recognized as echoing

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instructions regarding what way to follow and what to say to their addressees. These are men of culture who frequently dabble in poetry and are bestowed the honor of advising or deciding on the poets' works. They also act as defenders against criticism. On this tradition see Citroni (1986) and (1988), Coleman (1988) 60. In the *Silvae*, the role of 'literary adviser' belongs also to Pollius Felix, Septimius Severus, and Vibius Maximus (see, e.g., *Silv*. 3 *praef*., 4.5.25–28, 4.7.21–28). For discussion of Vitorius Marcellus' role in the preface of *Silvae* 4 see White (1973) 279, Coleman (1988) 62, Nauta (2002) 283–284.

18 On Vitorius Marcellus (*PIR*² VIII.2, 408 [§ 763], *RE Suppl*. ix.1744–1745 s.v. Vitorius 2 [Hanslik]) see White (1973) 279–282, Coleman (1988) 135–137, Nauta (2002) 213–216.

19 Coleman (1988) 135, Nauta (2002) 214. For a different interpretation see White (1973) 281 n. 13. The appeal of Marcellus to Statius and Quintilian might lie in his good connections by marriage with the Hosidii. He probably married the granddaughter of Hosidius Geta, to whom Claudius gave the *ornamenta triumphalia* for his distinction in Britannia in 43 CE.

20 Coleman (1988) 155.

poem 3.9,[21] the other elegy addressed to Maecenas. What is more, the echoes of Propertius' elegies for Maecenas coexist in *Silvae* 4.4 with traits that lend some elegiac colouring to the poem. Those traits are the motif of contrasting the profiles of poet and patron (which is structural in elegies 2.1 and 3.9) and the very features that differentiate them: Statius embodying the elegist's typical shunning of involvement in political and military affairs in favor of a life of negligent *otium*, poetry as solace (*Silv*. 4.4.49–50 *nos* ***otia*** *vitae* / ***sol-amur*** *cantu*, 'By singing I console myself for my life of inactivity', trans. Coleman [1988]), Marcellus as a *pulcher* object of song (*Silv*. 4.4.70–71 *propriis tu* ***pulcher*** *in armis* / *ipse canenda geres*, 'you, a fine figure in the armour which is your proper gear, perform deeds to be celebrated in song', trans. Coleman [1988]).

I hope to have made a strong point for the hypothesis that Statius echoed Propertius 2.1 at the end of *Silvae* 4.4, and that this happened in the context of Statius' playing with the elegist's approach to the motif of the *recusatio* in the context of addressing a patron. Statius recognized the potential for panegyric in equating the triads Augustus/Maecenas/Propertius and Domitian/Marcellus/Statius. In this regard, one more aspect should be clarified. As is well known, elegy 2.1 has aroused energetic debate about Propertius' relationship with Maecenas and Augustus, and the passage on their friendship in this poem is surely relevant. Some maintain that Propertius' *recusatio* has a political meaning, intimating that the elegist does not want to be the 'singer' of Augustus' Rome.[22] Nevertheless, although Statius' attitude towards Domitian's regime is likewise a hotly debated theme in Statian studies, I do not think that the echo of Proper-

21 Nauta (2006) 31–32 n. 30 indicates that the imagery of Statius goes back to Propertius' poem. Propertius 3.9 supports the rejection of epic in the poet's wish to emulate Maecenas' own humility and in his awareness of his scope as a poet (1–46); the poet admits that, if Maecenas would change his lifestyle (since his only wish is to follow him), he would sing of high themes, be they mythological wars or contemporary affairs (47–60). On this passage see Fedeli (1985) 306–308; see also Wimmel (1960) 250–252, Heyworth (2007) 317–318, Riesenweber (2007) 95, 227–230, 324–327, 332–333, and more generally Gold (1982) 103–117 and Syndikus (2010) 247–252. Statius inverts Propertius' order of thoughts: first he considers the weight of a specific kind of poetry (*Silv*. 4.4.97–99 ~ Prop. 3.9.5–6), then the need to sail waters suitable for his boat (*Silv*. 4.4.99–100 ~ Prop. 3.9.3–4). The metaphor of sailing is further developed in Prop. 3.9.30, 35–36. In the metaphor of bearing a yoke, Statius echoes both Horace and Propertius by developing the metaphor of Horace, *Ars Poetica* 38–40 through the imagery suggested by the elegist at 3.9.38–40. Marcellus is able to bear the weight of the *thorax* (*Silv*. 4.4.64–66), whereas Statius is not sure he would be able to bear the weight of an epic on Domitian's deeds (*Silv*. 4.4.97–99).

