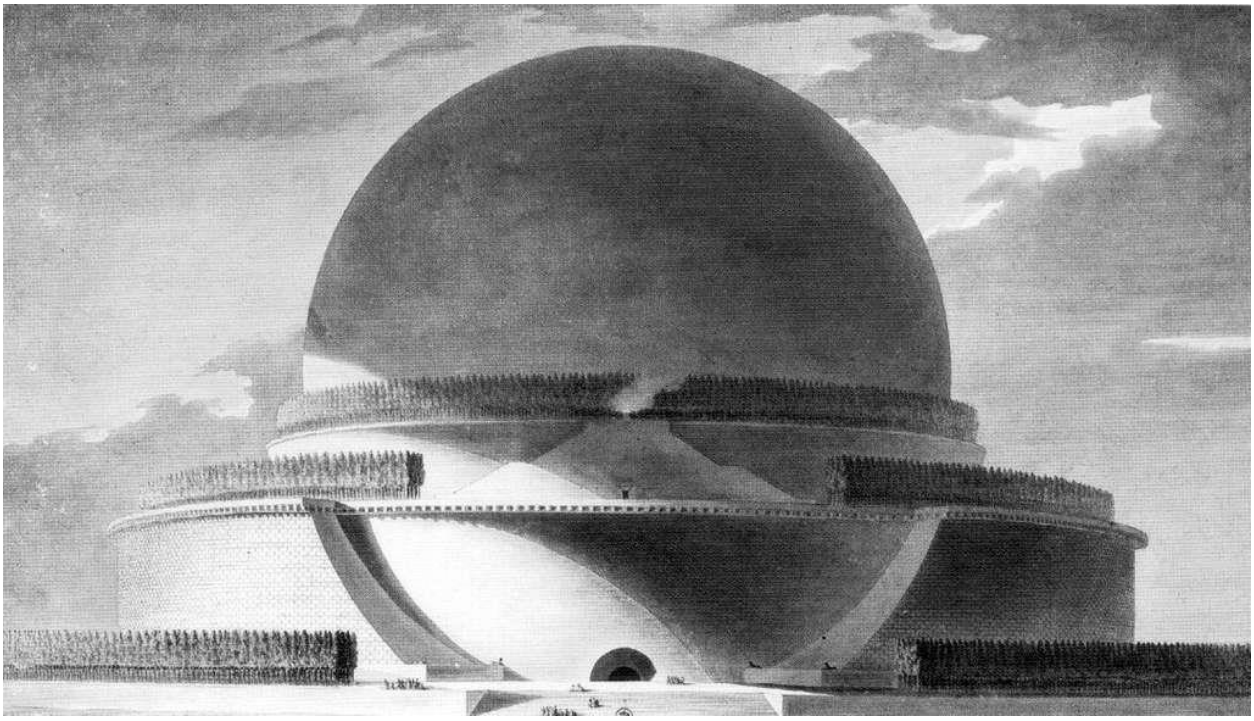
CONSTRUCTING PRAISE

The poetics of monumentality in Statius' *Siluae*



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Submitted for the degree of DPhil in Classical Languages and Literature

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Word count: 99, 202 (excluding front matter and bibliography)

Acknowledgements

This thesis was undertaken between 2017 and 2021, years of invaluable intellectual and personal growth made all the richer by a great number of people, more than can be mentioned here. Ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα: I am primarily grateful for the supportive and dedicated supervision I received. Dr. Llewelyn Morgan supervised this thesis, whose gentle encouragement and forbearing allowed it to find its own way without getting (too much) off track, and who has taught me (unwittingly or otherwise) the importance of close attention to form. Dr. Rhiannon Ash supervised my MSt in 2016, an experience which, along with Dr Matthew Leigh's seminar on Neronian literature, opened my eyes to Imperial Latin literature. My thanks must also go to Dr. Stephen Heyworth and Dr. Matthew Leigh, and to Dr. Abigail Burgess, my assessors for Transfer and Confirmation of Status respectively, whose comments on earlier work have improved this thesis immeasurably.

I owe an enormous debt to Dr. Fram Dinshaw and Claudia Fitzherbert, who put me up (and put up with me), for almost the entirety of my studies, at 20 Winchester Road, where I write now, in the November gloaming. Both have given me much and have shaped my thoughts in endless ways. It is here that my most cherished memories of Oxford were formed, and I have learned as much around the dining table here as I have in the libraries and lecture halls of the University. Walks with Wolsey, 'an attendant and a friend | obsequious to my steps', helped ideas emerge and gain shape. Thanks also to Xavier Buxton, excellent Hellenist and sanguine companion throughout, who can claim equal responsibility for my happiness in Oxford. Many friends, in Oxford and elsewhere, have played crucial roles over the last years, and all occupy a special place here.

I was sustained in my research by a John Woolley Scholarship from the University of Sydney, for which I am extremely grateful. A Craven Award allowed me to attend the incomparable 'City of Rome' postgraduate course at the British School at Rome in 2019, and a bursary provided by the Classical Association and the Societies for the Promotion of Hellenic and of Roman Studies granted me a stint at the Fondation Hardt in Geneva in late 2020, where the final version of this thesis was begun (but certainly not finished). During the globally complicated period of 2020-21, I was supported by grants and funding from Christ Church and the Classical Association, without which this thesis would not have been finished.

Thanks go to my wife Katrine Hesseldahl, to whom I am devoted, and final thanks to my parents, S.J.C. and R.R.L., without whom, none of this. Both have always been unrelenting in their emphasis on education and learning, both have always been limitless in their devotion and encouragement; my task remains to match these qualities. Words fail. *Causa fuit pater his*, and this *monumentum* is dedicated to him.

Abstract

This thesis examines the interaction between the literary motif of the 'monument poem', and the poetic description (ecphrasis) of material monuments, in the Flavian poet Statius' collection of occasional praise poetry, the *Siluae.* It explores the close relationship between poetic and material commemorative practices, and the theme of the poet's and patron's aspirations for immortality, within the dynamic and volatile political context of the Domitianic regime. A central concern of this thesis is the interaction between the *Siluae*'s complex poetic programme and the material world with which it engages, and the connection between the cultural capital of the poet and the social capital of which the patron is custodian. Scholarship tends to oscillate between formalist and historicist interpretations of the *Siluae,* focusing either on the ways in which Statius' poetry can serve to 'mystify' and lend symbolic capital to the material conditions of his patrons or, on the other hand, to focus on the cultural and historical import of the poems, to the detriment of the *Siluae*'s poetic value. The following study focuses on the issues that arise when the traditional tropes of Roman poetic discourse and literary history which Statius uses are reshaped through material referents of the monuments described.

This is to be clarified by looking at how 'Statius' monuments' illuminate the connection between poetics and politics in the *Siluae*. Statius' descriptions of monuments provide opportunities to heavily politicise the aesthetics of the *Siluae.* Domitian's monuments are used by Statius as analogies for the *Siluae*'s poetic programme, resulting in a deliberate interchange between poet and *princeps.* This theme is further complicated through Domitian's own complex representation as a poet in Flavian literature, a point often overlooked. Crucial to my reading is the underlying presence of Nero in the *Siluae,* whose monumental footprint in Rome, and status as an emperor-poet, were both obstacles and opportunities for Domitian. Just as Domitian's monuments work to reshape the memory of Nero in Rome, Statius' *Siluae* deconstruct Neronian literature and rehabilitate it to suit a Flavian agenda.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements		1
Abstract		2
List of abbreviations		4
	Introduction	5
1	Constructing praise	9
PART ONE		
2	Speed and politics	37
3	Sublime monuments	88
PART TWO		
4	Building Helicon	130
5	Miniature cities: monument, morality, memory	180
PART THREE		
6	The stone fidelity	227
	Conclusion: *monumenta fatiscunt*	270

List of Abbreviations

Works by both Greek and Latin authors are abbreviated according to the system of the *OCD* (4th edition); for Latin authors and works not included in the *OCD*, readily understandable abbreviations have been chosen, preferably based on those of TLL.

BMC	H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum.* London 1923–
CIL	*Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*. Berlin 1863–
CLE	F. Bücheler & E. Lommatzsch, *Carmina Latina epigraphic*a. Leipzig 1895–1926.
D-M	W. Dindorf & E. Maass (eds.), *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Odysseam* 1-6. Oxford 1875-1889.
FGrH	F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. Berlin 1923–30, Leiden 1940–58; continued by C.W. Fornara et al., Leiden 1994–
ILS	H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae*. Berlin 1892–1916.
LIMC	*Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae.* Zurich and Munich 1981–99.
LTUR	E. Steinby, *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae.* 6 vols. Rome 1993-1999.
LTURS	V. Nicolai, M. Cecere, Z. Mari, *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae suburbium IV.* Rome 2006.
N-H	M. Hubbard & R. Nisbet, *A commentary on Horace's Odes: I-II.* Oxford 1970-1978.
N-R	R. Nisbet & N. Rudd, *A commentary on Horace's Odes: III.* Oxford 2004.
TLL	*Thesaurus linguae Latinae.* Leipzig 1900–
OCD	S. Hornblower, A. Spawforth, & E. Eidinow, *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. 4th ed. Oxford 2012.
OLD	*Oxford Latin Dictionary.* Oxford 1982.
RE	G. Wissowa et al. (eds.), *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Stuttgart 1893–1978.

All cited texts are OCT, unless marked otherwise.

Introduction

This thesis is concerned with the poetic representation of monuments, and the representation of the poem as a monument in Statius' *Siluae,* and their role in constructing political meaning in the final years of the Flavian emperor Domitian's regime.[1] The central claim is that the productive tensions between literary and physical monumentality provide the key to an understanding of the *Siluae'*s innovative approach to panegyric poetry and can tell us much about their political context. The *Siluae* display an abiding concern with ecphrastic descriptions of the monuments and commemorative artefacts—villas, statues, funerary monuments and *objets d'art*—of Flavian society in Rome and throughout Italy. At the same time, they persistently engage with poetry's traditional claim to provide a monument *aere perennius* for both poet and subject, able to bestow eternal praise far more effectively than its material counterpart. Statius' ecphrastic poems are ultimately concerned with the poet's own immortality and that of his patron, and the *Siluae'*s monuments provide spaces where the poet can articulate the complex aesthetics of the *Siluae,* and their relationship to social forms of power. By both praising the monuments of his addressees and by figuring his poetry as a monument, Statius establishes a degree of interchangeability between literary and material commemoration, but also between poet and patron: the description of the monument effectively creates a monument itself, whilst the accomplishments of Statius' patrons are figured in terms of poetic success and achievement.

Statius' poetic monuments are, in other words, collaborative projects, collective enterprises that work to distribute creative agency and to maximise authorial distance, even as they aim to immortalise and celebrate their renowned epic poet. Throughout the *Siluae,* poet, patron and emperor are constantly grouped together in the same act of commemoration. Equally important is Statius' insistence on the material value of his poetry *qua* luxury product, part of the elaborate system of valuable artefacts available to the patron

[1]On the dating of the *Siluae,* see Coleman (1988) vxi ff. Vollmer's argument (1898) 10-13 that *Siluae* 1-3 were published together in 94 CE has been generally accepted, although see Nauta (2002) 285-87, which suggests separate publication of 1-3 in 92, 93, 94 CE, respectively.

that his poetry describes. A significant concern of this thesis is thus the connection between the *Siluae*'s poetic programme and the material world with which it engages, and the dynamic exchanges between the cultural capital of the poet and the social capital of which the patron is custodian. If scholarship of the nineties and noughties tended to read Statius' descriptions of material objects as metapoetic embodiments of the *Siluae'*s aesthetics—usually grouped in terms of Statius' relationship to epic and Callimacheanism—pressed into the service of mystifying the economic realities of his patrons, then perhaps what I am after here is a sort of 'reverse metapoetics', a form of enquiry that plots out not how the *Siluae* "mythicize the concrete reality"[2] of his patrons' monuments in terms of poetic self-commentary (although this remains essential), but rather how Statius' poetics are expanded and complicated by the monuments and material artefacts he describes.

At the centre of the *Siluae'*s monumental world is Domitian: if relatively few poems are explicitly dedicated to the emperor, he nonetheless provides a central unifying figure for the entire collection, from which Statius and his patrons glean value and meaning. Published in the 90s CE, the *Siluae* are a monument to Domitian's well-established—although increasingly tendentious—rule, a poetic space for the experience of power, and an active creator, rather than a reflection, of political discourse. Domitian's prodigious building programme is well accounted for by both literary sources and archaeological evidence, and the poems of the *Siluae* directly engage with Domitianic monuments, which results in a deliberate interchange between poet and *princeps*: the emperor's monumental self-representation informs how Statius fashions his own poetic *persona* and represents the public identities and monuments of his private patrons, and the emperor's monuments can be figured as literary achievements and situated within the *topos* of poetic immortality. This interplay is further complicated by Domitian's own complex representation, in Flavian literature, as a poet, a point often overlooked by scholarship. At the heart of this thesis is, then, an investigation into the relationship between poetics and politics, into how the poetic language of the *Siluae*

[2] Rosati (2014) 64.

mirrors and contributes to the language of Flavian political ideology, and into how Statius' monumental poetics are ultimately defined by engaging with the monuments of the emperor.

An abiding question of scholarship on the *Siluae* is to what degree they constitute flattery of the emperor, or, conversely, to what degree they contain criticism of and articulate anxieties over the Domitianic regime. Crucial to my response to this problem will be to pay attention to the underlying presence of Nero throughout the *Siluae,* whose monumental footprint in Rome—and status as an emperor-poet in his own right—presented both obstacles and opportunities for Domitian and the Flavian praise industry. Just as Domitian's monuments work to reshape the memory of Nero and the Julio-Claudians in Rome, so Statius' *Siluae* deconstruct Neronian literature and rejig it to suit a Flavian agenda. In this way, as contested literary and physical sites, monuments provide a particularly fruitful way of approaching the praise/blame axis of epideictic verse that the *Siluae* appear to so readily frustrate. This engagement with the Neronian legacy has implications for Statius' own commemorative project, however, and whilst the *Siluae* aim to construct an eternal monument to the Domitianic principate, Nero's *damnatio memoriae,* which constitutes the foundations upon which both Domitian's new Rome and Statius' *Siluae* are constructed, reminds us of the tenuous nature of monumentality in the imperial age. This instability is built into the poetics of the *Siluae* itself, a collection that constantly asks us to acknowledge the paradoxical connection between occasional performative context and textual publication, between transience and permanence.

Chapter 1 serves as my general introduction, beginning with an examination of the first poem of the *Siluae* before defining the scope and terms of the thesis in more detail. Concentrating on individual poems or groups of poems, different configurations of monumentality will be pursued in the five chapters that follow thereafter, dividing roughly into three parts: Chapters 2 and 3 look at poems dedicated specifically to Domitian, and explore how Statius uses description of imperial monuments to foreground a close relationship between *princeps* and poet and between politics and poetics, aiming to push beyond

narrow metapoetic readings. In **Chapter 2,** I ask, rather than interrogating Statius' profession of poetic *celeritas* solely in terms of (anti)-Callimacheanism, what happens when we hold it up against the traditions of Roman military excellence, which Domitian's monuments aimed to display. **Chapter 3** approaches the monumental relationship between poet and *princeps* from another angle, and discusses the connection between the poetic sublime and Domitian's palace, the Domus Flavia, in *Siluae* 4.2. Chapters 4 and 5 investigate Statius' poems dedicated to the monumental projects of his private patrons, and focus particularly on the so-called villa poems. **Chapter 4** examines the connection between inspiration and monumental immortality, and the connection between imperial aqueducts, the legalities of water rights, and the traditions of water symbolism in poetry. **Chapter 5** looks at issues of civic refoundation and private *luxuria* in the villa of Pollius Felix, filtered through Statius' close engagement with Ovid's description of an Augustan monument. The final **Chapter 6** brings the imperial and private sphere together. It looks at the relationship between poetic and material commemoration in Statius' funerary poetry, and examines issues of imperial apotheosis and poetic immortality in relation to Domitian's most innovative monument, the Templum Gentis Flaviae.

Chapter 1: constructing praise

For short time an endlesse monument.
- Spenser, *Epithalamion*

1.1 *exegi monumentum*

Let us begin at the beginning.[3] The *Siluae* commence with the so-called *Ecus Maximus Domitiani Imperatoris,* an ecphrastic poem in praise of the emperor Domitian's colossal equestrian monument in the Forum Romanum. The statue was probably awarded by the senate at the latest before 95 CE, according to a sestertius of the same date (*BMC* 2.406), and probably as early as 89 CE, following the emperor's double triumph over the Chatti and Dacians that autumn.[4] By taking a monument as its subject, the first poem sets out the new approach to praise poetry that the *Siluae* will develop: a combination of ecphrasis with panegyric that works to praise the patron through their material possessions. Towards the end of this poem, Statius makes a prediction of the statue's endurance for all time:

> non hoc imbriferas hiemes opus aut Iouis ignem
> tergeminum, Aeolii non agmina carceris horret
> annorumue moras: stabit, dum terra polusque,
> dum Romana dies. (91–4)

The passage establishes a connection with the traditions of the 'monument poem' *topos*, in which a poet declares the abiding capacity of their work to confer immortal fame and memory, in contrast with material monuments. The tradition of identifying a poem as a monument goes back at least to Pindar's *Pythian* 6 (6-15), but Statius is here making specific reference to Horace's famous monument poem, *Odes* 3.30:

> exegi monumentum aere perennius
> regalique situ pyramidum altius,
> quod non imber edax, non Aquilo impotens
> possit diruere aut innumerabilis

[3] A version of this chapter appeared first in Liney (2019).
[4] On the authenticity of the titles transmitted in *M*, see Coleman (1988) xxviii. On the dating of both statue and poem, see *LTUR* II 228-9; Darwall-Smith (1996) 227-33; Geyssen (1996) 21. Major discussions include Cancik (1965) 89-100; Ahl (1984); Geyssen (1996); Nauta (2002) 422-26; Newlands (2002) 47-73; Leberl (2004) 143-67; Dewar (2008); Marshall (2011); Dufallo (2013) 212-219.

annorum series et fuga temporum.
non omnis moriar, multaque pars mei
uitabit Libitinam: usque ego postera
crescam laude recens, dum Capitolium
scandet cum tacita uirgine pontifex. (1-9)

The parallels with Horace's *monumentum* are deliberate and precise: compare, for example, Statius' *imbriferas hiemes* with Horace's *imber edax* (3), or the *annorumue moras* with *innumerabilis* | *annorum series* (4-5). Like Horace (8-9: *dum Capitolium* | *scandet...pontifex*) and other Augustan poets (e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 9.448), Statius predicates any sense of monumental permanence upon the endurance of *Roma aeterna* itself (*dum terra polusque* | *dum Romana dies*); as Lowrie notes, "*monumentum* occurs as a metaphor in Latin literature in contexts highly allusive to the city of Rome and with strong imperial colouring".[5] For both Horace and Statius, poetic immortality is inseparable from Rome's imperial dominance. Horace's poem encapsulates the well-represented theme of the power of the poem over the artefact to bestow lasting commemoration; the comparatives *perennius* and *altius* make this contrast clear.

But remarkably, it is not the poem that Statius claims will endure always and forever but the imperial monument itself, a stark reversal of the dynamic of the *topos*: Domitian's statue will overcome the ineluctable erosion of time from which Horace claims his poetry is protected, and it is implicitly the emperor, praised in Flavian literature as a poet himself, who will attain poetic immortality.[6] Any claim of the monument's immortality must be further clarified by the public cultivation of Domitian's proclaimed divinity: the statue, Statius tells us, is a direct manifestation of the emperor's godhead, an epiphanic representation of the *deus praesens* (62); directly following the declaration of the monument's permanence, Statius represents its bizarre communion with the apotheosised members of the Flavian *gens* (94-98).[7]

[5] Lowrie (2009) 121.
[6] cf. Ov. *Met.* 15.809-15 on the durability of bronze and iron. For Domitian as poet, see below pg. 48-56.
[7] Roman (2014) 295; on *deus praesens*, N-H *ad loc.* 1.35.2; N-R *ad loc.* 3.5.2-3, and below, pg 88, 92.

A further consequence, central to the *Siluae,* is the assimilation of Statius' poetic project to the emperor's own monumental programme: by investing his poetic immortality in Domitian's monument, Statius is suggesting a level of kinship and interchangeability with his patron. As Newlands points out, Statius' *praefatio* to Book 1 works to draw a connection between the emperor's monument and the poet's enterprise: when Statius claims that his poem 'flowed' from him (1 pr. 3: *fluxerunt*), a mark of the *Siluae'*s improvisatory nature, then this seems to connect us directly to the opening suggestion in 1.1 that the monument may have 'flowed' from heaven (2-3: *caelone peractum | fluxit opus*?).[8] But it is not just that Statius finds a suitable analogue in Domitian's monument for his own poetic project; by collapsing the boundary between literary and material monumentality and investing the prospect of poetic immortality in the emperor's statue, the success of the poet and that of the *princeps* pass beyond being complementary, and become practically indistinguishable. But Statius' assimilation to the emperor also generates the shadowy possibility of rivalry that persists throughout the collection. In the *Siluae,* Statius is not just writing about the emperor; in many ways, he is writing *as* emperor.[9]

This claim of monumentality may seem bold for a collection of poetry that revels in its diminutive nature.[10] After all, the *praefatio* to *Siluae* 1—an innovative paratextual addition to the poetry book probably inaugurated by the Flavian poets—claims that his poems were composed with *celeritas* and on the spur of the moment (1 pr. 3-4: *qui mihi subito calore et quadam festinandi uoluptate fluxerunt*), and are hence barely fit for publication, much less literary immortality (14-15: *quam timeo ne uerum istuc uersus quoque*

[8] Newlands (2002) 54. Given the ecphrastic context and the epic and cosmological connotations of the statue, we may additionally note a play on *caelum,* to mean 'from the chisel', familiar from Varro *Ling.* 5.18 (*caelum dictum scribit Aelius, quod est caelatum*) and Ov. *Met.* 13.288-295, with Hardie (1985) 16-18.

[9] As will be evident in chapters 2 and 3, the intellectual background to my approach here is formed by Fowler's instructive article on aesthetics and politics in Horace's panegyric to Augustus (1995a); Feeney (2002) on Horace's self-characterisation in the *Epist.* 2.1. as a productive confusion between poet and prince; and more recently by Freudenburg (2014), who finds the poetics of the *recusatio* mirrored in the political theatrics of refusal by Augustus.

[10] The monument poem *topos* is usually employed as a *Schlußgedicht*: Hor *Carm.* 3.30; Ov. *Am.* 1.15 and *Met.* 15; Newlands (2006). But Rimell (2008) 69 n. 42 notes its similar placement at the beginning in Mart. 1.1, citing Williams (2002) 424: "Ovidian and Horatian reflections on lasting poetic fame placed at the end of a book, collection, or epic have become a declaration of immortality authoritatively uttered in the voice of a personified Rome and confidently placed at the beginning of a book". cf. Mart. 8.1 on the Templum Gentis Flaviae, for which see below, p. 261-268.

ipsi de se probent!). Although, as we shall see in the next chapter, Statius' boast of *celeritas* is aimed to complicate the Callimachean principles of πόνος and *limae labor et mora* (Hor. *Ars P.* 291), the preface's diminutive claims also generate certain generic expectations that align the *Siluae* with Callimachean poetics. What we might then expect of an opening poem, following this profession of inadequacy, is a *recusatio*, a rejection of imperial subject-matter, following in the tradition of the Augustan poets (Virg. *Ecl.* 6; Prop. 2.1; 3.3.39; 3.9; Ov. *Am.* 1.1) and ultimately looking back to Callimachus' *Aetia* (1.21-4 Pf.).

But Statius adamantly refuses to refuse: *Siluae* 1.1 is an unexpectedly grand hexameter panegyric for Domitian the victorious military leader, precisely the subject which the traditional *recusatio* should aim to resist. Indeed, as the opening poem, the colossal equestrian statue suggests itself as a reified version of the standard *topos*, in Latin poetry, of the horse-as-epic poem, such as Propertius (Prop. 2.10.2; 3.3.40) and Ovid (*Am.* 3.15.18) employ as generic markers in their own *recusationes*.[11] The opening lines stress the statue's colossal scale (1.1.1: *quae superimposito moles geminata colosso*) and frame the statue through sustained epic association (8-16; 18-20; 52-55). The appearance of the Cyclopes in the opening lines (4: *Steropen Brontenque*) specifically recalls the creation of the epic shield of Aeneas (*Aen.* 8.424-5), aligning the monument as its direct poetic descendant, and the emperor as an Aeneas-type (and, of course, Augustan) epic hero, but also reflecting on Statius' status as *bona fide* epic poet.

Statius' poem on a colossal equestrian statue, with Domitian at the reins (54-5: *hic domini numquam mutabit habenas: | perpetuus frenis atque uni seruiet astro*),[12] thus boldly embodies the epic panegyric he is generically required to reject, and the *Siluae* begin on a note of startling generic paradox—the small, occasional poem, barely a hundred lines long, which distends to accommodate its colossal, epic subject matter—a paradox that will persist throughout the collection. Even the very appearance of the emperor as the subject of direct panegyric may seem jarring to a Flavian reader: as Nauta's examination of

[11] cf. Ennius' *fortis equos* (522-523 Sk.); Ov. *Am.* 3.15.18; Juv. 1.19-21. On the horse-as-poem theme, Nelson (2020).
[12] cf. Ov. *Fast.* 1.25.

the *recusatio* in Flavian poetry suggests, poets—including Statius in the epic key (*Theb.* 1.32-4; *Achil.* 1.14-19)—express their reluctance or inability to address military accomplishments even within the remit of the epic genre, either relegating prospects of a panegyric epic to a future occasion, or admitting inadequacy to match Domitian's own poetic ability (Val. Fl. 1.12-14).[13] Again, Statius' refusal of the *recusatio* can be parsed in terms of identification (or rivalry) with the emperor, and the interplay between generic forms, and between poem and artefact, invites further questions of authorial control and audience response, filtered particularly through a consideration of the poem as a material object itself: is the poem helplessly expanded by its overwhelming subject matter, or does it successfully contain the imperial statue within the limits of a diminutive poetic form?[14] Are we in the hands of the emperor, or is the emperor in our hands?[15]

This unexpected monumental poem at the beginning of a collection of poetry that stresses its diminutive nature can also tell us something about the logic of the *Siluae* as occasional praise poetry. The visual description of monuments—ecphrasis—is central to the poetics of the *Siluae* and represents Statius' major contribution to panegyric poetry, namely the praise of a patron by commemorating their luxury possessions and monuments in verse, establishing a connection between poet, addressee and the object described.[16] Ecphrasis is always a self-reflexive process in poetry, always asks the reader to interrogate the relationship between the object described and the poetic text describing it; ecphrasis, as Duffalo puts it, can be understood, in one narrow sense, as a way in which authors can write about writing without appearing to do so.[17] By praising the artefacts of his patrons in highly allusive and self-reflexive poems, Statius can both stress his ability to ascribe poetic value to the possessions of their owners and also deploy these artefacts as vehicles for the *Siluae'*s poetics, usually foregrounding a complex relationship with Callimachean principles. As 1.1 shows, the ecphrastic poems of the *Siluae* work to mimic the formal

[13] Nauta (2006).
[14] It is important to note here that *Silv.* 1.2 consists of '*ter centum...hexametros*' (1 *praef.* 23) and thus severely overshadows 1.1.
[15] Particularly helpful here are the observations in Squire (2011) 266 on imperial cameos and the Boscoreale cups: the "topsy-turvy reductions of scale simultaneously enlarge the underlying power dynamics".
[16] Newlands (2002) 38-44; Marshall (2011).
[17] Duffalo (2013) 2, who sets his study of ecphrasis against this narrowly metapoetic approach.

properties of the objects which they describe, and an important result of this assimilation is that it emphasises the material value of the published *Siluae* as a luxury product in their own right; *Siluae*, according to one interpretation, is a calque on ὕλη (both 'wood' and '*materia*'), and we are never far from the material resonances of Statius' poems throughout the collection.[18]

This assimilation of text to artefact also informs us of the *Siluae'*s broader function as panegyric poetry which is dedicated to Statius' patrons as counter-gifts, offered in response to the occasion of which the poet is the beneficiary. Augoustakis and Newlands describe the origins of the *Siluae'*s poems "as gifts between poet and patron/friend in a social economy consolidated by gift exchange", and the context of gift-exchange is of particular importance to the formal considerations of Statius' poetry.[19] In his study on *Siluae* 4.3, Morgan points out that Statius' identification of the object praised with the poetic act of praise itself is a familiar feature of panegyric from Pindar onwards, based on the need to create a gift equivalent to the benefit bestowed, and thus stressing poetry's own high value as an appropriate reward for its subject.[20] Statius often presents the *Siluae'*s poems on imperial monuments as part of this gift-exchange: 4.2 (4 pr. 6: *gratias egi*) and 4.3 (4. pr. 9: *cuius beneficio*) are explicitly figured as responses to Domitian's *beneficia*. *Siluae* 1.1 also falls into this category: Domitian's statue is identified as a gift to the Roman *populus* (*nobis,* in line 5), to which Statius' poem provides an equally colossal counter-gift (1. pr. 16-7*: centum hos uersus, quos in ecum maximum feci, indulgentissimo imperatori postero die quam dedicauerat opus tradere ausus sum*).[21] Indeed, it is tempting to see the poem's 107 lines as a deliberate number that may well have been intended to match the standard size of a colossus, according to several measures.[22] Ultimately, for Statius,

[18]Wray (2007) for this hyletic sense of *silua.* Sullivan (2014) advances the stimulating argument that Horace's comparison with the pyramids would have additionally suggested the stacking of an appropriate number of book rolls in 'pyramidal' form.

[19] Augoustakis and Newlands (2007) 118; cf. Damon (1992) and Seo (2009) on reciprocity and gift-exchange in *Silv.* 4.9.

[20] Morgan (2010); Kurke (1993). See Bowditch (2001) on gift exchange in Horace.

[21] Note that verses 99-100 also present it as a gift from the Roman people and senate (*utere perpetuum populi magnique senatus | munere*).

[22] Albertson (2001) suggests that Zenodorus' colossal statue of Nero was 107 RF, one of several standard measures, drawing upon a wide survey of literary sources. There is also some doubt whether the actual statue of Domitian was a colossus: Geyssen (1996) 24.

ecphrasis provides the essential tool for exploiting the requirements of the poetic gift, and for insisting upon his own important poetic status.

But we can also go further than this. Hubert Cancik's important study of Statius' imperial panegyric suggested that both the statue and the poem reflect an imperial programme of *Kolossalität,* and that the fundamental homology between monument and poem can reveal the underlying characteristics of cultural expression of Flavian imperial iconography and ideology: "Scheint es doch als sei das statiansiche Gedicht poetischer Ausdruck eben des Kunstwollen, das den Reiterkoloss geschaffen hat".[23] Cancik's reference to Riegl's notion of *Kunstwollen* here—that all the epiphenomena of a given period (painting, sculpture, architecture, and arts and crafts, as well as law, philosophy, theology, and poetry) are the product of a single cultural drive—points to a deeper integration of political power and cultural expression in Domitianic Rome, in which the *Siluae* participate.[24] Henderson also senses something similar at play in the intermedial games initiated by *Siluae* 1.1: "it is easy to sense 'mood', and in the ready to-and-fro of stimulus between the arts, maybe even the hint of a 'Will-to-Art', the *Kunstwollen* we firmly discarded as dangerous hocus-pocus when it issued from Riegl".[25] It is clear that Statius' ecphrastic descriptions are never *just* expressions of metapoetics, and it is crucial to understand the ways in which the poetic self-reflexivity of ecphrasis is pressed into the service of politics, and—following Benjamin's notion of fascism as the 'aestheticisation of political life'—in what ways Domitian's regime can be construed as an artistic and poetic enterprise.[26] Monumentality provides an excellent framework for these considerations.

It is also important at this stage to clarify the allusive strategies with which Statius constructs his poetic monument in *Siluae* 1.1. At its most basic level, a monument poem constitutes a poetic *topos,* a literary commonplace which aligns the poet with a broad, codified tradition rather than a specific reference.

[23] Cancik (1965) 90-93.
[24] For recent rehabilitations of *Kunstwollen*, and particularly its application to Late Antique poetry, Elsner (2002), (2006); Elsner and Hernandez Lobato (2017) 25.
[25] Henderson (2003) 239.
[26] Benjamin (1935).

Topoi can inevitably calcify and tend towards hackneyed cliché, what Hinds labels an "inert collectivity";[27] this is the criticism that Persius levels against the *Unsagbarkeitstopos,* the overused theme of poetic incapacity, the traditional epic motif that expresses inability to describe a particular subject (*Sat.* 5.1: *uatibus hic mos est, centum sibi poscere uoces*). The *Siluae* display a persistent awareness of this tendency of allusive tropes, and one of the central purposes of this thesis will be to show how Statius uses the material world of his patrons and the monuments of Flavian Rome to interrogate and renovate his literary inheritance. Statius constantly reconfigures familiar tropes, motifs and poetological imagery familiar from Roman poetry by bringing them into contact with the artefacts and monuments of his patrons and emperor, which are in turn freighted with poetic significance. As Martelli suggests, "Statius' deictic verse invites us to reverse the metaphors that are used to trope the dynamics of Roman literary history, and to look for the possibility of finding within these figurative representations a reference to the material world beyond".[28]

However, Hinds' seminal study on intertext and allusion also points out that *topoi* are by nature always allusive, always imply a conscious negotiation with a series of literary sources *as well as* a codified motif. A quick reading of the monument poem *topos* in 1.1 shows the clear relation to Horace *Carm.* 3.30 detailed above, as most commentators point out; closer inspection reveals Statius' assertion of monumentality as a carefully assembled tapestry of poetic monuments: *imbriferas hiemes* recalls Horace's *imber edax* (3.30.3), but Marshall detects the more specific allusion to Horace's own source, Pindar's ἑτοῖμος ὕμνων θησαυρός which will withstand the χειμέριος ὄμβρος (*Pyth* 6.10). The phrase *Iouis ignem* | *tergeminum* recalls Ovid's similar boast of his poetry's resistance to divine (and imperial) lightning (*Met.* 15. 811: *nec Iouis ira nec ignis*), and the final *dum* clause looks to both Horace's evocation of the Capitoline (3.30.8-9: *dum Capitolium* | *scandet ... pontifex*) and also to Virgil's similar promise to grant poetic immortality to Nisus and Euryalus in the *Aeneid* (9.448-9: *dum domus Aeneae Capitoli immobile saxum*| *accolet*).

[27] Hinds (1998) 40.
[28] Martelli (2009) 148.

What are we to make of this dense network of allusions? Kenney, in a withering review of Cancik's monograph, represents an erstwhile *communis opinio* of 1.1's use of the monument *topos*, and of the *Siluae* in general: Statius' "offence is that he degrades and trivializes a great idea. Such is the way of court poets, and *Siluae* 1.1 is court poetry".[29] To counterbalance Kenney's dismissal, a more reasonable approach might be to accept Statius' allusions as a passive and deferential acknowledgement of the literary tradition that he invokes; so can Marshall straightforwardly declare that "Statius combines allusions to all three authors – Pindar, Horace and Ovid – thus writing the literary history of this motif into his own poem".[30]

But it is possible to recognise a deeper significance: there is an aggressive irony in Statius' submission of the monument poems of his literary predecessors to this careful deconstruction, fragmentation and reassemblage, undermining the very permanence that the motif implies, and casting doubts upon the poet's own purchase upon it. Both physical and literary monuments are inherently susceptible to reinterpretation, and it is here instructive to cite Fowler's often-quoted essay on the theme: "the essence of the monument is paradoxically its lack of monumental stability, the way in which it is constantly reused and given new meaning, and therefore its inability to offer a return rather than a new journey".[31] Indeed, the susceptibility of monuments to erasure and destruction, for a Flavian audience, would have been, following the *damnatio memoriae* issued against Nero, a particularly poignant notion. In the *Siluae*, poetic monumentality is a fundamentally intertextual affair, and as this thesis will explore, Statius' descriptions of his patrons' monuments throughout the *Siluae* work in a similar fashion, deploying them as intertextually contested spaces—palimpsests, as it was once fashionable to say—in which Statius, the epigonal Flavian poet, can negotiate his relationship with his Augustan and Neronian literary inheritance. The flipside to this coin is the acknowledgement that Statius' monument will be subjected to acts of similar iconoclasm.

[29] Kenney (1966) 333.
[30] Marshall (2011) 330.
[31] Fowler (2000) 211; cf. 198 "if real monuments decay, can we be so sure of metaphorical ones?"

To put it another way, all poetic monuments constitute an act of reading and rereading, and the death of the author also guarantees their survival. It is through the act of reading that poetic monuments will survive: Ennius' famous self-epitaph claims that he will live on the tongues of men (*Ep.* 18 Vahl.: *uolito uiuus per ora uirum*); Horace (3.30.10: *dicar*); Propertius (3.9.32: *uenies tu quoque in ora uirum*), Virgil (*G.* 3.9: *uirum uolitare per ora*) and Ovid (*Met.* 15.878: *ore legar populi:* cf. *Tr.* 1.7.31-2) all locate their ongoing survival in their future audiences, and in *Epigram* 10.2 it is the *lector* through whom Martial is told he will live on (8: *et meliore tui parte superstes eris*).[32] But it is also by reading that this sense of monumentality is destabilised and challenged. Rimell's examination of poetic monumentality in *Epigram* 10.2 observes that "Martial's monument reglorifies snippets of the Augustan greats...whilst proving that poetry really does die. Or rather, it (only?) survives in chipped-off bits", a claim, I suggest, that is wholly applicable to the *Siluae*.[33] In fundamental ways, both Martial's and Statius' patchwork monuments anticipate practices of spoliation—the selection and removal of architectural or literary elements from one complex and their redeployment in another—that come to dominate poetic and material monumentality in Late Antiquity.[34] The *locus classicus* for the spoliated monument is the Arch of Constantine, erected to commemorate the Battle of the Milvian Bridge in 312 CE, comprising an eclectic mix of fragments from (*inter alia*) Hadrianic and Trajanic monuments;[35] scholarship has more recently begun to identify similar poetic strategies of fragmentation and reassemblage in the late antique *cento*, and in the highly intertextual *carmina figurata* of the Constantinian poet Optatian dedicated to Constantine, literary creations which Squire suggests should be read as "as fragmented (and fragmentable) *spolia*".[36] One crucial effect of both

[32] Itself a synthesised 're-reading' of Hor. 3.30 (*multaque pars mei*) and Ov. *Am.* 1.15.41-2; 3.15.19-20; *Met.* 15.871-9. Rimell (2008) 71 ff.
[33] Rimell (2008) 71; Fowler (2000) 65: "Ovid's name will be indelible, he will never suffer the newly popular erasure of *damnatio memoriae*, but it is indelible not because of oral performance, but because of the empire-wide book trade...Ovid's name will last because it is writ in water, because his works will continue to exist through constant recopying and reinterpretation by readers."
[34] There is now a vast bibliography on spoliation: see Elsner (2000); Brilliant and Kinney (2011); Hernandez Lobato (2012) 217-317; Varner (2014).
[35] Elsner (2000). Suggestively, the Arch of Constantine has occasionally been attributed to Domitian: see Frothingham (1912). We can also add the Arcus Novus (Diocletian 293-4 CE) and the Arco di Portogallo (?Aurelian-Constantinian).
[36] Squire (2017) 30.

poetic and architectural spoliation, Elsner observes, is to place both the creator of the monument and its reader-viewer in an ambiguous relationship with the past:[37]

> Just as a knowing viewer might choose to read the iconography of Trajan or Marcus, say, against the pro-Constantinian interpretation of positive historical precedent (and hence see Constantine as a usurper, for example), so Optatian's readers could choose to interpret the figural poem either in harmony with the larger poem or against it. While Optatian does not play on the past thematically, he nonetheless develops the fundamental traditions of Latin verse to radically new ends, just as the arch makes considerable innovations out of the most traditional practices of Roman art.

Elsner points out two modes of reading and viewing which have literary and political consequences: we can either interpret the monument or poem as a harmonious whole, a synchronisation of disparate parts that present the political-cultural and literary past as a teleological progression towards the present, or we can understand an inherent friction between the monument's elements, forcing a critical appraisal of the relationship as one of disparity, discontinuity and distance. The monuments of the *Siluae*, I shall argue, create similar ambiguities in their careful interactions with the past, asking us to consider Statius' relationship with his poetic inheritance, but more importantly, also to consider the relationship of the Domitianic regime with its recent Julio-Claudian past, and particularly the ultimate representative of that dynasty, Nero, whose legacy, despite all memory sanctions and monumental re-appropriations, refuses to be forgotten, and surfaces in productive and problematic ways throughout the *Siluae.* The themes of fragmentation and appropriation also prompt questions on the *Siluae'*s own monumental legacy, its own similar susceptibilities to such practices, and the poet's awareness and anticipation of the ruin of time.

1.2 monument, materiality, ephemerality

My reasons for beginning with *Siluae* 1.1 is that it canvasses, *in nuce,* the predominant themes that this thesis explores. Statius' opening poem presents a compelling case for how monuments can provide a richly productive way of thinking about a number of key areas in the *Siluae,* and particularly about the relationship between poem and artefact, poet and patron, and poetics and politics in Flavian culture.

[37] Elsner (2000) 175.

It will be useful at this point to establish a working definition of monuments and monumentality.[38] The notion of the poetic work as monument has its roots in Homeric epic and later Greek lyric, both of which assume that the function of poetry is to preserve the *kleos* of its subject for all time, and that immortality comes from being preserved by and circulated through verse: when Theognis boasts that he has given his *eromenos* wings, who will now lie on the lips of many, he anticipates Ennius self-epitaph by several centuries (237-40: σοὶ μὲν ἐγὼ πτέρ᾽ ἔδωκα...εἰλαπίνῃσι παρέσσῃ | ἐν πάσαις πολλῶν κείμενος ἐν στόμασιν).[39]

At its most basic function, the purpose of the monument, whether literary or material, is to preserve memory and to remind an audience of the past. Varro's discussion of the word *meminisse* makes the etymological connection between memory and monumentality clear (*Ling.* 6.49: *ab eo cetera quae scripta ac facta memoriae causa monimenta dicta*), and Cicero notes that the *monumentum* must have more regard for posterity than for favour in the present (Non. 47 L = *ad Caes.* 7 S-B: *ad memoriam magis spectare debet posteritatis quam ad praesentis temporis gratiam*).[40] Livy establishes a firm link between literary and material monumentality in his preface to the *Ab Urbe Condita,* presenting the study of history as analagous to gazing upon a monument:[41]

> hoc illud est praecipue in cognitione rerum salubre ac frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta in inlustri posita monumento intueri; inde tibi tuaeque rei publicae quod imitere capias, inde foedum inceptu, foedum exitu, quod uites. (Livy *pref.* 10)

[38] The bibliography on monuments and monumentality in the Roman world is understandably extensive; the survey in E. Thomas (2007) 1-14 is indispensable. Important studies on monumentality in Roman literature include, but are not limited to, Edwards (1996), Jaeger (1997); Welch (2005).

[39] Nagy (1990) 220-1; Ford (1992) 131-71; Svenbro (1976) remains the seminal study. For the text as *monumentum* in Latin literature, see esp. Jaeger (1997); cf. Suerbaum (1968) 327–28 (Appendix 32) for examples of poetry as *monumentum* (the metaphorical use of the word appears to go back at least to Lucil. 1084 M.). On Ennius and Theognis, most recently Martelli (2018) 71.

[40] cf. Fest 123. L; Dig., 11.7.42: *monumentum generaliter res est memoriae causa in posterum prodita.* See Hölkeskamp (1996) 302–8, on the varieties of monuments implicated in "monumental memory." Important here too is the practice of *ars memoriae*: *Rhet. Her.* 3.16-40; Cic. *De Or.* 2.351-360; Quint. *Inst.* 11.2.1-5; see Jaeger (1997) 19 and Vasaly (1996) 100-102.

[41]

Livy's statement also draws attention to the instructive and persuasive function of a monument, aimed at encouraging both the imitation of exemplary models, and the avoidance of bad behaviour. Indeed, as Varro suggests in his discussion of *meminisse,* both *memoria* and *monimenta*[42] are linked to *monere,* indicating associations with instruction, teaching and admonition. The Roman deity Moneta, etymologised from *monere,* could be identified both as the mother of the Muses, comparable with if not analagous to Mnemosyne (Liv. Andron. *Od.* 12 M.), and the goddess of Roman coinage, which was minted close to the temple.[43] Moneta's dual role, and the 'monumentalising' role of numismatic iconography, points not only to the intermedial quality of Roman monumentality, able to move freely between literary text and material artefact, but also to the underlying instructive and monitary functions of a monument.

In order to perpetuate meaning and value, monuments require an audience, and in a sense, monumentality always implies a position from the past looking forward to the future; as Roller argues, monuments aim to make the original deed more widely known "by constructing "secondary" audiences—persons who were not eyewitnesses, but who learn of the deed through the monument".[44] Monumentality also involves the promotion of the private individual to the level of civic symbol, and is tied up with issues of exemplarity and the exhortation to emulate the deeds of the past.[45] Statius' claim in the preface to Book 5 that 'good *exempla* must be pursued with all our energies, for they benefit the public' (5 pr. 1: *omnibus adfectibus prosequenda sunt bona exempla, cum publice prosint*), must be understood in the context of this aspect of Roman monumentality.

Such monumental logic applies similarly to the *Siluae,* where the reader is always in the future looking back: as we shall see in the following chapter, the notion of a two-tiered audience is central to the *Siluae,* signposted specifically by the *praefatio* to Book 1, where Statius draws a distinction between the

[42] *Monimentum*, Varro's spelling here, is less common than *monumentum*; on the orthography, see *TLL* 8.1461.
[43] Maltby (1991) s.v. *monere*; Meadows and Williams (2001); A. Hardie (2007).
[44] Roller (2004) 5.
[45] Roller *ibid*. on monuments and exemplarity.

original audience—the dedicatee for whom the *Zeitgedicht* is spontaneously produced—and the wider audience of the published *Gedichtbuch*, the *ceteri* (1. pr. 11: *sed apud ceteros necesse est multum illis pereat ex uenia*). This strange temporal warp is most evident in *Siluae* 1.4, the *soterion* for Rutilius Gallicus who, by the time of publication, has already succumbed to his illness (1 pr. 27-8: *Libellus Rutilio Gallico conualescenti dedicatus, de quo nihil dico, ne uidear defuncti testis occasione mentiri*).[46] This distinction in itself engenders a paradox, for performance is essential to Statius' poetic persona in the *Siluae*; the poems persistently stress their *ex tempore* nature and fictionalise the role of performance.[47] We are constantly required to determine the connection between ephemeral performance and literary permanence, between the private addressee and the distant reader, between—to paraphrase this chapter's epigraph— 'short time' and 'endless monument'. The result is a two-way movement: Statius brings poem and patron into the view *sub specie aeternitatis,* but also invites his future audiences into the poem's *hic et nunc.* Statius speaks to his contemporaries, but tells them that posterity is listening.[48]

Monumentality also makes us think hard about the broader nexus of relations between poet, patron and political authority, and about cultures of commemoration in Flavian Rome. When poets claim that their work is a *monumentum aere perennius,* it both suggests poetic autonomy and the poet's own singular achievement, but also implies a competitive relationship with the broader system of commemoration.[49] Monumentality and commemoration were essential components of elite self-fashioning in Roman society, and comprised a wide repertoire of avenues and strategies. It is instructive to cite Polybius' account of Republican Roman funerary rituals here, which describes a multimedia affair that combined literary recitation, domestic space, spectacle and visual artefact to promote individual and *gens* to the public (*Hist.* 6.53-9-54.4); later, Pliny mocks Regulus' extravagant commemoration of his deceased son, which

[46] Henderson (1998) on *Silv.* 1.4.
[47] There is no external evidence for the performance of the *Siluae,* aside from Juv. *Sat.* 7.82-87. Aside from the *recitatio,* Domitian's *Ludi Capitolini* and *Ludi Albani* were central to Flavian poetic culture, to which Statius makes repeated reference: (*Silv.* 2.2.6; 3.5.28-33; 4.2.65; 4.5.22; 5.3.227-237; cf. performances in front of the senate: 5.2.161; 5.3.215). For Statius' identity as a performer, see Markus (2000), (2003).
[48] Particularly instructive is Spelman (2018) on the poetics of permanence in Pindar; I draw on pp. 63-78 here.
[49] Roman (2014) 291.

combines 'the greatest number of statues and portraits' (*Ep.* 4.7.1: *statuas eius et imagines quam plurimas*), with the declamation, transcription and circulation of a *uita* throughout Italy and the provinces (*Ep.* 4.7.2: *de uita pueri, recitauit tamen. Eundem in exemplaria mille transcriptum per totam Italiam prouinciasque dimisit*).[50] A key issue in this thesis is thus the notion of the *Siluae'*s anticipated reception in posterity, and how Statius figures the monumental quality of the *Siluae* whilst retaining the fiction of performance and insisting upon their ephemeral and nugatory qualities.

Text and image, as forms of monumentality, constantly rub up against each other in the commemorative practices of Rome. In epideictic and panegyric contexts, literary monumentality is often invoked in direct service of the patron or *laudandus,* suggesting the poet/speaker's superior capacity for commemoration. Pindar famously contrasted his poetic commemoration with sculpture (*Nem.* 5.1: Οὐκ ἀνδριαντοποιός εἰμ'), and in *Olympian* 6 compared his poem to a palace (1-3: Χρυσέας ὑποστάσαντες εὐτειχεῖ προθύρῳ θαλάμου | κίονας ὡς ὅτε θαητὸν μέγαρον | πάξομεν·). Cicero's *Pro Marcello* contrasts the gradual erosion of any physical trophies which Caesar might accrue with the immortality of written praise (*Marcell.* 11-12), and the *Laudes Messallae* points out that no *titulus* combined with portrait bust could possibly convey what verse can (33-34). Ennius is particularly attuned to the competitive relationship between the literary and non-literary forms of commemoration available to the patron, and a number of fragments suggest a strong preoccupation with competing physical memorial media: in frr. 404-6 Sk., which we can tentatively attribute to *Annales* 16, Ennius seems to imply a contrast between the monuments of kings (404-5 Sk: *reges per regnum statuasque sepulchraque quaerunt, | aedificant nomen, summa nituntur opum ui*) and his own epic *monumentum*.[51] and in a fragment that plausibly comes from the *Scipio,* Ennius' panegyric text dedicated to his patron Africanus, another comparison between poetic and material monuments is implied:

> quantam statuam statuet populus Romanus,
> quantam columnam quae res tuas gestas loquatur? (fr. 3 Sk.)

[50] Flower (1996) 32 on the *imagines maiorum* and the Polybius passage.
[51] Goldschmidt (2017) 372.

Ennius predicts a mighty monument for Scipio, but absent any surviving (physical or literary) evidence of a triumphal Columna Scipionis, *columna* may well point to a calque on σελίς—a column of writing inscribed on a papyrus scroll—and hence to the poem's own enduring status.[52] However, later poets and authors believed that Ennius' body had been laid to rest in Scipio's family tomb on the Via Appia, the poet's corpus merging with the general's *monumentum* in the memorial landscape of Rome, and thus complicating any straightforward claim to the superiority of poetic commemoration.[53] Ennius emerges as the father of the monument poem in Roman poetry, yet is also aware of the deep interconnection between literary and physical commemoration, and between poet and patron.

The *Siluae* are nearly always addressed to a patron or subject of praise, nearly always involve the praise of a patron's life and commemorative artefacts, and are consequently aware of the traditions of commemoration and poetry's place within them.[54] The dynamics of patronage and of commemorative culture in Flavian society and in the *Siluae* have been well documented, and I will not rehearse them here.[55] But the argument this thesis hopes to advance is that when Statius foregrounds and collapses the inherent contrasts between poetic and material monuments, he also attempts to collapse the asymmetrical distinction between poet and patron based on the exchange of goods and services, and instead aims, I shall stress, to present monumentality as a joint venture and to fashion poet and patron as co-producers of a monumental work that will immortalise both.[56] Statius presents his patrons' monuments as poetic creations, and simultaneously emphasises the material value of the *Siluae* as a constructed, physical monument.

[52] e.g. *AP* 7.21.5-6 (Simias): αλλ' ὁ περισσὸς | αἰὼν ἀθανάτοις δέρκεται ἐν σελίσιν**.** Skutsch (1985) 753 and before him Vahlen (1903) 213 on Enn. fr. 3 Sk.

[53] Cic. *Arch*. 22; Livy 38.56.4; Ov. *Ars am.* 3.409–10; Val. Max. 8.14.1. For the putative tomb and its reception, see Martelli (2018).

[54] 28 out of 32 poems. The exceptions are 3.5, 5.3, 5.4, 5.5; Nauta (2002) 195.

[55] Nauta (2002) provides the most extensive account; see also White (1975); A. Hardie (1983); Zeiner (2005). On patronage in Martial see Holzberg (1988) 65-73; Sullivan (1991) 155-9; Garthwaite (1998). See Saller (1982) on patronage in the early empire.

[56] cf. Ernst (1985) 89-81, and more recently Korfer (2020) 5 on Optatian and Constantine as "Co-Produzenten" of panegyric in the *Carmina Figurata*. For asymmetricality and 'goods and services in exchange' as constitutive elements of patronage, see Saller (1982) 1. *contra* Malamud (1995); Newlands (1988) on Statius' use of his patrons as a foil for his superior poetic ability.

Such a view finds significant support in the emphasis that Statius' patrons allegedly place on poetry itself: as we shall see, Statius invariably presents his subjects as composers of various forms of poetry and literature, and especially the emperor Domitian, whose poetic ability is attested for in Flavian literature more widely. Poetry was a central component of the self-fashioning strategies of the Roman imperial elite, particularly in an environment in which public monumentalisation had been co-opted by the emperor since Augustus. When Pliny claims that poetry is the *unum monimentum* able to escape the trammels of mortality (*Ep*. 2.10.4: *habe ante oculos mortalitatem, a qua adserere te hoc uno monimento potes; nam cetera fragilia et caduca non minus quam ipsi homines occidunt desinuntque*), it represents an extreme version of the commemorative practices observed by the imperial elite. The *Siluae* show a heightened awareness of this notion, and a central aim of this thesis is to explore how Statius uses monumentality as a means of foregrounding notions of surrogacy, interchangeability and co-dependence between poet and patron.

The close relationship between physical and poetic monumentality in the *Siluae* also plays out against a traditional set of tensions between verbal and visual modes of representation. Word and image were understood in Antiquity to exist in a competitive relationship, but also to display a degree of homology.[57] Simonides famously declared that 'a picture is a silent poem, and a poem a speaking picture' (Plut. *Mor*. 346F: ὁ Σιμωνίδης τὴν μὲν ζωγραφίαν ποίησιν σιωπῶσαν προσαγορεύει, τὴν δὲ ποίησιν ζωγραφίαν λαλοῦσαν); Horace is in similar territory with his well-known maxim *ut pictura poesis* (*Ars P*. 361). Ecphrasis is important here, which privileges the power of literary description to bring an image 'before the eyes' through *enargeia* (Quint. *Inst.* 6.2.29); Cicero praises Homer's ability to make us *view* his subjects as a picture, not poetry (*Tusc.* 5.114: *at eius picturam non poësin uidemus*).[58]

[57] Squire (2015).
[58] cf. the later *Progymnasmata:* Theon, *Prog.* 118.7. ἔκφρασίς ἐστι λόγος περιηγηματικὸς ἐναργῶς ὑπ' ὄψιν ἄγων τὸ δηλούμενον; Nikolaus (Felten [1913] 70) ὑπ' ὄψιν ἡμῖν ἄγοντα ταῦτα; Ps.-Hermog. *Prog*. 10.48 = Rabe 1913, 23: τὴν ἑρμηνείαν διὰ τῆς ἀκοῆς σχεδὸν τὴν ὄψιν μηχανᾶσθαι. On *enargeia* and variations on the tag *sub oculos subicere* (e.g. Quint. *Inst.* 8.6.19, 9.2.40) in ecphrasis see Webb (2009) 86–107; Squire (2013); Goldhill (2007).

Statius' intense engagement with ecphrasis is understood by scholarship as his most innovative contribution to panegyric poetry, and the *Siluae* capitalise on the relationship between image and text ecphrasis produces.[59] Newlands notes that "ecphrasis turns on the contest between verbal and visual representation. The relationship of Statius to the works of art or buildings that he describes is duplicated in his relationship with his patron, for the poet's linguistic powers compete with the ocular image and with the maker of that image".[60] But we can go beyond a straightforwardly paragonal reading. The monument poem *topos* of *Siluae* 1.1, discussed above, shows us how Statius collapses, rather than accentuates, the distinction between image and text, and works to present the physical monument as a literary construct on the one hand, and to draw attention to the *Siluae* as a manufactured entity and luxury artefact on the other, persistently aware of its materiality. This productive ambiguity returns in 1.1 several lines later:

> utere perpetuum populi magnique senatus
> munere. Apelleae cuperent te scribere cerae
> (99-100)

As we will see throughout this thesis, Statius constantly draws this sort of comparison with the canonical artists and sculptures of antiquity. But when Statius declares that Apelles would have wished to 'inscribe' Domitian, he is drawing on a longstanding play on the dual semantic registers of the verb *scribere,* comparable to the Greek verb γράφειν, meaning both "to write" and "to draw".[61] If Apelles can be placed in such an ambiguous position between image and text, then we are also asked to imagine Statius' poem in similar terms, as a visual as much as a verbal representation. We are constantly aware, in the *Siluae*, of the medial complexities of forging words out of images, and images out of words. Centuries later, when Optatian asks his audience to identify his 'painted page' portrait of the emperor—the third of his so-called

[59] The scholarship on ecphrasis is huge, and I avoid any summary here; I will assume a fundamental knowledge of its role in the *Siluae,* based on Newlands (2002), (2013); Szelest (1966); Marshall (2004), (2011); Chinn (2005); Dufallo (2013).
[60] Newlands (2002) 41.
[61] cf. Serv. *ad. Aen.* 6.34 *nec incongrue legi picturam dixit, cum graece γράψαι et pingere dicatur et scribere;* Lucian calls Homer, suggestively, ὁ ἄριστος τῶν γραφέων (*Imag.* 8). See Lissarrague (1992) on 'écrire et dessiner'; Squire (2015).

gridded *carmina cancellata*—as superior to the works of Apelles himself, the poet seems to be directly acknowledging Statius' earlier claim:

> fingere Musa queat tali si carmine uultus
> Augusti, et metri et uersus lege manente,
> picta elementorum uario per musica textu
> uincere Apelleas audebit pagina ceras. (3.i-iv)

Optatian's gridded picture-poem panegyric represents one extreme logical conclusion of the possibilities that the ecphrastic, intermedial *Siluae* suggested; indeed, in many ways, the *Siluae* prefigure the intemedial tendencies of Late Antique poetry and the close relationship between visual and verbal media that develops in the imperial culture of the 4th and 5th centuries. One hope for this thesis is that it will provide scope for further research on the importance of the *Siluae* in panegyric and ecphrastic literature of Late Antiquity.

1.3 Domitian and Nero: panegyric, poetics and politics in the *Siluae*

As *Siluae* 1.1 shows us, the descriptions of the monuments and commemorative artefacts of both the emperor and of Statius' private patrons in the *Siluae* provide important literary spaces for reflection upon the complex poetics of the *Siluae* and its relationship to Statius' literary inheritance, but more importantly, upon how these intertextualities and instances of poetic self-reflection are invested in the political activities of the Flavian emperor. When Statius gestures towards his own poetic monumentality by applying the traditional *topos* to Domitian's monument in 1.1, the immortality that the poet seeks is both affirmed by, and affirms, the emperor's divine status and future apotheosis, and also renders the emperor's (politicised) presentation of his divinity in manifestly poetic terms. In the *Siluae,* Statius is not just 'licensed spokesperson' for the emperor and patron, conferring meaning on artefacts and status markers,[62] but subsumes his poetic identity within that of Domitian.

Importantly, as we shall see, the *Siluae'*s evocations of the lives of his private patrons follow similar patterns of interchange between poet and patron, and Statius praises their monuments in terms that are

[62] Zeiner (2005).

clarified and consolidated through the emperor, presenting an integrated view of Flavian Rome in which the imperial realm of Domitian circumscribes and penetrates through the private lives of Statius' patrons. Taisne notes how 'de nombreuses Silves rappellent le rôle de Domitien dans la carrière des amis de des protecteurs de Stace...ou de Stace lui-même".[63] But this is not the prevailing view of the *Siluae.* There is a tendency instead to read a thematic divide between the imperial poems and the private evocations of the aestheticized lives of Statius' patrons immured from politics, and to adduce Statius' critical position in respect of the former, and his complicity in and commendation of the latter But as the *praefatio* to Book 1 stresses, the *Siluae* are designed as an interface, aimed at occupying the interstice between the private realm of the occasional *ex tempore* poem and the public world of published literature; the act of publication itself is an act of integrating the private with the public. The monuments of Statius' private patrons act as important symbols for displaying the emperor's central role in the private lives of his citizens, and to present the benefits of Flavian Rome.

It is difficult to overstate the omnipresence of Domitian in both the *Siluae* and in the political culture of Flavian Rome; this presence is particularly observable in his monumentalisation of Rome. The Flavian building programme in Rome was total, reconfiguring the city's urban fabric into an image of Flavian order and renewal following the assassination of Nero and the civil war of 69 CE.z[64] As Boyle writes, the Flavian emperors "did not simply rebuild; they rebuilt innovatively, grandiosely, and semiotically...a new architecture and iconography meant not only a new Rome but a new *romanitas,* one in which "Romanness" was a subject relationship to the Flavian emperor, who was everywhere immanent in the city through buildings and repetitious iconography".[65] Domitian's own prodigious building programme is well accounted for in literature: Suetonius claims that he restored an inordinate number of monuments following the fire of 80 CE (*Dom.* 5.1), and Plutarch rebukes Domitian's architectural extravagance as 'neither piety nor magnificence, but a disease of building' (*Publ.* 15.3-6: 'Οὐκ εὐσεβὴς οὐδὲ φιλότιμος τύ γ' ἐσσί· ἔχεις

[63] Taisne (1994) 330.
[64] The primary study of the Flavian monuments remains Darwall-Smith (1996); see also now Nocera (2018) for Domitian.
[65] Boyle & Dominik (2003) 30.

νόσον· χαίρεις κατοικοδομῶν). This applies equally to imperial statuary: Dio Cassius writes that nearly the whole world was filled with statues of Domitian made of silver and gold (67.8: πᾶσαν ὀλίγου δεῖν τὴν οἰκουμένην τὴν ὑπ᾽ αὐτὸν οὖσαν εἰκόνων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνδριάντων καὶ ἀργυρῶν καὶ χρυσῶν ἐμπλησθῆναι), and Suetonius tells us of the emperor's strict controls over statuary on the Capitoline (*Dom.* 13.2). Domitian's monumental programme was a means of shaping Rome's identity and memory around his own; in Suetonius' description of Domitian's reconstruction efforts (Suet. *Dom.* 5.1: *plurima et amplissima opera incendio absumpta restituit, in quis et Capitolium, quod rursus arserat; sed omnia sub titulo tantum suo ac sine ulla pristini auctoris memoria)*, the erasure of original builders attests to Domitian's control of Rome's history as much as its topography.

Domitian was, in other words, an ineluctable presence in Rome, all-present and omniscient, indistinguishable from his monumental and sculptural representations, even if his actual person was either situated elsewhere in the empire, or obscured from view in the palatial complex on the Palatine, as later sources attest (Plin. *Pan.* 49.1-3; Suet. *Dom.* 3.1; Cass. Dio 67.1.2).[66] At the same time, Domitian, in his capacity as *censor perpetuus*, scrutinised the private lives of his citizens, upholding traditional moral legislation and religious traditions with a violent fastidiousness (Suet. *Dom.* 8.3; Plut. *Rom. Quaest.* 50.2; Mart. 6.6). When Statius models his patrons' lives and his own poetic *persona* on the example of the *princeps*, and presents them as favourably observed by the *princeps*, it is not just a panegyric strategy; in Domitianic Rome, we are never far from Arendt's totalitarian ruler, whose will can be embodied by anyone, and who can thus be "everywhere and at all times":[67]

> whatever he does – whether he integrates the body politic as in an authoritarian hierarchy, or oppresses his subjects like a tyrant – he does it from within, and not from without or above… The great advantage of this system is that the movement provides for each of its layers, even under conditions of totalitarian rule, the fiction of a normal world along with a consciousness of being different from and more radical than it.

[66] McCullough (2008); cf. Hulls (2019).
[67] Arendt (2004/1954) 99.

The interconnections between both the private and public world, and between literary and material monumentality, that the *Siluae* establish, combined with Domitian's omnipresence throughout the collection, prompt complicated questions concerning the nature of the Domitianic regime, and Statius' role in the production of its discourse. Such uneasy material has tended to generate negative responses to Domitian's representation in the *Siluae,* and Statius' description of imperial monuments can be interpreted as sites of deep ambiguity, anxiety and embedded criticism of the imperial regime. In embarking upon a project on monumentality in the *Siluae,* I am painfully aware of my own epigonal status, and realise that I will appear to plot a course along a broad and well-travelled path, and bear certain affinities with Carole Newlands' *Statius' Siluae and the Poetics of Empire* (2002), arguably the most influential contribution to scholarship on the *Siluae* this century. Newlands' study revealed the *Siluae* as a work deeply concerned with the connection between text and artefact as a productive tool for both praise and literary self-reflection, but also for interrogating the relationship between poetic and political power. But Newlands also consistently finds elements of disturbance and discontinuity in the *Siluae*, and identifies Statius as a poet deeply, if implicitly, critical of the Domitianic regime.

To an extent, Newlands represented the culmination of a tradition inaugurated in the 1970s by Frederick Ahl with his emphasis on 'figured speech' as a central component of imperial literature, that conspired to diagnose the *Siluae* as a fundamentally subversive and ambiguous text, highly critical of the emperor, thus reclaiming Statius' poetic autonomy from accusations of slavish flattery promoted by much of twentieth century scholarship, and aligning his representation of Domitian with the hostile portraits produced by Tacitus, Suetonius, and later Christian authors.[68] Where Ahl and others identified these forms of doublespeak in the *Siluae* and deployed them as evidence of Statius' authorial intent, Newlands instead advocates for (but does not necessarily practice) attention to be directed towards issues of reader-response, arguing that the capacious nature of panegyric necessarily creates 'faultlines' that allow for 'inconsistencies and incoherences' in a reading of the *Siluae,* which destabilise any straightforward praise of the Flavian

[68] Ahl (1984a and b); Garthwaite (1984).

regime. Newlands' approach signified a clear change, yet in practice reverted too easily to the strategies employed by previous scholarship.[69]

In this thesis, by contrast, I tend to avoid any hermeneutics of suspicion that previous scholarship of Statius has employed; I prefer to read with the grain than against it. This doesn't mean that the *Siluae* don't contain the anxieties and ambiguities that previous scholarship has detected, and it will become clear that I remain indebted to these readings. Flavian literary scholarship has managed to avoid the ideological schisms that resulted in a form of attrition for scholarship on Augustan poetry in the 20th century. However, much of that debate can provide a useful framework for thinking about the *Siluae*'s ability to encompass both praise and at least the potential for subversive attitudes towards imperial power. Particularly important here is Kennedy's influential article on imperial ideology and discourse in Augustan poetry, which showed that even open subversion, intended to undermine political authority, necessarily accords something to that authority and so legitimises it: establishment discourse is shaped by and contains traces of its opposition (and vice versa), even if the conflicting voice is not heard in its own right.[70] As Feldherr observes of Ovid's relation to imperial ideology, "the 'Augustus' that previous scholars would have Ovid support or oppose himself bears a name whose meaning is determined by a process of discourse in which the text participates and in which any positive statement summons up a host of alternatives from its diverse audience".[71]

This observation is further complicated by the generic nature of panegyric, of which the *Siluae* are eminent examples: epideixis and eulogistic language always contains the potential for misrepresentation as blame. As Quintilian notes in his discussion of *distinctio* or *paradiastole*, (*Inst.* 9.3.65), descriptions of vice can be interpreted as descriptions of virtue, and Seneca also observes the potential for characteristics to be interpreted as either virtues or vices (*Ep.* 120: *sunt enim, ut scias uirtutibus uitia confinia, et perditis quoque*

[69] Spentzou (2004) 258 summarizes the shortcomings: "...N. attempts to sustain a politically subversive undercurrent in the *Siluae* that does not always convince. N.'s flair for detail and challenging associations is still rewarding, but the determination to consider most dialogues and incidents included, or alluded to, in these poems as anti-imperial, if covert, statements renders the text less nuanced than elsewhere". Morgan (2002) for a less charitable response.
[70] Kennedy (1992); see Giusti (2016) for a recent revisitation of Kennedy's argument.
[71] Feldherr (2010) 6.

ac turbibus recti similitudo est). Bartsch's influential analysis of Pliny's *Panegyricus* observes how the "terms of praise lend themselves to interpretation of blame", and that there is a "tendency for the terms of praise and blame to be liable to slippage and thus to mean their opposites or their negative counterparts on one or another evaluative axis separating good qualities from bad".[72] These ambiguities inherent in panegyric will constitute an important element of this thesis. However, whilst whether or not the *Siluae* contain subversive elements or represent undiluted praise is an important question, it is certainly not the ultimate question; the far more important issue to ask is how these elements are contained and presented, and what external factors might contribute to their interpretation.

A productive way of mediating this impasse and clarifying the terms by which the *Siluae* can be read (or at least, which might suggest a new approach) is by looking at Statius' monuments as sites of literary and political memory, and in particular the memory of Nero. Flavian literature's engagement with its Neronian legacy remains a relatively unexamined area, although two recent contributions, Ginsberg's study of the *Octauia* and Rebegianni's study of the *Thebaid* have laid important groundwork.[73] Nero will provide a recurrent theme throughout this thesis. Although Nero was declared an enemy of the state and subject to a *damnatio memoriae* following his death, he refused to be forgotten in Flavian Rome, and provides a constant touchstone and foil for Domitian in both Flavian literature and in later representations, often read against Augustus as the archetypal good princeps and imperial exemplum.[74]

Importantly, Flavian monumentality exhibits similar logic. The Flavian and Domitianic monumental programme in Rome was presented as an act of liberation from Nero's appropriation of public land for the Domus Aurea following the fire of 64 CE, and emphasised continuity with the pre-Neronian, Augustan notion of Rome's urban space, in such a way that it often implied criticism of Nero, a theme which we shall address in Chapter 5. Similarly, the Domus Flavia's location on the Palatine could be

[72] Bartsch (1994) 171-172.
[73] Ginsberg (2017); Rebeggiani (2018).
[74] Newlands (2014); Varner (2017); Rebeggiani (2018) 21-27 provides a good overview.

understood as a return to the traditional Augustan seat of power, even as it worked to deny any associations with the modesty that the first *princeps* had sought to convey. Domitian's restoration of the Augustan sundial in the Campus Martius, no longer accurate in Pliny the Elder's lifetime and a vivid visual representation of cosmic disorder (*NH* 36.71-3), could similarly imply that the institutions of Augustus were once again under the imperial control of an omnipotent leader, following the misrule of the Phaethonic Nero, a reading we shall turn to in Chapter 3, on Statius' description of the Domus Flavia.[75]

Further evidence points to the ways in which Domitianic monumentality engages with the Neronian past. Following the destructive fire of 80 CE, Domitian erected a number of monumental altars in conspicuous positions around Rome, dedicated by him to Vulcan, not in response to the recent catastrophe, but rather in fulfilment of a vow made but unfulfilled, according to their inscription (CIL VI.826=30837.6-8: *ex uoto suscepto quod diu erat neglectum nec redditum*), when the city burned for nine days in the time of Nero (10-11: *quando urbs per nouem dies arsit Neronianis temporibus*).[76] If Domitian's *Arae* look back to a vow made by Nero, then Domitian's decision to fulfil this vow twenty years later is a significant choice, presenting him, in contrast to Nero, as the observant and dutiful emperor, *censor* and *pontifex maximus*, as well as performing the additional role of aligning the disaster of 80 CE with the Neronian past.

The *Siluae* participate in this persistent concern with the memory of Nero in Flavian culture. Nero can function as a foil for Domitian, a model of flawed imperial leadership which the Flavian emperor is enjoined to avoid, but also as a potential double for Domitian: Domitian was later damned by Juvenal as a *caluus Nero* (Juv. 4.38), and later historical accounts stressed the similarities between the two emperors, particularly on account of their youthful poetic undertakings and purported Philhellenism. Rebeggiani focuses on the "remarkable paradox of Domitianic ideology: although Nero is officially demonized, elements of continuity and overlap between the political culture and imperial ideology of Nero and

[75] Heslin (2007).
[76] Closs (2016) gives a full account of the altars, inscriptions, and context.

Domitian are perceivable".[77] By understanding the importance and complexities of Nero's representation in Flavian literature, it is possible to shed much light on the panegyric representations of Domitian himself. Importantly, this has poetic implications for the *Siluae,* and I argue that just as Domitian's monuments work to reshape the memory of Nero in Rome, Statius' *Siluae* deconstruct Neronian literature, and rehabilitate it to suit a Flavian agenda. The *Siluae* stand as a nexus of reception both for the Julio-Claudian dynasty and for the literature that the era left behind, and the audience is persistently asked to identify the points of contact between the two imperial cultures. The *Siluae* stands as a Flavian monumental text, but if we look between its cracks and fissures, we often find the Neronian past gleaming through. This thesis is thus, in part, a close inspection of what lies beneath the *Siluae.*

1.4 cultural poetics, formalism and politics in the *Siluae*

A final note. It will be helpful to locate the approach of this thesis within recent trends in scholarship on Latin literature in general and on the *Siluae* in particular. The close relationships between image and text, poet and patron, and material and poetic monumentality that the *Siluae* posit force us to reflect on the exchanges between Statius' poetry and the material world with which he engages; the status of the *Siluae* as occasional, epideictic poetry dedicated to a patron requires focus to be directed towards the occasion, object and patron which the poem aims to commemorate. Such concerns align readily with the traditions of cultural materialism (or cultural poetics, or New Historicism), which pay attention to the literary text as a site for "the circulation of social energy", in dialogue with other texts and artefacts.[78] For the cultural materialist, the *Siluae* can be understood as a constituent part of the economy of cultural exchange amongst the elite of Flavian Rome, in which symbolic and economic forms of capital are circulated between poet and patron respectively, as part of the generation and mutual affirmation of prestige:[79] poetic and material

[77] Rebeggiani (2018) 21.
[78] The phrase is Greenblatt's (1988). Gallagher and Greenblatt (2001) and Williams (1977) provide the foundations for a cultural materialist/New Historicist approach. cf. Brannigan (1998), and the helpful overview on 'formalisms and historicisms' in Hinds (2010), which points out (to appropriate Latour) that as Classicists, we have never been formalists: "We have never, institutionally, inhabited a space restricted to 'the literary'" (378).
[79] Martelli (2009), following Hinds (2001), applies elements of a cultural materialist approach to the *Siluae.*

monument fall neatly into this rubric, each affirming the other's value and significance. Zeiner's investigation of Statius as the "creator of social distinction" represents an extreme version of this culturalist approach, at the expense of the *Siluae'*s poetic value.[80] If deconstruction emphasises the inconsistencies and tensions that make a text resistant to closed readings, a new historicist approach aims to read this resistance into the text's exchanges with its broader cultural and political contexts.

Accompanying the sorts of questions prompted by a cultural materialist perspective are the concerns expressed in Habinek's seminal *The Politics of Latin Literature,* which cautions against privileging a traditional formalist approach to Roman texts at the expense of social and material contexts, and issues a challenge to read critically against the literary strategies of mystification of elite economic and social arrangements that the *poeta doctus* can deploy.[81] The *Siluae* are highly reflexive and self-conscious texts that articulate a complex poetic programme positioned between epic and Callimacheanism; studies of the *Siluae* focus heavily on these themes, and explore how Statius presses the tropes, *topoi*, mythologies, and intertextualities which were available to the imperial poet into the service of his patrons' monuments and material worlds. Rosati represents a typical approach when he argues for Statius' "mythologisation of everyday life" and explores how the ""domestication of myth" created in the *Siluae*...shows elite daily life as an existence that takes place in a more than human setting".[82]

On the other hand, Hinds warns us not to throw the baby out with the bathwater, and not to dismiss the rich formal and literary properties of Roman poetry, inasmuch as these expose as much as mystify the poet's relationship to his historical circumstances.[83] Attention to the monuments and material artefacts in themselves, and their modes of influence on Statius' poetry, is of equal importance to understanding the *Siluae*. They convey not only crucial historical and cultural information, but also reveal as much about the

[80] Zeiner (2005); cf. the review in Heslin (2007b), which points to the shortcomings of such an approach.
[81] Habinek (1998); Hinds (2001).
[82] Rosati (2014) 63.
[83] Hinds (2001); cf. Leigh (2016) for a response to Hinds and a more robust approach to cultural materialism than is pursued in this thesis.

poetics of the *Siluae* as the *Siluae* can about his patrons' monuments. Martelli summarises these divergent critical approaches to the *Siluae*:

> The *Siluae* polarises reading communities: either we appreciate the collection for the 'insider' view it offers of the fabric of Roman life under Domitian and of the socio-economic conditions under which Statius was writing; *or* we appreciate the literary skill with which the poet negotiates his relationship with his historical and material context, transfiguring the grubby details of that context into *materia* that looks like a hospitable vehicle for verse. Seldom do we encounter a reading of the *Siluae* that offers a truly balanced assessment of the interaction between literary history and other forms of socio-economic and cultural history that are brought together in this collection.[84]

This thesis acknowledges the need for nuanced attention to both camps that the *Siluae* demand. I attempt to read from the text out, observing the literary tropes, gestures and intertextualities that Statius employs in his praise of his patrons' material worlds, but then turn to focus on how the monuments and artefacts in turn impact the *Siluae'*s poetics and complicate the literary traditions which Statius draws upon, and the uneasy alliance that emerges between them. A similar approach is employed by Freudenburg in his study of the Augustan *recusatio* and its relationship to political gesture. There Freudenburg asks, instead of seeing literary gestures as the persistent " interplay of books in the programming of aesthetic principles", "what happens to an intertext when it is also a cultural reference, taking us outside the library, into the habits of the emperor's political theatre and the deeper structures of Roman thought?".[85] This thesis pursues a similar line of enquiry, and aims to map out the interconnections between formal qualities of Statius' poetry, the cultural material world with which it engages, and the political framework within which it emerges.

