ABSTRACT

MARTIAL BOOK XII - A COMMENTARY

MICHAEL N. R. BOWIE
CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE

D.PHIL.

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The commentary consists of an introduction and individual line by line commentaries on the prose preface and the 98 epigrams. The introduction comprises a brief discussion of the dating of book 12, its distinctively Spanish elements, and the arrangement of the poems, and a more detailed treatment of the textual tradition of Martial. The commentary addresses matters of textual, literary and social-historical interest as they arise, and provides a large quantity of parallels on points of usage. It attempts in particular to identify and explain the point of the comic poems, both as jokes and as literary works. It also examines poems in their relation to the rest of book 12 and to the whole of Martial's *opus*. A select bibliography is appended.

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MICHAEL BOWIE

[1929]

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INTRODUCTION

Such has been the interest focused upon Martial in the recent past that the need for a detailed introduction to his life and works is not so pressing as it would have been even two decades ago. 1975 saw the publication of Mario Citroni's edition with commentary of Book 1, followed in 1980 by that of Peter Howell. In 1985, Ugo Carratello's edition of the De Spectaculis and Nigel Kay's commentary on Book 11 were published. Kathleen Coleman is working on a commentary on Sp., and Professor J.P. Sullivan has in preparation the first large scale study of M. in English[1]. Other important work includes that of J. Kruuse (C&M 4 (1941) 248-300) and Edgar Siedschlag (Zur Form von Martials Epigrammen (1977), on the form and structure of the epigrams, which render any further general discussion of the subject superfluous (see also Walter Burnikel, Untersuchungen zur Struktur des Witzepigramms bei Lukillios und Martial (1980); Kay pp.6-9). Shackleton Bailey has made a valuable addition to Housman's characteristically incisive and rarely misguided notes on textual problems (CP 73.4 (1978) 273ff.). Other works will be found noted in the Bibliography. Because of this, comparatively rich, supply of good secondary material on M., my introduction will confine itself to matters specifically relevant to Book 12 - its date, Spanish elements in it, the arrangement of its epigrams. A more general treatment of the textual tradition of M. has been thought useful, and forms the fourth and final part of the introduction.

1. DATE

M's extant books were published more or less annually from 85/6 onwards

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1. Professor Sullivan has kindly allowed me to look at drafts of his 2nd chapter ('Martial's Apologia pro opere suo') and his 8th chapter ('Martial's Survival and Revival').

(about 20 years after his arrival in Rome[2]). M. apparently returned to his native Spain in 98 and Book 12 was published after an interval of about 3 years (see 12.0.1f.). Soon afterwards, in about 103/4, he died, an event reported by Pliny (Ep. 3.21 - see Sherwin-White), who had paid his travelling expenses for the long journey home. Friedländer (whose chronology remains unchallenged) dates it to 101/2 (I pp.65-67). M. claims three years' *desidia* since his return to Spain. Priscus' return is dated to December (his homecoming coincides with the Saturnalia - see 12.62, an 'occasional' poem for the event; also 12.1.4 *hora nec aestiva est*). According to CIL 6.1492 Stella was consul on 19 October, in either 101 or 102 (Stobbe Philologus 26 (1867) 77f.; Mommsen Hermes 3 (1869) 123-126), and 12.2(3).10f. (*atria sunt illic consulis alta mei: / laurigeros habitat facundus Stella penatis*) must postdate his assumption of office. M. would not speak of 3 years' *desidia* since the publication of the 'second edition'[3] of 10, in 98, if he were writing in December 102, so 12.2(3) and 12.62 must have been composed in December 101, and the book, presumably, published in the course of 102.

2. SPANISH ELEMENTS IN BOOK 12

There is no discernible change in style or format to be observed in the poems of Book 12, but M. uses a Spanish setting for several of them, mostly the serious 'autobiographical' pieces, often comparing his previous life in Rome unfavourably with the delights of a rustic existence in his home town. The standard work on M's relation to and treatment of Spain in his writings

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2. 10.104.7 tells us that M. has been 34 years in Rome; the book is dated by Friedländer to 98. On the first of March of the same year M. celebrates his 57th birthday (10.24).
3. See Friedländer 62ff.; Peter White JRS 64 (1974) 45f.; below on 12.4(5).

is Miguel Dolç, Hispania y Marcial (1953), which is particularly helpful for its discussions of topographical features. Peter Howell's commentary on 1.49 (cf. below on 12.18) includes much of the most important information on Bilbilis and its surrounding country, supplemented by a first-hand knowledge of the site.

Apart from the preface, which welcomes M's fellow-countryman Terentius Priscus back to Spain, 10 poems refer specifically to Bilbilis and/or Spain: 2, a *propemptikon* for the book, being sent off to Rome; 9, praising Domitian for sending Palma as propraetorian legate; 18, to Juvenal, contrasting the latter's miserable existence in Rome with M's daily routine in Bilbilis; 21 and 31 praising his friend and patroness Marcella and thanking her for her gift to him of a small estate; 60, on the celebration of his birthday in the rustic simplicity of his home town; 62, celebrating Priscus' return; 63, on a bad Corduban poet; 68, comically despairing that he has become the object of *salutatio* in Bilbilis; 98, an address to the river Baetis in preparation for the coming of Instantius as *proconsul Baeticae*. There is also the occurrence of the Spanish word *balux / palux* at 12.57.9 - but in a poem set in Rome. The name of the addressee in 12.53, Paternus, is of a type found commonly in Spain (see *ad loc.*) - but that does not seem to be especially important to the poem.

Some poems must implicitly have been written and set in Spain (e.g. 1, 3, 14, to Priscus), many are neutral as to setting (e.g. all the distichs, with the possible exception of 5, which is probably a fragment), and some are clearly set in Rome, or written there before M. left for Spain (e.g. 6, 8, 15, 57, 59). It should not be forgotten that M. sees the main market for the book as being in Rome, as is made clear especially by the conclusion to the preface and poem 2.

Quite apart from the conventional theme of country life vs. city life

which M. exploits in many of these poems, he clearly had great affection for his homeland and fellow countrymen: he is obviously proud to be part of a significant Spanish contribution to Latin letters (cf 1.61.7ff. with Citroni and Howell) and he has lived to see a Spaniard on the imperial throne (12.8 - although there is no allusion to Trajan's origins there). His affection extends to the *nomina crassiora* of places like Boterdus (12.18.10-12), and his pleasure in returning is clearly matched at least by Marcella's, materially demonstrated, pleasure in having him return, even if there are disadvantages in the jealousy and back-biting of a little place after the intellectual breadth of Rome (12.0.14ff.). Nevertheless, the concluding sentiment of the preface (*ne Romam…non Hispaniensem librum mittamus, sed Hispanum*) shows a certain self-consciousness in M. about his origins.

3. THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE EPIGRAMS IN BOOK 12

As Kay observes,

> The obvious danger of a book of epigrams is that a large number of relatively short pieces on a wide range of subjects is liable to become diffuse and fragmented in its overall effect (p.5),

and Book 12 displays the familiar techniques used by M. to counter this inherent problem. There is the usual variation in length, most notably the placing of one or two distiches between several of the longer poems, and the avoidance of placing the longest poems too close to each other.

Similarly, there is metrical variation, notable in the repeated arrangements

life in Bilbilis with the bustle of Rome - each seen as having positive and negative elements. M. highlights this motif by placing his homeland firmly in the foreground of the preface and opening poems, and of the final poem. There is also a loose introductory group of poems of a semi-dedicatory nature (1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9), some addressed to Priscus (who is further addressed later in the book and tied in with the Spanish theme; cf. also 12.21 and .31 to Marcella) and the rest in praise of the emperor.

Other familiar techniques of variation, such as the juxtaposition of the serious with the comic (e.g. 12.44/45), or the skoptic (12.31/32) make the book entertaining and interesting reading. There are no 'cycles' of epigrams here, although that on Zoilus (see Kay on 11.12) finds its final resting-place in 12.54, and there are more extended jokes like that at the expense of Aper, who is attacked for being *siccus, sobrius* in 12.30 and by 12.70 has inherited a large sum of money and become a drunkard. Other recognisable 'characters' from earlier books, such as Philaenis, also reapppear (12.22); M. has of course promised not to attack 'real' people in such poems, and there seems no reason to doubt that he stood by his promise - see 1.0.1ff. with Howell.

A final element of variety, also an important part of M's best comic and skoptic pieces, is obscenity, its extent often exaggerated by detractors. Although it is notoriously difficult to define obscenity, especially in a writer who makes much use of innuendo and *double entendre*, even on its broadest definition less than a quarter of the poems in the present book could be considered obscene. Apart from the small group of poems at the end (12.95-97), this material is spread evenly throughout the book.

