

FELICITAS AT SURRENTUM (STATIUS, *SILVAE* II. 2)*

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The Surrentinum¹ of Pollius Felix encouraged Statius to play on the meaning of felicity. The villa's prospect extended to Naples and Limon² (near Pausilypum), where an inscription of A.D. 65 already attests the name of the family.³ Nereids climbed the rocks to steal the fortunate proprietor's grapes, and Satyrs tumbled in the sea in the eagerness of their pursuit. A local Siren flew up to hear songs better than her own (112 f.),

hic ubi Pierias exercet Pollius artes,
seu volvit monitus quos dat Gargettius auctor,
seu nostram quatit ille chelyn, seu dissona nectit
carmina, sive minax ultorem stringit iambon.

In other words Pollius was a poet (cf. 39 f.; III. 1. 66 f.), who wrote hexameters,⁴ elegiacs, and iambs; that is why Statius refers to his *eloquentia* and *facundia*,⁵ for Schanz-Hosius⁶ are wrong to include so private a person among the orators. In particular he seems to have composed didactic verse on Epicurean subjects.⁷ In a context referring to the Siren and immediately after a mention of Pierian arts, *volvit monitus* (co-ordinate with *quatit*, *nectit*, *stringit*) surely refers to something more than an interest in philosophy (thus Vollmer's commentary) or an avoidance of public life (J. H. Mozley's Loeb edition).

From this point an Epicurean attitude begins to dominate the poem, just as Horace's odes are sometimes coloured by the philosophical position of his addressees. Already in the opening section Statius had used a series of double-edged words to relate the tranquil scene to the ἀτράραξια of Pollius himself (26 f.):⁸

mira quies pelagi: ⁹ ponunt hic lassa furorem
aequora, et insani spirant clementius austri,
hic praeceps minus audet hiems, nulloque tumultu
stagna modesta iacent dominique imitantia mores.

Now in the last paragraph *felix* takes on a more ethical and less materialistic connotation: ¹⁰ Pollius has made himself immune to fate by conquering hope and fear, and death will find him, in a phrase reminiscent of Lucretius,¹¹ 'abire paratum ac plenum vita' (128 f.). The lush τοποθεσία gives place to more explicit Epicurean symbols: the Marina di Puolo, which seems still to preserve the name of Pollius, is transmuted into the haven of the wise,¹² the

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¹ See P. Mingazzini and F. Pfister, *Forma Italiae, Regio I*, vol. II, *Surrentum* (1946), 54 f., 132 f. with tav. I and xviii; the scale of the villa was probably less than supposed by J. Beloch, *Campanien*² (1890), 269 f. (with pl. x).

² *Silv.* II. 2. 81 f.; III. 1. 149.

³ *ILS* 5798: 'Macrinus . . . hic ambulavit a villa Polli Felicis, quae est Epilimones, usque ad emissarium Paconianum, Nerva et Vestino cos.'; Mommsen, *Hermes* XVIII (1883), 158 f.; J. H. D'Arms, *Romans on the Bay of Naples* (1970), 221 f.

⁴ For this use of *chelys* cf. I. 3. 102; v. 5. 33; *Theb.* I. 33.

⁵ II *praef.*; III *praef.*; III. 1. 65; so I. 3. 1 of the equally versatile Vopiscus (I. 3. 99 f.).

⁶ *Geschichte der röm. Lit.* II⁴, 839, n. 5.

⁷ For the Epicurean traditions of the area cf. D'Arms, op. cit. (n. 3), 56 f.

⁸ For γαληνισμός cf. Epicur., *Ep. Her.* 37, 83, fr. 413, 425, 429 (Usener); W. Schmid, *RAC* v, 722. For similar correspondences between external and internal storms cf. D. Vessey, *Statius and the Thebaid* (1973), 93 f.

⁹ For the *quies* of Pollius cf. III *praef.*

¹⁰ 122: 'Troica et Euphratae supra diademata felix'.

¹¹ III. 938: 'cur non ut plenus vitae conviva recedis . . .?'; Epicur. fr. 499 (= Cic., *Tusc.* v. 118); *Sent. Vat.* 47.

¹² 140: 'securos portus'; Epicur. fr. 544: 'Ἐπικούρος τάγαθὸν ἐν τῷ βαθυτάτῳ τῆς ἡσυχίας ὥσπερ ἐν ἀκλύστῳ λιμένι καὶ κωφῷ τιθέμενος'; Virg., *Catal.* 5. 8 f.: 'nos ad beatos vela mittimus portus, magni petentes docta dicta Sironis'.

sea becomes the tumult of the world¹³ (as in the proem to Lucretius II), the panoramic vista the *spectaculum* of human folly,¹⁴ the secluded villa the citadel¹⁵ of the mind (129 f.) :

nos, vilis turba, caducis
deservire bonis semperque optare parati,
spargimur in casus : celsa tu mentis ab arce
despicias errantis humanaque gaudia rides.

This subtle pastiche allusively combines several other Epicurean motifs : lack of αὐταρκεία (*Sent. Vat.* 67, 77), transitory 'goods' (contrast the immortal ἀγαθά of *Ep. Men.* 135, *Sent. Vat.* 78), infinite desires (Κύρια Δόξα 15, fr. 454 f.), vulnerability to fortune (cf. fr. 489, 584), a failure to give coherence to life (*spargimur*).¹⁶ Yet though the passage is as eloquent as anything in Statius, it may seem too smug for modern taste : Pollius had perhaps been disappointed in minor ambitions at Puteoli,¹⁷ but his serenity was based on immense wealth. What could such people know of storms?

One speaks advisedly of 'people', for Pollius had a wife who matched him in temperament as well as in name (9 f.) :

trans gentile fretum placidi facundia Polli
detulit et nitidae iuvenilis gratia Pollae.

Polla seems to have been an interesting person in her own right, as she receives similar compliments in the other poems addressed to the family ;¹⁸ by contrast, the wives of Statius' other addressees are generally ignored,¹⁹ as is Pollius' own daughter, whose baby's birth is the occasion of IV. 8. In II.2 Polla is treated as an equal partner in her husband's felicity (107 : 'sis felix, tellus, dominis ambobus'), and the poem ends with an Epicurean *envoi* to the tranquil pair (143 : 'discite securi'), whose catastematic bliss preserves the laws of friendship (144 f. : 'sanctusque pudicae servat amicitiae leges amor').²⁰ Most important of all is the preceding address to the wife alone (151 f.) :²¹

non tibi sepositas infelix strangulat arca
divitias avidique animum dispendia torquent
faenoris : expositi census et docta fruendi
temperies.