[84] Martelli (2009) 146.
[85] Freudenburg (2014) 7.

Chapter 2
Speed and Politics

> Virgil, if he could have seen the first Verses of the *Sylvae*, would have thought Statius mad in his fustian Description of the State on the brazen Horse. But that Poet was always in a Foam at his setting out, even before the Motion of the Race had warm'd him.
>
> - Dryden, 'Parallel of painting and poetry'

> Dryden's genius was of that sort which catches fire by its own motion; his chariot wheels get hot by driving fast.
>
> - Coleridge, *Specimens of the Table Talk* 36

Domitian's monuments are a frequent subject of praise in the *Siluae*, and the following two chapters focus specifically on Statius' panegyrics on imperial building projects. Particularly important to Domitian's monumental projects was his complex self-presentation as exemplary military commander. Military valour was central to the Flavian image, a *gens* lacking a strong lineage. Both Vespasian and Titus had been remarkable for their military leadership (Tac. *Hist.* 2.5); Domitian, on the other hand, excluded from military command against foreign enemies until he assumed the principate (Suet. *Dom.* 2.1-2) was highly sensitive to his lack of credentials. A series of wars in the 80s, mainly against the Chatti and the Dacians, was orchestrated into a dazzling repertoire of triumphs, salutations, and appellations (notably the title *Germanicus*), as well as a swathe of victory monuments:[86] he allegedly built so many commemorative arches that Suetonius notes a punning graffito on an archway that called for an immediate cessation (*Dom.* 13.1: *ianos arcusque cum quadrigis et insignibus triumphorum per regiones urbis tantos ac tot extruxit ut cuidam Graece inscriptum sit:* arci).[87] His military efforts were mocked and repudiated by later hostile sources, but praised by contemporary writers, including Martial, Frontinus, and Statius—and, importantly,

[86] On Domitian's military campaigns, Jones (1992) 126-155 remains seminal.
[87] On the pun, see Fredrick (2003) 222. Medieval manuscripts transmit *arci, arti, arcui* (MGδ); Turnebus conjectured ἀρκεῖ. Becker (1863); Kaster (2016). For a broad overview of Domitian's 'imperiales Bauprogramm' in the *Siluae*, Rühl (2006) 314-328.

perhaps by Domitian himself, who allegedly penned a *Bellum Capitolinum* in commemoration of his involvement in the civil war of 69.

This chapter focuses on a central theme of the *Siluae*, namely the speed (*celeritas*) with which Statius likes to claim he composed his collection. Statius' profession of *celeritas* stages the poet's revisionist attitude towards the Callimachean principles of painstaking polish, and tends to be interpreted as a renegotiation of the Alexandrian and neoteric traditions of diminutive and intricate poetry to accommodate the demands of the Flavian age. But what I argue here is that when *celeritas* is understood within the context of praise of Domitian's self-fashioning as a military hero, it is also suggestive of its equally significant association with traditional Roman military valour, and this association consequently ties poet and emperor together: Statius' poetic swiftness can reinforce Domitian's professed military acumen, and Domitian's ability can equally support Statius' claim to *celeritas*, who can stand as poet-general and surrogate to the emperor.[88] Of critical importance too is Domitian's own status as a poet of martial themes, a poet-general upon whom the Flavian poets consciously modelled themselves; we are persistently asked to invest Statius' representation of the emperor with literary values, and a consequent implication is that the emperor can stand as artistic creator in the *Siluae*, an important aspect that we will flesh out in the following chapter.

Read in this way, the *Siluae*'s literary *celeritas* connects poetic speed to its military counterpart. What is essential, for the purposes of this thesis, is that Statius locates the clearest expression of this connection in Domitian's monuments themselves, which Statius deploys as interfaces between self-reflexive literary gesture and political statement in the *Siluae*. An exploration of *celeritas* thus provides an excellent starting point for an exploration of the interaction and interchangeability between Statius' monumental poetic project and the imperial monuments of Domitian, through which the poet is able to

[88] On "Die militärische Imago des Kaisers" in Statius and Martial, see Leberl (2004) 143-167; 245-266.

model the *Siluae*'s poetics on the self-representation of the emperor, and signal an intimate affinity between the two.

There is, however, a problematic side to Statius' *celeritas*: if the most vaunted example of Roman military speed was the (self-professed) *celeritas* of Julius Caesar, then for a Flavian audience this was irrevocably complicated by Lucan's representation of Caesar as the rapacious thunderbolt (Luc. 1.151-7), whose exemplary speed Lucan associates with an irrepressible will to power and autocracy, and tries—unsuccessfully—to repress. In other words, it was difficult for a Flavian poet to write about *celeritas*, or with *celeritas*, without evoking Lucan as an intertextual marker of civil war and Caesarism, complicating the legacy of the civil wars of 69 CE within the collective memory of Flavian Rome, and the connection between poetry and imperial power. For Statius, *celeritas* provides a forum to engage with his Neronian literary inheritance, and Domitian's monuments function as sites of contested intertextuality. I begin with an examination of the *praefationes* of the *Siluae* and some broader qualifications of *celeritas* in Latin literature, before homing in on two poems that express Domitian's monumental military self-representation and Statius' *celeritas*: for one last time, *Siluae* 1.1, on the colossal equestrian statue of Domitian, and 4.3, on the Via Domitiana.

2.1 neoteric negotiations

> Diu multumque dubitaui, Stella iuuenis optime et in studiis nostris eminentissime, qua parte et uoluisti, an hos libellos, qui mihi subito calore et quadam festinandi uoluptate fluxerunt, cum singuli de sinu meo pro[dierint], congregatos ipse dimitterem. quid enim [opus eo tempore hos] quoque auctoritate editionis onerari, quo adhuc pro *Thebaide* mea, quamuis me reliquerit, timeo? sed et *Culicem* legimus et *Batrachomachiam* etiam agnoscimus, nec quisquam est inlustrium poetarum qui non aliquid operibus suis stilo remissiore praeluserit. quid quod et serum erat continere, cum illa uos certe quorum honori data sunt haberetis? sed apud ceteros necesse est multum illis pereat ex uenia, cum amiserint quam solam habuerunt gratiam celeritatis. nullum enim ex illis biduo longius tractum, quaedam et in singulis diebus effusa. quam timeo ne uerum istuc uersus quoque ipsi de se probent!
>
> *Silv.* 1. Pr. 1-15

We start with a stop. Lingering on the threshold of the *Siluae*, Statius expresses his doubts to the dedicatee of Book 1, Arruntius Stella, over whether to publish his first collection of occasional poetry.[89] Statius' prose prefaces are crucial to understanding the poetics of the *Siluae*, and provide the paratextual frame through which Statius requires his poems to be read.[90] Significantly, this is presented as a negotiation between two poles, Callimachean poetics and the epic genre. Epic remains the touchstone for the *Siluae*: Statius situates the *Siluae* in relation to his recently published *Thebaid,* and strengthens his resolve to publish by associating the *Siluae* with the minor works ascribed to Virgil and Homer.[91] Statius thus presents himself as a mature epic poet working in a minor mode, reinventing the *Rota Virgiliana* (*Vit. Don.* 36) by placing his minor volume *after* his epic success, in contrast with Virgil's graduation from lesser poetic forms to epic. By doing so, Statius complicates epic's status as the apex of the hierarchy of genres, and additionally gestures towards the Callimachean notion of the mature poet who refuses to put aside childish, nugatory poetics (*Aet.* fr. 1.5-6 Pf.: ἔπος δ' ἐπὶ τυτθὸν ελ[| παῖς ἅτε, τῶν δ' ἐτέων ἡ δεκὰς οὐκ ὀλίγη). But the *Siluae* are also defined as a preliminary exercise (*praeluserit*), and are placed in anticipation of another epic—either Statius' forthcoming *Achilleid,* or, as the *Achilleid* seems to suggest itself (*Achil.* 1.19: *magnusque tibi praeludit Achilles*) something greater still, an epic on Domitian's own military deeds (*Silv.* 4.4.94-100). The *Siluae* remain in this penumbral state, placed both before epic and deferential to the *genus grande* of poetry, but also in a post-epic environment.

Any connection with Callimachean poetics is similarly problematic. Whilst, as we shall see throughout this thesis, Statius constantly plays with the friction between epic and diminutive poetics, Statius' strained relationship with Callimachean poetics is perhaps most evident in his emphasis on

[89] *Diu multum dubitaui* recalls the incipit to Cic. *Orat.* 1 (*diu multumque, Brute, dubitaui*); Johannsen (2006) 242; Rosati (2015) 55. Whitton (2019) 478 n. 15 on Statius' possible allusion to Quint. *Inst.* 1 pr. 1 (*diu sum equidem reluctatus*)—or vice versa.
[90] On the *Siluae*'s prefaces, see Johanssen (2006); Newlands (2009); Pagán (2010).
[91] On the *Siluae* and epic, Gibson (2006b); Bright (1980) 19 on the *Culex* and *Batrachomyomachia*'s tangential relationships to epic. Statius' statement is one of the earliest accurately dateable references to the *Batrachomyomachia*, along with Mart. *Ep.* 14.183; *etiam agnoscimus*, as opposed to *Culicem legimus*, might point to imperial debates over the poem's contested attribution to Homer.

celeritas. Statius' hesitancy to publish aligns his *praefatio* with the envoi to Horace's *Epistulae* (1.20), where the poet warns his *liber* about the dangers of hasty publication, which is likened to prostitution (8).[92] Horace chastises his work for disdaining a small readership and desiring public acknowledgment (3-4: *odisti clauis et grata sigilla pudico, | paucis ostendi gemis et communia laudas*), thereby confirming his Callimachean credentials (cf. *Epigr.* 28.3-4 Pf.: περίφοιτον ἐρώμενον) and likening speedy publication to the forfeit thereof. Statius reverses this logic: it is the private, occasional poem that has been produced with speed, and publication which is now resisted. Callimachean aesthetics are flagged as the domain of the reader, not the addressee. Whilst such expeditious poetry, Rosati suggests, is amenable to the occasional context wherein, and the patron for whom, it was produced, "when published in a volume...it finds its second addressee, who is the generic reader, the one for whom the Callimachean option remains an unavoidable requisite".[93]

Statius notes, with faux-modest trepidation, that his poems' sole virtue lies in their *celeritas*, which has now been undermined by their subsequent compilation and publication (1 pr. 15: *cum amiserint quam solam habuerunt gratiam celeritatis*). *Celeritas* stages the *praefatio's* meditation on the tension between impromptu performance and/or poetic composition (*Zeitgedicht*), and the *Siluae*'s later life as a published collection (*Gedichtbuch*), as well as the relationship between private addressee and public readership.[94] Publication, Statius fears, will sacrifice the poems' *celeritas.* By adamantly claiming to have foregone careful composition, Statius has subverted the standards for Callimachean, neoteric poetry: it is the reader who will now restore them, and it is this Callimachean judgment which Statius now purports to fear, but cannot avoid.

[92] Newlands (2009) 237; Rosati (2015).
[93] Rosati (2015) 57.
[94] The tension between performance and publication has its roots in Plat. *Phaed.* 275d-e (ὅταν δὲ ἅπαξ γραφῇ, κυλινδεῖται μὲν πανταχοῦ πᾶς λόγος ὁμοίως παρὰ τοῖς ἐπαΐουσιν, ὡς δ᾽ αὕτως παρ᾽ οἷς οὐδὲν προσήκει, καὶ οὐκ ἐπίσταται λέγειν οἷς δεῖ γε καὶ μή·); Lowrie (1995) 217. Important here is Rosati's notion of a 'strabismic', two-tier audience—addressee and wider audience; (2015) 58. See also Merli (2017).

The question of occasion and performance is of still more critical importance for the poems to be discussed here: Coleman tentatively suggests that 4.3 was intended as an inaugural poem, and both Hardie and Geyssen postulate, respectively that 1.1 was "written for an occasion" or "written for the statue's dedication", all of which assume a professional working relationship between poet and *princeps*.[95] This notion was, prior to Håkanson's convincing defence of Sandström's conjecture, supported by the comment in *praefatio* 1, as transmitted by *M*, that Statius had 'been commanded' to prepare his panegyric on the equestrian monument (19: *opus tradere iussum*). Sandström's substitution *ausus sum* has generally been accepted, recovering the poet's autonomy, but simultaneously complicating the nature of the *Siluae'*s imperial panegyric.[96]

Indeed, *celeritas*—the hasty, efficient composition of poetry—is the primary means through which Statius articulates the *Siluae'*s poetic credentials in the first prose preface. Statius creates the fiction of the poet composing spontaneous poems of dubious quality in response to the demands of his patrons. He describes here how his poems flowed from him in the heat of the moment (1 pr. 3: *qui mihi subito calore et quadam festinandi uoluptate fluxerunt*), and emphasises the swift composition of his individual poems, none of which took more than a day or two to compose (1 pr. 13-14). In Book 2, Statius again comments on his rapid offering of consolation to Melior, for which he apologises (2 pr. 8-9: *excusandam habuerim affectibus tuis celeritatem*). Similarly, the adverbs *subito, statim* and *maturius* frequent the third and fourth prefaces.[97]

[95] Coleman (1988) 105: "it is tempting to think that St.'s poem was intended as part of such a celebration". A. Hardie (1983) 131, Geyssen (1996) 21. Leberl (2004) 90 argues that Statius would have mentioned this fact in the *praefationes*: "Wenn Statius häufiger vor dem Kaiser rezitiert hätte, etwa während der Einweihungszeremonien des *equus Domitiani* (silv. 1,1) oder der *Via Domitiana* (4,3), dann hätte er seinem Leser vermutlich entsprechende Hinweise in den Gedichten oder den *praefationes* der Silven-bücher 1 und 4 geliefert".
[96] Sandström (1878), Hakånson (1969).
[97] Detailed in Pagán (2010).

Speed is an unusual literary trait, and serves to associate the *Siluae* with a minor form of diminutive poetry.[98] The immediate parallel for Statius' first *praefatio*, according to Newlands, is Catullus 1, with its emphasis on the nugatory nature of the *libellus* (1.1, 4), but a closer parallel is provided by Catullus 50, in which Catullus and Calvus indulge in a night of *otium* by capping each other's epigrams, implying both the diminutive and impromptu nature of their speedily composed works, and the relationship between poet and patron as literary comrades (Catull. 50.3-4: *scribens uersiculos uterque nostrum | ludebat*), an important aspect of the *Siluae*.[99]

We can read Statius' profession of *celeritas* as posturing, a deferential gesture that reaffirms the light quality of the *Siluae* and acknowledges his *stilus remissior* and its ludic nature (*praeluserit*).[100] The very name of the *Siluae* would seem to reinforce this need for speed, for one interpretation of the title designates them as 'rapidly executed rough drafts', on the basis of Quintilian's condemnation of the form (*Inst.* 10.3.17).[101] A futher way of understanding Statius' insistence on *celeritas* is to read it as inbuilt criticism, a means of anticipating the critical charges that will be brought against him.[102] But from another perspective, as Rosati observes, drawing attention to the speed of composition is a way of affirming Statius' ability to write effectively in haste, "a stubborn claim of possessing the poetic skill and professional ability to compose poetry *ex tempore*", necessary for the demands of Flavian patronage.[103] Ultimately, any expression of modesty belies both the polish and sophistication that the poems themselves display, and the

[98] Gibson (2006a) xviii, who notes A. Hardie's (1983) 85 distinction between extempore writing and speed of composition; given the *Siluae*'s hybrid status as occasional (performative) poems and published poetry, the two categories need not be mutually exclusive for understanding the implications of Statius' literary *celeritas.*
[99] Newlands (2002) 33.
[100] cf. Pliny's modesty: *Ep.* 1.2.6 *quamuis iam gratiam nouitatis exuerint*. cf. 2 pr. 16 *stili facilitatem,* hinting at *ex tempore* composition. On *facilitas* as anti-Callimachean, Rosati (2015) 63-4. cf. the emphasis on play in the preface to the Scholia to the *Batrachomyomachia:* ἁρμόζει μείραξιν ἁπαλοῖς ἐπτοημένοις περὶ τὰ παίγνια.
[101] Nauta (2002) 251 points out the distinction between 'improvisation' and 'fast writing', the latter of which best characterises the *Siluae.* A. Hardie (1983) 77 assumes the improvisational nature of the poems. Merli (2017) 144: "*festinatio* is not identical with improvisation". Quintilian approves of a poet's capacity to improvise (*Inst.*10.7.19) but disapproves of fast writing. cf. Tac. *Dial.* 6.6; Petron. *Sat.* 55.2-4, Mart. 7.85.3-4.
[102] Morgan (2003) on Ovid's anticipation and incorporation of criticism. Newlands cites the similar strategies in Wordsworth's preface to *Lyrical Ballads.* For another instance of this anticipation, see below, pg. 201-202.
[103] Rosati (2015); White (1974) 42; Gibson (2006a) xx n.15; A. Hardie (1983) 49 on *celeritas* as a distinctive marker of a 'professional' poet, as opposed to amateur dabbling (Petron. *Sat.* 55.2-4). cf. Statius' characterisation of his father's own *celeritas* (5.3.201) as a mark of professional ability.

strong hopes that Statius holds for the *Siluae'*s publication and its monumental status (1 pr. 14-15: *quam timeo ne uerum istuc uersus quoque ipsi de se probent!*). In *Epistles* 7.4, Pliny similarly boasts of the *celeritas* of his poetic composition (5: *exiguo temporis momento*), yet still expresses his desire for a favourable reception by posterity (10: *unum precor, ut posteri quoque aut errent similiter aut iudicent*).

The *Siluae'*s infringement of slow-cooked poetic refinement is intended to address the Callimachean tradition of πόνος, and the *neoteroi* and Augustan poets' predilection for the slow, laborious process of *emendatio* and *limae labor et mora* (Hor. *Ars P.* 291; cf. *Sat.* 1.10.72-74).[104] Statius is well aware that poetic tradition differentiates between polished poetry and ephemeral performance, with the former being the correct vehicle for poetic monumentality and immortality. Horace in the *Ars Poetica* advocates for the suppression of a finished poem for nine years before publishing (*Ars P.* 388: *nonum...in annum*), reinforcing Catullus' praise of Cinna's *Zmyrna* (95.1-2: *nonam post...messem | quam coepta est nonamque edita post hiemem*), a small-scale work (9: *parua...monumenta*) that will last forever (5-6), in contrast to the voluminous works of Hortensius, produced in the comparatively brisk period of a year (3: *milia cum interea quingenta Hortensius uno*), and the *Annales* of Volusius, destined to perish where they were born (7).[105]

Whilst Statius situates his epic *Thebaid* in the tradition of Roman Callimacheanism, a work of twelve years' labour (*Theb.* 12.811: *bissenos multum uigilata per annos*) and subject to much revision and polish (*Silv.* 4.7.26: *Thebais multa cruciata lima*; 3.2.143: *laboratas...Thebas*), the *Siluae'*s profession of *celeritas* appears purposefully designed to contravene Callimachean aesthetics. As Merli writes, "the *festinatio* is part of a new poetry that can achieve excellence without following the principle of *lima*; it has a role in both poetics and social relations", a mark of the professional poet who can respond to the demands

[104] Myers (2000) 135–7, Newlands (2002), 54, 140–2, 214–16; Gibson (2006a) xxiii-xxviii on Statius and Callimachus; Callimachus is only twice mentioned directly by Statius, at *Silv.* 5.3.156-7 (*pandere doctus | carmina Battiadae*) and 1.2.252-5.
[105] Brink (1971) *ad loc.* 388; Statius seems to pick up on Catull. 95 in *Silv.* 2.3.62-63: *haec tibi parua quidem genitali luce paramus | dona, sed ingenti forsan uictura sub aeuo.*

of a patron or occasion with haste.[106] When Rosati claims that "Callimachean elitism is inappropriate for the taste and cultural consumption of Flavian society", he is correctly pointing to the demands of the patron.[107] But at the same time, Statius manages to have his cake and eat it: the *Siluae* exhibit virtuosic displays of Alexandrian refinement, and as we shall see, Statius' poems engage most fully with Callimachean aesthetics precisely at the moment that they seem to embody the characteristics of *celeritas.* The *Siluae*'s *celeritas* thus presents not so much a rejection but a means of updating Callimachean-neoteric poetics, in service of Flavian society and the emperor.

2.2 Speed and politics

But Statius' *celeritas* does more than pay lip-service to a rebranded Callimacheanism; it points also to the dynamics of imperial praise. This is evidenced by the prevalence of Domitian himself in the *praefationes*: Statius claims the emperor as his sacrosanct witness (*sacrosanctum testem*), and underscores the programmatic importance of the first poem by introducing the motif of beginning from Jupiter (1 pr. 16-17: *primus libellus sacrosanctum habet testem, sumendum enim erat a Ioue principium*), gesturing to Hellenistic encomium (Theoc. *Id.* 17.1-4) and linking the emperor with Jupiter, and poetic inspiration to imperial authority.[108] *Siluae* 4 will cap the first collection's efforts at imperial praise by offering three poems in succession (4 pr. 3-4: *hic liber tres habet*),[109] and Statius directly invokes Domitian as his divine inspiration in 5.1.13-14.[110]

By incorporating Domitian directly into the *Siluae'*s poetics, Statius is authorising his right to *celeritas:* the poem for Domitian's statue, Statius claims, was given to the emperor the very next day after

[106] Merli (2017) 144.
[107] Rosati (2015) 65.
[108] Newlands (2002) 54. For a list of occurrences of the motif, Bömer (1958) *ad loc. Fast.* 5.111. There are generic implications too: on the one hand, the tag points to Alexandrian aesthetics; on the other, as Gibson (2006b) 168 points out, it can align the *Siluae* with epic.
[109] For this statement as evidence for the publication of *Siluae* 1-3 as one entity, Vollmer (1898), Nauta (2002) 287-8.
[110] As Lucan does for Nero (Luc. 1.66): *tu satis ad uires Romana in carmina dandas.*

he himself had dedicated the monument (1 pr. 18-19). In *praefatio* 2, Statius again emphasises the speed with which his poem for the emperor was produced (2 pr. 16-18), and in the *praefatio* to *Siluae* 4, the book with the most poems dedicated to Domitian, Statius defends his new collection against criticism by specifically invoking the emperor's approval (27: *deinde multa ex illis iam domino Caesari dederam, et quanto hoc plus est quam edere?*). *Celeritas* emerges as a requisite for imperial praise. We see a similar strategy at play in Martial's *Epigrams,* where the poet's hastily composed *libellus* will paradoxically give reason for the emperor to pause (2.91: *si festinatis totiens tibi lecta libellis | detinuere oculos carmina nostra tuos),* where Martial's poetic *celeritas* underscores "both the author's virtuosity and his solicitude for its powerful recipient", in Merli's words.[111] Like Statius, what Martial is doing here, apart from reinforcing the diminutive appeal of his poetry, is pointing to the necessity of *kairos*, and the poet's ability to respond to an occasion of imperial importance accordingly.[112] This importance of *celeritas* to imperial panegyric can also be inferred from Ovid's exilic poetry, which by contrast deplores the relegated poet's inability to cover vast swathes of imperial space to bestow swift and effective praise upon the emperor: In *Pont.* 3.4, Ovid laments his removal from Rome, unable to effectively praise Tiberius' triumph over Illyricum, for even if his panegyric compositions are *carmina properata,* a year may pass before their eventual arrival in the capital: *dum uenit huc rumor properataque carmina fiunt | factaque eunt ad uos, annus abisse potest* (3.4.59-60).[113]

But what is important to observe is that within the context of imperial panegyric, *celeritas* for a Roman audience would also suggest the theme of the emperor's military excellence, an effective point of praise. An early and well-known occurrence is found in Cicero's *Pro Lege Manilia,* which lists Pompey's *celeritas in conficiendo* (34) as one of the essential virtues of his exemplary military command (40: *unde illam tantam celeritatem et tam incredibilem cursum inuentum putatis?*).[114] Further evidence is forthcoming

[111] Merli (2017) 147. Coleman (2006) 260 suggests an analogous request for indulgence made by Antipater of Thessalonica (*AP* 9.93) for a booklet composed in a single night; cf. Leonides of Alexandria, *AP* 6.328.
[112] That the busy emperor has little time for poetry is used as a *captatio* in Hor. *Epist.* 2.1 and Ov. *Tr.* 2.233-6.
[113] Discussed in Merli (2017) 140.
[114] For *De Imperio Cn. Pompeii* as panegyric, Dewar (1996) xxiv; Rees (2002) 139-41; Braund (2012) 106-7.

in the later *Panegyrici Latini*, where military *celeritas* implies both the emperor's omnipresence throughout his entire empire and his quasi-divine mental acumen and execution of deeds.[115] For Lolli, *celeritas* becomes the "parola Latina delle chiare connotazioni propagandistiche" in later panegyric, and for Mause it is the "bedeutsames Wesensmerkmal, das den Kaiser in Angelegenheiten des Krieges auszeichnet".[116] The author of the *Genethliacus* for Maximian provides a suggestive example, describing the wondrous restlessness of the Caesars, Maximian and Diocletian:

> ...quod expeditiones uestras numerare non possumus, quod diutius in isdem manere uestigiis dedignamini, quod uos a continuo cursu rerum gerendarum non modo amoenitas locorum aut nobilitas urbium sed ne ipsa quidem uictoriarum uestrarum laetitia remoratur. illum modo Syria uiderat: iam Pannonia susceperat. tu modo Galliae oppida inlustraueras: iam summas arces Monoeci Herculis praeteribas. ambo, cum ad Orientem Occidentemque occupari putaremini, repente in medio Italiae gremio apparuistis. Hos fructus capitis operum maximorum, sic interim meritorum conscientia triumphatis, dum triumphos ipsos semper uincendo differtis, quod quaecumque pulcherrima facitis continuo transitis et ad maiora properatis ut, dum triumphos ipsos semper uincendo differtis, quod quaecumque pulcherrima facitis continuo transitis et ad maiora properatis ut, dum uestigia uestra miramur dumque uos adhuc esse in conspectu putamus, iam de uobis audiamus longinqua miracula.
>
> (*Pan. Lat.* 11 [3] 4.1-3)

The passage has its roots in Cicero's praise of Pompey, whom the luxuries and trappings of the cities he conquered could not detain (*Leg. Man.* 40: *non...finium imperi propagatio retinet*; cf. Cic. *Prou. Cons.* 29). It combines here with another theme of imperial panegyric, already present in Callimachus' *Hymn to Zeus* (85-88), which praises the imperial subject's *diuina celeritas*—the godlike ability to accomplish with utmost speed whatsoever he desires.[117] But ultimately, the *Genethliacus* describes a military affair: Diocletian's campaign against the Sarmatians (289 CE) blurs with his arrival in Gaul, and both leaders work to unify east and west (*Orientem Occidentemque*), conveniently coming to light in the centre, in Milan (punning on Mediolanum: *in medio Italiae*).[118] The military speed of the generals is a *miraculum*, and exceeds the

[115] See particularly Lolli (1999). The omnipresence of the emperor is important to late antique panegyric; Rees (2002) 1: "in Late Antiquity, emperors were everywhere". On the 'Topos der kaiserlichen *celeritas*' Halfmann (1986) 59-60; *celeritas* as 'Herrschertugend', Mause (1994); Greinke (2017).
[116] Lolli (1999) 620; Mause (1994).
[117] Stephens (2015) 112-13 on the Egyptian provenance of this theme. For the idea of *diuina celeritas*, cf. *Pan Lat.* 11(3).3.3-4: *quas diuina celeritate peragrastis*), and Cic. *Orat.* 68 on divine *celeritas* in Carneades: *hinc haec recentior Academia emanauit, in qua exstitit diuina quadam celeritate ingenii dicendique copia Carneades.*
[118] For the Milan Conference in 290-1 CE, Barnes (1982) 52.

capacities of human perception. The passage encapsulates the panegyric potential of *celeritas* as a superhuman dimension of the emperor's military ability, and as a means of affirming the emperor's presence throughout the empire, providing a link between centre and peripheries, over which the emperor appears to exercise complete control.[119]

The later panegyrists' emphasis on military *celeritas* provided both a measure of praise for their emperor, but also a means of associating their subject with past leaders and military heroes of Rome and their accompanying literary representations. In their praise of *celeritas,* the panegyrists were ultimately looking back to the exemplars of Republican military heroism: in *Pan. Lat.* 8 (5), Constantius I is praised for his swift defeat of Gesoriacum in terms that are strikingly evocative of Julius Caesar's well-known maxim (8[5].6.1: *statim itaque Gallias tuas, Caesar, ueniendo uicisti*; *siquidem illa celeritas*; cf. Suet. *Jul.* 37), and in *Pan. Lat.* 12 (9), Constantine's speedy victory over Segusio (5.5: *quis enim crederet tam cito a Rheno ad Alpes imperatorem cum exercitu peruolasse?*) is compared favourably to Caesar's destruction of Gomphos in one day (6: *C. Caesar uno die sustulit*), and his *celeritas* is clarified particularly in terms of his emulation of Scipio Africanus and Julius Caesar (15.3-4: *rapto agmini aduolasti, celeritatem illam in re gerenda Scipionis et Caesaris tunc maxime cupienti Romae repraesentans*).

The central importance of *celeritas* to imperial panegyric allows us to draw new insights on the resonances of *celeritas* in the *Siluae:* in a collection of poems that revolve around the praise of an emperor who took his self-presentation as exemplary military leader extremely seriously, *celeritas* invites these associations with imperial military virtue. Statius' celebration of his poetic *celeritas* finds a compelling counterpart in his celebration of the emperor's military ability and hits at a level of interchangeability between the two. And, as the orator of *Panegyrici Latini* 12 (9) makes clear, at the heart of the notion of *celeritas* lies Julius Caesar.

[119] Domitian, as Jones (1992) 126 observes, "was the first emperor to spend a substantial part of his reign outside of Rome personally involved in military ventures". Martial's *Epigrams* make several pleas for Domitian to return from constant campaigning: e.g. Mart. 7.5.3-6; 7.6.9-10.

2.3 The poet-general

Julius Caesar was perhaps *the* archetypal example of Roman military *celeritas* in imperial culture. Suetonius and Plutarch both attest to his swift and decisive action as early as his revenge against the pirates (*Caes*. 2.3; Suet. *Iul*. 7), and later in Spain (Plut. *Caes*. 12.1; Suet. *Iul*. 18.1), the Gallic campaigns (Plut. *Caes*. 20.3, 24.2, 26.2–3), and the civil wars (Plut. *Caes*. 32.1). Caesar's military capacity needs no revision.[120] But in the imperial imagination, equal to his military ability were the scale and speed of Caesar's own literary output and communication, admired already during his lifetime: Hirtius's preface to *Bellum Gallicum* 8 expresses wonder at how quickly and eloquently Caesar completed his commentaries (*BGall*. 8 pr. 6: *quam facile atque celeriter eos perfecerit scimus*);[121] Pliny the Elder, talking not of warfare, but of Caesar's reading and writing, describes his *uis* and *celeritas* as like a winged fire, mysteriously capable of penning multiple letters at once (*HN* 7.91: *proprium uigorem celeritatemque quodam igne uolucrem*), and Plutarch admires Caesar's ability to ride a horse and dictate multiple letters simultaneously (*Caes*. 17.4). Caesar's literary *celeritas* presented something for later writers both to emulate but also to contest, a theme most clearly recognised in Velleius Paterculus' own espousal of literary *festinatio* which slows only, paradoxically, to address Caesar himself (2.41: *secutus deinde est consulatus C. Caesaris qui scribenti manum iniicit et quamlibet festinantem in se morari cogit*).[122]

The representation of Caesar's military and literary speed can be understood as a variation on the *topos* of the orator, poet or writer positioning themselves as a military figure, hence asserting the success of Roman literature as a result of military superiority, but also highlighting the tension between the

[120] The bibliography on Caesar's *celeritas* is understandably huge; see esp. Grillo (2012) 14–36. For the reception of Caesar in Flavian literature, Marks (2010b) is especially instructive.
[121] The generic status of the *commentarius* – a calque on the Greek ὑπομνήματα (Lucian *Hist. Consc.* 48) as Conte (1994a) 226 suggests - occupied a literary halfway-point between the raw material of personal notes, reports and correspondence, and their elaboration into full historical work (Cic. *Brut.* 262), and is thus temptingly analogous to the *Siluae*, a mode which Quintilian identifies as drafts hastily composed for later correction (*Inst.* 10.3.17-18). Asinius Pollio accused Caesar of compiling his commentaries *diligenter parum* (Suet. *Jul.* 56.4), which maps neatly onto Statius' own anticipations of criticism.
[122] Woodman (1977) *ad loc.* 2.41; Lobur (2007).

competing, and co-dependent, forms of military and literary glory.[123] Military leaders and emperors could stand as poets, and poets and orators fashion themselves as (incompetent) military soldiers or generals to stage the generic parameters of their literary undertaking. Elegists co-opted the theme of *militia amoris*, and Horace alludes to his incompetence on the battlefield (*Epod.*. 1.16: *imbellis ac firmus parum*), inverting his iambic predecessor Archilochus' claim to be both a servant of Ares and a skilled poet (1W = Ath. 14.627c).[124] Lieberg's study of the *poeta creator* points to the proclivity of the (epic) poet or writer of warfare to represent himself as a military commander, a *dux,* or a warrior, on the basis of the standard convention that the author of a poem describes themself as doing what they are writing about.[125] Horace presents Asinius Pollio as both author and warrior (*Carm.* 2.1), whose *Historiae* are presented as blurring the line between representation and reality; as Fraenkel evocatively suggested of Horace's portrait, "the work of the historian seems, in the anticipation of his enthusiastic friend, to have sprung into full reality, and now all the mighty things he is going to describe resound in our ears and dazzle our eyes", portraying Asinius figuratively putting down the pen and picking up the sword.[126]

Military and literary success could be interchanged and substituted, each reinforcing the validity of the other: Caesar himself had composed the *De Analogia* whilst expanding the frontiers of Gaul, and Fronto depicts him writing about noun declensions with spears flying over his head (*De Bello Parthico* 9: *inter tela uolantia de nominibus declinandis*). Elsewhere, the *Panegyricus Messallae* presents Messalla as a strong example of the orator as literary general, able to conquer both in the law courts and on the battlefield (39-40: *nam quis te maiora gerit castrisue foroue? | nec tamen hic aut hic tibi laus maiorue minorue*); Statius employs a similar comparison in his ode to Septimius Severus, whose sword lies quietly in his sheath while he declaims in the courts—unless summoned to draw it by friends (*Silv.* 4.5.49-52). Importantly, in the imperial period it was specifically the emperor and members of the imperial family who could stand as a literary "general for the muses," as the dying Augustus is supposed to have exhorted Tiberius to be (Suet.

[123] Henderson (2006) 37ff. situates Caesar in this context.
[124] Drinkwater (2013) on *militia amoris;* Watson (2007) on Horace and Archilochus.
[125] Lieberg (1982) 88, 94; Masters (1992) 6.
[126] Fraenkel, quoted in Lieberg (1982) 74; Morgan (2000) on *enargeia* and autopsy in Pollio.

Tib. 21.4.1: ταῖς †μουισαcαις† στρατηγῶν); Ovid presents Germanicus as moving between *bella* and *uerba* with ease (*Pont.* 4.8.73-4: *nam modo bella geris, numeris modo uerba coerces | quodque aliis opus est, hoc tibi lusus est*).

The motif of the poet-warrior can be extended to Statius' *Achilleid*, which begins with either a gladiatorial or military metaphor (17-18: *da ueniam ac trepidum patere hoc sudare parumper | puluere*): the (now mature) Statius presents himself as a young man in training, and thus similar to his subject, the young Achilles, a comparison that again inverts the relationship between age and generic propriety.[127] We can also detect it in the *Siluae* themselves, which Statius compares to training exercises for gladiatorial combat (4 pr. 32: *sed et sphaeromachia spectantes et palaris lusio admittit*; cf. 4. pr. 29-30 *exerceri autem ioco non licet?*), the consequence being that Statius' *Siluae* are a prelude to epic (1 pr. 10: *praeluserit;* cf. *Achil.* 1.19: *magnus tibi praeludit Achilles*), and more specifically to Statius' *Achilleid*—or rather the anticipated epic for Domitian (*Silv.* 4.4.94-98)—but also that the *Siluae* are serious about their own relationship to military subject-matter and praise of Domitian's accomplishments, despite their ludic quality.[128] This can further be inferred from Statius' comparison of the *Siluae* to the *Batrachomyomachia,* not simply as a diminutive work by an epic poet, but one that actively parodies and engages with epic form and military subject-matter; one of the Exhortatory Epigrams in the *Greek Anthology* similarly presents the *Batrachomyomachia* as a training exercise (90.1-2: ῞Ομηρος αὐτοῦ γυμνάσαι γνῶσιν θέλων, | τῶν βατράχων ἔπλασε καὶ μυῶν μῦθον).[129]

Throughout the *Siluae,* Statius consistently employs a combination of (Roman) gladiatorial and (Greek) epinicean imagery to present himself as a competitive poet: in 4.5, when Septimius spurs Statius on to victory at the Alban Games, he is compared to Castor's encouragement of Pollux against Amycus (27-32); the same metaphor is applied at 5.3, where Statius' father, witnessing his son's competitive

[127] Nauta (2002) 32, who also notes that "commentators and translators think of the arena but in Latin literature the combination of sweat and dust always refers to the battlefield", citing Plin. *Ep.* 9.2.4; *Pan.* 13.1; *Silv.* 5.1.132-4.
[128] Coleman (1988) *ad loc.* on the meaning of *sphaeromachia.*
[129] See Wölke (1978) 34-35 for attribution of this epigram.

performances, is likened to a father watching his son at the Olympic Games (220-24, esp. 220: *talis Olympiaca iuuenem cum spectat harena*).[130] If epic is the traditional realm of warfare, then *celeritas*, combined with such imagery, can suggest the *Siluae'*s provocatively tangential relationship to poetry's *genus grande*, suggesting the terms of military excellence which it cannot but in good faith connote. What the discerning reader comes to realise is that a version of the epic which is promised Domitian by Statius (*Achil.* 1.14-18) is to be found fragmented, attenuated, and dispersed throughout the *Siluae* itself.

This allows us to draw some conclusions on the importance of Julius Caesar as representative of the writer-warrior in Latin literature, his importance in Flavian literature and for the *Siluae* in particular. Syme detected a pervasive ambiguity towards Caesar during the Julio-Claudian period which persisted until Trajan's reign, when finally "banished by artifice or convention, the Dictator at length regains his place in the line of the Caesars": it was Trajan, not Domitian, who commemorated Caesar in coinage.[131] But Marks' useful survey of the reception of Julius Caesar in imperial poetry notes a discernible rehabilitation of Julius Caesar in the Flavian period, "and particularly in the poetry composed under Domitian", although his tentative conclusions concede that "the reasons for this departure are difficult to pin down".[132] A revived interest in Caesar is certainly evident, and particularly in Statius. Two options present themselves as reasons for such interest: Domitian's professed military and literary acumen on the one hand, and, inevitably, Lucan's representation of Caesar on the other.

2.4 Domitian and the long shadow of Caesar

[130] Gibson (2006a) 359-350 on 5.3: while the simile "purports merely to refer to a Greek athletic contest", it "also suggests Roman gladiatorial combat"; Coleman (1988) *ad loc.* on 4.5.27. Leigh (1997) 234-292 on the arena, gladiatorial allegory and epic. Coleman (1993; 2006) on the blurred line between performance and warfare in poetic descriptions of *munera* in Domitianic Rome.
[131] Syme (1958) 432-434. Harvey (2002) on Trajan's coinage.
[132] Marks (2010b) 14. A. Hardie also recognises the shift (1983) 190-1.

The image of Julius Caesar as literary warrior resonates closely with the Flavian image of Domitian as general-poet *par excellence*. Nothing wholly survives of Domitian's literary output, and it is often tempting to describe this representation of Domitian as "a literary sham".[133] But Martial describes Sextus the Palatine librarian's intimate knowledge of the emperor's *ingenium* (*Ep.* 5.5.2 *ingenio frueris qui propiore dei*) and notes a "heavenly poem" by Domitian on the Capitoline Battle of 69 CE (7–8: *Capitolini caelestia carmina belli*), urging it to be placed alongside the *Aeneid*, and Valerius Flaccus hints also at a poem on the Jewish war (Val. Fl. 1.12–14). For this reason, perhaps, Quintilian could include Domitian in his list of epicists most beneficial to the aspiring orator, placing him, importantly, directly after Lucan:

> Hos nominamus quia Germanicum Augustum ab institutis studiis deflexit cura terrarum, parumque dis uisum est esse eum maximum poetarum. Quid tamen his ipsis eius operibus in quae donato imperio iuuenis secesserat sublimius, doctius, omnibus denique numeris praestantius? Quis enim caneret bella melius quam qui sic gerit? (Quint. *Inst*. 10.1.91)

Any irony implicit in Quintilian's saccharine praise notwithstanding, a clear picture of Domitian as the poet-warrior emerges: the poetic achievements of Domitian will be well-known to posterity; it is only the blaze of his military glory that now diminishes his literary renown (92: *dicent haec plenius futura saecula, nunc enim ceterarum fulgore uirtutum laus ista praestringitur*). The emperor has put his money where his mouth is, and is able to both wage and write about wars (*quis enim caneret bella melius quam qui sic gerit*?), having secured, then put aside, a formidable reputation as an epic poet of Flavian military victories in his youth. This corroborates less favourable images, in Suetonius and Tacitus (Suet. *Dom*. 2.2; Tac. *Hist*. 4.86), which present his youthful enthusiasm for poetry as an act of dissimulation and affronted withdrawal, before being exchanged for more mature and murderous interests.

But if Domitian did try to forget about poetry, the poets themselves wouldn't let him. There are persistent efforts in Flavian poetry to animate an image of the emperor as poet-general, or to adopt that persona themselves—Domitian could act as a model of poetic authority, which poets could both admire

[133] Especially Penwill (2000), who flatly denies Domitian's *Bellum Capitolinum* ever existing; cf. Roche (2009) 377.

and aspire to emulate, and which could provide grounds for poetic praise. Statius draws the comparison between Domitian's martial and literary abilities in the proem of the *Achilleid*, stressing his epic on the Greek archetypal hero, like the *Siluae* as a prelude to his treatment of the emperor:

> at tu, quem longe primum stupet Itala uirtus
> Graiaque, cui geminae florent uatumque ducumque
> certatim laurus – olim dolet altera uinci -
> da ueniam ac trepidum patere hoc sudare parumper
> puluere; te longo necdum fidente paratu
> molimur magnusque tibi praeludit Achilles (1.14-19)

In Silius Italicus's *Punica*, Jupiter's prophecy includes an extensive encomium to Domitian, itemizing his conquests before trumpeting his poetic and literary success:

> hic et ab Arctoo currus aget axe per urbem
> ducet et Eoos, Baccho cedente, triumphos.
> idem, indignantem tramittere Dardana signa,
> Sarmaticis uictor compescet sedibus Histrum.
> quin et Romuleos superabit uoce nepotes,
> quis erit eloquio partum decus. huic sua Musae
> sacra ferent, melior lyra, cui substitit Hebrus
> et uenit Rhodope, Phoebo miranda loquetur. (Sil. *Pun.* 3.614–21)

Silius's Jupiter picks up where he left off in the *Aeneid,* presenting a Virgilian formula applied to Flavian material: Domitian will exercise his paternal rule over a blessed earth (3.625–26: *beatas* | *imperio terras patrio rege*), having extended Rome's *imperium* immeasurably.[134] But Jupiter stretches his encomium to acknowledge Domitian's poetic and rhetorical supremacy, presenting the emperor as a model for the *Punica*'s further variations on the theme of the poet-warrior, which includes Murranus (5.461–63), Pedianus (12.212–60), and Ennius (12.390–414)—and, consequently, Silius himself—thus connecting Domitian with the father of Latin poetry and Domitian's military successes with Silius's own poetic self-fashioning.[135]

[134] See Marks (2005) 267–68 and Penwill (2010) 222–24 on the parallels between Jupiter's prophecy in the *Aeneid* and the *Punica*.
[135] See Marks (2010a) 188–94 on the warrior-poet in the *Punica*; cf. also Casali (2006).

A clear effort to represent Domitian as general-poet thus emerges as a prevalent theme within Flavian literature. But praise of the emperor's military abilities, especially when compared to later writers, is also problematic to take at face value. Tacitus is especially hostile to Domitian's triumphs (*Agr*. 39.2; *Germ*. 37.6); Cassius Dio denies that Domitian ever saw the frontline (67.4.1). Domitian made the unpopular decision to withdraw from parts of Britain (*Hist*. 1.2), and his Pannonian campaigns dragged on for seven years, alternating between defeat and negotiated peace, eventually resulting in the emperor celebrating an *ouatio* in Rome in January 93.[136] On the other hand, however, the presentation of Domitian as an effective military commander is observable in Martial's epigrams, where the poet equates Domitian with Mars: in *Ep*. 6.76, Martial hails the praetorian prefect Cornelius Fuscus as *sacri lateris custos Martisque togati* (1); in 8.65, Martial praises a triumphal arch of Domitian, built upon the emperor's return from the Second Pannonian War, as worthy of Mars himself (11-12: *haec est digna tuis, Germanice, porta triumphis: | hos aditus urbem Martis habere decet*).[137] Frontinus' *Strategemata*, perhaps obviously, turn to praise Domitian's military accomplishments.[138] As Malloch has persuasively argued, the author works to associate Domitian with a series of historical *exempla*: "Frontinus' commemoration of Domitian singles him out as representative of contemporary military excellence, and some of the more recent non-Domitianic *exempla* provide him with distinguished precedents that reflect well on him".[139] Caesar is an implicit point of comparison: early in the *Strategemata* Frontinus describes Domitian's personal victory against the Chatti in Germany through a swift, Caesarian *inopinatum bellum*:[140]

> Imperator Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus, cum Germanos, qui in armis erant, uellet opprimere nec ignoraret maiore bellum molitione inituros, si aduentum tanti ducis praesensissent, profectioni[s] suae census obtexuit Galliarum: sub quibus inopinato bello affusus contusa immanium ferocia nationum prouinciis consuluit. (*Strat*. 1.1.8)

[136] Jones (1992) 152.
[137] See Henriksén (2012) xx-xxii on Domitian as commander in Martial.
[138] See Eck (1982) 55-7 for dating of the *Strategemata*, and Wachsmuth (1860) Wöfflin (1875) for authenticity of *Strategemata* Book 4. Turner (2007) on Frontinus' representation of Domitian in *Strategemata.*
[139] Malloch (2015) 84.
[140] *Contra* Suet. *Dom.* 6.1 which describes it as more *sponte* than *necessarius.* cf. Front. *Str.* 6.3.1 ('*de improuiso De Bell'*).

Germany was where Domitian cut his teeth: it is the defeat of German tribes that the equestrian monument of *Siluae* 1.1 commemorates, and for Martial, Domitian is the *Rheni domitor* (*Ep.* 9.5.1).[141] Domitian's conquest is qualified by Frontinus in terms of *celeritas* (*inopinato bello affusus*), and it is noteworthy that Germany was where Julius Caesar's *celeritas* had ultimately failed, not only in military but also literary terms. Frontinus' brisk account of Domitian's military success in Germany is in sharp contrast to Julius Caesar's own torpid account of his Germanic campaign where, as Krebs points out, "Caesar's characteristic *celeritas* comes to a grinding halt".[142] Domitian's military victory signals a literary triumph, for in Roman literature, Germania presented not only an interminable military impasse, but also a highly contested geographical *topos*: Aufidius Bassus and Pliny the Elder compiled monumental *bella Germaniae* (Plin. *Ep.* 3.5), both of which influenced Tacitus' own *Germania*, a work that lays out the spectacular failures of Rome against the Germans (37.4).[143] By contrast, Domitian's success is matched most clearly in poetry by Statius' own (lost) *De Bello Germanico*, which perhaps won Statius the Alban Games of 90 CE (*Silv.* 3.5.28-31; 4.2.64; 4.5.22-4), uniting Domitian the triumphant general with Statius the triumphant poet.[144]

Domitian's attested literary ability is also controversial, praise of which was perhaps equally artificial, based on one adolescent poem, inaccessible and unread by the time of Tacitus.[145] Suetonius says that Domitian never really cultivated an eloquent literary style, nor did he care to (Suet. *Dom*. 20). Roche reads Quintilian's representation of Domitian's military and literary pretensions as mutually ironic on both fronts, each deflating the other.[146] On the other hand, as Morgan has argued, Domitian was at the very least

[141] Domitian's military *celeritas* in Germany may be further inferred from Tacitus' emphasis on the Chatti's own proverbial (and suspect) speed (*Germ.* 20.2-3: *cito parare uictoriam, cito cedere: <Peditum> uelocitas iuxta formidinem, cunctatio propior constantiae est*).
[142] Krebs (2006) 112.
[143] For the two surviving references to Pliny's *Bella Germaniae*, Suet. *Calig.* 8.1-2; Tac. *Ann.* 1.69.2. Rives (1999) 36-37.
[144] Courtney (1993) on the extant fragment preserved in Valla's edition of Juvenal; Courtney (1980) 195-6 on the relationship between the fragment and Juv. 4.94-8; on the possible dates for Statius' victory, see Coleman (1988) xvi-xvii.
A. Hardie (1983) 61 suggests that it is more likely that the *De Bello Germanico* constituted a separate poem for Domitian's victory in 83 CE rather than Statius' prize-winning entry.
[145] Penwill (2000).
[146] Roche (2009).

capable of showing literary flare throughout his reign.[147] A further problem arises in the alleged subject matter of Domitian's poetry, namely the siege of the Capitoline during the civil war of 69 CE that Martial mentions. For while the Flavians had gone to great lengths to commemorate the Capitoline battle, in which Domitian had participated, as a monumental victory, the horror and moral degradation that accompanied the sack of the Capitoline was inescapable, an event which Tacitus would later describe as the most lamentable and shameful (*luctuosissimum foedissimumque*) affair since the foundation of the republic (*Hist*. 3.72.1).

A poem celebrating a civil war in which the author had also participated was thus a problematic venture, and an emperor who could not only control, but also produce, the poetic representation of his military actions was a potentially unsettling idea, especially since these actions had taken place within the context of civil conflict. There were certainly ways to present civil war in a favourable context, as Augustan literature had fashioned Actium. As Rebeggiani has recently shown, both Gigantomachy and Celtomachy were used in equal measure to frame the defeated Vitellians as transgressive, foreign marauders.[148] Indeed, that Statius glosses the Capitoline battle as a *bellum Iouis* on two occasions (*Silv.* 1.1.79-80: *tu bella Iouis...domas*; *Th.* 1.22-3*: aut defensa prius uix pubescentibus annis | bella Iouis)* might point to the thematic presentation of the Bellum Capitolinum as a Gigantomachy in Domitian's own poetic commemoration, appropriate for a battle on the Capitoline, the seat of Jupiter, and for Domitian's own associations with the supreme god.[149] Nonetheless, the desecration of the Capitoline was an unprecedented affair: as Tacitus noted, not even the Gauls had been able to sack the citadel (*Hist*. 3.72.1: *neque Galli capta temerare potuissent*).

[147] Morgan (1997).
[148] Rebeggiani (2018) 246-55, anticipated by Gibson (2006b) 344 on the similar implications of *Silv.* 5.3.198 (*Senonum furias Latiae sumpsere cohortes*).
[149] cf. Gibson (2006a) 343 on possible Gigantomachic themes in the poem that Statius' father composed on '*ciuilis Erinys*' (195). Suetonius (*Dom.* 5) tells us that Domitian dedicated a temple to *Jupiter Custos,* in which a statue of Domitian in the god's lap, and a narrative relief of the battle, was housed (Tac. *Hist*. 3.74). See below, p. 87.

For a Flavian audience specifically, the notion of writing about civil war would evoke comparison with Lucan's *Bellum Ciuile*; scholarship on the *Thebaid* invariably reads Statius' epic on civil conflict (*Theb.* 1.1: *fraternas acies*) through the lens of the *Bellum Ciuile,* and Quintilian's positioning of Domitian next to Lucan in his section on epic might suggest the *Bellum Ciuile's* affinity with the emperor's poetry.[150] Lucan's epic necessarily impacts the reception of Julius Caesar for a Flavian audience: if Caesar could stand in imperial culture as emblematic of the literary general, then Lucan's representation of Caesar, as the instigator of civil war and aspiring autocrat, presents an obstacle to the literary and moral reception of Caesar's representation in Flavian literature. Caesar's *celeritas* is valorised throughout the *Bellum Ciuile,* and Lucan portrays the leader as "a larger-than-life, hyper-kinetic, awe-inspiring source of destruction", as Day memorably puts it; 'energy incarnate', in Ahl's equally evocative words.[151] He is the rapacious lightning bolt (1.151: *fulmen*), a sublime image of speed to which we return below, and which, for Lucan, symbolises the autocrat's will towards absolute power and its ultimate manifestation—Nero (Luc. 1.33-34). Caesar's destructive *celeritas* presents a problematic issue in the *Bellum Ciuile,* and is combated by the *mora* exhibited by Pompey, and the delaying tactics of the poet himself.[152]

This tension between speed and delay frames the divide between the poet and his problematic subject-matter, a reading standardised in late-twentieth century scholarship on Lucan, which presented an image of the conflicted poet "at war with himself", compelled to write about civil war and tyranny even as he attempts to resist it.[153] An equally problematic issue arises if Lucan's negative characterisation of Caesar is taken, as scholarship has detailed, as analogous criticism of his descendent Nero, and more broadly as a

[150] On the *Thebaid* and Lucan: Malamud (1995); Lovatt (1999); Delarue (2000) 97–112; Henderson (2001); Narducci (2002) 457–70; McNelis (2007) 121–3, 131–2; Ganiban (2007) 36–8, 62–3, 204; Rebeggiani (2018) on the *Bellum Ciuile* in Flavian epic, cf. Hainsworth (1991); Day (2013) 106-7.
[151] Day (2013) 106-7; Ahl (1976).
[152] Masters (1992) 9: "...the narrative *does* make the gesture of tying itself in knots in order to obstruct the progress of its demonic protagonist".
[153] Henderson (1989); Masters (1992); Leigh (1997) typify this approach.

critique of the autocratic nature of Caesarism.[154] Civil war and the principate are not mutually exclusive: civil war is the catalyst, the means through which absolutist governance emerges, and by which servitude to the emperor is made necessary; Nero is repeatedly presented as the *telos* of the republican civil war (Luc. 1.33-5; 1.669-72; 7.638-41). For Lucan, *celeritas* is the domain of the autocrat, of civil strife, of the abuse of power. It is to be resisted and retarded, even if it eventually sweeps everything up in its path. But ultimately, ironically, it is the collusion of *princeps* and poet that will guarantee immortality and monumentality for both parties, as Lucan makes clear in his address to Caesar in Book 9 (*uenturi me teque legent*):

> o sacer et magnus uatum labor! omnia fato
> eripis et populis donas mortalibus aeuum.
> inuidia sacrae, Caesar, ne tangere famae;
> nam, si quid Latiis fas est promittere Musis,
> quantum Zmyrnaei durabunt uatis honores,
> uenturi me teque legent; Pharsalia nostra
> uiuet, et a nullo tenebris damnabimur aeuo. (9.980-86)

Statius maintains a complex relationship with Lucan throughout the *Siluae*—indeed, Lucan's own ten books of *Siluae* (Vacca *Vit. Luc.* Hosius 336: 17-22) suggest a possible model for Statius'—and this relationship finds its clearest articulation in *Siluae* 2.7, the so-called *Genethliacon Lucani ad Pollam,* commissioned by the poet's widow, Polla Argentaria. There will be more to say about the strong monumentalising impulse of this poem, and its presentation of the *Bellum Ciuile* as a monument, in a later chapter, but what is important to note here is how *Siluae* 2.7 presents Lucan as an example of the poet-warrior, 'unsheathing' his *carmen togatum* (53: *carmen fortior exseres togatum*). Statius also presents the *Bellum Ciuile* as an anti-Neronian text, with Lucan's Caesar as interchangeable with Nero: Statius condemns *ingratus Nero* (58) and the *rabidi nefas tyranni* (100), and in a variation on Book 6 of the *Bellum Ciuile,* where Pompey's place in the Elysian fields and Caesar's place in Tartarus (6.804-5) is prophesied

[154] Evidence for this is traditionally gleaned mainly from Lucan's (ambiguous) panegyric to Nero 1.33-66: the view was already current in late antiquity: *Comment. Lucan.* 1.53, 55, 57, 58, 59; *Adnot. Lucan.* 1.55, 57. See Ahl (1976), Dewar (1994) for bibliography, and more recently Kimmerle (2015).

by Lucan, Statius places Lucan with Pompey (112: *felix Elysii tenes in oris*), and Caesar's fate is now transferred to Nero (116-119). Lucan emerges as an example of the poet interchangeable with his (epic, military) subject-matter. Statius' veneration of Lucan is clear, but the political implications of this veneration are less so. Newlands takes Statius' poem as similarly deeply sceptical of autocratic governance, and thus representative of the poet's anxieties over the Domitianic regime: "in general 2.7 shows the dangerous power of emperors to consign a writer and his works to oblivion".[155] It is more attractive to read Lucan's criticisms of Caesar as transferred specifically to Nero, as Rebeggiani does: "The easiest way to reduce the unsettling power of Lucan was to read the *Bellum Ciuile* as an indictment of Nero in particular, not of imperial power in general. This is precisely the kind of reading implied in *Siluae* 2.7".[156]

Yet Statius' praise of Lucan as poetic model remains complicated, for whilst Lucan's epic develops a fractious relationship with Caesar and his imperial subject-matter, Statius' praise of Domitian throughout the *Siluae* aims to establish an intimate kinship between poet and *princeps.* In other words, Lucan represents the antithesis of Statius' intentions in the *Siluae.* This will in turn inform Statius' claim to *celeritas*. If the *Siluae* rehabilitate the negative effects of *celeritas* in Lucan's epic, and reverse the damaged relationship between poet and *princeps,* then the poetic memory of the *Bellum Ciuile* stands to deeply complicate the relationship between Statius and Domitian, threatening to stage the *Siluae*'s poetics as a repeat of Lucan's traumatic account of civil war, and present Domitian as a repeat of Lucan's Caesar, and, by extension, Nero, a connection to which post-Flavian literature devoted particular attention.

2.5 On the road (*Siluae* 4.3)

What should be clear by now is that Statius' insistence upon *celeritas* in the *Siluae* must encompass a far wider meaning than a simple renegotiation of Callimachean principles—although it does this too—especially when considered in the context of imperial panegyric: Statius' *celeritas* mimics, in poetic form,

[155] Newlands (2011b) 447.
[156] Rebeggiani (2018) 165.

the emperor's military ability, and Domitian's triumphs are reflected in the effectiveness of *celeritas* in Statius' poetic praise. What is also crucial are the associations that *celeritas* bore with Julius Caesar, and its subsequent moral complication by Lucan's representation in the *Bellum Ciuile.*

We shall consider the repercussions of Lucan's Caesar more fully when we address *Siluae* 1.1, but I turn now to *Siluae* 4.3, Statius' poem on the Via Domitiana. It is by far the most powerful poetic expression of *celeritas* in the *Siluae*; it also represents one of Statius' most conscious interrogations of Callimachean aesthetics, and of the implications of Domitian's military self-presentation upon Statius' poetry. Opened to the public in 95 CE (Cass. Dio 67.14.1), the Via Domitiana bypassed the arduous detour through Capua along the Via Appia between Rome and Naples, creating a direct route from Sinuessa to Puteoli.[157] The road thus hardly traversed a great expanse, yet Statius revels in the marvellous speed it affords his poetry, as he writes to Vitorius Marcellus, the dedicatee of *Siluae* 4, in the preface:

> tertio uiam Domitianam miratus sum qua grauissimam harenarum moram exemit: cuius beneficio tu quo<que> maturius epistulam meam accipies, quam tibi in hoc libro a Neapoli scribo. (pr. 8-10)

Taking the Via Domitiana, Statius' work can now hurtle up the coast towards Rome, and the poetic speed which Statius has worked to identify as the defining marker of the *Siluae* is now firmly located in Book 4 as a direct *beneficium* of Domitian (*cuius beneficio*), whose munificence has improved the circulation of Statius' poetry. Statius' *celeritas* is glossed here as a characteristic of his literary composition and its distribution thanks to the road-building feats of the emperor. Importantly, the speed that the road affords is reflected in the poem itself, for as Morgan has convincingly shown, Statius exploits the comparatively short line of the hendecasyllable, with the result being that the poem "forms a long and unusually slim path through the middle of the page, unavoidably reminiscent of a road".[158] The poem on the Via Domitiana is thus also an audacious formal experiment, pushing the boundary between image and text to breaking point,

[157] Coleman (1988) 102-5. For a reconstruction of the route of the Via Domitiana, see Longobardo (2004).
[158] The connection between metre, poetic form and subject matter is treated at length in Morgan (2010) 52-62, who points to the parallels 4.3 has with the traditions of technopaegnia, and particularly of Late Antiquity.

stretching beyond metapoetic analogy and spilling right into the material considerations of the poem itself. Statius can present himself as the poetic builder of the road, the creator of a literary structure synonymous with Domitian's monument, and can also present the poem as an act of construction. Helpful here is Volk's notion of poetic simultaneity, which identifies "the illusion that the poem is really only coming into being as it evolves before the reader's eyes, that the poet/persona is composing it 'as we watch'", a trope that she specifically associates with the motif of the poem as journey.[159]

Monument and poem intersect in further curious ways: a defaced inscription from Puteoli, originally from the base of a statue of Domitian and still legible beneath efforts to erase it, gives thanks to Domitian for bringing the city closer to Rome (AE 1973 137: *indulgentia maximi diuinique principis urbi eius admota*), a phrase bearing close similarity to Statius' own poem, which finds Domitian 'glad...to bring steaming Baiae closer to the seven hills' (24-26: *gaudens...aestuantes | septem montibus admouere Baias*).[160] Later in the poem, the River Volturnus, pontificating beneath the 'mighty arch of Caesar's bridge' (70-1: *maximo...| pontis Caesaris...arcu*) announces:

> sed gratis ago seruitusque tanti est
> quod sub te duce, te iubente, cessi,
> quod tu maximus arbiter meaeque
> uictor perpetuus legere ripae. (81-84)

The military associations of the terms with which Volturnus praises Domitian are clear: Volturnus presents himself as the defeated foe and Domitian as the *uictor perpetuus,* and a central theme of 4.3 is the subjugation and improvement of nature, as we shall address shortly; what's instructive to note here is Domitian's presentation as his military conqueror, and the bridge as a military monument. Importantly, as Frère and Coleman point out, Volturnus' *legere* might refer to an inscription on the bridge that now crosses the river, but also, as Barth had already observed, to the poem itself, through which Domitian's fame is now

[159] Volk (2002) 13.
[160] Flower (2001) 633.

immortalised.[161] Statius' poetic achievement is ultimately placed alongside Domitian's, and both poem and road stand as equal monuments that will secure a lasting memory.[162] Statius filters his poem through pointed allusion to Horace *Odes* 3.30, as Smolenaars has observed, and the poem concludes with a prediction of the road's immortality (162-3: *haec donec uia te regente terras | annosa magis Appia senescet*) which as Morgan notes, "cannot but denote road and poem simultaneously", and hence a re-emphasis of Statius' own ambitions for the *Siluae'*s monumentality.[163]

The Via Domitiana also provides Statius with an appropriate opportunity to refine his Callimachean credentials. Newlands observes how Statius' poem presents itself as a rebuttal of Callimachus' pejorative image of the wide, well-travelled road, a metaphor for the tired tradition of bombastic epic (*Aet.* fr. 1.3 Pf., *Epigr.* 28.1-2).[164] Whereas Callimachus' Apollo instructs the poet to 'tread a path which carriages do not trample', and not to drive his chariot upon the common track of others, nor along wide roads but on unworn paths (27-8: κελεύθους | [ἀτρίπτο]υς), Statius' poem becomes a speedy, well-travelled road that rejects Callimachean polished succinctness. Newlands accordingly sees this as bearing negative consequences for both Statius and Domitian: "Domitian's road-building is an anti-Callimachean project...by writing a poem of praise upon the road, Statius boldly rejects Callimachean derision of the highroad...style of poetry".[165] On the other hand, Statius is at his Callimachean best, exchanging the standard hexameter of the *Siluae* for the neoteric refinement and diminutive associations of the hendecasyllable, and compressing the Sibyl of *Aeneid* 6 (*Silv.* 4.3.124-163) into an abbreviated version of her epic self, a straight-talking panegyrist of Domitian, who in turn plays a second Aeneas (132).[166] Callimacheanism is pressed into the service of

[161] 'Frère (1961) Coleman (2008) 41-2; Barth's '*Papinianis nempe carminibus perpetuis'* was rejected by Vollmer (1898) 457.
[162] cf. Newlands (2002a) 285-6: "the road-building of the emperor...interacts closely with the ambitious and sophisticated stylistic play of the poet, inviting reflection upon the relationship between emperor and poet in their individual aspirations for fame."
[163] Smolenaars (2006) 243-4, already noted in Coleman (1988) 134, who also comments on the immortalising effect of the paradoxical comparison (*adynaton*) of the age of the Via Appia to the Via Domitiana. cf. Morgan (2000) 118.
[164] Newlands (2002a) 299. On the association of polluted rivers with imitation of traditional epic poetry, Williams, F. (1978) 85-89.
[165] Newlands *ibid.*
[166] Morgan (2010) 57, 90-97; Newlands (2002a) 308.

Statius' *celeritas*, afforded by Domitian's innovative project, to which Statius' poem provides the appropriate response. As Martelli attractively points out, Domitian's new road can be asserted quite literally as Callimachus' untrodden path, of which Statius is the first traveller, thus presenting "a highly original way of renovating an otherwise hackneyed image", a notion that gains considerable weight if we allow for Coleman's hypothesis that 4.3 was intended as the inaugural poem for the road.[167]

In case we miss it, this recalibration of Callimachean poetics is reinforced later in the poem, with the appearance of the river Volturnus, now happily civilised by Domitian's engineering efforts, in contrast to his former wild and muddied state (76: *et nunc ille ego turbidus minaxque*)[168], an obvious recollection of Callimachus' fouled 'Assyrian river' (*Hymn* 2.108-12):

> et nunc limite me colis beato
> nec sordere sinis malumque late
> deterges sterilis soli pudorem
> ne me puluereum grauemque caeno.
> Tyrrheni sinus obruat profundi
> (qualis Cinyphios tacente ripa
> Poenus Bagrada serpit inter agros)[169]
> sed talis ferar ut nitente cursu
> tranquillum mare proximumque possim
> puro gurgite prouocare Lirim. (85-94)

The wider implications of Domitian's subjugation of the River Volturnus is a subject to which we shall turn shortly. A river that reforms its ways as a symbol for the refinement of poetic speech appears in Horace's *Ars Poetica* 67-8 (*seu cursum mutauit iniquum frugibus amnis | doctus iter melius*), but it is primarily to Callimachus that Statius is looking, a point strengthened by a further connection with a Callimachean epinicion in which another talking river, the Nile, praises the athlete Sosibius (*Aet.* fr. 384 Pf.).[170] Volturnus

[167] Martelli (2009) 158.
[168] The phrase *ille ego* should remind us of the rejected pre-proemium of the *Aeneid* (Austin [1968]), which records Virgil's progression from bucolic to epic; Volturnus will reverse the direction, from epic to a lower genre. cf. Gibson (2006a) 272 on the formulation in *Siluae* 5.3.10 (if we accept Markland's promising conjecture for M's *certe).*
[169] I follow Coleman's text here; Courtney follows *M.* See directly below, n. 176.
[170] For Callimachus' ὀλίγη λιβάς (*Hymn* 2.112) Wimmel (1960) 109-125, and in Roman poetry, Jones (2005) 56-59. See Lóio (2012) for Statius' use of Callimachus' *Victoria Sosibii*. Like Volturnus, the Nile seems to present itself as

associates himself with the imagery of the pure spring of Callimachean poetry, signposted by choice phrases such as *nitente cursu* and *puro gurgite*, contrasted with his former state, which he compares with the Cinyphian Bagrada, a slow turgid river (Luc. 4.588: *Bagrada lentus*) that presents a suitable counterpart to Callimachus' Assyrian river.[171] The contrast between Volturnus' current refined state and his sullied past is also detailed in terms of a play with the river's own epic history: he appears in both the *Aeneid* and the *Metamorphoses* as a muddied (anti-Callimachean) river (*Aen.* 7.728-9, *amnis uadosi...Volturni*; *Met.* 15.714-5: *multamque trahens sub gurgite harenam Volturnus*). By contrast, Volturnus' Flavian makeover allows him now to rival the pure stream of Liris (*possim | puro gurgite prouocare Lirim*), a river whose lyric qualities are well attested (Hor. *Carm.* 1.31.7-8), signifying an impending generic downgrading from *grande* to *tenue*.[172] Volturnus poses as a reformed epicist and a born-again *poeta doctus*, paradoxically proud of being trampled by those who will cross his stream (78: *peruiusque calcor*)—precisely what Callimachus despises in *Epigr.* 28.1-2 (οὐδὲ κελεύθῳ | χαίρω, τίς πολλοὺς ὧδε καὶ ὧδε φέρει).[173]

A further observation to draw here is that it is not just the river, but the emperor too who bears Callimachean credentials; it is the actions of Domitian which have purified the waters, and it is Domitian who has reduced the wide turgid river to a slender stream. This point gains traction when understood within the context of Domitian's status as *censor perpetuus*, a position that Domitian had assumed early in his reign (Suet. *Dom.* 8.3) and which emerges as a continual point of praise throughout the *Siluae*, as we shall

a closet Callimachean: πουλύς ... ἐνὶ γοῦν τῷδ' ἔα λιτότερος | κε[ίνω]ν οὓς ἀμογητὶ διὰ σφυρὰ λευκὰ γυναικῶν (31, 33).

[171] Vollmer (1898) 458 finds *Cinyphius* 'hier nicht gerade passend', noting the oddness of qualifying one river with another. Coleman (1988: 126) proposes *Cinyphios* qualifying *agros* and exchanges *Poenos* for *Poenus,* agreeing with Bagrada. This is followed by Lóio (2012) 285, who sees *Cinyphios...inter agros* as an allusion to Callimachus' *Victoria Sosibii* (*Aet.* fr. 384.23-4 Pf.), and supports my reading of an allusion to Lucan's *puniceus Rubicon* below (p.44). *Serpit* may allude also to the legend of the *serpens* that attacked Marcus Atilius Regulus at the Bagrada: Gell. *NA* 7.3; Val. Max. 1.8 (ext).19; Sil. *Pun.* 6.140-293.

[172] This is implicit also in l. 94: *gurgite puro* reverses Statius' description of the Lamia in *Theb.* 4.817 (*modo lene uirens et gurgite puro*), where the river is whipped up into a muddied effluence by the epic behaviour of the soldiers (4.825-6: *nunc sordet aquis egestus ab imis alueus*). See Brown (1994) 202; Newlands (2004) 42; McNelis (2007) 88. Domitian's incursion here has, by contrast, purified and calmed the waters, as noted by Parkes (2012) 88.

[173] Also a signifier of both the poet's epigonal status, and of the well-worn familiarity of the Callimachean metaphor: cf. Ov. *Her.* 18.133-4 with Rimell (2018) 264-5. For further generic implications of the 'anti-Callimachean' swollen river, Barchiesi (2001) 54-55 on Ov. *Am.* 3.6.

see throughout this thesis.[174] Aside from the *correctio morum,* amongst the traditional duties of the censor were both the construction of public roads[175] and the maintenance and preservation of public waters (Cic. *Leg.* 3.3), tasks that Domitian took particularly seriously; as Taylor notes, "there is no question that Domitian planned and built waterworks on a grand scale", and in a later chapter we will pay special attention to another instance of Statius' presentation of Domitian as monumental builder of waterworks.[176] But the importance of Domitian's status as *censor perpetuus* is clear in 4.3, and the poem begins specifically by praising Domitian as censor:

> qui fortem uetat interire sexum
> et censor prohibit mares adultos
> pulchrae supplicium timere formae
> ...
> hic segnis populi uias grauatus
> et campos iter omne detinentes
> longos eximit ambitus nouoque
> iniectu solidat graues harenas. (13-15, 20-23)

There is a clear connection between the censor who checks moral vice, and the censor who builds roads and controls water—and, by extension, who controls the production of good poetry. In the *Epistle to Florus,* Horace makes a similar connection between the censorship, poetics and water:

> At qui legitimum cupiet fecisse poema,
> cum tabulis animum censoris sumet honesti
> ...
> adsciscet noua, quae genitor produxerit usus.
> uemens et liquidus puroque simillimus amni
> fundet opes Latiumque beabit diuite lingua. (*Epist.* 2.2 108-9; 119-121)

The writing of good poetry requires the poet to adopt the mind of the censor (109: *animum censoris*) in the judicious choice and deployment of poetic vocabulary, and Horace symbolises the effects of the poet's efforts through water imagery, clarified specifically by the reference to the censorship (120-1); Freudenburg, in a stimulating article on the numerous points of contact between such water imagery and

[174] Jones (1992) 106-107; Grelle (1980); Buttrey (1975/6).
[175] Appius Claudius' Via Appia being the most famous example: Livy 9.29; Frontin. *Aq.* 5.1; Humm (1996).
[176] Taylor (2000) 206.

the censorship in Roman satire, suggests that "Roman readers would have no problem following the flow from censorial *lectio* to clear-flowing water, because they knew that not only was it the censors' responsibility to oversee the financial qualifications and moral purity of Rome's leaders, they were also charged with ensuring the purity and abundance of Rome's water supply".[177] For Freudenburg, Horace's famous figuration of Lucilius as a muddied river (*Sat.* 1.4.11), and Juvenal's description of the trashed Orontes flowing into the Tiber (3.62-8) are to be read not just as a negotiation of Callimachean poetics, but specifically "through the cultural sense that comes of knowing what all Roman censors were routinely tasked with doing", thus assimilating the satirist to the censor, cleaning up Latin poetic diction.[178]

This logic seems wholly applicable to *Siluae* 4.3, but works not just to present the poet as censor, but the censor as poet; as Freudenburg says, "the infrastructural efforts of Rome's *censor perpetuus* construed in familiar literary critical terms".[179] Statius enacts an interchange between poetry and censorial duty, and between poet and censor, a strategy that looks back to satire, but finds echoes elsewhere in the empire: when Frontinus records an inscription describing Trajan's renovation of the Anio Novus as a corrective to its "odious and turbid" former state (Frontin. *Aq.* 2.93: *ueniet in locum deformis illius ac turbidae*), the act of imperial munificence is construed in terms not dissimilar from the Callimachean tropes employed in *Siluae* 4.3, recontextualised in service of the emperor. It is not just the poet, but the emperor, who can be presented as the arch-Callimachean.

Whilst Statius' deployment of both road and river as a means of poetic self-definition has been well documented, what has not received adequate attention is how Statius' poem also recalls another poetic model: the travel poem of Roman satire, such as Horace (*Sat.* 1.5) and his predecessor Lucilius (W 94–148/ M 96–147), which uses the narrative framework of the journey to comment on the production and failures of (satiric) poetry, bearing its own sensitivities to Callimachean poetics. Speed and delay play out

[177] Freudenburg (2018) 144.
[178] *ibid.*
[179] *idem.* 149.

accordingly. Satirists present tangled, stalled, and meandering journeys that inflict every form of delay imaginable—trips that never quite get off the ground—and also can be identified as the poem itself, as Horace signposts at the end of the *Iter Brundisium*: "Brundisium marks the end of a long journey—and a lengthy piece of paper" (*Sat*. 1.5.104: *Brundisium longae finis chartaeque uiaeque est*). Although the *Iter Brundisium* is one of the shortest poems in the *Satires*, both the journey and the *charta* represent a monumental imposition that, halfway through the collection, brings the book's progress to a grinding halt. To an extent, Horace has already laid the blame upon *uitiosus* Lucilius in his previous poem, whose propensity for *celeritas*—two hundred verses an hour (*Sat.* 1.4.9-10) —has resulted in a muddy deluge, in serious need of editing (*Sat*. 1.4.11: *cum flueret lutulentus, erat quod tollere uelles*), which has waylaid Horace in an intertextual sludge.[180] Statius, by contrast, clears the mud off Lucilius and presents the Republican satirist's prolixity and speed as literary virtues, now redressed in the pellucid vestment of Callimachean refinement. Unlike its satirical counterparts, Statius' poetic journey is a doddle: his poem on the Via Domitiana jumps right into the lap of Vitorius Marcellus, the addressee of the next poem: *curre per Euboicos non segnis, epistula, campos* (4.4.1), and Statius' description of the journey marvels only at its speed:

> nec cursus agiles, sed impeditum
> tardabant iter orbitae tenaces
> dum pondus nimium querens sub alta
> repit languida quadrupes statera.
> at nunc quae solidum diem terebat
> horarum uia facta uix duarum.
> non tensae uolucrum per astra pennae
> nec uelocius ibitis carinae. (*Silv*. 4.3.32-9)

Statius is talking here about poetry as much as about travelling: *repit quadrupes* rejects the stuttering lilt of Horace's journey in *Satire* 1.5 (25: *milia...tria repimus*; 79: *erepsimus*), but also the *Sermones* themselves, which drag themselves across the ground (*Epist.* 2.1.250: *sermones…| repentes per humum)*, whilst *diem terebat* points especially towards the reception of poetry, the equivalent of 'thumbing' a volume, as Horace

[180]A fair enough accusation, given Lucilius' own *praeterea omne iter est hoc labosum atque lutosum* (Nonius 498 11/109 M). Gowers (1993b)'s reading of *Sat.* 1.5 is crucial here. Rosati (2015) 61-2 notes Statius' interplay of Callimachean and Lucilian/Horatian motifs in the *Siluae.*

uses it (*Epist.* 1.2.92: *legeret tereretque*).[181] For Statius, the poetic journey is squeezed into a couple of hours, the implication being that Statius is 'read through' more quickly than his predecessors. Notably, Statius eschews other forms of poetic travel (38-39) – the sublime 'rare and splendid wings' (*non usitata nec tenui…penna*) that Horace uses to escape delay on earth (*Carm.* 2.20.1-3: *neque in terris morabor*), or even a form of the poetic *nauium celerrimus* such as Catullus' *phaselos* (Catull. 4). The travel poem is no longer an available form, because travel passes with such convenient haste that there is no time to write about it: if you leave the Tiber in the morning, you're sailing the Lucrine before you know it (*Silv.* 4.3.112-13). *Siluae* 4.3 sees Statius' expression of poetic *celeritas* framed in terms of a complex negotiation of Callimachean aesthetics, but also of its satiric afterlife. Domitian the *censor perpetuus* is the benefactor and conduit of this newly realised *celeritas,* his own project conceived of in Callimachean, literary-critical terms.