4. TEXT.

The textual tradition of M. is unusually satisfactory. Considering the quantity of text, the serious problems are few, and, for more than half of what is transmitted, there are three independent witnesses, with no contamination until relatively late: what is rare, even remarkable, is that the three independent streams of the text come from antiquity, two re-emerging in France and the other in S. Italy. Moreover, the text has received the attention of modern editors of considerable ability, beginning with Scheidewin's fine edition of 1842, which first distinguished the three families of mss., and culminating in the OCT of Lindsay (1903; 2nd edn. 1929), and the Teubner of Heraeus (1925; revised by Borovskij 1976, with no important changes). Citroni collated the mss. afresh for his edition with commentary of Book 1 (1975), but his thoroughness was not rewarded by the discovery of anything new of importance, and I have therefore considered it sufficient to use Lindsay's text and to note the places where I should have preferred different readings below - they are explained in the commentary.

Housman preferred Heraeus' text for emendation because he made

> choice among the lections of the MSS with a judgement which I am bound to regard as good, because it so often coincides with my own. (Papers 1099)

Which is, of course, to say that he was a less conservative editor than Lindsay, whose merits Housman nevertheless fully appreciated (he called the OCT 'one of those works which are such boons to mankind that their shortcomings must be forgiven them' Papers 1099).

The three families are as follows:

A^ (Heraeus' α), located in France, termed by Lindsay 'in usum elegantiorum' (AE 9) because it

> replaces by suitable euphemisms some of the grosser words in Martial's vocabulary, words more fit for the 'graffiti' of

> Pompeii than for a Roman gentleman's library. Not that it is a 'bowdlerized' edition of Martial; it is not. Nor can it be proved to shew any influence of Christianity or even of Paganism tempered by Christianity. It merely offers the epigrams in a form that would be less offensive to refined readers, and it does this with due regard to the metre and the sense.

Housman's judgement on the tendency to euphemism is more specific:

> I take occasion to say that what is termed modesty in α by Mr Heraeus and elegance by Mr Lindsay (who thinks *monstrum* a 'suitable euphemism' to signify what Burke calls the fount of life itself) is the mere monkish horror of woman: α will copy down the grossest and filthiest words, such lines as III 71 1 and VII 10 1, if only they do not call up thoughts of the abhorred sex. (Papers 1103).

There are no examples of this phenomenon in the tradition of Book 12: typical elsewhere are the general substitution of *monstrum* for *cunnus* mentioned by Housman, the substitution of *subigi* for *futui* at 1.34.10, and that of *adulter* for *fututor* and *turpes* for *cunnos* at 1.90.6f. (see Citroni XLIX). Whether or not Housman's is an exact account of the motivation (Kay calls it 'an expurgating tendency towards references to heterosexual activity' - p.2), the editor's original source was clearly an excellent text, and it alone preserves the *Spectacula*. Unfortunately only two effective witnesses survive, and they are *florilegia*, excerpts, sometimes of whole epigrams, more often parts of epigrams:

> **H**: Vienna 277, ff. 71-3 (8th or 9th century; probably French): this only survives in a fragment (Sp. 18.5 - 1.4.2). Lindsay (AE 9) thought T was a complete transcript of this, but Reeve (T&T 241) points out that H is not substantial enough for this to be provable in the case of Martial.
>
> **T**: Paris lat.8071. (9th century, central or southern France). This (*florilegium Thuaneum*) and H are the two famous and valuable mss. of the group, preserving an unusual early medieval collection of classical texts (see T&T 10f. for a full account of it).
>
> **R**: Leiden, Voss.Lat. Q.86 (c.850; Tours ? - see T&T 240, nn.13f.).

R, H and T preserve about half of Books 1-12 (T has all of 13 and 14), mainly because the choice of excerpts is frequently not the same, a fact which in turn makes any 'reconstruction' of A^{a} virtually impossible. It can

be said that it was probably a complete text, it cannot be dated and it appears to have been written in France (see Citroni XLIX).

B^ (Heraeus' β) is known from *subscriptiones* to derive from an 'edition' by one Torquatus Gennadius, completed in 401, apparently under the supervision of a 'professor' of rhetoric in the forum of Augustus: see Oronzo Pecere in Andrea Giardina (ed.) Tradizione dei classici, trasformazioni della cultura, 34-40. Also Zetzel, Latin Textual Criticism in Antiquity 211-213; Lindsay AE 1ff.; 119f.; Reynolds and Wilson, Scribes and Scholars 35-37.

There are four significant mss.:

L: Berlin (West) lat.2° 612 (12th century). This, the most important of the group, was discovered in the hands of a bookseller in Lucca in 1900 - three years before Lindsay's first edition. It is collated with E (the best and oldest witness in the group C^) in appendix A of AE.

P: Vatican, Pal.lat. 1696 (15th century; from Padua ? - see T&T 239 n.6).

Q: British Library, Arundel 136 (15th century).

f: Florence, Laur.35.39 (15th century).

B^ is a Beneventan transcript of a complete Martial which had survived the Dark Ages in Italy (see Lindsay CR 15 (1901) 413f.). It displays some distinctive losses and transpositions and could conceivably have been the codex in Beneventan script mentioned by Politian as extant in his time in the Laurentian Library (see AE 5; 61ff.; T&T 240). Its only distinctive omission in Book 12 is of 55.5f. (see commentary).

C^ (Heraeus' γ), like A^, appears to have been preserved in France, transcribed from an ancient ms., for which reason Lindsay named this the 'vulgate' (see AE 7f.). C^ itself was apparently written in Caroline miniscule (i.e. last quarter of the 8th century, or 9th century). This archetype was more frequently transcribed than the other two. Distinctive

omissions in Book 12 are 4, 5 and 6.1-6 (Lindsay's numbering) and 28 and 29.

The main witnesses are

E: Edinburgh, Adv. 18.3.1 (9th century; northern France - T&T 239 n.2).

X: Paris lat.8067 (9th century; Corbie - T&T 239 n.3).

V: Vatican lat.3294 (9th century; Auxerre ? - T&T 239 n.4).

Also treated as authoritative evidence for this archetype by editors, including Lindsay and Heraeus, is a later ms.,

A: Leiden, Voss.Lat. Q.56 (11th century).

Other mss. from this family relevant to Book 12 are

B: Leiden, Voss.Lat. Q.121 (11th/12th century).

G: Wolfenbüttel, Gud.Lat. 157 (12th century) [has 12.80-98].

C: Leiden, Voss.Lat. Q.89 (13th century).

F: Florence, Laur.35.38 (15th century).

Information is also sometimes to be found in various *florilegia* which cannot be assigned to any family (see Citroni LXVII; LXX; T&T 241). Two further sources used by editors are

M: Berne, G.152 (16th century marginalia by Jacques Bongars (1554-1612) - see Citroni L).

Ital.: a denomination which covers various 'Italorum libri recentes', having some different readings which may be conjectures, or may reflect readings in other mss., now lost. See Heraeus p.VII; Lindsay praef. p.17.

Contamination first took place relatively late, in 12th century France, where two of the three independent traditions (A^A and C^A) survived. For a detailed account see T&T 241-243.

Apart from the 'expurgation' observed in A^A, no pattern has been discovered in the variations among the three families (see e.g. 12.33.1: B^A *agros*; C^A *hortos*). Many variations occur in names, a problem by no means unique to mss. of M., although perhaps exaggerated by the number, and sometimes the unusual nature, of those he uses: see e.g. below on 12.2.12; cf. 12.40.2, .52.6; .65.4; .75.2/7; .85.2; .93.2.

Schneidewin and some subsequent editors - most notably Lindsay - have argued for 'author variants', variations introduced to the tradition by M. himself in different 'editions' of his work (see especially Lindsay AE 13ff.; Reynolds and Wilson Scribes and Scholars 194, who accept this as a possibilty for M.10.48.23). This hypothesis is shown by Reeve (T&T 243f.) to be at the very best 'not proven'. He includes a discussion of 10.48.23, and concludes,

> The other variants of wording, though puzzling to anyone who believes that corruptions always arise through visual confusion and result in nonsense, amount at best to evidence of a revision so desultory and superficial as to be quite pointless. Most analogies suggest, however, that revision of collections like Martial's epigrams consists largely in pruning, the process most liable to be reversed in transmission. Martial may have revised thoroughly, therefore, and the tradition have covered his traces either wholly or in part. It did so only in part if the omission by B or C of prefaces and the occasional epigram is not due to accident or whim. (244; see also Kay pp.3f.).

Finally, it is possible, even likely, that A^A, B^A and C^A all derive independently from an autograph (see Kay 2f.): all three contain epigrams unique to them and unique good readings; divergence in error is commoner than agreement, suggesting minimal contamination. When agreement in error is found it is mostly trivial, and when it is more serious it is probably of very early origin. Moreover, as Kay suggests, if any contamination can be identified, it may reasonably be ascribed to antiquity, before these archetypes were written - for example in Gennadius' editing.