This eulogy of munificence strongly suggests that Polla herself was a patron of letters ; for the drift one may compare the *Charites* of Theocritus, where generosity to poets is encouraged more explicitly than was acceptable to Roman taste (16. 22 f.) :

δαιμόνιοι, τί δὲ κέρδος ὁ μυρίος ἔνδοθι χρυσὸς
κείμενος; οὐχ ἔδε πλοῦτου φρονέουσιν ὄνασις,
ἄλλὰ τὸ μὲν ψυχᾶ, τὸ δὲ πού τιμι δοῦναι ἀοιδῶν.

It is particularly significant that *docta fruendi temperies* is an imitation of Horace, *Carm.* II. 2. 3 f., where Sallustius Crispus is described as hostile to silver *nisi temperato splendeat usu*.

¹³ 139 : 'illo alii rursus iactantur in alto'.

¹⁴ *Lucr.* II. 2 : 'e terra magnum alterius spectare laborem' ; II. 9 f.

¹⁵ *Lucr.* II. 7 f. : 'sed nil dulcius est bene quam munita tenere edita doctrina sapientum templa serena' ; *Hor., Serm.* II. 6. 16 ; *Carm.* II. 6. 21 f. ; *Ciris* 14.

¹⁶ Epicurus spoke of the dissipation of life by wrong attitudes to time (cf. below, n. 100) ; see *Sent. Vat.* 14 : ὁ δὲ βίος μελλήσῃ παραπόλλυται (contrast *Hor., Carm.* III. 29. 41 f.) ; *Cic., Fin.* I. 62-3 (with J. S. Reid's parallels).

¹⁷ II. 2. 133 f. Pollius had abandoned not poetry but politics : for text and interpretation cf. L. Håkanson, *Statius' Silvae* (1969), 64 f. (*pulchrique*) ; better E. Courtney, *BICS* XVIII (1971), 95 (*rectique*).

¹⁸ III. 1. 87, 159, 179 ; IV. 8. 13 f.

¹⁹ The exceptions are Priscilla, whose death is the actual subject of v. 1, and Statius' mother, who is mentioned without being named in the *epicedium* on his father (v. 3. 240 f.).

²⁰ Something of the same attitude to marriage may be observed behind the satire at *Lucr.* IV. 1278 f. Bailey comments ad loc. : 'perhaps, too, there is the thought that long custom of living together approaches to the Epicurean conception of friendship'.

²¹ In spite of the dislocation in the MS, there can be no doubt that these lines precede 143 f., i.e. they refer to Polla ; cf. Housman, *CR* xx (1906), 42 f. = *Collected Papers* II, 646 f.

Though Horace is too discreet to underline it, the point there must be that Sallustius, like Proculeius in the following stanza, was a patron of poets.²²

Stattus was fortunate in his friendship with ladies called Polla: the last poem in the same book, the *Genethliacon Lucani* (II. 7), was dedicated to Argentaria Polla, the widow of Lucan. The wife of Pollius was lovely, charming, serene, kind, virtuous and rich,²³ but Calliope ascribes no less attractive qualities to Lucan's widow (II. 7. 81 f.):

nec solum dabo carminum nitorem,
sed taedis genialibus dicabo
doctam atque ingenio tuo decoram,
qualem blanda Venus daretque Iuno
forma simplicitate²⁴ comitate
censu sanguine gratia decore.²⁵

Such compliments were no doubt common enough in panegyrics on women, but it is a more interesting coincidence that Lucan's widow also gave encouragement to poets: ²⁶ compare II. *praef.*, 'cludit volumen Genethliacon Lucani, quod Polla Argentaria, rarissima uxorum, cum hunc diem forte coleremus,²⁷ imputari sibi voluit', Mart. VII. 21-3 (a cycle of three epigrams clearly commissioned for the same occasion),²⁸ and x. 64. 1 (where he significantly calls Polla his *regina*).²⁹ At this point one is tempted to ask whether the wife of Pollius and the widow of Lucan might not be the same person. This possibility was suggested very tentatively by Markland in 1728 (below, n. 43), and was still thought worth summarily rejecting at *RE* II, 706 (published in 1896), but is not even mentioned in the articles on Polla and Pollius Felix,³⁰ or in Vollmer's commentary, or in Schanz-Hosius, or in *PIR*, or in more recent studies of Flavian literary society. It may be worth while to ask why the identification is now thought so implausible, and then to consider the positive arguments in support.

First of all, there may be doubts about chronology. Lucan was born in 39 (*Vita Vaccae*) and died in 65; let us assume that Argentaria Polla was born between 40 and 45. It is usually taken for granted that Polla Pollii was twice a grandmother in 91³¹ (III. 1. 175 f.) and a third time in 95 (IV. 8); that is compatible with an age similar to that of the other Polla. However, it seems more likely (as Mrs. Griffin points out) that the grandchildren in question were those of Pollius by an earlier marriage: at IV. 8. 13 f. ('quaeque sibi genitos putat attollitque benigno Polla sinu'), Stattus is probably saying that Polla treats her husband's grandchildren as if they were her own. Even so, Polla Pollii seems to have been middle-aged by 91, as is suggested by the 'impossible' protasis at III. 1. 161, 'quod si dulce decus viridisque resumeret annos'. In that case the *iuvenilis gratia* of which the poet speaks (above, p. 2) must mean not that she was still young but that she had retained her youthful charm; even if she was not herself a grandmother, she could still have been old enough to be Lucan's widow.

There are questions about social status as well as chronology: it has recently been suggested that Pollius Felix was a freedman's son,³² whose *cognomen* perhaps hints at servile origin, and the sources of his money have even been compared with those of Trimalchio.³³ But he was not only a man of great wealth, but of wide-ranging literary, artistic and philosophical interests; the serene *dilettante* of Stattus does not sound like a self-made parvenu.

²² Crinagoras is more candid (*A. Pl.* 40). For Proculeius cf. Juv. 7. 94, where he is linked with Maecenas.

²³ II. 2. 10 and III. 1. 87, *nitidae*; II. 2. 10, *gratia*; III. 1. 179, *placidae* (cf. II. 2. 148 f.); IV. 8. 13 f., *benigno . . . sinu*; II. 2. 144, *pudivae*; II. 2. 152, *divitias*.

²⁴ So III. 1. 32 (of Pollius): 'sed felix simplexque domus'.

²⁵ Cf. also II. 7. 62, *castae*.

²⁶ As is made clear by P. White, *HSCPh* LXXIX (1975), 280 f.

²⁷ *consuleremus* of the MS is meaningless; F.

Skutsch's *coleremus* is excellent in sense (cf. White, op. cit.) and rhythm.

²⁸ V. Buchheit, *Philologus* cv (1961), 90 ff.

²⁹ Cf. the use of *rex* at *Silv.* III. 2. 92 f.; Hor., *Epist.* I. 7. 37 (to Maecenas); White, op. cit., 285.

³⁰ *RE* XXI, 1407 f., 1419 f.