Within Statius' poetic celebration and realization of speed, it seems especially hard to avoid images of military conquest, both over nature and foreign foe: the river Volturnus hails Domitian as his *uictor perpetuus* (84) the Sibyl calls him *dux hominum* (139) and the emperor is *timendus armis* (134). Thus, for Newlands, "the building of the imperial highway is represented as a triumphant project that particularly demonstrates Domitian's military prowess".[182] This is reinforced by the road itself, framed by a monumental arch of Ligurian marble at Sinuessa (95–102) and adorned with Domitian's spoils and trophies (99: *belligeris ducis tropaeis*), which will facilitate the emperor's military success and triumphs in the east and north (154-5: *Arctus* |...*Oriens*).[183] The whole subjugated world will mingle within shared borders, accompanied by Domitian's eastern accolades, which now arrive with greater haste (*citius uenite*):

> ergo omnes, age, quae sub axe primo
> Romani colitis fidem parentis
> prono limite commeate, gentes,

[181] Rudd (1989) *ad loc*. *Epist*. 2.1.192; similarly, Cicero, when he notes unabashedly that he has completely worn out (*contrieram*) his copy of the *Cyropaedia* (*Fam.* 9.25).
[182] Newlands (2002a) 292-293: "Domitian in effect engages in an act...of war".
[183] Coleman (1988) 127-8.

Eoae, citius uenite, Laurus. (*Silv*. 4.3.107–10)

Statius's celebration of *celeritas* is reinforced by the military triumphs that the road facilitates. The Via Domitiana certainly was utilized by Domitian as a monument to his military success, with a number of commemorative projects accompanying the completion of the road, including, most likely, the Arco Felice outside Cumae, and possibly the equestrian statue of Domitian that originally stood in the collegium of the Augustales in Baiae; the arch that Statius describes in Sinuessa was probably mirrored by an accompanying arch in Puteoli.[184] Statius reaffirms the military overtones of the road, consequentially heightening the register of the road's—and the poem's—*celeritas* and thereby further complicating the poem's relationship to Callimachean poetics through the intrusion of epic subject-matter. The poem, tellingly, closes with an encomium on Domitian's completely unbridled movement around and beyond empire (155: *ibis qua uagus Hercules et Euhan*) presenting Domitian as the ultimate conqueror in a *belliger currus*:

et laudum cumulo beatus omni
scandes belliger abnuesque currus. (*Silv*. 4.3.158–59)

If we are looking for instances of military domination in *Siluae* 4.3, then a particularly compelling occurrence presents itself in Domitian's domination of the Volturnus itself. It was suggested above that Volturnus' epic past and new Callimachean credentials are central to the poem's identity, but Domitian's fording of the river may also recall another epic scene in the first book of Lucan's *Bellum Ciuile*—Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon. Importantly, it is a scene that exemplifies a fraught relationship between military and poetic *celeritas*, and between Lucan and Caesar. If Lucan's initial description of the Rubicon seems an exemplary instance of Caesar's *celeritas* (Luc. 1.204-5: *moras soluit belli tumidumque per amnem | signa tulit propere*), then the poet drags Caesar back several lines later for a second attempt. Caesar's *celeritas* is effectively put on hold by Lucan's description of the Rubicon; as Masters puts it, "*mora* itself is a boundary that Caesar is trying to break through", and as he also goes on to observe, it is Lucan who "sets up a series

[184] Presumably celebrating triumphs over the Chatti and the Daci (Suet. *Dom.* 6); Coleman (1988) 127, Flower (2001) 633.

of narrative devices that obstruct Caesar's progress" at the Rubicon, symbolising the epic poet's grappling with "his ambition to recount and thus recreate, the horrors of civil war":[185]

> fonte cadit modico paruisque inpellitur undis
> puniceus Rubicon, cum feruida canduit aestas,
> perque imas serpit ualles et Gallica certus
> limes ab Ausoniis disterminat arua colonis.
> tum uires praebebat hiems atque auxerat undas
> tertia iam grauido pluuialis Cynthia cornu
> et madidis Euri resolutae flatibus Alpes. (Luc. 1.213-19)

Volturnus' rhetorical description of his former erroneous ways as *qualis...Poenus Bagrada serpit* (90-91) evokes not just an analogy for Callimachus' Assyrian river, but must also recall Lucan's description of the Rubicon here (*puniceus Rubicon...serpit*), and suggests a comparison between Domitian and Caesar: if, in Lucan's epic, both the river and the poet work to delay Caesar's inexorable progress, then Statius and Volturnus by contrast facilitate Domitian's movement, and if Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon symbolises the beginning of civil war, then Domitian can be represented as having reversed its effects, pacifying the world.

Lucan's description of Caesar's crossing can also be construed in terms of Callimachean aesthetics: although small upon arrival (Luc. 1.185: *ut uentum est parui Rubiconis ad undas*), and flowing from a modest source (213: *fonte cadit modico*) the Rubicon quickly becomes *tumidus* and swells up to match the epic status of its transgressor (*auxerat undas*), a recollection of Achilles' final conflict with the Scamander (*Il.* 21), and a mark of the commencement of civil war and Lucan's epic proper.[186] We have seen that the opposite is true in *Siluae* 4.3, that Volturnus is reduced by Domitian from epic tumidity to Callimachean clarity. The echoes of Lucan's Rubicon in *Siluae* 4.3's presentation of the Volturnus thus present a complication: for Lucan, Caesar's *celeritas* is something to be resisted, and the poet's identification with the military hero a matter of deep concern. The crossing of the Rubicon will lead not only to civil war but

[185] Masters (1992) 3-4.
[186] For the connection between the Rubicon and Homer's Scamander (*Il.* 21.21 ff.), Masters (1992), and now Antoniadis (2018); Leigh (1997) 301 on 2.201-224.

to the installation of the principate. Statius' facilitation of the emperor's *celeritas,* and his own poetic speed, is thrown in sharp relief by its Neronian intertext, and Lucan's Caesar stands as a foil for the Flavian emperor, but also acts, more troublingly, as a potentially inescapable model, for both Domitan and Statius.

The reader is left with two options. We can either read Statius' allusions to Lucan's Caesar as symbolic of poetic resistance to the Flavian emperor whom he praises, associating Domitian with the problematic set of connotations that Lucan prescribes and initiating a divide between poet and imperial subject. Or we can read Statius' engagement with Lucan as a means of rehabilitating the poetics of the *Bellum Ciuile* and its representation of imperial power, restoring *celeritas* as a poetic and political virtue, and reestablishing the relationship between poet and *princeps* that Lucan complicates. Where Caesar instigates both a civil war, and an epic on civil war, by crossing the swollen Rubicon, Domitian reverses its effects, emerging as *triumphator* and a symbol of Callimachean poetics; where Lucan antagonises the division between poet and imperial power, Statius moves to make the two indistinguishable, assimilating himself to Domitian's speed. But importantly, both options present themselves as viable, and gesture towards the trauma of civil war and the possibility of a repetition of the Lucanian model, but also towards its closure, brought about by the *Pax Flauia,* enabled by Domitian's military virtue.

2.6 building bridges

It is important to pause briefly here. The presentation of Domitian's crossing of the Volturnus as both a repetition of and a corrective to Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon alerts us to a wider set of resonances between *Siluae* 4.3 and the *Bellum Ciuile,* which focuses on the traditional theme of the transgressive tyrant's attempts to control nature, and particularly the attempt to convert land into water, and water into land. The historical model for this *topos* is Xerxes' efforts to both bridge the Hellespont and to channel the Isthmos (Hdt. 7.24). The tyrannical desire to dominate and improve nature is an important theme in the *Siluae,* one upon which we shall expand in a later chapter; what is important to observe for our purposes here is that it is also a theme which Lucan exploits with particular regard to Caesar. Caesar repeatedly

attempts feats that specifically recall Xerxes' paradigmatic actions, mapping the despot's transgressions against nature onto Lucan's characterisation of Caesar. Masters points to Caesar's "Xerxes-like imposition of will on natural elements" in his construction of an oversized bridge across the Sicoris in Book 4 (Luc. 4.140: *medios pontem distendit in agros*) and his channelling of its streams, 'punishing' (143: *dat poenas*) the swollen river;[187] in the account of the siege of Dyrrhacium in Book 6, Lucan laments the fact that the effort that produced Caesar's siege constructions could have accomplished, if put to better use, not only the bridging of the Hellespont, but a substantial improvement to any place on earth (*in melius mutare locum*), even if nature herself attempted resistance (*quamuis natura negasset*):

> tot potuere manus aut iungere Seston Abydo
> ingestoque solo Phrixeum elidere pontum,
> aut Pelopis latis Ephyren abrumpere regnis
> et ratibus longae flexus donare Maleae,
> aut aliquem mundi, quamuis natura negasset,
> in melius mutare locum. (Luc. 6.55-60)

The passage can be compared with an earlier instance in Book 2, where Caesar's attempt to barricade the harbour at Brundisium, first by both casting huge rocks into the ocean (2.661-9) and then by building a floating barricade (670-9) is compared explicitly to Xerxes' rivalry with nature, citing both the bridging of the Hellespont and the channelling of Mount Athos:

> tales fama canit tumidum super aequora Persen
> construxisse uias, multum cum pontibus ausus
> Europamque Asiam Sestonque admouit Abydo
> incessitque fretum rapidi super Hellesponti,
> non Eurum Zephyrumque timens, cum uela ratisque
> in medium deferret Athon. (Luc. 2.672-7)

The comparison between Caesar's efforts and Xerxes' is also apt on historical grounds: we read in Suetonius that Caesar had attempted to channel the Isthmos (*Iul.* 44.3: *perfodere Isthmum).* But as Rimell points out, if Lucan is comparing Caesar to Xerxes, then he is also making the equally valid, if implicit, comparison

[187] Masters (1992) 67-70, also pointing out the Callimachean poetics of Caesar's boats used to first cross the river.

to Nero's own failed engineering ambitions.[188] Nero had attempted to build both a covered pool from Misenum to Avernus and a canal between Lake Avernus and Ostia (the region where Domitian successfully built his road), for which Tacitus describes him as *incredibilium cupitor* (Tac. *Ann.* 15.42), and he had also attempted to channel the Isthmos, a task at which he failed (Pliny *HN* 4.10: *nefasto, ut omnium exitu patuit, incepto;* Suet. *Nero* 19; 37.3; Lucian *Nero* 2). Lucan's representation of Caesar's Xerxes-like attempts to build over water can be understood in the context of Nero's ongoing struggles against nature. If we return to the *Siluae*, we see that Statius' praise of Domitian's road requires the Flavian reader to discriminate between the negative examples of past tyrannical rulers and Domitian's exemplary actions here: any immediate comparison with a Xerxes-like Nero is anticipated and denied in the opening lines (8-9: *nec frangit uada montibusque caesis | inducit Nero sordidas paludes*), but later in the poem, Statius also makes specific reference to the Hellespont and the Isthmos: road gangs strip mountainsides of trees to clear the path (50), waterlogged ditches are drained and filled (43), and streams are diverted, efforts which stand to exceed the archetypal symbols of the tyrant's *audacia* and aspirations:

> O quantae pariter manus laborant!
> hi caedunt nemus exuuntque montes,
> hi ferro scopulos trabesque leuant;
> illi saxa ligant opusque texunt
> cocto puluere soldidoque tofo;
> hi siccant bibulas manu lacunas
> et longe fluuios agunt minores.
> hae possent et Athon cauare dextrae
> et maestum pelagus gementis Helles
> intercludere ponte non natanti.
> his paruus, nisi † deuiae † uetarent,
> Inous freta miscuisset Isthmos. (49-60)

If Domitian's efforts could easily surpass those of Xerxes and his Roman imitators, the comparisons also provide the terms upon which we are invited to judge the emperor's project. On the one hand, such a comparison suggests paraenesis, as Newlands understands it: where Xerxes' (and by association, Caesar's and Nero's) tyrannical efforts end in failure, Domitian's righteous project succeeds in turning the sea-like

[188] Rimell (2018); cf. Pogorzelski (2011).

Campanian marshes (31: *horrebat mala nauigationes*) into land. Statius subjects the *Hellespontus* to a violent separation on the page (57-8: *Helles* | *intercludere ponte non natanti*), a stark image of the failures to bridge it by previous attempts, heightening, by contrast, the hypothetical success Domitian would achieve. But on the other hand, Newlands also points to the potential for Domitian's project to be associated with tyrannical aspirations, playing "an important part of the protreptic of praise" by presenting comparisons that Domitian is advised not to pursue.[189] Indeed, Statius' declaration seems specifically geared to answer Lucan's lament in Book 6: the quantity of labour (*o quantae pariter manus*) that Statius marvels at echoes Lucan's own description (Luc. 6.55: *tot potuere manus*).

But whereas Caesar's actions contribute not to the improvement of nature but to the destruction of the world, Domitian is presented as its ameliorator, and whereas Caesar's actions are symbolic of the hubristic tyrant and theomach, Domitian, a god himself and obedient to the gods (although the crux precludes certainty here: *nisi † deuiae † uetarent*),[190] and described later in the poem as 'better and more powerful than nature itself' (135: *natura melior potentiorque*). Domitian's divine control over nature will concern us in the next chapter. What is important to note here is that in 4.3, the comparison with Lucan's Caesar appears unavoidable, and we are persistently asked to view Domitian's actions through the lens of the *Bellum Ciuile,* and to scrutinise the connection between Domitian and Caesar.

2.7 Caesar and the statue (*Siluae* 1.1)

Julius Caesar appears elsewhere in the *Siluae*, in a poem on an imperial monument that we met in the introduction: the opening ecphrasis on Domitian's colossal equestrian statue in Book 1, erected in the Forum Romanum.[191] As a colossal triumphal monument, the statue presented the emperor as military hero and the culminating point of Rome's military history, and the poem is similarly geared towards presenting

[189] Newlands (2002a) 292.
[190] On the crux, see Coleman (1988) *ad loc.* 4.3.59.
[191] See above, pg. 9, for the dating of both statue and poem.

Domitian as all-conquering military commander, suppressor of civil wars and subjugator of foreign territories, harbinger of global peace. In *Siluae* 1.1, speed is of the essence, and Domitian's equestrian statue emerges as the object, the cause, the result and the metaphorical embodiment of Statius' swift poetry. Like Statius' poems, which have flowed swiftly from his pen (1 pr: *festinandi uoluptate fluxerunt*) the statue has perhaps flowed from the sky (1.2–3: *caelone peractum / fluxit opus?*),[192] and later in the poem it is described as having also, like the *Siluae*, taken no time to construct (61: *nec longae traxere morae*). Throughout *Siluae* 1.1, poem and statue, poet and emperor, poetic and military *celeritas* are intrinsically related, and *celeritas* both reflects the poet's skill and praises the emperor's monument.

Within this monumental display of speed, *Siluae* 1.1 also betrays a distinct fascination with Julius Caesar, referencing him on two occasions, and my purpose in this section is to detail how the *synkriseis* which Statius develops between Domitian and Caesar again engage with Lucan's complex characterisation.[193] Caesar's presence in the opening poem of the *Siluae* is perhaps unexpected, but Statius appears to be drawing upon a connection already established by Domitian himself, for the statue, as the poem tells us, was placed not in the direction of the Capitol (31: *terga pater blandoque uidet Concordia uultu*), but facing east, in opposition to the Temple of the Deified Julius Caesar itself that stood in near proximity. The juxtaposition creates a suggestive ambiguity, demonstrating either reverence towards Caesar and a link between the two, as Statius' reference to Caesar's deification suggests (22-24), or a confrontation, indicating that Domitian's *colossus* aimed quite literally to overshadow the Julio-Claudian presence in the forum.[194] Statius jumps at the topographical friction, and a *synkrisis* plays the two leaders off against each other:

> par operi sedes. huic obuia limina pandit
> qui fessus bellis ascitae munere prolis
> primus iter nostris ostendit in aethera diuis,

[192] Newlands (2002a) 54, and above, p.11.
[193] For *synkrisis* as an encomiastic tool, Arist. *Rhet.* 1368a 19-29.
[194] Dewar (2008) 77 detects elements of antagonism in the configuration. The equestrian statue would have also faced another colossal statue at the end of the Sacra Via, a sightline little discussed. Geyssen (1996) 25-6 describes this as "written into" the poem.

discit et e uultu quantum tu mitior armis,
qui nec in externos facilis saeuire furores
das Cattis Dacisque fidem: te signa ferente
et minor in leges gener et Cato Caesaris irent. (22-28)

Divinity is the only point of similarity between the two, and Statius endeavours to show Domitian's superiority to Caesar. However, it is not Caesar's *celeritas* with which Domitian is compared, but Caesar's *clementia.* Domitian is the symbol of peace accomplished through conclusive wars; Caesar, by contrast, is exhausted by unending battle (*fessus bellis*). As Hardie notes, the emphasis on Domitian's *clementia* even to foreign enemies is "a suggested comparison with Caesar's anger even against domestic enemies", and thus anticipates and mitigates any problems inherent in the praise of Domitian's success in civil wars later in the poem (80-1*tu ciuile nefas...domas*).[195] For Dewar, the comparative *mitior* that Caesar now recognises in Domitian's countenance conveys "a pointed reference, of course, to the famed *Caesaris clementia,* which, it is implied, Domitian, and perhaps the Flavians generally, surpass".[196] *Fessus bellis* implies the endless succession of wars he fought, both foreign campaigns and against Romans, but also something more pointed—the theme of the bloodthirsty despot exhausted by endless warfare. The motif was consolidated as part of the broader attempt to theorise *clementia* in Neronian literature: Seneca deploys the trope in the *De Clementia,* labelling Augustus as the antonym of *clementia,* and attributing the *Pax Augusta* only to a deficit in the *princeps*' own capacity for cruelty (1.11.2: *ego uero clementiam non uoco lassam crudelitatem*), in comparison to Nero's anticipated *clementia*; it is echoed by Nero's similar characterisation of Augustus in the *Octauia,* presenting the cessation of civil war only as a consequence of the exhaustion of the victor (524-6: *condidit tandem suos | iam fessus enses uictor hebetatos feris | uulneribus, et continuit imperium metus*).[197]

[195] A. Hardie (1983) 191.
[196] Dewar (2008) 73.
[197] See Braund (2009) 82–84 on Seneca's *clementia*; Ferri (2003) 275 finds this passage of the *Octavia* linked to Luc. 6.186-87.

In the context of Julius Caesar's equestrian statue, the connection between *clementia* and a weariness of slaughter retrospectively reframes Caesar's historical self-profession of *clementia* through these later, problematic interpretations of the virtue. But it also raises the issue of Caesar's *clementia* in Lucan and, given Statius' concentration on the physiognomical expression of Domitian's mercy here (*e uultu quantum tu mitior armis*), we are particularly reminded of Lucan's description of the serenity of Caesar at Afranius' surrender at Ilerda—the only one occasion when Caesar seems amenable to persuasion towards *clementia*. It is an instance exploited to the full in Caesar's own commentaries, and given particular weight by Lucan here:[198]

> facilis uoltuque serenus
> flectitur atque usus belli poenamque remittit (4.363-64)

For Masters, this unexpectedly positive description of Caesar betrays Lucan's unwitting 'authorial approval' of his antagonist;[199] for Leigh, it points to the absolute, monarchic and ultimately quasi-divine power which Lucan problematically invests in the republican leader, conveyed particularly through the associations of *serenus* with Jupiter. Importantly, Leigh notes similar terms of praise of Domitian in Flavian literature, both in Martial (5.6.9-10: *nosti tempora tu Iouis sereni, | cum fulget placido suoque uultu;* 9.24.3: *haec mundi facies haec sunt Iouis ora sereni*), and *Siluae* 1.1 itself, in the description of the statue's head high above:[200]

> ipse autem puro celsum caput aere saeptus
> templa superfulgens et prospectare uideris. (32-33)

To which we must add Statius' description in *Siluae* 4.2 of the emperor's serene expression:

> ipsum, ipsum cupido tantum spectare uacauit
> tranquillum uultu sed maiestate serena (4.2.40-1)

[198] And thus deeply problematic, for Ahl (1976) 192-8; see Masters (1992) 78-90 and Leigh (1997) 54-63 against Ahl here.
[199] Masters (1992) 86.
[200] Leigh (1997) 60.

Further importances of this divine imagery will be discussed in the next chapter;[201] for now, it is sufficient to have established a further point of contact between Statius' description of Domitian's statue and Lucan's description of Caesar. Lucan can present and complicate *clementia* through a description of Caesar's physiognomy; Statius' appropriation of this imagery transfers these complications onto his description of Domitian's equestrian monument and other representations of the emperor, both rehabilitating Lucan's portrayal of Caesar, and prompting us to question the suitability of such a rehabilitation.

More broadly, Statius' comparison between the statues of Domitian and Caesar evokes the thematics of the proem of the *Bellum Ciuile*, erecting a Flavian counternarrative in its place. Here is the opening of the *Bellum Ciuile*:

> Bella per Emathios plus quam ciuilia campos,
> iusque datum sceleri canimus, populumque potentem
> in sua uictrici conuersum uiscera dextra,
> cognatasque acies, et rupto foedere regni
> certatum totis concussi uiribus orbis
> in commune nefas, infestisque obuia signis
> signa, pares aquilas et pila minantia pilis.
> quis furor, o ciues, quae tanta licentia ferri? (Luc. 1.1–8)

A comparison of the *Siluae* passage quoted above with Lucan's proem reveals a number of striking verbal contrasts, as Statius endeavours to rectify Lucan's warped narrative of civil war. Lucan's apostrophe *quis furor, o ciues* is reinstated as *externos furores*, against which Domitian is nonetheless gentle in his response. The ruptured treaty of kings (*rupto foedere regni*) is restored on an imperial level over subjugated provinces (*das Cattis Dacisque fidem*), and *signa* are not borne against each other *(obuia signis* | *signa*) but by the emperor (*signa ferente*), who leads an imagined unified force of once-fractious republicans. In this complete reversal of Lucan's tragic account, Pompey, and even Cato would have submitted to the lawful rule of Caesar,[202] a bold counterfactual image of the famous anti-tyrant deferring to an emperor who was fashioned

[201] On the impossibility of the visual representation of *clementia* (as opposed to verbal) in panegyric contexts, cf. Pacatus (*Pan. Lat.* 2[12]45.4): *clementia, imperator, tua quo caelo, quo pigmento, quo aere auroue ducetur?*

[202] Courtney's necessary *Caesaris* follows Scriverius' emendations; *M* has *et minor in leges iret gener et Cato castris.*

as *dominus* et *deus*; the conflict between Republicanism and Caesarism is resolved by Domitian's exemplary leadership. The opening of the *Siluae* attempts to rewrite the opening of the *Bellum Ciuile*, and Statius offers Domitian as an answer to Lucan's lament of civil war and the inescapable consequence of autocracy, but the memory of Lucan's narrative proves difficult to avoid. The result is that the imperial monument functions as an intertextual and contested literary *topos*, linked to Lucan's Caesar whilst simultaneously striving to reject it and replace it with Statius' version of the triumphant Domitian.

Statius brings Caesar back again for another *synkrisis* later in *Siluae* 1.1, contrasting Domitian's monument with the equestrian statue of Julius Caesar which stood in the Forum Julium (rebuilt by Domitian), in front of the Temple of Venus Genetrix:[203]

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

If we admit Sandström's conjecture in the *praefatio*, this address to Lysippus—*quem traderis ausus* (85)—connects to his earlier claim that Statius had similarly "dared to give something" (*Silv*. 1. *pr.* 19: *tradere ausus sum*) to the emperor, and aligns sculptor with poet, suggesting a degree of interchangeability between visual and verbal monument. The proverbial artistic merit of Alexander's portraitist presents a contrast to the brilliance of Domitian's statue, but more consequentially for Statius' poetic representation of the emperor.[204] Both Pliny the Elder (*HN* 8.155) and Suetonius (Suet. *Iul.* 81) claim that there was an equestrian statue of Caesar before the Temple of Genetrix, but neither mention Lysippus' statue of Alexander. Whether or not Statius is indulging in a fictional provenance, his mention of the statue's hybrid composition nonetheless emphasises the fascination with Alexander that Caesar is reported to have had (Suet. *Iul.* 10;

[203] See Anderson (1981) for Domitian's reconstruction of the Forum Iulium.
[204] On Lysippus' *Alexander*, *AP* 16.120 (Asclepiades or Archelaus), Posid. AB 65 (=*AP* 16.119) Plut. *Mor.* 335A-B. For Lysippus as a *topos* for commenting on the agonistic connection between poetry and art, viz. Alexander the Great, Himerius *Or*. 48.14.

Cass. Dio 37.52.2). More specifically, the conflation pushes us again in the way of Lucan, whose *Bellum Ciuile* insistently equates the pair in terms of their insatiable will to power and violence.[205] The connection between the two is well noted: Von Albrecht, Ahl and Zweirlein all detail how Lucan employs Alexander as a prototype and role model for Caesar's ambitious overreach and tyrannical design.[206] One result of Statius reference to Caesar's monument is that we are invited to read it in poetic terms: just as Statius' poem is interchangeable with the physical monument that he is describing, Lysippus' statue can also stand in for Lucan's representation of Caesar-as-Alexander, and the comparison of the two monuments accordingly gestures towards a contrast between the two poetic models. Statius' poetic version of Domitian is juxtaposed with Lucan's Alexandrian-Caesarian hybrid; the distance between Domitian and Caesar—and, consequently, between Statius and Lucan—is presented as safely, but not unambiguously, insurmountable (90: *tantum dicat equos quantum distare regentes*).

Statius' portrayal of Caesar consistently alludes back to Lucan's representation, both offering a foil for the Flavian emperor, but also acting, more troublingly, as an inescapable model and double. Statius' creative engagement with Lucan seeks to rewrite the literary history that the Flavian poet inherits, and places the *Siluae* as a counter-monument that can rehabilitate the transgressive poetics of Lucan within the more conducive environment of Domitian's Rome; but Lucan's troubling representation still gleams through beneath the veneer of Domitian's *Pax Flauia*.

2.8 Lucan's lightning

Siluae 1.1 bears the influence of Lucan's *Bellum Ciuile* and its representation of Caesar, and we conclude this chapter by examining how this relationship plays out throughout the collection as a whole. Crucially, this can be assessed by examining another Lucanian trope that recurs throughout the *Siluae*—the *fulmen*—which can be linked to, and effectively complicate, Statius' claim to *celeritas.* The image is already

[205] Dewar (2008) 82 on Statius' use of Lucan's Alexander here.
[206] von Albrecht (1970) 275-6; Ahl (1976) 222-30; Zwierlein (1986) 465-9.

implicitly contained in Statius' description of the Alexander-Caesar equestrian statue, for both are compared to *fulmina* in the *Bellum Ciuile*: Alexander is the *terrarum fatale malum, fulmenque, quod omnes | percuteret pariter populos* (10.34-5), "rimanda inequivocabilmente alla celebre similitudine fra Cesare e il fulmine", in Berti's words, looking back to the famous simile in Book 1:[207]

> qualiter expressum uentis per nubila fulmen
> aetheris inpulsi sonitu mundique fragore
> emicuit rumpitque diem populosque pauentes
> terruit obliqua praestringens lumina flamma. (Luc. 1.151–54)

Lucan's simile picks up on the *fulmen* as a traditional symbol of military valour in Latin poetry, most evidently in its application to the Scipiones, which additionally functions as a learned calque on the Greek *skeptos*, and thus an etymological play with "Scipio": in *Aeneid* 6, Virgil describes them as *duo fulmina belli* (*Aen*. 6.842), as did Lucretius (3.1034: *Scipiades belli fulmen*) and Cicero (*Balb*. 34: *duo fumina nostri imperi*), a motif that O'Hara notes may plausibly have begun with Ennius.[208] But, the *fulmen* also insinuates rhetorical speed and force: Cicero praises the *fulmina* of Demosthenes (*Orat.* 234) and both Pliny and Quintilian describe Pericles's rhetoric as 'lightning bolts and thunderclaps' (*Inst.* 12.10.23-4: *fulminibus et caelesti fragori*; cf. Plin. *Ep.* 1.20).[209] The double meaning of the *fulmen* strengthens the notion of Caesar's *celeritas* as both a military and a literary attribute, but it also falls back upon Lucan's own poetic style, which Quintilian described as more a matter of bombastic and incendiary rhetoric than a poetic model: *Lucanus ardens et concitatus et sententiis clarissimus et, ut dicam quod sentio, magis oratoribus quam poetis imitandus* (*Inst*. 10.1.90).

Statius appropriates the image of the *fulmen* in a number of interesting ways throughout the Siluae, presenting it as a leitmotif that plays out throughout the collection. In *Siluae* 5.1, Domitian is imagined by

[207] Berti (2000) 31. cf. Kimmerle (2015) 23-85 on Lucan's use of Alexander as 'Kritik an Caesar und Nero'.
[208] O'Hara (1996) 51.
[209] For other associations of the thunderbolt with Pericles, Ar. *Ach.* 530-31; Plut. *Per*. 8.3-4; Cic. *Brut.* 44; at [Longinus] *Subl*. 12.4–5, the author compares Demosthenes to Cicero, claiming that the former 'may be compared to a flash of lightning or a thunderbolt' (σκηπτῷ τινι παρεικάζοιτ' ἂν ἢ κεραυνῷ), while Cicero is more 'like a widespread conflagration' (ὡς ἀμφιλαφής τις ἐμπρησμός). See Porter (2016) 385–386.

Priscilla, the deceased wife of Domitian's *ab epistulis* Abascantus, fighting with her husband on the Danube and the Rhine, an image of martial glory, cutting through the cloud of war on his horse like a lightning bolt:

> te puluerea bellorum nube uideret
> Caesarei prope fulmen equi diuinaque tela
> uibrantem (132–34)

The image of Domitian on horseback recalls Domitian's (inert) equestrian statue in the Forum Romanum in *Siluae* 1.1, now whipped into action and a figure of *celeritas*. But it is equally evocative of the *Bellum Ciuile*'s simile, with *nube…fulmen* picking up on Lucan's *per nubila fulmen* (Luc. 1.151): again, Statius evokes Lucan's Caesar only to reject its import, refashioning it instead as an image of inspiring military glory that Priscilla now beholds, rather than terrifying destruction. A similar image of Domitian as *fulmen* appears earlier in the *Siluae*, at 4.7, a lyric ode to Vibius Maximus, where Statius imagines the military experiences of Vibius' father on Domitian's campaigns being recounted by Vibius to his newborn son:[210]

> ille ut inuicti rapidum secutus
> Caesaris fulmen refugis amaram
> Sarmatis legem dederit, sub uno
> uiuere caelo. (4.7.49-52)

Statius describes Domitian's *fulmen* here as *rapidum*, conveying Caesarian military speed, now against a legitimate foreign enemy. Additionally, however, the *fulmen* bears further poetic associations, for 4.7 is remarkable in that it is Statius' only foray into Sapphic stanzas: throughout the poem, the relative brevity and concision of the Sapphic form stands in contrast to the anxieties Statius articulates over his epic project, the *Achilleid.* Interesting contrasts of speed and delay play out accordingly. In 4.7, Statius complains about the sluggish torpor of his muses (21: *torpor est nostris sine te Camenis*), Apollo is accused of tardiness (22-3: *tardius … uenit … Thymbrae* | *rector*), and Statius sequesters his epic hero, the swift-footed Achilles, within the stanza's adonius, a claustrophobically truncated line, going nowhere fast (24: *haeret Achilles*).[211]

[210] Coleman (1988) 206-207.
[211] As Morgan (2010) 219 points out, the adonius also represents the standard cadence of an epic hexameter, heightening the contrast between epic and the lyric.

Statius laments Vibius' absence, whose *audax fides* eased the *Thebaid* into existence (25-28). By contrast, *inuictus* Domitian comes to life within Vibius' internal account, flashing as a thunderbolt across the stanza with the depending adonius—*uiuere caelo*—standing alone as a tantalising image of the emperor's anticipated apotheosis, but also as an image of the sublime ([Longinus] *Subl.* 1.4).[212] Whilst Statius' epic project is mired in delay, Vibius' story gains serious traction and eloquence, spurred on by more conducive subject matter.[213] It is not Statius but Vibius who assumes the role of the general-poet, with Caesarean *celeritas* providing both the subject matter and the style, and Domitian appears as the swift thunderbolt, an image of both military might and the poetic sublime.[214]

This recurrent image of the *fulmen* is important, for if Statius is consciously drawing a web of internal references throughout the *Siluae* to suggest the link between military triumph and poetic representation, then the image of Domitian as *fulmen* finds its model in *Siluae* 2.7, in which the muse Calliope prophesies Lucan's future epic, the *Bellum Ciuile:*

> et Pharsalica bella detonabis
> quo fulmen ducis inter arma diui (65-66)

Caesar appears, tellingly, as the *fulmen*, already divinised, flashing amidst war, whilst Statius uses *detonare* ('thundering') to describe Lucan's style.[215] Variations on *tonare* are a common enough metaphor for the high style of epic, appropriate for Lucan—we might recall Suetonius' scatological anecdote, where Lucan, having moved his bowels rather loudly, disparagingly quoted a line of Nero's own poetry: *sub terris tonuisse putes* (Suet. *Poet.* 47.20).[216] But more seriously, as Newlands has pointed out, the verb's close proximity with *fulmen* aligns Lucan as narrator with Caesar the thunderbolt, and thus provides another point of interaction between military *celeritas* and its literary counterpart, and suggests the assimilation of the

[212] Pindar, an important model for Statius in *Silv.* 4.7, associates the image of the thunderbolt with apotheosis, (*Pyth.* 3.57-8; 98-100).
[213] We can compare Statius' image of Vibius' Domitian narrative to Hor. *Carm.* 1.22.53-56, also in Sapphic stanzas, which imagines Augustus triumphing in the east.
[214][Longinus] *Subl.* 1.4: ὕψος δέ που καιρίως ἐξενεχθὲν τὰ τε πράγματα δίκην σκηπτοῦ πάντα διεφόρησε καὶ τὴν τοῦ ῥήτορος εὐθὺς ἀθρόαν ἐνεδείξατο.
[215] cf. Mart. 7.23.1: *bella tonanti.*
[216] Cowan (2011) on 'Lucan's thunder-box'.

poet to the *princeps* and the complicity of the former in the latter's designs.[217] This connection is reinforced by Calliope, who goes on to compare Lucan's death, astoundingly, to the death of Alexander the Great:

> sic natum Nasamonii Tonantis
> post ortus obitusque fulminatos
> angusto Babylon premit sepulchro (*Silv.* 2.7.93-95)

Lucan compares Caesar with Alexander; when Statius directly compares Lucan with Alexander, as Malamud puts it, the association "explodes in possible meanings".[218] The link between Caesar and Alexander, flagged in the description of Caesar's equestrian statue in *Siluae* 1.1, is reiterated, and now conspires to indict Lucan as an emblem of transgressive ambition, strengthened through the image of the lightning bolt (*fulminatos*), which Lucan himself had used of Alexander in the *Bellum Ciuile* (Luc. 10.34-35: *terrarum fatale malum fulmenque quod omnes | percuteret pariter populos*). Used as a comparative model for Lucan's own death, Statius' description of Alexander creates a problematic link between Caesar and Lucan. Malamud voices her concern: "Statius' reading of the *Bellum Ciuile* in 2.7 shows an awareness of one of the most disturbing of Lucan's insights: that writing about Caesar makes him somehow complicit with and analogous to Caesar…through careful attention to significant passages in Lucan's epic, Statius has built up a picture of a poet caught in the trap of his own text".[219] This awareness of Lucan's 'most disturbing of insights' presents a potential problem for Statius, for if Lucan can be indicted for his poetic representation of Caesar, then we can also call into question the *Siluae*'s representation of Domitian and the poet's own *celeritas*. Just as military speed might be linked to deplorable political ambition, so too could literary speed garner its own transgressive associations, identifiable as a *uitium*. As was outlined earlier, Horace accuses Lucilius as criminally writing too much, too fast (*Sat.* 1.4.9: *nam fuit hoc uitiosus*), and Quintilian claims of those rhetoricians who write, tellingly, *siluae*—rough drafts—as rapidly as possible:

[217] Newlands (2011a) 239.
[218] Malamud (1995) 12.
[219] Malamud (1995) 14.

> diuersum est huic eorum uitium qui primo decurrere per materiam stilo quam uelocissimo uolunt, et sequentes calorem atque impetum ex tempore scribunt: hanc siluam uocant. (*Inst*. 10.3.17)

This is the accusation that Statius anticipates in his *praefationes,* but one that is profoundly complicated by Lucan and the wider connotations of *celeritas*. On the other hand, it is possible to read Statius' description as an effort to rehabilitate Lucan's relationship with his problematic subject-matter and his association with Caesar that Statius stipulates, for if Statius can present Domitian's *celeritas* as a virtue and model his own poetic *persona* upon it, this can be retrospectively applied to Lucan. Marks follows a similar line:

> ...Statius' identification of Lucan with Caesar in *Siluae* 2.7 could not happen if Caesar were portrayed as Lucan portrays him, but it can happen, and it does happen, precisely because Statius has deviated from Lucan's precedent and has given us a rehabilitated version of Caesar...the comparison of Lucan and Alexander is also possible because Statius does not subscribe to Lucan's negative characterisation of him.[220]

Marks' assessment is attractive: as much as Lucan's Caesar presents a profound complication for Statius' proclaimed *celeritas* and its relationship to Domitian's military capability, Statius is equally able to rehabilitate both the image of Caesar, through Domitian's achievements, and Lucan himself, through Statius' relationship with the emperor. Whilst Lucan's Caesar presents the necessary foil against which the *Siluae* must place their triumphant image of Domitian, by converting the *celeritas* of Lucan's Caesar into both the defining literary virtue of the *Siluae*, and by analogy, a vehicle of praise for the emperor's military credentials, Statius is also rehabilitating the Neronian poet within the more agreeable context of Domitian's Flavian empire.

2.9 conclusion

While *celeritas* has been the focus of this chapter, the primary aim has been to provide an exploration of how Statius engages with Domitian's monuments as interfaces between the emperor's self-representation and Statius' own poetic identity. Of central importance is the degree of interchangeability that Statius implies between *princeps* and poet: Statius' *celeritas* suggests a connection with Domitian's military

[220] Marks (2010b) 31.

valour, which in turn can be presented as synonymous with the emperor's literary ability, based on the longstanding symbolic image, in Latin literature, of the literary figure as warrior. This impacts how we read Statius' praise of Domitian's monuments. We began by observing how *celeritas* frames Statius' engagement with Callimachean poetics, a relationship that is foregrounded in Statius' praise of the Via Domitiana. But the poetics and generic resonances that *celeritas* implies acquire a new meaning when understood in the context of the emperor's political self-presentation and monuments, complicating any straightforward metapoetic reading we might wish to impose. But Domitian's monuments themselves emerge as contested literary spaces, where Statius can map out his literary inheritance and explore its consequences. The results are not without ambiguity, and the reader is constantly prompted to assess Statius' reconfiguration of past poetry, and to hold the memory of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, from Caesar to Nero, and its accompanying texts, up against the new Flavian regime that Statius now celebrates.

Chapter 3
Sublime monuments

In the *Vitellian* warre he rais'd a Temple
To *Iupiter*, and proudly plac'd his figure
In the bosome of the God. And in his edicts
He does not blush, or start to stile himselfe
(As if the name of Emperour were base)
Great Lord, and God *Domitian*.

- Philip Massinger, *The Roman Actor* (1626) 121-6.

In Massinger's remarkable attack on Stuart absolutism, the doomed Rusticus takes particular umbrage at the fact that Domitian, not content with being only 'Emperour', has now styled himself 'Great Lord, and God Domitian'.[221] Domitian's purported status as *dominus et deus* offers the point of departure for this chapter. It was an accusation employed widely by ancient writers: Suetonius claims that Domitian dictated a letter that began *dominus et deus noster hoc fieri iubet* (Suet. *Dom.* 13.2). Dio supports the story, claiming that Domitian took 'vast pride' in the appellation (Cass. Dio 67.4.7: ἤδη γὰρ καὶ θεὸς ἠξίου νομίζεσθαι, καὶ δεσπότης καλούμενος καὶ θεὸς ὑπερηγάλλετο), and later writers hostile to Domitian embellish it: Aurelius Victor (*De Caes.* 11.2), Eutropius (*Breu.* 7.23), Orosius (*Hist.* 7.10) and Zonaras (*Epit.* 9.19) all claim that he both ordered and revelled in its use. According to Dio Chrysostom, Domitian was a knavish devil masquerading as 'lord and god' (*Or.* 45.1: δεσπότην ὀνομαζόμενον καὶ θεὸν παρὰ πᾶσιν Ἕλλησι καὶ βαρβάροις, τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς ὄντα δαίμονα πονηρόν), and Pliny implicitly contrasts Domitian's divine pretensions when he claims of Trajan that "nowhere should we flatter him as a god and a divinity; we are talking of a fellow citizen, not a tyrant, a father and not a master" (*Pan.* 2.3: *nusquam ut deo, nusquam ut numini blandiamur: non enim de tyranno sed de ciue, non de domino sed de parente loquimur*).[222]

[221] On Massinger's representation of royalty and its reception in Caroline culture, see Burt (1988); Butler (2018). Marvell ('An Horatian Ode') would later describe Charles 1 at his execution as a 'royal actor' adorning the 'tragic scaffold'.

[222] See also Juv. 4.71-2. Henriksén (2012) xxvi-xxxi provides a good summary account of the literary evidence. Sauter (1934) 36-40 on the title's relation to Hellenistic *kyrios kai theos.*

The historicity of Domitian's divine status has been revised by scholarship,[223] but what is clear is that, at the very least, Domitian was certainly celebrated as a divine entity by Flavian poetry, as either comparable to a god, as the gods' intermediary upon earth, or as a god in his own right.[224] It is a view to which the *Siluae* unreservedly subscribe: *praefatio* 1 offers Domitian as the divine starting point of Book 1 (*a Ioue principium*), and *praefatio* 4 acknowledges the 'divine power' of the emperor (*numine maximi imperatoris*); the equestrian statue is the *forma dei praesens* (1.1.62), and the Sibyl hails Domitian as *dux hominum et parens deorum | prouisum mihi conditumque numen* (4.3.139-40).[225] In practice, this was nothing particularly new or transgressive, and praise of Domitian's divinity fits within the boundaries established predominantly by the Augustan poets in their praise of the emperor, and, more broadly, within the panegyric traditions of Hellenistic ruler cult.[226]

In the previous chapter we charted one course of interaction and interchangeability between Statius' literary project and the imperial monuments of Domitian, through which the poet is able to model his poetics on the self-representation of the emperor, signalling an intimate affinity between the two. This chapter pursues a similar enquiry, and considers what happens when Statius' project of poetic monumentality confronts the monumental representation of the emperor as god. Whereas the previous chapter raced around the *Siluae* in search of *celeritas*, we slow down here to home in on one poem, *Siluae* 4.2, the so-called *eucharisticon* dedicated to the emperor in return for a banquet at Domitian's palatial Domus Flavia on the Palatine, which provides particularly fertile ground for gauging Domitian's divinity.[227] The poem's

[223] Jones (1992) 108-9 rejects the claim that the title was officially used; cf. Gradel (2002) 159-60; Nauta (2002) 382-3; Leberl (2004) 56-7. See Gibson (2006a) 92, Scott (1936) 102, Gradel (2002) 109-111 on the difference between the representation of *princeps* as divine, and realities of legal deification and worship. As Sauter (1934) points out, it is in fact *dominus* which is the innovative and more troubling epithet used of an emperor by the Flavian poets: Augustus (Suet. *Aug.* 53) and Tiberius (*Tib.* 27) had refused it.

[224] Sauter (1934) remains the seminal account of the representation of Domitian's divinity in Statius and Martial.

[225] Martial is more effusive still: see Henriksén (2012) xxiv-xxxi.

[226] For a brief summary of the cult of the sovereign, *RE* s.v. *Herrscherkult*, 1110ff., with further references. Levene (1997, 2012) on divine motifs and religious language in Latin panegyric. On *deus* only in contexts of ruler cult: *TLL* V.1.890.42– 891.78. Gradel (2002) 265; Price (1984), on the terms *deus, divus,* and *theos* in the Roman imperial cult.

[227] On the authenticity of *eucharisticon* in the *titulus*, derived from εὐχαριστικός, see Coleman (1988). It is unclear precisely where in the palace Statius situates his poem: are we in the *Aula Regia* (MacDonald [1982] 61-2), the *Cenatio Iouis* (Gibson et al. [1994] 81 n. 26; Fredrick [2003] 214), or a *topothesia,* a combination of spaces in the palace, so Zanker (2002) 112-4?

occasion is described as a *sacratissimae epulae* in the preface (4 pr. 6), and the poem is Statius' most extensive representation of Domitian as a god, with the banqueting hall itself functioning as a sacred architectural space: Plutarch writes that the palace outshone even the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus (*Popl.* 15); Cancik labels the palace of Statius' description a "sakrales Bauwerk" and Vessey describes it as "a complex symbol of the divine basis of autocracy".[228]

The purpose of this chapter is to look at the ways in which Statius associates Domitian's divine monument with his own poetic project. Descriptions of palaces are synonymous with the epic tradition, allowing Statius to expatiate on the *Siluae'*s complicated relationship with the *genus grande.* But my central aim will be to explore a striking series of correspondences between Statius' panegyric and the sublime, particularly as it is represented in the writings of Seneca, Longinus[229] and Lucretius, which allows Statius to represent the palace as an overwhelming space of cosmic proportions and as a divine experience. In what is consequently the most ambitious poem of the *Siluae,* Statius positions himself as a sublime poet, both the beholder of Domitian's constructed universe, but also as an equal participant in its creation, implicating poet and *princeps* in an act of world-creation. The *topos* of the monument poem is thus expanded, synonymous not only with poetic immortality and commemoration, but with the act of divine creation.

There is, however, a further layer to such a reading. Statius' ability to align both poem and monument with the sublime also bears associations with transgressive *audacia* and theomachy, and Statius runs the risk of staging a challenge to Domitian's divinity as much as reinforcing it. This is encapsulated by Statius' troubling association with the theomach *par excellence* of his *Thebaid,* Capaneus. I begin by mapping out aspects of Domitian's divinity in 4.2, before turning to Statius' ecphrasis of the banqueting hall itself (18—31), which occupies the central part of this chapter.

[228] See Cancik (1965) 71-4; Vessey (1983) 207. *Sacratissimus* first appears in literature to describe Domitian: *Silv.* 2. pr. 19; 3 pr. 13; Coleman (1986).
[229] By Longinus I refer to [Longinus], and forego any discussion of the date and attribution of *Peri Hupsous*; I follow broad consensus in attributing it to the 1st century CE. See Russell (1964).

3.1 nothing like the sun

Early in the poem, Statius, grasping for the right register upon which to embark, poses a loaded question: *qua celebrem mea uota lyra?* (7). The invocation of the *lyra* flags the poem's performative context, but it also has a more significant meaning, evident in the question's clear echo of Horace *Carm.* 1.12, in which the poet asks his muse what subject she will provide him: [230]

> quem uirum aut heroa lyra uel acri
> tibia sumis celebrare, Clio?
> quem deum? (1-3)

The answer for Horace is, of course, Augustus, and a primary objective of the poem, modelled on Pindar *Olympian* 2 (2.1-2: Ἀναξιφόρμιγγες ὕμνοι, | τίνα θεόν, τίν᾽ ἥρωα, τίνα δ᾽ ἄνδρα κελαδήσομεν;), is to place the *princeps*, in Feeney's words, "against the background of a systematic exploration and questioning of the categories of divinity", categories which Augustus appears to confound, for the final stanzas would seem to suggest a direct kinship between Jupiter and *princeps* (51-52: *tu secundo* | *Caesare regnes*).[231] Horace applies Pindaric lyric's capacity to confer immortalising praise upon a god-like victor to a *princeps* who already represents a unique composite of *uir* and *deus.* But Horace's assimilation of *princeps* to god is not as clear as Feeney suggests: Morgan convincingly argues that Horace's main intention is not to obscure, but rather to reinforce, the distinctions between man and god, a view that appears summarised incontrovertibly by Horace's final stanza, which forcefully limits Augustus' control to earthly matters (57: *te minor laetum reget aequus orbem*).[232] Both arguments acknowledge, at any rate, that Horace postulates a connection between *princeps* and god, if either to clarify or deny it, and *Carm.* 1.12 accordingly presents Statius with an important model for how to praise Domitian as divinity.

But if Horace is equivocal on the matter of the emperor's divinity, Statius is most certainly not, drastically reducing the boundary between god and ruler: as we proceed through *Siluae* 4.2, we find that

[230] cf. *Theb*. 1.41 *quem prius heroum, Clio, dabis?* with Chaudhuri (2014) 313.
[231] Feeney (1998) 111.
[232] Morgan (2010) 262-3.

Statius closely tracks the list of deities that Horace employs in 1.12, comparing Domitian to Pollux (48, cf. 1.12.25), Bacchus (49, cf. 1.12.22) and Hercules (50, cf. 1.12.25), *inter alia*, and where Horace might complicate the comparison between *princeps* and deity, Statius suggests that such gods are ultimately insufficient for comparison with the emperor (52: *parua loquor necdum aequo tuos, Germanice, uultus*).[233] The only adequate comparison will be epic's Jupiter: a Homeric image compares the emperor's banquet with Jupiter's Ethiopian sojourn in *Iliad* 1 (53-4: *talis ubi Oceani finem mensasque reuisit | Aethiopum sacro diffusus nectare uultus;* cf. Hom. *Il.* 1.423-424), and Domitian is praised with stock epithets for Jupiter in Virgilian epic (4.2.14-5: *regnator terrarum orbisque subacti | magne parens*).[234]

Domitian's divinity would appear an undisputed claim in 4.2 (although there is a troubling counterpart to this assertion, I shall suggest). But as the presence of Horace's ode shows, to praise an emperor's divinity is to enter into a deeply allusive relationship with the literary traditions of imperial panegyric, in which the emperor's godlike nature is a stock trope. 4.2 is unique in the *Siluae* in that, despite the emperor's ineluctable presence throughout the entire collection, it provides the only direct representation of Domitian himself, underscoring Statius' privileged status. More than elsewhere in the *Siluae*, we are asked to trust the poet's eye-witness account of Domitian's divinity: Statius marvels at the legitimacy of bearing witness to the god (14-17: *tene ego, regnator terrarum…| cerno iacens? datur haec iuxta, datur ora tueri |...fas est?*), and goes on to describe Domitian's appearance in exacting detail:[235]

> ipsum ipsum cupido tantum spectare uacauit
> tranquillum uultu et maiestate serena
> mulcentem radios summittentemque modeste
> fortunae uexilla suae; tamen ore nitebat
> dissimulatus honos. (40-44)

[233] Chaudhuri (2014) 313-315.
[234] On Jupiter as *regnator* in Virgil: *Aen*. 2.779 (*superi regnator Olympi*); 7.558 (*summi regnator Olympi*); 10.437 (*magni regnator Olympi*); 4.268-9. Although as Coleman (1988) *ad loc.* 4.2.14 points out, the phrase also reinforces Domitian's status as the *regnator* of the mortal realm, Jupiter's satellite; cf. *Silv.* 4.3.128.
[235] Domitian presided over *Cenatio Iouis* in an elevated apse: Bek (1983) 91; Fredrick (2003) 218: "rather than sharing a hierarchically structured view out of the triclinium, in Domitian's *Cenatio Iouis* the guests are subordinated to a view with the emperor at its apex". On the associations of the apse with the sacred, Gros (1976) 124-42.

Statius' concentration on Domitian's physiognomy was also noted in the previous chapter, where the associations with divine tranquility in *Siluae* 1.1 recalled the description of Caesar in Nero's *Bellum Ciuile*. The emperor's appearance (*mulcentem radios...ore nitebat*) also reflects a wider preoccupation that both Flavian poets and later biographers had for the emperor's physiognomy, a predominant feature of which was his propensity to blush.[236] But incandescence is also a marker of divine epiphany, signifying the appearance of a *deus praesens* whom Statius now at last beholds.[237] The references to Domitian's tranquil visage point also to the emperor's divine status: Leigh's discussion of Lucan 4.363-64 notes that *serenitas* is a quality familiar to Jupiter in epic (Enn. *Ann.* fr. 446-7 Sk.; Virg. *Aen.* 1.254-5), and also cites Martial's applications of its cognates to Domitian, which establish the link between emperor and god (Mart. 5.6.9: *nosti tempora tu Iouis sereni*; 9.24.3: *haec mundi facies, haec sunt Iouis ora sereni*); Coleman observes the associations of Statius' language with Jupiter's control of the weather, citing the same sources.[238] But importantly, Statius' description of the emperor's shining features also suggests solar imagery, a theme introduced in *Siluae* 4.1, in which Domitian's renewed consulship is likened to a new dawn:

> laeta bis octonis accedit purpura fastis
> Caesaris insignemque aperit Germanicus annum
> atque oritur cum sole nouo, cum grandibus astris,
> clarius ipse nitens et primo maior Eoo. (*Silv.* 4.1.1–4)

The motif is elsewhere employed by Martial.[239]

> Phosphore, redde diem: quid gaudia nostra moraris?
> Caesare uenturo, Phosphore, redde diem.
> [...]
> iam, Caesar, uel nocte ueni: stent astra licebit,
> non deerit populo te ueniente dies. (Mart. 8.21.1-2; 11-12)

[236] See Hulls (2007) 202-3.
[237] On the central importance that epiphanic texts attribute to light, based on the etymological connection between ἐπιφανής and φαίνω, see Platt (2011).
[238] Leigh (1997) 59-60, discussed last chapter, which goes on to claim that Martial is "clearly alluding to the self-representation of the emperor in the equestrian statue described in Statius, *Siluae* 1.1.32-3"; Coleman (1988) *ad loc.* 4.2.41.
[239] Coleman (1988) *ad loc.* 4.1.3 Henriksén (2012) xxx-xxxi on similar instances in Martial (8.21-11-12; 9.20.5-6; 9.24.3).

The tradition of comparing an emperor to the sun is a long one, going back at least to Hellenistic ruler cult (notably the Ithyphallic Hymn for Demetrius Poliorcetes),[240] and proliferates in both Augustan panegyric and iconography, where Apollo appears to be conflated with Sol; this is exemplified by Propertius' description of the quadriga of the Sun god on the roof of the Temple of Apollo Palatinus, which was architecturally twinned with the emperor's domestic complex (2.31).[241] Statius can gesture towards a connection between Domitian and Augustus, whose political model Domitian now reinstates. But as Nauta points out, Statius' description here is formulated in terms reminiscent "spezifisch an das Lob Neros als Sonnengott in der *Apocolocyntosis*", forcing a comparison between the two emperors:[242]

> qualis discutiens fugientia Lucifer astra
> aut qualis surgit redeuntibus Hesperus astris,
> qualis, cum primum tenebris Aurora solutis
> induxit rubicunda diem, Sol aspicit orbem
> lucidus et primos a carcere concitat axes:
> talis Caesar adest, talem iam Roma Neronem
> aspiciet. flagrat nitidus fulgore remisso
> uultus et adfuso ceruix formosa capillo. (*Apoc.* 4.25-32)

Apollo's eulogy for Nero heralds a new Golden Age, and praises Nero as *Lucifer*, *Hesperus* and *Sol*, before proceeding to describe the emperor's face radiant with gentle brilliance. Similar solar imagery deployed in praise of Nero is found in Seneca's *De Clementia* (1.8.4) Antiphilus of Byzantium (*AP* 9.178), and Lucan's *Bellum Ciuile* (1.45-52).[243] As Grimal's detailed study developed, identification with the sun was one of Nero's preferred imperial self-images, deployed to a far more comprehensive extent than by Augustus.[244]

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[240] Duris *FGrH* 76 F13 9-12; see O'Sullivan (2008). Men. Rhet. 381.7-23 (Russell and Wilson) on solar imagery as a rhetorical trope in the context of the *adventus* or *reditus.*

[241] On the implicit syncretism of Sol and Apollo Phoebus in Prop. 2.31, see Miller (2009). For solar imagery in Horace's praise of Augustus, Thomas (2011) *ad loc.* Hor. *Carm.* 4.2.46-7; 4.5.5; Doblhofer (1966) 86-91; Du Quesnay (2009). The quadriga of the Sun god on the roof of the Palatine temple: Prop. 2.31.11; Kienast (1999) 223; La Rocca (2014) 142. Matern (2002) offers a comprehensive study of Helios/Sol in iconography and cult. Augustus and Sol: Bergmann (1998) 99–126, esp. 103–7.

[242] Nauta (2010) 258-9. But this observation is then qualified, inexplicably: "aber auch wenn eine Seneca-imitation vorliegen sollte, kann von einer Evozierung des ganzer neronischen Kontextes doch nicht gesprochen warden".

[243] cf. Curt. 10.9.3-5, with Fears (1976).

[244] Grimal (1971); Braund (1998) 250-1; Smith (2000); Champlin (1998; 2003a); Nero as the Sun depicted on the curtains of the theatre of Pompey: Cass. Dio. 63.6.2; wearing radiate crown: Bergmann (1998) 167–9; for coinage and inscriptions see the evidence collected by Champlin (2003a) 116–17; legends about Nero's solar birth: Suet.

Statius' representation of Domitian thus risks not only an association with Augustus, but a more problematic recollection of Nero.

Further to this, solar imagery influences a reading of the Domus Flavia against Neronian monumentality, for the construction of Nero's Domus Aurea constituted the clearest display of Nero's solar imagery. L'Orange described it as the 'Sonnenpalast' of a solar cosmocrator, a suggestion that met fierce challenge from Toynbee and Boëthius but now represents the *communis opinio*: Bergmann, Voisin, Hemsoll and La Rocca all subscribe to this view, and Champlin concludes that "the evidence that Nero presented himself as the Sun and his Golden House as the Palace of the Sun seems overwhelming".[245] The palace represented not only a new version of Rome, rising from the fires of 64 CE, but—covered in gold and pearls (Suet. *Ner.* 31.1: *in ceteris partibus cuncta auro lita*), and with its colossus of Sol in the vestibule (perhaps with features of Nero; Cass. Dio 65.15.1)[246] overlooking a garden shaped in imitation of the world (Suet. *Ner.* 31; *instar maris...ad urbium speciem*)—it represented no less than the world itself, illuminated by the divine Sun. The Domus Aurea not only transgressively blurred the distinction between *urbs* and *domus,* as we shall see in a later chapter, but also played with the traditional notion of Rome as the *urbs orbis,* turning the imperial palace into a microcosm of the universe, a point encapsulated by the *cenatio rotunda,* a banqueting hall which 'constantly revolved day and night, like the heavens', as Suetonius tells us:[247]

> cenationes laqueatae tabulis eburneis uersatilibus, ut flores, fistulatis, ut unguenta desuper spargerentur; praecipua cenationum rotunda, quae perpetuo diebus ac noctibus uice mundi circumageretur. (*Ner.* 32)

Nero 6.1; Cass. Dio 61.2.1. Domus Aurea: Champlin (2003a) 127–32, 200–9; solar symbolism of Nero's coronation of Tiridates, 66 CE: Suet. *Ner.* 13.1-2; Cass. Dio 63.4.2.

[245] L'Orange (1942); (1953) 28-31. Toynbee (1947), Boëthius (1946), (1960). Bergmann (1993); Hemsoll (1990); Voisin (1987); La Rocca (2017), and Champlin (1998) 335.

[246] On the Colossus, see *LTUR* I 295–98; Bergmann (1993). The traditional view is that the Colossus, a massive statue of the Sun god, was originally designed to bear Nero's features; *contra* Smith (2000) and Champlin (2003a).

[247] Villedieu (2010) places the *cenatio rotunda* in the Vigna Barberini; Cassatella (1990) 101 attempts to locate it beneath the Domus Flavia itself.

Against this background, Statius' professed autopsy collapses into a contested site of intertextuality and historicity, an echo of Neronian panegyric and Neronian monumentality: Domitian as sun-god, the analogy problematically suggests, is equivalent to a new Nero, an issue addressed in the previous chapter, and the Domus Flavia recalls the Domus Aurea. But, as we discussed in the previous chapter, such allusions can also serve to emphasise a categorical difference between two rulers (and two poets), as much as an affinity. The rehabilitation of a panegyric image can provide the simultaneous service of condemning its source: Nero's failure is Domitian's success. Rebeggiani similarly argues that, in Flavian panegyric, solar imagery serves a simple message: "Nero was the failed solar *auriga* and unsuccessful emperor, but later emperors can prove equal to the task; Domitian can be depicted in solar terms without the implication that he will be a second Nero".[248] Yet at the same time, the implicit comparison between the two rulers remains a central means of defining Domitian's divinity, unavoidably evoking Nero's memory.In the *Siluae,* Nero can be damned but not forgotten, and in 4.2 Domitian's claim to divinity is persistently complicated by its Neronian legacy. If Statius asks us to understand Domitian's divinity and the Domus Flavia in terms of solar imagery, then it is in light of its Neronian legacy that it must be clarified.

3.2 epic, allusion, allegory (1)

Descriptions of palaces are synonymous with the epic tradition, and the following two sections are devoted to examining the consequences of this connection for *Siluae* 4.2. Statius acknowledges the relationship between ecphrases of palaces and epic by commencing with a *synkrisis* of the Phaeacian palace of Alcinous in *Odyssey* 7 (78-132) and the palace of Dido in Carthage in *Aeneid* 1 (723-756), both of which are unable to match the *noua gaudia* (5) of the Domus Flavia:

> Regia Sidoniae conuiuia laudat Elissae
> qui magnum Aenean Laurentibus intulit aruis,
> Alcinoique dapes mansuro carmine monstrat
> aequore qui multo reducem consumpsit Ulixem (1-4)

[248] Rebeggiani (2018) 103.

By referencing the two epics, Statius appears, as Vessey suggests, to be presenting himself in the guise of "an epic poet, a representative of a noble and ancient tradition, which provides him with precedents to follow and a claim to respect".[249] As epic poet, Statius can bestow κλέος ἄφθιτον upon his subject, signposted by Statius' reference to Homer's *mansurum carmen* (3).[250] But Statius also stands as epic hero: the periphrastic reference to Virgil and Homer (*qui...qui*) is a conscious variation on the model applied in the proems to Homer's *Odyssey* (1.1-2: ὃς μάλα πολλὰ / πλάγχθη) and Virgil's *Aeneid* (1.1 f. *qui primus ab oris | Italiam ... uenit*), the formula with which both poets introduce their central heroes.[251] By assimilating the epic poets directly to their heroic characters, Statius consequently positions himself as both poet and subject of his poem. Coleman, commenting on the periphrasis, appropriately cites Leberl when she describes it "as an instance of the poet's description of the action as synonymous with the action itself".[252]

But there is a further important consequence of Statius' identification of poet with hero. Longinus emphasises such an elision of poet and subject matter as a specific trait of sublimity: the sublime poet will invest their own poetic enterprise deeply in the action being described—so Homer ([Longinus] *Subl.* 9.10-11) and Euripides ([Longinus] *Subl.* 15.), whose soul appears to 'mount the chariot' (3-4: συνεπιβαίνει τοῦ ἅρματος) and 'share the dangers' of Phaethon's flight (συγκινδυνεύουσα τοῖς ἵπποις συνεπτέρωται). Leigh, accounting for Longinus on this point, summarises the notion aptly: "sublimity, therefore, is the product of the poet's oneness with the grand, the extraordinary deeds of his character".[253] Statius, as I shall argue,

[249] Vessey (1983) 208.
[250] Given the context of a royal feast, Statius can of course also present himself as the poetic bard in epic, viz. Demodocus and Iopas. Note also the pun on *consumo*; cf. Gowers (1993a) 142; 152; 247.
[251] Noted by Coleman (1988) *ad loc.* 4.2.1, who cites Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.1-4, Val. Fl. 1.1-4 and Sil. *Pun.* 1.1-2 as further examples. The implied themes of exile and *nostos* associated with Odysseus and Aeneas would resonate particularly with the biographical view that 4.2 marks a return to imperial favour following Statius' departure from Rome in *Silv.* 3.5. LeGras represents the extreme version of such an approach: "on est bien forcé de croire que c'est au moment même où Stace allait quitter Rome que l'invitation ou la promesse d'une invitation de l'empereur l'a retenu et lui a rendu confiance"; cf. Hartel (1900) and Giri (1907); and more recently A. Hardie (1983).
[252] Coleman (1988) cf. Prop. 2.1.18; *Laus Pisonis* 230-2.
[253] Leigh (2006) 234.

equally the creator and beholder of his poetic palace, will emerge as both the sublime hero and sublime poet of 4.2.

But this is to jump the gun slightly. What is important to recognise here is that, initially, epic appears to be the adequate vehicle for Statius' praise. But at the moment that we are asked to identify Statius as both hero and representative of Vessey's "noble and ancient tradition", Statius denies the efficacy of epic to adequately account for the palace:

> non, si pariter mihi uertice laeto
> nectat adoratas et Smyrna et Mantua lauros,
> digna loquar. (8-10)

Statius' poem on the Domus Flavia is set to supersede both epic projects through more substantial subject matter, and the limits of epic are established through Statius' application of the *Unsagbarkeitstopos* familiar from Homeric epic (*Il.* 2.488-492), and indeed a hackneyed trope for the imperial poet (Pers. *Sat.* 5.1-4: *uatibus hic mos est*).[254] Statius clarifies the *adynaton* not through the traditional epic wish for 'many mouths', but through the combined *adoratas lauros* of the epic poets themselves, which could not provide the ability to match the scale of Domitian's marvels even if he obtained them. By applying the Homeric formula with a reference to the capacity of the epic poets themselves, Statius stages a *recusatio* that denies epic on its own terms.

Epic remains an important touchstone for the poem, however. Statius' rejection of the epic palace forces a comparison with the very image we are instructed not to compare, creating rival associations in the reader's mind: throughout the poem, we are not, but also 'not not', in the realm of epic.[255] The literary creation of (or allusion to) an epic palace demands a careful reading of its predecessors. Epic palaces act as

[254] Vollmer (1898) 2.2 observes Statius' interaction with Persius' complaint. on the history of the 'many mouths' motif, Courcelle (1955), Hinds (1998), Gowers (2005).
[255] From Schechner's (1981) conceit of acting (88: "Olivier is both 'not Hamlet' and 'not not Hamlet"). In a slightly different context, Fowler notes the inevitability of drawing comparisons the panegyric reader is asked not to (1995a) 254.

palimpsestic sites of inheritance and interpretation, requiring reflection on the genre and upon an epicist's literary inheritance: the poet will emerge as a careful *reader* of epic as much as its practitioner. Statius' connection between the palaces of Alcinous and Dido acknowledges this. The Carthaginian events of *Aeneid* 1-4 were already recognised in antiquity as influenced by the 'Phaeacian books' of the *Odyssey*: Aulus Gellius notes that Dido is clearly modelled on Nausicaa (*NA* 9.9) and the allusions stretch to include Virgil's description of what Julia Dyson describes as "Dido's patently Homeric palace" (*Od.* 7.100-102).[256]

Statius' connection between the two palaces not only suggests awareness of Virgil's debt to Homer, but also points to one way in which both epics were interpreted in antiquity. The Phaeacian books of the *Odyssey* were subject to a tradition of moralising, specifically anti-Epicurean, allegoresis, which aimed to associate the Phaeacians with the negative qualities of ἡδυπάθεια and τρυφή, of which Epicureans were accused.[257] Ps.-Heraclitus summarises the position when he refers to Epicurus as "the Phaeacian philosopher, the farmer of his own pleasures" (*Hom. Q.* 79.2); Lucretius appears also to knowingly reject the allegorical implications in his description of the decisively anti-Epicurean banquet in Lucr. 2.20-33:

> Si non aurea sunt iuuenum simulacra per aedes
> lampadas igniferas manibus retinentia dextris,
> lumina nocturnis epulis ut suppeditentur,
> nec domus argento fulget auroque renidet
> nec citharae reboant laqueata aurataque templa (2.24-28)

which is primarily modelled on Homer's description of the Phaeacian feast:[258]

> χρύσειοι δ' ἄρα κοῦροι ἐϋδμήτων ἐπὶ βωμῶν
> ἕστασαν αἰθομένας δαῖδας μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχοντες,
> φαίνοντες νύκτας κατὰ δώματα δαιτυμόνεσσι. (*Od.* 7.100-3)

The allusion to the Homeric description bears with it the legacy of this allegorical tradition. For Lucretius, it is not Epicurus, but his opponents, who observe the Phaeacian lifestyle that the feast represents. This was

[256] Dyson (1996) 208; Gordon (1998) 199.
[257] E.g. Schol. Hom. *Od.* 9.5 (D-M [2] 2.40); Ath. 12.7.1-18; [Heraclit.] *Quaest. Hom.* 79.9. See Bignone (1936); Fowler (2002b).
[258] Fowler (2002b) *ad loc.* 2.24-8.

a tradition of which Virgil was also aware: Servius notes several lines that allude to Epicurean concepts in the Carthaginian episode (e.g. *ad Aen.* 4.34; 4.210; 4.380), and more specifically, Virgil's description of the Carthaginian banquet bears references to Lucretius' Homeric image of the banquet (*Aen.* 1.725-27; Lucr. 2.24-28), associating Dido with the anti-Epicurean tradition at which Lucretius takes umbrage, as Gordon argues convincingly.[259] This interpretative tradition is highly important to Statius' representation of Domitian's palace, and throughout the poem we are asked to determine the moral implications of the grand palaces of Dido and Alcinous in relation to the artificial luxury the Domus Flavia exhibits, and the quality of Domitian's leadership—and divinity. Epic provides both a hermeneutic and a moralising lens for 4.2, as much as a generic framework.

Evidence for such a claim can be found in a passage that will hold much of our attention below. Statius' description of the palace's banqueting hall concludes with a reference to the *laquearia*, the coffered ceiling decorated in imitation of the heavens:

> longa supra species: fessis uix culmina prendas
> uisibus auratique putes laquearia caeli. (4.2.30-1)

The *laquearia* commonly appears in the repertoire of features that moralising discourse on *luxuria* condemns as the enfeebled imitation of nature: Horace denounces the *laquearia* in *Carm.* 2.18 (1-2: *non...mea renidet in domo lacunar*) and in *Epistle* 90 Seneca contrasts the *caelata laquearia* with the incomparable beauty of the night sky (*Ep.* 90.43: *quidni iuuaret uagari inter tam late sparsa miracula?*).[260] There are also important associations of the starred sky and the motif of the sublime flight of the mind, to which we shall return. But the ceilings to which the Roman moralist turned a censorious eye also frequent the descriptions of palaces in epic. This is evident in Lucretius' Homerising description of the luxurious banquet in *De Rerum Natura*, in which the poet lists the *laquearia* as one of the unnecessary luxuries which

[259] Gordon (1998); (2012).
[260] Fowler (2002b) *ad loc.* Lucr. 2.27 provides a comprehensive list of appearances of the *topos*, including the *Siluae*, but not 4.2. For the pun on *caelatum/caelum*; cf. Edwards (2019) *ad loc.* Sen. *Ep.* 90.15 and above, pg. 11 n. 7.

the Epicurean can happily go without (2.28: *laqueata aurataque templa*). By reworking the Homeric description of Alcinous' palace, Lucretius is refuting that moralizing tendency in Homeric scholarship, observed above, which equated Epicurus with the Phaeacians as corrupting practitioners of hedonism; the Homeric image is here associated instead with patently un-Epicurean behaviour.[261] The motif of the starred ceiling may have occurred in the writings of Epicurus himself: a fragment from the Diogenes of Oenoanda inscription begins with a similar description of 'an elaborate house with fretted and gold-spangled ceiling' (NF 136 1.7-10: περίεργον οἰκίαν τε- | τορευμένας ἔχουσαν ὀροφάς καὶ χρυσοπάσ| [τους]), perhaps pointing to a common source.

But the insertion of the *laquearia* within an otherwise close *imitatio* of the Homeric passage points to a specifically Roman anxiety over the corrupting influence of foreign decadence. As Fowler observes, Lucretius' reference bears strong parallels with the description of Priam's palace in Ennius' *Andromache*, in which Andromache, in a striking instance of self-identification as *barbarica*, laments the fall of Troy with its 'barbarian wealth, with its embossed and panelled roofs":

> o pater, o patria, o Priami domus,
> saeptum altisono cardine templum,
> uidi ego te adstante ope barbarica,
> tectis caelatis laqueatis,
> auro ebore instructam regifice. (Enn. *Trag.* 87-91 J.)

The allusion allows Lucretius to blend two moralising traditions: the association of the Homeric Alcinous with Epicureanism, already evident in Hellenistic scholarship, and the more specifically Roman association of *luxuria* with foreign decadence.[262] The use of the Homeric image of luxury to convey Epicurean morality is clarified through the symbol of orientalising connotations of wealth and the abiding Roman anxiety over

[261] Fowler (2002b) *ad loc.* and before him, Bignone (1936) 268-329. cf. Prop. 1.14.24; Hor. *Epist.* 1.2.28-31 on Alcinous as moral *topos*.
[262] Cicero uses Ennius here to comment on Epicurean inefficacy viz. consolation in *Tusc.* 3.44-46). Scholarship links the palace of Alcinous with stereotypical (Orientalising) Greek imagery of Egyptian (Lorimer [1950] 97, 429), or Assyrian luxury architecture (Cook [2004] 43-77).

corruption by foreign influence. When we arrive at Virgil's description of the palace of Dido in *Aeneid* 1, the *laquearia* is used to create a similar convergence between Epicurean exegesis and a specifically Roman view of orientalising decadence:

> fit strepitus tectis uocemque per ampla uolutant
> atria; dependent lychni laquearibus aureis
> incensi et noctem flammis funalia uincunt. (1.725-7)

Servius notes that the *uersus Ennianus* quoted above is directly relevant to Virgil's description here (*ad Aen.* 1.726:);[263] the barbarism of Priam's (and Aeneas') Troy in the *Andromache* passage is now applied to Dido's Carthage, and for Reed, "the gold-coffered ceiling of Dido's opulent palace... participate in an allusion to Ennius' *Andromacha* and a cross-textual dialogue on what it means to be Roman".[264] Macrobius also notes that Virgil borrows from another Ennian image of *lychni* in *Annales* 9 (Macrob. *Sat.* 6.4.17–18: *sicut Ennius in nono: lychnorum lumina bis sex)*; but the story is more complicated, for the phrase also more closely recalls Lucretius' description of the *pendentes lychni*—which in turn looks back to the Homeric hapax λύχνος (*Od.* 19.37: χρύσεον λύχνον)—and the presence of the torches and the *laquearia* thus evokes thus evoking "precisely that luxury which Lucretius declares unnecessary", as Dyson puts it.[265] Virgil creates a complex window allusion, filtering the separate connotations inherent in the Ennian *and* the Homeric imagery directly through Lucretius to portray Dido as both foreigner and a (failed) Epicurean.[266]

A further connotation of the *laquearia* in moralising discourse and epic suggests the appropriation of the heavens—the exclusive domain of the gods and their temples (cf. Prop. 3.2.19)—for private, domestic display. Pliny laments the fact that the *laquearia* which now fill private residences were once reserved solely for the temples of the gods, the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus being the first to be

[263] Fowler (2002b) 50.
[264] And thus, for Reed (2007) 188, "a cross-textual dialogue on what it means to be Roman". Of course, as Servius points out, the *atria* is a thoroughly Roman image (*ad Aen.* 1.726: *atria... tangit Romanam historiam*), further complicating the issue.
[265] Dyson (1996) 208.
[266] Gordon (1998) 199-200.

gilt by Lucius Mummius after the fall of Carthage in 146 (*HN* 33.57: *laquearia, quae nunc et in priuatis domibus auro teguntur, post Carthaginem euersam primo in Capitolio inaurata sunt censura L. Mummi*); in the *Astronomica,* Manilius' discussion of the star Spica turns to a description of the *laquearia,* the *nouum caelum,* of the temple of Jupiter Tonans on the Capitoline, before lamenting the fact that private *triclinia* now vie with temples:

> sculpentem faciet sanctis laquearia templis
> condentemque nouum caelum per tecta Tonantis.
> haec fuerat quondam diuis concessa figura,
> nunc iam luxuriae pars est: triclinia templis
> concertant, tectique auro iam uescimur auro. (*Astr.* 5.288-92)

Later, Lucan's description of Cleopatra's palace, in a passage that draws heavily upon Dido's palace in the *Aeneid*, similarly associates the *laquearia* with the identification of the palace as a *templum* (10.112-13: *ipse locus templi...laqueataque tecta ferebant*).[267] The *laquearia* thus constitutes both the appropriation of public, sacred architecture for private enjoyment, and also a hubristic aspiration towards the divine. Fowler detects a "whiff of the commonplace that private affluence is a perversion of proper public magnificence" in Lucretius' own combination of the *laquearia* and *templa* (*laqueata aurataque templa*) to describe the transgressive size of the rich man's house, which additionally looks back to Andromache's description of the *Priami domus* as a *saeptum altisono cardine templum*.[268] And by bringing heaven down to the domestic sphere and confusing the divide between divine and mortal, the owner of the *laquearia* could also be associated with a form of Gigantomachy; a passage in Plato's *Sophist* provides an analogous image, wherein the Eleatic Stranger accuses materialists of 'a type of Gigantomachy' (οἷον γιγαντομαχία τις), 'dragging everything down to earth from heaven and the unseen' (246a: οἱ μὲν εἰς γῆν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀοράτου πάντα ἕλκουσι).