The text on which I have commented is Lindsay's OCT. In the following cases I should have preferred a reading different from his (reasons are given ad loc.):

	OCT	PREFERRED READING
12.0.13	*omnium*	*omnia*
12.0.25	*nitore*	*candore*
12.2(3).4	*manes quae*	*amnes quos*
12.2(3).8	*templa*	*tecta*
12.4(5).2	*rasit*	†*rasit*† (*surgit* ?)
12.6.7	*habes*	*habet*
12.17.9	*recubet*	*sit ibi* (?)
12.21.7	*ridebit*	*prodibit* (?)
12.24.4	*Iuvate*	*Iubate*
12.28(29).1	†*Castrice*†	- ˇ ˇ
12.29(26).6	*petas*	*regas*
12.38.4	*latus*	*lactens*
12.52.9	et	ut
12.55.5		[excise whole line]
12.59.9	†*dexiocholus*†	*et dexiocholus*
12.61.1	*versus et*	*argutum*
12.82.4	*acceptas*	*exceptas*
12.82.5	*colligit*	*colliget*
12.82.12	*colligit*	*colliget*
12.88.1	*non ego*	*non nego*
12.93.2	*Labulla*	*Fabulla*
12.94.11	*quid*	*quod*
12.95.1	*Musaei*	*Musseti*

PROSE PREFACE

M. and Statius are the first two extant Latin poets whose epistolary prose prefaces to books of poetry survive. If such prefaces were new, it would seem that M. was the first to use them, since his second book (the first to have an 'addressed' letter at its head) was published in 85/86, whereas the first book of Silvae did not appear until 92 (although it was probably composed two or three years earlier).

Janson (Latin Prose Prefaces) traces such prefatory material to Hesiod's 'personal' intrusions, which help to schematize his poems, and sees a development towards the more recognizable preface in Greek rhetorical and scientific writers (Archimedes is the first known example), where the dedicatory function is to the fore. The first introductory epistle in Latin literature is to be found before Hirtius Gal.8; Plin.NH has an epistolary preface, to Titus, dedicating the work to him and commending its seriousness thereby. Janson also notes an intermediate stage between the simple letter and the type of epistolary preface found in Statius and M.: Cicero (Fam.9.8) writes to Varro about the content and form of the Academica; Pliny (Ep.1.8; 5.12; 9.25) asks addressees to read and criticize (*emendare*) a work, and even to decide on its worthiness for publication.

All five books of Silvae begin with a prose epistle (although the fifth preface is an introduction to the first poem of the book only - probably a sign that the book was edited after Statius' death), and in the preface to book 4 Statius implies that the same was true of his epic poem Thebaid. Vessey (Statius and the Thebaid 40) concludes that the Silvae prefaces were

> ...perhaps one of the earliest examples of the self-conscious professionalism to which the institution of patronage within a predominately court-culture inevitably gives rise.

M. was obviously not so attached to this form of introduction as Statius,

but his satire of the practice at the beginning of book 2 follows an effective extension of it in the general 'preface to the reader' which stands at the beginning of 1, and does not prevent him from making use of it in an unexceptional way in 8 and 9, as well as in the present book. A major difference in form from the prefaces of Statius is that M. does not offer a 'contents' summary (as he hardly could, given the nature of his books), and his tone is more varied, often lighter. The preface to 8 adds weight to Vessey's analysis - it is a panegyric address to Domitian. That to 2, while it satirizes itself, suggests that a prose preface is an appropriate introduction to tragedy and comedy (Q. Inst. 8.3.31 notes the use of such prefaces by Seneca and Pomponius, but none survive): the criticism of the practice recorded here relates to the length of some examples, and their extension to 'unsuitable' genres.

Janson (p.112) concludes that such prefaces originated most immediately from letters sent privately by authors with their works asking the addressees for comment and criticism; that they were ideally suited to dedication to, and praise of, the Emperor or an associate; that the form permitted a clear stylistic distinction of the prefatory matter from the work itself, and that some authors' exploitations of these practical advantages were enough to create a literary fashion.

Other important discussions of the practice are Z. Pavlovskis From Statius to Ennodius. A Brief History of Prose Prefaces to Poems RIL. 101 (1967) 535-567 (on M. pp.542-546; on 12.0 pp.544f.); Io. Ruppert Quaestiones ad historiam dedicationis librorum pertinentes (Diss. Leipzig 1911), especially 41f.; P. White 'The Presentation and Dedication of the Silvae and the Epigrams', JRS 64 (1974) 40-61; H.-J. van Dam (comm. on Silv. 2) 51ff.; K.M. Coleman (comm. on Silv. 4), 53ff.

It remains to note that the much older tradition of the prefatory poem

or section of a poem is also well-represented in M. The traditional form of this phenomenon (e.g. the first 7 lines of the Iliad; the first 11 lines of the Aeneid; AP.4.1-3; Catul.1; see also T. Viljamaa, Studies in Greek Encomiastic Poetry of the Early Byzantine period 68ff.; Alan Cameron CQ 64 (1970) 119ff.) should perhaps be distinguished from what M. is doing, which is more like Catullus' prefacing of 66 with 65, or Claudian's elegiac introduction to the hexametric De Raptu Proserpinae. Books 3, 5, 6, 10 and 11 begin with epigrams expressly prefatory to the book which follows, while those at the beginning of 4 and 7 are dedicatory to the Emperor. M. was obviously always sufficiently conscious of his published books as whole entities to feel that some kind of preface was appropriate.

In 12, the prose preface has not only introductory and dedicatory functions, but is also employed, both explicitly and also by its choice of occasion and addressee, to insist on the distinctively **Spanish** character of what follows (in fact, as noted in §2 of the introduction, many of the poems in the book are clearly set in Rome, some perhaps composed before leaving, but there are also several with a Spanish setting). The first poem in particular (which recapitulates the appeal to Priscus in the preface), and poems 2 to 5 more generally, have a prefatory and dedicatory character.

M's prose is typical of that of his period - Howell (p.96) compares it to that of Quintilian; L. Havet (RPh 27 (1903) 123f.) notes that all his *clausulae* are Ciceronian. This preface is notable for extremely careful, sometimes mannered, structural arrangements and effects with a noticeable building up of art as the piece progresses. Alliteration and assonance are prominent, as is a favourite device in M's poetry, chiasmus, set off by parallelisms.

Priscus, to whom the *epistula* is addressed (as is evidenced not only by

the *titulus*, but also by the first poem), is only given the *nomen* Terentius in 12.3 and 8.45, but it is clear that any reference to a Priscus in this book must be to the same man because of the manner of his appearance in 12.3 together with the preface and 12.1 (see also 12.14; 12.62; 12.92). He should probably also be identified with the Priscus of 6.18 and 7.46, and possibly that of 8.12 and 10.3. The only Priscus in M. who **cannot** be Terentius is the gladiator in 0.29. This leaves 9.77, on an author writing about *quod optimum sit convivium* (plausibly Terentius), 9.10

> *nubere vis Prisco: non miror, Paula, sapisti.*
> *ducere te non vult Priscus: et ille sapit.*

and 1.112

> *cum te non nossem, dominum regemque vocabam:*
> *nunc bene te novi: iam mihi Priscus eris.*

both of which, together with 12.92, Howell considers must refer to a fictitious character because of the content. This is in fact unlikely in the case of 12.92 (see below), and need not be true of 9.10 or 1.112 (the latter, for example, may be straightforwardly intended to mark the beginning of their friendship), but the *cognomen* was common (see Kajanto 30 - 1269 examples, one of the 18 names which are found over 1000×) and so it is unnecessary to argue the point too hard. He is clearly a friend, of Spanish birth (12.62); his return to Rome from Sicily is celebrated in 8.45 and this preface welcomes him back to his native Spain. No independent attestation of his life and career survives, although PIR¹ (*I* §§62f.) suggests a possible identification with the addressee of Plutarch's ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΚΛΕΛΟΙΠΟΤΩΝ ΧΡΗΣΤΗΡΙΩΝ. See also on 12.1.

TITULUS: **VALERIUS MARTIALIS PRISCO SUO SALUTEM**: The *titulus* may be original: Statius uses this standard epistolary formula before all his Silvae prefaces, and it is invariably preserved before the letters in Pliny's first nine books. Of M's other prefaces, 9 has no surviving

titulus, 2 and 8 have one similar to this, and 1 has one *lectori suo* - an unusually literary feature, but in keeping with the character of what follows.

.1f. **SCIO ME PATROCINIUM DEBERE CONTUMACISSIMAE TRIENNI DESIDIAE:** Announcing the 'topic' of the preface with characteristic directness, M. makes as if to deflate criticism by comically presenting his fault as a triable offence. *patrocinium* ('plea in defence', Ker), only here in M., is presumably employed for a striking opening, although it is found elsewhere outside of a strictly 'courtroom' environment: Plin.NH.13.23 *ista patrocinia quaerimus vitiis*; Q.Inst.1.12.16 *difficultatis patrocinia praeteximus segnitiae*. The hyperbolic tone of *contumacissimae* ('extremely stubborn') adds to the mock-solemn self-castigation: Cic.Ver.2.2.192 *quis contumacior, quis inhumanior, quis superbior*. At 10.70.1f. there is a similar charge in similar legalese *quod mihi vix unus toto liber exeat anno / desidiae tibi sum, docte Potite, reus*, and cf. *desidiosus* at 12.29.2. It is interesting that at Petr.88.1 Encolpius asks Eumolpus about the decadence of the age - *causam desidiae praesentis*.