22 See, e.g., Sullivan (1976) 17, Stahl (1985) 139–171.

tius in *Silvae* 4.4 should carry with it the weight of a political affirmation. It does not seem possible to draw conclusions on that level from the proposed echo.

2 Herculean (and other) friendships: where do they belong?

Even if we cannot use the allusions to shed light on political concerns, they may still be able to aid in solving other problems. Statius' indebtedness to Propertius may suggest new ways for approaching two of many textual issues posed by the passages on friendship in elegy 2.1 and *Silvae* 4.4, which suffer from poor transmission based in both cases on one manuscript only. The proposed parallel may act as testimony in both directions; that is, Propertius' text might add to our knowledge of Statius', just as Statius' poem might reveal something about Propertius'.

1. The first issue that needs to be addressed in light of Statius' reading of Propertius is the need to alter the word preserved by **M** as *tirincius*, which is easily corrected to *Tirynthius*, one of the poetic epithets describing Hercules. The case for accepting *Tirynthius* as the correct reading follows.

> nunc vacuos crinis alio subit infula nexu:
> Troia quidem magnusque mihi temptatur Achilles
> sed vocat arcitenens alio pater armaque monstrat
> Ausonii maiora ducis. trahit impetus illo
> iam pridem retrahitque timor. stabuntne sub illa
> mole **umeri** an magno vincetur pondere cervix?
> Dic, Marcelle, feram? fluctus an sueta minores
> nosse ratis nondum Ioniis credenda periclis?
> Iamque vale et penitus voti tibi vatis amorem
> corde exire veta. nec enim
> * * * * *
> Tirynthius almae
> pectus amicitiae, cedet tibi gloria fidi
> Theseos et lacerum qui circa moenia Troiae
> Priamiden caeso solacia traxit amico.
>
> *Silv.* 4.4.93–105 COLEMAN

101 uoti *M*: noti *Itali* honorem *M*: amorem *Calderini* **102–103** *sine lacuna Gronovius Leo Baehrens Slater Saenger Vollmer Marastoni Frère—Izaac Traglia Sh. Bailey* **102** nec *M*: sed *Köstlin*: tibi *Markland:* nisi *Traglia* *lacuna Gevartius, lacuna post* enim *Coleman* tirincius *M*: te

mitius *Poliz.*: retinentius *Grotius*: te certius *Bentley*: seruantius *Saenger*: intemeratius *Unger*: spirantius *Koch*: tibi notius *Polster*: torrentius *Ellis*: tibi uinctius *Otto*: mihi (tibi?) iunctius *Baehrens* *lacuna post* Tirynthius *Leo Klotz Liberman* almae *M*: ad me *Gevartius* *lacuna post* almae *Markland* **103** pectus *M* (*cf. Catull. 77.5–6 Ellis, Manil. 2.582, Mart. 9.14.2*): foedus *Lockwood*: parcus *Slater* (*1906, 153*) *Sh. Bailey* *lacuna post* amicitiae *Lockwood Courtney* cedet *M*: cedit *Itali* (cf. *Silv*. 2.2.61 'cedat tibi gloria plectri', Auson. *ep*. 24.34 Green 'cedebat Pylades, Phrygii quoque gloria Nisi') [my *apparatus criticus*]