[267] Ambühl (2014), 374 examines how Lucan's ecphrasis "fugt sich in den moralischen Topos der Verurteilung des Luxus in der römischer Literatur"; Hardie (2014) 57 on Lucan's engagement with Virgil's Palace of Dido and the epic palace tradition. Milton reprises the notion of the palace as temple in his description of Pandaemonium (*PL* 1.713), where "the roof was fretted Gold" (1.717).
[268] Fowler (2002b) *ad loc.* defends *templa* over Macrobius' *tecta*; on *templum* as an architectural component, Paul. *Ex. Fest.* 367 M: *significat et aedificium deo sacratum et tignum quod in aedificio transuersum ponitur.*

This allows us to draw some fresh conclusions on Statius' description of the *laquearia* in Domitian's palace. Framed by the initial *synkrisis* with the palaces of Dido and Alcinous, Statius' praise of the *laquearia* provides a point of contact with the epic tradition, requiring the audience to contemplate the relationship between physical and poetic monument. Statius can present Domitian's palace as a manifest and concrete iteration of its epic counterparts, and consequently to associate his own poetic project with the epic tradition, yet which nonetheless is insufficient to convey the grandeur of Domitian's monument. But the connotations of the *laquearia* also prompt us to assess Statius' representation of the emperor himself. In a palace where luxury and excess are ubiquitous, Statius risks associating Domitian with Alcinous and Dido as figures of oriental despotism and moral failure, and as a hubristic appropriator of the exclusive property of the gods. Whereas Statius works to present the villas of his patrons as spaces synonymous with Epicurean virtue and learning, the connection between the *laquearia* and Epicurean failure inherent in the Homeric allegorical traditions threaten to depict Domitian as an Epicurean *manqué*. On the other hand, despite these associations, Statius works to specifically draw a contrast between Domitian and the epic rulers, creating a protreptic exhortation that urges the emperor to avoid such behaviour. But more importantly, for Statius, Domitian is not a transgressive appropriator of the divine realm, but a divine god himself, and the stars that adorn his palace ceiling are not a transgressive representation of the heavens, but a manifestation of the universe, the legitimate abode and divine creation of the Flavian emperor.

3.3 epic, allusion, allegory (2)

Epic frames *Siluae* 4.2 in a further, important way. Descriptions of palaces in epic can also function as effective *mises-en-abyme*, both acting *pars pro toto* for the narrative drive, but pointing also towards the rich metaphoric field of epic as *the* 'totalising form', in Hardie's words, the literary equivalent of the universe through its ability to countenance the entirety of existence.[269] By dint of this totalising drive of epic, the epicist can be identified as a divine demiurge or world creator: as Morgan puts it, "the epic poet

[269] Hardie (1993) 3.

creates an image of the entire world. By a natural development of Lieberg's motif (whereby the descriptive activity of the poet is equated with the activity described) he can easily become *creator* of the world".[270] These are the terms in which Virgil's *recusatio* at *Georgics* 2.42 understands epic (*non ego cuncta meis amplecti uersibus opto*), and Silius Italicus can similarly praise Homer's encompassing reach of earth, sea and sky (*Pun.* 13.787: *carmine complexus terram, mare, sidera, manes | et cantu Musas et Phoebum aequauit honore*). This totalising capacity was epitomised by the ecphrastic shields of Homer and Virgil, interpreted by a scholarly tradition, most likely beginning with Crates of Mallos, as allegorical *imagines mundi* or κόσμου μιμήματα, what Buffière calls "la grandiose allégorie de la création", and consequently as analogous to the epic poem itself, figuring the epic poet as *demiurgos* or cosmic creator.[271] The epicist was not merely panegyrist or war poet, but, as Porter notes, a creator who aimed, "in their fantasies and in the fantasies of their audiences, to rival the makers of the cosmos itself", an ambition which, Porter goes on to note, constitutes the supreme form—a sublime form—of the poetic monument.[272]

Epic palaces are capable of allegorical implications similar to that of the epic shield. This is apparent in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 2, which begins with a description of the Palace of the Sun, which Phaethon visits in order to prove himself the legitimate heir of Sol. Book 2 begins with the same *incipit* as *Siluae* 4.2 (*regia*), suggesting an important intertext and further example of the poetic palace[273] which reveals Statius' engagement with the epic tradition:

> regia solis erat sublimibus alta columnis,
> clara micante auro, flammasque imitante pyropo:
> cuius ebur nitidum fastigia summa tenebat:
> argenti bifores radiabant lumine ualuae. (*Met.* 2.1-4)

[270] Morgan (1999) 74.
[271] See Buffière (1956) 155–168; Hardie (1985); Porter (1992), esp. 91–103. On the cosmology of the Homeric shield, Mette (1936) 36-38 for sources.
[272] Porter (2011) 689.
[273] The importance of Ovid's description to Flavian epic is further attested by Valerius' Temple of the Sun (*Arg.* 5.403-456); cf. Keith (2007) for the influence of Ovidian architectural ecphrasis on the *Thebaid*.

The palace shines on lofty columns, gold glitters, pyrex imitates fire. It is suggestive to read Ovid's description in terms of Augustan panegyric: Barchiesi and Keith both point to the numerous allusions to Propertius 2.31 at play, presenting the palace as a temple (and hence suggestive of a variation on the theme observed above) and inviting the audience not only to understand Ovid's imaginary portrayal of the palace of the sun in terms of Augustan monumentality and imperial power,[274] but to identify both Propertius' poem and the Augustan monument itself explicitly in terms of solar imagery, and Augustus as the Sun God. By reworking Propertius' poem, Ovid reshapes Augustan monumentality into an image of oriental power and royalty; as Barchiesi puts it, "Ovid has inscribed the presence of a ruler into the Propertian image of a Roman temple, and it is a very Eastern one—the Sun at its point of origin".[275] The panegyric implications of Ovid's description present important consequences for Statius' poem, strengthening the link between Augustus and Domitian present already in Statius' use of solar imagery, as observed above.

But again, Nero and the Domus Aurea present a complication. That there was an understood connection between Ovid's Palace of the Sun and Nero's Domus Aurea already present in Neronian literature may be inferred from Seneca's *Epistle* 115, which references *Metamorphoses* 2 to condemn the practice of using Augustan poetry to both incentivise and justify a lust for wealth (*Ep.* 115.12: *accedunt deinde carmina poetarum, quae adfectibus nostris facem subdant*). Seneca cites both Ovid's initial description of the Palace of the Sun (*regia Solis erat sublimibus | alta columnis*) and the chariot of the god himself (*aureus axis erat, temo aureus, aurea summae | curuatura rotae, radiorum argenteus ordo*), combining gold and solar imagery to make what scholarship takes to be an implicit attack on Neronian monumental display, and specifically the Domus Aurea.[276]

[274] Keith (2019) 328: "the ecphrasis of the palace of the Sun in Metamorphoses 2 thus reveals its author's interest not only in Propertius' representation of the temple of Palatine Apollo in elegy 2.31...but also in the princeps' magnificent temple to Apollo".
[275] Barchiesi (2009) 176.
[276] Rimell (2015b) 132; Champlin (1998) 338 concurs, stating that the Ovidian quotations are presented "mercilessly in Neronian terms". More broadly, Fabre-Serris (2003) makes the suggestive argument that the Domus Aurea can be understood as an 'Ovidian' monument, a monumental reification of the aesthetic principles of the *Metamorphoses,* albeit focussing on the imitation of art by nature rather than solar imagery.

For a Flavian audience, then, Ovid's Palace of the Sun suggests two political models—the Augustan and the Neronian—and the reader is again asked to discern between the two and assess the suitability of each to Statius' description of the Domus Flavia. However, particularly important for our purposes here is Ovid's description of the palace's doors, created by Vulcan:

> materiam superabat opus: nam Mulciber illic
> aequora caelarat medias cingentia terras
> terrarumque orbem caelumque quod imminet orbi. (*Met.* 2.5-7)

Commentators emphasise the allegorical value of Ovid's ecphrasis as an image of cosmic order, in the tradition of Homeric exegesis on the shield, and Virgil's own variation.[277] The doors are presented in perfect symmetry, adorned with a depiction of the earth and the well-ordered universe (2.17-18)—precisely that which Phaethon will threaten to undo—linking the ecphrasis back to the creation of the universe in Book 1 and thus representing, in Brown's words, "the universal, all-embracing scope of [Ovid's own] *carmen perpetuum*", linking demiurgic creator (1.21: *deus et melior...natura*), artisan (2.5: *Mulciber*) and poet", additionally blurring the lines between poetic representation and creation.[278] Ovid's description of the Temple of the Sun has important underlying implications for Statius' own poetic self-presentation in *Silvae* 4.2: Statius presents Domitian's palace in similar terms, as a totalising, cosmic creation, to which he can assimilate his poem, allowing the poet to identify as divine creator, analogous to the emperor.

But Ovid's account has the additional consequence of associating Statius not only with the demiurgic creator of epic, but also, as a trepidatious guest at the imperial palace, with Phaethon himself. Phaethon provides a fitting analogue for the small-scale *Siluae'*s vaunting ambition to overleap epic, and a suitable figure for Statius' professed *audacia* (*Silv.* 1. pr. 22; 3. pr.. 3-4 *et hanc audaciam stili nostri frequenter expaueris*; cf. Phaethon's epitaph at Ovid *Met.* 2.328: *quem si non tenuit magnis tamen excidit ausis*).[279] Although Statius is not making an explicit connection, it is important to dwell on the possible

[277] Brown (1987) 217, following Bartholomé (1935) 75–76. His insights are elaborated by Wheeler (1995) 98 and Feldherr (2016) 29–35.
[278] Brown (1987) 214; Wheeler (1995).
[279] Myers (2000) 117 on *audacia* in the *Siluae.*

implications of Phaethon for 4.2. In a poem specifically concerned with epic heritage, by associating himself with the wayward child, Statius can present himself as both the legitimate successor to his epic predecessors, but also as their problematic heir. Phaethon can also frame the relationship between Statius and Domitian that 4.2 enacts: just as Statius questions the validity of his gaze upon the sun-like visage of the emperor (16-7: *datur haec iuxta, datur ora tueri |...fas est?*), Phaethon struggles to look directly at Sol (2.27-8: *neque enim propiora ferebat | lumina*). Domitian can additionally stand as the poetic exemplar of epic excellence for Flavian poetry, as we observed in the previous chapter, to whom Statius now presents himself as worthy successor through his poetic imitation of the emperor's epic palace. *Magnanimus Phaethon* (Lucr. 5.400; Ov. *Met.* 2.111) also bears important associations with the sublime, and Phaethon's ambition to traverse the stars and universe is invariably used to symbolise the sublime poet or philosopher's ambition to gaze heavenwards and embark upon intellectual flight of the mind, the contemplation of the universe and the divine, an important motif to which we shall return shortly.[280] In the *Naturales Quaestiones,* Seneca, having embarked upon his cosmically 'formidable and boundless task' (*rem seriam, grauem, immensam*), quotes from a poem commonly understood to be Vagellius' lost *Phaethon*,[281] reflecting upon the ambition to accomplish great things in a restricted space of time (a sentiment equally applicable to the diminutive *Siluae*'s poetic ambition to attempt great epic feats):

> tollimus ingentes animos et maxima paruo
> tempore molimur. (Vagellius fr. 2 Court = Sen. *NQ* 3. *pr.* 3)

On a number of fronts, Phaethon presents an attractive, if latent, symbol for both the ambitious poetics of the diminutive *Siluae,* and for 4.2's ambition to present Domitian's palace as a sublime, cosmic monument.

But there are also significant political connotations that accompany the underlying presence of Phaethon, which are important to account for here. As Degl'Innocenti Pierini observes, political readings

[280] Schiesaro (2014) 86–87 for a discussion of what Ovid's account of Phaethon's journey owes to discourses of the sublime.
[281] Mazzoli (1970).

of Phaethon as the model of poor leadership, symbolic of a ruler drawing the world to catastrophe, are available as early as the Hellenistic period;[282] Suetonius tells us that Tiberius predicted that Caligula would become 'the Phaethon of the world' (Suet. *Calig.* 11: *Phaethonem orbi terrarum*), and Pliny calls both Nero and Caligula the 'torches of mankind'. There is also evidence to suggest that Nero was both associated with, and indeed cultivated an association with, Phaethon. Lucan's *Bellum Ciuile* imagines the deified Nero taking control of the sun's chariot (1.47-49: *seu te flammigeros Phoebi conscendere currus | telluremque nihil mutato sole timentem | igne uago lustrare iuuet*) an ambiguous image that either presents Nero as succeeding where Phaethon had failed, or as fated to repeat the same catastrophic failure. For a Flavian audience, such associations of Nero with Phaethon would have appeared justified by the conflagration of 64 CE, and Domitian could be presented as the corrective to Nero's Phaethonic destruction, an ordering (Augustan) force that re-established harmony both politically and universally.[283] Heslin speculates that the winning entry of boy poet Q. Sulpicius Maximus at the Capitoline Games, which imagined Jupiter's reproach to Helios for allowing Phaethon to take the chariot, would have resonated particularly in political terms with a Flavian audience.[284]

However, perhaps troublingly, there are several instances in the *Siluae* where Statius appears to associate Phaethon not with Nero, but Domitian. in *Siluae* 4.3, Statius imagines Domitian's transit through the heavens:

> hic si flammigeros teneret axes,
> Natura melior potentiorque,
> largis, India, nubibus maderes,
> undaret Libye, teperet Haemus. (4.3.136-139)

In Ovid's *Metamorphoses,* Phaethon *does* burn Haemus and dries out Libya, and in Euripides' fragmented tragedy, Apollo instructs Phaethon *not* to risk entering Libya's arid airspace (fr. 779.168-70: 'ἔλα δὲ μήτε

[282] Degl'Innocenti Pierini (1990) 251–70; Rosati (2008) 187–92; Nauta (2002) 332–3.
[283] see Heslin (2007) 18-19.
[284] Heslin *ibid* 19.

Λιβυκὸν αἰθέῤ εἰσβαλών· | κρᾶσιν γὰρ ὑγρὰν οὐκ ἔχων, ἀψῖδα σὴν κάτω διήσει'), which would now be mitigated by Domitian's presence. More specifically, *flammiger* is used of the Sun's chariot in Luc. 1.48 (*flammigeros Phoebi...currus*), conjuring a link with Nero. Whilst the implication is that Domitian will succeed where Phaethon (and Nero) ultimately failed--that Domitian will not be a second Nero—it is simultaneously difficult to avoid the negative associations that such a comparison engenders.[285]

Ovid's Palace of the Sun thus provides an important framework for Statius' praise of the Domus Flavia on a number of levels. It strengthens the image of Domitian as the sun that Statius presents, and provides another point of contact for the complicated political heritage that accompanies this imagery. It also helps to associate Statius' poem (and Domitian's palace) with the cosmic, universalising impulse of epic and the allegorical traditions that asserted this claim. The epic palace stands as a symbol of epic's totalising, universal expanse, and Statius' desire to gesture towards the cosmological ambit of epic, whilst simultaneously denying its associations with the *res gestae regumque ducumque*, is strongly exhibited later in the poem, in the ecphrasis proper of the palace's banqueting hall. The full description will occupy us shortly, but what is particularly important here is the pointed comparison that Statius draws in its opening lines:

> tectum augustum, ingens, non centum insigne columnis
> sed quantae superos caelumque Atlante remisso
> sustentare queant. (18-20)

If we are looking for further instances of epic allusion in 4.2, then unavoidable here is Statius' almost exact quotation of Virgil's description of Latinus' palace in *Aen.* 7.170 (*tectum augustum ingens centum sublime columnis*). An evocation of Latinus fits well with the pattern established earlier by Statius' reference to Dido and Alcinous: like both, he is an epic ruler who receives his guests with generosity.[286] The Virgilian line has the further benefit of indicating the Augustan palatial complex on the Palatine, apparent in both

[285] cf. *Theb.* 1.27-31; Rebeggiani (2018).
[286] Malamud (2007) 233.

Virgil and Statius' use of *augustum*, an inference drawn already by Servius (*ad Aen.* 170), and critics are quick to comment on the implied connection between Augustus and Domitian.[287] Vessey holds that Statius is framing Domitian's palace as an Augustan refounding of Rome, a parallel to Aeneas' arrival in Italy; Newlands reads Statius' Virgilian allusion as protreptic, an invocation to pursue an Augustan form of leadership, whilst avoiding the negative consequences of Latinus as the 'weak king'.[288]

But just as the opening *synkrisis* sets up both the palace and poem in terms of what they are not, Statius here *rejects* the Virgilian palace as a suitable comparand. *Non* is the operative word, enacting a deliberate misreading of Virgil's enumeration of the palace's columns (*non centum insigne columnis*), which is denied, and instead clarified through a reference to Atlas (19-20: *sed quantae superos caelum Atlante remisso | sustentare queant*). Coleman takes Statius' 'paradoxical litotes' as a direct capping of Virgil, but also as a direct reference to the actual palace's many columns, and archaeological studies have drawn a similar conclusion.[289] But *quantae* is troubling; Otto Stange had already highlighted a discrepancy between the number of columns and the size of the columns themselves, and Kreuz has more recently articulated his concern: "es spricht in der Tat nichts für eine solche Auffassung: der Duktus des Textes verlangt lediglich nach einer Überbietung, doch nicht unbedingt nach einer hinsichtlich der Hundertzahl".[290] The subsequent comparison to Atlas must suggest the overwhelming scale of the columns as much as their number, making Kreuz' objections strongly persuasive, and might invite a reference to the six colossal granite columns still partially preserved on the Palatine.[291]

Ambiguity can allow for both readings, at any rate. Ultimately, Statius' conscious misreading of the Virgilian palace is an adamant rejection of the epic model. The specific reference to Atlas, with which

[287] Vollmer (1898) 447; Gaymann (1898) 30, Cancik (1965); Horsfall (2000) *ad loc.* 7.170 on the passage's connection with the Augustan building programme.
[288] Vessey (1983); Newlands (2002a) 270-1.
[289] Coleman (1988) *ad loc.* Newlands (2002a) 270 finds a variation on the 'many voices' topos, an attractive notion; Gibson, Delaine, Claridge (1994) 81.
[290] Kreuz (2016) Stange (1887) 20: "immo *quantae* vocis propria vi servata ita rem explico; *non centum quidem columnis tectum insigne est, sed (paucioribus, illis uero) tam crassis, tam altis, ut caelum sustentare queant.*" But see Coleman (1988) *ad loc.* on *quantae* as interchangeable with *quot.*
[291] These columns provide the partition between the triclinium and the peristyle; Yegül and Favro (2019) 321.

the palace's columns are equated, instead provides a set of thematic clues to the sort of poetry that Statius is attempting, the sort of monument that Statius wishes to identify his poetry with.[292] Ironically, it is from epic that these thematic clues emerge. Epic Atlas can represent a variety of poetic themes: For Virgil, Atlas is both superhuman and a natural phenomenon, both a Titan and a mountain, as he is perceived by Mercury at *Aeneid* 4.247 (*Atlantis duri caelum qui uertice fulcit | Atlantis, cinctum adsidue cui nubibus atris | piniferum caput et uento pulsatur et imbri*), a notion that anticipates Statius' subsequent move to equate the palace with the natural world. Atlas can also help to associate the lofty palace with a sublime viewpoint of the universe, such as that which Pythagoras, who approaches the gods with his mind (*Met.* 15.63: *mente deos adiit*), professes to occupy in the *Metamorphoses* (15.147-9: *iuuat...licta | nube uehi ualidique umeris insistere Atlantis*).[293] But most importantly, as Statius makes explicit, Atlas connects the Flavian monument not only with a natural phenomenon or cosmic viewpoint, but something further still: just as Atlas holds up (*sustentare*) the well-ordered universe (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 8.136: *maximus Atlas...aetherios umero qui sustinet orbis*), so too do the columns of the palace support no less than the cosmos itself.

3.4 god's grandeur: sublime monuments and natural questions

The Domus Flavia surpasses even the totalising capacity of panegyric epic to effectively contain it. Clearly something greater is needed to match, in poetic form, the scale and magnitude of the divine emperor's monumental palace. We turn now to observe the ways in which Statius' central description of the banqueting hall of the Domus Flavia presents it not as an architectural monument or epic palace, but as a natural creation of cosmic proportions, an effective microcosm of the universe. The celebration of the artificial imitation of nature in private and domestic architecture, in contrast with traditional moralising rhetoric against *aedificatio* and *luxuria*, is a central tenet of Statius' villa poems (1.3; 2.2), as we shall explore more extensively in subsequent chapters; by praising Domitian's palace in similar terms, Statius provides an imperial model that can validate his patrons' own ambitious structures, which can be

[292] Hardie (1986) 278.
[293] Schiesaro (2014) 73-5; Hardie (2009b) 79-89.

retrospectively understood as the virtuous imitation of the emperor's own monumental project. For Statius' literary representations of his patrons' constructions, the notion of *ars aemula naturae* has its roots in the interplay between nature and art in Ovid (*Met.* 3.158-9: *simulauerat artem | ingenio natura suo*); Longinus also comments on the tendency of art to imitate nature, and nature's success in concealing artifice ([Longinus], *Subl.* 22.1: τότε γὰρ ἡ τέχνη τέλειος, ἡνίκ᾽ ἂν φύσις εἶναι δοκῇ, ἡ δ᾽ αὖ φύσις ἐπιτυχής, ὅταν λανθάνουσαν περιέχῃ τὴν τέχνην).

Presenting the palace as a work of nature also provides Statius with a further opportunity to praise Domitian as god, underscoring the emperor's divine control over the natural world and equating his construction of the palace with the creation of the natural universe: the praise of nature and the universe is tantamount to praise of the divine. As we saw earlier, Domitian's divine control over nature in 4.2 is evident in Statius' description of the emperor's physiognomy, and in the following poem, *Siluae* 4.3, Statius hails Domitian as *natura melior potentiorque.*[294] Such praise of Domitian's control over nature later finds its antithesis in Pliny's *Panegyricus*, where Domitian's apparent desire to show mastery over the natural world is criticised not as evidence of his divine disposition but as the behaviour of a Xerxes-like tyrant:[295]

> Non enim exturbatis prioribus dominis omne stagnum, omnem lacum, omnem etiam saltum immensa possessione circumuenis, nec unius oculis flumina montes maria deseruiunt. (*Pan.* 50.1)

But the assimilation of the imperial palace to the natural world also allows Statius further scope to reflect upon the generic ambitions of *Siluae* 4.2. Whilst epic can allegorically represent the universe, the grandest theme available to poet and orator was not the *reges et proelia* of panegyric epic, but rather natural enquiry and the study of the universe. The seminal account of this thematic hierarchy in antiquity remains that of Doreen Innes, which canvasses a number of rhetorical texts that place *physiologia* at the top of a list of suitably grand subject-matter: Demetrius cites ἢ περὶ οὐρανοῦ ἢ περὶ γῆς λόγος (*Eloc.* 75) as examples of topics suitably μεγαλοπρεπές, and Hermogenes' fourfold division of grand subjects in the *Περὶ ἰδεῶν* places

[294] Coleman (1988) *ad loc.* 4.2.42 notes that "the weather-vocabulary contributes to the impression of divinity associated with Domitian".
[295] Hutchinson (2011) 128.

descriptions of the divine higher than accounts of Marathon, Plataea or Salamis (*Id.* 244-46).[296] Menander Rhetor devotes a section of his rhetorical treatise on epideictic oratory to 'scientific hymns' (περὶ τῶν φυσικῶν), a genre which he deems best suited to those with 'vigour and grandeur of conception' (336.25–337.32 Russell and Wilson: μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς ἐμψυχοτέροις καὶ μεγαλονουστέροις). For Menander, there are no grander subjects for a person to give voice to (6: οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ὑπὲρ ὧν σεμνοτέρων ἂν ἄνθρωπος φθέγξαιτο), and the epitome of this form is Plato's *Timaeus,* to which Menander (incorrectly) suggests Plato in the *Critias* refers as a 'hymn to the universe' (5: ὕμνον τοῦ Παντός).[297] Evidence for the generic preeminence of *physiologia* is also forthcoming in Latin poetry: it is to the high seriousness of natural philosophy that Propertius (3.5.25) and Virgil (*G.* 2.477-79) aim to aspire in their older age, and it is not to a panegyric for Messalla, but rather to a grand philosophical poem that the *Ciris* poet hopes to graduate after placing aside his juvenilia (5-8).[298]

Statius' presentation of Domitian's palace as an image of the natural world can thus allow him to surpass the more mundane limitations of panegyric. That the literary contemplation of the natural world allows the poet to engage in the sublime apprehension of the divine will concern us shortly. For now, it is important to describe how Statius presents Domitian's monument in terms of a natural wonder. Here is Statius' description:

> tanta patet moles effusaeque impetus aulae
> liberior campi multumque amplexus operti
> aetheros et tantum domino minor; ille penates
> implet et ingenti genio iuuat. aemulus illic
> mons Libys Iliacusque nitet, <tum> multa Syene
> et Chios et glaucae certantia Doridi saxa,
> Lunaque portandis tantum suffecta columnis.
> longa supra species: fessis uix culmina prendas
> uisibus auratique putes laquearia caeli. (23-31)

[296] Innes (1979); Porter (2016) 290-1; 390, building on Innes, cites further examples.
[297] As has been remarked by modern commentators, Russell and Wilson (1981) 236, Van den Berg (2001) 16, nowhere in the *Critias* can such a remark be found. Russell and Wilson propose that Menander was thinking of *Tim.* 27c and 92b, or *Criti.* 106a. At *Tim*. 21a, Critias himself prefaces his account by labelling it a 'hymn of sorts' (οἱόνπερ ὑμνοῦντας).
[298] Innes (1979) 165-6; Kayachev (2016) 21-30.

The interplay between artifice and nature is well encapsulated by Statius' representation of the marble columns of the banqueting hall (27-9), which are not only symbolic of *luxuria* or of imperial power, as they are generally interpreted,[299] but are specifically represented in their raw material state, synonymous with the various mountains from which they are hewn (*mons Libya Iliacus...Chios...Glaucae certantia Doridi saxa*), and heaped up in a formless mass (*tanta patet moles*), working to create, as Edmund Thomas puts it, an image of "Domitian's personal landscape": "the materials of the palace bring together the wonders of the world with the wonders of nature...conveying an impression of celestial grandeur created by architect and poet and making the reader see and feel natural landscape in these constructed materials".[300] However, the overwhelming scale of Domitian's palace is not just comparable to the natural world, but exceeds its limits: at lines 23-5, the thrust (*impetus*) of the structure spreads out (*patet*) 'more expansive than an open plain' (*effusaeque impetus aulae | liberior campi*), 'embracing much of the enclosed sky' (*multum amplexus operti aethereos*).

The image is exceedingly difficult: Vollmer placed a comma after *liberior*, taking *multum* ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with *campi* and *aetheros*, but Coleman and Shackleton Bailey both point out that *liberior* needs a comparison, and follow Håkanson in reading *impetu campi*, supplied from *impetus*.[301] Bailey goes further, claiming that "*campi* needs an epithet; 'more extensive than that of a plain' is hardly a way to talk", and printing *effusique impetus aulae | liberior campi*.[302] It's an attractive move: *effusus* is frequently employed for geographical descriptions, such as Lucan's description of the stretching plains around Cinga, a passage that bears strong parallels with Statius' description here, pairing forms of *patere* and *effundere* to suggest a vast space that disappears beyond eyesight: *explicat hinc tellus campos effusa patentes | uix oculo prendente*

[299] Newlands (2002a) 269; Zeiner (2005) 89.
[300] E. Thomas (2019). Domitian's control over the natural world is very real, in one sense: the marbles listed by Statius were all imperial property; B. Russell (2013) 39. For the Gigantomachic association of the heaping up of mountains, pg. 126.
[301] Coleman (1988); Shackleton Bailey (2003); Håkanson (1969) 114.
[302] Shackleton Bailey (1987) 278.

modum (4.19-20).[303] But Bailey's emendation rather misses the point, for whilst *effusi campi* is wholly acceptable, *effusae aulae* pointedly is not, a patently strange image that achieves the paradoxical blurring of architectural space and the natural world at which Statius' comparison aims: at the moment that Statius denies nature's ability to provide a suitable comparand for the palace, the palace floor is assimilated to a vast swathe of landscape.

A further peculiarity occurs with *impetus*, the "wide extent of space, reach, sweep" (*OLD* 8) of the palace floor which, as Coleman points out, resonates strongly with Lucretius' frequent use of the word to describe the expanse of the heavens in *De Rerum Natura*, citing 5.200 (*principio quantum caeli tegit impetus ingens*), which frames Statius' description of the hall in cosmic terms.[304] To this we can also add Book 4's topsy-turvy image of 'the great reach of heaven' plunging beneath the earth (416: *sub terras impete tanto*), as observable in optic illusions, such as a puddle of water which reflects the sky above to produce the false appearance of the heavens below the earth:

> at collectus aquai digitum non altior unum,
> qui lapides inter sistit per strata uiarum,
> despectum praebet sub terras impete tanto,
> a terris quantum caeli patet altus hiatus
> nubile despicere et caelum uideare uidere et
> corpora mirando sub terras abdita caelo. (Lucr. 4.414-19)

A number of linguistic parallels make this passage particularly important to Statius' description of the palace (4.2.23: *tanta patet...impetus* = Lucr. 4.416-17: *impete tanto...patet*), but equally significant is the perspective that Lucretius creates, effectively placing his reader looking down upon the heavens from a sublime viewpoint; *despicere* picks up on Lucretius' proem to Book 2, where the supreme vantage point of philosophy over the travails of earthly concerns is rendered in similar terms (9-10: *despicere unde queas alios passimque uidere | errare*). Detectable also is a variation on the *sub pedibus* motif that recurs throughout Lucretius' poem, such as at Lucr. 3.26-7, where the poet asks his reader to imagine the abyssal

[303] Asso (2011) *ad loc.* 4.19. For further examples.
[304] Coleman (1988) *ad loc.* 4.2.23.

void beneath their feet (*sub pedibus*; cf. Lucr. 1.1102-10; 6.605), and importantly at Lucr. 1.78-9, where religion is trampled underfoot by Epicurus, whose sublime flight of the mind first raised mankind to heaven (*religio pedibus subiecta uicissim | obteritur, nos exaequat uictoria caelo*).[305] The *sub pedibus* tag provides a conventional means of signifying cosmological sublimity: Epicurus (*On Nature* fr. 26 Arrighetti: ὑπὸ ποσίν) and Xenophanes (B28: παρὰ ποσσίν) both provide precedents, and it is intimately related with the *topos* of the philosopher's sublime flight of the mind, the conventional metaphor by which the intellectual and literary efforts of the author are figuratively described as skywalking (οὐρανοβατεῖν).[306]

This has important consequences for Statius' description which, like Lucretius, applies *impetus* not to the heavens directly, but rather to the palace floor itself, which nonetheless is inextricable (*amplexus*) from the heavens above (*operti aetheros*), the *laquearia* that Domitian has enclosed his palace with, and with which Statius concludes his description. The result is a disorienting play with perspective: we are both gazing up towards the heavens above, but also, prompted by the underpinning presence of Lucretius' description, looking upon Domitian's creation from a sublime, heavenly perspective.

Statius' description of the palace thus moves beyond any straightforward comparison with nature, and creates an image of the universe itself. From here it is only a short step to seeing Domitian, the divine centrepiece[307] of Statius' ecphrasis, as the demiurgic creator of this universe, exercising absolute control over a world charged with the grandeur of god, whose genius suffuses and sustains all things even whilst exceeding their limit (*implet et ingenti genio iuuat*).[308] Importantly, this assimilation of Domitian's architectural monument to the universe maps onto the influential account of the world's creation in Plato's *Timaeus*, which understands nature and the cosmos in terms of an architectural project, and identifies the

[305] See Porter (2016) 492; Day (2013) 175.
[306] Porter (2016) 438; esp. Landolfi (1999). cf. Festugière (1950) 445.
[307] On ecphrastic centrepieces, Thomas (1983b).
[308] A simultaneously transcendent and immanent god is theologically suspect (without the benefit of the Paschal Mystery), and an immanent Stoic god would appear to be incompatible with the transcendent, Platonizing image of god: see Limburg (2007) 401 with Natali (1994) 433, and Williams (2012) 5 n. 7 for similar concerns in Sen. *QNat*.

creative god as the divine *demiurgos*.[309] The importance of Plato's account in later literature is evident: in Cicero's *De Natura Deorum*, the Epicurean Velleius attacks Cotta the Academic's notion of the artisan-deity (*Nat. D.* 1.18: *non opificem aedificatoremque mundi, Platonis de Timaeo deum*); Philo's *De opificio mundi* 15-24 interprets the creation narrative in *Genesis* 1:1-5 in similar Platonic terms.[310] Further evidence is forthcoming from Apuleius, who has constant recourse to Plato's demiurge: in *De Platone et eius dogmate* 1.5.191, Apuleius describes god as 'the divine craftsman who lends form to matter' (*deus artifex conformat materiam*), and elsewhere labels him 'divine builder' and 'artificer of the world' (1.7.194: *aedificator mundi deus... fabricator deus*).[311] A particularly instructive example is found in Seneca's *De Beneficiis*, at a crucial point in his argument on divine gifts, an extended and impassioned response to the imagined statement 'god gives no gifts' (4.5.1: *non dat deus beneficia*) which in turn praises the unlimited bounty of the earth (*immensa terrarum late patentium spatia negas esse beneficium*) that god has provided:

> Si domus tibi donetur, in qua marmoris aliquid resplendeat et tectum nitidius auro aut coloribus sparsum, non mediocre munus uocabis. Ingens tibi domicilium sine ullo incendii aut ruinae metu struxit, in quo uides non tenues crustas et ipsa, qua secantur, lamna graciliores**,** sed integras lapidis pretiosissimi moles, sed totas uariae distinctaeque materiae, cuius tu paruula frusta miraris, tectum uero aliter nocte, aliter interdiu fulgens: negas te ullum munus accepisse? (*Ben.* 4.6.2)

For Seneca, the natural world is the *ingens domicilium* built and gifted by god.[312] This divinely designed world is contrasted specifically with its enfeebled imitation through domestic *aedificatio* and *luxuria*; Seneca highlights the similarities between the language of nature and artifice in order to expose their fundamental differences, and the description that bears close resemblances to Statius' description of the palace: no flimsy veneers of marble (*tenues crustas*), but masses of precious stone (*integras lapidis pretiosissimi moles*); no *laquearia*, but the fulgent ceiling of the universe itself (*tectum fulgens*). By contrast, Statius conflates the beauty of the natural universe, as Seneca describes it, with Domitian's architectural imitation, conflating the two and consequently underscoring Domitian's status as *deus artifex*.

[309] E. Thomas (2007) 20, 241.
[310] Runia (2003).
[311] Hoenig (2018) 145 ff.
[312] Setaioli (2007) 344-346 for Seneca's general engagement with the *Timaeus*; Powers (2013) on Plato's demiurge and the Stoic tradition.

Within the context of a *eucharisticon,* the banquet at the Domus Flavia can be understood not only as a social *beneficium,* but elevated to the divine and all-encompassing gift that Seneca specifies here.

But of course, another creator is also present in *Siluae* 4.2: the poet, analogous to the demiurgic creator. Statius' description reproduces, in 63 lines, a miniature replica of the cosmic expanses that the emperor's palace creates, juxtaposing the language of vast scale and mass against the poem's abbreviated form, and initiating the *Siluae'*s familiar play with scale that prompts us to consider the relationship between poem and artefact. By identifying the object praised with the act of praise, Statius insists upon the high value of his poetry as the appropriate response to Domitian's gift. But Statius also posits poet and *princeps,* both of whom are implicated in the creative process: for Statius, the imperial palace provides a catalyst for the *Siluae'*s own poetic ambitions vis-a-vis epic, but Statius can also identify himself as the analogous creator of Domitian's universe and of the palace's sublime expanses.

This last point is important. Statius employs the language of natural description in order to reflect upon Domitian's divinity, and to imply the poet's own divine, immortalising capacities. Such a strategy bears strong affinities with the literary traditions of the sublime in antiquity, to which we now turn. Given that both the Greek ὕψος and the Latin *sublimitas* are grounded in conceptions of loftiness or elevation, sublimity provides the adequate register to convey the overwhelming scale of the monument. The appropriateness of the literary sublime to architectural description has also been commented on at length by Edmund Thomas, who finds Longinus' *Peri Hupsous* to be "the most extensive and consistent instance in antiquity of the homology of language between architecture and rhetoric".[313] But fundamentally, the literary sublime is deeply connected with mankind's predisposition towards the wondrous contemplation of great natural phenomena: as Schrijvers puts it, for Longinus, "literary criticism is connected with great natural phenomena...the rhetorical or literary sublime is associated with the natural sublime".[314] It is through

[313] E. Thomas (2014) 51.
[314] Schrijvers (2006) 97.

the contemplation of wondrous Nature that we are able to experience the divine. The crucial passage occurs in *Peri Hupsous* 35:

> πρὸς πολλοῖς ἄλλοις ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι ἡ φύσις οὐ ταπεινὸν ἡμᾶς ζῷον οὐδ᾽ ἀγεννὲς ἔκρινε τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς εἰς μεγάλην τινὰ πανήγυριν εἰς τὸν βίον καὶ εἰς τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον ἐπάγουσα θεατάς τινας τῶν ἄθλων αὐτῆς ἐσομένους καὶ φιλοτιμοτάτους ἀγωνιστάς, εὐθὺς ἄμαχον ἔρωτα ἐνέφυσεν ἡμῶν ταῖς ψυχαῖς παντὸς ἀεὶ τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ὡς πρὸς ἡμᾶς δαιμονιωτέρου. διόπερ τῇ θεωρίᾳ καὶ διανοίᾳ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἐπιβολῆς οὐδ᾽ ὁ σύμπας κόσμος ἀρκεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς τοῦ περιέχοντος πολλάκις ὅρους ἐκβαίνουσιν αἱ ἐπίνοιαι· καὶ εἴ τις περιβλέψαιτο ἐν κύκλῳ τὸν βίον, ὅσῳ πλέον ἔχει τὸ περιττὸν ἐν πᾶσι καὶ μέγα καὶ καλόν, ταχέως εἴσεται πρὸς ἃ γεγόναμεν. ἔνθεν φυσικῶς πως ἀγόμενοι μὰ Δί᾽ οὐ τὰ μικρὰ ῥεῖθρα θαυμάζομεν, εἰ καὶ διαυγῆ καὶ χρήσιμα, ἀλλὰ τὸν Νεῖλον καὶ Ἴστρον ἢ Ῥῆνον, πολὺ δ᾽ ἔτι μᾶλλον τὸν Ὠκεανόν, οὐδέ γε τὸ ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν τουτὶ φλογίον ἀνακαιόμενον, ἐπεὶ καθαρὸν σῴζει τὸ φέγγος, ἐκπληττόμεθα τῶν οὐρανίων μᾶλλον, καίτοι πολλάκις ἐπισκοτουμένων, οὐδὲ τῶν τῆς Αἴτνης κρατήρων ἀξιοθαυμαστότερον νομίζομεν, ἧς αἱ ἀναχοαὶ πέτρους τε ἐκ βυθοῦ καὶ ὅλους ὄχθους ἀναφέρουσι καὶ ποταμοὺς ἐνίοτε τοῦ γηγενοῦς ἐκείνου καὶ αὐτομάτου προχέουσιν πυρός. (*Subl.* 35.2-4)

It is Nature that is responsible for inspiring mortals to seek out whatever is greater and more divine (μεγάλου καὶ ὡς πρὸς ἡμᾶς δαιμονιωτέρου), and calls us to be both spectators of and participants in the cosmos. The examples of natural phenomena adduced are similar to those that Lucretius employs in Book 6 of *De rerum natura*, the ocean (608-38), followed by Mount Aetna (639-702) and the Nile (712-37), and Porter suggests that both texts point to a "sublime tradition of commonplaces that may now be lost".[315] Whereas Longinus employs this list of natural wonders to confirm man's innate proclivity towards sublime, divine experiences, Lucretius employs it in order to demystify their overawing power through a rationalisation of her hidden working. But the surrounding context of Longinus' description is crucial, for the list of natural wonders is used to support the claim that great writers must aim at sublime things, despite the risk of failure; Longinus suggests that literary concentration on the overwhelming grandeur of nature is able to prove us "neither base or ignoble" (ταπεινὸν... ζῷον οὐδ᾽ ἀγεννὲς), but rather confirms our greatness.

The capacity of the sublime in nature thus not only facilitates the contemplation of the divine, but rather allows the writer to equate herself with god: poets who aim at such sublimity are "equal to the gods" (35.2: οἱ ἰσόθεοι); they are "above the mortal range" (36: εἰσιν ἐπάνω τοῦ θνητοῦ). For writers who attempt

[315]Porter (2007) 173.

such things, "the whole universe is not enough to satisfy the speculative intelligence of human thought", and the sublime lifts them closer to "the condition of a god and their majesty" (*Subl.* 36.1 τὸ δ' ὕψος ἐγγὺς αἴρει μεγαλοφροσύνης θεοῦ). The sublime poet, identifying intimately with her subject matter, effectively becomes a god. This is also the thesis that Seneca, now appropriately aged (*premit a tergo senectus:* 1 pr. 2), sets out at the beginning of the *Naturales Quaestiones:*

> uirtus enim ista quam adfectamus magnifica est non quia per se beatum est malo caruisse, sed quia animum laxat et praeparat ad cognitionem caelestium, dignumque efficit qui in consortium (cum) deo ueniat. tunc consummatum habet plenumque bonum sortis humanae cum calcato omni malo petit altum et in interiorem naturae sinum uenit. (*QNat.* 1. pr. 6-7)

The literary contemplation of nature allows Seneca to rise above the limitations of human nature and effectively to enter into a partnership with god (*in consortium* (*cum*) *deo ueniat*). Throughout the *Naturales Quaestiones* and elsewhere, Seneca persistently figures his enquiry as the sublime flight of the mind to the stars, and associates it with knowledge of the divine.[316] It is here, in the measureless space of the heavenly region where the *animus* roams free, that the mind can finally begin to know god (1 pr. 13: *illic demum discit quod diu quaesit, illic incipit deum nosse*).[317] Seneca places such an undertaking in pointed contrast to historical and panegyric themes: it is much more important to seek cosmic heights (*petit altum*) and to extol the works of the gods (*celebrare deorum opera*) than it is to record the *latrocinia* of rulers such as Philip II or Alexander the Great:

> quanto potius deorum opera celebrare quam Philippi aut Alexandri latrocinia, ceterorumque qui exitio gentium clari non minores fuere pestes mortalium quam inundatio qua planum omne perfusum est, quam conflagratio qua magna pars animantium exarsit! (*QNat.* 3. pr. 5)

Seneca reiterates the generic hierarchy that privileges divine and cosmic subject-matter over historical themes, but provides a moral qualification: any belief in the greatness of humanity is predicated on our insignificance, and praise of mortal achievements only confirms our lowliness (*QNat.* 3 pr. 10: *magna ista quia parui sumus credimus, multis rebus non ex natura sua sed ex humilitate nostra magnitudo est*).

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316 cf. Sen. *Ep.* 73.14: 'si*c itur ad astra'. hoc enim est quod mihi philosophia promittit, ut parem deo faciat.*
317 Williams (2012) 4.

The sublime praise of nature informs Statius' praise of the Domus Flavia as a divine creation of cosmic proportions. The literary contemplation of nature and the cosmos is, by extension of its subject-matter, a means for the writer to apprehend and commune with the divine, by which to rise above the epistemological restrictions of mortal existence. The sublimity of natural enquiry provides the suitable framework for Statius to engage with the divine emperor: by associating Domitian's palace with the universe, Statius can assert Domitian's divine capacities. He is also able to collapse the distinction between (lesser) panegyric themes and the (greater) contemplation of the natural world and cosmos, effectively subsuming the former into the latter, and deploying the sublime description of nature as a panegyric tool. The sublime implications of Statius' description also reflect the poet's self-presentation, hinting at the capacity of the poet to attain a level of divinity. But this consequently raises a profound complication, for affirming the divine potential of the sublime poet can also present a theomachic challenge to the gods. This is encapsulated by Lucretius' account of Epicurus' philosophical victory over the gods in *De Rerum Natura* (1.62-79).[318] For Lucretius, Epicurus is the first Greek to dare to raise his eyes to heaven (66-67: *primum Graius homo mortalis tollere contra | est oculos ausus*), and undeterred by threats from above, wanders everywhere in his mind beyond the walls of the universe:

> ergo uiuida uis animi peruicit et extra
> processit longe flammantia moenia mundi
> atque omne immensum peragrauit mente animoque,
> unde refert nobis uictor quid possit oriri,
> quid nequeat, finita potestas denique cuique
> quanam sit ratione atque alte terminus haerens.
> quare religio pedibus subiecta uicissim
> obteritur, nos exaequat uictoria caelo. (72-79)

[318] The bibliography on this passage is extensive. See Gale (1994) 193 "The Olympians are thus overthrown by the 'Giant' Epicurus...the rebellion of the god/Giant Epicurus brings about the liberation of mankind"; cf. Hardie (1986) 188, 209–13, Clay (1998) 184–6, Gigandet (1998) 327–33. See Conte (1994b) 1–34, Porter (2007), Hardie (2009b), and Most (2012) on the relation of the Lucretian sublime to Longinus.

Through the divine mind of the triumphant Epicurus (*uiuida uis animi*), mankind is able to consider itself equal to heaven. The transgressive nature of Epicurus' triumph is clarified in Book 5, when Lucretius links this triumphant flight of the mind with gigantomachic imagery (Lucr. 5.117-119: *proptereaque putes ritu par esse Gigantum | pendere eos poenas immani pro scelere omnis | qui ratione sua disturbent moenia mundi*). Lucretius thus affirms the tradition that sees natural enquiry as a sublime endeavour, but he also points to its potential for serious, theomachic transgression. Statius' appropriation of the sublime and natural enquiry for imperial panegyric thus contains the unsettling potential for challenging Domitian's divinity. The more troubling possibility is that it is not just Statius who might stand accused of theomachy and disproportionate divine ambition, but Domitian himself.

3.5 striking the stars

To explore the consequences of such a claim, let us return to a passage noted earlier. Statius' description of the banqueting hall of the Domus Flavia concludes by lifting our eyes to the heavens above:

> longa supra species: fessis uix culmina prendas
> uisibus auratique putes laquearia caeli. (30-31)

The scarcely perceptible heights and dizzying effects of the palace's ceiling resonate closely with the sublime theme of cosmic distance (κοσμικὸν διάστημα) which is epitomised, for Longinus (*Subl.* 9.5), by Homer's comparison of the speed of gods' thundering horses to the limited expanse of a mortal's gaze:

> ὅσσον δ᾽ ἠεροειδὲς ἀνὴρ ἴδεν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν,
> ἥμενος ἐν σκοπιῇ, λεύσσων ἐπὶ οἴνοπα πόντον,
> τόσσον ἐπιθρώσκουσι θεῶν ὑψηχέες ἵπποι. (*Il.* 5.770–2)

Cleomedes also cites Homer's metaphor approvingly, in language similar to the sublime (*Cael.* 2.1.171: ἀλλὰ μεγαλοφυῶς μὲν τοῦτο εἴρηται αὐτῷ καὶ κατὰ θαυμαστὴν αὔξησιν), before rejecting it as ultimately unable to adequately convey the cosmic size and speed of the heavens. More appropriately, Vitruvius, in his discussion of Ionic entablature, characterises the act of looking at grand buildings in similar terms: the

higher the eye's view climbs, the less easily it cuts through the air's thickness, and when it passes into high spaces, it is stripped of its powers (*De arch.* 3.5.9: *quo altius enim scandit oculi species, non facile persecat aeris crebritatem; dilapsa itaque altitudinis spatio et uiribus, extructam incertam modulorum renuntiat sensibus quantitatem*).[319] Statius' upward gaze conveys a similar sense of sublime, cosmic space. But more importantly, within the context of Statius' assimilation of the imperial palace to the universe, the upward gaze towards the stars aligns the poet with the sort of sublime gaze observed above. For Longinus, the model is Plato *Republic* 568a, in which the philosopher compares those lacking wisdom to beasts with downturned eyes, and implies that moral greatness is associated with the heavenly gaze, a passage which Longinus quotes approvingly as sublime (*Subl.* 13.1: ἧττον μεγεθύνεται).[320] Ovid develops the distinction between the virtuous human and beast, identifying the *os sublime* as the defining characteristic of mankind, which allows him to behold the heavens (*Met.* 1.85-6: *os homini sublime dedit caelumque uidere | iussit et erectos ad sidera tollere uultus*).[321] For Lucretius, as we saw, Epicurus' upward gaze is not only an act of wondrous contemplation, but also issues a rationalising and daring challenge to religion. The sublime gaze thus bears strong associations with the contemplation of the stars, and we are invited to draw similar conclusions on Statius' description of the *laquearia*.

For Statius, Domitian's palace is the universe, it is the manifestation of the cosmos that the sublime poet must strive to comprehend. We are presented with a further example of the *Siluae*'s concretization of the metaphorical tropes of literary tradition, what Martelli describes as "Statius' practice of incorporating material referents into the gestures and genealogies of literary history as a means of enlivening and reanimating those tropes and traditions – which threaten to become empty clichés unless constantly reworked and refigured anew".[322] Where the sublime poet and philosopher imagines their literary endeavours in figurative terms of the upward gaze and flight amongst the stars, Statius locates this ambition

[319] E. Thomas (2014) 54.
[320] Leigh (2006) 230.
[321] Leigh *ibid*. cf. Sall. *Cat.* 1.1-3; Sen. *Ep.* 60.4; Isid. *Etym.* 2.1.5, quoting Ovid for his gloss on *homo* as '*de humo terrae'*.
[322] Martelli (2009) 174.

directly in the material world of his emperor. A further implication is Statius' application of the sublime gaze in service of architectural *luxuria*, collapsing the traditional rhetorical distinction between *laquearia* and *caelum*: Seneca, in the preface to *Naturales Quaestiones* 1, holds that the mind cannot despise the *laquearia* until it has traversed the universe and looked down upon the earth (*QNat.* 1 pr. 9: *non potest ante contemnere porticus et lacunaria ebore fulgentia…quam totum circumit mundum, et terrarum orbem superne despiciens angustum*), and Juvenal ridicules such a concatenation of wealth and wisdom in *Satire* 1, sneering at those who are 'learned at gazing at the *laquearia*' (*Sat.* 1.56: *doctus spectare lacunar*).[323] Statius' description of the *laquearia* thus suggests a clear example of the *Siluae'*s drive to connect poetics with the material realm of patron, but also to emphasise the connection between palace and cosmos.

But this is only half the story. The attentive reader will recognise that the *laquearia* also connects us with an earlier passage in the poem, where the poet imagines himself as reclining amongst the stars with Jupiter-Domitian:

> mediis uideor discumbere in astris
> cum Ioue et Iliaca porrectum sumere dextra
> immortale merum. (10-12)

Both passages work together, and the sublime gaze towards the stars upon which Statius concludes his description of the palace is reflexive, and prompts the reader to envisage the poet as a catasterism in Domitian's heaven, accompanied by the emperor himself. Statius' desire to be recognised amongst the stars is typical of aspirations towards literary immortality: Horace famously describes his hopes for his poetry as a desire to strike the stars (*Carm.* 1.1.35-6: *quodsi me lyricis uatibus inseres, | sublimi feriam sidera uertice*), and Ovid predicts the everlasting fame of his *Metamorphoses* in similar terms (15.875-6: *super alta perennis | astra ferar*). As an accomplished epic poet, Statius can figure himself as the living recipient of this immortalising glory. Statius' poetic immortality is also necessarily predicated on Domitian's favour, the divine emperor through whom the poet is able to realise his divine potential. It is through the verbal

[323] Leach (2004).

imitation of Domitian's monumental palace that Statius will achieve immortality. But this celebration of poetic immortality and imperial favour is compromised by another poetic self-reference, for the image of the poet reclining in heaven recalls Capaneus, the Gigantomachic hero of the *Thebaid*, in his assault on heaven in Book 10:

> non tamen haec turbant pacem Iouis, ecce quierant
> iurgia cum mediis Capaneus auditus in astris (*Theb.* 10.848-9)

The close linguistic parallel between Capaneus' appearance in heaven (*mediis...in astris*) and Statius' self-description in the *Siluae* is compelling, and has strong implications for how we read the relationship between emperor and poet. Capaneus is the *contemptor superum* of the *Thebaid,* the ultimate theomach, modelled closely on the *Aeneid's* Mezentius and endowed with Lucretius' Epicurean atheism; his attack on heaven is thus both Gigantomachic and sublime.[324] Earlier in this chapter, I cited Leigh's analysis of the slippage between the "sublime poet and sublime hero" in Statius' *Thebaid,* which suggests that the transgressive and ambitious Capaneus is a suitable analogue for Statius' own transgressive poetic ambitions: Capaneus' sublime ambition to climb up to the heavens, and his great fall, translates willingly into a representation of the aspiration and risk-taking of the sublime poet. The sublime ambition to both rival and become a god is matched by Statius' own poetic ambition. Thus, when Statius begins his narration of Capaneus' assault, it is in recognition of the need for the poet to bear his hero to the stars (*Theb.* 10.827-8: *sed nunc | comminus astrigeros Capaneus tollendus in axis*); such an act will require from the poet a great poetic madness and *audacia* to match that of his hero (830-1: *maior ab Aoniis poscenda amentia lucis: | mecum omnes audete deae*).

Statius is complicit in Capaneus' theomachic assault. Leigh reads Statius' identification with his sublime hero primarily in terms of literary *aemulatio*: just as Capaneus aims at the gods, so too does Statius aim at his poetic Jupiter, Virgil, "the divine predecessor and the master of his form".[325] But what is at stake

[324] On Capaneus, Gigantomachy and the sublime, Leigh (2006); Chaudhuri (2014).
[325] Leigh (2006) 235.

when Statius transfers this identification with his sublime hero to the context of imperial panegyric, and the metapoetic implications that Leigh observes of the *Thebaid* are mapped onto the political framework of 4.2? One possibility is to read the allusion as subversive: Statius can frame himself as both theomachic poet *and* hero, aimed at either overthrowing the divine Domitian, or, like Epicurus' triumph over religion in *De rerum Natura*, exposing the imperial institution of apotheosis and deification as a charade. Another possibility is to retain the theme of literary *aemulatio* that Leigh detects in the *Thebaid,* and substitute Virgil with Domitian, the exemplary epic poet whom Flavian poets profess to hold up as the inimitable model of literary excellence: Statius can present himself as rival to Domitian the divine poet, and by successfully imitating his palace in verse, can present himself as a worthy rival. But there is also a crucial difference between Statius' Capaneus and Statius himself, for where Capaneus fails spectacularly, Statius succeeds: the indolence inherent in *discumbere* replaces the fate that Jupiter visits upon Capaneus (11.124: *aususque mea procumbere dextra*), and right hands are now armed with winecups, not thunderbolts; the dissociation between the two is made clearer later in the poem, when Statius presents an image of Domitian as Jupiter, listening to Apollo's recital of a Gigantomachy:

> dux superum secreta iubet dare carmina Musas
> et Pallenaeos Phoebum laudare triumphos. (55-6)

Statius appropriates the language of Gigantomachy whilst distancing himself from its negative connotations. But Domitian's palace and divine ambitions can also be construed in terms of Gigantomachy. There is a hint of this in Statius' description of the palace's conglomeration of mountains as a heaped up mass (23: *tanta patet moles*), but Martial provides a substantial description of the palace in explicitly Gigantomachic terms:

> Regia pyramidum, Caesar, miracula ride;
> iam tacet Eoum barbara Memphis opus:
> pars quota Parrhasiae labor est Mareoticus aulae?
> clarius in toto nil uidet orbe dies.
> septenos pariter credas adsurgere montes,
> Thessalicum breuior Pelion Ossa tulit;
> aethera sic intrat, nitidis ut conditus astris
> inferior tonet nube serenus apex

et prius arcano satietur numine Phoebi
nascentis Circe quam uidet ora patris.
haec, Auguste, tamen, quae uertice sidera pulsat,
par domus est caelo, sed minor est domino. (*Ep.* 8.36)

The palace is represented as neither heaven on earth or an image of the cosmos, but is figured as a sublime project that outdoes even the aspirations of Gigantomachy. Like Lucretius' Epicurus and Statius' Capaneus, the palace (and hence, by extension, Domitian) forces its way into heaven (*aethera sic intrat*), yielding a sublime viewpoint. The palace is not only an architectural expression of this sublime ambition, but a symbol of poetic success, refracted through Martial's echo of Horace *Carm.* 1.1 (*quae uertice sidera pulsat* = 35: *sublimi feriam sidera uertice*). Domitian, however, exceeds even the ambitions of the palace, representing both the sublime reach of the structure, and the impossible, divine realm that the palace strives towards. For Chaudhuri, Martial's epigram presents Domitian as "an emperor so transcendent as to surpass the celestial ambitions of any poet or theomach...In this poem, and in this age, theomachy can even offer a hyperbolic model—not just a cautionary tale—against which imperial power and achievement are to be understood".[326] Martial and Statius both introduce us to an exhilarating concept: that Gigantomachy, in the divine Domitian's new world, can constitute a triumph.

3.6 conclusion

The aim of this chapter has been to build upon and expand some of the observations drawn in Chapter 2, namely the ways Statius uses the description of Domitian's monuments to both map out the *Siluae*'s generic identity—particularly its relationship to epic—and intertextual inheritance, and to foreground the intimate relationship between poet and *princeps* that Statius wishes to promote. Statius locates the traditions of the literary sublime in Domitian's palace, finding an objective correlative in the emperor's monumental world, which in turn reanimates and renews the literary gestures, tropes and *topoi* associated with that tradition, but also shapes our understanding of Domitian's divinity in Flavian ideology and in the *Siluae* themselves.

[326] Chaudhuri (2014) 319.

Domitian is praised in *Siluae* 4.2 as a divine creator of the universe, his palace symbolic of the totality of creation itself. But if Domitian is to be understood as a god, then this impacts Statius' own poetic self-presentation, who can stand as a divine creator in his own right, analogous to the epicist as demiurge. Statius' diminutive poem rises to match the universal grandeur that Domitian's palace represents. We may consider *Siluae* 4.2 as Statius' most ambitious engagement with the poetic monument: it reaches beyond the motif's conventional concerns with commemorative power and literary immortality, and associates the poem with the act of divine and eternal creation, and the poet with the emperor, as divine creator. Statius' praise of the Domus Flavia creates a cosmic, totalising monument that displays the emperor's divinity and hints at that of the poet, reaffirming the implicit sense of parallelism at play between ruler and poet that the *Siluae* repeatedly stress. Throughout the poems dedicated to the monuments of Domitian, Statius persistently finds in the emperor's monumental constructions a reflection of his own poetic creativity, and this also reinforces the notion of Domitian as the pre-eminent imperial poet of Flavian culture. In the *Siluae*, Domitian's monuments constantly prompt questions of interchangeability and reciprocity between poet and *princeps*, and between material and poetic constructions.

Chapter 4
Building Helicon

Sure there are Poets which did never dream
Upon Parnassus, nor did taste the stream
Of Helicon, we therefore may suppose
Those made not Poets, but the Poets those.

- John Denham, *Cooper's Hill.*

We move now from the imperial realm to the private sphere: the following two chapters focus on two poems of the *Siluae* devoted to describing the villas of Statius' patrons (1.3; 2.2). Whilst the poetic description of domestic architecture has its roots in epic and epigram, Statius' so-called 'villa poems' constitute, along with Pliny's epistolary accounts, some of the first full-scale literary descriptions of Roman villas, and stand at the beginning of a long poetic tradition: the villa poems and 'architectural panegyrics' of Sidonius Apollinaris and Paulinus of Nola, Francesco Sperulo, Egidio Gallo and Blosio Palladio, Ben Jonson, Andrew Marvell and Thomas Carew may all lay claim to Statius as their archetypal model.[327] For Statius, manors maketh man: the villa functions as a reified extension of the self (cf. Sen. *Ep.* 12.1), and the *Siluae* combine panegyric and ecphrasis to praise the opulent dwellings of Statius' addressees, stressing a link between material wealth, moral virtue and individual character. Importantly, Statius emphasises the villa as the traditional site of *otium litteratum*— 'factories of literature' in Hoffer's memorable phrase—a space for the cultivation of self through literary production (Plin. *Ep.* 4.6.2-3): villas are intimately connected to their owners literary pursuits, and participate in the creation and monumentalisation of literature for posterity.

The villa poems provide a crucial place to extend our investigation of forms of monumentality and commemoration in the *Siluae.* Bodel's seminal article on 'monumental villas and villa monuments' examined the various ways in which the villa provided a central means of self-fashioning and commemoration in republican and imperial Rome, not only as a space for the display of honorific statues,

[327] On architectural ecphrasis, Newlands (2013). Pliny compares his description of his Tuscan villa to the ecphrases of Homer and Virgil (5.6.41); Chinn (2007), Squire (2015). On the influence of epic and epigram on Statius' approach to ecphrasis, Szelest (1966), Tanner (1986).

familial busts and tombs, but as an architectural monument itself, capable of preserving memory for posterity.[328] Scipio's villa in Liternum presents an instructive example: it was venerated already during his lifetime (Val. Max. 2.10.2); Livy personally testifies to a tomb and a statue there (38.56.3-4); in the Neronian period Vetulentus Aegialus won recognition for restoring the property (Plin. *HN* 14.49); and Seneca worships at a monument on the property believed to be his tomb and praises the abstemious conditions of the house, a testament to Scipio's character (Sen. *Ep.* 86).[329] Elsewhere, Pliny notes with dismay the unfinished tomb of Verginius Rufus on an estate in Alsium, neglected by his heir (*Ep.* 6.10.1-3), and Cicero's attempts to commemorate Tullia with a *fanum* on his estate in the Campus Vaticanus are well documented in his letters to Atticus (*Att.* 13.33a; 12.36, 37).[330] Seneca's quip upon seeing the villa of the excessively indolent Vatia, *Vatia hic situs est* (*Ep.* 55.4), plays with funeral epitaph to underscore the (here humorous) connection between villa, monument and memory.[331] Importantly, this monumentalisation of the domestic sphere reaches a culminating point in the Flavian period with Domitian's transformation of the family home on the Quirinal into the Templum Gentis Flaviae, a monument that will attract our attention in the final chapter.

The villa's commemorative capacities allow text and monument to come together in interesting configurations, and the villa is to be interpreted in literary terms in more ways than one:[332] Pliny inscribes his name in topiary on his villa in Tuscany, rendering it a readable text (5.6.35: *in litteras... quae... nomen domini dicunt*), and in his letter to Voconius Romanus (9.7), he famously refers to his properties in Como as *tragoedia* and *comoedia* to describe the high vantage point of the former and the shoreline setting of the latter.[333] The Elder Pliny records a verse inscription by Tullia Laurea commemorating Cicero's Campanian villa and its medicinal springs, and their monumentalisation by its subsequent owner Antistius Vetus (*HN*

[328] Bodel (1997); cf. Purcell (1987).
[329] D'Arms (1970); Bodel (1997) 5-6.
[330] On Cicero's commemoration of Tullia, most recently Cole (2014), Martelli (2016), with bibliography.
[331] Henderson (2004) 76-77, Motto and Clark (1978).
[332] Myers (2000), Bergmann (1995) on the villa as 'a text to be read' in Pliny.
[333] On Pliny's villa letters, Gibson and Morello (2012) 200-233.

31.6-8).[334] In Late Antiquity, Sidonius Apollinaris' poem on the estate of the Pontii Leontii describes an inscription with the names of its founders at the villa's entrance, placed so that there will be no doubt as to its original builders (*Carm.* 22.142-44: *et ne posteritas dubitet quis conditor extet,* | *fixus in introitu lapis est – hic nomina signat* | *auctorum*). These examples attest to the monumental significance of the villa, but more importantly, also point to the power of poetry to record, contain and convey the memory of the physical structure, displaying the poem as an equal monument in its own right. There is a discernible interchangeability between villa and literary project, and both combine to provide a central means of monumentalisation throughout the imperial period. For Statius, as for Pliny, immortalizing works of literature are to be produced in villas, but the villa also becomes the object of such monumental literature, and synonymous with the project. By describing the architectural work, the poet can identify as the *aedificator,* informed by the long tradition in Latin literature of equating literary composition with architectural construction, a *structura uerborum.*[335] The motif is well encapsulated by Marcus Aper in Tacitus' *Dialogus,* who uses the image of the luxury villa to describe his ideal of oratory:[336]

> ego autem oratorem, sicut locupletem ac lautum patrem familiae, non eo tantum uolo tecto tegi quod imbrem ac uentum arceat, sed etiam quod uisum et oculos delectet, non ea solum instrui suppellectile quae necessariis usibus sufficiat, sed sit in apparatu eius et aurum et gemmae, ut sumere in manus et aspicere saepius libeat. (*Dial.* 22.4)

The following two chapters are intended to investigate the points of interaction between Statius' villa poems as poetic monuments and the monumental aspects of the villas themselves. Whilst they aim to supplement and extend previous scholarship on these issues, my angle here will be markedly different in one general respect. Statius' villa poems are traditionally interpreted as celebrations of *otium, qua* the withdrawal from the political arena: political life in Flavian Rome is presented as dangerous and its rewards limited, to which the villa offers an attractive alternative. Janan summarises the *communis opinio:* "the domestic sphere of Statius's wealthy, élite patrons appears in his poetry as a safe realm in which to pursue family intimacy, affording delights preferable to the uncertainty of Rome's public, political life under

[334] Morgan (2007) on the inscription and villa.
[335] For the theme of *structura uerborum* in Latin literature, Lieberg (1956).
[336] Discussed in Newlands (2013) 68-9.

Domitian".[337] Statius' patrons can thus engage in what Dewar terms "leisured resistance" against the political realm, and Myers claims that "there is no question that this new emphasis on the private sphere reflects some of the tensions of Domitianic Rome and that Statius's *Siluae* expose many of the limits imposed on life and literature at this time".[338]

Such a view, however, is difficult to square with the *Siluae*'s overarching drive to locate Domitian as the central arbiter of value for Statius' commemorative programme. Another approach is available, one which understands Statius' praise of his patron's villas as extension of Domitian's imperial project, and aims at the publicization and monumentalisation of the private lives of Statius' patrons as a means of praising the emperor. Newlands is clearly aware of this aspect of the *Siluae* and provides a more measured interpretation, reading the villa poems in terms of a constructive dialogue between private and public, engagement and withdrawal.[339] But it is Italian scholarship which has provided the more sustained and suggestive exploration of the ways in which Statius, and Flavian poetry, aims to present private luxury and the politics of Domitianic Rome as an essential and indistinguishable entity, and to praise the emperor through evocation of the private lives of his citizens. The villa poems constitute celebrations of what Rosati identifies as the "natural and even the necessary external manifestations of the best of all possible worlds, the state governed by Domitian", a statement that alludes to the title of Fabbrini's important study of private luxury in Martial's ecphrastic epigrams, *Il migliore dei mondi possibili,* which extends a similar argument.[340] Merli has similarly shown how in Flavian literature, praise of the private patron is always associated with the benefits that the emperor has provided:[341]

> Lo stato di grazia della modernità flavia, percepita e rappresentata come 'il migliore dei mondi possibili', si estrinseca specialmente nelle doti dell'imperatore, nel fasto delle cerimonie ufficiali e della corte, ma coinvolge anche cittadini appartenenti alle classi più agiate, palesandosi in accadimenti, oggetti di pregio, luoghi della loro vita.

[337] Janan (2020).
[338] Dewar (2014); Myers (2005).
[339] Newlands (2002a) 121.
[340] Rosati (2019) 126. Fabbrini (2007).
[341] Merli (2013b) 1.

If Leach can adopt an analogous approach to Pliny's letters written under Trajan, identifying the author's preoccupation with the exposure and publicization of private life, and if Hoffer can suggest that "through the idealised lives of the aristocrats of Comum and of Rome, Pliny implies praise of the good emperor", then it is the historically negative characterisation of Domitian that has precluded similar observations of the *Siluae*, an oversight which these chapters are devoted to redressing.[342]

The aim of these two chapters is to track the interaction between private and imperial commemoration in the *Siluae*, and to explore how Statius presents the private lives of his patrons as monuments to Flavian Rome. The villa poems provide a strong focus point for such an enquiry: for Romans, domestic space was permeable, geared towards self-presentation and interaction with the public; in Republican and imperial Rome, the design of private dwellings was consistently informed by Hellenistic royal architecture, and incorporated elements from public monuments.[343] Villas constitute a longstanding and important interstice between private and public realms, and provide a suggestive analogue for the *Siluae'*s own liminal status, poised between private and public, a fact to which the poet is keenly sensitive. It is particularly instructive to remember that emperors also cultivated villa culture, and especially Domitian, who instituted the annual Quinquatria Minervae games at his Alban villa, including *scaenici ludi* and *oratorum ac poetarum certamina* (Suet. *Dom.* 4.4) which Statius perhaps won in 90 CE (*Silv.* 3.5.28-31; 4.2.64; 4.5.22-4).[344] But importantly, in the Flavian cultural imagination, the monumentalisation and public display of the domestic sphere was irrevocably complicated through Nero's transgressive Domus Aurea, a monument to which the next chapter is devoted.

But in this chapter, I consider how Statius figures his patrons' villas as sites of poetic inspiration, upon which the poet can draw to create his commemorative poetry. Statius substitutes traditional sources

[342] Leach (1990); cf. Hoffer (1999) 39.
[343] Wallace-Hadrill (1994); Russell (2016), and Tuori and Nissin (2015).
[344] Cass. Dio. (67.1.2), Mart. 4.11; von Hesberg (1978-80); Darwall-Smith (1994); A. Hardie (2003). See above, 55 n. 139.

of poetic inspiration with the material world of his patrons, which in turn inspire his poetry to provide worthy commemoration. What fundamentally emerges from such a reading is a connection between monumentality and inspiration, and between text and villa. An important aspect here will be not only how Statius can present himself as *aedificator,* but can also present his patron as a poet, and thus as creator of the (poetic) villa that Statius describes, suggesting a degree of interchangeability between poet and patron that Statius exploits to the full. But the sources of inspiration that Statius evokes are freighted with political meaning, and suggest a connection with imperial power, positioning both patron and poet in favourable relation to the emperor. This is particularly evident in *Siluae* 1.3, Statius' poem on the villa of Manilius Vopiscus in Tibur, but can be located at a number of places throughout the *Siluae*. Our focus will be specifically on Statius' praise of the villa's access to an imperial aqueduct, the Aqua Marcia (1.3.64-9), which the poet can identify as both a monumental symbol of Roman technology and imperial power, as well as a poetic source of inspiration with its own literary history. We shall trace the course of the Aqua Marcia and other bodies of water through the *Siluae* and related texts, considering the legal and political aspects of water access and Domitian's own monumental appropriation of the aqueduct in Rome, which in turn allows us to draw fresh observations on how Statius models poetic inspiration on his patrons' properties in terms that articulate an intimate connection between emperor, patron and poet.

4.1 the Aqua Marcia

"Die Lage der Villa genau zu bestimmen ist nicht mehr möglich", Vollmer lamented, and it is still not clear where Manilius' villa in Tibur was, although it was perhaps known to cinquecento antiquarians.[345] Vulpius placed Manilius' estate at the location of the Villa Gregoriana, perched by the Grande Cascata in Tivoli near the Temple of Hercules Victor, and later archaeological evidence would appear to confirm this claim;[346] Statius' encomium for a largely vanished monument again underscores the immortalising quality of the *Siluae* against the course of time, an irony that persists throughout the *Siluae*. A further complication

[345] Vollmer (1898) 263; Elet (2017) 51.
[346] Vulpius, quoted in Vollmer (1898) 263-4 and discussed by Dunbabin (1933). See Giuliani (1970) 267-87 for archaeological discussion. The identity of Manilius Vopiscus is discussed by Cancik (1978) 119-20; Syme (1982).

is presented by the fact that Statius also tells us that Manilius' estate enjoyed the unusual quality of having two villas on either side of the Anio (2: *inserto geminos Aniene penates*).

Lack of conclusive evidence notwithstanding, what is clear is that Manilius' villa had direct access to the Anio and to the Tiburtine river's famous waterfalls (Prop. 3.16.4; 4.7.81), and water accordingly provides the central theme in Statius' poem.[347] The waters of *udum Tibur* (Hor. *Carm.* 3.29.6) were also of great importance to the four major aqueducts of Rome, which drew from the upper Anio valley east of Tibur, and especially the Aqua Marcia. Built in 144 BCE by Q. Marcius Rex (Plin. *HN* 36.121; cf. Frontin. *Aq.* 7.1), the Aqua Marcia, cutting its course through Tibur, delivered water directly to the Capitoline, irrigating the *caput mundi* (Frontin. *Aq.* 7.6: *atque ita in Capitolinum esse aquam perductam*).[348] The Marcia has a central relevance for Manilius' villa, for Statius tells us that it provided water directly to the estate. In an extended *praeteritio,* in which the poet catalogues the features of the villa which he professes reluctance to praise, Statius addresses the Aqua Marcia, a passage which provides the focal point for this chapter:[349]

> quid referam alternas gemino super aggere mensas
> albentesque lacus altosque in gurgite fontes,
> teque, per obliquum penitus quae laberis amnem,
> Marcia, et audaci transcurris flumina plumbo
> ne solum Ioniis sub fluctibus Elidis amnem
> dulcis ad Aetnaeos deducat semita portus? (64-69)

The passage bears obvious poetic credentials: the Marcia's underground concourse is compared to the Alpheus' emergence as the pure Arethusa in Sicily, thus placing us in direct contact with the origins of Sicilian pastoral: In the *Epitaphion Bionis*, Bion is said to have drunk from the Arethusa (77) as Homer had done from the Hippocrene (cf. 9-12), and the Arethusa is the final source of inspiration for Virgil in *Eclogue* 10 (1: *extremum hunc, Arethusa, mihi concede laborem*); the connection with Virgil's ultimate eclogue is reinforced by Statius' emphasis on the purity of the *dulcis semita* and its lack of contact with the Ionian sea,

[347] For water as a coveted commodity for a villa, Varro, *Rust.* 1.11.2; Plin. *Ep.* 3.19.5; Cic. *QFr.* 3.1.3.
[348] G. Morgan (1978), Evans (1993), Rodgers (2004); Syme (2016) describes the controversy surrounding the construction of the aqueduct. I follow Rodgers' numeration of *De Aquis*, which restores the text as one book ([2004] 35).
[349] Evans (1993) 97 provides archaeological comparisons for private underground pipe-systems; Plin. *HN* 31.24 attests to the Marcia's underground passage in Tibur.

which directly recalls Virgil's description of *Doris amara* (*Ecl.* 10.4-5).[350] The Marcia's assimilation to the pastoral waters of inspiration signals the poem's generic affiliations, and contributes to Statius' designs, in Newlands words, to represent Manilius' villa as "a new updated version of the ideal landscape of pastoral poetry".[351] The comparison with the Arethusa is given further poetic import through *deducere*, a verb stressing allegiance to the Callimachean μοῦσαν λεπταλέην and to the refinements of the *carmen deductum* (Virg. *Ecl.* 6.4-5; Ov. *Met.* 1.4). Given the dominance of water in the passage, a subsequent Callimachean image at play here is the pure and undefiled (111: καθαρή τε καὶ ἀχράαντος) waters that the bees bring to Demeter in the *Hymn to Apollo*, in contrast with the sullied Assyrian river (*Hymn* 2.108-12). The Arethusa acts as a symbol for poetic inspiration towards pastoral and Callimachean poetics, and the comparison works, according to Newlands, to present the Aqua Marcia as "a bearer of literary-critical ideals": "Statius thus appropriates the villa landscape to promote boldly his own unique poetics of Callimachean craft and exclusivity united with luxuriance".[352]

The Marcia would appear an appropriate emblem for Callimachean aesthetics: Frontinus bears witness to the proverbial purity of the aqueduct's waters (12.1; 14.2; 89.4; 91.5), and Pliny commends it highly as the gods' gift to Rome (*HN* 31.41: *clarissima aquarum omnium in toto orbe frigoris salubritatisque palma praeconio urbis Marcia est inter reliqua deum munera urbi tributa*). But on the other hand, the aqueduct might also appear to work against any specific claim to poetic refinement and exclusivity. Martelli notes that "Statius' emphasis on the cheap metal of which the Marcia consists marks her out as an incongruous vehicle for Callimachean aesthetics", and Frontinus frames Marcius' construction of the aqueduct as a restoration of waters to public access in the face of private abuse, (Frontin. 7.1: ... [Marcius] *qui tum praetor inter ciues ius dicebat, eorum ductuum reficiendorum ac uindicandorum*), a demagogic act hardly symbolic of poetic exclusivity (Callim. *Epig.* 28.3-4).[353] Furthermore, the

[350] Martelli (2009) 154 n. 2.
[351] Newlands (2002a) 36-38; Bright (1980) 20-49 discusses the *Siluae*'s use of pastoral more broadly.
[352] Newlands (2002a) 141.
[353] Martelli (2009) 155. Vitr. *De arch.* 8.6.10-11 on the detrimental effects of lead pipes, and Hor. *Epist.* 1.10.20-21. The censors had taken similar action to limit private abuse in 184 (Livy 39.44.4 and Plut. *Cat. Mai.* 19), although De Kleijn (2001) 95 notes that none of the sources specifically mention illegal tapping.