³¹ For the dating of the poems cf. Vollmer, op. cit., 6 f.; H. Frère and H. J. Izaac (Budé edition), vol. 1, xxii f.

³² J. H. D'Arms, *JRS* LXIV (1974), 111, mentioning as a possible father Cn. Pollius Cn. I. Victor, an *Augustalis* at Puteoli in 56 (*CIL* x. 1574).

³³ D'Arms, op. cit. (n. 3), 125 f.

He is more likely to have been a member of the local aristocracy. It is a basic fact of Roman social history that such families could be connected with the highest in the land, and the Annaei themselves had been no different in origin. Lucan's father, the unambitious Mela,³⁴ was not just equestrian but provincial,³⁵ as were both his grandfathers, the elder Seneca and Acilius Lucanus. After Lucan's suicide Polla might have felt no desire to marry again into a great political family.

But the main objection that is felt to our hypothesis is not chronological or social but sentimental. Scholars are reluctant to identify the happy wife of Pollius with the devoted widow of the *Genethliacon*, who kept Lucan's likeness over her bed and called him like Protesilaus from the underworld (II. 7. 120 f.):

adsis lucida et vocante Polla
unum, quaeso, diem deos silentum
exores: solet hoc patere limen
ad nuptas redeuntibus maritis.³⁶

But though the *univira*³⁷ enjoyed traditional esteem in Latin literature, second husbands³⁸ were common and unobjectionable, as was to be expected in a society where marriage was secular,³⁹ divorce easy, early death frequent, and the after-life meagre. Roman women of the highest character could be commended for *pietas* to two different husbands: ⁴⁰ cf. *Carm. Epig.* 1578. 1, 'semperque pudica maritis'; *CIL* VI. 19253, 'D.M. Anniae Helvidiae coniugi sanctissimae et incomparabili fecit P. Arrenius Gemellinus . . . con qua (*sic*) vixit annis XI et P. Aelio Filarguro marito virginio eius co[n] quo] vixit annis XXI'; or, if that is too low a grade of society, *ILS* 8394 (*laudatio Murdiae*), 'gratum fidumque animum in viros'. In Epicurean circles the more liberal view would have prevailed, and Pollius might have repeated Anna's question to Dido: 'id cinerem aut manis credis curare sepultos?' (*Virg., Aen.* IV. 34). Or, to take a more auspicious instance of Virgil's illumination of conduct, Hector's widow Andromache has an obsessive devotion to the memory of her dead husband, but that does not keep her from marrying the less heroic but highly deserving Helenus (*Aen.* III. 294 f.); Aeneas comments (495) 'vobis parta quies' (words that refer not to death but most emphatically to life), and if our theory is correct the same could be said to Polla. But to prove the point there is no need to look beyond Statius himself: he mentions the previous marriage of Priscilla, the dead wife of the mourning Abascantus (v. 1. 45 f.), and in comparing his own wife Claudia to Penelope and Laodamia, he does not hesitate to praise her *fides* to her former husband (III. 5. 50 f.):

nec minor his tu nosse fidem vitamque maritis
dedere. sic certe cineres umbramque priorem
quaeris adhuc, sic exsequias amplexa canori
coniugis ingentis iterasti pectore planctus
iam mea.

That is to say, she was a Laodamia to her dead husband and a Penelope to her living one.

At this point there may be hope of introducing a more positive piece of evidence: our hypothesis seems to be treated as a fact by one ancient writer. Sidonius gives a long list of authors whom he professes to regard as inferior to the father of Consentius; after a mention of the Senecas and Martial, the climax comes with the following lines (*Carm.* 23. 165 f.):

quid quos duplicibus iugata taedis
Argentaria pallidat poetas?

³⁴ Sen., *Contr.* II *praef.* 3: 'hoc unum concupiscentem, nihil concupiscere'; Tac., *Ann.* XVI. 17. 3: 'petitione honorum abstinuerat per ambitionem praeposteram'.

³⁵ Tac., *Ann.* XIV. 53. 5: 'equestri et provinciali loco ortus' (the great Seneca).

³⁶ Cf. Mart. VII. 23. 3 f.: 'tu, Polla, maritum saepe colas et se sentiat ille coli'.

³⁷ *RAC* III, 1017 f.; M. Humbert, *Le remariage à Rome* (1972), 59 f.

³⁸ Humbert, *op. cit.*; T. P. Wiseman, *Catullan Questions* (1969), 58 f.

³⁹ For the 'humanistic idea' of Roman marriage cf. F. Schulz, *Classical Roman Law* (1951), 103 f.

⁴⁰ Humbert, *op. cit.*, 102 f., 108 f., 122.

The poets are Lucan and Statius, not Pollius, of whose writings Sidonius was as ignorant as we are; and it is generally assumed⁴¹ that to make the sentence balance, the two husbands must be the same. But it is difficult to see how even Sidonius could have supposed that Polla was married to Statius: he knew well the *Silvae* in general⁴² and the *Genethliacon* in particular, and he ought to have seen that Statius is addressing his wife in III. 5 and not in II. 7. It seems more likely that Sidonius regards the two husbands as Lucan and Pollius⁴³ (the circumstance is worth mentioning because the marriages marked the two stages of Polla's literary importance); in that case, *pallidat* refers not to the *pallor amantium* but to the pale cast of thought, as is naturally suggested by the collocation with *poetas*.⁴⁴ Unfortunately this conclusion is of little practical importance: there was no ancient biography of Statius, and Sidonius can have known nothing about his circle except what he could glean from the poems. He is unsound elsewhere on literary history: he thought⁴⁵ that Ovid's Corinna was Julia, scrupulously distinguished the philosopher Seneca from the tragedian, and assumed too confidently that Juvenal was exiled by an actor. He tells us nothing that we could not have derived for ourselves; all we can say is that he saw nothing unreasonable in the assumption that Lucan's widow should have remarried.

Argentaria Polla deserves further investigation. Statius would respect her not just for her graciousness and her money but for her antecedents and poetical interests (II. 7. 83: 'doctam atque ingenio tuo decoram'); and when Martial reminds her of an improper epigram by her late husband,⁴⁶ that implies an emancipated lady who knew the rules of the *genre*. Sidonius pictures her as helping Lucan with his poetry, though his other *exempla* suggest that he has no evidence except a general feeling of appropriateness: 'saepe verum Corinna cum suo Nasone complevit, Lesbia cum Catullo, Caesennia cum Gaetulico, Argentaria cum Lucano, Cynthia cum Propertio, Delia cum Tibullo' (*Epist.* II. 10. 5). Lucan addressed her in the *Adlocutio ad Pollam*⁴⁷ (perhaps part of his *Silvae*, since it is not mentioned as an independent poem in Vacca's *Life*); this may have been the model for Statius' address to his wife Claudia, in which he urges on her the attractions of Campania as opposed to Rome (III. 5. 81 f.). It may also be relevant that Lucan wrote *Epistulae ex Campania*, which were probably in prose⁴⁸ rather than verse; the title suggests something more than a temporary holiday, and such a link with Campania⁴⁹ would fit our theory even though it does nothing to prove it. After Lucan's death his widow might have retired to her husband's property on the Bay of Naples, and in due course have married a kind Epicurean gentleman of quieter literary and political tastes. Lucan had been a rich man;⁵⁰ when his father was put to death in 66 for his own and his son's money, he left a large sum to Tigellinus 'quo cetera manerent' (Tac., *Ann.* XVI. 17. 5). Perhaps some of the family fortunes (the childless Seneca's as well) found their way to Polla; perhaps she even diverted her second husband from Puteoli and Pausilypum, where he had his roots, by bringing him a splendid Surrentinum.