.2ff. **QUO ABSOLVENDA NON ESSET INTER ILLAS QUOQUE URBICAS OCCUPATIONES, QUIBUS FACILIUS CONSEQUIMUR UT MOLESTI POTIUS QUAM UT OFFICIOSI ESSE VIDEAMUR:**

non…quoque = ne…quidem: this is more common in prose than in poetry, but see 11.68.1 with Kay; L-H-S 2.448.

absolvere picks up the courtroom ambience of *patrocinium* (although it can = merely 'justify' - cf. 11.20.9); cf. 12.52.10; Juv.13.3f. *se / iudice nemo nocens absolvitur*. M. reinforces the image in order, apparently, to damn himself further: he would be without excuse were he still a busy client in Rome. This in fact forms a subtle preliminary to his real 'defence' - that it is the **absence** of the stimulus provided by his Roman lifestyle which stops him from writing. For the *salutatio* see below on

12.18 and 12.29(26), in both of which this *urbana occupatio* is unfavourably contrasted with M's pleasant lot in Bilbilis. In 12.68, M. comically reverses this position, complaining that he has become the **object** of *salutatio*: the idea of the *cliens* as *molestus* rather than *officiosus* has much in common with this second point of view.

Jerome may have known this preface (although it is conceivable that the juxtaposition was, or became, a commonplace): Ep.49.1 *verebar…ne…si… scriberem molestum me magis quam officiosum putares.*

For Rome as **the** *Urbs* see e.g. 12.2(3).1 and 12.19. *occupatio* occurs only here in M.: cf. Caes.Civ.3.108.6 *propter publicas occupationes*; Vitr.5.pr.3 *distentam occupationibus civitatem publicis et privatis negotiis. consequi* + *ut* = 'succeed in': cf. Cic.Ver.2.133; Fam.1.2.4.

.4ff. **NEDUM IN HAC PROVINCIALI SOLITUDINE, UBI NISI ETIAM INTEMPERANTER STUDEMUS, ET SINE SOLACIO ET SINE EXCUSATIONE SECESSIMUS:**

M. moves into his 'defence' (while still appearing to castigate himself), stressing the solitude of his retirement as a handicap, rather than the positive qualities of it which he extols elsewhere.

provincialis, unlike *municipalis* (below), appears not to have a strong negative connotation, but is used descriptively - Tac.Hist.1.89.1 *secura tum urbe et provinciali bello*; Suet.Iul.51 *ne provincialibus quidem matrimoniis abstinuisse…apparet* (this could be mildly pejorative, as could M's use here).

solitudo is, in keeping with the tone so far, hyperbolic, or, at most, relative to the bustle of Rome. Cf. Tac.Ann.4.67 *solitudinem eius (i.e. insulae) placuisse maxime crediderim, quoniam importuosum circa mare.*

intemperanter studemus is not only hyperbolic but a striking juxtaposition which is typical of M. *studere* and *studium* commonly denote the practice of writing and literary composition in Silver Latin: cf.

Pers.3.19 *an tali studeam calamo*; Juv.7.1; M.10.20(19).15 (of Pliny's speech-writing). The suggestion of serious application to work is also welcome here.

The parallelism *sine solacio…sine excusatione* (the second in this sentence, after the *molesti…officiosi* opposition) is deliberate and mannered, and brings the focus neatly back to *patrocinium*, while the tone of *solitudo* is further magnified by the idea that, without an inordinate devotion to writing, M. will be inconsolable. *solacium* (opposed to *praemia* at 2.91.7f.) contributes solemn overtones: Ov.Fast.1.441 *aves, solacia ruris*; V.A.6.377 *cape dicta memor, duri solacia casus*; Tac.Hist.1.77.3 *recens ab exilio reversos nobilis adulescentulos avitis ac paternis sacerdotiis in solacium recoluit.*

For *excusatio* cf. Curt.5.2.20 *digna…res et excusatione et solacio visa* (which may or may not pre-date this preface). Its sense is roughly equivalent to *patrocinium*, 'justification, offering of an excuse': cf. Cic.de Orat.1.125 *stultitia excusationem non habet*; Ver.2.5.176 *quibus excusationibus…studium tuum defendere solebas.*

secedere completes the effect of secluded retreat - it is used specifically of retirement to the country: Pompon.dig.1.2.2.47 *annum ita diviserat, ut Romae sex mensibus cum studiosis esset, sex mensibus secederet et conscribendis libris operam daret*; Plin.Ep.7.16.2 *ego in villas eius saepe secessi, ille in domo mea saepe convaluit*; 7.9.1 *in secessu…studere.*

.6ff. **ACCIPE ERGO RATIONEM. IN QUA HOC MAXIMUM ET PRIMUM EST, QUOD CIVITATIS AURES QUIBUS ADSUEVERAM QUAERO, ET VIDEOR MIHI IN ALIENO FORO LITIGARE; SI QUID EST ENIM QUOD IN LIBELLIS MEIS PLACEAT, DICTAVIT AUDITOR:**

The bridging clause, *accipe ergo rationem*, effects the transition from the mannered hinting at excuses to the more down-to-earth offering of reasons -

it leaves the reader in no doubt that, after the courtly bowing and scraping of the first sentence, M. is coming to the point. The bridging mechanism is hinged on *ratio*, the usage of which substantially overlaps with *patrocinium* and *excusatio*, although it suggests something more objective: there may be an underlying joke in the form of the self-justification - 'I can't offer an adequate *patrocinium*; my life in the country has no *excusatio* if I don't write; here is the / a ***ratio*** for my behaviour', i.e. he presents it as something more unavoidable or factual than a conventional 'excuse' or 'defence'. The word is also used in the vocabulary of the courtroom, and may be intended to tie in with the opening of the preface: cf. Rhet.Her.1.26 *ratio ea est quae continet defensionem.* Phrases like *in qua hoc maximum et primum est* and *ad summam †omnium†* (see below) might equally suggest an accounting metaphor. But M. is fond of phrases like *quae ratio est*, in more general contexts, as the functional link between a proposition or statement and an explanation, so the connotations may not be specific: cf. Caes.Civ.3.86.2 *rationem consili mei accipite.*

M. probably intends a comic effect, after the staccato bridging clause, in opening his formal explanation with so full-blown a phrase as *in qua hoc maximum et primum est. civitas* (only here in M.) = *urbs* (cf. Petr.8.2; Plin.Ep.10.37.2), although there is a further transference involved, in that *civitatis aures* really = *civium aures*, *civitas* properly denoting the body of *cives*. For *auris* = 'discrimination', cf. 6.82.4-6

> *'tune es, tune' ait 'ille Martialis,*
> *cuius nequitias iocosque novit*
> ***aurem*** *qui modo non habet Batavam ?'*

also Valerius Probus, quoted at Gel.13.21.1,

> *aurem tuam interroga quo quid loco conveniat dicere*

(about the relative merits of *urbis* and *urbes* or *turrem* and *turrim*). This

phrase introduces a recurring motif in the preface, that of critical judgement, firstly that found in Rome generally, and secondly that of Priscus in particular. For *quaerere* = 'miss, feel the lack of' cf. Plin.Ep.6.2.1 *soleo non numquam in iudiciis quaerere M. Regulum; nolo enim dicere desiderare.*

M. now turns explicitly to the courtroom, validating, as it were, the previous undercurrent in his vocabulary: the audacity of the expression, used of poetry, is marked by *videor mihi*. Otto (Sprichwörter §711) compares Sen.Clem.2.7.1 *ego ut breviter tamquam in alieno iudicio*, and, presumably associatively, Petr.1.2 *ut cum in forum venerint, putent se in alium orbem terrarum delatos.* For *litigare* cf. Sen.Nat.4b.5.1 *cetera (argumenta) etsi vincunt, litigant*; for *alienus*, M.1.0.8 *inprobe facit qui in alieno libro ingeniosus est*; here, however, it straightforwardly = 'foreign'.