Callimachean connotations of *deducere* that Newlands and Martelli detect must answer to the prosaic use of compounds of *-ducere* to denote the transportation of water, such as Frontinus frequently employs (e.g. 105.1 *qui aquam in usus priuatos deducere uolet*). But the two meanings are not mutually exclusive: Fowler suggestively detects in Horace's claim in 3.30 "*princeps Aeolium carmen ad Italos deduxisse modos*" (13-14), contrasted with the *violens Aufidus* (10), not only a whiff of Alexandrianism but also "an irrigation metaphor, the drawing down of a smaller channel of water from a larger mass of water", and in Chapter 2, I discussed the compelling parallels between Callimachean poetics and the duties of the censor to deliver clean water for Rome, with which Roman poets could equate their own poetic ethos, a point of particular salience for Flavian poets writing under an emperor who was both *censor perpetuus* and *poeta doctus*.[354]

The language of literary criticism and the language of political reality thus work upon each other, and the result of Statius' representation of the Aqua Marcia is, on the one hand, a subtle deconstruction of the pastoral world and the Callimachean poetics that the Arethusa represents, and, on the other, a productive tension between both the literary world of the poet and not just the material world of the patron, but also the ubiquitous imperial sphere that always circumscribes it. Callimachean and pastoral poetics do not clarify the Aqua Marcia so much as, in Martelli's words, "the Marcia here 'updates' Vergil's muse, bringing her miraculous mode of travel into the realm of historical and material possibility with the innovative lead pipes of Roman hydraulics".[355] A further important implication to observe is that Statius is exchanging traditional Greek symbols and *loci* of inspiration for specifically Roman models, and the assimilation of the Roman aqueduct to a Greek poetic symbol does the extra work of undermining the latter's import. As Merli notes, articulating a position to which this chapter accordingly subscribes, Statius' villas, and the various water features of which they can boast, ultimately represent "luoghi ideali per la letteratura, così che le acque che le adornano *si possono sostituire* alle fonti poetiche attribuite dalla tradizione a vari luoghi della Grecia".[356] The Aqua Marcia—and consequently, the villa of Manilius Vopiscus—provides a suitable alternative to

[354] Fowler (2002) 155. For the poetic resonances of Domitian as *censor* and water control, see above pg. 64-6.
[355] Martelli (2009) 155.
[356] Merli (2013a) 66, my italics.

Greek springs, and similarly, Statius' poetry will provide a specifically Roman counter-narrative to accepted Greek models of poetic inspiration.

One further aspect of Statius' praise of the Marcia, germane to the central claims of this thesis, is that it also comments on the monumental connotations that the aqueducts of Rome bore. For Pliny, the aqueducts were among Rome's greatest monuments, due not only to their imposing stature but also to their utility, constituting one of the world's greatest marvels (*HN* 36.24: *fatebitur nil magis mirandum fuisse in toto orbe terrarum*). Frontinus expresses a similar sentiment, claiming that the added utilitarian benefit rendered the aqueducts far superior to the indolent pyramids and monuments of Greece (*Aq.* 16.1: *tot aquarum tam multis necessariis molibus pyramidas uidelicet otiosas compares aut cetera inertia sed fama celebrata opera Graecorum?*).[357] Praise of aqueducts is synonymous with praise of Rome, and when contrasted with the decadence of foreign monuments, the aqueducts constitute pure *Romanitas*, a point that resonates with Statius' contrast between Greek and Roman forms of inspiration.

Equally important is the ability for an aqueduct to bestow monumental value not just upon the Roman state but upon an individual and their *gens*, particularly evident in the use of the Aqua Marcia by later generations of the *gens Marcia*: a Neronian military diploma points to a statue of Q. Marcius Rex that had been erected upon the Capitol behind the Temple of Jupiter, which Esther van Deman attractively suggested would have provided the aqueduct's *terminus*; the reverse of a *denarius* struck in 56 BC, issued by a L. Marcius Philippus, also depicts the aqueduct's arches and an equestrian statue, perhaps that of Q. Marcius Rex, associating the military victories of the *gens* with their acts of munificence to the state.[358] As Rodgers points out, Marcian propaganda must also underlie the laudatory descriptions of the Marcia in

[357] It is probable that Frontinus is looking directly to Pliny's own notion of the superior monumentality of the aqueducts here: DeLaine (1996) 125.
[358] Inscription: *CIL* 3 846; coin: (BMC 280, inv. no. 10529); see van Deman (1934) 139. Geffcken (2015) 349-351 discusses both coin and description, and the possibility of identifying the equestrian statue with the statue of Marcius on the Capitoline; *LTUR* I 190 rejects any such connection. The issuer may have been the L. Marcius Philippus who constructed the portico of Philippus around the Temple of Hercules Musarum in 33 BC; Heslin (2015) 186 ff. has explored possible themes of water and literary inspiration in the portico's statuary.

Pliny (*HN* 31.41; 36.121), attesting to the enduring power of the literary and material associations a *gens* could foster with a monument.[359] Aqueducts could thus be harnessed for a variety of commemorative purposes, situating an individual and their *gens* prominently within Rome. In the imperial period, this monumental value was the exclusive domain of the *princeps*, as the *Res Gestae* attests, specifically concerning the Marcia (*RG* 20: *aquam, quae Marcia appellatur duplicaui, fonte nouo in riuum eius immisso*), and numerous other inscriptions suggest, underscoring the emperor's munificence to the populace and his agreeable propensity to splash out.[360]

But the monumental quality of Rome's aqueducts also presents a suitable symbol for literary monumentality; strong evidence for this can be gleaned from Frontinus himself. When Frontinus compares the aqueducts to the pyramids (*Aq.* 16.1), Rodgers' *obiter dictum* in his commentary that "Roman poets compared their literary *opera* to the pyramids" should alert us to the wider monumental implications of *De Aquis.*[361] Literary monumentality may seem a bold claim for so riveting a work as a technical handbook on water management. But as DeLaine has argued, Frontinus' literary praise of the aqueducts serves also to place him in the long tradition of their eminent builders and conservers, and to underscore his central importance to the mechanics of the imperial state: the maintenance of the aqueducts, as Frontinus underscores, is "worthy of more special care, as it gives the best testimony to the greatness of the Roman empire" (*Aq.* 119.1: *rem enixiore cura dignam, cum magnitudinis Romani imperii uel praecipuum sit indicium*).[362] Frontinus' *De Aquis* presents its author as a source of authority and possessor of *auctoritas:* unable to build his own monumental aqueduct like his Republican predecessors, *De Aquis* provides Frontinus with a suitable literary counterpart. Frontinus certainly also had literary ambitions: he was a poet, as Martial tells us in poems that praise Frontinus' villa in Anxur which provides Martial with the requisite watery *otium* for inspiration, a further variation on this chapter's theme (10.51, 10.58: 5-6 *doctas tecum*

[359] Rodgers (2004) 162-3
[360] *CIL* 6 1246-8; 1256-1261
[361] Rodgers (2004) 189.
[362] DeLaine (1996).

celebrare uacabat | Pieridas).[363] But the intended monumental quality of *De Aquis* itself can be nicely deduced from Pliny's *Epistle* 9.19, which compares the epitaph of Verginius Rufus with Frontinus' ostensible refusal of any funerary monument, a gesture which Pliny finds untoward:

> age dum, hunc ipsum Frontinum in hoc ipso, in quo tibi parcior uidetur et pressior, comparemus. uetuit exstrui monumentum, sed quibus uerbis? 'Impensa monumenti superuacua est; memoria nostri durabit, si uita meruimus.' an restrictius arbitraris per orbem terrarum legendum dare duraturam memoriam suam quam uno in loco duobus uersiculis signare quod feceris? (9.19.6)

Si uita meruimus: Frontinus' contrast between the value of a funerary *monumentum* and *uita* is surely more than modest posturing; it resonates with similar claims of poetic monumentality, drawing attention to the literary *Vita* that Frontinus has created through his writing, which will outlast any material counterpart. Frontinus' treatise on the aqueducts, which doubles as self-praise of its author, stands in lieu of a physical monument; as DeLaine points out, "the whole of this work conveys the same message...the *De Aquis* is—part at least of—Frontinus' *monumentum"*.[364] Unsuspectingly, Frontinus' *De Aquis* is perhaps one of the most intriguing examples of literary monumentality that emerges from imperial literature.

4.2 constructing inspiration in the *Siluae*

The connection between inspiration and monumental aqueduct evident in Statius' evocation of the Aqua Marcia warrants further exploration of this theme in the *Siluae.* Importantly, the Aqua Marcia occurs as a symbol of poetic inspiration elsewhere in *Siluae* 1, in 1.5, Statius' poem in celebration of the new baths of Claudius Etruscus, the wealthy equestrian whose father is the subject of the *epicedion* in *Siluae* 3.[365] The poem is matched by an epigram of Martial (*Ep.* 6.42), and it is unclear which precedes the other; both

[363] *Ep.* 10.51.10 *litus et aequoreis spendidus Anxur aquis*; Balland (2010: 63); König (2018) on the epigrams as a *Gedichtpaar*.
[364] DeLaine (1996) 130; cf. Peachin (2004) argues convincingly for the literary qualities and commemorative value of *De Aquis.*
[365] cf. Martial 6.83, 7.40; Nauta (2002) 229-33. See Chapter 6 for a discussion of *Silv.* 3.3. For topographical discussion of the *Balneum*, *LTUR* 1 118, which suggests an identification with the *Balneum Claudianum* on the Quirinal; cf. Fagan (1999) 361.

poems take up, at any rate, a novel subject and anticipate second century encomia on baths.[366] Statius situates his poem in a sympotic context, and the poet assumes the persona of a lyric performer, opening with a *recusatio* that rejects traditional forms of inspiration:

> *non* Helicona graui pulsat chelys enthea plectro
> *nec* lassata uoco totiens mihi numina Musas;
> et te Phoebe, choris et te dimittimus, Euhan;
> tu quoque muta ferae, uolucer Tegeaee, sonorae
> terga premas: alios poscunt mea carmina coetus. (1.5.1-5)

The poet dismisses as hackneyed a number of sources of poetic inspiration, a form of *recusatio* familiar from the elegiac rejection of Muses and other deities in favour of the *puella*.[367] More appropriately, we may compare a similar ploy in Lucian's ecphrastic *De Domo,* where the author suggests that, although Socrates could famously summon the Muses within the natural landscape of the *Phaedrus* (τὰς Μούσας ἐκάλει; cf. Pl. *Phdr.* 238d; 241e), the Muses will choose to visit this artificial hall of their own volition, without the need for invocation (*De Dom:* 4: ἐς δὲ οὕτω καλὸν χωρίον οὐκ ἂν οἰόμεθα καὶ ἀκλήτους αὐτὰς ἐλθεῖν): for Lucian, as for Statius, the architecture will inspire the appropriate poetic response.[368]

As Newlands suggests, Statius' *recusatio* is aimed at epic poetry, and it is specifically the *arma nocentia* of his own *Thebaid* that the poet wishes to exclude (8).[369] Accordingly, Helicon here symbolises martial epic, such as Calliope warns Propertius away from (3.3.41-2: *nec <u>Aonium</u> tingere Marte <u>nemus</u>*), and it is precisely to Helicon that Statius will return in the *Achilleid* (*Achil.* 1.10: *neque enim <u>Aonium</u> <u>nemus</u> aduena pulso*).[370] The *graui...plectro* signifies the lofty genre that Statius now eschews; it is a *carmen molle*

[366] Watson & Watson (2003) 190 on the bath encomium as "a standard rhetorical theme" in imperial encomium: cf. Lucian's *Hippias*; *Anth. Lat.* 108–13, 201–5, 264–5, 345, 362 SB, and *AP* 9.606–40. For the relationship between Martial and Statius' poem, Fabbrini (2007) 181-229.
[367] E.g. Prop 2.1.3. Miller (1986) on elegy as inspiration: "we may speak, then, not simply of a *topos*, but of a well-developed programmatic pattern which forms a branch of the apologetic tradition". Rosati (2002) on 'the refusal of the Muses' theme in *inuocatio* parodies, citing Hor. *Sat.* 1.5.51-3; cf. also [Tib.] 3.4.43-4; Prop. 3.2.9, 4.6.75-6; Ov. *Ars. am.* 3.347-8; Hor. *Carm.* 1.32.9-13.
[368] Newby (2002).
[369] Newlands (2002a).
[370] Heslin (2005) 77. On *Aonium nemus* as Helicon, Virg. *Ecl.* 6.65; *G.* 3.11.

that Statius eventually embarks upon at line 29,[371] a refined song worthy of the exclusivity of Etruscus' baths, which contain nothing vulgar (47: *nil ibi plebeium*). The rejection of epic in favour of refined poetry insinuates an alliance with Callimachean aesthetics, and an allusion to Callimachus is present in Statius' subsequent injunction to the attending *puer* to 'ignite the lingering lyre' (11: *cunctantemque incende chelyn*), reworking the *Hymn to Apollo* where the poet praises the chorus of young boys for precisely the same thing that Statius now demands (16: ἠγασάμην τοὺς παῖδας, ἐπεὶ χέλυς οὐκέτ' ἀεργός).[372] However, Statius also rejects *labor* and *cura* (11-12: *discede, Laborque | Curaque*), a traditional motif of sympotic poetry, but the gesture can also double as a rejection of Callimachean *ponos*. We arrive at another instance of the *Siluae*'s familiar refusal to observe any clear dichotomy between epic and Callimacheanism that we might wish to impose.[373]

More insistently than in *Siluae* 1.3, Statius' opening *recusatio* implies a specific rejection of *all* Greek forms of inspiration and modes of poetry. But this rejection is underscored, paradoxically, through an abundance of Grecisms in the opening line: Helicon appears in its Greek form (*Helicona*), followed by a cluster of Greek words (*chelys, enthea, plectro*) as well as Greek forms for Apollo, Bacchus and Mercury, showcasing Statius' Greek identity at precisely the moment he gestures towards its dismissal.[374] Statius' rejection of Greek traditions of inspiration bears strong similarities with Persius' iconoclastic *Prologus* to the *Satires*:

> *nec* fonte labra prolui caballino
> *nec* in bicipiti somniasse Parnaso
> memini, ut repente sic poeta prodirem.
> Heliconidasque pallidamque Pirenen
> illis remitto quorum imagines lambunt
> hederae sequaces; ipse semipaganus
> ad sacra uatum carmen adfero nostrum. (1-7)

[371] For *mollis* as the *epitheton proprium* for lesser genres, see Jackson (1914).
[372] Statius' use of *chelys* here doubles as a clever calque on *testudo,* and points also to the component of the half-cylindrical water container which regulated the heat from the hypocaust and maintained the temperature of the bath (Vitr. *De arch.* 5.10.1).
[373] Hor. *Carm.* 1.7.31; 3.29.16, 3.8.17. Marshall (2008) 615. The consumption of wine, not water, can also be construed as anti-Callimachean: Knox (1985).
[374] On Grecising features of Statius' poetry, Holford-Strevens (2000); Marshall (2008); Mulligan (2011).

Persius offers a less subtle renunciation, combining a catalogue of the famous inspirational *loci* of Greece (Helicon, Parnassus, Hippocrene, and Pirene) with the programmatic Hesiodic-Callimachean *Dichterweihe*, and Persius will continue his anti-Hellenic programme in *Satire* 1, lampooning the Hellenising tendencies of Neronian poetry (1.69-75). But Persius doesn't let the Roman tradition off the hook either, for the rejection of the dream-initiation motif must also expand to canvass a vast field that includes Latin poets in the Hellenic mode, such as *pater* Ennius, as Persius' scholiast points out, as well as Propertius 3.3.[375] The eventual point Persius goes on to make is that the real source of inspiration lies in the realities of financial desperation in a post-Augustan environment (10-11: *magister artis ingenique largitor | uenter*); for the professional poet, remuneration and the possibility of patronage is more powerful than intangible forms of inspiration.[376]

A not unreasonable suggestion would be that Statius is directly modelling his *recusatio* on Persius, particularly evident in the negative anaphora in the opening lines, and it is important to remember, in this context, Juvenal's caricature of Statius as pimp of his own poetry (*Sat.* 7.82-87).[377] But whereas Persius satirically demystifies the mercantile mechanics of inspiration, Statius weaves his patrons and their possessions directly into a new mythology of inspiration. Statius' rejection of the springs of Helicon in 1.5, implies, of course, that the waters of his patron's baths (cf. Mart. 6.42.19: *quae tam candida, tam serena lucet*) will provide a suitable alternative for his poem, and Statius specifically summons nymphs associated with the pure waters of the Virgo, Anio and the Marcia to replace the Muses:

> uos mihi quae Latium septenaque culmina, Nymphae,
> incolitis Thybrimque nouis attollitis undis,
> quas praeceps Anien atque exceptura natatus
> Virgo iuuat Marsasque niues et frigora ducens
> Marcia, praecelsis quarum uaga molibus unda
> crescit et innumero pendens transmittitur arcu:
> uestrum opus adgredimur, uestra est quam carmine molli

[375] P. Miller (2010); Schol. *ad vers.* 2.
[376] cf. Lucillius *AP* 9.572, contrasting Μουσάων Ἑλικωνιάδων (1) with the χαλκόν of Nero. Fowler (2002a) 142-44.
[377] As Miller (1983) points out, Persius may be indebted to Ov. *Ars. am.* 1.25-30; Prop. 2.1.3-4 here.

pando domus. non umquam aliis habitastis in antris
ditius. (1.5.23-31)

It is a new form of inspirational nymph that is introduced here, who belongs to the aqueducts of Rome. Within the conventions of poetry, nymphs and muses are interchangeable, and form a constituent part of the pastoral landscape. Nymphs are repeatedly deployed in Theocritus instead of the Muses (e.g. 7.148: Νύμφαι Κασταλίδες Παρνάσιον αἶπος ἔχοισαι)[378] and accordingly in Virgil's *Eclogues*: when Corydon invokes *Nymphae noster amor, Libethrides* to give him a song (7.21), Servius explains: *haec ratio est, quod secundum Varronem ipsae sunt nymphae quae et musae: nam et in aqua consistere dicuntur, quae de fontibus manat, sicut existimauerunt qui camenis fontem consecrauerunt* (ad loc. *Ecl.* 7.21)

As Servius' gloss points out, for Romans, the connection between the muses and water-divinities was embodied by the *Camenae,* to which Greek traditions of inspiration might be assimilated: Livius Andronicus' address to a *Camena* as counterpart to Homer's *Mousa* at the start of his *Odusia* (fr. 1 M.) is generally taken to be the first and decisive step towards their assimilation with the Muses, and Ennius appears to favour the Muses over the Camenae in a much debated line of the *Annales* (*Ann.* 487 Sk.: *Musas quas memorant nosc<e>s nos esse <Camenas>*) perhaps, as Jocelyn contended, evoked in line with Fulvius Nobilior's construction of his Templum Herculis Musarum.[379] The *fons Camenarum* was located in the *uallis Egeriae,* the Caelian hill by the Porta Capena, which carried the Aqua Marcia, 'dripping with great drops' (Mart. *Ep.* 3.47.1: *Capena grandi porta qua pluit gutta*), into Rome.[380] This was the location of Numa's claimed encounters with Egeria (Liv. 1.19.5; Ovid *Fast.* 3.275; Plut. *Num.* 4.2), and in Juvenal, it is here that the xenophobic Umbricius, issuing his *syntacticon* in the grove, complains that the Camenae, the source of true Roman poetry, have been driven out by the corrosive influence of foreigners (*Sat.* 3.15-

[378] The formulation is a variation on the Homeric invocation Μοῦσαι Ὀλύμπια δώματ᾽ἔχουσαι: *Il.* 2.484; 11.218; 16.112. Fantuzzi & Hunter (2005) 154.
[379] Hinds (1998) 56-63 discusses the interchange between the Camenae and Muses; on the Ennius fragment, Suerbaum (1968) 347-9; Jocelyn (1972) 997. On the Camenae, recently A. Hardie (2016).
[380] Frontin. *Aq.* 5.5; Schol. *ad Juv.* 3.11. '*arcus stillans*'.

16). Nymphs—particularly when associated with the aqueducts—could be fashioned, by dint of their interchangeability with the Camenae, as a thoroughly Roman source of inspiration.

Statius plays into this long tradition: by invoking Roman nymphs within the context of one of the most evocative monumental symbols of Rome—the aqueducts—he signals the inspirational qualities of the baths and their place within the Roman poetic tradition, equivalent to the sacred groves of inspiration in Rome: Etruscus' baths will be a more suitable *antrum* for the nymphs, a term that denotes traditional spaces of inspiration (Virg. *Ecl.* 6; Prop. 3.1-3).[381] Statius' speech-act, claiming to 'open the house of the nymphs' (*pando domus*), is equally couched in terms of poetic inspiration: it recalls a similar phrase used twice in the *Aeneid* (7.641, 10.163: *pandite nunc Helicona, deae*) and Ovid's only invocation of the Muses in the *Metamorphoses* reprises the formula (15.622: *pandite nunc, Musae, praesentia numina uatum*);[382] Statius himself uses similar phrasing in the *Thebaid* (*Theb.* 1 34-5: *pande uiros, tuque o nemoris regina sonori | Calliope*). But here, he noticeably reverses the exchange: the phrase is no longer a command, rather it is now the poet who enacts the inspiration, and the epic register of the phrase is splendidly deflated by Statius' claim to do so with a *carmen molle.* Statius' rejection of the grandeur of epic insinuates not so much its exclusion but its replacement with the equally grand baths of Etruscus, and Newlands suggests that "Callimachean stylistic tenets of exclusivity and refinement are asserted on a grand register that lays claim to the central importance of poetry and of leisure within Roman culture".[383]

Within this poetic context, Statius' specific reference to the aqueducts is important to his claims to poetic monumentality within the diminutive strictures that the *Siluae* (claim to) adhere to. For Newlands, it is the aqueducts which best "dramatize the paradox on which Statius' new poetics is founded...the masterpiece of Roman technology metaphorically represents the virtuoso qualities of Statius' new monumental poetics", and Rimell suggests, in a similar vein, that the aqueducts serve to "marry lofty

[381] For the *antrum as* inspirational space, see below pg. 162.
[382] Barchiesi (1991) 5; Sharrock (2002) 219-220.
[383] Newlands (2002a) 215.

monumentality with original, thinned-out Callimachean streams".[384] Just as the Aqua Marcia works to clarify Statius' poetic programme in his encomium on the villa of Manilius Vopiscus, the aqueducts here reflect the complex poetics that Statius develops to praise the baths of Etruscus: despite the earlier rejection of epic, the aqueducts allow both the 'wandering wave' (*uaga unda*) of inspirational waters and the poem to incongruously grow (*crescit*) over lofty structures and innumerable arches, an epic marker that signifies the poem's impending shift in register.

This reciprocity between poetic inspiration and the monumental quality of the building praised also points to a sense of interchangeability between poet and patron, and to the central aim of Statius' poetry to not just match his patrons' monuments with an equal display of poetic monumentality, but to present the two as inextricable. Both poet and patron are equal stakeholders in the creation of commemorative value: without his patrons' monument, thus goes the implication, there is no poetry, but Statius' praise is an integral part of establishing the power and value of the monument. A humorous counter-example is provided by Martial, who, in a satirical play on the *anathematikon,* attempts to dedicate his poetry (*libellos*) as a pious gift (*pio munere*) to the nymphs who reside in the *mansura templa* built by Caesius Sabinus on the lake in Sassina:[385]

> Nympha sacri regina lacus, cui grata Sabinus
> et mansura pio munere templa dedit,
> sic montana tuos semper colat Vmbria fontes
> nec tua Baianas Sassina malit aquas:
> excipe sollicitos placide, mea dona, libellos:
> tu fueris Musis Pegasis unda meis.
> "nympharum templis quisquis sua carmina donat,
> quid fieri libris debeat, ipse monet." (*Ep.* 9.58)

Martial attempts a similar strategy to Statius, identifying his patron's monumental (*mansura*) nymphaeum as a source of inspiration (*tu fueris Musis Pegasis unda meis*) and committing his poetic response to its abiding power. But the final, deflating couplet reveals the inefficacy of his dedication, and shows up the

[384] Rimell (2015a) 211.
[385] Henriksén (2012) *ad loc.* 9.58.

divide between both monument and poem and, accordingly, between poet and patron.[386] Martial's poetry cannot match his patrons' own powers of commemoration. Whereas Statius rejects the muses in favour of the inspirational settings his patrons provide, the failure of Martial's attempt to equate his patron's efforts with traditional forms of inspiration works to foreground his poetic failings, but also to implicitly critique and deflate the model that Statius proffers. Elsewhere, however, Martial plays a similar game to Statius, presenting the waters of Arruntius Stella's villa as endowed with inspirational qualities, to which the poet makes an offering:

> Nympha, mei Stellae quae fonte domestica puro
> laberis et domini gemmea tecta subis,
> siue Numae coniunx Triuiae te misit ab antris
> siue Camenarum de grege nona, ueni:
> exoluit uotis hac se tibi uirgine porca
> Marcus, furtiuam quod bibit aeger aquam.
> tu contenta meo iam crimine gaudia fontis
> da secura tui: sit mihi sana sitis. (Mart. 6.47)

Martial dedicates an offering to the nymph of Stella's pure font from which he has drunk against doctors' orders, whom he now petitions to restore him to health. But despite the theme of Martial's physical restoration (5-6; cf. *Ep.* 6.86), the nymph is clearly associated with inspirational qualities—she has either been sent from the grove of Egeria and may even be one of the Camenae[387]—thus couching Martial's recovery in poetic (and, for Merli, 'schiettamente romana') terms.[388] Martial's wish to enjoy a *sana sitis* contravenes the conventions of the mad, inspired poet who has drunk from Helicon (Hor. *Ars P.* 296-7: *excludit sanos Helicone poetas | Democritus*; cf. Hor. *Epist.* 1.19.3-4) and inspirational *furor* (*Theb.* 1.32), which are both rejected in favour of the more salubrious form of inspiration that Stella's waters now offer. Martial's praise of the inspirational waters doubles also as praise of Stella's poetic ability, which is foregrounded elsewhere in the *Epigrams*, with particular reference to Stella's collection of elegiac love poems called the *Columba* (1.7; 1.61; 6.21; 7.14).[389] An appropriate example is found in Mart. 12.2, where

[386] Fowler (1995) 52; Garthwaite (1998) 173-4.
[387] Grewing (1997) *ad loc.* thus suggests the Aqua Marcia through its association with Egeria; Merli (2013b) 67.
[388] Merli (2013b) 68.
[389] Nauta (2002) 155-59; 211-212.

Martial, instructing his book on its journey from Spain to Rome (2: *peregrine liber*), gives directions to Stella's house in the Subura, where Stella is pictured drawing his own poetic inspiration from his waters:

> laurigeros habitat facundus Stella penatis,
> clarus Hyanteae Stella sititor aquae;
> fons ibi Castalius uitreo torrente superbit,
> unde nouem dominas saepe bibisse ferunt. (Mart. 12.2.11-14)

Both poems work together to present Stella's house as a new Helicon. The patron is presented as the poet, and Martial can assimilate his own poetic identity to Stella's exemplary ability by drawing from the same font, equal to the Castalian springs, and from which the Muses also drink. We find a similar approach in Statius' epithalamium for Stella and Violentilla, whose wedding Apollo and the Muses attend (3-6).[390]

> procul ecce canoro
> demigrant Helicone deae quatiuntque nouena
> lampade sollemnem thalamis coeuntibus ignem
> et de Pieriis uocalem fontibus undam. (*Silv.* 1.2.3-6)

To conclude this section, it is important to note two similar rejections of the Muses in favour of Statius' patrons elsewhere in the *Siluae*. *Siluae* 1.4, Statius' *soterion* for the deceased Rutilius Gallicus, provides a startlingly explicit claim that he will not draw poetic inspiration from the usual sources. Nor, however, will he do so from a specific monument of Rutilius', but rather from his patron's *facundia* itself:

> Ast ego nec Phoebum, quamquam mihi surda sine illo
> plectra, nec Aonias decima cum Pallade diuas
> aut mitem Tegeae Dircesue hortabor alumnum;
> ipse ueni uiresque nouas animumque ministra
> qui caneris; docto nec enim sine numine nactus
> Ausoniae decora ampla togae centumque dedisti
> iudicium mentemque uiris. licet enthea uatis
> excludat Piplea sitim nec conscia detur
> Pirene, largos potius mihi gurges in haustus
> qui rapitur de fonte tuo, seu plana solutis
> cum struis orsa modis seu cum tibi dulcis in artem
> frangitur et nostras curat facundia leges. (19-30).

[390] Nauta (2002) 78-80; 87-90 on Stella's patronage of Martial and Statius.

Rejecting the Muses, Apollo, Minerva and Mercury, Statius identifies Rutilius (*ipse ueni*) as a divine figure of eloquence (*docto nec enim sine numine*) in rhetoric and poetry, and hence as an inspirational spring (*fonte tuo*) better equipped to inspire him than the Piplea and Pirene, from whom Statius may more profitably (*potius*) snatch deep draughts (*largos haustus*). White summarises the consequences of such a move: "it is apparent that traditional imagery connecting creativity with superhuman intervention has been redeployed to interpret the influence of powerful but human friends".[391] The social dynamics between patron and poet are framed in literary terms, but they are specifically filtered through water imagery of the sort we have thus far been navigating. The importance of Rutilius, denizen of the law courts, as a liquid source of specifically Roman eloquence (*Ausoniae decora ampla togae*), is contrasted by the etymological play on the Piplea's name and its derivation from πίπλημι ('to fill', 'quench')—even if inspired Piplea shuts out Statius' poetic thirst, Rutilius will provide a superior alternative, and Statius again displays his Greek credentials at precisely the moment that he appears to deny them. At verses 27-8 Rutilius is a Homeric Ocean, the estuary to which Statius' lesser stream flows (37: *et in oceanum riui cecidere minores*) and from which Statius draws, an image worth pausing on.[392] Statius' literary debt to Rutilius, figured in terms of water channelling, has parallels: Longinus imagines Stesichorus, Archilochus and Plato all diverting Homeric channels for their own use (*Subl.* 13.3: ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὁμηρικοῦ κείνου νάματος εἰς αὐτὸν μυρίας ὅσας παρατροπὰς ἀποχετευσάμενος).[393]

But the specific claim that it is better to snatch deep draughts (*largos haustus*) from Rutilius' fountain is not only poetic (Lucr. 1.412; Hor. *Epist.* 1.3.10), but also smacks of legal terminology:[394] the *haustus* must signify a type of legal servitude, the *aquae haustus* – the specific right that allows the holder (not necessarily the landowner) to draw fresh water on private property.[395] Vitruvius acknowledges his own

[391] White (1993) 20.
[392] For discussion see Henderson (1998), Roman (2014) 285; More recently Peirano (2019) 17-18. On Homer as a body of water from which later poetry derives, Williams (1978) 88-89; Morgan (1999) 32-39.
[393] Volk (2010).
[394] Wimmel (1960) 316-19 on *haustus* and poetic *Kampfform*.
[395] Two types are applied to water sources: *aquae ductus*, the right to channel water, and '*haustus',* the right to draw water. Volk (2010), 'drawing' on Bannon (2009), for which further, now Bannon (2017). *Riuos* is a technical/legal

debts through a similar metaphor when he claims that writers draw on their predecessors "as though drawing water from fountains and channelling it into our own projects" (*De arch.* 7 pr. 10: *uti fontibus haurientes aquam et ad propria proposita traducentes*), and in an illuminating article Volk has identified the legalistic tone of Manilius' description of the sort of overcrowded Helicon he wishes to avoid in the proem to *Astronomica* 2, where the Muses, as Roman property-owners, are over-run by those wishing to draw water from their springs:

> omne genus rerum doctae cecinere sorores,
> omnis ad accessus Heliconos semita trita est,
> et iam confusi manant de fontibus amnes
> nec capiunt haustum turbamque ad nota ruentem (2.49-52).

Manilius will seek instead greener, untouched pastures (2.53-56 *integra quaeramus rorantis prata per herbas*), the Callimachean resonances of which have been well-accounted for.[396] But Volk's persuasive argument here is that Manilius uses legal terminology concerning water-rights as a way of framing his later discussions of poetic imitation as an act of plagiarism (*furtum*), a case of unauthorised *aquae haustus*, of which the poet himself is happily not guilty (2.57-8: *nostra loquar, nulli uatum debebimus ora | nec furtum sed opus ueniet*).[397] Shirking the burden of tradition, Manilius insists upon his own originality. Manilius' droll application of Roman legalese to the sacred fonts of Greek poetry presents a fitting parallel to Statius' own discourse of inspiration in the *Siluae,* but it also allows us to reflect on Statius' presentation of the poet-patron relationship. If we can identify a similar play on *haustus* in Statius' praise of Rutilius, then Statius, at the moment of presenting his patron as the exclusive fount of (Homeric) literary inspiration, describes his own dependence in legalistic terms that also denotes an economic subservience.

We can note, finally, a similar strategy in *Siluae* 2.2, Statius' villa poem for his patron Pollius Felix in Surrentum, to which the next chapter is devoted. After climbing a monumental porticus, which doubles

term too, denoting channels constructed to divert water from its original source: Volk (2010) 189, Bannon (2009)11-12. Virgil closes *Ecl.* 3, "one of the most openly imitative poems in the *Eclogue* book" (Farrell [1992] 65) with the suggestive *claudite iam riuos, pueri; sat prata biberunt* (111).

[396] On Manilius' 'second proem', see Volk (2002) 212-218; (2009) 201-208.

[397] Volk (2010).

as his metaphoric ascent to an inspirational place, Statius employs an elaborate synthesis of *recusatio* and the *Unsagbarkeitstopos* familiar from epic (Hom. *Il.* 2.488-492) professing his inability to enumerate the overwhelming marvels of the villa, even if he were to be granted access to all the poetic founts of Greece:

> non, mihi si cunctos Helicon indulgeat amnes
> et superet Piplea sitim largeque uolantis
> ungula se det equi reseretque arcana pudicos
> Phemonoe fontes uel quos meus auspice Phoebo
> altius immersa turbauit Pollius urna
> innumeras ualeam species cultusque locorum
> Pieriis aequare modis. (36-42)

As Vollmer surmised, Statius' use of the 'many mouths' motif seems to be a direct response to Persius, who criticises the hackneyed cliché (*Sat.* 5.1-4: *uatibus hic mos est*).[398] For Vollmer, Statius issues his challenge by capping the usual reference to *centum ora* with "innumerable streams of inspiration". Again, Statius displays his Greek erudition at the moment when he professes poetry to fail him, and the *recusatio* doubles as a tour de force of Greek etymological wordplay: *Piplea* is again glossed with a play on πίπλημι (*superet...sitim*), the Hippocrene's etymological and mythological origins are conveyed by reference to the hoof of Pegasus (*uolantis* | *ungula...equi*) and *pudicos fontes* points to Castalia's etymological relation to καθαρός.[399] Capping this illustrious list of Greek springs is Pollius' villa itself, a new Helicon, whose inspirational *urna* nonetheless cannot do justice to the grandeur of the place itself.[400] But whilst Statius' other invocations of inspiration tend to reject the traditional Greek sources in favour of the patron's pointedly Roman version, by contrast, Pollius' villa here is included within the same illustrious catalogue, underscoring both Statius' and his patron's Neapolitan Greek identity (95-6: *macte animo quod Graia probas, quod Graia frequentas* | *arua*). Importantly, Pollius is also a poet (113-15): his villa is both the source of his own inspiration, but it is also his own creation.

[398] Vollmer (1898) *ad loc.*; see above, pg. 15-16 for Hinds (1998) on this *topos.*
[399] Van Dam (1984) *ad loc.*, Newlands (2011) *ad loc.*
[400] Martelli (2009) 152 attractively suggests that the *urna* is "a fountain installed among the ornamental water features of Polllius' garden", based on pictorial representations in Roman wall paintings, thus producing a highly suitable material counterpart to the symbolic *fons* of inspiration.

4.3 Domitian, imperial inspiration and the Aqua Marcia

When Statius praises the material worlds of his patrons, he figures poetic inspiration in terms that are intimately related to the artefacts and sites he sets out to commemorate in the *Siluae*. The monuments of his patrons, in other words, cannot but give rise to monumental poems. The invocation of the aqueducts in the *Siluae* also shows how Statius can incorporate monuments of public and civic value into praise upon his patrons and to clarify his poetic project: by referencing Roman monuments, Statius is tapping into the traditional notion that affiliation with a public monument could bring continued prestige to both individual and *gens*. This will be a theme we shall pursue more closely in the following chapter.

Little has been said, however, on the political dimension of this interaction with public monuments in *Siluae* 1.3 and 1.5: in two separate accounts, Newlands can claim that "*Siluae* 1.3, as far as we know, is not connected with politics" and, of 1.5, that Etruscus' baths "function as a refuge not from politics in the abstract but from politics in the bitter experience of Claudius Etruscus' family".[401] Withdrawal and *otium* account for one aspect of these poems. But access to public water for private pleasure is a fundamentally politicised commodity, which Statius' invocations cannot avoid.[402] Traditionally within the remit of the censors, a role in which Domitian, as we have seen, was deeply invested, by the imperial period private access to aqueducts was granted only by imperial bequest, as Frontinus notes (103.2: *circa ius ducendae aquae in priuatis obseruanda sunt ne quis sine litteris Caesaris*). Access to water and the spectacular display of waters in villas, in the form of fountains, *nymphea,* and extravagant plumbing underscored the privileged status of imperial benefaction through access to aqueducts. Claudius Etruscus can boast of his baths, as can Manilius Vopiscus on his estate (46: *anhelantes...nymphas?*), and water in every bedroom of the villa, (37: *mirer an emissas per cuncta cubilia nymphas?*). Abuse of public waters was an equally persistent problem in both republican and imperial Rome: according to Pliny, the owners of villas and

[401] Newlands (1988) 96; (2002) 225.
[402] On private water access and rights in imperial Rome, Evans (1993) 452-3; Bannon (2009); Taylor (2000); Gleißer (1998) 82-4. Bruun (2003) 321-22 "most of the inscriptions that mention aqueducts...boast of benefactions", and Bruun (1995) on lead pipe stamps recording gifts of water.

suburban estates were initially motivated to take water from the city aqueducts by competition and greed (*HN* 31.42: *ambitione auaritiaque*) and corrupt *aquarii* facilitated these abuses in the imperial period, the elimination of which Frontinus took as his administrative *raison d'être* (*Aq.* 74.4, 87.2, 114).[403]

Unlike the *Strategemata*, the *De Aquis* was written under Nerva or Trajan, and Frontinus sensibly has little to say about the last Flavian emperor.[404] But as we have seen, Domitian, in his capacity as *censor perpetuus*, took his responsibilities for water-supply very seriously. For both Claudius Etruscus and Manilius Vopiscus, then, the aqueducts play a specific role: praise of the aqueducts that supply their properties specifically implies the imperial favour granted to both, and we are asked to reflect upon the relationship between emperor and patron. Aside from an inconclusive inscription (*ILS* 1044), little is known about Manilius' life,[405] but for Etruscus, such a gesture works to rehabilitate both him and his recently deceased father, whose duties as imperial *a rationibus* included the care of "*alti* | *undarum cursus*" (*Silv.* 3.3.100-1), before being exiled by Domitian in 82-3 and recalled shortly before his death: Statius' praise of the aqueducts suggests both the administrative duties Etruscus' father executed, and the consequent benefits this brought for the family.[406] More prosaically, Statius' evocation of the Aqua Marcia in both 1.3 and 1.5 must praise the imperial *ius ducendae aquae* granted by Domitian to Claudius Etruscus and Manilius Vopiscus, something that Statius can similarly boast of his own villa in Alba (3.1.62-3: *magnique ducis mihi munere currens* | *unda domi*), but that Martial, emphatically, cannot:

> Est mihi – sitque precor longum te praeside, Caesar –
> rus minimum, parui sunt et in urbe lares
> sed de ualle breui quas det sitientibus hortis
> curua laboratas antlia tollit aquas,
> sicca domus queritur nullo se rore foueri
> cum mihi uicino Marcia fonte sonet.
> quam dederis nostris, Auguste, penatibus undam,
> Castalis haec nobis aut Iouis imber erit. (*Ep.* 9.18)

[403] Taylor (2000), Bannon (2009); Peachin (2004).
[404] For the dating of *Aq.* Bruun (1991) 10; DeLaine (1995) 131.
[405] Nauta (2002) 226.
[406] Weaver (1965); Laguna (1992).

The lachrymose point Martial is making is that while there is limited access to water in his country house, there is none at all for him in Rome, despite the sound of the Marcia nearby. Given the date of *Epigrams* 9 (94 CE), an implicit poetic rivalry with Statius has been postulated, and Henriksén suggests that the granting of water to Statius' Alban estate "might have acted as a stimulus to Martial to ask for water to be supplied to his city-house".[407] Regardless of motive, Martial's request to Domitian for the *ius ducendae aquae* was evidently denied, as the absence of a subsequent epigram praising Domitian's generosity suggests, a fact that only serves to reinforce, by contrast, the privileged status of Statius and his patrons.[408] But especially important for our purposes here, Martial identifies the imperial grant with divine inspiration, and thus Domitian with Jupiter: access to imperial waters will result in imperial praise, a draft of Castalian inspiration to celebrate the emperor. *Quam undam* is richly ambiguous: we can take it to refer abstractly to the grant that Martial seeks, but given its proximity to the image of the *fons Marcia* in the previous couplet, it is difficult not to envisage a connection between the two. Martial's insistence upon the Aqua Marcia is slightly unusual; as Watson and Watson point out, Martial's townhouse was located on the Quirinal, which was serviced by two other aqueducts, the Julia and the Anio Vetus, making his choice deliberately emphatic.[409] Precisely what the *Fons Marcia* Martial refers to entails is also unclear: Rodriguez-Almeida suggested a fountain in Regio VI, and Watson envisages, rather bathetically, "a spout permanently discharging into a trough".[410]

However, following his study of the Domitianic origins of the Forum of Trajan, Tortorici argued that Martial must be referring specifically to the monumental nymphaeum that Domitian constructed, probably in the 90s and as early as 89 CE, as the new terminus to the Aqua Marcia, the so-called Terrace

[407] Henriksén (2012) discusses the date of Book 9; Coleman (1988) gives the summer of 95 CE as the *terminus ante quem* for *Siluae* 4. For Martial's *domus, Ep.* 1.108.3; 5.22.3-4; 6.27.1-2; 10.58.7 and 11.1.9. On the possible rivalry between the two poets, Hardie (1983) 57; Bonadeo (2010) 43-7.
[408] Watson and Watson (2003) 113 suggests that an originally corresponding epigram may have been excised following Domitian's assassination.
[409] Watson and Watson (2003) 114.
[410] Rodriguez-Almeida (1986) 50; Watson and Watson (2003) *ad loc.*

of Domitian.[411] Before his assassination, extensive work had been completed on what appears to have been intended as a vast new forum, including cutting back the Quirinal and levelling the surrounding area: a new forum would have linked to the Forum Transitorium and connected to the Campus Martius, where Domitian's Odeum, Stadium and Porticus Divorum now stood.[412] At the eastern end would have stood the Terrace of Domitian, standing two stories high and 26 metres wide, thus replacing the excavated space of the Quirinal.[413] This monumental fountain, directing the aqueduct away from the Capitol and to his new forum, emphasised the benevolence of Domitian's rule and his purposeful renovation of Rome, presenting him as a new *conditor* of Rome. This nymphaeum has also been interpreted as a triumphal monument, a point Kay and Longfellow both develop through reference to Mart. 11.96, a description of a fountain supplied by the Marcia, which Rodriguez-Almeida suggests must point to the same fountain as 9.18:[414]

> Marcia, non Rhenus, salit hic, Germane: quid obstas
> et puerum prohibes diuitis imbre lacus?
> barbare, non debet, summoto ciue ministro,
> captiuam uictrix unda leuare sitim.

Following such a reading, the poem would not only suggest xenophobic rumblings, but perhaps also provide a description of a sculptured frieze that depicts Domitian's German foes; the poem, as Merli suggests, "probabilmente pensato per una fontana e ispirato alle immagini che la adornavano".[415] Tortorici and Rodriquez-Almeida hold that this sculptural group would have commemorated Domitian's victories in Germany in the 80s.[416] Equally important is the monument's typology, as much as it can be putatively restored: what seems clear from Tortorici's report is that the fountain took the form of a water staircase, a type familiar mainly from domestic villa architecture, for which Longfellow gives extensive parallels. As

[411] Tortorici (1993), following Ricci's excavations under Mussolini (1924-31). For the proposed Domitianic Forum that occupies the space of the Forum Trajanum, already Ricci (1930) 181; Colini (1933) 255; Lugli (1946) 276-8; and now Bianchini and Vitti (2017) 22; I draw heavily on Longfellow's (2011) discussion of the Terrace and putative Forum, 49-60. For a recent survey of the fountain, Nocera (2018) 54-65. Royo (2015) 74 notes the possibility of a triumphal monument, which Longfellow (2011) also takes up.
[412] Longfellow (2011) 51 argues strongly for a forum. On the alterations to the Quirinal, Bianchini and Vitti (2017) 22; Meneghini (2009) 117.
[413] Nocera (2018) 54-58 provides an account of the evidence.
[414] Kay (1985) *ad loc.* 11.96, Longfellow (2011) 56, Rodriguez-Almeida (1986) 49.
[415] Merli (2013b) 10.
[416] Tortorici (1993) 22; Rodriguez-Almeida (1986) 49-50.

she goes on to note, "Domitian's gift to the public of an enormous fountain with a water staircase monumentalised and made publicly available a feature found in the houses and gardens of the Roman elites...Domitian's fountain would have seemed innovative and perhaps even shocking in its incorporation of a form heretofore reserved for domestic houses".[417] Importantly, this 'innovative' application of a patently domestic form to a public monument would have been understood as a clear reversal of Nero's Domus Aurea, which, as the following chapter will address, stood accused by Flavian culture of turning Rome into the emperor's private house. Domitian's fountain would thus provide a pointed answer to the monumental Sette Sale fountain abutting the northwest slope of the Caelian Hill.[418] Domitian's monumentalisation of the Aqua Marcia was thus symbolic of the restoration of the city to the populace, a private, domestic fountain employed as a gift to the general population. The point is considerably sweetened when the diligent attention of Domitian, the *censor perpetuus* and *poeta doctus*, to the Aqua Marcia is placed in contrast with the activities of Nero, who had swum in the spring of the Aqua Marcia, thus polluting its sacred source (Tac. *Ann.* 14.22.4: *uidebaturque potus sacros et caerimoniam loci corpore loto polluisse*)—and, consequently, the sort of poetry it might yield.

The identification of Martial's *Marcius fons* with Domitian's monumental nymphaeum is convincing, and allows a number of elements in Martial's poem to click into focus: the copious amounts of water that Martial can hear being delivered (*uicino Marcia fonte sonet*) point to a grand new terminus fountain, but more importantly, Martial's plea to draw inspiration from Domitian's fountain works to align his poetic output with Domitian's own monumental project. I would suggest that Martial's request for water is thus not literal but exclusively metaphorical, and gestures towards a *recusatio:* as Martial claims, access to the fountain's waters would provide a draft of Castalian inspiration that would yield, in return, poetic celebration of the emperor; *fons* here can stand in its metaphoric sense as the source of poetic derivation.[419] Such a reading gains further currency if Mart. 9.18 can be understood as an ecphrasis of a frieze with

[417] Longfellow (2011) 56.
[418] Longfellow (2011) 54.
[419] Hinds (1988) 5-6; 95 on *fons* as metaphor for poetic *origo*, with reference to Hor. *Ars P.* 52-3.

military themes: if Domitian's monument concerned his military conquests, then Martial's inability to access the fountain's waters constitutes an inability to praise Domitian on military (*ergo* epic) terms. Imperially-sanctioned access to water results in imperially-sanctioned poetry, and the ability to draw inspirational waters directly from a Domitianic monument suggests the identification of Domitian himself as the desired source of inspiration, which will result in imperial praise.

This allows us to draw some fresh conclusions on the relationship between the Aqua Marcia and Domitian as a source of inspiration in the *Siluae:* behind Statius' descriptions of monumental inspiration in the *Siluae* lies Domitian, not only as the supreme Flavian *poeta doctus* and provider of waters as *censor perpetuus*, but also as divine presence on earth. As Rosati has observed, the equation of emperor with Muse can be diagnosed as a developing tendency of imperial poetry, present already in Manilius (1.10: *das animum uiresque facis ad tanta canenda*), in Ovid's dedication of the *Fasti* to Germanicus (*Fast.* 1.3-6), and in Germanicus' poetry itself (*Phaen.* 1-4), who replaces Aratus' *ab Ioue principium* with his *genitor* as *maximus auctor* (*Arat.* 1-2), and reaches its climax in Flavian poetry.[420] Domitian is, ultimately, the primary source of inspiration for the *Siluae:* the emperor is the *ab Ioue principium* from which the *Siluae* will depart, and in *Siluae* 5.1, Caesar is asked to accompany Apollo to inspire Statius' dedication to Priscilla (13-15). Domitian is equated with, or can replace, the Muses as source of inspiration, and Statius' inspirational waters thus map on to the politics of poetry. Access to imperial waters is analogous to imperial poetic favour; if Martial can imagine not having access to the Aqua Marcia, or can elsewhere imagine his work being drowned by Domitian himself in a *naumachia* (Mart. 1.5), then the *Siluae* constitute a well-irrigated work of imperial praise, whose vital source is Domitian, the Callimachean *censor* and divine font of inspiration. This also works to bestow praise upon Statius' patrons, who enjoy a similar imperial *beneficium*, through which they can pursue acts of commemoration and monumentality. Prompted by Domitian's own monumentalisation of water, aqueducts, monuments and access to water combine to create

[420] Rosati (2002) 242 attractively suggests that the formulation might originate with Germanicus himself.

a prevalent motif for the poetics and politics of inspiration in the *Siluae*, in opposition to the traditional spaces of inspiration familiar from the Greek tradition.

4.4 monument and morality: Propertius and the Aqua Marcia

Let us return to Manilius Vopiscus' villa in Tibur. To summarise: Statius' evocation of Manilius' access to the Aqua Marcia at verses 66-69 is freighted with poetic meaning, presenting his patron's villa as a challenge to traditional forms of inspiration, and revealing a central dynamic of the *Siluae* that connects poetic inspiration, patronage and imperial power: the aqueduct symbolises both the political favour and the inspirational power of Domitian, which Statius and his patrons enjoy and draw upon to consolidate their own commemorative purposes—the villas and baths of the patrons, the poetry of Statius—positing a link between inspiration and monument, and between emperor, poet and patron. In turn, the villa of Manilius can stand as a monument to Domitianic Rome, a testament to the capacities and benevolence of the emperor. But there is also a moral complication to be reckoned with here. From one angle, Manilius' villa is symbolic of unrepentant *luxuria*, an indulgent act of artifice that contravenes the laws of nature. Statius tells us of golden roof beams, citron wood door posts and gleaming marbles (35-7), and of copious artworks (48-51); wherever he turns, he cannot but walk on riches (53: *calcabam necopinus opes*). More problematically, there is a persistent confusion of the boundary between art and nature, evident in Statius' description of the villa's landscape:

> ingenium quam mite solo, quae forma beatis
> ante manus artemque locis! non largius usquam
> indulsit natura sibi. nemora alta citatis
> incubuere uadis; fallax responsat imago
> frondibus et longas eadem fugit umbra per undas. (15-19)

Whilst *natura* is presented, in strikingly Ovidian terms, as a master *artifex*, endowed with creative *ingenium* (cf. Ov. *Met.* 3.157-8: *simulauerat artem* | *ingenio natura suo*), the villa itself is figured as a natural phenomenon; its expansive floors are described as 'painted earth', delighting in its various artifices (55-6: *uarias ubi picta per artes* | *gaudet humus*). This confusion between *ars* and *natura* reflects the traditions of

moralising discourse against *luxuria* and *aedificatio*; as Myers notes, "the ornamental features of these pleasure gardens that Statius singles out are often precisely those that one finds condemned in the moralistic writings of Pliny the Elder and Seneca as unnatural perversions of nature".[421] Newlands has examined Statius' interaction with the traditions of Roman moralising rhetoric extensively, and we shall address this issue more directly in the following chapter, although it remains beyond the remit of this thesis to provide a complete account.[422]

But there is a specific link between poetic monumentality, inspiration and *luxuria* which is pertinent to our discussion, and one in which the Aqua Marcia plays a central role: our focus here is on a Propertius poem – 3.2 – that anticipates Statius and Pliny in exploring similar issues, and has direct bearing on *Siluae* 1.3. In 3.2, Propertius sets up a contrast between the image of a luxury villa and a series of famous monuments, and his own diminutive poetic project, which nonetheless, Propertius claims, has strong purchase on literary immortality. After signalling his return to elegiac themes (3.2.1-11), the poet then provides an image of the luxury villa, to which his poetry will certainly not be analogous:

> quod non Taenariis domus est mihi fulta columnis
> nec camera auratas inter eburna trabes,
> nec mea Phaeacas aequant pomaria siluas,
> non operosa rigat Marcius antra liquor;
> at Musae comites et carmina cara legenti,
> nec defessa choris Calliopea meis.
> fortunata, meo si qua es celebrata libello!
> carmina erunt formae tot monumenta tuae. (11-18)

Propertius goes on to oppose this image of the luxury villa with his own version of the poetic *monumentum* to which he lays claim at verse 18 (*carmina erunt formae tot monumenta tuae*). The conclusion of the poem is that Propertius' poetic *ingenium* will provide him the immortality he has already claimed in 3.1, in competition with the epic tradition (cf. 3.1.21-24; 33-38):

> nam neque pyramidum sumptus ad sidera ducti
> nec Iouis Elei caelum imitata domus

[421] Myers (2005) 107.
[422] Newlands (2002a) 119-153.

nec Mausolei diues fortuna sepulcri
mortis ab extrema condicione uacant.
aut illis flamma aut imber subducet honores,
annorum aut tacito pondere uicta ruent.
at non ingenio quaesitum nomen ab aeuo
excidet: ingenio stat sine morte decus. (19-26)

Scholarship has noted the agonistic relationship with Horace's *Carmina* 1-3 that the opening poems of Propertius' third book initiates, a theme particularly dominant in 3.2, and as Miller puts it in his instructive reading, "of the numerous Horatian echoes that scholars have discovered or alleged in Propertius' third book—his 'response' to *Odes* 1-3—the fullest and perhaps surest are those in 3.2".[423] Clearly evident is the poem's reworking of Horace *Carm.* 3.30: Propertius sets up a similar contrast between the pyramids (Hor. *Carm.* 3.30.2), and emphasises the durability of his poetry against the corrosive effects of rain (Hor. *Carm.* 3.30.3 *imber edax*) and time (3.30.5 *annorum series*). Against the instability of physical monuments, Propertius' poetic *ingenium* will never perish; this in turn will monumentalise his *puella* (18: *fortunata, meo si qua es celebrata libello*), who is interchangeable, at any rate, with Propertius' literary output.[424] Propertius thus frames his third book as a direct counterpart and challenge to Horace's own poetic *monumentum,* capped by the poet's claim to *tot monumenta*.

Importantly, Propertius combines the image of competing forms of monumentality of *Carm.* 3.30 with another Horatian image, the luxury villa, modelled specifically on the opening of Horace *Carm.* 2.18, where Horace rejects its ostentatious form and material (1-2: *non <u>ebur</u> neque <u>aureum</u> | mea renidet in domo lacunar*) in favour of the simplicity of his Sabine farm (14: *satis beatus unicis Sabinis*), a theme repeated at the end of the first Roman ode, in which Horace again contrasts the luxury villa with his estate (3.1.46-7: *cur ualle permutem Sabina | diuitias operosiores?*). The implications are poetical: for Harrison, Horace's rejection of large-scale domestic wealth in favour of the modesty of his Sabine estate doubles "as symbolic rejection of large-scale poetry", contrasted by the modesty of the Sabine estate; Propertius goes one step

[423] Miller (1983) 289. For the connection between Horace and Propertius here, see also Solmsen (1948); Nethercut (1970); Sullivan (1976).
[424] For the conceit of the *puella* as poem Wyke (1987); Sharrock (1991); see below, pg. 244-253.

further, and contrasts domestic extravagance directly with the modesty of his own diminutive *libellus*.[425] Miller similarly notes how "the victory of Propertian elegy over splendid commemorative buildings is parallel to the preference for Propertian elegy over the riches of a grand residence".[426] For Propertius, the villa is included in the conventional list of monuments that function as a foil for the poet's claim to literary monumentality. Propertius uses traditional Roman moralising rhetoric against *aedificatio* as Horace develops it, but distils it into a poetic symbol of (Horatian) monumentality, which he rejects as antithetical to his own project: even Horace's lyric *monumentum aere perennius* is too much for Propertius, who has neither a grandiose villa nor a grandiose metaphorical monument poem.

The parallels between Propertius 3.2 and Horace are extensive, and Miller's exacting observations are instructive. But the divergences are equally illuminating, for Propertius replaces Horace's more generalising descriptions in *Carm.* 2.18 and 3.1 with two specific images: the idealised gardens of Alcinous (Hom. *Od.* 7.112-32), and artificial grottoes (*operosa antra*) irrigated specifically by the Aqua Marcia. These deviations are important to mark, for they are all elements which are clearly reprised in *Siluae* 1.3, and which we can map out:

> quid primum mediumue canam, quo fine quiescam?
> auratasne trabes an Mauros undique postes
> an picturata lucentia marmora uena
> mirer an emissas per cuncta cubilia nymphas? (34-7)
>
> teque**,** per obliquum penitus quae laberis amnem
> Marcia... (66-7)
>
> quid bifera Alcinoi laudem pomaria uosque,
> qui numquam uacui prodistis in aethera, rami? (81-2)

Putnam recognises that the parallels are more than coincidental: "Statius is most likely thinking of Prop. 3.2.12 where mention of *auratas trabes* is followed by reference to *Phaeacas ... pomaria siluas* (cf. *Silv*.

[425] Harrison (2007) 112-13, comparing with Archilochus fr. 19 West.
[426] Miller (1983) 297.

1.3.81) and *Marcius liquor* (cf. 66–70)",[427] and it is important to read Statius' praise with both Propertius and Horace in mind: where Propertius synthesised Horace's moralising rhetoric with an architectural symbol of poetic monumentality, Statius deploys it directly into his panegyric description of his patron's villa, thus simultaneously associating the villa with his own poetic monument as well as reconfiguring the negative connotations of luxury inherent in both Horace and Propertius. The result is that Manilius' villa stands not only as a provocative example of transgressive *luxuria*, transfigured here into an object of praise, but also, and just as importantly, as a riposte to the form of poetics and poetic monumentality that Propertius rejects

Within this context, particularly crucial is Propertius' refusal of an *antrum* irrigated by the Marcia (14: *non operosa rigat Marcius antra liquor*). Propertius' claim is invariably read as a response to the artificial grottoes and *nymphaea* that were part of the repertoire of the imperial villa, typically the result of a combination of the villa's natural site and the *aedificator'*s intervention; as Grimal puts it, the phenomenon "nait des instant où l'artifice se mêle à la nature et la compose", and the artificial *antrum* encapsulates the boundary between *ars* and *natura* which was consistently blurred in the design of villas, which Propertius here abhors and which Statius celebrates;[428] the most comprehensive study of the artificial grotto in Roman culture, Henri Lavagne's *Operosa Antra, Recherches sur la grotte à Rome de Sylla à Hadrien,* tellingly takes its title from Propertius' poem.[429]

But the grotto that Propertius wishes to reject is also indicative of the traditions of inspiration; as Lavagne states, Propertius "les (sc. *operosa antra*) juge par rapport a leur pouvoir d'inspiration et par

[427] Putnam (2019)
[428] Grimal (1943) 66. See also the earlier treatments of Luck (1957); Harmon (1979); Hubbard (1974) 79-80, and Scioli (2015).
[429] Lavagne (1988). cf. Juv. *Sat.* 3, Juvenal's narrator complains about the artifice that the Grove of Egeria has been subjected to (17-18: *speluncas | dissimiles veris*), its numinous quality violated by the introduction of marble (18-20: *quanto praesentius esset numen aquis...nec ingenuum violarent marmora tofum*). A. Hardie (1998) 237-8; cf. Ap. Sid. Apoll. *Carm.* 24.65-8, and Longus 1.1, where it is not the natural beauty of the Nymphaeum on Lesbos (θέαμα εἶδον κάλλιστον ὧν εἶδον), but the more beautiful image (ἀλλ᾽ ἡ γραφὴ τερπνοτέρα) that is placed within it that inspires Longus' narrative response (ἰδόντα με καὶ θαυμάσαντα πόθος ἔσχεν ἀντιγράψαι τῇ γραφῇ), typifying a tension between art and nature.

rapport au retentissement poétique qu'ils peuvent éveiller en lui".[430] Evidence for such scenes of inspiration in *antra* is readily available in Latin poetry: in Virgil's *Eclogue* 6 Silenus sings of Gallus' inspiration *in antro* (13), and in Horace 3.25 the poet goes to a Bacchic cave to renew his inspiration (2: *specus;* 4: *antris*); in *Amores* 3.1 Ovid encounters his famous personifications of elegy and tragedy in a cave (3: *spelunca...pumice pendens*).[431] Propertius' condemnation of the *antra operosa* accordingly establishes a contrast between the true inspiration to which the *ingenium* of the authentic poet has access, and the sort of poetry to which such artificial imitations can only give rise. Propertius' rejection of the *operosa antra* as a source of poetic inspiration is rendered particularly poignant by his insistence upon the Muses' favour in the following couplet (*at Musae comites et carmina cara legenti | nec defessa choris Calliopea meis*), an image that works to recall Hesiod's Muses dancing on Helicon (*Theog.* 3-7).

Within this context of inspiration, the *operosa antra* that Propertius rejects looks back to the opening of Propertius 3.1, in which the poet petitions his elegiac predecessors Philitas and Callimachus for initiation in their sacred grotto and to drink from their waters (1-4: *Callimachi Manes et Coi sacra Philitae | in uestrum, quaeso, me sinite ire nemus... dicite, quo pariter carmen tenuastis in antro | quoue pede ingressi? quamue bibistis aquam*?),[432] but must also look forward to 3.3, and to the *spelunca* of line 27, where Propertius aborts his version of the Hesiodic *Dichterweihe,* upon the advice of Apollo, in favour of another inspirational grotto, which ironically has been enhanced by mosaic work (*affixis lapillis*), a term that, as Lavagne demonstrates, suggests the small stones or pebbles affixed to the surface of an artificial cave to mimic its natural appearance, (27-28: *Hic erat affixis uiridis spelunca lapillis | pendebantque cauis tympana pumicibus*).[433] If 3.1 and 3.2 create a juxtaposition between the true cave of poetic inspiration and its cheap imitation in the villas of the Roman elite, 3.3 would seem to collapse this distinction, and the opening triad poems in Propertius 3 creates a network of inspirational spaces that flit between the poetic

[430] Lavagne (1988) 501.
[431] Cairns (2006) 126-40 explores the possible influence of Gallus on cave-initiation scenes.
[432] cf. Harmon (1979) 328-29 sees a moralising irony between the two caves, with Propertius contrasting the "pretenses" of the "wealthy intelligentsia" with the true ingenium of the poet; cf. Scioli (2015) 149-157.
[433] Lavagne (1988) 273-5.

and the architectural, the natural and the artificial, but also between the private, Callimachean poetry (3.1), and the grand martial epic that Propertius very nearly attempts in 3.3.

Statius in *Siluae* 1.3 not only reprises the moralising imagery that Propertius works to reject as objects of praise, but also reflects upon the sort of poetry that such resources can produce. But why does Propertius specify the Marcia as the source of the waters of *operosa antra*? Elsewhere in Book 3 Propertius alludes to the monumental significance of the aqueduct in his *laudes Italiae* (3.22.24 *aeternum Marcius umor opus*). The Marcia was renovated by Agrippa in 33 BC, and Augustus claims in the *Res Gestae* to have augmented the aqueduct's supply (*RG* 12.1-2: *aquam quae Marcia appellatur duplicaui, fonte nouo in riuum eius immisso*; cf. Frontin. *Aq.* 12.1-2); Julius Caesar boasted descent from the Marcii Reges (Suet. *Jul*. 6.1), and L. Marcius Philippus (cos. 56 BC) was married to the mother of the princeps (Suet. *Aug*. 8.3). The Marcia, in other words, could be parsed in terms of both national and imperial monumentality, themes to which the poetry of Propertius is antithetical. We can read Propertius' image of an artificial grove irrigated by the Aqua Marcia as synonymous with imperial panegyric, an early instance of the sort of associations of imperial inspiration that we have been tracking thus far.

4.5 Manilius' *Dichterlandschaft:* patron as poet, poet as patron

The importance of the Aqua Marcia as a figure for poetic inspiration prompts us to parse other elements of Manilius' villa in similar terms, and it quickly becomes clear that it is not just the Aqua Marcia that can stand as a symbolic source of inspiration, but Manilius' entire villa; the remainder of this chapter is devoted to mapping out this inspirational landscape. Newlands reads Statius' evocation of the estate as an updated imperial version of the pastoral *locus amoenus*, expanded to accommodate the artifice and luxury of the imperial villa; the comparison between the Arethusa and Aqua Marcia represents just one of many ways in

which this negotiation between Statius' praise and the pastoral tradition takes place.[434] The constituent elements of the traditional *locus amoenus* predominate the poem's introduction: the proverbial cool (1: *Tibur glaciale:* 7-8: *talis hiems tectis, frangunt sic improba solem | frigora*), for which Tibur was famous (Hor. *Carm.* 1.7.20-1: *densa Tiburis | umbra*), a stream in near proximity (2: *inserto...Aniene*), protection from the summer heat (5: *illum nec calido latrauit Sirius astro*), and the lofty grove (17: *nemora alta*), where a poet may conventionally seek inspiration:[435]

> Cernere facundi Tibur glaciale Vopisci
> siquis et inserto geminos Aniene penates
> aut potuit sociae commercia noscere ripae
> certantesque sibi dominum defendere uillas,
> illum nec calido latrauit Sirius astro
> nec grauis aspexit Nemeae frondentis alumnus
> talis hiems tectis, frangunt sic improba solem
> frigora, Pisaeumque domus non aestuat annum. (1-8)

Newlands emphasises Statius' appropriation of pastoral poetry as the primary genre of the sacro-idyllic literary landscape; equally important, as Hoffer observes of Pliny's villa descriptions, are motifs associated with the Golden Age,[436] and we can also add the epic gardens of Alcinous in the *Odyssey*, with woods, streams, shade, ever-flowing water, a benign climate and meadows (Hom. *Od.* 7.112-32), with which Martial contrasts his villa in Bilbilis and Statius explicitly references as inferior to the villa of Manilius (81-2).[437] But given the later associations of Manilius' villa with the famed gardens of Epicurus (93-4), that Voluptas is suggested as the villa's designer (9: *ipsa manu tenera tecum scripsisse Voluptas*),[438] and the prominence of Epicurean *ataraxia* throughout the poem (22: *placidus*; 29: *aeterna quies*; 41: *tota quies*: 91: *fecunda quies*), the *locus amoenus* as the ideal space for philosophical discourse (Cic. *De or.* 1.28; *Fin.*

[434] Newlands (2002a) 130-133; 138-153.
[435] Curtius (1953) 195 remains the instructive account of the *locus amoenus.*
[436] Hoffer (1999) 34, noting Pliny's associations of his Laurentine villa with eternal spring (Plin. *Ep.* 2.17.3 *verna semper*, cf. *Ep.* 2.17-6-8, 12-13, 17-19) which recall Ovid's Golden Age (*Met.* 1.107) and the Elysian Fields (Hom. *Od.* 4.566-68; Pind. *Ol.* 2.61-2).
[437] cf. Mart. 12.31 with Watson and Watson (2003) 134-6; Marshall (2009) on the connection between Homeric scholia and (anti-)epicurean moralising; see above, Chapter 3.
[438] Although Slater (1908) 153 suggests *ipsa manu tenera* (*tantum scripsisse uoluptas*), citing *Silv.* 2.1.188 and *Silv.* 5. *pr*. for infinitives with *uoluptas.*

2.107) is pertinent. Of consequent importance here is Lucretius' description of the *locus amoenus* in Book 2 (Lucr. 2.29-30: *natura gramine molli | propter aquae riuum sub ramis arboris altae*) which is deployed to contrast the negative effects of luxury and artifice with the unconditional pleasure found in nature (2.23: *neque natura ipsa requirit*), a contrast which Statius collapses in his praise of Manilius' estate.[439]

The original model for the philosophical *locus amoenus* is Plato's *Phaedrus* (229b-230d), which played a central role in later Hellenistic formulations, and particularly in pastoral poetry.[440] Importantly, the *Phaedrus* establishes a link between *locus amoenus* and inspiration: Socrates, struck by the beauty of the scenery around the River Ilissos, delivers a short speech in praise of the *locus amoenus* (230b-c), and then directly invoke the Muses (237a7-8), warning of the possibility of becoming *nympholêptos*, which will cause him to break out in dithyrambs (Plat. *Phdr*. 238d).[441] This inspirational quality of the *Phaedrus' locus amoenus* forms the basis of Hellenistic (and Roman) pastoral: in Theocritus' *Idyll* 7, the urban poet Simichidas is inspired by the *locus amoenus* to describe, in highly idealised terms, his rustic surroundings, including trees, a stream and a grotto of the Nymphs, whom Simichidas has already acknowledged as his inspirational source (91-2: πολλὰ μὲν ἄλλα Νύμφαι κὴμὲ δίδαξαν):[442]

> πολλαὶ δ' ἄμμιν ὕπερθε κατὰ κρατὸς δονέοντο
> αἴγειροι πτελέαι τε· τὸ δ' ἐγγύθεν ἱερὸν ὕδωρ
> Νυμφᾶν ἐξ ἄντροιο κατειβόμενον κελάρυζε. (135-7)

If Newlands is correct in reading *Siluae* 1.3 as a conscious engagement with the traditions of the pastoral *locus amoenus*, then her observations must be extended and refined by noting the inspirational qualities such a landscape must possess. Although Statius does present Manilius' villa as an inspirational *locus amoenus*, it is, as we have seen, one circumscribed by artifice and pressed into the service of domestic

[439] Further Epicurean games are present in the opening lines and throughout the poem: *cernere...aut potuit noscere* must allude to Epicurean epistemology (esp. Lucr. 4.384-86, 462-68): Konstan (2008) 32-4 on the nuances of *cernere* and *noscere*; cf. Virg. *Ecl*. 2.490–94; Statius' description of the "false reflection" (18: *fallax imago*) inverts the Epicurean implications of Ov. *Met.* 3.463 (*Sensi, nec me mea fallit imago*) and Virgil *Ecl.* 2.27 (*si numquam fallit imago*) (viz. Lucr. 4.98-101); Traina (1986); Hardie (2002) 150 ff.
[440] Murley (1940), Trapp (1990) provide helpful overviews.
[441] Connor (1988) 158-161; Pache (2011).
[442] Fantuzzi and Hunter (2004) 143-52; Pearce (1988) 209-304.

luxuria. Statius' ecphrastic representation of the villa also provides an additional layer of artifice to this interplay between *natura* and *ars*, for the *locus amoenus* itself constitutes not an undefiled natural landscape, but a hackneyed and thoroughly artificial literary convention: Horace includes the *locus amoenus* as an example of a *purpureus pannus* (*Ars P.* 17: *et properantis aquae per amoenos ambitus agros*) and Persius bemoans poets (*artifices*) incapable of even representing a grove (*Sat.* 1.70-1 *nec ponere lucum | artifices*).[443] This codified literary idealisation of landscape in turn informed the design of villa gardens and their landscapes, shaped to recreate the landscapes of poetry. Juvenal gestures towards this obfuscation between overworked literary landscapes and the realities of the domestic spaces in *Satire* 1, when he claims that he now knows the groves of Mars and the *antra* of Aeolus and Vulcan better than most know their own houses (7-9: *nota magis nulli domus est sua quam mihi lucus | Martis et Aeoliis uicinum rupibus antrum Vulcani*), before declaring that these are the sorts of themes recited at the house of Fronto (12-13: *Frontonis platani conuolsaque marmora clamant | semper et adsiduo ruptae lectore columnae*).[444]

Importantly, as we have seen above, the realisation of a *locus amoenus* within the artificial boundaries of the villa could be taken as a space for literary inspiration, and engender literary descriptions of the space itself. Whilst Quintilian argues that such spaces only prove a distraction to literary production (*Inst.* 10.3.22-24), owners could present their villas as inspirational spaces superior to the traditional forms found in nature. The *Elegiae in Maecenatem* praises Maecenas for rejecting ambition in favour of "the shady oak and the falling waters" (33: *maluit umbrosam quercum nymphasque cadentes*) and "cultivating Apollo and the Muses in his luxurious gardens" (35: *Pieridas Phoebumque colens in mollibus hortis*).[445] Much can be gleaned also from Cicero: throughout his letters, Cicero's villas are presented as *loci amoeni,* with emphasis on *amoenitas* (Cic. *Att.* 16.3.4; 4.81; 14.13.1), and thus as ideal spaces for literary composition (*Att.* 2.4.3; 2.6.1).[446] In *De Legibus* 2, whilst Atticus' praise of the speakers' location by the

[443] On the artificiality of the *locus amoenus* already in Plato's *Phaedrus*, Thesleff (1967).
[444] Henderson (1995); T. Catius Fronto, *cos.* 96? So Gérard (1976) 67 n. 4, 458.
[445] Myers (2005).
[446] D'Arms (1970) 55-61; Myers (2005).

river Fibrenus looks back explicitly to Socrates' evocation of the Ilissos in the *Phaedrus* (2.6: *quod in Phaedro Platonis facit Socrates*), Cicero and Quintus respond by praising the beauty of Atticus' own estate in Epirus, and particularly his shrine to Amaltheia (2.7: *caue enim putes Attici nostri Amalthio platanisque illis quicquam esse praeclarius*); Cicero writes in the *ad Atticum* that the Amaltheum is adorned with poems written by the likes of Thyillus and Archias, most likely accompanying busts (1.16.15; Cornelius Nepos mentions Latin inscriptions in *Att.* 18.5.6), and that such a place might engender poetry about the place itself:

> uelim ad me scribas cuius modi sit Ἀμαλθεῖον tuum, quo ornatu, qua τοποθεσία, et, quae poemata quasque historias de Ἀμαλθείαι habes, ad me mittas. libet mihi facere in Arpinati. ego tibi aliquid de meis scriptis mittam. nihil erat absoluti. (*Ad Att.* 1.16.18)

It is not an accurate description that Cicero asks for, but *poemata* and *historiae* that might inform his own designs in Arpinum; literature is figured as a design tool, intended to aid a construction that in turn aspires to literary ideals and even to evoke literary responses; Lavagne points out that Atticus is "le véritable *auctor* du projet", pointing towards the interchangeability between poetic and architectural structure.[447]

Pliny's *Epistles* provide further evidence for the inspirational qualities of the villa as a *locus amoenus*. The *Epistles* make constant recourse to the connection between literature and villa (e.g., 1.9, 1.22, 4.1, 9.36, 9.40), and as Hindermann suggests, Pliny represents his villas specifically as a *locus amoenus* situating the creation of his literary works in spaces that allude to the traditions of inspiration and which, in turn, produce literary works.[448] In 1.9, Pliny evokes his Laurentine villa as his Mouseion (1.9.6-7: *o mare, o litus, uerum secretumque* μουσεῖον, *quam multa inuenitis, quam multa dictatis!*) identifying the shorefront landscape as the place where *otium* can be acquired, where the production of excellent literary works can take place. The landscape that Pliny describes is both a source of spontaneous and effortless rhetorical

[447] Moore (1906); Lavagne (1988) 260.
[448] Hindermann (2009) 227: "Plinius schafft sich mit seinem realen locus amoenus, seinen Villen, gleichzeitig einen Denkgarten, einen rhetorischen locus, indem er mittels seiner Umgebung dem Lesepublikum sein Selbstverständnis als Schriftsteller verdeutlicht."

inuentio, but also also becomes the subject of Pliny's literary production itself.[449] But the evocation of the Mouseion, the traditional sanctuary of the Muses and site of inspiration, is not just metaphorical or symbolic, but must also reflect a specific building-form in villa design, and the villa's tendency to confuse *ars* with *natura*: Varro similarly describes a *mouseion* in his villa in Casinum (*Rust.* 3.5.9: *ubi confluit altera amnis, ad summum flumen, ubi est musaeum*) and the Elder Pliny describes the use of pumice in *musaea*, which hangs "in order to give the artificial imitation of a cave" (*HN* 36.154: *quae musaea uocant, dependentia ad imaginem specus arte reddendam*).[450]

Statius' presentation of Manilius' villa as a *locus amoenus* taps into the deep associations with inspiration that such descriptions could convey, and provides another place to observe the interaction between nature and artifice in the villa poems. But who is the primary recipient of this inspiration? One obvious answer is Statius, whose poem testifies to the villa's inspirational powers: the traditions of inspiration also work to underscore the spontaneous, *ex tempore* quality that Statius likes to claim for his poetry (Pl. *Phdr.* 237a7-8; Quint. *Inst.* 10.3.18).[451] But the status of Manilius, whom Statius in the poem primarily endeavours to present as an inspired poet, is also worth consideration. In the *praefatio* to Book 1, Manilius is praised as a literary figure dedicated to the creation and preservation of literature (24-5: *uir eruditissimus et qui praecipue uindicat a situ litteras iam paene fugientes*), and towards the end of 1.3, Statius attests to his patron's ability in a wide variety of genres:

> hic tua Tiburtes Faunos chelys et iuuat ipsum
> Alciden dictumque lyra maiore Catillum
> seu tibi Pindaricus animus contendere plectris
> siue chelyn tollas heroa ad robora siue
> liuentem saturam nigra rubigine turbes
> seu *tua non alia* splendescat epistula cura[452]. (99-104)

[449] Manolaraki (2008).
[450] On the *specus* between nature and artifice in Pliny, Carey (2003) 137.
[451] A. Hardie (1983) 145. Yunis (2011) 112 on *Phdr.* 237a7-8: "invoking the Muses is dramatically apt since S. disclaims skill, is improvising on the spot...and relies on inspiration"; all of which, *mutatis mutandis,* applies to Statius' presentation of the *Siluae.*
[452] See Courtney (1968) 52 for the problems with line 104 '*seu tua non alia cura*' transmitted by *M.* Courtney suggests *Venusina tua,* which would make explicit an allusion to Horace. See also Eden (1993) 95; Marshall (2008).