Where did she herself come from? The name 'Argentarius' was rare and in general undistinguished, but it was borne by one person of literary talent: this was the well-known declaimer, who plays a considerable part in the writings of Lucan's grandfather.⁵¹ The elder Seneca not only wrote about declaimers but welcomed them into his family circle.

⁴¹ Cf. *RE* I, 2228; W. B. Anderson's Loeb edition ad loc.

⁴² *Carm.* 9. 226 f., 22 § 6; R. Bitschofsky, *De L. Sollii Apollinaris Sidonii studiis Stadianis* (1881).

⁴³ Cf. Markland on Stat., *Silv.* II *praef.*: 'quod si verum sit . . . Lucanum et Pollium eandem uxorem habuisse, omnis erroris liberatur Sidonius'. For the importance of Markland's *Silvae* see now C. Collard, *PCPhS* XXII (1976), 1 f.

⁴⁴ *Pers.*, *prol.* 4: 'pallidamque Pirenen'; Juv. 7. 97 with Mayor's note. In Lucan's case Sidonius would be thinking of the *Adlocutio ad Pollam* (see next paragraph).

⁴⁵ *Carm.* 23. 160 f.; 9. 232 f.; 9. 271 f.

⁴⁶ Lucan fr. 10 (Morel) = Mart. X. 64. 6: 'si nec pedicor, Cotta, quid hic facio?'

⁴⁷ Stat., *Silv.* II 7. 62 f.: 'hinc castae titulum decusque Pollae iucunda dabis adlocutione'.

⁴⁸ *Vita Vaccae* (cf. *Silv.* II. 7. 22); M. J. McGann, *RFIC* XCIX (1971), 63 f. and *TAPhA* CV (1975), 213 f. against F. M. Ahl, *Lucan* (1976), 335 f.

⁴⁹ The Pisonian conspiracy that brought Lucan to his death centred round Piso's villa at Baiae; cf. Tac., *Ann.* xv. 52. 1; F. M. Ahl, *TAPhA* CII (1971), 22 f.

⁵⁰ Juv. 7. 79 f.: 'iaceat Lucanus in hortis mar-moreis'; Tac., *Ann.* XVI. 17. 4.

⁵¹ See especially Sen., *Cont.* IX 3. 12-13; H. Bornecque, *Les déclamations et les déclamateurs d'après Sénèque le père* (1902), 152 f.; S. G. P. Small, *YCS* XII (1951), 75 f.

Porcius Latro was an associate from childhood till the day of his death (*Cont.* I *praef.* 13), Seneca's sons regarded the son of Clodius Turrinus with brotherly affection (*x praef.* 14), one of them was ultimately adopted by Junius Gallio (*PIR*² I 757), the great Seneca was a friend of Passienus Crispus, the grandson of the 'Passienus noster' of the *Controversiae*.⁵² The declaimers cited by the elder Seneca belong in general to the Augustan period, when his sons were too young to listen (*I praef.* 1 and 4), and Argentarius was the pupil of Cestius Pius (*IX.* 3. 12), whose *floruit* is given by Jerome as 13 B.C. Therefore he was presumably too senior to be the father of a woman born about A.D. 40-5, but he might have been the grandfather; a relationship was already suggested by F. Marx (*RE* I, 2228). It has been observed that of the dozen inscriptions recording Argentarii three come from Spain (perhaps because of the silver mines), including one from Seneca's own *conventus Cordubensis*.⁵³ A number of the declaimers associated with the elder Seneca were Spaniards,⁵⁴ notably Porcius Latro, Gavius Silo, Clodius Turrinus, Cornelius Hispanus, Statorius Victor (the case of Junius Gallio rests only on conjecture).⁵⁵ On the other hand Seneca explicitly says that Argentarius was a Greek (*Cont.* IX. 3. 13), and this may suggest that his family or their patrons derived their name not from Spanish mines but from Greek banks.⁵⁶

Though a connection with Argentarius cannot be definitely proved, it must be underlined that in spite of her unimportant name Argentaria was a person of culture and distinction in a society where literary ladies were still rare enough to be noticed; when Statius speaks of her lineage (*II.* 7. 86, *sanguine*), he may not be thinking in purely social terms. Lucan shared his family's fondness for declamation, and the *Life* of Vacca records speeches for and against Octavius Sagitta; as for his epic, it is enough to mention⁵⁷ the morbid sensationalism, the fervid denunciations of tyranny, the hyperbolic paradoxes, the epigrams that reiterate rather than develop,⁵⁸ the heavy-handed use of point. Though the elder Seneca speaks with no particular warmth of Argentarius, it would have been quite appropriate that the young poet, whose original ambitions were purely literary, should marry a member of such a family; his own maternal grandfather, Acilius Lucanus, though he is nowhere described as a declaimer, had been a well-known orator from Corduba (*Vita Vaccae*). And if our central hypothesis turns out to be correct, it would also be appropriate that the granddaughter of a Romanized Greek should marry the Hellenizing Pollius,⁵⁹ whose daughter in turn married the Neapolitan Julius Menecrates (*IV.* 8).

The possibility of a link between Argentaria and Argentarius is made more intriguing, and perhaps also more likely, by a further circumstance: the declaimer was probably the same person as M. Argentarius the epigrammatist.⁶⁰ Both have the same rare Latin name, though the former was of Greek origin and the latter wrote in Greek; the former worked under Augustus (as has been seen), the latter is included in the *Garland of Philip*, which contains epigrams from the time of Philodemus till the principate of Gaius.⁶¹ Several epigrammatists of the *Garland of Philip* have been identified with declaimers (Adaeus, Aemilianus, and Diocles), though unlike Argentarius they declaimed in Greek; and several others mention declaimers.⁶² In particular the pointed and sardonic style of M. Argentarius well suits the irreverent cynic of whom the elder Seneca commented 'multa contumeliose interponebat'.⁶³ The epigrammatist shows an ingenious crudity worthy of Martial

⁵² *III. praef.* 10; Bornecque, *op. cit.*, 186 f.; M. T. Griffin, *Seneca* (1976), 45.