The first half of the sentence is now concluded with a bow to the *auditor*, ingenuously specifying what M. misses about life at Rome: his audience prompts, or rather compels, what is best about his work. No doubt this is intended to be double edged, in that the Roman public provides the matter as well as the market for many of the epigrams. Cf. H.Ars.100 *quocumque volent animum auditoris agunto*; and especially Ov.Pont.4.2.35 *excitat auditor studium.* Also M.9.81.1 *lector et auditor nostros probat, Aule, libellos*; 7.52.5f. *maior me tanto reverentia turbat et aures / non auditoris iudicis esse puto.*

Howell notes (p. 103f., on 1.1.4, *lector studiose*) that the address to the **reader** is uncommon, apart from the writing of Ovid in exile and that of M., and that M. only twice refers to *auditores.* He believes that, in 12.0, M. is 'indulging in nostalgia for what was no longer even a possibility.' Certainly M. often addresses a *lector*, but that does not mean that his two references to an *auditor* are a pretence. Ovid, after all, refers to both

and, as Howell points out, his references to readers are due specifically to his exile. M's case may be similarly conditioned by practical considerations: the recitation of a book of epigrams seems unlikely, but the delivery of a few in some kind of public forum, even if that is only a dinner-party, is possible, and in keeping with the history of the genre. Since M. says here, and at 9.81.1, that he has *auditores*, and there is no external evidence to the contrary, there is no reason to disbelieve him. Note also the possible meaning of *convictus* = 'recitations' (see below p. 23), and e.g. 12.63.6f. (the Corduban plagiarist)

> *dic vestro, rogo, sit pudor poetae*
> *nec gratis* ***recitet*** *meos libellos.*

For *dictare* = 'indicate, prompt' in this particular manner, almost usurping the 'inspirational' role of the Muses, cf. 8.73.5-8

> *Cynthia te vatem fecit, lascive Properti;*
> *ingenium Galli pulchra Lycoris erat;*
> *fama est arguti Nemesis formosa Tibulli;*
> *Lesbia* ***dictavit****, docte Catulli, tibi*;

also Ov. Am. 2.1.38 *carmina…quae mihi dictat Amor.*

.10ff. **ILLAM IUDICIORUM SUBTILITATEM, ILLUD MATERIARUM INGENIUM, BIBLIOTHECAS, THEATRA, CONVICTUS, IN QUIBUS STUDERE SE VOLUPTATES NON SENTIUNT, AD SUMMAM OMNIUM ILLA QUAE DELICATI RELIQUIMUS DESIDERAMUS QUASI DESTITUTI:**

The detailed specification of what M. feels he lacks is couched in the most resounding rhetorical climax so far, moving from a parallelism through the central cumulative structure to the final chiasmus, which introduces a fresh hyperbole.

Any suggestion of the courtroom is now firmly subordinated to the more usual idea of 'judgement' = 'literary discernment, criticism', which is taken up in order to flesh out the implications of *aures* above: cf. 7.52.5f. (above - *aures / non auditoris, iudicis esse puto*); H. Ep. 2.1.241ff. *quodsi / iudicium subtile videndis artibus illud / ad*

libros et ad haec Musarum dona vocares; Ars 386 *id tibi iudicium est, ea mens* (with Brink's note). TLL (7².615.76ff.) notes that *iudicium* translates κριτήριον in a literary-critical sense; on *iudex* = κριτής, 'literary critic', see Anderson, Parsons, Nisbet JRS 69 (1979) 147 (on the Gallus papyrus) - 'such a person might read poems for his friends, suggest improvements, and give moral support.' Cf. H.Ars 438ff.

> *Quintilio si quid recitares, 'corrige sodes*
> *hoc' aiebat 'et hoc': melius te posse negares,*
> *bis terque expertum frustra, delere iubebat*
> *et male tornatos incudi reddere versus.*

(with Brink's notes).

ingenium = 'essential, inherent quality': *ingenium materiae* must therefore refer to the quality of the subject matter provided by life in Rome which facilitates the writing of poetry: Ker's 'inspiration of the subject' is misleading, as there is no reference to poetic 'inspiration'. Cf. Tertullian, Adv.Hermog.17.2 *pro qualitate enim rei operari habuit et secundum* ***ingenium materiae****, non secundum suum arbitrium, adeo ut et mala pro natura non sua sed substantiae fecerit*; also M.12.3(4).5 below, *tu facis ingenium*, i.e. 'you provide the conditions in which my talent can operate'. *materiae* are simply 'the subjects, the raw materials': cf. Juv.1.151 *ingenium par materiae*; M.8.0.6f. *minus itaque ingenio laborandum fuit, in cuius locum materia successerat.* As these examples show (and cf. Ov.Tr.2.335f.; Pont.2.5.26; Am.3.1.25; Plin.Ep.6.23.5), *materia* is often opposed to *ingenium* when the latter is used in the sense 'ability, inventiveness', so M. may intend the phrase to be arresting.

M. then adds three specific features of the Urban environment to the general advantages he has mentioned. Theatres and libraries would provide stimulation, and a meeting place for fellow literary men - poets congregated in the library of the temple of Apollo (cf. M.5.20.8;

Juv.11.3f.; Schol. on H.S.1.10.38) and Gellius talks of going to a public library and conversing there with a friend about the books they read (13.20.1). *convictus*, as well as more general social gatherings, might include recitations: cf. Ov.Tr.4.10.47f.,

> *Ponticus heroo, Bassus quoque clarus iambis*
> *dulcia* ***convictus*** *membra fuere mihi.*

Plin.Ep.1.13.2 shows that *recitationes* could be private occasions in someone's house, attended by invitation (see Sherwin-White ad loc.); likewise Juv.1.12f. *Frontonis platani convulsaque marmora clamant / semper et adsiduo ruptae lectore columnae*; see Mayor's extensive note on Juv.3.9; RE s.v. *recitatio*, 435ff.; Carcopino 193ff.; SG.3.39ff. = 2.223ff. M. uses *convictus* only here and at 10.47.8 *convictus facilis, sine arte mensa*; cf. Q.Inst.6.3.28 *in convictibus et quotidiano sermone*. For the tripartite summary of social life cf. 7.76

> *quod te diripiunt potentiores*
> *per convivia, porticus, theatra,*
> *et tecum, quotiens ita incidisti,*
> *gestari iuvat et iuvat lavari:*
> *nolito nimium tibi placere.*
> *delectas, Philomuse, non amaris.*

Also Juv.11.3-5 *omnis / convictus, thermae, stationes, omne theatrum / de Rutilo.*

studere and *voluptates* are linked in a novel expression which Ker renders successfully: 'where pleasure is a student without knowing it'. Cf. Plin.Ep.3.1.9 *ut voluptates quoque studiis condiantur.*

There is much well-founded doubt about whether M. would have written *ad summam omnium*: Friedländer's suggestion of emending to *omnia* (taken closely with *illa*) is attractively simple and should be accepted. On the idiom *ad summam* and sim. see Courtney on Juv.3.79 (*in summa*).

delicati reliquimus desideramus quasi destituti is a particularly marked alliteration, highlighting the chiasmus at the end of this sentence.

delicatus = 'fussy, fastidious': Sen.Ep.55.9 *praesentia nos delicatos facit*; Petr.45.3 *non debemus delicati esse*; M.4.55.27f. *haec tam rustica, delicate lector, / rides nomina*; 12.57.19. *delicati reliquimus* is an account of M's motivation for leaving Rome which strikes the reader as, at least, unlikely, especially when compared with some of the more 'autobiographical' pieces such as 12.18, 12.57 and 12.68, all of which put a lack of material comfort and financial security at Rome to the fore, together with a nostalgia for the rustic life of his homeland.

desideramus picks up and strengthens *quaero* at .8, as it does more simply in Plin.Ep.6.2.1 (quoted above). *destituti*, apologetically introduced by *quasi*, is another hyperbole: used thus, absolutely, it suggests phrases like *ab omnibus destitutus* (Cic.Att.1.18.1); *subito solus destitutus pertimuit et conturbatus est* (Ver.2.2.74).

.14ff. **ACCEDIT HIS MUNICIPALIUM ROBIGO DENTIUM ET IUDICI LOCO LIVOR, ET UNUS AUT ALTER MALI, IN PUSILLO LOCO MULTI; ADVERSUS QUOD DIFFICILE EST HABERE COTIDIE BONUM STOMACHUM: NE MIRERIS IGITUR ABIECTA AB INDIGNANTE QUAE A GESTIENTE FIERI SOLEBANT:**

Bilbilis was a *municipium* (see on 12.21.1), but *municipalis* has also specifically the derogatory connotations of English 'provincial': cf. 4.66.1 *egisti vitam semper, Line, municipalem*; Juv.3.34; 8.238 (with Mayor, Courtney).

M. takes the familiar 'tooth of envy' and observes Ovid's addition to it of some tartar to make it even less attractive - Met.2.776 *livent rubigine dentes* - which illustrates the provenance of *livor* as well (see Bömer ad loc. for all three words). Cf. also Stat.Silv.1.3.103 *liventem satiram nigra rubigine*. Otto (Sprichwörter §507) has an extensive list of the occurrences of the motif; cf. also TLL 5¹.542.35ff.; M.5.28.7; 10.3.1.

iudici loco livor is again highlighted by alliteration as M. specifies what Bilbilis offers in place of the Urban literary critic. Presumably,

also, M's fellow townsmen are jealous of Marcella's generous treatment of him, and, relating this to his being a poet, deride his poetry. *livor* is doubly witty, combining the suggestion of discoloration (*robigo*) with the envy represented by the *dentes*. Cf. especially 11.33.3, *livor edax*.

et unus aut alter mali presumably refers to people - they are introduced as a small number, and M. then makes the point that, in a place the size of Bilbilis, they seem many. *loco* might be thought a little clumsy so soon after its rather different use earlier in the same sentence. *pusillus* probably suggests pettiness, adding to the point of *municipalium*, as well as heightening the contrast with *multi* to make clear why they seem many.