Vopiscus, we are told, writes lyric, epic, satire and epistles. The patron is thus the poet, and it is not Statius but Manilius who draws inspiration from the villa's landscape. The villa, in other words, constitutes Manilius' *Dichterlandschaft*, a landscape in which the traditional *topoi* of inspiration and the abstracted inspirational qualities of the *locus amoenus* are mapped onto a highly personalised landscape of the patron's own creation.[453] A passage that proves instructive for such a reading occurs in the opening description of the estate's landscape, where Statius pictures the River Anio, reduced from a torrent (*hic tumidam rabiem*) to a beauty born of murmuring sound (*saxosaque...| ponit*) within the boundaries of Manilius' estate, providing the conditions for Manilius to fall into a poetic slumber:

> ipse Anien (miranda fides), infraque superque
> spumeus, hic tumidam rabiem saxosaque ponit
> murmura, ceu placidi ueritus turbare Vopisci
> Pieriosque dies et habentes carmina somnos. (20-23)

Manilius' waterside somnolence is repeated later in the poem (42: *pigros mutantia murmura somnos*), but here it is qualified by specific reference to the Muses (*Pieriosque*), denoting a connection between poetry, water and sleep. The image of sleep aligns Statius' patron with the traditions of the Hesiodic *Dichterweihe,* and with the conceit of dream-inspiration next to a body of water. Hesiod's *Theogony* famously commences with the poet's encounter with the Muses by the Hippocrene (and Permessus and Olmeus) on Mt Helicon (1-34). Later epigrammatists (*Anth. Pal* 7.55, 9.64, 11.24) made the causal connection between Muse and water for Hesiod's inspiration explicit; Statius' specific reference to *dies* suggests a learned allusion to interpretations of the Hesiodic episode that suggest it occurred during the day (cf. *AP* 9.64.1-2 [μεσημβρινός]).[454] Reference to the Hesiodic dream also necessarily invokes an association with Callimachus, whose 'great and widely known dream' (*AP*. 7.42.1: μέγα Βαττιάδαο σοφοῦ περίπυστον ὄνειαρ) imitated the scene early in the *Aetia* (fr. 2 Pf.) and accordingly provided the model for Latin poets'

[453] My reading here owes much to Troxler-Keller (1964), who argues that Horace applies the *topoi* of poetic inspiration to specifically Italian environs. Cf. Leach (1993) and Schmidt (1997).
[454] On midday as the appropriate time for the *Dichterweihe,* Papanghelis (1989). cf. Pl. *Phdr.* 242a; Paus. 9.23.2; 9.30.10.

use of the motif (Enn. *Ann.* 1.1-2 Sk.; Prop. 2.10, 13; 3.1. 3.3), strengthened, no doubt, by Callimachus' use of water as a poetological symbol (*Hymn* 2.111-112).[455]

The implications of the link between the Anio and Manilius' dream are clear: the Hesiodic-Callimachean Helicon is transported to Manilius' Tibur, and the villa's landscape establishes strong associations with the inspirational landscape of poetry. A further implication of Manilius' *Dichterweihe* is its potent symbolism of poetic inheritance and succession, filtered through its Ennian variation in the *Annales* and its Pythagorean associations with metempsychosis, which had allowed Ennius, in his account of his vision of Homer, to lay direct claim to the Greek poet's soul.[456] Propertius, in *Elegies* 3.1 (a poem to which we shall return shortly) similarly figures his *Dichterweihe* in explicit terms of literary inheritance (3.3.6: *unde pater sitiens Ennius ante bibit*), suggesting a continuation of the *Annales*.

Statius thus places Manilius within the long tradition of inspired poets, who draws inspiration not from the traditional springs of Greek poetry but from his villa; Statius can reject the traditions of poetic inspiration in favour of the benefits provided by his patron's material circumstances. Importantly, it is very likely that Manilius' villa in Tibur was not a country retreat but his permanent residence.[457] The relationship between inspirational landscape and the poet-patron that Statius presents thus develops into a more pointed figure of praise, and insinuates the abiding connection between poetic *ingenium* and the topography of a poet's homeland: Horace's praise of his Bandusian Spring (*Carm.* 3.13), and the promise of immortal fame for his spring (13: *fies nobilium tu quoque fontium*), and Ovid's praise of *aquosus* Sulmo (*Am.* 2.1.1; 2.17; 3.15.11), both point to the poet's affirmation of the waters of their place of origin as the source of their

[455] Schol. Flor. *ad Aet.* 1 fr. 2: ὡς κ]ατ᾽ ὄναρ σ(υμ)μείξας ταῖς Μούσ[αις ἐν Ἑλι]κ ῶνι. Drinking from the Hippocrene is the image Callimachus employs to signal his appropriation of Hesiod; cf. Fantuzzi and Hunter (2004) 7, but see Crowther (1979) and Cameron (1995) 363-366 for scepticism about Callimachus' water-drinking.
[456] Skutsch (1985) 147-67. Hor. *Epist.* 2.1.50–52; the scholiast on Pers. 6.10–11; the scholiast on Stat. *Theb*. 3.484; Ov. *Met*. 15.160–172. Reitzenstein (1906) 152 analyses Propertius's evocation of Philetas and Callimachus in 3.1.1-6 through traditions of *Totenbeschwörung*, to which Luck (1957) adds Prop. 4.1.106 *umbraue quae magicis mortua prodit aquis.*
[457] Going on the inscription mentioned above (*ILS* 1044), which points to intergenerational interests at Tibur; cf. Syme (1982): 246-47; Cancik (1978) 119-20; Nauta (2002) 226.

poetic creativity, which the poet now commemorates.[458] In a remarkable passage in *Siluae* 2.7, Statius praises Lucan's birthplace with particular focus on the Baetis, the greatest river of Baetica:

> attollat refluos in astra fontes
> Graio nobilior Melete Baetis;
> Baetim, Mantua, prouocare noli. (33-35)

The conventional *adynaton* is twisted into a symbol of catasterism and thus immortality, and Lucan's poetry will surpass Homer, represented by the Smyrnean Meles, and Virgil. Poet, poetic work, and native waters are rendered indistinguishable, and the source of inspiration here is presented as the means by which Lucan will be commemorated and immortalised. In *Siluae* 1.3, Statius' poetry similarly aims at the immortalisation of the inspirational qualities of Manilius' villa, emphasising Statius' achievement and capacity as a poet, but also underscoring the poetic identity and achievement of Manilius.

Two poets, then, are present, in *Siluae* 1.3: on the one hand, Statius remains the poet of the poem itself, the creator of the poetic villa that we experience in the *Siluae*, whose ecphrastic evocation strives and struggles to match the wonders of Manilius' estate. But Manilius is equally represented as a poet inspired by his own created landscape, and it is Manilius who is situated in relation to the traditions of poetic inspiration, not Statius. The creation of poetry is both a product of, and synonymous with, the creation of the villa and its landscape, and the villa is presented as Manilius' poetic accomplishment as much as his architectural achievement. We can note a similar strategy in *Siluae* 2.2, addressed to Pollius Felix, a poet (113-15) whom Statius compares to the poet-builders Orpheus and Amphion, following a description of Pollius' efforts to tame his villa's surroundings:

> iam Methymnaei uatis manus et chelys una
> Thebais et Getici cedat tibi gloria plectri;
> et tu saxa moues, et te nemora alta sequuntur. (2.2.60-62)

There is an affinity between poet and patron in Statius' villa poems, a constructive rivalry that allows Statius to place the creation of poetry alongside the creation of the villa itself; as Myers suggests, Statius' "literary

[458] Morgan (2009).

portraits of estates vie in artistry with the actual physical structures they describe and highlight the importance of literature as a form of memorialization".[459] But it is possible to go further than this, and read the presentation of Statius' patrons as suitable doubles for Statius himself, analogues through which he can enact the poetics of the *Siluae* and chart his own literary inheritance: Manilius' *Dichterweihe* reflects upon Statius' own poetic enterprise, and Pollius' (poetic) construction of his villa serves to reinforce Statius' own efforts. The dynamics of interchangeability between poet and patron are complicated, the waters of inspiration muddied. From one angle, Statius is modelling himself on his patrons, and his literary creation of villa and landscape is analogous to both the patron's creation of the villa and the literary creations that they produce there. From another angle however, Statius models his patrons on himself, and presents them as internal representations of the poetic creation Statius is undertaking. If Statius draws inspiration from the poetic landscapes of his patrons, then the opposite might equally hold true, and the patrons are figured as drawing inspiration from Statius' ecphrastic creation.[460] This serves not only to present Statius as commemorative poet, but also to identify the patron as authoritative poet in his own right; Statius can construct his literary inheritance and comment on the poetics of the *Siluae* through a representation of his patrons as poets, whilst presenting himself as a poet who favours the material conditions that his patrons can provide over the traditional landscapes of inspiration.

Within this doubling of poet and patron and the creation of a poetic landscape in Tibur, Horace inevitably looms large: it was the Augustan poet who most emphatically stressed the connection between Tibur and poetic inspiration, assimilating the general inspirational qualities of the *locus amoenus* to a specifically Italian landscape.[461] As Hinds shows, Statius will do a similar thing in *Siluae* 2.2, using his description of the Campanian landscape to negotiate with his Virgilian heritage.[462] This is clearly evidenced by Horace's suggestion that the waters of Anio will help fashion his lyric poetry in *Odes* 4.3:

[459] Myers (2005) 105.
[460] Cf. Elet (2017) on the collaborative processes between poets, patrons and architects in Renaissance Italy, and ecphrastic poetry "used for the nuts-and-bolts purpose of designing" buildings, drawing specifically on Statius' villa poems (6).
[461] Troxler-Keller (1964); Newlands (1988); Merli (2013a).
[462] Hinds (2001).

sed quae Tibur aquae fertile praefluunt
et spissae nemorum comae
fingent Aeolio carmine nobilem. (10-12)

Horace imagines the Tiburtine landscape as especially conducive to the production of Greek poetry (*Aeolio carmine*), and also implies the continuation of his programme, articulated in 3.30, of leading Aeolian song to Italian measures (13-4: *Aeolium carmen ad Italos* | *deduxisse modos*). But in 4.3, Tibur also represents a specific poetic realm immured from epic and epinicean themes: the poet whom Melpomene favours will not gain fame as a military leader or athletic victor (nor, by association, as a poet of these themes), but rather as a poet of private themes, the sort of poetry that Tibur both produces and embodies (4.3.1-12). For Statius and Manilius, Tibur's Anio, as a source of inspiration, is associated with Horatian inspiration and the poetics of *otium* to which Horace connects it. But Statius more directly stages his engagement with Horace's Tibur through allusion to *Carm.* 4.2, a poem predominantly concerned with poetry, and which commences with a warning of the dangers of imitating Pindar (*Pindarum quisquis studet aemulari*), whom Horace compares to a swollen river that overflows its banks:

monte decurrens uelut amnis, imbres
quem super notas aluere ripas,
feruet immensusque ruit profundo
Pindarus ore. (5-8)

In contrast, Horace appears to invoke Callimachean aesthetics by both associating Pindar with the Euphrates and transferring the 'pure and unsullied stream' of the Hippocrene in Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo* to the groves and banks of the Tibur, where the poet, represented as the Matinian bee (27-8: *ego apis Matinae* | *more modoque*) fashions his poem, recalling the bees in *H. Apollo* (Callim. *Hymn* 2.105-13):

grata carpentis thyma per laborem
plurimum circa nemus uuidique
Tiburis ripas operosa paruus
carmina fingo. (29-32)

We can compare these images to Statius' image of the Anio cited above (p. XX): whilst Horace contrasts the two metaphors in *Carm.* 4.2, Statius folds both metaphors into one, with the Pindaric Anio (*tumidam*

rabiem) being manipulated into a pure, narrow Callimachean stream within the confines of Manilius' estate, and turning Horace's figurative imagery into constitutive elements of the Tiburtine landscape. Scholarship has struggled to explain the juxtaposition; for Newlands, "Statius offers an expansive view of Callimachean poetics specifically formulated as a challenge to Horace", and in her earlier treatment of 1.3, she argues that "at Tibur, Vopiscus tries to be both a Horace and a Pindar in poetry, but he clearly fails at both", a point that gains currency when held against Statius' later claim that Manilius vies with Pindar (*tibi Pindaricis animus contendere plectris*), in direct contravention with Horace's warning to Iullus not to do so at the beginning of *Carm.* 4.2 (1: *Pindarum quisquis studet aemulari*).[463]

Additionally, the relationship to Horace that Statius here presents is often interpreted as one couched in terms of morality: according to Newlands, Manilius' lifestyle and poetry represent a hubristic affront to both the morality and poetics that Tibur represented for Horace; Myers, largely summarising Newlands' approach, notes that "Statius's 'poetics of excess' challenge Horace's earlier identification of his villa life on the Sabine Farm with his own literary style of moderation".[464] But Horace's own relationship to Pindar in *Carm.* 4.2 is notoriously complex, and the poem's extensive allusions to Pindar and its deployment of Pindaric themes suggest that Horace is at his Pindaric best when denying his ability to be so.[465] Horace, in other words, creates a constructive dynamic between two extremes, containing the grandeur of *immensus* Pindar within the constraints of the Sapphic stanza, whilst simultaneously striving to meet Pindar on his own terms. Such generic tension is, as we have been tracking throughout this thesis, central to the *Siluae*'s aesthetics, where poetic imagery and language that initiates a play of scale force us to reflect upon the collection's ambiguous relationship to epic, on the one hand, and diminutive, Callimachean poetics on the other. Statius' representation of Manilius' landscape as a combination of the grand scope of Pindaric lyric and the quiet industry of Callimachean poetics provides an emblematic symbol

[463] Newlands (2000) 141; (1998) 110.
[464] Myers (2005) 107.
[465] Harrison (1995); Barchiesi (1996); Morgan (2010) 224-229.

of the *Siluae,* and presents Manilius as both sympathetic to, and an active participant in, the *Siluae*'s agenda. Manilius' poetic landscape accords with the poetics of the *Siluae,* and whilst Statius can present his patron as an exemplary poet and worthy inheritor of the traditional forms of inspiration, he also can assimilate him to the poetic programme that the *Siluae* espouse.

4.6 conclusion: inspiration and immortality—Pliny's monument

This chapter began with a close analysis of Statius' representation of the aqueducts in the *Siluae,* and developed a broader exploration of the poetic and political consequences of Statius' identification of his patrons' monuments as the most appropriate forms of inspiration for a project such as the *Siluae.* Statius establishes an intimate connection between the domestic environments of his addressees and the poetry that he produces to commemorate them: each work together and combine to bestow a lasting monument to both poet and patron. Whilst this pattern can stand as emblematic of the logic of praise that Statius develops throughout the *Siluae,* it is particularly pertinent to an examination of the villa poems themselves.

To conclude this chapter, it is instructive to observe the broader links between inspiration and monumentality that the literary idealisation of the villa can promote. Pliny provides our final destination. Immortality and monumentality are constant preoccupations in Pliny's *Epistles*. Immortality is the one spur that pricks the sides of his intent (5.8.2: *me autem nihil aeque ac diuturnitatis amor et cupido sollicitat)*; the production of literature is the one means by which he can create something everlasting, something with which he can immure himself against mortality (2.10.4: *habe ante oculos mortalitatem, a qua asserere te hoc uno monimento* [i.e. his poetry] *potes; nam cetera fragilia et caduca non minus quam ipsi homines occidunt desinuntque*)[466], and it is in his villas where the creation of these literary works manifestly takes place. At Laurentum, Pliny writes much and stocks the full-ripened grain, cultivating himself more than the

[466] Mratschek (2018) on monumentality and immortality in Pliny's villas. cf. Henderson (2001) on Pliny's monument. See also *Ep.* 3.7.

land (4.6.2–3: *ibi enim plurimum scribo, nec agrum, quem non habeo, sed ipsum me studiis excolo; ac iam possum tibi ut aliis in locis horreum plenum sic ibi scrinium ostendere*). As for Statius, the villas are both sources of Pliny's literary inspiration, as we have seen, but also become the subjects of the literature they inspire and synonymous with the literary process and creation. In *Epistle* 1.3, following a laudatory evocation of Caninius' villa and surroundings in Como (1: *quid agit Comum, tuae meaeque deliciae? quid suburbanum amoenissimum, quid illa porticus uerna semper*), Pliny goes on to encourage Caninius to use the space to create something which will remain forever:

> Hoc sit negotium tuum hoc otium; hic labor haec quies; in his uigilia, in his etiam somnus reponatur. Effinge aliquid et excude, quod sit perpetuo tuum. Nam reliqua rerum tuarum post te alium atque alium dominum sortientur, hoc numquam tuum desinet esse si semel coeperit. Scio quem animum, quod horter ingenium; tu modo enitere ut tibi ipse sis tanti, quanti uideberis aliis si tibi fueris. Uale. (*Ep.* 1.3.4-5)

The villa, figured simultaneously as the source of inspiration and object of Pliny's description, becomes both the means of monumentality and permanence and its product and subject.[467] The villa is transformed from commodity into intangible symbol of literary immortality, the ultimate monument *aere perennius.* By Book 9, the last of the collection, Pliny, in his letter to Valerius Paulinus, can aspire openly to 'live together with his coming fame' (9.3.1: *certusque posteritatis cum futura gloria uiuit*), and as Whitton points out, it is no accident that Pliny's final book stages a form of double *sphragis* (9.36, 9.40) in his villas: our final sight of him is on the shorefront of his Laurentine villa in the gloaming of winter and in his crepuscular years, dictating away into eternity (9.40.2: *quae dictaui, identidem retractantur*). We can detect a similar ploy in Statius' closing image of Manilius:

> sic docta frequentes
> otia, sic omni detertus pectora nube
> finem Nestoreae precor egrediare senectae. (108-110)

Statius' patron will remain engaged in *docta otia* and the creation of poetry well into an unspecified old age, inspired by his villa and creating literary works that will last for all time; Statius stresses both the

[467] Whitton (2015) 114 on Pliny's "crafting of this villa-in-letter/letter-as-villa".

immortalising power of both the patron's monument, and the power of Statius' monumental poetry to place his patron beyond the individual occasion, and figure them as a lasting monument themselves.

Chapter 5
Miniature cities: monument, morality, memory

la città è come una grande casa, e la casa e sua volta una piccola città
- Alberti, *De re aedificatoria* IX

My previous chapter suggested a link between the private villa, poetic commemoration and imperial monumentality in the *Siluae*, linking poet and patron with emperor.[468] This chapter expands upon that theme, and plots one map of interconnection between private and public monumentality in *Siluae* 2.2, Statius' poem on the *uilla maritima* of Pollius Felix on the Bay of Naples, Statius' hometown and the 'more-or-less Greek city' (Tac. *Ann.* 15.33.2: *quasi Graecam urbem*) on the periphery of Rome's ambit.[469] It focuses on the consequences of an intertextual relationship which Statius develops between the private porticus of Pollius' villa and the description of the Porticus Liviae in Ovid's *Fasti*, constructed over the demolished house of Vedius Pollio (*Fast.* 6.639-48), both of which are described as 'the size of a city' (*urbis opus*). Statius complicates Ovid's description, and in so doing not only draws attention to a thematic tension between *urbs* and *domus* that frames the account, a prevalent motif in traditional Roman moralising discourse, but positions Pollius' villa in relation to both the Augustan monument, and, as I will suggest, Nero's Domus Aurea, a recent travesty in Flavian Rome's cultural memory, which had radically confounded the line between *urbs* and *domus*, between imperial displays of domestic *luxuria* and public munificence.

By alluding to the Porticus Liviae, Statius is advocating the restoration of Augustan-type rule and morality, now reinstated by Domitian and upheld by Pollius Felix as a corrective to the recent Neronian past. Pollius' villa, refracted through the Porticus Liviae, can be figured as a monument to Domitian's moral legislation and exemplary leadership. On the other hand, the transgressive *luxuria* of Vedius Pollio, and the memory of Nero (which, as we have seen, lingers throughout the *Siluae* no matter how forcefully we are

[468] An earlier version of this chapter appeared in Liney (2021).
[469] On Pollius Felix see Mommsen (1883); Nisbet (1978); A. Hardie (1983) 67-8; Newlands (2011a) 21; Nauta (2002) 223-5; on possible archaeological evidence, Van Dam (1984) 192, Bergmann (1991); on the villa in its Neapolitan context, D'Arms (1970) 165-7.

reminded to forget it), represents a dangerous model of repetition that isn't easily relinquished, and Statius' patron—and Domitian—runs the risk of being equated with past transgressions. Whereas the previous chapter explored how monumentality can establish an intimate link between emperor and private patron, we turn here to focus on the complications that such connections can incur.

This chapter does not aim at providing a comprehensive account of *Siluae* 2.2, but rather moves between close textual analysis and broader discussion of the historical and cultural contexts within which these texts are situated, allowing us to appreciate the ways in which Statius showcases what poetic and material monuments do best: preserve memory, but also expose these memories to different interpretations and reconfigurations. The allusion to the *Fasti'*s description of the Porticus Liviae provides Statius with an occasion to engage with his Augustan literary inheritance and to figure the monument as an interface between historic and poetic memory, but also to draw further conclusions on the *Siluae'*s poetics of monumentality and its interaction with material monuments. Like their literary counterparts, physical monuments can bear meaningful relationships with, and contain the traces of, their predecessors, thus reshaping the past to create new meaning for the present. What becomes clear from such a reading is that the we are asked not just to acknowledge Statius' literary allusions and intertexts within the text but to identify the presence of further extra-literary allusions that inform Statius description, creating a dynamic process in which text and monument work closely together.

There is a further layer to this investigation. Pollius' Neapolitan villa provides Statius with an occasion to reflect upon his own identity as a Greek-born poet and on his relationship to Rome as imperial centre, a theme that is sustained throughout the *Siluae*, as we saw in the previous chapter. An examination of the relationship between city and villa in *Siluae* 2.2 will subsequently prompt an examination of how Statius positions Pollius' villa in relation to the most profound monument of all: Rome, the *urbs orbis*. Pollius' imitation of a monument from Augustan Rome suggests Rome's tendency to envisage and recreate

its empire in its image;[470] or it can gesture towards longstanding anxieties over both the expediency of Rome's geographic fixity—we are always halfway to Consantinople—and also the transience of empire.[471] Questions of poetic immortality and monumentality always revolve around the notion of Rome's permanence (Hor. *Carm.* 3.30.8-9; Virg. *Aen*. 9.446-9; Ov. *Met.* 15.877-9), which consequently force a reflection upon the feasibility of such a notion, trepidation at its contingency, and the possibility of its termination as the *urbs aeterna.*

5.1 remembering Rome: Pollius Felix and the Porticus Liviae

Siluae 2.2 begins with Statius' approach to Pollius Felix's *uilla maritima* by sea (9: *trans gentile fretum*). Our poet is happy, perhaps due to a victory at the Augustalia in Naples (6: *huc me post patrii laetum quinquennia lustri*), the isolympic games instituted by Augustus.[472] This movement from civic arena to private villa can signify a shift from public to private; it can also establish a continuity between the two realms, and Statius' putative identity as victor clarifies the poetic value that he is now able to bestow upon Pollius' villa. Statius goes on to tell us that he longs to return to Rome, but Pollius' villa represents an attractive delay:

> flectere iam cupidum gressus qua limite noto
> Appia longarum teritur regina uiarum.
> sed iuuere morae. placido lunata recessu
> hinc atque hinc curuas perrumpunt aequora rupes. (11-14)

The presence of *mora* and the landscape's obvious affinity with Virgil's description of the Carthaginian bay in the *Aeneid* (1.162-3: *hinc atque hinc uastae rupes geminique minantur | in caelum scopuli*) both

[470] Once studied under the rubric 'Romanization' (Macmullen [2000]; Wallace-Hadrill [2008]), a term which has since come under scrutiny.
[471] On the threat of Rome's relocation: Livy 5.53.7 (Camillus); Suet. *Jul.* 79.3; Cass. Dio 50.4.1. cf. Edwards (1996) 48 ff.
[472] On the Augustalia/Sebasta, Miranda (1985), (2007), and now De Nardis (2015). Vollmer (1898) rejected Markland's association of *laetum* with victory (341: "Das Wort beweist nichts"). Statius certainly won the Augustalia (*Silv.* 5.3.205-8), but it is unclear in what year (82, 86, or 90?), and whether Domitian was presiding as *agonothete* (82, 86 and 90). At any rate, Vollmer dates 2.2 to the *Augustalia* of 90, which accommodates his suggested publication date of *Silv.* 1-3, and it is, at the least, attractively plausible that Statius' mention of the games here alludes to a victory, past or present.

associate Pollius' villa with Dido's burgeoning new city, Rome's antithesis, and on a more complicated level, align Statius' poetics with epic delay, in contradistinction to the central role of poetic *celeritas* in the *Siluae,* which I have argued is employed to stress imperial affiliation.[473] *Mora* suggests delay in epic teleology—Aeneas' Carthaginian sojourn, to which Statius alludes, represents the ultimate delay to the foundation of Rome—and also gestures towards the transgressive (elegiac, erotic) elements of 'essential epic' which threaten to destabilise the genre.[474] A set of contradictions, then, germane to the overarching themes of the *Siluae,* introduce the poem: between epic and the diminutive poetics of the *Siluae* and associated qualities of speed and delay, as well as between imperial Rome and Naples, Rome's significant Greek Other, a theme to which we shall return in conclusion. Another contradiction, between private villa and city, is also present, and Statius reinforces this contrast with a description of the porticus that will take him from the shorefront to Pollius' dazzling abode above:

> inde per obliquas erepit porticus arces,
> urbis opus, longoque domat saxa aspera dorso.
> qua prius obscuro permixti puluere soles
> et feritas inamoena uiae, nunc ire uoluptas. (30-33)

The porticus is *urbis opus,* generally translated as 'the size of a city' (*OLD* 'opus' 9d), which gives reason to pause.[475] Although Pliny boasts of having a cryptoporticus 'virtually the size of a civic building' (*Ep.* 2.17.16: *cryptoporticus prope publici operis extenditur*), Statius' hyperbolic description of the porticus seems to set Pollius up as a figure of excess, subject to traditional moral critique of the *aedificator,* and the porticus as a hallmark of private luxury gone mad.[476] The accusation of a house 'the size of a city' was a particular theme within this moralising tradition: Seneca looks wistfully upon a time when houses did not masquerade as cities (*Ep.* 90.43: *domos instar urbium*), Sallust's Catiline laments the conflation of the two

[473] Newlands (2002a) 165, (2011a) *ad loc.* 2.2.13; Myers (2000) 118, n. 64 provides more parallels.
[474] For 'essential epic', Hinds (2000); on *mora* in the *Aeneid,* Malamud (1998) 117; Reed (2016). McNelis (2007) 76-96 explores the role of epic delay in the *Thebaid.*
[475] See Van Dam (1984) *ad loc.* 2.2.31 for possible interpretations of *urbis opus.*
[476] The scholarship on the moral discourse around luxury building is extensive: see esp. Edwards (1993) 140-1; Wallace-Hadrill (1994) 143-45; and most recently Nichols (2017) 90-105, for which bibliography. Denunciation of luxury building has Greek roots (Pl. *Resp.* 372d-373a) and appears in Rome at least as early as Cato (*ORF* 8.133, 174, 185) and Plautus (*Most.* 908-11); for associations between Roman moralising and with Greek diatribe, for which see Oltramare (1926). Zarmakoupi (2014) on the portico.

(*Cat*. 12.3: *domos atque uillas...in urbium modum exaedificatas*), and Cicero is in related territory when he claims that his villa at Cumae has become a Rome in miniature, such was his crowd of visitors (*Att.* 5.2: *habuimus in Cumano quasi pusillam Romam, tanta erat in his locis multitudo*).[477] The broader criticism implicit in the contrast between private dwelling and city is encapsulated by Cicero's well-known adage that "the Roman people hate private extravagance, but love public munificence" (Cic. *Mur*. 76: *odit populus Romanus priuatam luxuriam, publicam magnificentiam diligit*). But the important implication of the specific phrase *urbis opus* is that it also places us in contact with another monumental porticus, the Augustan Porticus Liviae, as described by Ovid in *Fasti* 6*:*

> disce tamen, ueniens aetas: ubi Liuia nunc est
> porticus, immensae tecta fuere domus.
> urbis opus domus una fuit spatiumque tenebat
> quo breuius muris oppida multa tenent.
> haec aequata solo est, nullo sub crimine regni,
> sed quia luxuria uisa nocere sua.
> sustinuit tantas operum subuertere moles
> totque suas heres perdere Caesar opes:
> sic agitur censura et sic exempla parantur,
> cum iudex[478], alios quod monet, ipse facit. (*Fast.* 6.639-48)

As Ovid tells us, the Porticus Liviae was erected by Augustus over the demolished site of Vedius Pollio's extravagant urban domus on the Oppian Hill in Rome, 'a house the size of a city' (639: *urbis opus domus sua*).[479] The demolition of houses represents the traditional punishment meted out to 'aspirants of kingship' in Rome; such an act of *damnatio memoriae* in turn leaves a monitory memory, a monument *in absentia*.[480] The accusation of a house which purports to represent a city fits nicely into this rubric, and it is important to hold this point in relation to both Vedius Pollio and to Statius' representation of Pollius Felix, who exhibits implicit traits of the aspiring ruler over his estate. But according to Ovid, Pollio's house was razed

[477]Purcell (1987) 197-200 discusses the tendency to blur the distinction between house and town in private villas.
[478] I follow Bömer (1958) with *iudex*; Alton, Wormell, and Courtney's Teubner (1997) 4 print *vindex*.
[479] For the Porticus Liuiae and Pollio's house, see *LTUR* IV: 127-29; Flory (1984); Herbert-Brown (1994); Beck (2009) 376-77; Roller (2010) 164-166. See also, most recently, Bassani and Berno (2019), which surveys the archaeological evidence and the Ovidian passage.
[480] Mommsen (1871) 240-47 on the historicity of such demolitions; See Roller (2010), esp. 119 n. 5, with bibliography.

not on account of any criminal or political charge (643: *nullo sub crimine regni*), but of *luxuria*.[481] Vedius had in fact perhaps sanctioned the demolition: as *amicus* of the princeps (Plin. *HN* 9.39.77), Vedius had named Augustus as his heir, with instructions to erect a public monument on the site in his honour (Cass. Dio 54.23.2). These instructions were interpreted rather liberally: the Porticus Liviae instead celebrated Livia and Tiberius, with Vedius relegated to the shadows of the past. As Dio puts it, Augustus deliberately denied Vedius his monument (54.23.6: ὅπως μηδὲν μνημόσυνον ἐν τῇ πόλει ἔχῃ), a man who at any rate had offered nothing worthy of commemoration (54.23.1: ἀνὴρ ἄλλως μὲν οὐδὲν μνήμης ἄξιον παρασχόμενος). In the *Fasti* the Augustan porticus stands as an anti-monument to Vedius' transgressive self-importance: in place of private *luxuria,* it connotes moral restraint, dynastic unity, and the return of private property to the public domain.[482]

Statius conflates the two richly evocative architectural symbols that Ovid contrasts in the *Fasti*—private *domus* and public *porticus*—alluding to the fate of Vedius' extravagant house whilst associating the porticus of Pollius Felix with the munificence of the Augustan monument. The term *urbis opus* with which Ovid denigrates Vedius' preposterous house is now applied by Statius in praise of his patron's porticus, inviting an association instead with the Porticus Liviae. But there is a problematic doubling effect at play between Pollius Felix and Vedius Pollio, initiated by the repeated phrase *urbis opu*s and further reinforced by the sonic resemblance of his patron's name and the republican's, and we are invited to question the suitability of the connection between the two individuals. One option is to find negative implications in the Ovidian allusion, and identify Pollius as a morally bankrupt and potentially subversive transgressor. A second possibility, given the poem's panegyric purpose, is to view Ovid's Vedius as an apotreptic model which Statius encourages Pollius not to imitate; Pollius can instead find closer affinity with Augustus, and the connection between Pollius' porticus and the Augustan monument presents the private villa as a manifestation of public munificence and symbol of moral rectitude. But Statius goes further and collapses

[481] For the tradition that Dio relates here, cf. Plin. *HN* 9.77; Sen. *Ira* 3.40; *Clem.* 1.18.
[482] *CIL* VI 31572: '[imp Caesar Augustus] [ex pri]vat[o] in [publicum] restitui[t]', which Grimal (1943) 155 n.1 suggests corresponds with the location of Vedius' house. Roller (2010) 166 is particularly instructive on the Porticus as a "turning outward of *luxuria* into the civic sphere".

the moral import of Ovid's account, for it is Pollius' private *luxuria* that is presented here as a public good. The result is that Pollius can play both the affluent Vedius *and* the censorious Augustus, fashioning the villa as emblematic of a new moral and political agenda whilst allowing for the conspicuous display of wealth. Another observation to draw is that Statius is additionally emphasising the ability of the *Siluae* to represent the private world of his patrons to the public, providing an analogous service of euergetism and assimilating poet to patron: Pollius' potentially transgressive private display of wealth is redeemed through its poetic representation in Statius' public-facing, monumental *Siluae*.

The potential identification of Statius' patron with Augustus, however, is in itself problematic, and again implies aspiration to imperial power that is at odds with the purported political seclusion of the villa. The associations with kingship which the demolition of Vedius' house can conjure are equally appropriate here; as Newlands points out, throughout the poem Pollius is presented by Statius as 'playing the emperor', and his villa "provides a powerful model of the ideal state" which, "from the periphery of Rome, challenges its imperial centre", suggestive of a potential threat to Domitian's principate.[483] Pollius' villa indeed reads as a miniature city: as we move through the poem, we see that it has its own temples and tutelary gods (*Silv.* 2.2: 21-15), and compiles and displays foreign resources, materials and artefacts from around the world (63-69; 85-94). Pollius is compared to Amphion (60-61), archetypal city-founder, and stands as the ktistic hero and *conditor* of his own foundation This image of Pollius as an alternative emperor on the Greek periphery of Rome might sit uneasily, yet from another angle, the imitation of the emperor can also be construed in positive terms: it presents the emperor as the *exemplum* to which his subjects aspire, and Domitian's re-establishment of Augustan principles is understood as mirrored faithfully by Pollius' similar actions, and Pollius' villa is presented as an extension of Flavian Rome.

A further consequence of the allusion is the sophisticated interplay between text and monument that Statius initiates in order to assign meaning and to posit a connection between past and present. Statius'

[483] Newlands (2002a) 175.

reference to Ovid's *Fasti* can be considered a straightforward instance of poetic, intertextual allusion. But it also creates a link between two physical monuments (the Porticus Liviae and Pollius' villa) which entertain their own relationship and develop a logic tangential to the relationship between Statius and Ovid. Roller terms such an interplay between structures the 'intersignification of monuments':[484]

> New monuments might seek to appropriate their predecessors' prestige, or alternatively, to modify, reposition, or supersede these predecessors, leaving them and their dedicators in the shadow of the later, and allegedly greater, achievement. The dynamics of reference, inclusion, modification, and appropriation that mark this competition via monumental forms stand in a potentially productive relationship with the concept of "intertextuality" as developed by scholars of Roman poetry over the past three or four decades.

Roman monuments engage in their own dynamics of allusion and appropriation, and Roller clarifies his concept of intersignification by drawing on Hinds' explication of the intertextual poet who configures her predecessors as 'precursors', constructing literary traditions as a teleological progression, of which the poet as inheritor now appears the culmination; similarly, monuments establish links that present the relationship between the current construction and its predecessors as a necessary improvement upon, or correction of, the past. We are not far from Fowler's important notion of the 'paradox of the monument', which stresses that "the relationship between old and new can be agonistic, with the latest monuments ever attempting to efface those of earlier times".[485] Thus, for Roller, commenting on Ovid's account of the Porticus Liviae, "the transition from *domus* to *porticus* on this site involves a capping or teleology—a narrative of moral improvement leading to a definitive Augustan statement of correct values":[486] But on the other hand, as Roller also points out elsewhere, the literary text as interpretative tool remains indispensable: the construction of this narrative is predicated on a relationship between text and monument, and the ability of the literary text to communicate key information about the monument, in this case Vedius and his house, which had, as Ovid tells us, vanished without a trace (*haec aequata solo est*); it is Ovid who now preserves

[484] Roller (2013) 119.
[485] Fowler (2000) 203-5; cf. Gowing (2005) 148-50.
[486] Roller (2013).

Vedius' memory, and it is Ovid who ironically erects the monument that Vedius had requested. Roller notes the similar importance of Dio's account in remembering Pollius Vedius' obliterated memory:[487]

> ...in the very act of describing Vedius' cruelty and extravagance, thus illuminating Augustus' attempt to deprive Vedius of a built monument, Dio (re)connects the new structure, the porticus Liviae, with the demolished house preceding it and with the name of Vedius, *and so makes this portico available to his readers as precisely the built monument that, according to Dio, Augustus tried to deny.*

Roller's insights are instructive for Statius' description of Pollius' porticus: Statius presents a clear attempt to outdo Ovid, converting a negative trope into a figure of praise, employing Augustan panegyric to a private citizen, and upgrading Ovidian elegiac couplets to panegyric hexameter. Pollius' house itself greatly surpasses Vedius', for whereas in Ovid's account *urbis opus* refers to Vedius' entire estate, Statius applies it only to a single element of the villa, which in turn represents a civic, imperial monument. Statius' engagement with Ovid asks us to apply a similar act of memory to Pollius' house, asking us to compare past misdemeanours with present virtuous glory. More specifically, as I will suggest below, the implied connection with an Augustan monument on the Oppian Hill in Rome also serves to connect Pollius' villa with the imperial centre, and more specifically, the topographical significance of the Oppian Hill also evokes another significant non-literary 'intertext': Nero's Domus Aurea, the most recent transgressive conflation of house and city. Pollius' villa is thus a receptacle of meaning and memory, evoking a history of interaction between private displays of wealth and imperial power and between Rome and Naples, but also recalling the potential abuse of imperial power in private displays of wealth.

5.2 *Concordia Pollia*

Statius' allusion can be further clarified by observing another important aspect of Ovid's description of the Porticus Liviae: the *aedes Concordiae*, the 'magnificent altar' (*Fast.* 6.637: *magnifica...aede*) dedicated not by Augustus but by Livia, which connoted marital harmony between *princeps* and partner (638: *caro praestitit ipsa uiro*), and integrated the private *domus Augusta* into the

[487] Roller (2010). My italics.

public sphere of monumentality.[488] The importance of Concordia to Augustan ideology is noted by Bömer: "Das Kaiserhaus legte aus propagandistischen Grunden Wert auf eine möglichst weite Verbreitung des Glaubens an die Concordia zwischen Augustus und Livia";[489] the Porticus Liviae and the Aedes Concordiae together epitomised this publicisation and politicisation of private *Concordia*, and elevated Livia to the status of moral example and benefactor, in imitation of her husband. Livia was, in Flory's words, "the pre-eminent benefactor of family life, the first wife and mother in the state, and the exemplar of chaste and old-fashioned Roman womanhood".[490] Ovid's account of Vedius Pollio's *domus* is prefaced by a direct invocation to Concordia and a didactic imperative to 'learn' from the monument's underlying history:

> te quoque magnifica, Concordia, dedicat aede
> Liuia, quam caro praestitit ipsa uiro.
> disce, tamen, ueniens aetas: ubi Liuia nunc est
> porticus, immensae tecta fuere domus. (6.637-40)

Augustan modesty is reflected in Ovid's poetry: Newlands observes that the concise, epigrammatic reference to the porticus is contrasted by the distended account of Pollio's house, and Ovid also plays on the scheme, favoured by Augustan poets, of contrasting topographic past and present (*nunc...fuere*), inviting the reader to observe the amelioration (or deterioration) of space and landscape through time and historical intervention.[491] Ovid's emphasis on the *aedes Concordiae* is significant for Statius' representation of Pollius' villa, for Statius goes on to represent Pollius Felix and his wife, Polla Argentaria, as emblematic of blessed union and paragons of Concordia in the concluding exhortation to the couple:[492]

> non tibi sepositas infelix strangulat arca
> diuitias auidique animum dispendia torquent

[488] Flory (1984). The square structure shown in the centre of the Porticus Liviae on the *FUR* is generally taken to be the Aedes Concordiae, but see Panella (1987) for sceptical views. Barchiesi (2006) 103 notes the friction between private and public at play in the Porticus Liviae and its Aedes Concordiae: "There is a paradox here. The family is what unites Augustan power to Roman society and also what makes Augustan power extraneous and 'unheimlich' for Roman society. Family is a very Roman institution, but by 'coming out' in public it becomes a shock to the Republican system."
[489] Bömer (1958) *ad loc.* 6.637.
[490] Flory (1984) 317. cf. Livia's restoration of the Bona Dea Subsaxana: *Livia restituit, ne non imitata maritum | esset et ex omni parte secuta †uirum†* (Ov. *Fast.* 5.157-8).
[491] See Newlands (2002b) 228. cf. Leigh (2010) 219 n. 71 for examples.
[492] For the identity of Polla, probably Lucan's widow and the dedicatee of *Silv.* 2.7, see Nisbet (1978) and Nauta (2002) 223-225.

fenoris: expositi census et docta fruendi
temperies. non ulla deo meliore cohaerent
155 pectora, non alias docuit Concordia mentes
***
143 discite securi, quorum de pectore mixtae
in longum coiere faces sanctusque pudicae
seruat amicitiae leges amor. ite per annos
146 saeculaque et priscae titulos praecedite famae. (2.2.151-146)[493]

Polla is treated as equal partner in the villa's display of wealth and erudition (107: *sis felix, tellus, dominis ambobus*); as Nisbet points out, lines 151-55 appear to address Polla alone, matching Ovid's praise of Livia. The didactic lesson of restraint that Ovid urged upon his future reader (639: *disce tamen, ueniens aetas*) is here echoed by Statius' imperative to the couple (*discite*), encouraging philosophical enlightenment and adherence to imperial moral legislation (*non alias docuit Concordia mentes*), but framed rather by the overt display of the villa's wealth, ironically the very lesson which Ovid asks his reader to be aware of. We can read Statius' representation of Pollius and Polla as a continuum of Augustan marital policy and *Concordia* which Ovid presents, upholders of the examples set by Augustus and Livia (647: *sic exempla parantur;* cf. *Cons. Liviae* 349-51), and *exempla* in their own right, conscious of their own visibility and role within the public domain; more problematically, as above, we can infer imperial aspirations and a challenge to the emperor in Rome from the Neapolitan periphery.[494] But Statius' representation can be compellingly interpreted as a celebration of Domitian as *censor perpetuus*, the *pudicus princeps* (Mart. 9.5.2), to whom Rome owes its restored monuments and renewed sense of *pudicitia*:

censor maxime principumque princeps,
cum tot iam tibi debeat triumphos,
tot nascentia templa, tot renata,
tot spectacula, tot deos, tot urbes:
plus debet tibi Roma quod pudica est. (Mart. 6.4)

[493] The text here follows Fabro Antonio's transposition of lines 143-6, as printed by Courtney. See Van-Dam (1984) *ad loc.* 2.2.143 for the textual tradition and interpretations of this passage.
[494] On Livia as *exemplum,* Ov. *Tr.* 1.6.25-28, with Hinds (1999) and Barchiesi (2006).

Domitian was particularly invested in fashioning his moral legislation and *correctio morum* as a return to Augustan propriety, notably evident in his vigorous reinstatement and enforcing of the Augustan *lex Iulia de adulteriis coercendis* (Suet. *Dom* 8.3; Cass. Dio 67.12; Plin. *Pan.* 42.1), the transgressors of which are the subject of a number of poems in Martial's *Epigrams* 6.[495] The specific importance of *Concordia Augusta* to the Flavian dynasty is attested by a number of Domitianic coins.[496] The image of Concordia as a symbol of marital and imperial harmony, specifically overseen and sanctioned by the emperor, appears elsewhere in *Siluae* 5, in the *epicedion* for Priscilla (the subject of the following chapter) where her husband Abascantus' grief is conducted under the watchful gaze of the *censor perpetuus*:[497]

> hic est castissimus ardor
> hic amor a domino meritus censore probari.
> nec mirum, si uos conlato pectore mixtos
> iunxit inabrupta Concordia longa catena. (5.1.41-4)

Statius performs a subtle elision of the public and private realm: Abascantus and Priscilla are presented as symbols of marital Concordia, and Abascantus' grief is raised to the level of imperial concern, whilst Domitian is forcibly placed at the centre of private marital union. In 2.2, Pollius and Polla uphold Domitian's *pudicae amicitiae leges* (144-45), and Pollius' villa functions as a monument to Domitianic *Concordia* and moral legislation. The exemplary couple are praised as worthy of public commemoration, a point further emphasised by the reference to the *tituli* that the couple will surpass (through the superior commemorative capabilities of Statius' poetry) in the final line (146: *saeculaque et priscae titulos praecedite famae*), a gesture that points towards both poetic and publicly inscribed commemoration, and hence to a lasting monument.[498]

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[495] Suetonius accuses Domitian of hypocrisy here, enforcing the *Lex Julia* upon others whilst disobeying it himself; Jones (1992**)** 35-38. cf. Dio 67.12; Juvenal 2.29-33; Mart. 6.2. On Book 6 of Martial Domitian's moral legislation, see Garthwaite (1990).

[496] In Domitianic iconography, the motif of *Concordia Augusta* is combined with representations of Julia, with a peacock (*BMC* 2.350) and Domitia (*BMC* 249); a statue of Julia in the guise of Venus is celebrated by Mart. 6.13.

[497] cf. also *Silv.*1.2.240: *et insigni geminat Concordia taeda*.

[498] cf. Hor. *Carm.* 4.14 doubts the powers of *tituli* to bestow immortality (3-5: *in aeuum | titulos memoresque fastus | aeternet*), advertising poetry's greater ability than official means to immortalise (3-5). cf. Barchiesi (1996).

Statius stresses the link between the correct use of wealth, morality and intellectual enlightenment (*docta...docuit...discite),* by encouraging the couple's correct use of wealth, and differentiating between private misuse (151-2: *non tibi sepositas infelix strangulat arca* | *diuitias*) and the learned display of wealth (153-4: *expositi census et docta fruendi* | *temperies*); Pollius is no spendthrift like Vedius Pollio, but a benevolent *euergetes,* using his wealth to benefit a community of friends and fellow citizens. Moreover, Pollius' wealth is not only material, but philosophical: Cancik's and Nisbet's separate studies of *Siluae* 2.2 provide a detailed account of the extensive Epicurean imagery that Statius uses to emphasise Pollius' philosophical leanings, and the Epicurean associations that the Bay of Naples connoted;[499] scholarship has subsequently read Statius' description of Pollius' villa as a reification of the allegorised citadel of the mind that Lucretius presents at the beginning of *De Rerum Natura* 2 (7-13), and in particular verses 129-32:

> nos, uilis turba, caducis
> deseruire bonis semperque optare parati,
> spargimur in casus: celsa tu mentis ab arce
> despicis errantes humanaque gaudia ride.

The sea below the villa symbolises the tumult of the world, and the panoramic vista the *spectaculum* of human folly.[500] Pollius emerges as the paragon of Epicureanism, his villa the reified version of Lucretius' famous allegorical image. We can observe again a practice typical of Statius in the *Siluae:* the location of other writers' metaphorical repertoires and poetic language in the material environments of his patrons, clothing them in poetic discourse whilst simultaneously presenting a provocative challenge to the traditions such language and *topoi* convey.[501]

In this context, however, less attention has been paid to the porticus itself, which must also suggest an allegorical reading. In the previous chapter it was noted that Statius presents Pollius' villa as a new hill

[499] Cancik (1968); Nisbet (1978).
[500] *Despicere* clearly echoes Lucr. 2.9; cf. *Ciris* 14-20. On the relationship between Epicurean imagery in Philodemus and Lucretius and architectural expression of Epicurean ideas at the Villa of the Papyri, see Gigante (1995); Sauron (1980); Schroeder (2004).
[501] Martelli (2009); see Leigh (1997) 302 and (2010) 210, and Bramble (1974) 1 for similar observations in Lucan and Persius, respectively.

of Helicon, to which the porticus provides access, but Statius' ascent also finds affinities with the Hesiodic path to Arete (*Op.* 287-91) and the Empedoclean 'heights of wisdom' (fr. 3.8: σοφίης ἐπ' ἄκροισι), which contribute to a commonplace philosophical motif: the *Ciris* poet likens his anticipated poetic project on a philosophical subject to such an ascent (8: *placitum paucis ausa est ascendere collem*; 14: *si mihi iam summas Sapientia panderet arces*) and Vitruvius envisages the well-educated architect's access to the 'highest temple of architecture' (*De arch.* 1.1.11: *peruenerint ad summum templum architecturae*).[502] A consequence of Pollius' porticus is that where previously inhospitable landscape afforded no light (32: *qua prius obscuro permixti puluere soles*), its rearrangement has now let light in, an act that bears associations with the motif of light of reason let in to the realm of superstitious darkness.[503] The metaphorical ascent to wisdom is now made easily available by Pollius' benevolent construction.

The connection between Pollius' villa and Ovid's account of the Porticus Liviae opens up Statius' poem to a political reading that both aligns Pollius with Domitianic policy, and reaffirms Domitianic policy as a continuation of the Augustan model: by recalling an Augustan monument, Pollius' villa stands as a monument to Flavian ideology. But there is another, potentially subversive, side to Statius' praise, framed by both Vedius' *luxuria* and the imitation of an imperial monument, which initiates a challenge to the emperor, and can present Pollius as a potentially dangerous usurper on the periphery of Rome. Pollius' monumental porticus, recalling the memory of both Vedius' transgressive house and its munificent replacement, can suggest either a challenge to Domitian's authority and its foundation upon Augustan principles, or deferential imitation of it.

What is also at stake in Statius' engagement with Ovid's account of the Porticus Liviae and its Aedes Concordiae is the challenge Statius offers to his Augustan predecessor on poetic and moral grounds. Statius' quotation both imitates (*imitatio*) and aims to surpass (*aemulatio*) its source, and Statius'

[502] cf. Parm. fr. 1.22-28 D-K, with Knox (1999) for its relevance to Lucretius specifically; Emp. fr. 3.6-8; *Ciris* 14-17; Lucr. 2.7-13; Knox (1999); Lyne (1978) 104; Kayachev (2016) 34.
[503] Following Leigh (2010) on Lucan's Caesar at the Massilian grove.

appropriation of Ovidian moralising didactic in the *Fasti* contains an implicit critique of the Augustan poet, given Ovid's punishment for his own moral and didactic shortcomings, which Statius mentions elsewhere in the *Siluae* (1.2.254-5: *nec tristis in ipsis | Naso Tomis*).[504] Statius' appropriation of the Augustan monument in service of a reshaped moral code has the potential to recall another Ovidian text that focuses on the Porticus Liviae, the *Ars Amatoria* (1.71-72: *nec tibi uitetur quae... | porticus auctoris Liuia nomen habet*), which undermined the intended purpose of the Augustan monument in a more devastatingly subversive manner, exposing it to blatant sexual licentiousness.[505] By couching sexual and marital morality in terms of *luxuria*, Statius inverts the moral licentiousness in which Ovid situates his early amatory didactic poetry, whilst denying Ovid any moral authority which he might lay claim to in his later works. Framed by the introductory porticus and the image of Concordia at the end, Pollius' villa is presented by Statius as an appropriation of the Augustan monument, but also as a correction to the shortcomings of Ovidian morality, recalibrated to uphold the moral agenda of Flavian Rome. Ultimately, Statius' undermining of traditional Roman moralising discourse against *luxuria* is sanctioned by a paradoxical emperor whose own building was notoriously profligate (Suet. *Dom.* 5.1, Plut. *Publ.* 15.3-6), but whose moral programme was of a violently conservative nature.[506]

5.3 morality and architecture

The phrase *urbis opus* also requires us to confront the underlying traditions of moralising rhetoric against *luxuria* and *aedificatio* which threaten to complicate any straightforward attempt at panegyric by Statius; the accusation of possessing a house as big as a city is thrown into especially sharp relief by the literary accounts of the Domus Aurea, which was associated with the same transgression in the Flavian cultural imagination and provides a crucial extra-literary 'intertext'. We shall return to this problem shortly. But the phrase *urbis opus* is especially striking due to its relative scarcity in extant Latin poetry, and requires further

[504] On *imitatio* and *aemulatio*, Russell (1979) remains authoritative.
[505] It is possible to read the *Fasti* itself as a corrective to the *Ars*, as Barchiesi (1997) 92 does, finding the imperative (*disce tamen*) a specific redirection of the *Ars'* didactic drive towards safer grounds.
[506] Domitian's conservatism was notoriously gruesome: e.g. Suet. *Dom.* 8; Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 50.2.

attention: an intertextual reading yields an additional, Virgilian source, which allows us to home in on the broader moralising issues that were touched upon in *Siluae* 1.3 and feature more prevalently here in *Siluae* 2.2, especially the accusation of the imitation and perversion of nature through artificial constructions. Newlands provides a seminal account of *Siluae* 2.2's creative rehabilitation of luxurious building, arguing at length that Statius specifically contorts the language and imagery of Horace and Epicureanism (Lucr. 2.20-33) "to overturn traditional moral discourse and reinterpret luxury as moral decorum"; the studies of Myers and Pavlovskis both anticipate Newlands in this regard.[507]

The following two sections are intended to supplement such readings, taking as their point of departure this Virgilian intertext which has remained hitherto unexplored. Two interpretations are to be considered: the first canvasses the ways in which Statius' representation of Pollius' villa reconfigures these moralising traditions; the second suggests a more fruitful approach, and explores the powerful parallels between Pollius' villa and the traditions of praise of Roman emperors' marvellous building projects, strengthening the monumental implications of Statius' poem. The two are by no means synonymous, and each exerts a peculiar pressure upon the other, confounding the line between praise and blame, and complicating our understanding of Pollius—and Domitian. The ultimate question here is how Statius' readers—Pollius included—are to interpret the line between praise and blame, an issue which goes to the heart of the *Siluae*, and panegyric as a genre.

Other than in the *Fasti*, the phrase *urbis opus* appears to occur in extant Latin literature only in Virgil's description of the huge, monstrous Trojan ship, the *Chimaera*, a contestant in the boat race of the Trojan games:

> ingentemque Gyas ingenti mole Chimaeram,
> urbis opus, triplici pubes quam Dardana uersu
> impellunt, terno consurgunt ordine remi. (*Aen.* 5.118-120)

[507] Newlands (2002a) 155; Pavlovksis (1973); Myers (2000).

Servius confirms the metaphor's meaning (*ad. Aen.* 5.119: *ita magna, ut urbem putares*), and Hardie observes that Virgil's connection between ship and city creates an analogy that renders each structure strange and unnatural: the notion of a city floating on water, and the unnaturally over-sized ship, lead to what Hardie terms a "naval dislocation of the natural world".[508] The ship's name *Chimaera* itself implies the gross, tripartite assemblage of its mythical namesake (*Aen*. 5.119: *triplici uersu*—the number of lines Virgil's description takes), and was captained by Gyas, a reference to Hesiod's Gyges (*Th*. 149), and hence to Gigantomachy, in which Feldherr detects a political allegory for poor and dangerous governance, in contrast to Aeneas as model leader.[509] The connection between Vedius' house in the *Fasti* and the *Chimaera* has been well observed by Newlands: for Ovid, Vedius' gigantic house identifies with the ship as a strange and unnatural, and potentially unsettling, aberration of political order, "a monstrosity out of place in Augustan Rome", and as Newlands notes, "Ovid hints at the dangerous ambition of the owner of the house who, like Gyas, demonstrates excess in his style of 'city work'. The house, like the monstrous ship, is out of place, doomed to fail in the new order begun by Aeneas and brought to completion by Augustus".[510]

Little has been said, however, about how Statius' description relates to *both* these occurrences, and how the presence of an additional, Virgilian 'window allusion' might further inform Statius' interaction with Ovid.[511] Situated between the *Fasti'*s monument and the *Aeneid'*s ship, Statius' description of the porticus might read as either awkward condemnation, or defiant celebration, of Pollius' villa as a malignant growth on the peripheries of Roman influence, a symptom of both political upheaval and the inversion of natural order. Pollius' association with Vedius and the connotations of usurpation and aspiration to kingship that accompany Ovid's account are redoubled by the hubristic *Chimaera* and its synonymy with flawed leadership. The association with the *Chimaera*'s strange 'naval dislocation of the natural world' also

[508] Hardie (1987) 166.
[509] Feldherr (1995) 253. Fratantuono and Smith (2015) 222 make the attractive point that the phrase *urbis opus* in this context might bear a 'mental association (but not mistake)' with the Homeric description of the Chimaera as πολέσιν κακὸν ἀνθρώποισιν (*Il.* 16.329), eliding the phonetic similarity between πόλις and πολύς (the Homeric dative plural πολίεσσιν notwithstanding).
[510] Newlands (2002b) 239.
[511] On window allusion, see Thomas (1986).

attractively presents a parallel with the motif of the 'inversion of nature' prevalent in moralising rhetoric against private *aedificatio* and *luxuria.* One example from Seneca's attacks in the *Epistulae Morales* typifies this theme:

> Omnia uitia contra naturam pugnant, omnia debitum ordinem deserunt. Hoc est luxuriae propositum, gaudere peruersis nec tantum discedere a recto, sed quam longissime abire, deinde etiam e contrario stare. (*Ep.* 122.5)

Within such denunciations of luxury, artificial landscapes, fake Niles and Euripi, a disregard of the natural cycle of seasons, and the collection of exotic flora and fauna were treated with particular vitriol, seen as a corrosive agent upon the Roman conception of *natura* (Cic. *Leg.* 2.2).[512] The villa was a site in which both the patently unnatural and the *unheimlich* imitation of nature were displayed. In Seneca the Elder's *Controuersiae,* Papirius Fabianus provides a representative challenge to these practices, pointing to the tension between artifice and reality, the depraved mind's indulgence in the former and ignorance of the latter:

> O paupertas, quam ignotum bonum es! Quin etiam montes siluasque in domibus marcidis et in umbra fumoque uiridia aut maria amnesque imitantur. uix possum credere quemquam eorum uidisse siluas uirentisque gramine campos, quos rapidus amnis ex praecipitio uel, cum per plana infusus est, placidus interfluit; non maria umquam ex colle uidisse lenta, aut hiberna cum uentis penitus agitata sunt: quis enim tam prauis oblectare animum imitamentis possit si uera cognouerit? (*Controv.* 2.1.13)

In opposition to the moral strictures voiced by the likes of Seneca and Papirius, Statius celebrates the artificial excess of Pollius' villa, and its deviations from the natural order are a cause for celebration; the underlying presence of the *Chimaera* in Statius' description of the porticus alerts us to the theme of the inversion of nature that goes on to inform the whole poem. Pavloskis finds Statius' description of villa landscapes in the *Siluae* in general, and 2.2 in particular, as settings "in which nature is no longer natural but changed into something artificial and artistic".[513] Whilst 1.3 presents a (*prima facie*) more harmonious relationship between *ars* and *natura*, the central theme of 2.2, and its companion poem 3.1, is the

[512] Edwards (1993) 143-146 for a discussion of this theme; for Roman conceptions of *natura* and its perversion by *luxuria* in Pliny, see Beagon (1992) 76-85.
[513] Pavloskis (1973) 7.

domination of nature, and the important role that technology plays in reshaping the landscape. Throughout the poem, Statius celebrates Pollius' villa both as a triumphant imitation of *natura* by *ars*, and as an improvement on nature through artifice and technological progress, which leads to a confusion between the two spheres.[514] Marble imitates soft grass (91: *molles imitatur rupibus herbas*), whilst at the same time the formerly wild landscape is massaged into a docile simulacrum of itself (52-3: *his fauit natura locis, hic uicta colenti | cessit et ignotos docilis mansueuit in usus*), corralled to accommodate and represent the epicurean *quies* of its master (28-9: *nulloque tumultu | stagna modesta iacent dominique imitantia mores*). Equally important is Pollius' realisation of a *locus amoenus* out of its antithesis, the *locus horridus*, an idea already present in Statius' description of the porticus: where previous conditions were pointedly *inamoena* (33), Pollius' intervention has yielded *uoluptas* (33). The porticus itself seems similarly susceptible to the confusion between artifice and nature: like an oversized snake, it creeps up the cliff-face (30: *inde per obliquas erepit porticus arces*), laying its long back on the rocks (31: *longoque saxa aspera dorso*), a pastoral image decisively out of place, and creating a reciprocal exchange between nature and artifice: nature imitates the *ars* of its master, the villa imitates the *natura* of its surroundings.[515]

We can further develop Hardie's 'naval dislocation of the natural world' and the underlying presence of the Virgilian *Chimaera* in Pollius' villa in relation to traditional moralising discourse. The inversion of nature and the dislocating effect of the unnatural in luxurious designs was particularly felt in the wealthy *aedificator*'s propensity to build over water and to convert ocean into land, indicative of the penchant for the artificial and the technologically adventurous.[516] Papirius' tirade, quoted above, notes this transgression (*sed aduersum naturam alieno loco aut terra aut mare mentita aegris oblectamenta sunt*). In the *Epistles*, Seneca paints a picture of land manufactured over sea and a developer who exults in its artificiality (*Ep.* 89.21 *ubicumque in aliquem sinum litus curuabitur, uos protinus fundamenta iacietis nec*

[514] Van Dam (1984) 251; the notion is Ovidian (*Met.* 3.158-9) cf. Bömer (1969) *ad loc.* Also 2.855; 10.243; 11.231-6.
[515] For forms of *repere* and serpentine movement: Columella, *Rust.* 10.94-95: *et ut coluber…at qui sub trichila manantem repit ad undam*; Mart. 4.59: *flentibus Heliadum ramis dum vipera repit*; Fest. 476 M: *serpens inrepserit.*
[516] Edwards (1993) 145-9.

continenti solo nisi quod manu feceritis, mare agetis introrsus), and Horace provides a well-known example in the first 'Roman ode', targeting private villas that sink huge foundations and extend over the sea for a master 'with an aversion to dry land', but who is yet still susceptible to *Timor et Minae* (37):

> contracta pisces aequora sentiunt
> iactis in altum molibus: huc frequens
> caementa demittit redemptor
> cum famulis dominus terrae
>
> fastidiosus. (*Carm.* 3.1.33-37)

This theme of the *aedificator* constructing over water plays out as a common *topos* throughout moralising rhetoric against luxury, and also connotes tyrannical ambition and hubris, inviting comparisons with Xerxes as abuser of both the Hellespont and Mount Athos (Hdt. 7.22-24; 33-5), a trope we have encountered in an earlier chapter, in our discussion of *Siluae* 4.3. We can add further variations on the theme: in Seneca the Elder's *Controuersiae,* Triarius points out that whilst Xerxes could tunnel through mountains and bridge seas (*Suas.* 2.3: *sed montes perforat, maria contegit*) he nevertheless stood on shaky ground, both morally and physically (*numquam in solido stetit superba felicitas*); an epigram attributed to Seneca voices a similar sentiment (*Anth. Lat.* 461 R).[517]

There is a discernible connection between the *aedificator* of luxury villas and tyrannical ambition: for Romans, the prime example of this Xerxes-type builder was the general-turned-gourmand Lucullus, whose grand villa in nearby Misenum, suspended over water tunnels and stretching out into the ocean, earned him the nickname *Xerxes togatus* (Varro, *Rust.* 3.17.9; Vell. Pat. 2.33.4; Plin. *HN* 9.170, Plut. *Luc.* 39.2).[518] Lucullus, scourge of Mithridates VI, was converted into "an easterner in a thin veneer of Romanness";[519] the insult was thus double-edged, for it conveyed not just tyrannical hubris, but also

[517] Cf. Cic. *Fin.* 2.112; Catul. 66.45; Juv.10.173-5. For the Senecan epigram, see Coleman (2006) 196.
[518] Jolivet (1987); Edwards (1993) 145-6. Especially important is Plutarch's *synkrisis* of Cimon and Lucullus, which contrasts Cimon's public building programme on the south wall of the Acropolis against Lucullus' private works. Cf. Tröster (2008) on Plut. *Luc.*
[519] Evans (2008) 104.

articulated Roman anxieties around the corrupting influence of foreign decadence on the traditional Roman villa: you couldn't be considered to really own a villa, Varro sniffed, unless it tinkled with Greek terminology (*Rust* 2.1: *nec putant se habere uillam, si non multis uocabulis retinniat Graecis*). The villa represents a contested space between foreign (specifically Greek) and Roman cultures, a theme that plays out also through *Siluae* 2.2: Pollius is a Greek dwelling in an ostensibly Greek place (95-6: *macte animo quod Graia probas, quod Graia frequentas | arua*), whose wealth is framed by specifically Eastern terms (121: *Midae gazis et Lydo ditior auro*).[520]

The underlying connection between Vergil's *Chimaera* and Pollius' villa can reinforce these connotations of building out over water, and further evidence of the theme is forthcoming in 2.2. Statius' description of Pollius' villa, protruding over the Surrentine ridge and into the ocean (99: *pontoque noualia...iniecta*) and with its myriad sea-views (73-4: *omni proprium thalamo | mare*), evokes and challenges the negative connotations of building over water. The house suggestively 'swims' in the water (49: *uitreoque natant praetoria ponto*), and the villa doubles metaphorically as Pollius' good ship *ataraxia*, his *non quassa ratis* and *emerita puppis* (146)[521] moored in the 'untroubled' Surrentine Bay (140-1: *sed tua securos portus placidamque quietem | intrauit non quassa ratis*), which aligns it with Epicurus' location of happiness as 'a sheltered and landlocked harbour' (U fr. 544, Plut. *Mor.* 778C: καίτοι Ἐπίκουρος τἀγαθὸν ἐν τῷ βαθυτάτῳ τῆς ἡσυχίας ὥσπερ ἐν ἀκλύστῳ λιμένι καὶ κωφῷ τιθέμενος; cf. *Catal.* 5.8: *nos ad beatos uela mittimus portus*); given the connotations with civic architecture and imperial power that Statius implies in 2.2, it also suggests the metaphorical ship of state (Alc. fr. 208, Hor. *Carm.* 1.14) with Pollius at the helm. The naval imagery blurs the terms of Statius' description—is it a house on water, or a boat on land?—informed by moralising rhetoric and the historical alignment with Xerxes and subsequent transgressors.

[520] *gaza* is specifically a Persian loanword, and Lydian gold refers to Croesus and hence Persian *luxuria.* But of course, Statius is also implying a *synkrisis* here: Pollius is richer in the metaphorical, intellectual sense; Newlands (2011a) 150.
[521] cf. Mart. 10.85.5-6: *emeritam puppim, ripa quae stabat in alta | inpleuit saxa obposuitque uadis.*

This all allows us to clarify further possible implications of the Virgilian intertext: if the *Chimaera* symbolises the dangers of poor political leadership, then the connection between the city-sized Virgilian ship and the city-sized dwelling, combined with the moralising tradition against building over water, presents a troubling case for Statius' patron. Framed by both the improper *domus* of Vedius and the Virgilian *Chimaera*'s associations with the unnatural, Pollius' porticus can synecdochically represent the artificiality of the entire estate and the moral opprobrium it might consequently attract. The associations between *luxuria,* foreignness and tyranny all come to bear, potentially framing Pollius as a problematic, oriental (and, I shall argue, Neronian) counterpart to Domitian's Aeneas-like, Roman political leadership.

Pollius' villa thus emerges as the antithesis of the traditional moralising exemplified above; Statius' significant contribution to architectural panegyric is to use the language and *topoi* traditionally reserved for the reproach of such edifices as a vehicle for their praise. But that he chooses to praise the villas of his patrons on such terms requires persistent reflection on just how successfully Statius manages to divest them of these negative connotations. These accusations reflect also on Statius' poetry, and we are also prompted to ask similar questions of Statius' engagement with his literary inheritance: Statius' intention is to twist the negative implications of Virgil and Ovid into praise, thereby asserting a level of authority and control over his Augustan sources. But if Virgil and Ovid use *urbis opus* to insinuate transgressive acts and hubristic projects that purport to upend the natural order of things, Statius' creative imitation and *aemulatio* of his sources also instigates an analogous rivalry that overthrows the inherited Augustan literary sense of order and propriety.[522]

The accusations of artifice levelled against the type of villa Pollius has constructed are equally applicable to Statius' poetry; an ecphrastic poem contributes another layer to the artificial order Pollius wishes to impose upon his landscape. More broadly, distrust of the artificial and unnatural in domestic architecture provides a suitable analogue for literary criticism of suspect styles, based on the longstanding

[522]On *aemulatio* and rivalry, Russell (1979) 10-16.

interchangeability between verbal and architectural *structura*. Evidence is again forthcoming from Fabianus: in *Ep.* 100 Seneca the Younger, discussing Fabianus' treatise *Ciuilium,* describes the rhetor's exemplary style as a *domus recta,* eschewing fashionable polish (*quid non huius recentis politurae*) and artificiality in favour of natural speech, and free from a remarkably detailed inventory of the sorts of domestic luxuries that Papirius is reputed to have despised:[523]

> desit sane uarietas marmorum et concisura aquarum cubiculis interfluentium et pauperis cella et quicquid aliud luxuria non contenta decore simplici miscet; quod dici solet, domus recta est. (*Ep.* 100.6)

We have met a similar example in Tacitus' *Dialogus,* in which the 'modernist' Marcus Aper describes his ideal oratorical style as a house intended 'to delight vision and the eyes, furnished not only with the bare necessities, but tricked out with gold and jewels' (*Dial.* 22.4: *sed etiam quod uisum et oculos delectet non ea solum instrui suppellectile quae necessariis usibus sufficiat, sed sit in apparatu eius et aurum et gemmae*).[524] If Fabianus' tirade against *luxuria* and artificiality in domestic architecture doubles as an attack against *luxuria* and artificiality in language, then Statius presents not just Pollius' villa as the antithesis, but also his own poetry, which mimics Pollius' unnatural and luxurious villa. As a poetic gift to Pollius, a patron who is similarly engaged in literary pursuits (2.2.112: *hic ubi Pierias exercet Pollius artes*), Statius' poem stresses the *Siluae'*s power to match the object that it praises, presenting a dazzling form of epideictic verse that assimilates itself to Pollius' dazzling edifice.

But the insistence on the artifice of poetic language goes beyond the panegyric tendency to find equivalences between the object praised and the act of praise itself. Fabianus' antipathy towards unnatural and artificial style is emblematic of broader discussions of the nature of language and its relationship to reality, and 'natural' and 'unnatural styles' in literary criticism in antiquity: Dionysius Halicarnassus provides an instructive representation of this line of thought, for whom the structure of language could, and should, reflect the order of nature: a natural style in rhetoric is most effective (*Isoc.* 12.3-4), of which Lysias

[523] Rimell (2015a) 121 on Papirius' – and Seneca's – 'house of style'.
[524] This passage is well discussed by Newlands (2013) 68-69.

is the champion; Thucydides, by contrast, epitomises the artificial style, turned away from what is natural (κατὰ φύσιν; *Dem.* 2.130.25-131.3).[525]

Indeed, criticism of Statius' *un*natural poetics, exemplified by both the *Siluae* and the epics, formed the dominant approach of twentieth-century scholarship too, for which the pejorative term 'mannerist' was *de rigueur*, following Ernst Curtius' diagnosis of the poet who "prefers the artificial and affected to the natural", and indicative of deterioration of Latin literature.[526] In 1983, Verstraete could already reflect that "whether or not the term is specifically used, in nearly every study that has appeared over the past few decades, sensitivity to one or more aspects of the mannerist character of the *Siluae* is evident".[527] Vessey implicates Statius in a "cult of the unnatural"; Schetter devotes an analysis to Statius' 'manieristisches Kunstwerk', in which artificiality replaces reality "das Kunstwerk stellt somit ein Gebilde dar, in dem nicht mehr die erfahrene Wirklichkeit bewältigt und gedeutet, sondern eine zweite artifizielle und sich selbst genügende Welt geschaffen wird"; and Friedrich provides a similar (excellent) overview of the *Siluae*'s 'mannerism', with special attention to *Siluae* 5.4.[528] Unnaturalness is the critical metaphor that Statius anticipates throughout the *Siluae,* takes up as his poetic subject-matter, and enacts in his poetics.

5.4 imperial building, imperial praise

Another reading of Statius' engagement with moral rhetoric is available, one that more closely aligns Pollius' construction with the traditions of imperial building, strengthening the notion of Pollius' villa as an imperial monument, and of Pollius himself as either virtuous imitator of Domitian, or pretender and transgressive threat to imperial power. The crucial passage is found at lines 54-62:

mons erat hic ubi plana uides, et lustra fuerunt

[525] See de Jonge (2008) on the traditions of *physis* and *techne* as style in Dion. Hal.
[526] Curtius (1953) 282.
[527] Verstraete (1983) 195.
[528] Vessey (1973) 9; Schetter (1960) 125; Friedrich (1963) 38, who formulates mannerism slightly differently: "Manierismus ist nicht als Unnatur zu fassen (Denn was ist Natur?) sondern als Ubermass an Kunst". cf. Cancik (1965) chapter 3: 'der Manierismus und die Einheit des Statianischen Werkes'; and also Bardon (1962) 741: ""la Thébaïde de Stace est l'équivalent pictorial du baroquisme en art".