As summarized in the apparatus, the continuity between the final verses of *Silvae* 4.4, as well as almost every word of verses 101–103, has been questioned by many editors. First, the brief catalogue of mythical friendships appears to be incomplete. Furthermore, if we accept *nec enim* (v. 102), a *lacuna* has to be supposed or the sentence will state exactly the opposite of what Statius means: the poet appears to be saying that the glory of Theseus and the hero Achilles will be surpassed by Marcellus in regard to friendship; the opposite sentiment makes no sense at all in this context. Consequently, if one does not suppose a *lacuna*, *nec* must be corrected.[23] Another approach is that of Gronovius, Leo, Vollmer, Frère-Izaac, Marastoni, Traglia, and Shackleton Bailey. For these scholars, the text is complete as it stands. Vollmer explains the abruptness of the reference to Hercules as a sudden, intentional interruption of the poet's line of thought,[24] and Marastoni follows him. But this interpretation is rejected by recent editors, who assume that a portion of text is missing and that a *lacuna* starts somewhere in verse 102 (for the majority of editors, after *enim*).

Closely connected with the loss of text is the word *tirincius*. As the apparatus shows, there have been many attempts to correct this *locus*. Yet none of the emendations is particularly convincing. Moreover, the epithet *Tirynthius*, which is attested in Latin poetry from the *Aeneid* onwards, occurs several times in the Flavian epics;[25] its suppression, therefore, does not appear necessary.

23 Coleman (1988) 157.

24 Vollmer (1898) 467.

25 Some examples: Verg. *Aen*. 7.662, 8.228; Ov. *Ars* 1.187, 2.221, *Met*. 7.410, 9.66, 12.564, *Fast*. 1.547, 2.305, 2.349, 5.629; v. Fl. 1.253, 2.574, 3.133, 161, 485; Sil. 1.509, 2.475, 3.433, 3.496, 6.628, 7.592, 17.650; Stat. *Theb*. 5.380, 6.270, 6.489, 8.459, 501, 749, 9.427; *Ach*. 1.261; Mart. 7.15.3, 11.43.5. Hercules is called *Tirynthius* either because he was raised in Tiryns (Serv. *A*. 7.662) or because of his service to Eurystheus in that city. The epithet is rarely applied to the god (and never so in Homer, Hesiod, or Apollonius). The earliest instance of the epythet applied to Hercules is in the fragmentary play *Peirithous*. Before Statius, the epithet is particularly common in Ovid; after Statius it appears mostly in Valerius Flaccus and Silius Italicus.

In the context of proverbial friendships, Hercules is traditionally linked to Telamon, even in Statius, who mentions them together once in the *Silvae* and once in the *Thebaid*.[26] Coleman suggests that this duo is the first of three mythological examples, and that the reference to Telamon would appear in the lost text.[27] In view of the possibility that Statius has Propertius' passage in mind, I suggest that there were only two mythological examples, as in Propertius 2.1.37–38, and that the mention of *Tirynthius* was part of the example involving Theseus and Pirithous.[28] Hercules intervenes in the most famous episode of their saga as friends. After the failed attempt to kidnap Helen, the Lapith Pirithous tries to bring Persephone from Hades and make her his wife. Pirithous is accompanied by Theseus on this expedition, but the heroes are trapped in the underworld and Hercules tries to save them. According to the 'hypothesis' transmitted in the commentary of Ioannes Logothetes to Pseudo-Hermogenes, when Theseus understood (in the fragmentary play *Peirithous* attributed both to Euripides and to Critias) that Pirithous could not be saved by Hercules from Hades, he decided to stay there, out of friendship.[29] In Statius' poem, it would not be absurd that the first example mentioned three characters—Hercules, Theseus, and Pirithous—since there is indeed the mention of three in the second: Achilles, referred to by means of the periphrasis *lacerum qui circa moenia Troiae / Priamiden caeso solatia traxit amico* (104–105); Hector, the *lacerum … Priamiden*; and Patroclus, *caeso … amico*. Furthermore, there is no precedent for a catalogue of friends including Hercules and Telamon, Theseus and Pirithous, and Achilles and Patroclus, but there is mention of the two last examples in Lucian's dialogue on friendship: Toxaris says to Menippus that the

26 See A.R. 1.1290–1295, Theoc. 13.37–38, Ov. *Met*. 11.211–217; Apollod. 2.5.9; v. Fl. 2.383–384, 2.451–452, 3.637–645, 692–714, Stat. *Silv*. 5.2.50, Stat. *Theb*. 9.68. On the poetic tradition that brings together Hercules and Telamon in friendship see Zissos (2008) 243–244 (ad v. Fl. 1.353–355).