It is a telling witness to Roman indigestion that *stomachus* (with *facere* or *movere*), *stomachor* and *stomachosus* all refer to ill-temper and vexation, and that the (perhaps less common?) state of inner peace has to be positively marked, as in *bonum stomachum*. Cf. also Q.Inst.2.3.3 *sufficere illos minores (rhetoras) existimant et bono sane stomacho contenti sunt*; 6.3.93 *lenta <et>, ut sic dixerim, boni stomachi (dicta)*: no other occurrences of the phrase survive (though cf. M.13.3.8 *praetereas, si quid non facit ad stomachum*; Priap.77.1f. *immanem stomachum mihi videtis, / qui densam facitis subinde saepem*; H.Ep.1.15.12 *stomachosus*). R.B. Onians (The Origins of European Thought about the Body, the Mind, the Soul, the World, Time, and Fate 84-89) traces the relation of these ideas from χόλος / χολή onwards: see especially 88f., 'the association of bile with anger appears to be native to the Romans. Biliary disturbances perhaps explain the use of *stomachus, stomachor* etc.'

The catalogue of excuses is closed with a second chiasmus, drawing the second and third sentences closely together. The opposition of *indignante* and *gestiente* forms the crux of the chiasmus and of the whole argument.

Cicero uses *gestire* to describe the activity of the mind in a state of *laetitia* - e.g. Fin.3.35 ἡδονήν… *laetitiam appellare, quasi gestientis animi elationem voluptariam. ne mireris* marks a noticeable shift away from the initial (mock-?) apologetic tone.

.18ff. **NE QUID TAMEN ET ADVENIENTI TIBI AB URBE ET EXIGENTI NEGAREM - CUI NON REFERO GRATIAM, SI TANTUM EA PRAESTO QUAE POSSUM - , INPERAVI MIHI, QUOD INDULGERE CONSUERAM, ET STUDUI PAUCISSIMIS DIEBUS, UT FAMILIARISSIMAS MIHI AURES TUAS EXCIPEREM ADVENTORIA SUA:**

advenienti prepares the way for *adventoria*: the verb occurs only here in M. The *et…et* parallelism and the deliberate jingle of terminations associate more closely the arrival and the request. For *exigere* cf. especially 2.0.13f. *itaque quod exigis fiat*; and e.g. Plin.Ep.1.7.2 *praesertim te exigente…*; 3.10.2 *mitterem exigentibus vobis.*

M. builds up his restated 'justification' with an elaborate rhetorical bow, expressing the necessity of his gratitude to Priscus: for the phrase cf. Cic.Fam.4.8.1 *reliquum est igitur ut tibi me in omni re eum praebeam praestemque et ad omnia quae tui velint ita sim praesto ut me non solum omnia debere tua causa, †sed causa† quoque, etiam quae non possim, putem* [some edd. restore †…† as *quae possim / possum*]; V.Max.4.8.1 *alter enim quod potest praestat, alter plus etiam quam potest. praestare* here simply = 'do', or possibly 'provide, furnish'.

For *refero gratiam* cf. Cato Agr.5.2; Vell.2.16.3 and especially Q.Inst.2.16.18 (on *oratio*) *quod nulla in arte plenius labor gratiam refert.* The return to the assertion that literary composition no longer brings pleasure sets *inperavi mihi* against *indulgere consueram*: *sibi inperare*, in such a context, typically has overtones of great self-discipline - cf. Cic.Phil. 12.21 *vincam animum mihique imperabo* - while *indulgere* typifies the lack of it: cf. Q.Inst.10.1.98 *quantum ille vir (Ovidius) praestare potuerit si ingenio suo imperare quam indulgere maluisset.*

paucissimis diebus is consistent with M's attitude to his work throughout the preface, and need bear no relation to the time actually spent: it certainly should not be used as evidence in support of any thesis about the *brevis libellus* of 12.1.3, as it is by Friedländer in his introductory remarks about the preface, and by Peter White (1974, 45f.). It is also no more than the typical boast of a professional author - cf. Stat.Silv.1.praef.

> *sed apud ceteros necesse est multum illis pereat ex venia, cum amiserint quam solam habuerunt gratiam celeritatis. nullum enim ex illis biduo longius tractum, quaedam et in singulis diebus effusa; quam timeo, ne verum istuc versus quoque ipsi de se probent.*

aures is picked up and transferred from the more general application of it (and of *auditor*) in the second sentence to Priscus in particular and his exercise of critical judgement. *familarissimas* seems to preempt Priscus' goodwill (described in the next sentence) by insisting on the closeness of the friendship: cf. e.g. Cic.Att.7.4.2 *Hirtium…qui esset illi familiarissimus.*

adventorius is unusual: TLL (1.837.1ff.) notes Caper.Gramm.7.107.11 *adventicia cena, non adventoria*; cf. Suet.Vit.13.2 *cena data ei adventicia a fratre*; Petr.90.5 *immo quotiens theatrum, ut recitarem aliquid intravi, hac me adventicia excipere frequentia solet*; also Plu.Mor.46.727b ὑποδεκτικόν…δεῖπνον. The transference of the idea of the 'welcome-dinner' to describe a book of verse is daring; the idea is further emphasised by *sua*, referring to *aures*. Perhaps there is also the suggestion that M. will hold a conventional *cena adventicia* at which he will read the poems. For such *cenae*, a conventional part of the welcome home, see N-H I.401f. (introduction to Od.1.36); also II.107 (intro. to 2.7); Cairns GC 18ff., on the *epibaterion*.

.23ff. **TU VELIM ISTA, QUAE TANTUM APUD TE NON PERICLITANTUR, DILIGENTER AESTIMARE ET EXCUTERE NON GRAVERIS; ET, QUOD TIBI DIFFICILLIMUM**

EST, DE NUGIS NOSTRIS IUDICES NITORE SEPOSITO, NE ROMAM, SI ITA DECREVERIS, NON HISPANIENSEM LIBRUM MITTAMUS, SED HISPANUM:

In this sixth and final sentence, M. moves to an appeal for evaluation (hence no doubt the laments for the lack of *iudices* above): presumably he intends to publish the poems (and perhaps this 'letter') from the start. The effect is a compliment to Priscus, so formulated as to reflect the maximum glory on M., who basks in his intimate friendship.

non periclitantur articulates the implication of *familiarissimas*: the verb is usually more seriously employed, as e.g. at 6.26.1 *periclitatur capite Sotades noster* (M's only other use of it). It is also, as might be expected, more usually applied to persons - but M's books are a favourite object of personification to him (see e.g. 12.2). For *tu velim…non graveris* cf. Cic.De Orat.1.107 *neque gravabor…quid…sentiam dicere*: M. is asking Priscus not to scruple to carry out the evaluation *diligenter*.

TLL (5².1312.79ff.) considers *aestimare* and *excutere* synonymous here; cf. Col.3.3.2 *et hanc sententiam suo loco aestimabimus*; Q.Inst.1.4.4 *nec poetas legisse satis est: excutiendum omne scriptorum genus…* (where *excutere* means 'study thoroughly'). The two words stress 'assessment' and 'sifting out' respectively, the latter more graphic, with the suggestion of throwing out literary chaff.

quod tibi difficillimum est again strongly protests the intimacy, by insisting that it will be difficult for Priscus to apply rigorous critical standards.

For *nugae* cf. Catul.1.3f. *namque tu solebas / meas esse aliquid putare nugas*; H.Ep.1.19.42; Brink on Ars 322 (he stresses that H. never uses *nugae* of his own work 'without an element of irony or apologia'): the word is a favourite with M. to describe his own work with the sort of mannered modesty which typifies this preface. See also M.1.113.6, with Citroni; 9.0

v.5 *ille ego sum nulli nugarum laude secundus*. At Catul.1.4, where the word is first found in this sense of 'light' verse or 'trifles', Fordyce would distinguish it from *lusus* on grounds of length. Pliny (Ep.4.14.8 and 7.2.2) calls his own hendecasyllables *nugae*, again deprecatingly, but M's very frequent use of the word suggests at most mock-modesty. It may well have lost any striking quality as an expression by the time of Pliny and M.

iudices returns again explicitly to the theme of critical judgement, focusing the action *et aestimare et excutere* on to a specific decision which M. asks of Priscus, as to whether the work is worth publishing at Rome (cf. Plin.Ep.5.12).

For *sepono* see Sen.Ep.98.4 *sive alios observare volueris (liberius enim inter aliena iudicium est) sive te ipsum* ***favore seposito*** *et senties hoc et confiteberis, nihil ex his optabilibus et caris utile esse*; cf. also Q.Inst.7.1.27 *si id non contigerit, seponamus id quod primum se optulerit, et ipsi nobiscum sic loquamur: quid si hoc non esset ?* *nitore*, retained by Lindsay, has not found universal favour: Housman (Papers 733f.) scorned Gilbert's attempt to make sense of it as = '*Heiterkeit*', i.e. 'cheerfulness, brightness, serenity, clarity', claiming that it 'never means anything of the sort.' Despite this assurance, which is ill-founded (see e.g. Q.Inst.10.1.79 *Isocrates in diverso genere dicendi* ***nitidus*** *et comptus* (see Peterson); 10.1.113), the problem lies more in finding **point** in what is certainly a possible usage, but possible of a style or a writer rather than a critic's sensibilities: what is wanted here is a quality which the **critic** will discard. Housman was guided by *nidore* in B^{A}, as being more evidently false and therefore a clue to what M. wrote, and, while noting Munro's *nimio favore* (cf. Sen.Ep.98.4 above), himself settled on *candore*, as satisfying the dictates of sense and resembling *nidore* sufficiently. He argued that '*candor* is that temper of mind which I impels

men to think well of the work of others', comparing Ov.Tr.5.3.53-56 (*candor* vs. *iudicium*); Pont.3.4.9-13; Sen.Suas.6.22 (*candidissimus aestimator*);

M.7.99.5-7

> *dicere de nobis ut lector candidus aude:*
> *'temporibus praestat non nihil iste tuis,*
> *nec Marso nimium minor est doctoque Catullo.'*

13.2.8-10

> *„nos haec novimus esse nihil.*
> *non tamen hoc nimium nihil est, si candidus aure*
> *nec matutina si mihi fronte venis.*

The balance of these parallels favours Housman's conclusion.