⁵³ Small, *op. cit.*, 73, citing *CIL* II. 1562, 3283, 5493.

⁵⁴ H. de la Ville de Mirmont, *Annales de la faculté des lettres de Bordeaux, Bulletin Hispanique* XII (1910), 1 f.; XIV (1912), 11 f.; XV (1913), 154 f., 237 f., 384 f.; M. Griffin, *JRS* LXII (1972), 12.

⁵⁵ The 'sweet Gallio' born at Corduba (*Stat., Silv.* II. 7. 30) is the elder Seneca's son; cf. A. Vasileiou, *RPh* XLVI (1972), 40 f. (citing *Sen., NQ* IV. *praef.* 11).

⁵⁶ His teacher Cestius Pius came from Smyrna (*Hier., Chron.* ad ol. 191. 4), in spite of his Latin name.

⁵⁷ S. F. Bonner, *AJP* LXXXVII (1966), 257 f.; for the tragedies of Seneca see his *Roman Declamation* (1949), 160 f.

⁵⁸ Fronto, p. 151 (van den Hout): 'Annae, quis finis erit?'

⁵⁹ *Stat., Silv.* II. 2. 95 f.; 'macte animo quod Graia probas, quod Graia frequentas arva'. He had a villa at the Greek city of Tarentum (110 f.).

⁶⁰ Reitzenstein, *RE* II, 712; Small, *op. cit.* (n. 51), 77 f.; R. Del Re, *Maia* VII (1955), 184 f.; Gow-Page, *Garland of Philip* II, p. 106. It is no objection that Argentaria was rich (*Silv.* II. 7. 86) while Argentarius said he was poor (*A.P.* IX. 229. 3 = Gow-Page, I. 1429). Epigrammatists since Leonidas had laid claim to poverty, and in any case on our theory there was a generation intervening.

⁶¹ Small, *op. cit.* (n. 51), 69 f.; Gow-Page, *op. cit.*, I, xlv f.

⁶² C. Cichorius, *Römische Studien* (1922), 361 f.

⁶³ *Cont.* IX. 3. 12-13: he swore 'per manes praeceptoris mei Cesti' while Cestius was still alive.

himself; ⁶⁴ he dwells on the unromantic and commercial aspects of sex without any of the sentiment that his subtler predecessors (such as Philodemus) had blended with their wit. He is a truly Roman punster, particularly on proper names: ⁶⁵ if the girl who once was a Σικελή ⁶⁶ is now an Αἰτωλή he himself is a Μῆδος; when Pyrrha passes he exclaims to his text of Hesiod ἔργα τί μοι παρέχεις; ⁶⁷ if Philostratus cannot sleep with Antigone he can always sleep with ἀντία γούνατα. ⁶⁸ His pithy phrases and fondness for antithesis have been connected with the *schemata minuta* of the declaimer. ⁶⁹ His epigrams were epigrams in the modern sense, with the sting in the tail; here again there is a link with the 'terminal *sententia*' ⁷⁰ of declamation, and of Lucan.

The qualities of Argentarius may be illustrated by one epigram out of three dozen: ⁷¹

Μήνη χρυσόκερως, δέρκη τάδε, καὶ πυριλαμπεῖς
 ἀστέρες οὖς κόλποις Ὠκεανὸς δέχεται,
 ὧς με μόνον προλιποῦσα μυρόπνοος ᾄχεται Ἀρίστη,
 ἑκταίην δ' εὐρεῖν τὴν μάγον οὐ δύναμαι;
 ἀλλ' ἔμπης αὐτὴν ζητήσομεν· ἦν, ἐπιπέμφω
 Κύπριδος ἰχνευτὰς ἀργυρέους σκύλακας.

Here the forlorn lover's address to the heavenly bodies is made an occasion for point rather than feeling. When the fiery stars are received in the gulf of Ocean, there is not only an antithesis between fire and water but an implicit contrast with the less welcoming κόλπος of the poet's beloved. ⁷² Ariste is called a witch not simply for her bewitching qualities (Gow-Page) but because she has worked a disappearing trick, not on the moon (as witches often do) but on herself. Then with a characteristically cynical climax the poet promises to send his silver sleuth-hounds after her: ἀργυρέους is a parody of ἀργούς, the Homeric epithet for dogs, and balances the golden horn in the first line (the moon, like the stars, is better off than the poet). Small, *op. cit.*, (n. 51), 111, and Gow-Page comment that 'silver sleuths' seems to be an original metaphor for money, but that does not bring out the full force of the concluding epigram: Argentarius *suo more* is playing on his own name. ⁷³

The name encouraged puns. It has been mentioned how Sidonius wrote of Lucan's widow 'Argentaria pallidat poetas' (*Carm.* 23. 166); the verb is sometimes altered to *Polladat*, but *dat* is quite unconvincing, especially as the word is used in a meaningful sense three lines earlier. In fact *pallidat* ⁷⁴ is correctly formed from *pallidus* (cf. *fluidare, frigidare, limpidare, lucidare*), makes admirable sense in the context (above, p. 4), and seems to be in a pointed relationship with *Argentaria* (cf. Hor., *Serm.* II. 3. 78: 'argenti pallet amore'); either silver is regarded as pale in colour, or perhaps rather its *nitor* is contrasted with the poets' pallor. ⁷⁵ Then again, Argentaria wished the *genethliacon* 'imputari sibi' (above, p. 3); the verb is often used metaphorically in the Silver Age, ⁷⁶ but here the primary commercial sense of 'debit' makes a play on words with *Argentaria*. And now let us turn to the wife of Pollius: it will be remembered how Statius says 'Your wealth is not hidden away and stifled in a sterile coffer (*arca*), nor is your mind racked by the loss (*dispendia*) of usurious interest (*faenoris*); your capital (*census*) is placed on view, and you have learned how to employ it with discretion'. ⁷⁷ Here there is a series of banking terms addressed not to a man, who might have had commercial interests, but to a woman, who clearly had not. This

⁶⁴ Small, *op. cit.* (n. 51), 95 f.; *A.P.* v. 104, 105, 116; ix. 554; *A. Pl.* 241 = Gow-Page, ll. 1323 f., 1329 f., 1345 f., 1485 f., 1503 f.

⁶⁵ Small, *op. cit.* (n. 51), 87; Del Re, *op. cit.* (n. 60), 193. Note especially *A.P.* ix. 229. 5 f. = Gow-Page, ll. 1431 f. (the flagon is presented as an aged *hetaera*): αἶθ' ὄφελος καὶ ἄμικτος ἀνύμφευτός τε παρείης ἀφθορός ὡς κούρη πρὸς πόσιν ἐρχομένη.