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
intrantemque domos iussumque recedere montem.
iam Methymnaei uatis manus et chelys una
Thebais et Getici cedat tibi gloria plectri;
et tu saxa moues, et te nemora alta sequuntur. *(Silv.* 2.2.54-62)

Where formerly a barren landscape lay, Pollius' city-like villa now stands. *Mons erat* suggests a variation on the conventional *est locus* formulation of topographic ecphrasis, and Statius emphasises the drastic change in landscape that Pollius has enacted through a series of formulaic temporal contrasts and deictic markers (*erat hic...| nunc; ubi nunc | hic fuit*).[529] As mentioned above, this formula reminds us of Augustan poetry's proclivity for such descriptions, and in particular topographical contrasts that mark the difference between Rome's humble beginnings and its teleological endpoint, the monumental *caput mundi*. Examples are forthcoming from Propertius (4.4.11-12: *ubi nunc terris dicuntur iura subactis | stabant Romano pila Sabina foro*), Virgil's *Aeneid* (*Aen.* 8.348: *aurea nunc, olim siluestribus horrida dumis*) and Ovid's *Fasti* (5.93-94: *hic ubi nunc Roma est, orbis caput, arbor et herbae | et paucae pecudes et casa rara fuit*); Lucan reverses the theme, comparing the past glories of Rome to the dilapidation of contemporary Italy (1.24-5: *at nunc semirutis pendent quod moenia tectis | urbibus Italiae*).[530]

These topographical portraits of early Rome map suggestively onto the account of the foundation of Pollius' villa; Statius presents Pollius' villa in terms of the foundation of a city, drawing parallels with Rome's primordial landscape and current imperial glory, and mapping on to the idea of the emperor as *conditor* of Rome and the notion of Rome's ktistic renewal.[531] Scholarship notes also how Statius renders Pollius' domination of the landscape in heavily militaristic language (56: *domuit possessor*; 59: *iussumque recedere;* 57: *expugnantem*; 58*: iugum discentia*), creating an image of Pollius' forceful subjugation and

[529] Hinds (1987) 36; Bömer (1957) *ad loc. Fast.* 2.289. Leigh (2010) 219-20 on the nuance of the past tense in such formulations. Coleman (2006) 15 cites examples of the 'then/now' theme in the *Greek Anthology.*
[530] cf. the Virgilian allusion at line 28 (*horrida quod dumis*); Thompson and Bruère (1968).
[531] Hunsucker (2018) gives a good account of the emperor as *conditor* and 'ktistic renewal' from Augustus to Constantine.

colonisation of nature (52-3: *natura...uicta colenti* | *cessit*), pressed into the service of Roman civilisation (108-9: *nobile* | *seruitium*).[532] The theme shares clear affinities with the *Georgics'* assimilation of agriculture's struggle against nature and the hardships of *labor improbus* to military warfare,[533] but the import here is heightened by the location of Pollius' villa in the Bay of Naples, and hence in what Newlands terms a 'post-Vesuvian landscape', "where domination of nature takes on new urgency...and is given implicit license by continuing proof of the volcano's arbitrary, destructive powers", to which the inhabitants of Campania nonetheless remain resistant, as Statius boasts elsewhere (3.5.72-4).[534] Pollius' villa participates, both metaphorically and literally, in the renewal of the destroyed landscape and in the epic struggle against inimical *natura*. Building and conquering are to be conceived of as an identical practice, and manipulation of the natural landscape is justified through recourse to the strongest manifestation of Roman *uirtus*—military prowess—and the triumphant imagery portrays Pollius not as a philosophically enlightened private citizen, but as an exemplary Roman commander. The implication of such imagery, as Newlands observes, is that Pollius' villa is represented as not only the well-governed estate, but rather as the well-governed state.[535]

Newlands' comments on this passage are exacting, but miss important wider resonances. Crucial to the notion of Pollius as a variation on the imperial Roman conqueror and builder is the villa's location on the Campanian coast, an environment synonymous with monumental and spectacular building, originally by Hercules and later by emperors. The theme of the 'conquest' of nature is prevalent in literary descriptions of the Campanian landscape that narrate Hercules' participation in the Gigantomachy and his subsequent building activities in the area, including the damming of Lake Avernus and the construction of the so-called Via Herculanea (Str. 5.4.6, Diod. Sic. 4.22; Prop. 1.11; Sil. *Pun*. 12.117-9).[536] Hercules participates in the victory over the Giants, and goes on to conquer the landscape; Strabo and Diodorus in

[532] cf. Van Dam (1984) 190 and 227–8; Bergmann (1991) 65; Myers (2000) 113–15; Hinds (2001) 245–6; Newlands (2002a) 179-180.
[533] Thomas (1988) *ad loc. G.* 1.145; Perkell (1989) 6, 97; Jenkyns (1993).
[534] Newlands (2020) 365; Sacerdoti (2019). cf. *Silv.* 3.5.72-4; 5.3.
[535] Newlands (2002a) 174 ff.
[536] Morgan (2005); Connors (2015); Leigh (2000).

particular stress the connection between Hercules' victory over the giants and the building projects that follow, and Connors observes of these accounts that Hercules' deeds in Campania are assimilated to "a Roman general's career, especially in the sense that a Roman general is also an explorer, a strategic builder and rebuilder of the territory through which he passes".[537] The image of Hercules as builder and Campanian culture hero is central to *Siluae* 3.1, the so-called 'Hercules Surrentinus Polli Felicis', in which Statius presents the hero manipulating the landscape and constructing his own temple on Pollius' property (which Statius again frames through the familiar *nunc-tunc* device—3.1.12-15: *steriles hic nuper harenas | ad sparsum pelago montis latus hirtaque dumis | saxa nec ulla pati faciles uestigia terras | cernere erat*), providing encouragement and the exemplary model for Pollius to imitate (3.1.114: *incipe et Herculeis fidens horatibus aude*). 3.1 and 2.2 work together as a *Gedichtpaar:* Pollius is assimilated to Hercules, and the monumental alterations to the villa's landscape are granted mythological status through association with those of the hero.

For a Flavian audience, however, Campania was tangibly linked to a series of imperial building projects, commencing under Octavian and continuing on through to Domitian's Via Domitiana. In 37 BC Agrippa, under Octavian, constructed the monumental Portus Iulius, created by joining Lake Avernus to the Lucrine and lengthening the strip between the Lucrine and the ocean with a breakwater, and felling the forest around Avernus in the process (Str. 5.4.5), a deed which Servius tells us 'turned the place from one of pestilence to one of pleasure" (*ad. Aen.* 3.442: *quam rem Augustus Caesar intellegens deiectis siluis ex pestilentibus amoena reddidit loca*), creating, like Pollius, a *locus amoenus* out of an adverse environment.[538] The Portus Iulius thus constituted a major intervention in the Campanian landscape, and Frederiksen provides a much-quoted account of its implications, stressing the spectacular, monumental scope of the project:[539]

[537] Connors (2015) 130.
[538] Leigh (2010) 222.
[539] Frederiksen (1984) 333-5.

> Octavian had however learned from his adoptive father the uses in the quest for public attention of spectacular alterations of the physical environment. The feeling behind his massive corrections of nature in Campania is not in the least utilitarian. The project is designed to impress the beholder with the colossal power and awesome 'magnitudo animi' of its creators; and it is duly recorded in the pages of loyal writers of the period. From these plans we learn very little of strategic necessity or of the logistics of the Roman fleet, but a great deal about the importance attached by Octavian to winning the loyalty and respect of the people of Campania. His successors behaved in similar ways for similar reasons. Their policies should no longer be rejected as whimsical display, still less as expensive failures.

Frederiksen makes the link between Campania and a sense of monumentality clear: the harbour offered little practical advantage to the war effort against Sextus Pompeius, but a significant testament to the resources and capacities of Octavian, and his ability to effect irreversible change upon the landscape, fashioning it into a recognisably Augustan environment.[540] This rearrangement of the Campanian landscape additionally served to present Octavian and Agrippa as the rightful successors to Hercules (against Antonius' similar claims: Plut. *Ant.* 4), and to directly associate them with heroic, more than human deeds; Agrippa is known to have made alterations to the Via Herculanea, and Strabo explicitly compares Agrippa's building activities with those of Hercules (5.4.6). Statius' association of Pollius with Hercules is refracted through Octavian's monumentalisation of the Campanian landscape, and Pollius' monumental villa echoes the Augustan interventions, strengthening the implicit link in *Siluae* 2.2 between Pollius and Augustus that Statius' evocation of the Porticus Liviae gestures towards.

Pollius' triumph over the landscape would also appear to resonate with later imperial building projects, and especially Domitian's Via Domitiana, the subject of *Siluae* 4.3, which, as we saw in an earlier chapter, fashions Domitian as military conqueror and master interventionist within the Campanian environment, and hence a continuation of the Augustan paradigm. But problematically, 2.2 obviously precedes Statius' later praise of the emperor's road; it is thus Domitian who follows Pollius' example in the *Siluae,* not vice-versa. An additional problem is that Pollius' feats bear closer proximity with the failed

[540] Leigh (2010), Morgan (2007), both citing Frederiksen here. Agrippa seems also to have recognised the monumental significance of the works, for Servius tells us that the statesman discusses the construction in Book 2 of his autobiography (*ad. G.* 2.162: *Agrippa in secundo uitae suae dicit, excogitasse se, ut ex Lucrino lacu portum faceret,*), but that Augustus took the credit (*uerum, huius (operis) gloria Augusto cessit*).

Campanian projects of Nero: the last Julio-Claudian had attempted to build both a covered pool from Misenum to Avernus, and a canal between Lake Avernus and Ostia (the region where Domitian successfully built his road), for which Tacitus describes him as *incredibilium cupitor* (Tac. *Ann.* 15.42). If Pollius is imitating imperial projects, then it is not the first of the Julio-Claudian emperors that he finds affinity with, but the hubristic ambitions of the last.

Moreover, whilst the history of imperial building projects appears to validate Pollius' deeds, the conversion of land into sea and the mastering of the sea also invites comparison with Xerxes, the paradigm of violence against nature and hubristic despotism. The *topos* of building over water later contributed to negative representations of emperors, whose building programmes and spectacles could be denounced as Xerxes-like, despotic works. An early, subtle example comes at *Georgics* 2, where Virgil singles out the Portus Iulius as a subject of praise in his *laudes Italiae*:

> an memorem portus Lucrinoque addita claustra
> atque indignatum magnis stridoribus aequor,
> Iulia qua ponto longe sonat unda refuso
> Tyrrhenusque fretis immittitur aestus Auernis? (*G.* 2.162-5)

Thomas notes that the passage encapsulates *Georgic* 2's "central theme of man's use of force against nature", hence similar to *Siluae* 2, but still finds it a "troubling and far from harmonious image", as the personified indignation of the Lucrine (*indignatum magnis stridoribus*) indicates; as Thomas points out, the image of the rankled Lucrine anticipates the similar indignation of the river Araxes in the *Aeneid*, represented on Aeneas' shield, at Augustus' replacement of the bridge built by Alexander the Great (*Aen.* 8.728: *pontem indignatus Araxes*). It is telling that Servius Auctus erroneously claims that Xerxes had first attempted to tame these waters (*ad Aen.* 8.728: *fluuius Armeniae, quem pontibus nisus est Xerxes conscendere*), and if Thomas postulates a lost tradition that places Xerxes there, equally inferable is the readiness to associate such imperial acts of dominating nature with their tyrannical archetype.[541]

[541] Thomas (1988) *ad loc.*, Leigh (2010), Giusti (2018) 44.

Later emperors meet similar accusations of *imitatio* of Persian kings, and with less ambiguity: As Hardie notes in reference to Neronian literature more broadly, the Roman fascination with Xerxes "has not a little to do with the anxiety that the emperor might be tempted to play the part of an eastern tyrant".[542] Both Suetonius and Dio equate Caligula's efforts to bridge the gap between Baiae and Puteoli with Xerxes' Hellespontine transgressions (Suet. *Calig.* 19.2: *aemulatione Xerxis;* Cass. Dio 59.17.11);[543] Seneca describes Caligula's actions as the 'imitation of a raging, foreign, and deplorably proud king' (*De Breu.* 18.5: *furiosi et externi et infeliciter superbi regis imitatio*) denouncing him specifically as *tyrannus* and an *externus rex*.[544] The trope of converting water into land and land into water appears in imperial biography in other formulations, as Caligula's infamous 'floating palaces' at Lake Nemi and Liburnian pleasure galleys attest (Suet. *Calig.* 37.2), and Claudius sailed down the Po in a vessel that was 'more *domus* than ship' (Plin. *HN* 3.119: *illa domo uerius quam naue intrauit*), which aligns us again with Hardie's notion of 'naval dislocation of the natural world'.[545]

For a Flavian audience, however, Nero stood as the most recent imperial variation on the theme. In an earlier chapter, we noted Nero's attempt to channel through the Isthmos, a task at which he failed (Plin. *NH* 4.10: *nefasto, ut omnium exitu patuit, incepto*; cf. Suet. *Nero* 19; 37.3), making him susceptible to comparison with Xerxes, as Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius* (*Vita. Ap.* 5.7.2: πότερα Ξέρξην καταπιμπράντα ἢ Νέρωνα ᾄδοντα), and Ps.-Lucian's *Nero* (2.1: τὰ δὲ Ξέρξου καὶ πρὸ τούτων ἴσως ἐνενόησε) both suggest. We may add a further variation on the conversion of water into land in Tacitus' account of Tigellinus' pontoon, constructed for Nero on the Stagnum Agrippae (*Ann.* 15.36-7), described as a floating island which recalls Herodotus' description of Egypt (2.156.2-6), through which Nero turned Rome into a foreign (Egyptian) capital, an ominous precursor to the Domus Aurea:

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[542] Hardie (2007) 133-6.
[543] Cass. Dio has Caligula himself articulate the comparison (59.17.11). cf. *Epit. de Caesaribus* 3.9 which presents Caligula's double crossing as a conquest and triumph (*quasi triumphus*), respectively; Malloch (2001).
[544] Malloch (2001) suggests that Senca refers here to Alexander.
[545] As Roncaglia (2019) points out, it is not until Caligula that we see Roman ships on the scale and size of Hellenistic royal barges.

> Nec multo post omissa in praesens Achaia (causae in incerto fuere) urbem reuisit, prouincias Orientis, maxime Aegyptum, secretis imaginationibus agitans...ipse quo fidem adquireret nihil usquam perinde laetum sibi, publicis locis struere conuiuuia totaque urbe quasi domo uti**.** et celeberrimae luxu famaque epulae fuere, quas a Tigellino paratas ut exemplum referam, ne saepius eadem prodigentia narranda sit. igitur in stagno Agrippae fabricatus est ratem, cui superpositum conuiuium nauium aliarum tractu moueretur. naues auro et ebore distinctae; remigesqe exoleti per aetates et scientiam libidinum componebantur. uolucris et feras diuersis e terris et animalia maris Oceano abusque petiuerat. crepidinibus stagni lupanaria adstabant inlustribus feminis completa, et contra scorta uisebantur nudis corporibus. iam gestus motusque obsceni; et postquam tenebrae incedebant, quantum iuxta nemoris et circumiecta tecta consonare cantu et luminibus clarescere. (*Ann.* 15.36.1-7)

As Woodman's reading notes, Tigellinus and Nero "are victims of the same syndrome as those rich Romans of the late republic and early empire whose passion for building houses over the sea was attacked by moralising authors as tyrannical, hybristic and an affront to nature", and which naturally finds its source in Xerxes: Nero's desire to turn Rome into an oriental spectacle aligns him with the Persian king.[546]

But Woodman's argument also stresses the passage's presentation on the affair as a wonder (*miracula*), and finds in Tacitus' description strong affiliations with the traditions of paradoxography, the narrative of marvellous things which are physically impossible or contrary to nature, typically from Eastern regions, and Egypt in particular.[547] Imperial construction over water, or the conversion of land into water, can be construed as the miraculous deed of the divine emperor rather than the indulgence of the private tyrant, and imperial building projects as *miracula*, framed by the language of paradoxography: Tacitus marvels at Tigellinus' construction as much as he condemns it, and if Suetonius' description of Caligula's attempt to build over water draws a connection between the emperor and Xerxes, it also articulates the unconditional wonder attributed to imperial building programmes and engineering feats, and the ability to attempt a 'new and previously unheard-of form of spectacle' (Suet. *Calig.* 19.1-3: *nouum praeterea atque inauditum genus spectaculi excogitauit*). We see Statius expressing wonder at the superhuman capacities of the emperor elsewhere in his descriptions of Flavian monuments, in which Domitian stands as divine

[546] Woodman (1992) 177.
[547] Studies of ancient marvels and paradoxography include Pavlovskis (1973); Schepens and Delcroix (1996); Hardie (2009a); Ash (2018). Myers (2000) on paradoxography in Statius' villa poems.

superintendent and miracle worker, 'better and more powerful than nature' (4.3.135*: natura melior potentiorque*), as Statius praises the emperor in his poem on the Via Domitiana—a project that builds over the river Volturnus and stretches across waterlogged, sea-like land (31: *horrebat mala nauigationis*), ultimately succeeding where Xerxes failed (56-50). *Epigram* 27 of Martial's *Liber Spectaculorum* also combines the expression of wonder with a variation on the *topos* of converting water into land in his description of the emperor's *naumachia* at the Flavian amphitheatre—an architectural *miraculum* in its own right, surpassing the wonders of the world (*Spect.* 1.7: *omnis Caesareo cedit labor Amphitheatro*):

> quis ades longis serus spectator ab oris,
> cui lux prima sacri muneris ista fuit,
> ne te decipiat ratibus naualis Enyo
> et par unda fretis: hic modo terra fuit**.**
> non credis? specta, dum lassant aequora Martem:
> parua mora est, dices 'hic modo pontus erat'. (*Spect.* 27[24])

Martial reworks the theme of a Xerxes-type conversion of land into water to present rather the emperor's superhuman control over nature and his public munificence. The epigram provides a forceful example of the theme that we have been tracing, and also exemplifies how the traditions of praise of imperial monuments and building projects, and of Roman moralising discourse, so often appear as two sides of the same coin, sharing common tropes and *topoi*. Like Statius' praise of Pollius' villa, Martial evokes the complex tradition of praise and blame inherent in the theme of building over water, in which the tension between artifice and natural order can be mobilised either to condemn or to praise imperial construction and monumentalisation. Armstrong draws a similar observation of the representation of marvellous architecture in Augustan poetry, noting that "it is interesting just how close the language of approval comes to the language of disapproval"; Bartsch's seminal discussion of Pliny's *Panegyricus* draws similar conclusions, noting that the "terms of praise lend themselves to interpretation of blame", and that there is a "tendency for the terms of praise and blame to be liable to slippage and thus to mean their opposites or their negative counterparts on one or another evaluative axis separating good qualities from bad".[548]

[548]Armstrong (2009) 91; Bartsch (1994) 169-70.

Antiquity is highly attuned to these nuances: Seneca observes the potential for characteristics to be interpreted as virtues and vices (*Ep.* 120.8 *sunt enim, ut scias uirtutibus uitia confinia, et perditis quoque ac turpibus recti simulitudo est*), and Aristotle had already pointed to this productive ambiguity for the purposes of praise or blame in rhetoric (*Rh.* 1367a33-63: ληπτέον δὲ καὶ τὰ σύνεγγυς τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν ὡς ταὐτὰ ὄντα καὶ πρὸς ἔπαινον καὶ πρὸς ψόγον:); Quintilian identifies the phenomenon as *distinctio* or *paradiastole* (9.3.65: *Huic diuersam uolunt esse distinctionem, cui dant nomen* παραδιαστολήν, *qua similia discernuntur*), in which vice can be interpreted as virtue (*cum te pro astuto sapientem appelles, pro confidente fortem, pro inliberali diligentem*).[549]

At the core of *Siluae* 2.2 is thus a crucial ambiguity, and a problem that is central to both the *Siluae* as a whole, and to the panegyric genre more broadly. Importantly, the onus of interpretative responsibility is on the audience, who must discern between praise and blame, and between genuine praise and flattery. So Quintilian, following Aristotle (*Rh.* 1.1367b7): *Nam plurimum refert qui sint audientium mores, quae publice recepta persuasio, ut illa maxime quae probant esse in eo qui laudabitur credant, aut in eo contra quem dicemus ea quae oderunt* (3.7.23). The ability to construct praise on traditionally slippery terms itself implies praise of the *laudandus*, whose moral steadfastness and virtue cannot possibly allow for ambiguity. Pliny, in the *Panegyricus*, can confidently declare that there is no such risk of such a hermeneutical slip with Trajan, his addressee: *Non enim periculum est ne, cum loquar de humanitate, exprobrari sibi superbiam credat; cum de frugalitate, luxuriam; cum de clementia, crudelitatem; cum de liberalitate, auaritiam* (3.4). Statius places his audience in a similar position: We are asked to hold Pollius up against two models, and to assess the applicability of both. Statius' praise follows a similar trajectory, and through the persistent destabilisation of inherited tropes and *topoi*, creates a series of choices between praise and blame for the reader – Pollius, and the wider audience of the *Siluae*—to determine.

[549] Bartsch *ibid.*

5.5 Neronian *domus*, Flavian *urbs*

The Augustan (viz. Ovidian and Virgilian) intertextual background to Statius' description of Pollius' porticus posits a connection between the private villa and the public monuments of Rome; it also provides a suggestive framework for interpreting the moral consequences of the entire poem, further informed both by traditional moralising discourse around *aedificatio* and *luxuria*, and by the contemporary cultural background of imperial *res gestae* in Campania. Statius works to rehabilitate as praiseworthy the traditional tropes of blame, and to present Pollius' villa as not only monument to Flavian cultural reform and renewal, but an act of imperial building in its own right; Pollius' imitation of Augustus doubles also as an imitation of Domitian. But at the same time, I have suggested that Pollius' villa can also stand accused of two traditional misdemeanours: of the conflation of house with city, and of the dislocation of nature. Moreover, Pollius' actions can be interpreted as inappropriately aspirational, aimed at the principate.

For Statius' Flavian audience, much of what we have discussed in *Siluae* 2.2 would have resonated profoundly with another private structure which had been demolished and replaced by a munificent imperial monument: the Neronian Domus Aurea in Rome.[550] Both *topoi* examined (*domus*-as-*urbs*, and building over water) would have found their most recent manifestation in the Domus Aurea, associating Pollius with Neronian transgressions, and presenting Statius' patron as a foil for Domitian's rulership. Statius' poem thus plays out not only upon a literary-poetic background, but as I have suggested, also functions within the broader context of Roller's concept of 'intersignification' of monuments and monumentality in the imperial period. The importance of the Porticus Liviae in Statius' description can further support this claim, for if Statius' allusion to Ovid's account asks us to associate Pollius' villa with the Augustan monument on the Oppian Hill in Rome, then a further topographical association for the Flavian reader would have been the Domus Aurea, which had occupied the space immediately south of the porticus.[551] The account in

[550] The extent of the Domus Aurea's demolition under the Flavians is unclear: Tac. *Ann.* 15.52; Plin. *HN* 34.84; 36.37 Hier. *a. Abr.* 2120; Orosius 7.12. Otho assigned a large sum for its completion (Suet. *Otho* 7); Vitellius ridiculed it (Cass. Dio 64.4**).** See Warden (1981), and now Weiland (2018) for a recent appraisal.
[551] *LTUR* II 49-64.

Ovid's *Fasti* of Vedius Pollio's city-sized *domus*, and Augustus' restoration of public space thus finds both a thematic and a topographical echo in Nero's Domus Aurea and its replacement by the Flavian amphitheatre, which was utilized by Flavian ideology to assert a similar narrative of the restoration of private *luxuria* by a benevolent and morally upright principate to the urban populace. The two instances combine to frame Statius' representation of Pollius' villa, which suggestively conflates both private *luxuria* and public munificence, and forces a confrontation with the recent memory of the Neronian past and Domitianic present.

The Domus Aurea was the definition of *urbis opus*, both in size and essence, occupying much of the central area of Rome. Designed by his architects Severus and Celer, it resembled, as Champlin has suggestively argued, a Campanian *uilla maritima* (and thus providing an additional point of contact with Pollius' villa), perched above the *stagnum Neronis* (Suet. *Ner.* 31.1), a lake designed to represent the ocean (*maris instar*) with buildings shaped as cities around it, which not only could be accused of transforming land into water, but also resulted in a staggering semantic interplay between *urbs* and *domus*.[552] Whilst the Domus Aurea's *trompe l'oeil* acrobatics created a cluster of cities within its domestic boundaries, Nero stood accused, as it were, of founding a new *Neropolis* on the ruins of Rome (Tac. *Ann.* 15.40.9: *uidebanturque Nero condendae urbis nouae et cognomento suo appellandae gloriam quaerere*), and of turning Rome into his own private *domus*, a reversal of the rhetorical *topos* of constructing houses as big as cities.

Prior to his account of its construction in the *Annales*, Tacitus foreshadows the disastrous implications of the Domus Aurea by blurring city and *domus* in Nero's behaviour (*Ann.* 15.37.1: *struere conuiuia totaque urbe domo uti*). Pliny lamented the subjection of Rome by emperors to such domestication (Plin. *HN* 36.111: *uidimus urbem cingi domibus principum Gai et Neronis*), and the pasquinade recorded in Suetonius (*Ner.* 39.2: *Roma domus fiet: Veios migrate, Quirites | si non et Veios occupat ista domus*!)

[552] Tac. *Ann.* 15.42.1 with Ash (2017) *ad loc.*; Champlin (1998) 343.

also reflects at the very least a post-Neronian consensus: Nero had converted the city into a domestic dwelling, a realisation of the rhetorical trope we have been tracking, and the centre of Rome was now unequivocally the emperor's private domain. Further insinuations suggested Rome had been usurped by a foreign force: Tacitus says that Nero laid waste to Italy and looted the city's temples (15.45.1: *perusta Italia...spoliatis in urbe templis*), and built his house from the spoils of citizens (15.52.1: *spoliis ciuium exstructa domo*), casting Nero as foreign aggressor.

Scholarship has done much to separate rhetoric from reality. Following Elsner, who presents a forceful argument for the Domus Aurea as less a *sui generis* travesty than "a natural and direct continuation of [the] Julio-Claudian tradition", a growing consensus now interprets the palace grounds as a space open to the general populace for common enjoyment.[553] But Elsner suggests that the most disturbing aspect for Romans would have been the Domus Aurea's reshaping of city as country with its picturesque agrarian landscaping; Tacitus laments the Domus Aurea as a grand artificial replication of nature, attempting through *ars* "what nature had denied":

> ceterum Nero usus est patriae ruinis exstruxitque domum, in qua haud proinde gemmae et aurum miraculo essent, solita pridem et luxu uulgata, quam arua et stagna et in modum solitudinum hinc siluae, inde aperta spatia et prospectus, magistris et machinatoribus Seuero et Celere, quibus ingenium et audacia etiam, quae natura denegauisset, per artem temptare et uiribus principis inludere. (*Ann.* 15.42.1)

Pace Elsner, we need not take Tacitus directly at his word here. The description bears evidence of both the moralising tropes that take umbrage at the imitation of nature, and the sense of wonder that such imperial projects can provoke, themes that present clear similarities to Statius' description of Pollius' villa, raising interesting questions of the Flavian poet's influence on the Trajanic historian:[554] it is the strange agrarian landscape "in the manner of a wilderness" (*in modum solitudinum*) that contributes to the miraculous nature of the Domus Aurea, a complex reversal of the types of Augustan topographical descriptions of early Rome observed above: Nero's Rome is now a simulacrum of the natural landscape it once was before its

[553] Elsner (1994) 121: See, most recently, La Rocca (2017, with bibliography) on the Domus Aurea.
[554] Wardle (1995) 346 on Elsner.

foundation, and wealth the *solita pridem, natura* now the rare and innovative indulgence. The description clearly draws heavily on moralising traditions, and foregrounds a number of thematic binaries: between city and *domus*, between virtuous past and immoral present, between authentic *natura* and its enervated replication. Nero emerges as a clear example of the *aedificator* of moralising rhetoric.

Against the private *luxuria* of Nero, the Flavians presented themselves as the restorers of Rome to the general populace.[555] An epigram in Martial's *Liber Spectaculorum* sums up the contrast between spectacular Flavian munificence – namely the restoration to the public of the *stagnum Neronis* by converting it into the monumental Colosseum – and Neronian *luxuria*:

> hic ubi sidereus propius uidet astra colossus
> et crescunt media pegmata celsa uia,
> inuidiosa feri radiabant atria regis
> unaque iam tota stabat in urbe domus;
> hic ubi conspicui uenerabilis amphiteatri
> erigitur moles, stagna Neronis erant (Mart. *Spect.* 2.1-8)

Martial marks the difference between Neronian past and Flavian present; building over water: the construction of the Colosseum over the lake of Nero, is an accomplishment to be praised as a corrective to *luxuria*, not a symptom.[556] The antithesis of Martial's *'unaque iam tota stabat in urbe domus'* neatly gestures towards the standard literary and declamatory attacks on private excess that we have met so far, which had reached its maturity in Nero's construction and had been accordingly rectified by the Flavian regime.

Against the backdrop of Nero's Domus Aurea, Martial's epigram also employs the Augustan contrast between topographical past and present, a formula that suggests the triumphant mastering of Nero's faux-wilderness and the (re)foundation of Rome by the Flavians, and the restoration of public wealth and a new Golden age. Private *domus* is restored as civic space, the Flavian amphitheatre replaces Nero's artificial

[555] See Flower (2006) 228-232; Varner (2017) on Nero's memory in Flavian Rome, and the repurposing of Neronian monuments, particularly the Domus Aurea (250-256).
[556] Coleman (2006) *ad loc.* 2.4.

lake, and past is renewed by the present, placing the Flavians in a long line of *conditores* of Rome, founders of a *Roma Resurgens.*[557] If we take Martial and Tacitus as representative of a post-Neronian consensus, then it is feasible to find accusations of building houses as big as cities as specifically related to anti-Neronian invective, to which the Flavians offered an appropriate antidote.

The tradition of the Domus Aurea and the Flavian response allows us to draw some insights on Pollius and his porticus. On the one hand, Pollius' villa can stand accused of two traditional misdemeanours: of the conflation of house with city, and of the dislocation of nature, both of which find their most recent manifestation in the Domus Aurea, potentially associating Pollius with Neronian transgressions, and presenting Statius' patron as a potential foil for—or potential threat to—Domitian's rulership. But on the other hand, Statius rehabilitates these traditional tropes of blame as praiseworthy, and presents Pollius' villa as a monument to Flavian cultural reform and renewal; similarly, Pollius' imitation of Augustus doubles as an imitation of Domitian. The reader is ultimately left with two alternatives that such a parallel between emperor and private patron, and between imperial city and private villa, presents, which Gauly summarises:[558]

> Streiten kann man über die Frage, wie diese Parallelen zu bewerten sind: Wird hier insofern ein Gegenentwurf zum Imperialismus des römischen Kaisers präsentiert, als das kleine Reich des Pollius auf politischer Abstinenz, philosophischer Erkenntnis und Selbstgenügsamkeit beruht, oder wird hier ein Musterbeispiel römischen Denkens und römischer Ideologie vor Augen gestellt, das römische Vorstellungen von Ordnung und Macht verkorpe?

Imitation of the emperor also prompts us to question *which* emperor is being imitated. As I have argued, Statius' allusion to the Porticus Liviae aligns Pollius with Augustus, the exemplary emperor whose public munificence and moral legislation is now being repeated by Domitian. But Nero is an unavoidable presence, and the associations that arise from a consideration of the Domus Aurea force us to question the relationship between Neronian past and Flavian present, the public and private aspects of imperial architectural display and its poetic representation, and the relationship between emperor and private citizen.

[557] *Roma Resurgens* was advertised on Flavian coinage, e.g. *BMC* 287: 425; Boyle and Dominik (2003) 5 n. 12.
[558] Gauly (2006) 461.

Although the public munificence of the Flavians lent a sense of restoration to Rome, Nero's memory lingered on, despite – or perhaps because of – the imposed memory sanctions. Numerous figures posed as Nero *rediuiuus* well into the second century (Tac. *Hist.* 2.8.1; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 21.10; Cass. Dio 64.9.3., 66.19.3), and Suetonius records that Titus was anticipated by the populace to become an *alius Nero* (Suet. *Tit.* 7.1: *denique propalam alium Neronem et opinabantur et praedicabant*).

More importantly, however, Domitian was damned by Juvenal as the *caluus Nero* (4.38) on account of his poetic undertakings in his youth and his purported Philhellenism but also due to broader similarities between the two; Pliny's *Panegyricus* persistently condemns Domitian on much the same grounds as Nero is condemned by Flavian sources.[559] Nero implemented the *Neronia* and *Iuuenalia,* Greek-style games within the city of Rome, and Domitian responded in kind, reviving the dormant *Ludi Capitolini* (Suet. *Dom.* 4.4; Cass. Dio 67.1). The *Ludi Capitolini* were by nature a quintessential Roman institution, yet Domitian would appear at his festivals in the *purpurea toga Graecina,* which, as Newlands has pointed out, "constantly ran the risk of blurring the boundaries between him and Nero".[560] As Hutchinson puts it, "at the very time when Latin literature is sometimes supposed to achieve independence from Greek, Greek literary activity is acknowledged publicly in the capital with more emphasis than before. The cultures are firmly twinned".[561] Perhaps more problematically, Domitian celebrated the Quinquatria of Minerva each year at his Alban villa. By taking a Roman institution to Alba, Domitian's private games reversed Nero's efforts to turn the city into his *domus,* but also presented the emperor's villa as a civic institution (Dio Cassius compares the villa to an acropolis: 67.1.2), again complicating the fragile distinction between private and public, *urbs* and *domus,* that we have been tracing.[562] In many ways, Nero's reign had set new boundaries and precedents for both rhetorical discourse and architectural expression of private luxury and public

[559] e.g. Plin. *Pan.* 7.6, with Coleman (2006) 15.
[560] Newlands (2014) 322.
[561] Hutchinson (2013) 51.
[562] A. Hardie (2003) 135; Cass. Dio 67.14.3 refers to them as τά νεανισκεύματα, which Hardie takes as evidence of the games' imitation of the *Iuuenalia* of Nero.

munificence, and Pollius' villa provides a means of assessing both the beneficial and the troubling aspects of Roman imperial rule.

5.6 New beginnings: imperial Hellenism (*Siluae* 3.1)

Pollius' villa offers one final complication to be addressed. The associations between villa and city, and the connotations of foundation, draw a connection between Pollius' estate and Rome. But while Statius asks us to imagine Pollius' villa as a city, it is also a strikingly un-Roman city that we are to envisage. This is foregrounded early in the poem, by Statius' allusion to Virgil's description of Carthage in the *Aeneid,* mapping Roman traditions of self-definition and alterity on to Pollius' villa, aligning it with imperial Rome's traditional Other. The villa instead finds close affinity with the Greek world of Campania, and the city with which Pollius' villa is synonymous is clearly Naples.

Throughout the poem, Statius praises Pollius as a Greek and a Hellenophile (95-6: *macte animo quod Graia probas, quod Graia frequentas | arua*), works of Greek art fill the villa (63-69), and Naples' Greek identity is stressed through the abundance of Greek proper names in the opening lines (*Sirenum, Dicarchei, Bromio*). The Greek identity of Pollius' villa both plays into traditional Roman anxieties over corrupting foreign (Greek) influence on villa culture, and also complicates any straightforward associations with Roman imperial monumentality, a problem evident in Statius' description of the porticus: if Statius is alluding to Ovid's description of the Porticus Liviae, as I have argued, then this is immediately contrasted by the following lines which compare it to a porticus on the Greek Acro-Corinth:[563]

> qualis, si subeas Ephyres Baccheidos altum
> culmen, ab Inoo fert semita tecta Lechaeo. (34-5)

This productive tension between the imperial sphere of Rome and the cultural sphere of Greece throughout *Siluae* 2.2 provides an appropriate reference point for Statius himself, who is both an imperial Roman poet

[563] Van Dam (1984) *ad loc.*; Newlands (2011) *ad loc.*

but also "born and bred in a Greek city", as Housman reminds, and "saturated with Greek poetry by the poet and scholar who was his father".[564] Praise of Pollius' cultural choices reflects on Statius' own hybrid identity. This tension in fact pervades much of *Siluae* 1-3 as a unified work, which begins with an imperial monument in the Forum Romanum (*Siluae* 1.1) and ends with Statius' encomium to Naples in the *sphragis* to Book 3, an epistolary *suasoria* to his wife persuading her to leave Rome and join him in Naples (3.5; cf. 3 pr. 20: *mecum secedere Neapolim Claudiam meam exhortor*).

3.5 provides Statius' clearest articulation of the tension beween Greece and Rome:[565] The poem is structured around a sustained *synkrisis* between Naples and Rome which nonetheless establishes a sense of interchangeability and commonality between the two cities: Campania emerges as an amalgam of Roman dignity and Greek creative freedom (94: *Romanus honos et Graia licentia*), Capua imitates the territories of Rome (76-77: *hinc magnae tractus imitantia Romae / quae Capys aduectis impleuit moenia Teucris*), and Naples can boast amenities which are modelled on those of Rome (89-94). Like Carthage, Naples and Campania can symbolise luxury, Oriental difference and political rivalry.[566] But the line between imperial centre and cultural periphery is also blurred and rearranged; for Klause, throughout the *Siluae*, "Campania and Rome become so close that they increasingly resemble each other".[567] This ever closer union between Rome and Naples is symbolically realised by Statius' praise of Domitian's Via Domitiana, wherein the distance between Rome and Campania is figuratively collapsed (*Silv.* 4.3.24-26). On the one hand, the interchangeable nature of the two cities can point to Rome's propensity to create its empire in its image; on the other hand, it also points to the contingency of Rome's supremacy and to the vicissitudes of power: Like Carthage (Qart Hadasht), Naples, the 'new city', always threatens.

[564] Housman (1933) 73; Holford-Strevens (2000); Newlands (2012).
[565] For accounts of *Siluae* 3.5, see Vessey (1976); Garthwaite (1989); Henderson (2007); Bessone (2019).
[566] cf. Cowan (2007) on Capua in Silius Italicus.
[567] Klause (2016).

We can trace a similar tension between villa and city, between imperial Rome and Greek Naples, in the so-called 'Hercules Surrentinus Polli Felicis' (*Silv.* 3.1), Statius' subsequent offering to Pollius Felix, now the dedicatee of *Siluae* 3 (3 pr. 1), and the final point of contact for this chapter. The poem is dedicated to the restoration of a temple to Hercules on Pollius' property, and thus accordingly provides Statius with another occasion to assimilate the *Siluae'*s programme of poetic monumentality to the material monuments of his patrons. Like the temple itself, on the shoreline of Pollius' estate (cf. 2.2.23-4), the poem stands at the *limen* of the third book (pr. 9: *nam primum limen eius Hercules Surrentinus aperit..in litore tuo consecratum*), and the temple, built in one year and celebrated in one day, partakes in the *celeritas* (12: *o uelox pietas*!) and the hallmark traits of the experimental poetics of the *Siluae*, which Newlands has detailed extensively.[568] The temple, as bright as Oeta's immortalising flame (5-7: *nitidos postes...ceu...ignis ab Oetaea…flamma*) also presents another analogue for the commemorative power and immortalising quality of Statius' poetry, confirmed by Hercules' closing speech to Pollius, predicting the temple's ongoing permanence through time:[569]

> nam templis numquam statuetur terminus aeui[570]
> dum me flammigeri portabit machina caeli. (180-81)

Like Pollius' villa, the temple also functions as an important site of intertextuality: Statius employs a complex framework of references, primarily to the Molorchus episode in Callimachus' *Victoria Berenices*, in Book 3 of the *Aetia* (Call. fr. 54-60 H.), as Thomas and Newlands have identified, and also to the Mincian temple to Augustus which Virgil vows to establish in *Georgics* 3, which entertains its own associations with Callimachus' epinicean.[571] These associations of Virgil's Mincian Temple, which the poet vows to

[568] Newlands (1991). For *limen* as 'literary threshold', cf. Quint. *Inst.* 2.11.1 'in ipso statim limine'; Mart. 8 pr. 17 'in ipso libelli huius limine'. Henderson (2007) 89: Pollius' "sirened policeman Hercules' threshold opens the book's – their – stone/paper shrine safeguarding the shorelines/sure lines of this security-conscious outfit"; Egelhaaf-Gaiser (2007) on 3.1 as the 'Eingang ins Silvensbuch'.
[569] cf. Pind. *Ol.* 6.1-6 (2-3: ἀρχομένου δ' ἔργου πρόσωπον | χρὴ θέμεν τηλαυγές). Hercules provides a comparative model for Roman emperors immortalised by fire: Price (1987) 74-6; on fire and immortality Currie (2004) 344-405. cf. *Cons. ad Liviam* 257-8: (*sc. flamma) qualis in Herculeae colluxit collibus Oetae | quom sunt imposito membra cremata deo.*
[570] Laguna (1992) 188 points out the connection with Virg. *Aen.* 1.279 (*sine fine dedi*).
[571] Thomas (1983a); Newlands (1991); on the order of the fragments and their location in Book 3, Parsons (1977).

dedicate to Augustus, with imperial panegyric epic have proved problematic for some scholars; for Newlands, the temple of *Georgics* 3 provides a foil for Statius' "turn away from '*arma'* and *reges'* to the peaceful themes of private poetry".[572] Statius avoids any comparison with the Herculean Ara Maxima or aspects of the hero's national cult—despite the temple being dedicated on August 13, the day after the festival day of the Herculis Invicti Ara Maxima. But the distinction is not so clear-cut: like the Porticus Liviae, the presence of the Mincian temple assimilates Pollius to Augustus, to whom Virgil's anticipated poetic monument is dedicated. Moreover, Pollius' temple is a private temple with an ostensibly public life, for as Statius tells us, like Virgil promises at Mantua (*G.* 3.17-20), Pollius has inaugurated festival games for the temple:

> hic tibi festa
> gymnas et insontes iuuenum sine caestibus irae
> annua ueloci peragunt certamina lustro: (43-45)

Newlands argues that for Statius, these games, "like his new poetry, represent a withdrawal from the national arena".[573] But it is possible to draw a very different conclusion. Statius stresses the illustrious status of Pollius' estate, matching the importance of civic institutions, and presents Pollius as an eminent *euergetes*, whose private villa is an extension of his public munificence in Naples, which Hercules catalogues in his address to Pollius (91-93: '*tune*', *inquit*, '*largitor opum, qui mente profusa* | *tecta Dichaearchi pariter iuuenemque replesti* | *Parthenopen?*'); indeed, Pollius has expended so much on public munificence in Campanian cities, the hero quips, that he has neglected Hercules and rendered himself a Molorchus: *mihi pauper et indigus uni* | *Pollius?* (102-3). The games that Pollius now inaugurates for Hercules are of a civic nature, and specifically imitate those of Naples, as the city itself watches on approvingly:

> ridetque benigna
> Parthenope gentile sacrum nudosque uirorum
> certatus et parua suae simulacra coronae. (151-3)

[572] Newlands (1991).
[573] *ibid.* 442.

Statius is referring to the Neapolitan Games, the Augustalia he mentions in 2.2, from which as we noted above he is now returning, possibly as victor. Pollius' private games are framed as an extension of the Augustalia, and Statius, as poetic victor, is now able to bestow praise on Pollius' estate and own festival. 3.1 does not present Pollius as an Epicurean recluse, retired from competitive private life, but rather as an active benefactor, whose villa plays a central role in civic and political life in Campania. The result of this deliberate collapse of boundaries between public and private leads us, rather, to the conclusion that Damon draws: "what is different is the competitive venue, not the competitiveness itself; Pollius has simply changed the way he displays himself to the public".[574]

Pollius' temple to Hercules also allows Statius to foreground a poetic relationship between Rome and Greece. I limit myself here to one final observation that has remained unaccounted for, which provides further evidence for the interaction between the material and literary monumental intertextualities this chapter has mapped out. Statius begins his account of the temple's restoration, the narrative to which the poem is devoted, with an invocation of the Muses:

> sed quaenam subiti, ueneranda, exordia templi
> dic age, Calliope; socius tibi grande sonabit
> Alcides tensoque modos imitabitur arcu. (49-51)

It is not just Calliope whom Statius invokes: accompanying the Muses is Hercules, on the lyre. An invocation to Calliope, and the grandeur of Hercules' anticipated accompaniment (*grande sonabit*), make us think of epic; Hercules will shortly go on to match this in the epic creation of his temple, pointedly outdoing the efforts of the Cyclopes in similar terms, and thus Virgil's shield of Aeneas (130-1: *non tam grande sonat motis incudibus Aetne | cum Brontes Steropesque ferit*). But within the sacral context of a temple dedication, the specific iconography of Hercules on the lyre recalls the image of Hercules *musagetes*, and the temple recalls no other than the Temple Herculis Musarum in Rome, built by M. Fulvius Nobilior following his triumph in 187 BC, after his victory over Ambracia, which contained statues of the nine

[574] Damon (2013) 186.

Muses plundered from military campaigns in Greece.[575] Fulvius Nobilior could thus present himself, quite literally, as having brought the Muses to Italy (Plin. *HN* 35.66: *inde Musas Fuluius Nobilior Romam transferret*), a prime example of the warrior-poet observed in an earlier chapter (Cic. *Arch.* 27: *iam uero ille qui cum Aetolis Ennio comite bellauit Fuluius non dubitauit Martis manubias Musis consecrare*).[576] It is this temple that marks the culmination of Ovid's *Fasti* (6.799-812), in which the poet provides an explanation of the temple's foundation, and ends with a description of Hercules playing the lyre:

> sic cecinit Clio. doctae assensere sorores;
> adnuit Alcides increpuitque lyram. (811-12)

Within this context, Statius' representation of Hercules as musical accompanist to Calliope is particularly striking: it aligns the the commencement of Statius' narrative of the *exordia templi* with the last lines of Ovid's own aetiological enterprise, which is now upgraded from elegiacs to hexameter, and inspired not by Clio (6.801) but Calliope.[577] The *Fasti*'s sense of closure (forced by the circumstances of exile or otherwise) is reprised and opened up to begin Statius' new aetiological poem on the *exordia templi*. Moreover, while Ovid focuses exclusively on the relationship between monuments, aetiology and calendrical time in Rome, Statius transplants these concerns to Pollius' temple, where the *longaeuum opus* (19) now quite literally fills the calendar year—a feat Ovid could not achieve (*Silv*. 3.1.17-19: *stupet ipse labores | annus et angusti bis seno limite menses | longaeuum mirantur opus*).

But this connection between Pollius' temple to Hercules and the Templum Herculis Musarum has further implications, strengthened also by the associations with *Georgics* 3 that Newlands and Thomas detect in Statius' poem. It is widely acknowledged that Ovid's conclusion to the *Fasti,* and Virgil's desire to dedicate a temple to Augustus in the proem to *Georgics* 3 both look back to Ennius' *Annales*, which was

[575] Skutsch (1968) 19, and (1985) 144 n. 3 on the dating of Fulvius' temple. Newlands (1995) 216 n 22 for the possibilities of the temple's form.
[576] cf. Barchiesi (1997) 270: "bringing the Muses to Rome was no minor distinction for a victorious general, himself Musagetes".
[577] Within this context, 3.5.51's *imitabitur* might be a self-conscious pointer towards Statius' imitation of Ovid.

intended to conclude on Book 15 with a description of his patron Fulvius Nobilior's triumph over Aetolia and subsequent founding of the Templum Herculis Musarum.[578] Fulvius' triumph and monumentalised conquest of the Greek Muses would have been paralleled by Ennius' panegyric account, and provided an attractive model for Virgil explicitly, and Ovid implicitly. When Virgil urges himself on to 'conquer the Muses and draw them down from the Aonian mountain to his Italian homeland' (*G.* 3.10-11: *primus in ego in patriam mecum...| Aonio rediens deducam uertice Musas*), the echo of Lucretius' similar praise of Ennius (*Ennius...noster...qui primus amoeno | detulit ex Helicone perenni fronde coronam*), suggests Virgil's ambition to outdo his predecessor: whereas Ennius manages only to bring a crown down from Helicon, Virgil, like Fulvius, will bring the Muses themselves. A pattern emerges, signalling close connection between poet and patron (Ennius and Fulvius, Virgil and Augustus, Statius and Pollius), and between poetic and military conquest of Greece, whereby the "world of Greek culture and literature...is pressed into the service of the new age in Rome", as Hardie puts it.[579]

But the reverse is evidently enacted in *Siluae* 3.1: if Ennius and Virgil can both figure themselves as conquerors of Greek literature, analogous to the military victories of their subject matter, Statius, the native Neapolitan poet, and his patron, can be construed as having 'conquered' the Roman cult of the Muses and relocating them to Greek Naples, their rightful place, and further confirming Pollius' villa as a new Helicon.The result is that Pollius' monumental villa and temple acknowledge their dependence on Rome whilst simultaneously diffusing its power; Statius depicts a similar dynamic regarding his relationship to his literary predecessors. We are presented with a new form of poetics, imperial Hellenism. Hinds describes both Statius and Pollius as typical of the ''Roman imperial philhellene", stating that "for all that Pollius and Statius both belong to a Neapolitan community whose Hellenic roots run deeper than any in Italy, this (*Silv.* 2.2) is the vocabulary of a specifically *imperialised* Hellenism".[580] Roman imperial power is pressed into the service of Greek cultural prestige, not vice-versa; Statius presents himself as vested simultaneously in

[578] First put forward by Skutsch (1968) 18-20. See Barchiesi (1997) 206-7; Littlewood (2006) *ad loc.* 6.797-812; Rupke (2011) 87-108.
[579] Hardie (1993) 1-2.
[580] Hinds (2001) 246.

the political power of imperial Rome and the cultural authority of Greece, each reinforcing the other, as Rosati has nicely summarised:[581]

> L'opera di Stazio è quindi il documento di una nuova stagione culturale nella Roma d'età flavià...se Grecia insomma signfica autorità e dominio nella cultura, Roma significa potere, dominio sul mondo; e tra questi due poli della identità Stazio stringe un nesso vincolante che li potenzi entrambi, che renda più efficace il primo valorizzandolo attraverso il secondo.

Statius is the poet who, in the envoi of the *Thebaid,* can claim to be memorised by the *Italia iuuentus*, and in the proem of the *Achilleid,* imagine himself celebrated at Thebes among the ancient glories of the city (*Achil.* 1.12: *scit Dircaeus ager meque*). Importantly, Statius can find a suitable precedent for such hybridity: Domitian himself, the philhellenic emperor and poet, whose ability is admired by *Itala uirtus Graiaque* (*Achil.* 14-5). The poetic model that Pollius' temple embodies and Statius subscribes to is not inimical to Roman imperialism. In fact, Statius can locate it directly in his source of poetic inspiration and exemplar, the Flavian emperor himself.

[581] Rosati (2009) 20.

Chapter 6
The stone fidelity

Lector, si monumentum requiris, circumspice.
-Wren's epitaph, St. Paul's, London.

My final chapter is concerned, appropriately, with death: an overwhelming number of the *Siluae*'s poems take the form of an *epicedion* or *consolatio,* poems dedicated to the commemoration of the dead and the consolation of the bereaved.[582] Such poems are a central part of the repertoire of the professional poet: in *Siluae* 2.1, the funerary poem for Glaucias, the foster son of Book 2's dedicatee Atedius Melior, Statius tells us that he has often provided consolatory poems to fathers, mothers and sons (31-34), a claim restated at *Siluae* 5.5.38-41.[583] Monuments to the dead are paramount in Roman culture (Varro *Ling.* 6.45; Livy 38.56.3-4), and if the *Siluae* are ultimately concerned with poetic monumentality and in exploiting the ambiguities between poetic and material commemoration, then it is in Statius' funerary poems that we find this most clearly articulated, where the physical monuments to the deceased are invariably placed in relation to Statius' own poetic offerings.

This has a long tradition: the funerary oration compares itself to physical monuments at least as early as Isocrates' *Evagoras,* where the encomium is presented as a more powerful commemoration than the tomb that Nicocles will erect for his father (*Ev.* 1-5).[584] For Isocrates, statues are perfectly fine memorials, but less effective at conveying images of the deeds and character of the *laudandus* than a well-composed speech (73); Tacitus later echoes this sentiment in the conclusion to the *Agricola* (46.3).[585] But

[582] *Silv.* 2.1, 4, 5, 6; 3.3; 5.1, 5.3, 5.5, as well as *Silv.* 2.7, the *genethliacon* to the dead Lucan. Newlands (2006) 63 "poems of lament and consolation constitute the majority of the poems of Statius' *Siluae*". Statius uses the terms *epicedion* and *consolatio* without apparent discrimination. On the manuscript titles, see Coleman (1988) xxviii-xxxii.
[583] Statius is clearly referring to poems not selected for the *Siluae*; cf. Nauta (2002) 285.
[584] Roche (2011) 47.
[585] On the Roman *laudatio funebris,* Kierdorf (1980). That such speeches could in turn be physically monumentalised is evidenced by the Republican *Laudatio Turiae, CIL* 6.41062. For a reconstruction of the marble plaques, Gordon (1950), Horsfall (1983), and now Osgood (2014).

in the commemoration of the dead, literary and material monumentality are also often presented as intimately linked, and there is a clear reliance of poetry upon the tomb even as it purports to rise above its physical restrictions: Hellenistic and Roman funerary epigrams persistently exploit their original status as inscribed upon tombstones to draw attention to their monumental capacity, and to the materiality of the poem as an artefact in its own right. Within the ecphrastic context of the *Siluae,* the tombs associated with Statius' patrons function as subjects of poetry; the poem can be used to commemorate a tomb through Statius' visual descriptions, but it can also stand in place of a tomb, presenting a more effective and durable monument, a theme to which Statius returns throughout his funeral poetry.

The assertion of the superiority of the poetic text over the material monument also affirms the poet's own projected immortality, secured by her verse, and in funerary contexts the monument-poem *topos* and the notion of poetic life after death assume a heightened poignancy. Ennius' poetic self-epitaph (*uar.* 17-18 Vahl.: *nemo me lacrimis decoret nec funera fletu | faxit. cur? uolito uiuos per ora uirum)* provides a model for later variations on the theme (Virg. *G.* 3; Ov. *Met.* 15.878),[586] and self-epitaph and monumentality are themes particularly important to *flebilis Elegia* (Ov. *Am.* 3.9.3), a genre constantly in touch with its own funerary origins: when Ovid invokes the monument-poem *topos* in *Tristia* 3.3, declaring his books to be of greater monumental value than any tomb he might receive, (3.3.77-8: *maiora libelli | et diuturna magis sunt monumenta mihi*), it is in the context of a death-bed letter to his wife that he does so.[587] Propertius, contemplating his own demise, claims that his three *libelli* will provide a fitting funeral procession (2.13.25: *sat mea sat magna est, si tres sint pompa libelli*). The poem-as-tomb, or tomb described in a poem, can stand as an inscribed marker of the poet's literal *corpus*, and also as a metaphor for the ongoing survival of the poet's literary corpus. For Statius, the monumental associations of the funerary poem thus provide a

[586] For self-epitaphs in Hellenistic epigram, Höschele (2013) 208-9. cf., much later, Venant. Fort. 1. *pr.* 2: *hoc nesciens auara mors auferre cum funere quod per ora uiuentium defunctos uidet currere si non pede, poemate.*
[587] Ingleheart (2015) 296. Cf. also Tib. 1.3.54-6; Prop. 2.13.35-6. On fictive epitaphs in Latin elegy, Schmidt (1985). Given Ennius' epitaph, it is important to note views that credited the poet with having introduced elegy to Rome: Isid. *Etym.* 1.39.14.

means of not only commemorating the addressee with an everlasting memorial, but also of asserting his own poetic immortality, and stressing the central importance of the poet to commemoration.

Physical and metaphorical tombs also provide a means for Statius to engage with his poetic inheritance: as we shall see, in *Siluae* 2.7, Statius praises Lucan for offering a poetic *sepulchrum altius Pharo* (72) to Pompey and for offering *solacia* to grand tombs (103: *das solacia grandibus sepulchris*), and accordingly raises a similar monument to the Neronian epicist. In *Siluae* 2.4, a consolation poem to Atedius Melior on the death of his pet parrot, Statius works closely with Ovid's own (highly intertextual) *laudatio* for another deceased psittacine (*Am.* 2.6).[588] And in *Siluae* 4.4, Statius locates himself in Naples, composing poetry at the site of Virgil's shrine (4.4.53-55: *tenues ignauo pollice chordas | pulso Maroneique sedens in margine templi | sumo animum et magni tumulis adcanto magistri*); Statius' location *in margine templi* can suggest both the threshold of Virgil's temple, but also the metaphorical margin of Virgil's work where Statius' own poetic output exists, *en frange du texte*, effectively obscuring the distinction between physical monument and its metaphorical extension.[589] Statius' poetic inspiration is gained through physical proximity to Virgil's tomb, but also, necessarily, from Virgil's epic *monumentum.* The designation of the tomb as a *templum* reaffirms the divine status that Statius allocates to Virgil's *Aeneid* at the conclusion of the *Thebaid* (12.816: *diuinam Aeneida*) and the tomb as a site of divine cult-worship; Pliny tells us that Silius Italicus similarly cultivated Virgil's tomb, which stood on the Flavian epicist's property, 'as a temple' (Plin. *Ep.* 3.7.8: *ut templum*).[590] But we are also reminded of another literary temple, for as Coleman notes, *templum* is evocative of Sychaeus' tomb that Dido cultivates in *Aeneid* 4 (457-8: *fuit in tectis de marmore templum | coniugis antiqui*).[591] Statius constructs a funerary monument of poetic worship through a reworking of Virgil's own poetic representation of tombs, and Virgil's tomb functions as both a physical memorial and as a literary *topos* and means of engaging with Virgil's poetry.

[588] Dietrich (2002); Myers (2013) on *Siluae* 2.4 and Ovid.
[589] Peirano Garrison (2018); Lejeune (1975); Hulls (2017) 165 ff.
[590] Peirano Garrison (2018) on Virgil's tomb in Silius and Statius. As Newlands (2020) 362 points out, Statius' silence on Silius' property elides the latter's claim as successor to Virgil.
[591] Coleman (1988) *ad loc.*

But importantly, Statius' funerary poems are powerful testaments to the dynamics of an imperial culture that was increasingly preoccupied with death, apotheosis and dynastic succession in the tumultuous final years of Domitian's reign. The glaring absence of any imperial successor and increasing senatorial unrest were counterbalanced by the divinisation of Domitian's son, and his niece Julia (Suet. *Dom.* 17.3), and the monumental projection of the *gens Flauia* as a divine dynasty.[592] Domitian's comprehensive monumentalisation of his family included the Templum Vespasiani et Titi at the western end of the Forum, the Porticus Divorum on the Campus Martius with *aedes* for Titus and Vespasian, the Arch of Titus[593], and the Templum Gentis Flaviae, the temple-mausoleum constructed on the Quirinal at the site of Domitian's birth and Domitian's final resting place, a monument that will especially concern us in this chapter. On the other hand, even whilst Domitian was creating a monumental network that would commemorate the Flavian dynasty after his death, there persisted a cult of youth that purposefully denied the mortality and increasing age of the emperor, a celebration of constant renewal and rejuvenation in which the *Siluae* fully participate.[594]

In a previous chapter we saw one way in which the *Siluae* engage with the monumental representation of Domitian's divinity; a central purpose of this chapter will be to look at how Statius engages with this dynastic element of Flavian ideology, and with the divinity of the imperial *gens, qua* immortality and its limitations. There is a reciprocal connection between imperial and poetic power that underlies the commemorative logic of the *Siluae*'s funeral poetry: the immortalising capacity of Statius' monumental verse can extend to the emperor, but it is also through the divine emperor that Statius can bestow immortality upon his patrons and their funerary monuments. Perhaps surprisingly, Statius does not devote a poem to any of the monuments mentioned above. Rather, it is in the poems addressed to Statius'

[592] See Jones (2003) 63.
[593] Viz. the apotheosis relief in the central coffer: Lehmann-Hartleben (1934) suggested that Domitian built the arch as a sepulchre rather than a triumphal monument; Titus' ashes would have been deposited in the hollow attic (109-11). cf. Pfanner (1983) 109-11; Davies (2000) 19-24.
[594] Domitian held the title *princeps Iuuentutis* from 69-81 CE, promoted on coinage as late as 79 CE (*BMC* 2.46 no. 260). A. Hardie (2003) 136-7 suggests that the Alban Games may have been modelled on Nero's *Iuuenalia* and/or pre-existing *ludi iuuenales.*

private patrons that the *Siluae* reflect upon Domitian's dynastic monumentality, drawing a link between private individual and the public image of the emperor, and displaying both the individual's veneration of the emperor and the emperor's ubiquitous control over the individual. The preservation of the memory and commemoration of Statius' subjects is intimately connected with the preservation and commemoration of Domitian's family. This is particularly evident in *Siluae* 5.1, the so-called *epicedion* addressed to the freedman Abascantus on the occasion of his wife Priscilla's death (5.1), and hence the only female subject of a funerary poem in the *Siluae*; the central section of this final chapter is devoted to an analysis of *Siluae* 5.1, where a number of themes that have been covered in this thesis neatly dovetail: domesticity, private monumentality, the politicisation of morality, and the ineluctable presence of the divine Domitian. In many ways, Statius' poem has much in common with a well-known 20th century poem that reflects on the monumentalisation of piety and private devotion made public; in both poems, what will survive is an attenuated, abstracted and politicised form of love.

6.1 poetic tombs, tombs of poets

If we are looking for examples of monumentality in the *Siluae'*s funerary poems, three instances in particular warrant our attention. The first to be addressed is *Siluae* 3.3, the so-called *consolatio ad Claudium Etruscum,* dedicated to the same addressee as 1.5. Early in the poem, Statius provides a description of the funeral pyre for Claudius Etruscus' father, the imperial freedman who served under Caligula, Claudius and Nero, and was admitted to the equestrian order by Vespasian before being banished by Domitian to Campania, and then allowed to return in 90 or 91 CE, dying shortly thereafter.[595] Statius lists the luxurious offerings that Etruscus places upon his father's pyre, before presenting his own poetic offering (*Aonias inferias*) as a more enduring form of commemoration:

> macte pio gemitu! dabimus solacia dignis
> luctibus Aoniasque tuo sacrabimus ultro
> inferias, Etrusce, seni. tu largus Eoa
> germina, tu messes Ciclicumque Arabumque superbas

[595] On the elder Etruscus, Weaver (1965); Evans (1978); Laguna (1992); Nauta (2002) 230-33.

merge rogis; ferat ignis opes heredis et alto
aggere missuri nitido pia nubila caelo
stipentur cineres: nos non arsura feremus
munera, uenturosque tuus durabit in annos
me monstrante dolor. neque enim mihi flere parentem
ignotum; similis gemui proiectus ad ignem.
ille mihi tua damna dies compescere cantu
suadet: et ipse tuli quos nunc tibi confero questus. (3.3.31-42)

Descriptions of the *munera funebria* offered at the funeral and tomb are a staple *topos* in epicedia.[596] But Statius frames his description of Etruscus' offerings (33-36) with a declaration that his own poetic gift, his consolation for his patron (*solacia*), will ensure that Etruscus' grief (*dolor*) lives on, impervious to the flames of the pyre (37-8: *non arsura feremus* | *munera*). Etruscus' gifts are ephemeral and hence ineffective; Statius' offering will last for all time. As Laguna points out, *non arsura munera* is 'un curioso sintagma', and offers us several points of contact.[597] A poetic offering, in the context of funerary rites, must recall Catullus' similar poetic gift to his brother (101.3: *postremo...munere mortis*), a link strengthened by Statius' earlier reference to his poem as *inferiae* (33; cf. Catul. 101.2, 8 *ad inferias*);[598] as Feldherr argues, Catullus 101 bears strong affiliations with the poetic monument, "a replacement for the actual *monumenta* erected for the dead", but also initiating a shift from poem as performative, ritualistic utterance to poem as material commemorative artefact.[599] Statius' poem is presented in similar terms as a monumental offering to Etruscus' father. *Non arsura munera* also presents Statius' offering as a testament to the immortalising capacity of verse: resistance to flames not only creates a contrast with Etruscus' pointedly combustive offerings, but alludes to a constitutive trait of the poetic monument: so too will Ovid's *Metamorphoses* resist fire (15.871-2: *nec ignis* | *poterit abolere*, a claim put to the test in *Tristia* 1.7.20: *imposui rapidis uiscera nostra rogis*); Propertius' *monumentum* will similarly withstand both *flamma aut imber* (3.2.23).

[596] Esteve-Forriol (1962).
[597] Laguna (1992) *ad loc.* 3.3.37
[598] Cf. Tib. 2.6.31-32 *dona sepulchro* | *feram*; Ov. *Am.* 3.9.50 *in cineres ultima dona tulit.*
[599] Feldherr (2000) 221.

But whereas Catullus offers his poetic offering to his dead brother, Statius offers his poem as a gift not to Etruscus' dead father, but as a gift to Etruscus himself, a poetic *consolatio* well-deserved due to his exemplary piety (*dabimus solacia dignis*); the preface also figures the poem in terms of reward for moral merit (3 pr. 14-16: *merebatur et Claudi Etrusci mei pietas aliquod ex studiis nostris solacium, cum lugeret ueris* [*quod iam rarissimum est*] *lacrimis senem patrem*). A similar logic will recur in *Siluae* 5.1, where Statius remarks upon the need to commemorate the pious *dolor* which Abascantus has shown for his wife (4: *namque egregia pietate meretur*). Statius' poetry is inspired by, and provides the deserved reward for, pious grief. Moreover, it is not Statius' poetry that will endure, rather it is Etruscus' grief itself that is immortalised (*tuus dolor*) through Statius' poetic representation (*me monstrante*), and it is Etruscus, not his father, who is the apparent object of monumentalisation.

This presents a paradox: at line 31, Statius has specifically described his offering to Etruscus as a consolation (*solacia*), an aspect emphasised in the preface (pr. 14-5: *aliquod solacium*) and the manuscript title. At its most basic level, the purpose of the *consolatio* is to mitigate grief, a point Statius observes in the following lines (41-2: *ille mihi tua damna dies compescere cantu | suadet*), but as Gibson points out, "there is a sense in which the poem, whilst ostensibly presented as a consolation, actually celebrates the very grief it is intended to assuage".[600] It is Etruscus' display of grief that is monumentalised and made eternal, the very thing to which Statius' poem is supposed to grant closure. By monumentalising and giving poetic form to Etruscus' grief, Statius reasserts the intimate link between poet and patron towards which the *Siluae* persistently aim, yet he also complicates the very purpose of poetic consolation and commemoration. The monumentalisation of Etruscus' grief also blurs the boundary between performative event and poetic artefact, a persistent theme throughout the *Siluae*'s funerary poems (and indeed the *Siluae* themselves), highlighting the changes in poetic meaning and function that occur in the interstice between performance and publication. This confusion between performative and literary poem is evident in the manuscript titles themselves, which follow Statius in designating the funerary poems as both *epicedia* and

[600] Gibson (2006a) xxxv. cf. Sen. *Ep.* 63.3: *breuem illi apud te memoriam promittis, si cum dolore mansura est.*

consolationes without apparent discrimination.[601] Strictly speaking, the *epicedion* was performed before the cremation or burial of the corpse; (Serv. *ad Ecl.* 5.14: *nam epicedion est, quod dicitur cadauere nondum sepulto*); the *consolatio,* on the other hand, as a literary work could benefit from a lengthy delay (Sen. *Helv.* 1.2; Cic. *Tusc.* 3.76; 4.63), a point Statius seems to both apologise for and refute in the same breath in the preface to Book 2, accounting for his hastily prepared *Siluae* 2.1, a key representative of the poet's notorious *celeritas*:[602]

> huius amissi recens uulnus, ut scis, epicedio prosecutus sum adeo festinanter ut excusandam habuerim adfectibus tuis celeritatem. nec nunc eam apud te iacto qui nosti, sed et ceteris indico, ne quis asperiore lima carmen examinet et a confuso scriptum et dolenti datum, cum paene superuacua sint tarda solacia. (2 pr. 7-13)

Statius' funerary poems provide insight into a key aspect of the *Siluae's* poetics of monumentality, immortalising the occasion itself and transposing the moment of private performance into a view *sub specie aeternitatis.* Statius can fictionalise his persona as a performative poet, whilst simultaneously drawing attention to the poem's later editorial scrutiny and its subsequent reception, a combination through which the full meaning and significance of the poem emerges.[603]

At the end of 3.3, Statius returns to the theme of poetic monumentality. The poet imagines Etruscus' own vow to erect images of his father in marble, wax and ivory in the tomb:

> 'te lucida saxa,
> te similem doctae referet mihi linea cerae;
> nunc ebur et fuluum uultus imitabitur aurum.
> inde uiam morum longaeque examina uitae
> adfatusque pios monituraque somnia poscam'. (200-204)

The veneration of the *imagines* of ancestors was a central component of traditional Roman culture, although Pliny tells us that the practice had all but died by about his time (*HN* 35.6-7).[604] Later, in *Siluae* 5.1, we see

[601] Gibson (2006a) xxxiii.
[602] Newlands (2011a); Gibson (2006a).
[603] cf. Pliny on Titinius Capito's *exitus* literature: *uideor ergo fungi pio munere, quorumque exequias celebrare non licuit, horum quasi funebribus laudationibus seris quidem sed tanto magis ueris interesse* (*Ep.* 8.12.4).
[604] Flower (1996); on the decline of *imagines*, Bodel (1999), Gregory (1994).

Abascantus engaging in a similar practice, establishing effigies of his wife Priscilla by which he may commune with her (231-233), and in *Siluae* 2.7, Statius praises Lucan's widow Polla Argentaria for abstaining from the vain comforts of such images (128-9: *at solacia uana subministrat | uultus*).[605] In these instances, the evocation of the commemorative portraits that the patron establishes for the deceased provides the foil for Statius' more powerful and lasting poetic portrait and *solacia*: whereas such artistic likenesses are ultimately incapable of granting consolation and a permanent memorial to the dead, Statius poetry can achieve both, and provide a lasting monument and lasting consolation.[606] This point is clarified when Statius goes on to conclude 3.3 with an envoi to Etruscus' father, and a prediction that his tomb will suffer no neglect:

> salue supremum, senior mitissime patrum,
> supremum uale, qui numquam sospite nato
> triste chaos maestique situs patiere sepulchri.
> semper odoratis spirabunt floribus arae,
> semper et Assyrios felix bibet urna liquores
> et lacrimas, qui maior honos. hic sacra litabit
> manibus eque tua tumulum tellure leuabit.
> nostra quoque exemplo meritus tibi carmina sancit,
> hoc etiam gaudens cinerem donasse sepulchro. (208-16)

Etruscus will always bear offerings to the tomb, will always display pious tears that will ensure its ongoing survival; Statius' poetic gift will hence remain an important part of Etruscus' pious observances. One interpretation available to us here is to find a continuity with the comparison between the ephemeral funerary *munera* of Etruscus and the poet's own eternal gift established earlier; Nauta thus suggests that the contrast between poem and *sepulchrum* can be linked back to Ennius' declaration of poetry's power over the funerary monuments of kings (404-5 Sk.: *reges per regnum statuasque sepulcraque quaerunt, | aedificant nomen*).[607] But there is little sense of the contrast developed earlier at lines 31-42; *quoque* is not adversative but coordinate. Etruscus' ongoing care of the monument is tantamount to the enduring quality

[605] Van Dam (1984) for the various difficulties of this passage; cf. also *Silv.* 2.1.191.
[606] cf. Plin. *Ep.* 3.10.6: *difficile, sed tamen, ut scalptorem, ut pictorem, qui filii uestri imaginem faceret, admoneretis, quid exprimere quid emendare deberet, ita me quoque formate regite, qui non fragilem et caducam, sed immortalem, ut uos putatis, effigiem conor efficere.*
[607] Nauta (2002) 255 n. 14.

of Statius' poem, which has itself been both generated and warranted through Etruscus' exemplary behaviour (*exemplo meritus*): it is through Etruscus' piety that Statius' poetry will live on, and it is through Statius poetry that Etruscus' piety is expressed and immortalised, creating an intimate and reciprocal relationship between poet and patron. Statius' claim that the tomb will not suffer neglect (*numquam... situs patiere*) is also a variation on the motif of the neglected or ruined tomb, which is accordingly unable to fulfil its commemorative function. Juvenal gives a fitting example (Juv. 10.142-6), and it is also a common feature of epigram, such as Leonidas' epigram for Alcimenes (*Anth. Pal.* 7.6563-4: εἰ καὶ πᾶν κέκρυπται ὑπ᾽ ὀξείης παλιούρου | καὶ βάτου).[608] The neglected tomb offers a suitable contrast for the enduring quality of poetry which cannot suffer such degradation: at Mart. 8.3, where the poet describes the future disrepair into which the monuments of Licinus and Messalla will fall, it is in contrast with the poetic immortality that he can provide:

> et cum rupta situ Messallae saxa iacebunt
> altaque cum Licini marmora puluis erunt,
> me tamen ora legent et secum plurimus hospes
> ad patrias sedes carmina nostra feret. (8.3.5-8)

Martial returns to the theme again in Book 10, contrasting images of the dilapidated tombs of Messalla and Crispus with the bold claim that poetry is the only monument that has not learned how to die:

> marmora Messallae findit caprificus et audax
> dimidios Crispi mulio ridet equos:
> at chartis nec furta nocent et saecula prosunt,
> solaque non norunt haec monumenta mori. (10.2.9-12)

At risk of essentialising the tenuous relationship of epigram to the physical monument described, Martial's deployment of the poetic monument *topos* appears readily straightforward: the inevitable destruction of tombs throws into sharp relief the indestructibility of poetry. Statius' variation is more complicated. But by praising Etruscus' eternal veneration of the tomb (*semper*), Statius confounds the logic of the trope: it is the

[608] Lattimore (1942) 220-22. cf. Coleman (2008) 35. Prop. 3.1.37-8; cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 5.64-6 on his discovery of Archimedes' tomb; Mart. 11.56 on Silius' cultivation of Virgil's neglected tomb.

tomb that will survive, but at the same time, Statius replaces the physical tomb with a poetic one, identifying the poem as the *sepulchrum*, remarkably, in which Etruscus will inter his father.[609] We shall shortly focus on two further instances of this conflation between physical and poetic tomb: Statius will make a similar claim for his commemorative poem for Priscilla in *Siluae* 5.1 (15: *haud alio melius condere sepulchro*), and in *Siluae* 2.7, Lucan's poetry is described as a tomb for Pompey (2.7.70-2). Propertius follows a similar tack in the monumental elegy 3.1, claiming his sepulchre will be preserved precisely by his poetic merit and thus suggesting a clear synonymy between tomb and poetry book (37-8). Statius can assert the superiority of poetic commemoration, but not, importantly, at the expense of his patrons' monumental efforts, which are ultimately rendered indistinguishable from one another. Once this connection between poem and tomb is made clear, closer attention to Statius' concluding statement reveals a number of parallels with epitaphic language, which Laguna details, including the epanaleptic *supremum,* and the variation on the epitaphic *sit tibi terra leuis* motif in line 214 *(manibus eque tua tumulum tellure leuabit*).[610] By the poem's conclusion, a conscious synthesis between physical tomb and poetic commemoration has been achieved.

Our second occurrence of the poetic tomb in Statius' funerary poems occurs in *Siluae* 5.3, the so-called *epicedion in patrem suum*, a lament for his father. Difficulties surround the date of both the father's death and the composition of Statius' poem, but incontrovertibly central to *Siluae* 5.3 is the status of Statius' father as a celebrated poet and grammarian, winner of the Augustalia (113-15) and perhaps tutor to Domitian himself (178-80).[611] Early in the poem, Statius invokes his father as *genitor praedocte* (3) and asks him to provide poetic inspiration instead of Apollo (28), and when Statius recounts his father's birth and youth, it is specifically through the language of poetic initiation that he does so: the Aonian Muses

[609] Laguna (1992) 303; Hulls (2011); Newby (2014).
[610] Laguna (1992) *ad loc.*; cf. with examples in Lattimore (1942) 65-74, 81-2; 222.
[611] Gibson (2006a) 261- 266 on the issues on dating 5.3 and the date of Statius' father's victory; see also on 5.3 Önnerfors (1974); Griset (1962) Traglia (1965); Gossage (1965); Holford-Streven (2000) and McNelis (2002) on Statius' father in the context of imperial education; on Statius' father as Domitian's tutor, Curcio (1893); A. Hardie (1983) 11-12. Gibson (2006a) 335: "Statius ... delicately alludes to the religious duties of the Pontifex Maximus, assigning to Domitian the first place in the list of pupils".

smile (121-2: *risere sorores* | *Aonides*) and Apollo anoints his lips with the waters of Helicon (122: *imbuit amne sacro*). Statius lists the poems by his father on both the Vesuvian disaster (205-6: *iamque et flere pio Vesuuina incendia cantu* | *mens erat*) and the Capitoline Battle (196: *Phlegraeaque...proelia*), which was produced—like the *Siluae*—quicker than the flames of the conflict themselves (201: *multum facibus uelocior ipsis*).

More specifically, Statius' father is presented as epicist *par excellence:* Statius imagines his father's communion with Hesiod and Homer in the Elysian fields (26-7: *Maeonium Ascraeumque senem non segnior umbra* | *accolis alternumque sonas et carmina misces*), and the latter figures prominently as a point of comparison throughout the poem. Statius' crowning achievement, his epic which has allowed him to potentially rival Virgil and Homer, is closely associated with his father's instruction, without which he now falters (11: *ibam altum spirans Martemque aequare canendo*), and when Statius turns to describe the contested birthplace of his father between Neapolis and Velia (124-5: *nec simplex patriae decus, et natalis origo* | *pendet ab ambiguo geminae certamine terrae*), it is compared explicitly with the celebrated dispute over the birthplace of Homer, as conveyed by later biographical traditions (130-1: *Maeoniden aliaeque aliis natalibus urbes* | *diripiunt cunctaeque probant*).[612] Statius' father thus stands as Statius' poetic mentor and guide for his epic productions, and important here is the theme of hereditary succession characteristic of the epic genre, as Hardie imagines it, in which "scenes of instruction and transmission" between father and son double as poetic statements on literary inheritance.[613] Statius' father, like *pater* Ennius, can be identified as the father of poetry as much as the poet's father. But Statius' representation of his father as an exemplary epic poet has a direct impact on the tomb that Statius wishes to offer him. Leaning upon his father's tomb (36: *adclinis tumulo*), Statius offers modest funerary gifts to his father (41-46), and then laments that he could not provide a tomb of more substance:

> atque utinam fortuna mihi dare manibus aras,
> par templis opus, aeriamque educere molem,

[612] *Certamen* 7-8; *Anth. Pal.* 7.1-7; Ael. *VH* 13.22; Cic. *Arch.* 19. Brink (1972)
[613] Hardie (1993) 102, on *Aen.* 2.268-97; 6.679-892; cf. Morgan (2003).