With the first mention of Rome by name as the destination of the book, M. prefigures the 'dispatching' of it in 12.2, and maintains to the end that Priscus will determine its final form, and indeed whether or not it will be published at all (*si ita decreveris*). His final point is made in a word-play - cf. Vell.2.51.3 *non Hispaniensis natus sed Hispanus* (on which see Woodman, Syme RP 1.37): M. says that he wants Priscus (as being himself a Spaniard) to ensure that the final product is 'Spanish Roman' (i.e. a Roman citizen from Spain), not native Spanish. Sullivan translates,

> „so that I won't be sending to Rome, if that is your decision, a volume not so much written in Spain as written in Spanish.

As has been noted above (pp. 2ff.), this description is substantiated by what follows.

1

Two of M's five prose prefaces (those to books 1 and 9) have epigrams appended as part of the preface. In all five books which have prefaces the first epigram of the book is in some sense dedicatory or prefatory (as is also usual in books which do not have a prose preface). Here, as e.g. in book 2, the initial epigram also engages substantially with the preface: having requested Priscus' perusal and judgement of the book, M. now makes a formal poetic plea for his friend's attention, with a reworking of his familiar self-recommendation on grounds of brevity. It is clear from 12.14 that hunting is a leisure pursuit dear to Priscus' heart, so M. further ingratiates himself by deferring to his friend's pleasure.

.1f. **RETIA DUM CESSANT LATRATORESQUE MOLOSSI**
ET NON INVENTO SILVA QUIESCIT APRO: On hunting-nets see J.Aymard,

Chasses 209ff.; Jennison Animals 144f.; f[illegible]

place this line in a high register. *Molossi* are not among the breeds which are recommended by Xenophon for boar-hunting (Cyn.10.1), but Aymard (Chasses 300) notes that they were frequently so used, as were Laconians. They were best known for hunting hare, and M. also mentions their use in hunting red deer (0.30.1f.). At Sen.Phaed.29ff. they are among the breeds mentioned in the boar-hunt. Hull (*op.cit.* 30) believes them to be the ancestors of the modern mastiff, and notes that they were also frequently used in Greece as sheep dogs. They were famed for their powers of attack and pursuit (Nem.Cyn.107; Ael.3.2).

Xen.Cyn.10 is devoted to the boar and the methods of hunting it. Hull (*op.cit.* 103) identifies the animal with the common species *sus scrofa*, similar to the *sus cristatus* which the British hunted in India. Sometimes weighing more than 300 pounds, it has tusks curving up from its lower jaw which can be a deadly weapon of attack. It is one of the most dangerous and difficult of all wild animals to hunt: even when caught in such a net it had to be speared accurately with a spear designed for the purpose and, especially if the hunter missed his mark, might tear free and gore or trample those in the vicinity. Nevertheless, Pliny's picture of himself as a writer-hunter (Ep.1.6.1 *ad retia sedebam*), casually bagging three boars, is part of a tradition of literary *otium*: see Sherwin-White ad loc.; Aymard Chasses 159-162.

.3 **OTIA, PRISCE, BREVI POTERIS DONARE LIBELLO:** For **not** mixing poetry and hunting, cf. H.Ep.1.18.40 (on the correct attitude to the patron) *nec cum venari volet ille, poemata panges.*

otium is most commonly leisure from public life, especially to take part in activities such as writing or hunting (or, in Pliny's case, both): V.Max.5.6 ext.5 *in summo litterarum otio*; Cic.Att.4.6.2 *quid si cessare*

libeat et in otí portum confugere ? For M. himself it refers more exactly to that financial independence, supplied by a patron, which enables him to write: 1.107.3 *otia da nobis* (see Citroni, Howell). Cicero (Brut.8) distinguishes it from *desidia*:

> *quo tempore aetas nostra perfuncta rebus amplissimis tamquam in portum confugere deberet non inertiae nec desidiae, sed oti moderati atque honesti.*

And, as Fraenkel (Horace 213) points out, from the Augustan age onwards, *otium* became an object of longing and appreciation: see also N-H II.253 (on Od.2.16); T.G. Rosenmeyer, The Green Cabinet 71; J. André, L'otium dans la vie morale et intellectuelle Romaine, index s.v. *otium litteratum* . Cf. also 12.4.3; 12.68.5 (where the lack of *otium* and *somnus* has driven M. from Rome, only to find himself cheated of them in Bilbilis as well).

The *libellus* is described as *brevis* as an incentive to read it. *donare* = 'devote, give over': Pers.4.50 *nequiquam populo bibulas donaveris aures*; Juv.1.59f. *qui bona donavit praesepibus et caret omni / maiorum censu.*

.4 **HORA NEC AESTIVA EST NEC TIBI TOTA PERIT:** The Roman day was divided into 12 equal *horae* between sunrise and sunset, and this cumbersome system was retained (also by the Greeks) even after the invention and refinement of water clocks - it represents a dependence on sundials (it is intriguing that the Egyptians had long since arrived at a 24 hour day like our own). The duration of the *hora*, therefore, varied from roughly 1¼ hours in midsummer to ¾ of an hour in midwinter, and the length was set for periods of one month: see Bickerman Chronology 15f.; for a detailed treatment Kubitschek Zeitrechnung 178ff. (on the monthly change in length, 179f); also Marquardt Prl.256ff.

Friedländer's deduction that Priscus is receiving the book in December is supported by 12.62, where he is described as coming home *sexta bruma*,

for the Saturnalia. Here M. is playfully matching the shortness of the book which he is asking Priscus to read with the shortest *hora* of the year. Cf. Lucan 10.217f., of the equinox, *auctusque suos non ante coartat, / quam nox aestivas a sole receperit horas*; Vegetius epitome rei militaris 1.9 (4th century) *militari ergo gradu XX milia passuum horis quinque dumtaxat aestivis conficienda sunt.*

For *perit* cf. Plin.NH.11.14 *nullus…otio perit dies*; Juv.3.124f. *perierunt tempora longi / servitii. nec tota perit* presumably has a double meaning: = 'is not completely wasted' and 'doesn't take a whole hour to read'.

2 (3)

THOUGHT:

(1-4) You are being sent to Rome from the provinces, although a book of mine might expect the reverse journey.
(5-8) You will not be a stranger there, where you have so many relatives: you can enter the great library in your own right.
(9-12) Or you might prefer to go to my friend Stella's house: he is a distinguished poet and patron.
(13-16) The Muses themselves drink from his spring; he will introduce you to all Rome and give you a heartfelt welcome himself.
(17-18) You won't need a label; as soon as they've read a few lines, everyone will know that you're mine.

Cf. especially 10.104, sending the book from Rome to Bilbilis. M. is fond of this type of address to his book: cf. 1.3; 1.70; 2.1; 3.2, 3.4 and 3.5; 4.86 and 4.89; 7.84 and 7.97; 8.1 and 8.72; 9.99; 10.20(19); 11.1 (and 12.11 below). For the device among earlier poets cf. Catul.35.1ff. *poetae tenero, meo sodali, / velim Caecilio, papyre, dicas / Veronam veniat*, and, more specifically, H.Ep.1.20 (*Vertumnum Ianumque, liber, spectare videris…*), in which the book is addressed as a slave wishing to escape to

Rome against the advice of his master - especially relevant to M.1.3.

Citroni (intro. to 1.3 pp.23f.) compares AP.12.208 (Strato) and Ov.Tr.1.1; 2.1f.; 3.7(8).1ff. and Pont.4.5.1. Cf. also Stat.Silv.4.4.1ff.:

> *curre per Euboicos non segnis, epistola, campos*
> *hac ingressa via, qua nobilis Appia crescit*
> *in latus et molles solidus premit agger harenas.*
> *atque ubi Romuleas velox penetraveris arces,*
> *continuo dextras flavi pete Thybridis oras,*
> *Lydia qua penitus stagnum navale coercet*
> *ripa suburbanisque vadum praetexitur hortis.*
> *illic egregium formaque animisque videbis*
> *Marcellum et celso praesignem vertice nosces.*
> *cui primam solito vulgi de more salutem,*
> *mox inclusa modis haec reddere verba memento:*
> *'iam terras…*

The personification of the book in 12.2(3) is very fully developed. This device allows M. to slip in a second 'dedication' at the beginning of his book and thus to capitalize on the fact of his retirement: not only can he present the book to Priscus on his arrival in Spain (see above p. 30), but he can send it to his (consular) patron Stella in Rome as well.