⁶⁶ *A.P.* v. 63. For the apparent pun on Latin *sic* (= 'yes') cf. R. Keydell, *Hermes* LXXX (1952), 497 f. (rejected by Gow-Page, l. 1311).

⁶⁷ *A.P.* ix. 161 = Gow-Page, ll. 1369 f.

⁶⁸ *A.P.* xi. 320 = Gow-Page, ll. 1491 f.

⁶⁹ Sen., *Cont.* ix. 2. 22; Small, *op. cit.* (n. 51), 77, 112; cf. Bonner, *Roman Declamation*, 65.

⁷⁰ The phrase is used by S. F. Bonner, *AYP* LXXXVII (1966), 264 f.

⁷¹ *A.P.* v. 16 = Gow-Page, ll. 1301 f.

⁷² For similar puns cf. Philodemus, *A.P.* v. 107. 8 (= Gow-Page, l. 3195) and x. 21. 8 (= Gow-Page, l. 3253).

⁷³ The point is noted somewhat tentatively by Del Re, *op. cit.* (n. 60), 185.

⁷⁴ The verb is also found at Mutianus, *Chrysost. Hom.* 28, p. 420 (information derived from the *Thesaurus* by Dr. N. M. Horsfall).

⁷⁵ For another pun cf. perhaps *Silv.* II. 7. 81 (above, p. 3), where 'nec solum dabo carminum nitorem' may imply 'sed etiam Argentariae'.

⁷⁶ Cf. II. 7. 30: 'Lucanum potes imputare terris'.

⁷⁷ II. 2. 150 f., cited above, p. 2.

passage provides the central argument for the identification of Pollius' wife with Lucan's widow: it would be a curious paradox if Statius in one and the same book addressed two Pollae who were similar in age, charm, and benevolence to poets, and applied the vocabulary of banking to the one who was not an *Argentaria*.

Puns on proper names are familiar in Latin from Plautus to Augustine, and even in the Silver Age Seneca dedicates his *De Beneficiis* to Liberalis and his *De Tranquillitate Animi* to Serenus.⁷⁸ As for Statius himself, Vollmer quotes instances of word-play involving places (on I. 1. 6, etc.), but he fails to observe similar puns on the names of people, and in particular of the addressees of the poems. As the point is crucial for the thesis of this paper, an extended list may be attempted; some items in isolation may seem far-fetched, but the clearer cases support the less obvious. I *praef.*: 'Stella . . . in studiis nostris eminentissime' (for *eminere* of heavenly bodies cf. *Thest. L. L.* v. 2. 491. 49 f.). I. 2. 81 (also on Stella): 'quantos iuvenis premat anxius ignes' (cf. Virg., *Aen.* iv. 80 f.: 'lumenque obscura vicissim luna premit'); 212 f.: 'ire polo nitidosque errare per axes visus'. I. 3. 1 f.: 'cernere facundi Tibur glaciale *Vopisci* si quis et inserto *geminos* Aniene penates . . . potuit' (a *vopiscus* was somebody whose twin had died at birth). II *praef.*: 'Melior, vir optime' (cf. perhaps also II. 3. 70 f. to the same man 'optimus idem promere'⁷⁹ divitias opibusque immittere lucem'). II. 3. 76 f.: 'situm fugitura tacentem . . . gloria Blaesi' (*blaesus* means 'stammering'; cf. also Vollmer on II. 1. 201). II. 6. 10: 'sed famulum gemis, Urse, pium'; 14 f.: 'hominem gemis, . . . hominem, Urse, tuum' (cf. Hor., *Epod.* 16. 51: 'nec vespertinus circumgemit ursus ovile'). II. 6. 93 f.: 'quid terga dolori, Urse, damus?' (perhaps suggesting the ring-master's whip;⁸⁰ the plural is sympathetic). II. 6. 105 (the dead Philetos will instruct the next *delicatus*) 'similemque docebit amari' (*amori* of the MS is nonsense, and *amari* makes the verbal play sharper than *amore*). III *praef.*: 'Maecium Celerem . . . quia sequi non poteram sic prosecutus sum' (noticed for once by Vollmer). III. 2. 125 (also to Celer): 'turmas facili praevertere gyro'. IV. 5. 33 f.: 'quis non in omni vertice Romuli reptasse dulcem Septimium putet?' (with a play on the seven hills). IV. 6. 3 f.: 'rapuit me cena benigni Vindicis' (an oxymoron). IV. 6. 88: 'felix dominorum stemmate signum' (it has just been mentioned that the statuette had belonged to Sulla). IV. 7. 9: 'Maximo carmen tenuare tempto'. In II. 2 in particular there are several allusions to the happiness of Pollius Felix (the adjective *felix* is found at 23, 107, 122). If there is a pun at the end of the poem on the name *Argentaria* it would produce a perfect balance, especially as the lines in question repudiate an *infelix arca* (151).

If the two Pollae are identical several agreeable consequences may be noted, even if these further points are not unambiguous enough to be used as contributory arguments. It has already been mentioned that in the preface to his second book Statius describes Lucan's widow as *rarissima uxor* (above, p. 3); perhaps he is making an oblique reference to the two marriages, a procedure that would be perfectly acceptable to ancient taste. Then again, our identification would give more coherence to the arrangement of the book (though all such schematizing tends to be dangerously subjective⁸¹): the subjects are 1, Melior's *delicatus*; 2, Pollius and Polla; 3, Melior again; 4 and 5, short poems, the former to Melior; 6, Ursus' *delicatus*; 7, Lucan and Polla. After the opening poem to Melior (to whom the preface is addressed), Polla is given the two places of honour; and just as 6 balances 1 (both are *epicedia* for *delicati*), so 7 would balance 2. Another point may be provided by the invocation to Hercules, for whom Pollius has built a shrine at his Surrentinum (III. 1. 158 f.):

indulge sacris, et si tibi poma supersunt
Hesperidum, gremio venerabilis ingere Pollae;
nam capit et tantum non degenerabit honorem.

⁷⁸ See M. T. Griffin, *op. cit.* (n. 52), 319, n. 5.

⁷⁹ *promere*, Madvig; *comere*, *cod.*, edd.

⁸⁰ See J. M. C. Toynbee *PBSR* XVI (1948), 36 with pl. x, fig. 29; *Animals in Roman Life and Art* (1973), 96 f. For *dare terga* cf. Ov., *Fast.* II. 445 f.:

'terga . . . percutienda dabant'; *Thest. L. L.* v. 1, 1668. 58 f.

⁸¹ For one over-elaborate attempt see H. Cancik, *Untersuchungen zur lyrischen Kunst des P. Papinius Statius, Spudasmata* XIII (1965), 19 f.