27 Coleman (1988) 157.

28 For Theseus and Pirithous see (passages stressing fidelity in friendship are quoted) Verg. *A*. 6.393; Hor. *Carm*. 4.7.27–28; Ov. *Ep*. 4.111–112, *Met*. 8.303, 12.227–229, *Tr*. 1.3.66 (*O mihi Thesea pectora iuncta fide!*, 'O hearts knit to me with Theseus' faith!', trans. Wheeler [1975]), 1.5.19, 1.9.31, 5.4.25, *Pont*. 2.3.43, 2.6.26 (*Non haec Aegidae Pirithouique fides*, 'not such was the loyalty of Aegeus' son and Pirithous', trans. Wheeler [1975]), *Pont*. 4.10.78 (*Inque fide Theseus quilibet esse potest*, 'in fidelity anybody can be a Theseus', trans. Wheeler [1975]), *Pont*. 3.2.33; Mart. 7.24.4, 10.11.1; Auson. *Epist*. 23.19; Sid. Apoll. *Epist*. 3.13.10, *Carm*. 5.289, 24.29. See Fedeli (2005) 72–75 (ad 2.1.37–38).

29 Collard and Cropp (2008) 636–639 (introduction to the issue of authorship with bibliography), 640–641 ('hypothesis' and its translation), Gauly et al. (1991) 110–111 ('hypothesis'), 110–120 (fragments). Alvoni (2006) 290–295 discusses the text and the several translations collected at pp. 292–293.

pairs Patroclus/Achilles and Theseus/Pirithous appear 'in the most beautiful of epic lines and lyric verses' (ἐν καλλίστοις ἔπεσι καὶ μέτροις, *Toxaris* 10, trans. Harmon [1936]). Perhaps both Propertius' and Statius' poems were among those.

2. Another consequence of admitting a Propertian influence in *Silvae* 4.4.101–105 concerns the case for athetizing verses 2.1.37–38 by proposing that they belong elsewhere in the Propertian *corpus* or are an interpolation. Proposals range from Fontein's radical deletion of the lines to Williams' and Enk's defense of the text's shape and context exactly as it is.[30] Statius' reading of that elegy is an argument in favour of the transmitted order of Propertius 2.1 and for the hypothesis that some text is missing after verses 37–38:

> Theseus infernis, superis testatur Achilles,
> hic Ixioniden, ille Menoetiaden.
> Prop. 2.1.37–38 FEDELI

The main problems posed by Propertius' passage concern the meaning of the couplet 37–38—namely the meaning of the words *testatur, infernis*, and *superis*—and, according to the sense chosen for these terms, the relationship of those verses to the context. This complex issue can be summarized briefly as follows. The verb *testari*[31] has been read in its primary meaning, 'to invoke as a witness' / 'call to witness', with *infernis* and *superis* as datives of the audience; *testari* has also been taken to mean 'to memorialize' / 'to preserve the memory of', with *infernis* and *superis* as (neuter)[32] local ablatives. According to Rothstein, Propertius imagines Theseus as an inhabitant of the underworld talking about the deeds of Maecenas and Augustus (*testari* would have the sense of 'eine Person oder Sache als Zeugnis für eine Behauptung anrufen'); Rothstein further suggests that the poet found inspiration in a lost source for picturing Achilles among the gods.[33] Jones,[34] followed by Camps, defends *testatur* as meaning 'to preserve the memory' and takes *infernis* and *superis* as local ablatives; Camps explains that this solution is better than that of interpreting them as datives of the audience of the testimony, for the memory of Peirithous would be limited to the underworld.[35] Along with Fedeli, I find no sense in the idea