> Cyclopum scopulos ultra atque audacia saxa
> pyramidum, et magno tumulum praetexere luco.
> illic et Siculi superassem dona sepulchri
> et Nemees lucum et Pelopis sollemnia trunci. (47-52)

We are told earlier in the poem (36-7) that Statius' father is in fact buried on the Alban Mount where Statius had an estate (cf. *Silv.* 3.1.61-4; 4.5; 4.8); the monument described here is entirely hypothetical. The wish to be able to match the virtue of the deceased with a substantial funeral monument is an epigraphic motif, for which Gibson provides extensive examples.[614] Nauta thus suggests that Statius' wish to have provided a better monument reflects the poet's financial circumstances, and Martelli finds it "one of the most revealing insights in the entire collection into the economic status of the poet", further evidence of Statius' propensity to deploy poetic *topoi* in service of material conditions.[615] But Gibson notes that *par templis opus* must suggest something metaphorical and poetic; *opus,* as we saw in our opening chapter, is a word invariably associated with literary production, and the reference to the pyramids readily responds to (and surpasses: *ultra*) Horace's *monumentum aere perennius* and its metaphoric association with them.[616] The specific comparison with a temple not to a god or emperor, but to a poet, suggests a Hellenistic *heroon* and cult-worship of poets and especially Homer; as was noted above, Statius presents Vergil's tomb in similar terms as a *templum* in *Siluae* 4.4. Statius' father can thus enjoy the same sacral trappings as the two epicists with whom Statius works to associate him.[617]

But *par templis opus* also bears associations with Virgil's own poetic temple for Augustus that he vows in *Georgics* 3 (13-35), a connection which is made clear at line 52, where Statius' desire to provide games that will outdo Olympia and Nemea (*et Nemees lucum et Pelopis sollemnia trunci*) recalls Virgil's similar challenge to transplant the same games to his Mincian temple (19-20: *cuncta mihi Alpheum linquens lucosque Molorchi...| Graecia*). We can detect a similar strategy at play in Ov. *Pont.* 4.8.31-2, where the

[614] Gibson (2006a) 284; cf. Lattimore (1942) 229; Nauta (2002) 202-3.
[615] Nauta (2002) 202ff.; Martelli (2009) 147.
[616] Gibson (2006a) *ad loc.* 49-50.
[617] Brink (1972) on Hellenistic worship of Homer in Ennius and Virgil.

poet claims that he is financially unable to build Germanicus a temple (31-2: *nec tibi de Pario statuam, Germanice, templum | marmore: carpsit opes illa ruina meas*)—and implying that he is equally unable to provide panegyric of the sort that Virgil promises (cf. *G.* 3.13: *templum de marmore ponam*).[618] According to the prevailing interpretation, Virgil's projected temple and associated games are synonymous with the future epic *Aeneid*; here, Statius conflates the epic expectations associated with the temple in the *Georgics* with the *Aeneid* itself, for the preceding line cites the poet's desire to surpass the commemorative games for Anchises celebrated in Book 5 (5.3.51: *illic et Siculi superassem dona sepulchri*), assimilating his father not only to the epic poets, but to the paradigmatic father-figure of Roman epic.[619]

The *templum* is thus not a grand material monument that Statius wishes he could provide but is unable to, but a poetic monument, and Statius not only implies the expected contrast between physical and poetic commemoration, but reflects on the *type* of poetic commemoration that his diminutive *epicedion* now provides, in contrast to the status of his epic father who deserves an equally epic poem. Statius' description goes on to clarify the types of poetic games and rites he would initiate, before claiming that his poetic performance at these games, recounting the deeds of his father's life, would match the works of Virgil and Homer:

> atque tibi moresque tuos et facta canentem
> fors et magniloquo non posthabuisset Homero
> tenderet et toruo pietas aequare Maroni. (61-63)

Statius' desire to challenge Homer and Virgil presents a threat to the hierarchy of epic poets laid down by Quintilian (10.1.86), and affirms his status as the epic poet of the *Thebaid*, but also highlights the underlying poetic ambition of the *Siluae* to appropriate the totalising reach of the epic genre.[620] The deference Statius commands his epic to show towards divine Virgil at the end of the *Thebaid* (12.816-7: *uiue, precor; nec tu diuinam Aeneida tempta, | sed longe sequere et uestigia semper adora*) is replaced by Statius' antagonistic

[618] Ovid goes on: *carmine fit uiuax uirtus, expersque sepulchri* (4.8.47).
[619] Ventura (2010) 204 ff. On Anchises and *Aeneid* 6 in *Siluae* 5.3; cf. Nagel (2000).
[620] Leigh (2006) 218-220.

challenge to *both* Homer and Virgil, armed now, through his father, with superior subject-matter, and with a model and source of inspiration equivalent to his epic predecessors. But this desire to contest his epic predecessors remains purposefully unrealised. Statius can instead offer his father only a lesser form of poetic commemoration, a poetic tomb in the form of *Siluae* 5.3, which obeys the diminutive constraints of the collection. On the one hand, at 293 lines, *Siluae* 5.3 is the longest poem of the entire collection. But on the other hand, Statius claims that not even his father could encapsulate his own life's poetic fullness (264-5: *ueniam concedite, manes,* | *fas dixisse, pater: non tu mihi plura dedisses*), reaffirming the grandeur of his epic father, but also not just the inadequate scale of his commemorative poetry, but of epic poetry itself. Not even the universalizing drive of epic is enough to contain Statius' father; at the same time, Statius' poem provides a well wrought urn, equal to half-acre tombs.[621]

This discrepancy between the grand status of Statius' father and the inadequacies of the poetic tomb which Statius now provides also puts us in contact with the τάφος λιτός motif familiar from epigram, where the simple, small tomb is contrasted with the status of its occupant.[622] A funerary epigram by Geminus for Themistocles has the great statesman ask "why do you lay so great a man in a small space?" (*Anth. Pal.* 7.73: τί με σμικροῖς τὸν μέγαν ἐντίθετε), and a later Latin epigram transmitted in the scholia to Persius, supposedly dating from around the 30s BC, conveys a similar sentiment, noting the unfairness of the grand tomb of Licinus, Augustus' freedman (which Martial also lambasts, see above page 235) and Pompey's ostentatious lack of any tomb whatsoever: *marmoreo Licinus tumulo iacet, at Cato paruo,* | *Pompeius nullo: credimus esse deos?* (Schol. ad Pers. 2.36);[623] As we shall observe shortly, Lucan shares a similar sentiment in his lament for Pompey's tomb (Luc. 8.800-2). The contrast is often applied to great poets: Alcman's tomb is described as 'bare to see, but holds the bones of a great man' (*Anth. Pal.* 7.18.1–2), and an epigram for Homer's tomb calls the *uiator*'s attention to the insignificance of the site, which belies its occupant's

[621] Donne's contrast ('The Canonisation') would appear appropriate here.
[622] See Montiglio (2018) 220-224. for this motif in Hellenistic epigram; cf. N-H *ad loc.* Hor. *Carm.* 1.28.2.
[623] Perhaps by Varro Atacinus; see Hollis (2007) 213.

status: 'although the tomb is small, wayfarer, don't pass me by...Homer I hold' (*Anth. Pal.* 7.2b: εἰ καὶ βαιὸς ὁ τύμβος, ὁδοιπόρε, μή με παρέλθῃς...Ὅμηρον ἔχω).[624]

Statius' lament that he cannot provide his father with a greater tomb to match his stature plays out against this epigraphic motif, where the contrast between great man/small tomb maps on to the self-conscious literary considerations of the small-scale *Siluae* themselves: the diminutive poetry that Statius produces as a metaphorical tomb for his father is placed in contrast with the epic scale which the great man deserves. This same theme is in fact more strongly present elsewhere in the *Siluae,* in 2.7, the so-called *genethliacon* for Lucan. As we saw in an earlier chapter, Statius compares Lucan to Alexander, whose grand life and accomplishments are contrasted by the *angustum sepulchrum* which now holds him in Babylon:

> sic natum Nasamonii Tonantis
> post ortus obitusque fulminatos
> angusto Babylon premit sepulchro. (93-5)

The contrasting image of Alexander's all-encompassing presence and his narrow tomb presents a hyperbolic variation on the τάφος λιτός; even the entirety of Babylon is not grand enough to contain Alexander's memory effectively.[625] But as Morgan points out, the 'narrow tomb' must also point to the hendecasyllabic line itself, and the poem's pointedly unepic form "cannot but advertise the restrictive proportions of the metrical structure it occupies".[626] Just as the physical tomb is unable to properly convey the deeds and nature of the great Alexander, so too is Statius' diminutive poem unable to provide a worthy poetic monument to the great Lucan, a point that is anticipated (not without ambiguity) in the preface to Book 2, where Statius claims to fear for the efficacy of his epic hexameters in contrast with the Neronian

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[624] cf. an epitaph for John Donne recorded in Walton's *Life:*

> 'Reader! I am to let thee know
> Donne's body only lies below
> For, could the grave his soul comprise,
> Earth would be richer than the skies.'

[625] cf. *Anth. Pal.* 7.45.1, where Hellas represents Euripides' monument: Μνᾶμα μὲν Ἑλλὰς ἅπασ' Εὐριπίδου; Ov. *Am.* 3.15.13-14; Juv. 10.168-72.

[626] Morgan (2010) 110.

epicist (2 pr. 25-6: *ego non potui maiorem tanti auctoris habere reuerentiam quam quod laudes eius dicturus hexametros meos timui*).[627]

We can now turn to *Siluae* 2.7, our final example for this section. Statius' commemoration of the dead Lucan provides the poet with an excellent occasion to engage with the traditions of the poetic tomb: 2.7 stands primarily as a memorial to the fallen poet. But importantly, Statius' poem is also an act of reception of a previous poetic monument, for Statius specifically presents the *Bellum Ciuile* as a poetic *sepulchrum* to Pompey in its own right:

> tu Pelusiaci scelus Canopi
> deflebis pius et Pharo cruenta
> Pompeio dabis altius sepulchrum. (70-2)

Statius is alluding here to the end of *Bellum Ciuile* 8, Lucan's description of the makeshift tomb that Cordus erects, which in turn emphasises the ignominious end that the great Republican hero has met:

> surgit miserabile bustum
> non ullis plenum titulis, non ordine tanto
> fastorum; solitumque legi super alta deorum
> culmina et extructos spoliis hostilibus arcus
> haud procul est ima Pompei nomen harena
> depressum tumulo, quod non legat aduena rectus,
> quod nisi monstratum Romanus transeat hospes. (8.816-22)

Statius' *altius* would thus seem to rather oversell Lucan's description: Pompey's tomb is in effect an anti-monument, a sepulchre which the future *hospes* will overlook, and would not be able to read with ease in any case. Lucan then goes on to claim that no tomb could possibly contain or convey the achievements of so great a man (816: *quis capit haec tumulus*?); only the extent of the Roman empire would suffice (8.798-9: *Romanum nomen et omne | imperium Magno tumuli est modus*), thus enacting another variation on the theme of the great person/insignificant tomb observed above.[628] But Lucan also continues on to suggest that

[627] Gibson (2006a) xxi suggests that Statius fears his hexameters might surpass Lucan's; A. Hardie (1983), Newlands (2011a) *ad loc.* pr. 25-6.
[628] The literary and generic implications of *surgere* (cf. Prop. 4.1.67-8; Ov. *Fast*. 5.111 and *Tr*. 2.559-60) are important here.

such an insignificant grave will not, in fact, impair but augment Pompey's abiding fame, and concludes Book 8 with an epitaph to Pompey through sharp comparison with the divinised Caesars: Pompey's lithic tomb will be pointedly more august (*augustius*) than the golden monuments of the Julio-Claudian victors:

> nil ista nocebunt
> famae busta tuae: templis auroque sepultus
> uilior umbra fores. nunc est pro numine summo
> hoc tumulo Fortuna iacens: augustius aris
> uictoris Libyco pulsatur in aequore saxum. (858-62)

Lucan centres his eulogy of Pompey around the contrast between the eternal abstract fame that Pompey will achieve, and the fame of the Caesars as represented through their material monuments. The absence of any notable tomb, as Chaudhuri and Day point out, bears specific connotations: for Day, Pompey's lack of a tomb and his synonymy with the boundless expanse of Rome itself (8.865-6: *proderit hoc olim, quod non mansura futuris | ardua marmoreo surrexit pondere moles*) is his ultimate triumph; Chaudhuri reads Pompey's absent tomb in opposition to the Homeric connection between monumentality and immortal fame.[629] But there is an additional, and extremely important, contrast between poetic and material monument also at play, for it is clearly Lucan's poem that is now intended to provide the monument and conduit for the immortalising fame that Pompey deserves. Galtier and Kersten both observe the parallels between Lucan's epitaph and Horace 3.30, pointing to the neuter comparative *augustius*, echoing Horace's similar *altius* and *perennius* (3.30.1-2: *exegi monumentum aere perennius regalique situ Pyramidum altius*, Hor. *Carm*. 3.30.1-2); the deictic *hoc tumulo* (861) draws attention not only to the meagre tomb Lucan describes, but also, like Statius' similar usage in 3.3 (216: *hoc sepulcro*), to the monumental poem itself.[630] The rejection of material commemoration (*templis auroque sepultus | uilior umbra fores*) is thrown into sharp relief by Lucan's own poetic effort: Lucan can provide an immortalising memorial that the imperial monuments of the Caesars cannot.

[629] Day (2013) 223-9; Chaudhuri (2014) 188 on the canonical Homeric link between "the lack of proper burial to fame, oblivion, and the limits of mortality".
[630] Galtier (2018); Kersten (2018) 178-88, who connects Pompey's tomb to *G*. 3.10-39.

Statius is highly aware of Lucan's poetic monument to Pompey; as Pontiggia notes, *Siluae* 2.7.70-2 "di fatto presenta il finale di Farsalia 8 come una rielaborazione dell'Ode 3.30...è un'indubbia variazione del monumentum *regali situ Pyramidum altius* di Orazio".[631] In 2.7, Statius refashions Lucan's conclusion to Book 8 as a monument to the poet himself, underscored by the weighted use of *altius* in contrast with an Egyptian monument, and refracted specifically through Lucan's similar construction, making explicit the link between Lucan's tomb for Pompey and Horace's monument-poem. And just as the monumental imagery lends intense closural force to *Bellum Ciuile* 8—lines which "have as much claim to be an ending as anything in the poem", in Hardie's words[632]—Statius uses his monument poem for Lucan to conclude *Siluae* 2 in similar terms, emphasising the monumental end of Lucan's Book 8.[633] Through the monument-poem *topos,* Statius fashions a strong interconnection between poet and subject-matter, and also explores the monument-poem as an intertextual and malleable trope, able to be repurposed and reapplied.

6.2 monument, elegy and immortality (*Siluae* 5.1)

Statius' funerary poems thus engage with the idea of the poetic tomb on a number of levels: as ecphrastic descriptions of the commemorative offerings and monuments of his patrons; as foils that reveal the ephemeral nature of these physical monuments, in contrast to the permanence that poetry can bestow; and as interchangeable with the tombs themselves, as poetic *sepulchra.* Within the context of a consolatory poem, they also help to construct an intimate relationship with the patron, monumentalising their *dolor* and *pietas*, and locating both the poem's inspiration and its immortalising quality within this display. Similar themes return in the poem to which the rest of this chapter is devoted: *Siluae* 5.1, the so-called *Epicedion in Priscillam uxorem,* a funerary poem that effectively doubles as a *consolatio* for her husband, a freedman and Domitian's secretary *ab epistulis,* composed a year after Priscilla's death (5.1.16-17).[634] Given

[631] Pontiggia (2020) 67.
[632] Hardie (1997) 159
[633] Pontiggia (2020). Statius contributes to the sense of closure that *Bellum Ciuile* 8 engenders in further ways, presenting Lucan's death at the moment "he was still singing of battles and consoling great tombs" (2.7.102-3: *dum pugnas canis arduaque uoce | das solacia grandibus sepulchris*), with *grandis* providing an obvious gloss on *Magnus.* The reader is invited to associate Lucan's death with the end of Book 8 itself.
[634] on Abascantus, see below pg 255.

Abascantus' relationship with Domitian, the poem's political implications are especially important, and afford Statius another opportunity to reflect upon the connection between the private domestic sphere and the public, imperial realm that circumscribes it, and the interconnection between private and imperial monumentality that the *Siluae* persistently work to elicit. But we first turn to the ways in which Statius engages with the material monuments with which Abascantus attempts to commemorate Priscilla, in order to reflect the monumentality of his own poetic offering. The poem commences with a priamel in which Statius itemises a selection of artistic commemorative forms that he is incapable of providing (1-9), before moving to affirm poetry's superior immortalising capacity (10-15):

> si manus aut similes docilis mihi fingere ceras
> aut ebur impressis aurumue animare figuris,
> hinc, Priscilla, tuo solacia grata marito
> conciperem. namque egregia pietate meretur
> ut uel Apelleo uultus signata colore
> Phidiaca uel rasa manu reddare dolenti:
> sic auferre rogis umbram conatur, et ingens
> certamen cum Morte gerit, curasque fatigat
> artificum inque omni te quaerit amare metallo.
> sed mortalis honos, agilis quem dextra laborat:
> nos tibi, laudati iuuenis rarissima coniunx,
> longa nec obscurum finem latura perenni
> temptamus dare iusta lyra, modo dexter Apollo
> quique uenit iuncto mihi semper Apolline Caesar
> adnuat: haud alio melius condere sepulchro. (*Silv.* 5.1.1-15)

More than the sculptor's sweet commissioned grace, Statius' poem will provide a lasting memorial to Priscilla. Commentators note that the primary model for Statius' opening lines is Pindar's priamel in *Nemean* 5, where the poet emphasises his value in contrast to the sculptor's (1: οὐκ ἀνδριαντοποιός εἰμ᾽).[635] The closer model is perhaps Horace 4.8, a poem which similarly has its roots in *Nemean* 5: like Statius, Horace commences in the subjunctive (1: *donarem;* cf. 4: *conciperem*) with a compilation of the material gifts he cannot provide for Censorinus (1-8), including similar references to two Greek artists, Parrhasius of Ephesus and Scopas of Paros (*Parrhasius...Scopas*: 6; cf. 5-6; *Apelleo...Phidiaca*), before going on to

[635] Vollmer (1898) 498; Rosati (2002) 247; Gibson (2006a) 80; Martelli (2009) 166.

invoke the superior power of commemorative poetry over monuments.[636] The epinicean and panegyric priamel is repurposed by Statius for lament: while Pindar and Horace stress their poetic value as the appropriate reward for athletic and military accomplishments respectively, Statius' poetry is owed instead to Abascantus' *pietas* to the dead.[637] Like the athletic victor or the glorious soldier, Abascantus is engaged in an *ingens certamen* (8), and his struggle is presented before the watchful gaze of Domitian, the censor and god (37-42) and Rome itself (216-18), winning glory within the public arena.

Statius develops the contrast between poetic and material commemoration in a manner familiar from *Siluae* 3.3: whilst Abascantus is presented as a maker of images, and dedicates encaustic (*Apelleo...colore*) and statuary portraits (*Phidiaca...manu*) of his departed wife, Statius offers a poetic work. Abascantus' efforts are ultimately ephemeral (*sed mortalis honos*), and detectable here is the consolatory motif of the transience of mortal accomplishments; Statius seems to echo in particular a similar expression in Seneca's *Consolatio ad Polybium*, concerning the ephemerality of all human creations (*Polyb.* 1.1: *quid enim immortale manus mortales fecerunt?*).[638] In contrast to Abascantus' project, Statius will attempt to immortalise the funerary rites (*iusta*) with everlasting song (*perenni...*| *lyra*). *Perennis* suggests an association with Horace's *monumentum aere perennius*, and, consequently, with *Carm.* 3.30's own negotiations with Ennius as the original exponent of the power of literary monumentality over its physical counterpart (*Ep.* 2. V.; *Ann.* 404-6 Sk.; 579 Sk.), but contrasted, brilliantly, with the symbolic transience of the poet's performative lyre.[639] Statius concludes his introduction by claiming, as in *Siluae* 3.3, to construct a lasting metaphorical tomb for Priscilla (15: *haud alio melius condere sepulchro*), but also a monumental

[636] Barchiesi (1996), Harrison (1990) on Horace and Pindar.
[637] Harrison (1990) on 4.8 as military panegyric for Censorinus.
[638] cf. Sen. *Ep.* 91.11: *omnia mortalium opera mortalitate damnata sunt*; Hor. *Ars P.* 68-9 may also be compared, which draws attention to the ephemerality of language itself: *mortalia facta peribunt,* | *nedum sermonum stet honos et gratia vivax.* Rudd (1989) *ad loc.*
[639] See Zwierlein (1982) 96. cf. Lucretius' description of Ennius' name at Lucr. 1.117–18 (*perenni fronde*); The wordplay on *perennis* may have originally been made by Ennius himself: Hardie (2012) 478 n. 105. On Horace and Ennius, cf. esp. Suerbaum (1968) 98– 101, 165–72, 243–47; Prinzen (1998) 245–56; Hills (2001). In this context, *nec obscurum finem* might also recall Lucretius' following description of the enduring 'bright crown' that Ennius received in Italy (Lucr. 1.118-19:*coronam* | *per gentis Italas hominum quae clara clueret*). On the paradox of the *perennis lyra,* and *longa...iusta* as a 'paradoxical phrase', Gibson (2006a) *ad loc.*

testament to Abscantus' grief and piety, to which the poem is the worthy response (3: *tuo solacia grata marito*).[640] Importantly, Statius' claim to offer a lasting poetic tomb follows immediately on from the poet's invocation of the Apolline Domitian to provide inspiration for his immortalising poem. Whilst Domitian is the central symbol of inspiration in the *Siluae*, as we explored in chapter 4, nowhere else does Statius directly invoke the emperor in a poem for a patron, and his presence in the opening lines anticipates his importance to the entire *epicedion*: divine Domitian is the means by which Statius will ensure Priscilla's life after death, and it is through the favour of Domitian that both Statius and Abascantus will best be able to commemorate Priscilla.

Statius returns to the theme of monumentality towards the end of the poem, this time to praise directly the tomb that Abascantus has erected for Priscilla:

> est locus ante Vrbem qua primum nascitur ingens
> Appia quaque Italo gemitus Almone Cybebe
> ponit et Idaeos iam non reminiscitur amnes.
> hic te Sidonio uelatam molliter ostro
> eximius coniunx (nec fumantia busta
> clamoremque rogi potuit perferre) beato
> composuit, Priscilla, tholo. nil longior aetas
> carpere, nil aeui poterunt uitiare labores:
> sic cautum membris, tantas uenerabile marmor
> spirat opes. mox in uarias mutata nouaris
> effigies: hoc aere Ceres, hoc lucida Cnosis,
> illo Maia †tholo†, Venus hoc non improba saxo. (222-233)

Whereas the poem begins with a clear distinction between the transience of material monuments and the permanency of poetry, Statius here applies the language of poetic monumentality directly to the monument he praises; there is a clear affinity with *Siluae* 1.1's similar manipulation of the monument poem *topos* to predict the endurance of Domitian's equestrian statue, for whilst Statius' praise is couched in terms that usually stress the superiority of poetic language over physical monuments--and we can detect another echo of Ennian poetic monumentality here (*nil longior aetas carpere* = *Ann.* 406 Sk. *postremo longinqua dies*

[640] cf. 238-9 *hac merito uisa pietate mariti | protinus*.

confecerit <u>*aetas*</u>)[641]—it is Priscilla's tomb, not the poem, that will withstand the decay of time. But while Domitian's monument (along with the majority of the monuments that the *Siluae* describe) is lost, Statius' prediction that Priscilla's tomb will survive is, on this occasion, not entirely off the mark, and remarkably, both poem and tomb remain: the monument can be identified as the tomb situated on the Via Appia Antica near the Church of Domine, Quo Vadis?.[642] Martelli suggests that Statius "specifically reverses the direction of the comparison made at the outset of this poem between the durability of poetry and the frailty of material forms of tribute".[643] But as with *Siluae* 1.1's use of the phrase *hoc opus* (91) to refer to both equestrian monument and monumental poem, the referent here is also ambiguous, pointing to both monument and poem, for Statius has already identified his poem as a *sepulchrum* in line 15 (*haud alio melius condere sepulchro*). Once again, poetic and material monument elide: the description itself begins pointedly with the *est locus* formula, alerting us to the traditions of topographical ecphrasis, and hence to the consciously literary nature of the monument and its landscape that Statius creates. The implication is that it is through the descriptive powers of Statius' commemorative poem that Abascantus' monument will ultimately survive.[644]

Statius' prediction of the monument's immortality applies not just to the tomb, but also looks forward to the following lines which describe the marble sarcophagus and the images of Priscilla *in formam dearum,* represented as Ceres, (possibly) Diana, Maia and Venus (231-4), underscoring Priscilla's immortal status.[645] The opening image of Abascantus as a creator of images is reprised, and the passage recalls Abascantus' futile efforts to return Priscilla from the dead through statuary, now as versions of immortal

[641] Martelli (2009) 167 n.2; on the probably sequential relationship between this line and *Annales* 404-5 Sk, see Skutsch (1985) 568-9.
[642] *LTURS* IV 269-71. Gibson (2006a) 75 for a succinct account of the tomb.
[643] Martelli (2009) 168.
[644] On the *est locus* motif, Hinds (1987) 36-7; Gibson (2006a) notes *Fast.* 4.337-8.
[645] Wrede (1981) 76 suggests Diana; Gibson (2006a) 163 suggests Ariadne. Scholarship has also focussed heavily on this passage as evidence for both the increasing preference for inhumation over cremation, but also of the representation of the dead as divinities. It appears to be a Flavian innovation (Wrede [1981]), and Nauta (2002) 302 suggests that this *in formam dearum* originates with the imperial family itself, referencing Mart. 6.13, on Julia in a sculptural group with Venus and Amor; Domitia Longina appears as Juno in *Silv.* 3.4. For comparison with the sepulchral statues of Claudia Semne in the guise of Spes, Venus and Fortuna (*CIL* VI 15593) cf. Borg (2019) 196-197.

deities; we are prompted to read Statius' praise of the monuments here against the set of contrasts established in the opening passage. Where Statius begins the poem by claiming that such material acts of commemoration are ultimately mortal and hence impermanent, here Statius seems to reverse that logic, claiming that Abascantus' statues will last for all time. But again, we are prompted to associate Statius' claim with the immortalising capacity of Statius' poetic description itself, and the ability of ecphrasis to effectively represent and preserve the physical object that it describes.

Statius also goes beyond the theme of contesting literary and material claims for monumentality, and reflects specifically on the powers and limitations of visual and verbal representation itself. In both passages, Statius appropriates the traditional language of naturalism in art criticism for consolation and commemoration, and emphasises the verisimilitude of Abascantus' creations: Statius wishes he could produce *similis ceras* (1) and animate (*animare*) ivory and gold in the same way that Abascantus' commissions do. Later, the statues in the tomb are said to breathe (230-1: *tantas uenerabile marmor | spirat opes*).[646] Both *spirare* and *animare* are key words in ecphrastic discourse, used to praise the artist's ability to bring life to inanimate matter, comparable to the terminology of Hellenistic epigram, which describes statues as ἔμπνοος and ζωός, praised also for their ensouled (ἔμψυχος) quality.[647] In *Siluae* 2.2, Statius praises Pollius' artwork 'brought to life' by Apelles, (64: *si quid Apellei gaudent animasse colores*), and in 4.6, praises Novius Vindex's statues by Polyclitus, ordered by the sculptor to breathe (28: *quid Polycliteis iussum spirare caminis*).[648] Consequently, the ability to describe a naturalistic work of art reflects also on the power of the poet's skill to give life to a work of art and present it as an animate, breathing thing. The implications of Statius' ecphrastic language are heightened by the poem's funerary context. As Gibson notes, within the context of Abascantus' efforts to bring Priscilla back to life, *animare* is especially appropriate, effectively eliding the memorial work with the subject of the memorial: we are asked to

[646] More accurately, transitive *spirat* takes as its object *opes*, the spices used to scent the tomb; *OLD spiro* 4, Gibson (2006a) 162.
[647] cf. Prop. 3.9.9 *gloria Lysippo est animosa effingere signa*; Virg. *Aen.* 6.847 *excudent alii spirantia mollius aera*. Squire (2010) 611.
[648] Newlands (2011a) *ad loc.*; Coleman (1988) *ad loc.*

associate the veracity of Abascantus' commemorative representations with Priscilla herself, now miraculously restored to life.[649] It is a deeply pathetic image. But additionally, it is Statius' accurate description of Abascantus' commemorative efforts that will ensure their (and her) survival: at the point when Statius denies his ability to give life-like representation (and hence life) to Priscilla to the same level that the visual and plastic arts can, he does so precisely by describing the work he is unable to produce.

Statius' representation of Abascantus as a maker of images, and of his desire to bring Priscilla back from the dead through naturalistic representation, also alerts us to several other resonances, and both passages warrant further attention. Vollmer assumed a parallel between Abascantus and Admetus, and there are indeed ironic associations to be drawn with Admetus' tactless intention to have a statue made of Alcestis after her death in Euripides' play (*Alc.* 349-60).[650] Others adduce a reference to the story of Protesilaus and Laodamia, in which, according to one tradition, Laodamia consoles herself by sleeping with a statue of Protesilaus after his death.[651] But as Gibson notes, Ovid's Pygmalion in *Metamorphoses* 10 can suggest an equally important model, and a number of intertextual links confirm its importance.[652] The connection with the Pygmalion episode is evident from the opening line. When Statius wishes he had the ability to create *similis ceras* of the sort that Abascantus now commissions, it is suggestive of Pygmalion's use of *similis* in his request for a lover like that of his statue:

> constitit et timide 'si di dare cuncta potestis,
> sit coniunx, opto,' non ausus 'eburnea uirgo'
> dicere, Pygmalion 'similis mea' dixit 'eburnae.' (*Met.* 10.274-76)

Pygmalion is erotically fixated upon his artistic creation (cf. *Met.* 10.252-3) and asks for a wife similar to his *eburnea uirgo* so that he may love her correctly; Abascantus tries to immortalise his wife and continue to love her through artistic creation (8-10: *omni te quaerit amare metallo*). Where Pygmalion's statue is given life through divine assent (10.278: *amici numinis omen*), Priscilla's representations *in formam dearum*

649 Gibson (2006a) 80-81.
650 Vollmer (1898) *ad loc.* 5.1.8.
651 Lovatt (2007) 154; Malamud (2016) 390.
652 Gibson (2006a) 80.

in the tomb are presented as a form of divine renewal—a phrase redolent of Ovidian metamorphosis (231: *mox in uarias mutata nouaris effigies*)—and meet similar approval by the gods (234: *accipiunt uultus haud indignata decoros | numina*). Just as Abascantus will cover Priscilla in Sidonian purple in the tomb (225: *hic te Sidonio uelatam molliter ostro*), Pygmalion covers his statue as his bed partner with a purple cloth (267-8: *conlocat hanc stratis concha Sidonide tinctis | adpellatque tori sociam*).[653] The context of the Pygmalion sequence in *Metamorphoses* 10 is equally important, for it is located within the song of Orpheus, a poetic self-consolation following the death of his own wife and his failure to bring her back to life. The Orpheus myth recurs twice in *Siluae* 5.1, as a figure of failed *consolatio*: Statius claims that even Orpheus could not overcome Abascantus' grief (23-9); later, Abascantus himself is compared to Orpheus (202-4: *qualis conspecta coniuge segnis | Odrysius uates positis ad Strymona plectris | obstipuit tristemque rogum sine carmine fleuit*).[654]

The underlying presence of Pygmalion in *Siluae* 5.1 prompts us to question its significance, and several observations can be made that elucidate Statius' approach to monumentality and commemoration. Ovid's Pygmalion is synonymous with the elegiac poet: he represents the ultimate *poeta-amator* enamoured with his own creation, and the episode encapsulates the eroto-artistic relationship between the poet-lover and his created mistress, the *scripta puella*, that sustains Roman elegy.[655] An abiding strategy of the elegiac poet is to reduce the *puella* to an artistic representation or material artefact, and particularly to a statue. At *Amores* 1.7, Ovid compares his lover's bloodied face to Parian marble (52: *caeduntur Pariis qualia saxa iugis*). Following Cynthia's death, Propertius will melt down Cynthia's gold portrait bust, desecrating her memory (4.7). Propertius 1.3 remains the *locus classicus* for the theme of lover-as-artefact, in which the poet compares his sleeping Cynthia with Ariadne, Andromeda and a sleeping Maenad (1-10), suggestive of iconographic traditions in painting and sculpture, but also of Catullus 64's own ecphrastic representation

[653] The Ovid passage may thus go some way to explaining *M*'s 'toro' at *Silv.* 5.1.228.
[654] For Orpheus as a figure of poetic failure of consolation (cf. 5.1.24-26), see Lovatt (2007); Gibson (2006a) 275
[655] Wyke (1987), (2002); Sharrock (1991); cf. more recently Ingleheart (2012), with bibliography.

of Ariadne.[656] When Propertius states that Cynthia appears to breathe quietly (7: *uisa mihi mollem spirare quietem*), the ecphrastic terminology ironically works to reduce the living Cynthia to artistic representation, and thus also points to her status as Propertius' poetic construction. One obvious implication of the elegiac *puella* as creative artefact is that it provides an analogue for the poem itself, a fact which finds obvious support in the numerous Greek elegiac poetry books named after the lovers, such as Mimnermus' *Nanno,* Antimachus' *Lyde* and Hermesianax' *Leontion*. As Sharrock observes, "whatever else she might be, the *puella* of the poems is a work of art and as such a construct of the text, the product and guarantee of its mimetic power".[657] Abascantus, and Statius by implication, assume the role of elegiac *poeta-amator,* and observable here is the interchangeability and interdependency between poet and patron that the *Siluae* foster throughout the collection*;* Priscilla, reduced to artistic representation—and poetic representation—assumes the role of the constructed *puella.*

At the root of elegy's commemorative and monumental impulse lies its origins in funerary poetry, and longstanding connection with mourning, and if a fundamental strategy of the elegiac poet is to associate the *scripta puella* with the poetic work itself, then observable too is the tendency for the elegiac poet to associate his anticipated poetic immortality with the *puella*, troped as both the source of poetic inspiration and poetic product, and to present the *puella* as a *monumentum* herself. [658] Elegy's monumentalisation of the *puella* effectively ensures both *puella* and poet will live on after death. In Greek elegy, Ibycus' verse will both bestow κλέος ἄφθιτον upon the beauty of Polycrates and confirm the poet's success (fr. 282a 47-8: καὶ σύ, Πολύκρατες, κλέος ἄφθιτον ἐξεῖς ὡσ κατ' ἀοιδὰν καὶ ἐμὸν κλέος). Propertius claims that his books will make Cynthia's beauty renowned above all others (2.25.3); Ovid makes a similar gesture at *Am.* 2.17 and 3.12.7-9. As we have seen in an earlier chapter, Propertius 3.2 claims that his poems, dedicated to the (ironically) unnamed *puella* (17: *fortunata, meo si qua es celebrata libello*), will stand as *monumenta*

[656] On 'sleeping Ariadne' in art, *LIMC* III.1.1057–58, nos. 55–66. Elsner (2007); Sharrock (1991); Keith (2008) 52; Breed (2002); Valladares (2003).
[657] Sharrock (1991) 43.
[658] Ovid draws attention to elegy as the *flebile carmen* (*Tr.* 5.1.4; cf. *Her.* 15.5-8); cf. Hor. *Ars P.* 75. Hinds (1987) 103-4.

to her beauty (18: *carmina erunt formae tot monumenta tuae*), a far more fitting commemoration than the pyramids or the Augustan Mausoleum. In the last poem of the last book of the *Tristia,* a sphragis heavily indebted to Horace *Carm.* 3.30, Ovid makes his elegies a monument to his wife, in a variation on the *scripta puella*:

> quanta tibi dederim nostris monumenta libellis,
> o mihi me coniunx carior, ipsa uides.
> detrahat auctori multum fortuna licebit,
> tu tamen ingenio clara ferere meo;
> dumque legar, mecum pariter tua fama legetur,
> nec potes in maestos omnis abire rogos. (*Tr.* 5.14.1-6)

The interconnection between poetry, *puella* and monumentality all come to bear upon *Siluae* 5.1. In the *Siluae'*s only funeral poem for a woman, Statius engages with the traditions of elegy to develop a post-elegiac literary relationship between poet, *amator* and *puella*.[659] Priscilla is, of course, the opposite of the traditional elegiac *puella.* In line with funerary rhetoric, Statius mentions Priscilla's *origo* (53), *felix species* (54), *pudica* (62), s*implex hilarisque fides* (65) *mixta pudori* | *gratia* (65-66), and above all, her *pietas*.[660] Despite having married previously (45: *nuptuque prior taedasque marito passa alio*), she is like a virgin bride for Abascantus (46: *sed te ceu uirginitate iugatum...fouebat*) and exemplifies the characteristics of a *uniuira* (55-6*: unum nouisse cubile,* | *unum secretis agitare sub ossibus ignem*).[661] At the end of the poem, Statius, imagining Priscilla in the afterlife, depicts her as greeted by the *ueteres heroidas* (255). Priscilla is, in other words, a moral *exemplum* that befits the Domitianic moral programme which both she and Abascantus have upheld. Priscilla accordingly bears closer affiliation with a later tendency of Augustan elegy to substitute for the *puella* the virtuous *matrona,* the carefully constructed literary wife and moral example, fashioned specifically on an imperial model. Propertius 4.11 provides the relevant example, where

[659] cf. the elegiac trope 127-9, which inverts Gallus' lament for faithless Lycoris at Virg. *Ecl.* 10.46-9 (Gibson [2006a]125); cf. also Prop. 2.26, 29; Ov. *Am.* 2.16, 21; *Her*. 13.163, 18.157; *Pan Mess.* 193-196.
[660] Zeiner (2007) 176.
[661] Malamud (2016) 395-397 on the irony implied here; cf. Henderson (2007) 247. Gibson (2006a), following Baehrens, reads *iugata* at line 46 as nominative.

the deceased Cornelia draws attention to her exemplary life, and is mourned by Augustus himself (58: *defensa et gemitu Caesaris ossa mea*):

> me neque censurae legem mollisse neque ulla
> labe mea nostros erubuisse focos.
> non fuit exuuiis tantis Cornelia damnum:
> quin et erat magnae pars imitanda domus. (41-44)

Ovid venerates his wife in *Tristia* 1.6 in similar ways, comparing her *pietas* to a series of exemplary spouses, including Laodamia and Penelope and, like Statius, offering her first place in the/his *h(H)eroides* (33: *prima locum sanctas heroidas inter haberes*), before praising her imitation of Livia (*Tr.* 1.6.25-6: *femina seu princeps omnes tibi culta per annos | te docet exemplum coniugis esse bonae*).[662] Monumentality and exemplarity go together, conspiring to present a sinisterly coercive form of a paraenesis that prompts the *puella* to match the expectations of her literary model: in *Tristia* 3.1, Ovid asks his wife that she live up to the standards represented in his poetry (3.1.43-44: *magna tibi inposita est nostris persona libellis: | coniugis exemplum diceris esse bonae*). *Tristia* 3.1 is relevant to Statius' representation of Priscilla: where Ovid's wife will ultimately fail his commands to work night and day to supplicate the emperor for his return (40: *et niti pro me nocte dieque decet*), Priscilla's similar service petitioning the divine Domitian (72-3: *dum nocte dieque fatigas | numina*), ends in Abascantus' eventual political success.[663] Where Ovid's wife fails, Statius' Priscilla ultimately fulfils her status as literary exemplar, and as we saw in the previous chapter, Statius takes the opportunity to rewrite Ovidian elegy, and its respective political shortcomings, for a Flavian audience. Abascantus (and Statius, by proxy) plays the elegiac poet-lover in his attitude towards the commemoration and construction of Priscilla's memory, and Statius draws on elegy's rich repository and reshapes it into efficient praise, both of Priscilla as *exemplum*, but also of Domitian, whom Priscilla's exemplary character honours. By inverting the traditions of the elegiac *puella*, Statius again

[662] Hinds (1985) 27-8 on the connection, and the specific connection to Homeric Penelope (*Her.* 1).
[663] Malamud (2016) 398-9.

challenges the connections between his poetry and his Augustan legacy, and between Domitian and Augustan policy.

6.3: death, Domitian and divinity

Although primarily an *epicedion* for Priscilla, *Siluae* 5.1 doubles as a *consolatio* for her husband, Domitian's freedman secretary *ab epistulis*, a year after Priscilla's death (5.1.16-17).[664] Statius dedicates a large central section of the poem to praising Abascantus' bureaucratic competence and the piety shown towards the emperor (85-107), which also serves as a substantial encomium to Domitian himself. Scholarship has wondered about the disproportionate praise Statius devotes both to Abascantus and to Domitian. Hardie's influential suggestion that the poem must be read as a *captatio beneuolentiae* on behalf of Abascantus has met with general approval, with qualification.[665] Hardie advanced the compelling notion that 5.1 is a testament to the political uncertainty in the final years of Domitian's reign, and particularly to the fact, recorded in Suetonius (*Dom.* 7.2), that the emperor moved to divide official positions between freedmen and equestrians; within this context, Abascantus may well have been replaced by the equestrian Titinius Capito, for whom we have record (*ILS* 1448) as a man whose military service under Domitian yielded both decoration and an imperial position as *ab epistulis*—presumably as part of this sweeping removal of freedmen from office.[666]

We need not conclude, with Zeiner, that Abascantus commissioned the poem for the purposes of retaining his job, nor that Capito's appointment necessarily meant Abascantus' dismissal, and as Gibson cautions, "the seriousness of the personal and poetic purpose of this epicedion should not be discounted".[667] Nevertheless, *Siluae* 5.1 is a profoundly political poem, and concerns itself with the praise of Domitian and

[664] On Abascantus, Weaver (1994); Jones (1992) 65.
[665] A. Hardie (1983) 185-6; cf. Nauta (2002) 302; Gibson (2006a).
[666] On Titinius Capito, Syme (1958) 92-3. Plin. *Ep.* 1.17 tells us of the 'immortality' Capito achieved through the erection of a monumental statue to Silanus in the forum; cf. *Ep.* 8.12.1-2. Dessau's commentary on the inscription notes the perhaps deliberate suppression of Domitian's name. On relations between Domitian and freedmen, Syme (1958) 597; Jones (1992) 61-69.
[667] Zeiner (2007) 176; Weaver (1994) 357-8; Gibson (2006a) 75.

the commendation of Abascantus to the emperor, and also underscores Statius' own favourable relationship with Domitian, as his petition to the emperor's divine inspiration early in the poem shows. *Siluae* 5.1 thus provides a forceful example of Statius' strategy of establishing intimate connections between private patron and emperor, and extolling the former's imitation of the latter; several prominent themes emerge throughout 5.1, including the relationship between the private, domestic sphere and the public, imperial realm, and the divinity of both Domitian and the *gens Flauia.* Importantly, it is through a meditation on monuments and monumentality that Statius articulates these concerns.

Before we arrive at the poem, the *praefatio* to *Siluae* 5 provides important preliminary evidence for these themes. Unlike the earlier prefaces, the preface to *Siluae* 5 concerns itself only with the first poem, and is hence a compelling testament to the book's posthumous publication.[668] The *praefatio* takes the form of an *epistula* addressed to Abascantus, detailing the reasons for Statius' poem:

> omnibus adfectibus prosequenda sunt bona exempla, cum publice prosint. pietas, quam Priscillae tuae praestas, est morum tuorum pars et nulli non conciliare te, praecipue marito, potest. uxorem enim uiuam amare uoluptas est, defunctam religio. ego tamen huic operi non ut unus e turba nec tantum quasi officiosus adsilui. amauit enim uxorem meam Priscilla et amando fecit mihi illam probatiorem; post hoc ingratus sum si lacrimas tuas transeo. praeterea latus omne diuinae domus semper demereri pro mea mediocritate conitor. nam qui bona fide deos colit amat et sacerdotes. sed quamuis propiorem usum amicitiae tuae iampridem cuperem, mallem tamen nondum inuenisse materiam. (*Silv*. 5 pr.)

Siluae 5.1 will thus be a meditation on exemplarity and the usefulness of exemplary private lives to the public, as we have seen; Statius' opening claim also serves as emblematic of the *Siluae'*s own hybrid status, poised between the private occasion and the *libellus* aimed at a public readership. As has been noted throughout this thesis, the relationship between the private realm of Statius' addressees and the public imperial sphere is a central preoccupation of the *Siluae*; Newlands' claim that "in the *Siluae*, consolation invites exploration of the interaction between the home and the state" is particularly pertinent here.[669] The *pietas* of Abascantus, shown towards Priscilla and presented by Statius, will present a model for the public to imitate. The example set by Priscilla too, the nominal subject of the poem, will hold equal weight, and

[668] Laguna (1992) 11-12; Gibson (2006a) xxix.
[669] Newlands (2013) 121.

Priscilla and Abascantus emerge in the poem as an *exemplum* of marital *concordia*, a reflection of Domitianic moral reform, an issue that we encountered in the previous chapter. Like Pollius and Polla in *Siluae* 2.2, the lives of Priscilla and Abascantus are presented with a public monument to their exemplary private behaviour; but the couple are also presented *as* a literary monument that Statius creates to inspire his audience to emulation, in honour of Domitian, the *censor perpetuus*.

Statius' preface also draws attention to the importance of the emperor's role within the poem: Statius' reason for composing the *epicedion,* aside from personal devotion, is to give honour to the *diuina domus,* the imperial institution which the poem presents Abascantus as an intimate member of; later in 5.1, Statius will claim that by appointing Abascantus secretary *ab epistulis*, Domitian has placed a mighty weight upon Abascantus' shoulders (84-5: *uix tractabile pondus* | *imposuit*) by granting him the most esteemed position in the 'sacred house' (85-6: *nec enim numerosior altera sacra* | *cura domo*). There is thus a complex—and troubling—blurring of distinctions on two levels: Abascantus and Priscilla, members of a private household, are raised to the level of imperial monument and *exemplum,* whilst the emperor is placed within a domestic frame and presented in terms of family and dynasty.

There is also specific emphasis in the *praefatio* placed upon the emperor's divinity, and the divinisation of the *gens Flauia,* with Abascantus labelled as its *sacerdos.* Statius' wording here tends to be taken as strictly metaphorical; Bernstein recently writes of a "religious dimension in relation to the godlike emperor, whose freedmen worship him as if they were priests...faithful execution of mundane duties complements the secretary's religious duties".[670] There is no evidence that Abascantus held a priesthood in the *Sodales Flauiales,*[671] but equally, comments such as Bernstein's miss the inordinate weight Statius places on imperial cult and Domitian's divinity, in the preface and throughout the poem: the reference here to the *domus diuina,* and later to the *sacra domus,* must anticipate the description of the Templum Gentis Flaviae that Statius will provide towards the end of the poem, the temple that Domitian constructed over

[670] Bernstein (2019) 72.
[671] On the Sodales Flaviales under Domitian, see Escámez de Vera (2016), (2019); Momigliano (1935).

the site of his birth on the Quirinal as both a mausoleum and a temple to his divine *gens*, to which we shall shortly turn.

But first, the dual importance of Domitian as censor and moral reformer, and Domitian as deity, coalesce throughout *Siluae* 5.1, and frame the relationship between Domitian and Abascantus, and it is important to map this out in two passages. In line with Statius' presentation of the omniscience of the divine emperor, vision provides a central theme of *Siluae* 5.1;[672] indeed, Statius' description of Domitian's intense observations of the private lives of his citizens brings us closest in the *Siluae* to Arendt's notion of the totalitarian ruler, quoted in the introduction, who can be "everywhere and at all times".[673] In Statius' account of Priscilla's life, reference is made to her prayers for the advancement of Abascantus' career, prayers which are eventually heeded:

> audita es, uenitque gradu Fortuna benigno.
> uidit quippe pii iuuenis nauamque quietem
> intactamque fidem succinctaque pectora curis
> et uigiles sensus et digna euoluere tantas
> sobria corda uices, uidit qui cuncta suorum
> nouit et inspectis ambit latus omne ministris. (75-80)

Domitian, omniscient god and *censor perpetuus*, has complete vision (*uidit...uidit qui cuncta suorum*) and thus complete knowledge (*nouit*) of his servants. Domitian's omniscient gaze here has already been specifically qualified as a divine characteristic earlier in the poem, when Statius presents Domitian as *deus* as he looks upon Abascantus grieving, a passage we met in the previous chapter:

> macte animi! notat ista deus qui flectit habenas
> orbis et humanos propior Ioue digerit actus
> maerentemque uidet**,** lectique arcana ministri
> hinc etiam documenta capit, quod diligis umbram
> et colis exsequias. hic est castissimus ardor,
> hic amor a domino meritus censore probari. (37-42)

[672] But not just Domitian: 160; 171-96 describe Priscilla's gaze; at 217, the 'eyes of Rome' pity Abascantus.
[673] See above, pg 28.

Malamud points out that *flectit habenas* links us to *Siluae* 1.1 (6: *frena tenentem*) and thus to the *equus Domitiani,* the symbol of imperial omniscience that overshadows the *Siluae.*[674] But the image can also evoke Domitian's association with the sun-god, controlling the reins of a sphere (*habenas* | *orbis*); as Heyworth notes, similar terms are used earlier in the poem to evoke Apollo the charioteer himself in verse 17 (*altera cum uolucris Phoebi rota torqueat annum*).[675] On another level, Domitian's divine oversight bears associations with the divine gaze of Jupiter/Zeus εὐρύοπα; for Lovatt, Jupiter's gaze, within the Roman epic tradition, "becomes an avatar of the imperial gaze".[676] Given the context of a consolatory poem, a suggestive parallel for Domitian's empathetic gaze presents itself in the Homeric formula τὸν δὲ ἰδὼν ἐλέησε, such as at *Iliad* 15.4-13, where Jupiter sees and pities the wounded Hector (6: ἴδε δὲ Τρῶας καὶ Ἀχαιούς; 9: Ἕκτορα δ' ἐν πεδίῳ ἴδε κείμενον; 12: τὸν δὲ ἰδὼν ἐλέησε πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε), or, more poignantly, *Iliad* 16, where Jupiter 'sees and laments' the impending death of Sarpedon (16.431: τοὺς δὲ ἰδὼν ἐλέησε Κρόνου πάϊς ἀγκυλομήτεω).[677] Compassion and epic pathos is replaced with censorial approval, and through the dynamics of vision, we are also invited to construe the relationship between Abascantus and Domitian as heroic victim and as epic god – all-seeing and compassionate, but also, as Statius will later contemplate (5.1.436), subservient to fate.

The divine connotations of Domitian's gaze are closely connected to the emperor's status as *censor perpetuus*: the splendidly oxymoronic *castissimus ardor* and *amor* of Priscilla and Abascantus are immured from censorial approbation (41-2); *notat* (37) must also connote the *nota censoria,* that unique magisterial power which, according to Dionysius Halicarnassus, extended—in contrast to Greek moral legislation—as far as the bedroom (*Ant. Rom.* 20.15.3 Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ πᾶσαν ἀναπετάσαντες οἰκίαν καὶ μέχρι τοῦ δωματίου τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν τιμητῶν (sc. *censor*) προαγαγόντες ἁπάντων ἐποίησαν ἐπίσκοπον καὶ φύλακα τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς γινομένων). Domitian the divine censor has complete knowledge both of his citizen's public *and* private

[674] Malamud (2016) 393.
[675] Vollmer (1898) 500; Heyworth (1994) 69.
[676] Lovatt (2013) 39.
[677] West (2011) 322.

life, even one such as Abascantus who 'loves the shade'; Vollmer additionally notes of *hinc etiam documenta capit* that "der Kaiser nimmt die Beweise der Treue auch aus dem Privatleben".[678] *Siluae* 5.1 gives us Statius' clearest portrait of Domitian's status as *dominus et deus,* as imperial divinity and imperial censor, and its consequences for the private lives of his subjects.

Statius creates the image of an intimate relationship between Abascantus and Domitian, between mortal and divinity, exemplary citizen and austere censor. Importantly, it is Domitian's divinity that provides the means by which Abacantus will be able to produce a lasting, immortalising monument to Priscilla. This is integral both to Statius' own poetic commemorative efforts and to his description of the tomb itself, but it is foreshadowed earlier in the poem, when Priscilla imparts her final wishes to Abascantus, requesting that a statue of the emperor be erected on the Capitoline on her behalf:

> tu limite coepto
> tende libens sacrumque latus geniumque potentem
> inrequietus ama. nunc, quod cupis ipse iuberi,
> da Capitolinis aeternum sedibus aurum
> quo niteant sacri centeno pondere uultus
> Caesaris et propriae signent cultricis amorem.
> Sic ego nec Furias nec deteriora uidebo
> Tartara et Elysias felix admittar in oras. (186-193)

The statue will consist of *aeternum aurum,* and in turn will confer immortality upon the monument's dedicators.[679] In contrast with the commemorative efforts of Abascantus, which are ultimately doomed to failure, Statius presents Priscilla's monumental devotion to the emperor as the template for correct commemoration in Flavian Rome. The dedication of a monument to a worthy recipient could bestow immortality upon the dedicator: ironically, Pliny tells us that this was the case for Abascantus' potential rival, Titinius Capito, whose erection of a statue to Silanus has ensured the eternal memory of both (*Ep.* 1.17.4: *cuius immortalitati Capito prospexit pariter et suae*).[680] As Gibson points out, the statue's location

[678] Heyworth (1994) 69.
[679] Mratschek-Halfman (1993) 344 estimates one hundred pounds of gold to be worth 6 million sesterces.
[680] Gibson (2006a) 145; Freudenburg (2001) 223-228. Titinius Capito also a fair hand at *exitus* literature, according to Plin *Ep.* 8.12.4 (*scribit exitus illustrium uirorum*), a genre which allowed the audience to be "present at the

on the Capitoline also supports the statue's immortal status, but it additionally conjures up associations of poetic immortality (Hor. *Carm.* 3. 30. 7–9; Virg. *Aen.* 9. 447–9), and thus reflecting on Statius' description of the commemoration.[681] For Priscilla, the transformation of private, elegiac love into a monumental symbol of public devotion and love for the emperor is the best way to preserve one's memory: Abascantus will fulfil his duty as an act of love (188: *inrequietus ama*), picking up on the earlier profession of love for the emperor's *mitis genius* (74); Statius tells us that Abascantus would have committed suicide, had not a greater love and devotion to the leader prevented him (207-8: *sed prohibet mens fida duci firmandaque sacris | imperiis et maior amor*). But ultimately, it is Domitian's divine status that will confer immortality upon the statue and preserve the memory of Priscilla, who has served as faithful *cultrix* (191). Priscilla's statue will present an eternal monument to the emperor, and Domitian's divine immortality will protect her from Tartarus and admit her to Elysium.

6.4 Abascantus and the Templum Gentis Flaviae

In contrast to Statius' opening comments on the ephemerality of material monuments, the emperor's divine status will confirm the endurance of Abascantus' offering through the ages, and if Domitian is unable to prevent the death of his devoted subjects (165-169), then he is nevertheless able to preserve Priscilla's memory for all time and to afford her transition to Elysium. It is through the faithful commemoration of the divine emperor that the monumental aspirations of Statius' patrons are most effectively realised. This connection between private and imperial monumentality returns later in *Siluae* 5.1, in the conclusion to Statius' description of the tomb that Abascantus has erected for Priscilla on the Appian Way. Statius exclaims that the tomb is a house rather than just a grave, and employs a variation on the *hospes* motif familiar from funerary epitaph to compare the tomb to an imperial monument:[682]

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domus ista, domus! quis triste sepulchrum

funeral panegyrics of famous men, having missed their rites" (5: *quorumque exsequias celebrare non licuit, horum quasi funebribus laudationibus seris quidem sed tanto magis ueris interesse.*)

[681] Gibson (2006a) 144.

[682] Gibson (2006a) 166; Lattimore (1942), 230–7.

dixerit? hac merito uisa pietate mariti
protinus exclames: ‘est hic agnosco, minister
illius, aeternae modo qui sacraria genti
condidit inque alio posuit sua sidera caelo’.
sic, ubi magna nouum Phario de litore puppis
soluit iter iamque innumeros utrimque rudentes
lataque ueliferi porrexit bracchia mali
inuasit uias, in eodem angusta phaselos
aequore et immensi partem sibi uindicat austri. (237-246)

The ‘tomb as house’ is a motif employed in both funerary inscriptions and imperial literature; Trimalchio voices his concerns about maintaining a good domestic life after death (Petron. *Sat.* 71.6-8).[683] But as the imagined observer goes on to realise, the relationship between *sepulchrum* and *domus* here points to the Templum Gentis Flaviae, which Abascantus’ monument now imitates on a smaller scale. Completed around 94 CE, the Templum Gentis Flaviae constituted one of the last monuments of the Domitianic regime.[684] No certain traces of the temple have been found, but it seems to have stood near the Quirinal in the Alta Semita, according to information in Suetonius and the later Regionary Catalogues.[685] Torelli identified the temple on the reverse of a sestertius minted around the same time (95/6 CE) which depicts a rectangular building with a decastyle porch;[686] sculptural fragments, found in 1901 and collected by Paul Hartwig and Francis Kelsey, have been associated with the Flavian temple, the iconography of which is suggestive of apotheosis[687] and also, according to Davies’ interpretation, posits a connection between Domitian and Romulus as *conditores* and divinised leaders.[688]

The importance of the Templum Gentis Flaviae to Domitian’s building programme is attested by Suetonius’ frequent mention of it: Suetonius first tells us that the temple was erected on the site of

[683] Lattimore (1942) 165-7; Purcell (1987); Bodel (1997); Wallace-Hadrill (2008); *TLL* IV, 1979 s.v. “domus” 1B2c; *CLE* 434.15; 1488.1-2.
[684] *LTUR* II 368-9; Darwall-Smith (1996); 159–65, Davies (2000), 24–7, 158–68; Henriksén (2012);Turcan (2000). For a detailed bibliography, see La Rocca (2009) 225 fn. 22
[685] Suet. *Dom.* 1.1. *Curiosum Urbis Romae Regionum XIIII* and *Notitia* place it in Regio VI, the Alta Semita; cf. also SHA, *Tyr. Trig.*, XXXIII, 6; SHA, *Claud.* 3.6. A topographical reference to the Temple of Quirinus on a Kelsey-Hartwig relief (MNR 310251) strengthens the Quirinal location.
[686] Torelli (1987) 564-68; Giuliani (1977) 91-106.
[687] viz. griffins, *thymiateria, baityloi* on entablature, fr. MNR 310254. Torelli (1987); Davies (2000) 151.
[688] Davies (2000); see Paris (1994); Gazda, Haeckel (1996) for the Kelsey-Hartwig fragments.

Domitian's birth, in the house of Vespasian on the Quirinal (1.1: *Domitianus natus … regione urbis sexta ad Malum Punicum, domo quam postea in templum gentis Flauiae conuertit*), and it is in light of this fact that Statius' exclamation *domus ista, domus!* must be considered. In *Epigram* 9.20, Martial praises the Templum Gentis Flaviae on similar terms, referencing Domitian's birth and childhood: the ground on which the Flavian temple stands is fortunate to have witnessed the infancy of the future emperor Domitian, and to have seen and supported the hands of a divine monarch:

> haec, quae tota patet tegiturque et marmore et auro,
> infantis domini conscia terra fuit,
> felix o, quantis sonuit uagitibus et quas
> uidit reptantis sustinuitque manus. (9.2.1-4)

Commemorating the birthplace of members of the imperial family was in keeping with Augustan tradition; Domitian's combination of tomb and temple on the site of his birth recalls honours that Livia accorded Augustus when she erected a *sacrarium* (cf. *Silv.* 5.1.240-1: *qui sacraria genti | condidit*) on the site of his birthplace *ad Capita Bubula* in Regio X (Suet. *Aug.* 5.1: *natus est Augustus...regione Palati ad Capita Bubula, ubi nunc sacrarium habet, aliquanto post quam excessit constitutum. nam ut senatus actis continetur ... decretum est ut ea pars domus consecraretur*).[689] But Suetonius also accounts for Domitian's burial, following his assassination, at the Templum Gentis Flaviae, where Julia's ashes (and those of Domitian's son) were already interred (17.3: *sed reliquias templo Flauiae gentis clam intulit cineribusque Iuliae Titi filiae, quam et ipsam educarat, conmiscuit*); Henriksén further suggests that verses 7-8 in Martial *Epigram* 34 (*cernite quam plus sit Caesaris esse patrem*) "presuppose that the temple housed the ashes of Vespasian, and it is logical to assume that at least also Titus rested there".[690] What seems clear is that Domitian meant the Templum Gentis Flaviae, despite its location within the *pomerium*, to be the dynastic mausoleum of the Flavian family, corresponding to the Mausoleum of Augustus and the Julio-Claudians. Statius' use of *condere* here must do double duty, referring both to the foundation of the *aeternae...sacraria*

[689] *LTUR* I 143-45. Torelli (1987) 570; Fishwick (1992); Davies (2000) 24-7; 79.
[690] Henriksén (2012) 149-50; La Rocca (2009) 228, on the interred Flavians, who suggests also Flavius Sabinus, Vespasian's brother, and Flavia Domitilla, either the wife or daughter of Vespasian; the Arch of Titus has been suggested as that emperor's sepulchre. On the Arch of Titus as funeral monument, Lehmann-Hartleben (1934).

gentis, but also to the burial and interment of his family members (*OLD* 4 *'condere'*). Davies accounts for Domitian's monument as a celebration of "the whole cycle of his birth, death and apotheosis"; and as Leberl puts it succinctly, "indem der Kaiser sein Geburtshaus durch den tempel ersetzte, sakralisierte er sich selbst". But it made a comparison with the Augustan Mausoleum most of all: "das templum gentis flaviae diente daher nich einfach nur der Manifestation der flavischen Dynastie, sondern sollte die aktuelle Kaiserfamilie als der julisch-claudischen Dynastie ebenbürtig darstellen.".[691] The Templum Gentis Flaviae consolidated a new imperial dynasty by transforming the entire *gens Flauia* into a family of *diui* and *diuae*, fashioned on Augustan tradition even as it signified a radical innovation to and departure from it.

Statius also describes Domitian's monument as the creation of another heaven, into which he has placed his stars (*alio posuit sua sidera caelo*); in *Siluae* 4.3, he similarly refers to the temple as a *Flauium caelum* (18-19: *qui genti patriae futura semper | sancit limina Flauiumque caelum*).[692] Three passages in Martial make use of the word *polus* to describe it, associating the monument similarly with the heavens (9.3.11-12, 20.1-2, 34.1-2). As with Statius' description of the *laquearia* in the banqueting hall of the Domus Flavia in *Siluae* 4.2, both descriptions appear to capitalise on an architectural detail of the temple, and given its context, the starred ceiling would strongly suggest the theme of apotheosis and catasterism of the deified Flavians: Domitian himself deified three members of his family, Titus (81), Julia (Cass. Dio 67.2; Mart. 9.1.7) and his child by Domitia (Mart. 4.3; RIC 2.1 152); Titus had in turn deified Vespasian and his own daughter Domitilla.[693]

Domitian's deification (and subsequent implied catasterisation) of the members of the Flavian family provide a constant point of praise for the poets: in *Siluae* 4.2, Statius anticipates the combination of imperial deifications and the construction of temples and palaces the emperor will undertake (59-60: *rata*

[691] Davies (2000); Leberl (2004) 302.
[692] *M* reads *lumina*; Coleman and Courtney print *limina* (ς), as a common metonym for *templum* (*TLL* vii. 2. 1405. 44 ff.)
[693] See Wood (2010) for Domitilla's identity and deification. Escamez de Vera (2016) on the balance between the divinisation of Vespasian and Titus and the entire family as a dynasty.

numina miseris astris | templaque des habitesque domos), a collation that possibly gestures towards the Templum Gentis Flaviae (*astris...templa...domos*); in Mart. 9.101, Martial praises Domitian for both having given stars to his family, and having added stars to the heavens (9.101.22: *astra suis, caelo sidera*), and Henriksén detects a further reference here to the temple's starred ceiling.[694] As Coleman observes of *Siluae* 4.3.19, "the correspondence between the deified Flavians and stellar decoration on the ceiling of their temple would be a sophisticated conceit. 'Flauium caelum' is a suitable *double entendre*: it actually describes the ceiling of the temple, decorated like heaven; it implies in flattering hyperbole that heaven is guaranteed to be the eternal domain of the Flavian dynasty".[695] Catasterism and deification are already present in the opening poem of the *Siluae,* in which the deified members of the Flavian family are presented as stars arrayed on Domitian's monumental statue. The image stresses the height and size of the colossal monument, able to embrace the stars themselves, but it is also worth entertaining the idea that Statius is responding to astral iconography on the statue's breastplate:[696]

> ibit in amplexus natus fraterque paterque
> et soror: una locum ceruix dabit omnibus astris. (97-98)

For the Flavian poets, then, the clearest articulation of the deified Flavian *gens* was to be found in Domitian's monuments themselves, and whereas the starred ceiling in *Siluae* 4.2 lends concrete expression to the emperor's divinity, in Statius' descriptions of the Templum Gentis Flaviae it symbolises the divinity of the entire dynasty. The temple also stressed an intimate connection between the divine *gens* and *Roma aeterna,* combining the immortality of the Flavians with the enduring power of Rome, consequently presenting a potent source of monumentality upon which the poets could draw. This is encapsulated by Martial's opening poem to Book 9:

> dum Ianus hiemes, Domitianus autumnos,
> Augustus annis commodabit aestates,
> dum grande famuli nomen adseret Rheni

694 cf. Val. Fl. 1.15-17 on Vespasian's catasterism; Zissos (2008) *ad loc.* rejects the view that *ille* at 1.15 refers to Domitian.
695 Coleman (1988) *ad loc.*
696 Vollmer (1898) 229.

> Germanicarum magna lux Kalendarum,
> Tarpeia summi saxa dum patris stabunt,
> dum uoce supplex dumque ture placabit
> matrona diuae dulce Iuliae numen:
> manebit altum Flauiae decus gentis
> cum sole et astris cumque luce Romana.
> inuicta quidquid condidit manus, caeli est. (*Ep.* 9.1)

The temple is qualified by three future *dum*-clauses that present Roman 'Standardbilden für Unvergänglichkeit', modelled specifically on Hor. *Carm.* 3.30, but refracted through Domitian's exemplary principate: the constant return of the months, into which Domitian, like Augustus, has incorporated his name; the military supremacy of Rome exemplified by Domitian's defeat of the Germans; the Capitoline; and Rome's devotion to the gods, represented here not by the Capitoline triad (cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.30), but by the deified Julia.[697] Martial concludes with a celebration of the Temple, the high glory of the Flavian *gens* which will last along with the sun, stars and *lux Romana*, symbolic of the sun-god Domitian and his catasterised family members, but also, as Henriksén suggests, an allusion to the decorated ceiling of the temple itself.[698] There is thus a reciprocal logic at play: the temple of the Flavian *gens* will be co-extensive with the eternal Roman institutions, with which they are inextricably linked, but it is through the divine status of the Flavian family that Rome's eternity will be assured. Accompanying this proclamation of the monument's endurance is Martial's own implicit poetic immortality: Book 9, like *Siluae* 1, commences triumphantly with the description of an imperial monument and presents itself as a monument-poem, confounding any associations with the diminutive constraints of epigram, and associating the poet's own success with that of the emperor.[699] The concluding line underscores the connection between material and poetic monumentality at play, for *condere* suggests not only the construction of the temple or the interment of the dead, but also the composition of poetry (*OLD* 14), the immortal and celestial verse (*caeli est*), to which both Martial and Domitian may both lay claim.

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[697] Henriksén (2008); Roman (2010) 111-112; Leberl (2004) 303 on the startling inclusion of Julia.
[698] Henriksén (2008) *ad loc.* 9.
[699] Lorenz (2009) 571 observes of *Ep.* 9.1, "Mehrfach wird betont, dass die kleinste Form das größte Thema—nämlich den Kaiser—in sich aufnehmen könne, und dies zum Anlass genommen, gerade die Vorzüge der lebensnahen Kleindichtung zu preisen".

We are able to draw some conclusions on the significance of the Templum Gentis Flaviae to Abascantus' monument that Statius elicits. The imitation of the imperial monument conflates Abascantus' personal devotion to Priscilla with the religious piety shown to the emperor, a dutifulness modelled on the emperor's own righteous commemoration of his family, a theme that sustains the entire epicedion. By emulating the emperor, Abascantus proves himself a devoted servant; it is through the divine Domitian, moreover, that Priscilla's immortality will be ensured. Statius works to praise Abascantus' imitative tomb, presenting a literary monument that, in turn, emulates Abascantus' own material commemoration. But as we saw in the previous chapter, the monumental imitation of the emperor can suggest something more dangerously subversive, and Abascantus here runs the risk of aspiring to the divine immortality reserved only for the Flavian gods. However, the concluding simile of Statius' description aims to provide clarity: Domitian's monument is a great ship (*magna puppis*); Abscantus' a small skiff (*angusta phaselos*), and both are located in common waters (*eodem...aequore*).

Siluae 5.1 provides a supremely fitting example of how the monument-poem *topos* and themes of monumentality play out throughout the *Siluae*, and the political implications that such themes can invoke: the description and veneration of the patron's material monument provides a suitable foil for Statius to affirm his poetry's superior commemorative ability, but also to present the monument and poem as interchangeable and intimately linked, stressing the similarly close relationship between poet and patron, as we have seen throughout this chapter. It also provides the poet with various points of engagement with his literary inheritance, through which Statius can negotiate new forms of monumentality. Yet within the context of Domitianic Rome, claims upon monumentality and immortality are always filtered through the divine emperor and the Flavian dynasty. It is through Domitian that Statius and his patrons will live on, and it is through Domitian that their monumental ambitions are realised. In the opening chapters, we saw how Statius works to assimilate his monumental poetry to Domitian's own projects, signalling an interchangeability between poet and *princeps*; this, in turn, valorises Statius' ability to confer monumnetality and immortality upon his patrons, acting as vessel and mouthpiece for the emperor himself.

6.5 conclusion

Death is the natural domain of the monument, and this chapter has canvassed the manifold ways in which Statius' funeral poetry contemplates the relationship between material and poetic monumentality in the commemoration of the dead, and dwells on the immortality of both poet and patron. The funeral poems, then, are perhaps most representative of the themes this thesis has pursued. Importantly, Statius constantly invites us to view these monumental preoccupations through a political framework, and to consider the ways in which the emperor's proclaimed divinity and immortality can be used to supplement poetry's traditional claim to be able to bestow eternal memory. Statius' poetic power stems directly from divine Domitian, and the emperor's monumental cultivation of an imperial dynasty shapes Statius' commemoration of his patrons. Death is where the connection between the private world of the patron and the imperial realm is thrown into especially sharp relief, and *Siluae* 5.1 gives us a clear instance of the ways in which Statius models his patron's monumental efforts upon those of the emperor, and an excellent example upon which to conclude this thesis.

There is another good reason for concluding with a poem from *Siluae* 5. Unlike the rest of the *Siluae*, Book 5 is heavily fragmented and obviously incomplete. Markland had already suspected its posthumous publication, a view which has since remained constant;[700] it is for this reason that Newlands avoids it in her 2002 study, on the basis that it cannot represent the authorial intentions of Statius, and aside from Gibson's exemplary commentary, *Siluae* 5 often remains avoided.[701] The posthumous status of Book 5 should not escape our attention, however, and in many ways, *Siluae* 5 holds the strongest claim to being Statius' own poetic funerary monument. It represents, quite literally, the death of the author and the birth of the reader, the first instance of the reception of Statius, an intriguing response to the 'idea' of the *Siluae* through editorial organisation. *Siluae* 5 points to both the enduring capacity of poetic monumentality, but

[700] Markland on 5 pr.; Gibson (2006a) xxviii on the status of Book 5.
[701] Newlands (2002a) 39: "I do not deal with Book 5, which was published posthumously and was not collected by Statius".

also to its fragility; it is in *Siluae* 5's lacunose and incomplete state that Statius' poetic monument to the cultural world of a damned emperor most attractively reveals both the physical and hermeneutic instability of its tenuous post-Domitianic *Nachleben*. *Monumenta fatiscunt,* Ausonius reflects on a damaged sepulchre and its inscription (*Ep.* 37 G.): how is the reader to restore them, and how might the poet (or emperor) anticipate this process? We turn to these questions in conclusion.

Conclusion: *monumenta fatiscunt*

truncatis conuulsa iacent elementa figuris,
omnia confusis interiere notis.
miremur periisse homines? monumenta fatiscunt;
mors etiam saxis nominibusque uenit.
- Auson. *Ep.* 37.7-10

This thesis has aimed to show how Statius constructs the *Siluae* as a monument to the Domitianic regime. It has explored the close relationship between poetic and material commemorative practices in Statius' *Siluae*, and the theme of the poet's and patron's shared aspirations for immortality, within the dynamic and volatile political context of the Domitianic regime. Statius' engagement with the monument poem *topos* works productively with his descriptions of the monuments of his patrons and of the emperor, and the *Siluae* are both challenged and enriched by the material worlds with which he engages. Importantly, Statius aims to establish a degree of interchangeability between literary and material commemoration, but also between poet and patron: the description of the monument effectively creates a monument itself, whilst the accomplishments of Statius' patrons are figured in terms of poetic success and achievement. A constant aim throughout the thesis has been to explore how poet, patron and emperor are grouped together in the same act of commemoration. It has been my aim to move beyond descriptions of poet-patron relationships, and towards a model of co-creation, based upon shared monumental aspirations.

An enduring irony of a study of monumentality in Domitianic literature is the near total erasure of the emperor's monuments following his assassination in 96 CE.[702] Suetonius details the enthusiasm with which they were destroyed (*Dom.* 23), and Dio describes the hatred that drove the ensuing wave of iconoclasm (68.1). The violence done to Domitian's statues, inscriptions and monuments was understood as an extended act of violence against the emperor himself: in the *Panegyricus,* Pliny recounts the vindictive delight of seeing the 'torn joints and torn limbs' of the imperial *imagines* (52.5: *nemo tam temperans gaudii seraeque laetitiae, quin instar ultionis uideretur cernere laceros artus, truncata membra*), a starkly tragic

[702] On Domitian's *damnatio*, see Flower (2006) 234-75.

image of Domitian repeatedly subjected to a *sparagmos,* casting him as a Pentheus-type tyrant.[703] If the *Siluae* ask us to identify Domitian with his monumental representations, then the results of doing so were evident in the events following his demise.

Fast forward almost 500 years, to Procopius' *Anecdota*, in which the historian compares the physical appearance of Justinian to that of Domitian, before recounting the Flavian emperor's assassination and his *damnatio memoriae* (*Anec.* 8.12-21). Procopius explains how Domitian's body was mutilated (κρεουργήσαντες) and his monuments erased, so that by the Byzantine period not a single statue of him in the entire empire remained—except one (8.14: καί τις αὐτοῦ εἰκὼν οὐδαμῆ φαίνεται οὖσα τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, ὅτι μὴ χαλκῆ μία ἐξ αἰτίας τοιᾶσδε): a statue, copied from the reassembled body parts of the dismembered emperor and erected by his devoted wife on the Capitol (8.19-20). Procopius' gaudy account of fragmentation and *anastylosis* shares with Pliny the tragic motif of *sparagmos*; Domitian's wife plays the role of the tragic hero reassembling the *disiecta membra* of the victim (c.f. Sen. *Phaed.* 1247-79).[704] It is a tall story; as Hulls points out, "the statue which Procopius describes was presumably a cannibalization of existing, but ill-fitting, bronze body parts with a head which he reads as that of Domitian", a variation on the practice of spoliation.[705] But Procopius' account also provides a fitting metaphor for the task of the historian, and of the reader or viewer, in creating new meanings of bygone monuments, and in reassembling the disparate fragments and relics to form new interpretations that reveal as much about the present contexts as they do about the historical past.[706]

The *Siluae* have required analogous acts of reassembly across time. Unlike the *Thebaid,* which enjoyed continuous popularity and a commentary tradition from at least the 4th century onwards, the *Siluae* appear to have been almost completely forgotten by the 10th century, perhaps due to their political

[703] cf. Massinger *The Roman Actor* 1.1.1-2: A: "what do we do today?" L: "Agave's frenzy | with Pentheus' bloody end."
[704] Procopius clearly contradicts the account given in Suet. *Dom.* 17.3.
[705] Hulls (2019) 270.
[706] On Procopius' account and his focus on Justinian here, see Cameron (1985) 56-9

content.[707] Only a 9th century manuscript (Laurentianus 29.32) attests to the existence of the *Siluae* at all, a *florilegium* containing, tellingly, not a poem to Domitian but Statius' *genethliacon* for Lucan (2.7). The *Siluae* were eventually rediscovered by Poggio Bracciolini in 1417. Poggio had a copy of the manuscript made, now our *Matritensis*, the source for all *recentiores* manuscripts. This manuscript is in a deplorable condition (Poggio called the copyist *ignorantissimus omnium uiuentium*); Parrhasius wrote that he would rather try his luck with the Hydra than the *Siluae* (*Ep.* 57: *luctaris ut uideo cum Papinio: mallem cum hydra: certior uictoriae spes esset*).[708] The history of the *Siluae* has since been one of interpolation, editorial intervention and guesswork, to which the twenty-four editions from the *princeps* to Courtney's Oxford Classical Text can attest; the *Siluae'*s fate indeed very nearly contravened Statius' ambitions to leave a lasting monument for himself and his patrons.

Questions of fragmentation have dogged us throughout this thesis. In Chapter 1, we saw how Statius anticipates the poetry of Late Antiquity in remixing and appropriating the monument poems of Augustan and Neronian poets to construct his own monumental poem on Domitian's equestrian statue, inviting the reader to view its literary elements in isolation, comparing and contrasting visions of past and present. This theme was especially central to Chapters 2 and 3**,** which observed Statius' persistent engagement with Augustan and Neronian texts in his praise of Domitian's monuments, and in the creation of his own monumental praise of the emperor. From another angle, Chapters 5 and 6 have shown Statius' interaction with Ovidian monumentality, aimed at providing a corrective to the flawed Augustan poet's own interaction with imperial and poetic monuments. Yet whilst the *Siluae* constantly expose the contingency and mutability of the monument poems of previous writers, they also emphasise concordance, consonance, and cohesion, and the enduring power of poetry to survive even (or especially) through fragmentation, quotation and redistribution. Statius' desire for future immortality is always entwined with his poetic memory of the past, which speaks through and to the objects, monuments and patrons that he commemorates in the *Siluae.*

[707] For the transmission of the *Siluae* between the second and fourteenth century, see Reeve (1977); Courtney (1990) v-ix; Gibson (2006a) l-lii; Anderson (2009 I) 65-121.
[708] Van Dam (1992) 190.

It is the task of the poet to turn the moment into the monument, and it is the task of the reader to uncover and make sense of the moments within the monument.

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