The apples of the Hesperides are always regarded as golden from the time of Hesiod,⁸² so there might be another instance of word-play if the lady was regularly known as *Argentaria*. In moralising discourse gold was regarded as superior to silver, as in the Golden Age, or Plato's allegory of the metals (*Rep.* 415 a-c); Statius may be suggesting that in spite of her materialistic name 'Argentaria', Polla's character is pure gold.⁸³

Another argument has more independent force. In his address to Polla Pollii at the end of II. 2, Statius praises the lady's serenity (148 f.):

<cui non> praecordia curae,
non frontem vertere minae, sed candida semper
gaudia et in vultu curarum ignara voluptas.

vertere is a certain conjecture for *vescere* of the *Matritensis*,⁸⁴ but it is oddly misinterpreted by Vollmer, D. A. Slater (in his translation), and Frère-Izaac's Budé edition: these scholars suppose that Polla has not threatened other people, which seems faint praise for so gracious a person. In fact the meaning must be 'whose brow no menace has dismayed' (Mozley). Though *minae* can sometimes be used in a general way of menacing circumstances,⁸⁵ the word at first sight seems unsuited to a prosperous lady living quietly on the Bay of Naples. But if Polla was Lucan's widow, Statius could be alluding with tactful reticence to her demeanour in the aftermath of the Pisonian conspiracy twenty-five years before: under the tyrant's threats⁸⁶ she kept the *idem semper voltus eademque frons*⁸⁷ commended by the moralists. Then *candida semper gaudia* comes back to the present again; as suits her husband's philosophy (126, *exemptus fatis*), she does not brood on past sorrows (below, n. 100), but shows in her face an Epicurean *voluptas* and freedom from care.

It may be argued that this Epicurean outlook of Polla Pollii is incompatible with the concluding section of the *Genethliacon Lucani*.⁸⁸ Here Statius thinks of Lucan as soaring through the sky, like Pompey's soul in the *Bellum Civile* (IX. 3 f.), or as seeing Nero haunted by his mother's ghost;⁸⁹ equally un-Epicurean is the prayer that he may return to Polla like Protesilaus for a day (above, p. 4). But after that, though there is no explicit contradiction, the emphasis of the poem begins to change (124 f.):

haec te non thiasis procax dolosis
falsi numinis induit figura,
ipsum sed colit et frequentat ipsum
imis altius insitum medullis . . .

Unlike Laodamia⁹⁰ in the Euripidean *Protesilaus*, Polla dedicates no Bacchic rites to her dead husband. The Loeb editor talks of her mystic communion with the spirit of the departed, but though *colit* and *frequentat* are religious words (like 135, *adoret*), they are used here in a pointedly secular sense.⁹¹ This rejection of superstition, combined with a dangerously ambiguous use of religious language, is well suited to an Epicurean environment, as it is reminiscent of the way that the Epicureans talked about their founder.⁹²

⁸² *Theog.* 215 with West's note.

⁸³ A similar contrast may be implicit at Suid. II. 584. 12 f. (cited by Vollmer): τὰ τρία μῆλα, ὃ ἐστὶ τὰς τρεῖς ἀρετὰς, τὸ μὴ ὀργίζεσθαι, τὸ μὴ φιλαργυρεῖν, καὶ τὸ μὴ φιληδονεῖν. So also the Byzantine poet Meliteniotes, εἰς τὴν σωφροσύνην, 2072 f., cited by A. R. Littlewood, *HSCPh* LXXII (1967), 170.

⁸⁴ For other confusions in this MS of *r* and *s* and of *t* and *c* see H. Frère's 1943 edition, xxx and xxxvi.

⁸⁵ *Theo. L. L.* VIII, 993. 80 f.; usually 'fortune' or something similar is mentioned in the context. For an absolute use cf. Sen., *Epist.* 104. 22: 'animum indurari et adversus minas erigere'; yet that passage is Stoic, and the heroics are addressed to a man.

⁸⁶ Cf. Hor., *Carm.* III. 3. 3. f.: 'non vultus instantis tyranni mente quatit solida'; Epictet. I.

29. 5.

⁸⁷ Cic., *Off.* I. 90. Cf. *Silv.* III. 5. 11: 'dic tamen

unde alia mihi fronte et nubila vultus', where *alia*, the Aldine's conjecture for *alta*, is rightly supported by Håkanson, op. cit. (n. 17), 95.

⁸⁸ II. 7. 107 f., discussed by V. Buchheit, *Hermes* LXXXVIII (1960), 231 f.

⁸⁹ II. 7. 118 f.; cf. *Octavia* 619 f.; Suet., *Ner.* 34. 4.

⁹⁰ *Silv.* III. 5. 49: 'fecerunt maenada planctus'; Philostr., *Imag.* II. 9; cf. also the Bacchic symbols on the Vatican sarcophagus illustrated at Roscher, *Lex.* III. 3170. For the Euripidean source see n. 93 below.

⁹¹ For parallels see Vollmer, ad loc.; add Thuc. II. 43. 3: ἀγραφὸς μνήμη παρ' ἐκάστῳ τῆς γνώμης μάλλον ἢ τοῦ ἔργου ἐνδρασιπύεται; Lucan IX. 71 f.: 'non imis haeret imago visceribus?' (Cornelia to Pompey).

⁹² Pease on Cic., *Nat. Deor.* I. 43; W. Schmid, *RAC* V, 746 f.

The same sort of outlook is shown by Statius in the lines that follow (128 f.):

ac solacia vana subministrat
vultus, qui simili notatus auro
stratis praenitet incubatque somno
securae. procul hinc abite, Mortes . . .

In the Euripidean play⁹³ Laodamia had found consolation in a statue of her dead husband, but though Polla uses such material props,⁹⁴ in her case they are subsidiary (*subministrat*) and superfluous (*vana*). The early editors took *securae* with *mortes*, but though this gives an elegant word-order,⁹⁵ it makes no sense; Phillimore's *obscurae* would be some improvement, *obscenae* ('ill-omened') perhaps better still. But in fact J. F. Gronovius (1653) was probably right to join *securae* to the previous sentence; though the strong pause after the third syllable of the line is very unusual, it marks the adjective as a climax.⁹⁶ Polla is *secura* because of her inward serenity: the word suggests the Epicurean ideal. It also coheres with several passages from the poem on the Surrentinum: II. 2. 71, 'expers curarum' (Pollius); 149, 'curarum ignara voluptas' (Polla); 143, 'discite securi' (Pollius and Polla).

The next four lines bring the poem to a close (132 f.):

haec vitae genialis est origo.
cedat luctus atrox genisque manent
iam dulces lacrimae, dolorque festus
quidquid fleverat ante, nunc adoret.