30 Enk (1955) 28–30, Williams (1980) 169.
31 Butler and Barber (1933) 191 do not find a reasonable meaning for *testari*.
32 A possibility supported by Sen. *Her. F.* 423 (***inferna*** *tetigit, posset ut* ***supera*** *assequi*, 'He visited the underworld to gain the upper world', trans. Fitch [2018]).
33 Rothstein (1898) 218.
34 Jones (1961) 198.
35 Camps (1967) 71.

of Achilles assuring the remembrance ('assicurare il ricordo di qualcuno', p. 75) of Patroclus *superis*. In truth, defining the case of *infernis* and *superis* does not solve the problem of finding a meaning for the words. They appear to draw an opposition, but it is dubious what the opposite of *infernis* might be—'heaven' or 'earth', 'the gods' or 'the living'; for Housman, there is not even an opposition: 'Theseus in hell and Achilles in his isle of Leuce are everlasting remembrances of their less famous comrades and keep their character and story from oblivion'.[36]

In regard to the relationship of the verses to the context of elegy 2.1, Camps states the clearest reading, i.e., Propertius shows how his tribute to Caesar would commemorate Maecenas: 'My epic would always have associated you with Caesar's exploits; the tales of Theseus in the underworld, of Achilles on earth, are memorials of Peirithous and Patroclus too'.[37] Vahlen is at the opposite end of this interpretation: the mythological pairs are called to attest to the fact that they have been trustworthy friends, but that their fidelity has no bearing on Augustus and Maecenas.[38] In between these readings, there are problems to be acknowledged and discussed. Rothstein observes that the mythological examples lack a syntactic connection with the previous verses ('auffallend kurzen und ohne grammatische Verbindung mit dem Vorhergehenden eingeschobenen Satzes').[39] Similarly, Butler and Barber state that 'the intended parallel is obvious […] but it is never completed and the couplet is suspended in mid air'.[40] Fedeli continues this line of thought. He considers the verses to be too brief and abrupt for a eulogy of Maecenas and Augustus[41] and notes the lack of a closing distich, that is, of a conclusion that would result from the comparisons. Postgate and Housman identify such a couplet in the other elegy addressed to Maecenas by displacing 3.9.33–34 to poem 2.1 and inserting that couplet after verse 2.1.38. Heyworth also devises a radical solution: he argues that the distich on mythological friendships 'obstructs the basic antithesis between the impossibility of a Propertian epic, even on Caesar's triumphs, and the Callimachean material he can essay, the lover sticking to his bed', and concludes that it is the 'embellishment of a learned reader'. He supports Housman's exclusion of the verses from the context where they were transmitted.[42]

36 Housman (1914) 153.
37 Camps (1967) 71.
38 Vahlen (1923) 154–155.
39 Rothstein (1898) 217.
40 Butler and Barber (1933) 190.
41 Fedeli (2005) 48. See also Rothstein (1898) 217, Butler and Barber (1933) 190.
42 Heyworth (2007) 109.

Yet if one acknowledges that Statius had the Propertian passage in mind, the end of *Silvae* 4.4 becomes a testimony of the transmitted order of Propertius 2.1.35–38. Statius provides new grounds on which to refute editors who rearrange the elegy by removing the distich 2.1.37–38 and one more argument in favour of those who read the couplet as a natural development of the previous verses. Statius reproduces the order of ideas in Propertius:

(i) Propertius and Statius resort to the topic of the poet's inability to undertake a given poetic enterprise (the former affirms it, while the latter expresses doubts) and indicate an alternative: Prop. 2.1.1–34 ~ *Silv*. 4.4.94–100;

(ii) there is a link between poet and patron that is expected to be eternal: *et penitus voti tibi vatis honorem / corde exire veta*, *Silv*. 4.4.101–102 ~ *te mea Musa illis semper contexeret armis*, Prop. 2.1.35;