Here *haec* (picking up *hinc*) refers to the birthday rather than the bed (Lucan's marriage is not under discussion); by the normal Latin practice the word is attracted to the gender of the predicate. The day is the *genialis origo* of life (in its most meaningful sense *vitae* needs no adjective); editors prefer the early conjecture *genialis* (to be taken with *vitae*), but this gives a less convincing word-order and loses the allusion to *genethliakon*, the title of the poem (cf. II. 3. 62, 'genitali luce'; v. 5. 70, 'genitali carmine'). The birthdays of the dead were sometimes celebrated in antiquity,⁹⁷ but the practice was particularly important for the Epicureans,⁹⁸ and such an association is encouraged by the Lucretian phrase *genialis origo*.⁹⁹ The adjuration to stop mourning, though the right conclusion for any *epicedium*, here again suits an Epicurean house; for *dulces lacrimae* cf. Metrodorus' consolation to his sister, 'esse aliquam cognatam tristitiae voluptatem, hanc esse captandam in eiusmodi tempore'.¹⁰⁰ And though such an attitude might be shared by other schools,¹⁰¹ *dolor festus* is more specifically Epicurean: it describes exactly the εὐωχία¹⁰² with which Epicurus himself wished to be remembered. Alike in its commitment to life and its celebration of lost

⁹³ Presumably the source of Hygin. 104; Ov., *Her.* 13. 152 f.; *Rem.* 723 f.; see further M. Mayer, *Hermes* xx (1885), 101 f.; *RE* xxiii, 934 f.; more sceptically H. Jacobson, *Ovid's Heroides* (1974), 195 f. Euripides' reservations about the passionate Laodamia (Mayer 114) are echoed by the middle-aged Wordsworth, *Laodamia* 74 f.: 'the gods approve The depth, and not the tumult, of the soul'.

⁹⁴ For similar likenesses of the dead cf. Eur., *Alc.* 348 f.; E. K. Borthwick, *CPh* lxiv (1969), 173 f. They were used even by the Epicureans; cf. Plin., *NH* xxxv. 5: 'Epicuri vultus per cubicula gestant'; Origen, *Cels.* vii. 66; N. W. DeWitt, *Epicurus and his Philosophy* (1954), 100 f.

⁹⁵ V. Buchheit, who accepts the punctuation (op. cit., 239), cites *Priap.* 8. 1: 'matronae procul hinc abite castae'; Mart. xi. 6. 6: 'pallentes procul hinc abite curae'.

⁹⁶ As Mr. C. W. Macleod points out.

⁹⁷ Sen., *Epist.* 64. 9; Plin., *Epist.* iii. 7. 8 (Silius and Virgil); Juv. 5. 37: 'Brutorum et Cassi natalibus'; with Mayor's note; *RE* vii, 1137 f., *RAC* ix, 219 f.

⁹⁸ *Vita* 18; Cic., *Fin.* ii. 101.

⁹⁹ v. 176, 324, 1212 (admittedly all referring to the creation of the world).

¹⁰⁰ Sen., *Epist.* 99. 25; J. M. Rist, *Epicurus* (1972), 136. The Epicureans used memory very selectively to keep life from disintegrating into a series of moments; cf. Epicur. fr. 138: ἀντιπαρετάττετο δὲ πᾶσι τούτοις (the pain of his deathbed) τὸ κατὰ ψυχὴν χαίρον ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν γενομένων ἡμῶν διαλογισμῶν μνήμῃ; 213: ἡδὺ ἢ φίλου μνήμη τεθηνηκότος; 436-7; *Ep. Men.* 122; *Sent. Vat.* 17, 55: θεραπευτέον τὰς συμφορὰς τῇ τῶν ἀπολλυμένων χάριτι; Cic., *Fin.* ii. 104-6; Plut., *Non posse suaviter vivi secundum Epicurum*, 1097 f: τῇ μετὰ δακρῶν ἰδιοτρόφῳ ἡδονῇ (I owe this reference to Mrs. P. G. Fowler).

¹⁰¹ Sen., *Epist.* 63. 5 (citing the Stoic Attalus): 'sic amicorum defunctorum memoria iucunda est quomodo poma quaedam sunt suaviter aspera'.

¹⁰² Philodemus, περὶ Ἐπικούρου, p. 70 Vogliano (*Epicuri et Epicureorum scripta*, 1928): εὐωχίσθαι; A.-J. Festugière, *Epicure et ses dieux* (1946), 33 f. (= 22 in English edition); W. Schmid, *RAC* v, 748 f.

blessings, the end of the *Genethliacon* turns out to be very appropriate for the wife of an Epicurean; as in the poem on the Surrentinum, the moral system is shown as still an influence on real human situations.

Argentaria Polla was not herself a person of great importance, but if the theses of this paper are correct, she may provide a clearing-house for some of the literary currency of the Silver Age. M. Argentarius had cross-fertilized Greek and Latin, in prose and in verse; and she was patron to the Neapolitan Staius, whose *Silvae* owe so much to contemporary Greek *epideixis*. Argentarius had developed a new type of cynical and pointed epigram, and she lived to befriend Martial; he had used a broken-up Asianism for his Latin declamations, and she married into the house of the Annaei.¹⁰³ Above all, as wife of Lucan and benefactress of Staius she linked the two dominating poets of the century; it is easy to forget that though they wrote a generation apart, they were more or less contemporaries. They present a striking series of contrasts: Stoics and Epicureans, *Bellum Civile* and *Bellum Germanicum*,¹⁰⁴ precocious maturity and premature elderliness,¹⁰⁵ brash Corduba and effete Naples. Staius professed reluctance to praise Lucan in hexameters (II *praef.*), but technically he had nothing to fear from the relentless thump of his predecessor's lines, the *pingue quiddam* that Cicero had already deplored in the Corduban school of poets (*Arch.* 26; *Sen., Suas.* 6. 27). But though his glitter had more warmth than is sometimes realized (as can be seen from the poems under discussion), he lacked authority and conviction: while Lucan had denounced the corruption of power in terms that make even Tacitus seem a time-server, Staius charmed¹⁰⁶ his rich friends with pleasant fancies about Nereids stealing grapes. But in his social and historical circumstances that was understandable. When he heard the Siren singing on the cliffs of Surrentum, she could have taught him from her own story to watch the storm from the shore: τὸ κολακεύειν καὶ κεχαρισμένα λέγειν Σειρήνων ἔστιν.¹⁰⁷

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¹⁰³ For the influence of declamation on Seneca's style cf. E. Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa*² (1909) I, 295 f. (citing Argentarius), 309 f.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Morel, *Frag. Poet. Lat.*, p. 134 (= Schol. Vallae on *Juv.* 4. 94).

¹⁰⁵ *Silv.* III. 5. 40 f.; IV. 4. 70: 'vergimur in senium'; V. 2. 158 f.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. *Juv.* 7. 83 f.: 'laetam cum fecit Staius urbem promisitque diem'.

¹⁰⁷ Origen, *Cels.* II. 76.