(iii) the poets address their patrons with a poetic expression of deep friendship: *almae / pectus amicitiae*, *Silv*. 4.4.102–103 ~ *fidele caput*, Prop. 2.1.36;

(iv) and the friendship that unites poet and patron is illustrated by the same mythical examples: *Theseos, et lacerum qui circa moenia Troiae / Priamiden caeso solacia traxit amico*, *Silv*. 4.4.104–105 ~ *Theseus infernis, superis testatur Achilles, / hic Ixioniden, ille Menoetiaden*, Prop. 2.1.37–38.

If the mythological examples were 'out of place' in the structure of elegy 2.1 or if the couplet were an interpolation, as Heyworth maintains,[43] one would have to suppose a very early rearrangement of Propertius 2.1 or a very early interpolation prior to Statius' reading of the poem. Moreover, the structural comparison displayed above (Prop. 2.1.35–38 and *Silv*. 4.4.101–105) makes clear that there is indeed in Statius what Fedeli and others find lacking in Propertius, that is, the concrete linking of the mythological examples to the pair of friends Maecenas/Propertius. Statius affirms that the glory of Theseus and the great Achilles will be outshone in their fidelity towards their friends by Marcellus: *cedet tibi* ***gloria*** *fidi / Theseos … et … **qui*** (*Silv*. 4.4.103–104).[44] *Silvae* 4.4.103–104 might be seen to further the case for a lacuna in elegy 2.1 after verses 37–38, as Fedeli and others propose, which also strengthens Camps' argument that there are two verses missing in the first section of the poem (1–38) that would have resulted in a balanced structure.[45]

43 Heyworth (2007) 108–109.

44 In these verses, only the mode of *cedet* (the reading of M) has been questioned. A similiar structure is used by Statius at *Silv*. 2.2.61 (*cedat tibi gloria plectri*) and is imitated by Ausonius in a very similar context (*Epist*. 24.34 Green *cedebat Pylades, Phrygii quoque gloria Nisi*).

45 Camps (1967) 65–66. According to Camps, the first section is composed of 22 verses fol-

3 Conclusion

A profile like Marcellus' would make it highly flattering for him to be compared to Maecenas: both are men of culture; both benefit from their proximity to the *princeps*; and both possibly act as middlemen in regard to the delicate issue of writing an 'imperial' epic. According to Fedeli, the long patronymics in the Propertian couplet on friendship point to the hypothesis that the elegist was responding to a Greek model.[46] Of course we cannot exclude the possibility that Statius depends on the same model for *Silvae* 4.4.101–105. Yet I believe that the connections between the passages on friendship in *Silvae* 4.4 and elegy 2.1 make it highly probable that, even in such a case, Statius would have read the Greek model through Propertius; that is, he would still have been interested in exploiting the resonances of the Latin poem. Statius was a good reader of Propertius.[47] As I have suggested, Statius found particular interest in Propertius' poems with panegyric potential, such as the Actium poem (Prop. 4.6).[48] His reading of Propertius' elegies to Maecenas (2.1 and 3.9) points precisely in this direction.

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lowed by 8 lines of apology to Maecenas, while the second section is composed of 24 verses followed by 8 lines on the poet's condition. The idea that the passage on friendship would close the elegy, and thus section 39–78 does not belong to 2.1, was abandoned long ago. The fact that Statius echoes that passage at the end of *Silvae* 4.4 is not reason to extrapolate that the verses on friendship formed the end of Propertius' elegy. Statius saw in them a clausural effect that they certainly have, for they close the first part of the *recusatio*, which consists of an extended list of themes that Propertius refuses to celebrate.

46 Fedeli (2005) 73.

47 See now Bessone (2018), who also assembles the rare bibliography on Propertius' influence upon Statius.

48 On what brings together this elegy and Statius' *Silvae* see Coleman (1999) 78 and Coleman (2003) 43, 45.

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