.1 **AD POPULOS MITTI QUI NUPER AB URBE SOLEBAS**: *urbs*, of course, = Rome, the city *par excellence* (as Quintilian explains it at Inst.8.2.8), but here it also adds force to the firmly drawn antithesis of City and Provinces. *populos* is picked up in .3 by *gente*: they are both to be taken as representing places or peoples which are foreign from a **Roman** point of view (as initially expressed in *ab urbe*) - see TLL 6².1850.51ff., and especially M.8.61.5; 12.8.1; 12.3(4).3 and 10.9.3f. *notus gentibus…Martialis / et notus populis.*

M. uses his characteristic personification of the book to full effect in comically exploiting the reversal of the situation: in the past he has published books in Rome and sent them to the provinces (see e.g. 7.88), but now he has returned home and is sending the fruits of his labours to Rome

from Spain.

.2 **IBIS IO ROMAM NUNC PEREGRINE LIBER:** *io* is an exclamation often associated with a cry for help: H. Ars 459f. *licet 'succurrite' longum / clamet 'io cives!'* - see Brink. Originally ἰώ was used to address a god in invocation, and came to be particularly associated with the followers of Bacchus. Tibullus uses it in describing the passion of love at 2.4.6 *uror, io, remove, saeva puella, faces*, and Ovid associates it with cries for help, often in erotic contexts - e.g. Fast. 4.447f. (*Proserpina rapta*) *clamabat 'io carissima mater, / auferor'*. Here, however, the effect is more one of mock-formulaic joy: cf. 11.36.2, an exclamation at the return to health of Gaius Julius; 7.6.7, the cry in response to the emperor's triumphal return; 8.4.1, an expression of delight at the crowds offering vows for the health of the emperor; 11.2.5, the traditional revellers' cry, *io Saturnalia* (Kay compares Petr.58.2 *'io Saturnalia, rogo, mensis december est?'*; CIL 4.2005a, from a Pompeian inn, '*Saturnina io Saturnalia*'). Cf. also the ritual wedding refrain at Catullus 61.117ff. *io Hymen Hymenaee io*, for which Fordyce compares a comic fragment (Ribbeck p.332) '*io bucco! - quis me iubilat? - vicinus tuus antiquus*'. But the witty point would seem most likely to lie in the suggestion that the book will be received at Rome as a triumphant *redux* from the provinces, this being made possible by the reversal of its usual journey.

nunc peregrine, together with *hospes* and *advena* in .5, particularizes to the personified book the strangeness felt by M. in sending a book to Rome. Cf. Ov. Tr. 1.1.59 *quod venias* (sc. *liber*) *magnam peregrinus in urbem*, where the 'foreigner'-book and the 'City' are exactly so opposed. The vocative is an important part of the personification - cf. e.g. 11.1.1 *quo tu, quo, liber otiose, tendis.*

.3 **AURIFERI DE GENTE TAGI TETRICIQUE SALONIS:** Cf. 1.49.15 *aureo…Tago* with Citroni, Howell; Catul.29.18f. *inde tertia / Hibera, quam scit amnis aurifer Tagus*; Ov.Am.1.15.34 *cedat et auriferi ripa benigna Tagi*; Juv.3.54f. *tanti tibi non sit opaci / omnis harena Tagi quodque in mare volvitur aurum*; 14.298f. *sed cuius votis modo non suffecerat aurum / quod Tagus et rutila volvit Pactolus harena*, with Mayor; Plin.NH.4.115; Lucan 7.755; Sil.1.155 etc. The epithet is a commonplace, and the point is the identification of M's (and the book's) homeland by a reference to a resource for which it was justly famous. On the gold-bearing Tagus (the modern Tejo) see Dolç 200-202; RE 4.2025.54ff.; 8².2006.18ff.

The Salo (modern Jalón; see Dolç 195-198) is joined by the Ribota near the site of Bilbilis, and was famously cold, being used for the tempering of iron (4.55.14f.; 1.49.4 / 12; 12.18.9). This is why, at 12.21.1, M. calls it *rigidus*, which might be compared with his use of *tetricus* here. Applied to topographical features, *tetricus* indicates harshness ('rugged' or sim.) - cf. its use as the name of a mountain which separated Sabine land from Picenum (Varro RR.2.1.5; V.A.7.713, with Fordyce).

de gente picks up the elaborate insistence on the foreignness of the book, following from *Romam* to make the point.

.4 **DAT PATRIOS MANES QUAE MIHI TERRA POTENS:** Housman (Papers 107, 734) was certainly right to reject *manes* (which does not contribute to the sense here) in favour of *amnes*, which is to the point, and is often confused with *manes* (in M. *amnis* is faultily transmitted at 7.93.1; 9.101.10 and 10.7.1); also, C^A has *quod* instead of *quae*. Heraeus printed *amnes quos* in his text. Housman compared Tac.Ann.1.79.3 *religiones sociorum, qui sacra et lucos et aras* ***patriis amnibus*** *dicaverint*; M.10.96.3 ***auriferumque Tagum*** *sitiam* ***patriumque Salonem***. For the phrase he compared Ov.Pont.4.16.43f. *maternos*

Cottas cui Messallasque paternos, / Maxime, nobilitas ingeminata dedit and also M.10.103.1-3,

> *municipes Augusta mihi quos Bilbilis acri*
> *monte creat, rapidis quem Salo cingit aquis*
> *ecquid laeta iuvat vestri vos gloria vatis.*

Housman was happy with *potens*, comparing Manil.4.680 *hanc **Asiae** metam posuit natura **potentis*** ; 690 *Thessalia **Epirosque potens***; 753 *Scythiae montes **Asiamque potentem*** and also V.A.1.531 ***terra** antiqua, **potens** armis atque ubere glaebae*. He had earlier speculated (Papers 107), however, that 'the old conjecture *parens*...may be true'. *terra parens* would be, if not a commonplace, at least unremarkable (TLL 10'.361.27ff.), but more to the point *parens* here would be tautologous, with *patrios*. Given that, and Housman's parallels for *potens*, it would seem best to let it stand. Cf. also *superba*, of Bilbilis, at 12.18.9.

.5f. **NON TAMEN HOSPES ERIS NEC IAM POTES ADVENA DICI**
CUIUS HABET FRATRES TOT DOMUS ALTA REMI: In the second pair of couplets the emphasis shifts from the book's place of origin to its arrival at Rome: the question of its status is a neat way of using the initial personification to make the transition. Cf. 3.5.3f., again of M's book, *unus erit, mihi crede, satis, cui non eris hospes, / Iulius, adsiduum nomen in ore meo*. Both *hospes* and *advena* might be used of a stranger or foreigner in Rome - but this book already has a 'family' there. *fratres* provides an unanswerable, as well as an amusing, argument, for who could be a *hospes* or *advena* in a city where 14 siblings reside! Ovid refers to several books as *fratres* at Tr.1.1.107; cf. also M.10.104.1, where the *libellus* is *comes...nostro...Flavo*.

domus not only stands for 'place of residence' (TLL 5'.1973.24ff. compares Auson.285.1 *divum domus, aurea Roma*; Petr.5 v.11 *Sirenum...domus*;

Stat.Theb.12.619 *Icarii Celeique domus*), but also introduces a number of words related to human and divine residence (*limina, templi, tecta* [emended from *templa* - see below], *atria, penatis*), which tie in with the personification of the book. *domus alta Remi* = 'the city of Rome': the precise part of the city is the subject of the second couplet in this pair.

.7f. **IURE TUO VENERANDA NOVI PETE LIMINA TEMPLI,**
REDDITA PIERIO SUNT UBI TEMPLA CHORO: Cf. 1.70.13f. *hanc pete: ne metuas fastus limenque superbum: / nulla magis toto ianua poste patet*; for *iure tuo*, 5.62.1f. *iure tuo nostris maneas licet, hospes, in hortis, / si potes in nudo ponere membra solo* - so here, since the book is *non hospes nec advena* it may, on its own credentials, enter its own expected home in Rome, the *novum templum*. This was situated on the slope of the Palatine which faces the Capitol: it was a temple of the deified Augustus built by Tiberius, possibly with Livia's help (Dio 57.10.2; 56.46.3), and, according to Suetonius (Tib.74; Cal.21), completed by Caligula. Tacitus' version (Ann.6.45) is that Tiberius finished but did not dedicate it. Suetonius and M. (cf. 4.53.2) are the only literary evidence for the name, but it is often so called in inscriptions (see Platner-Ashby 63). In it or beside it Tiberius had established the *Bibliotheca Templi D. Augusti* (see Platner-Ashby 84). The temple and library had been destroyed by fire at some time before A.D. 79, and were restored, probably by Domitian (Suet.Dom.20), who apparently associated it with a shrine of his patron goddess Minerva.

veneranda…pete = 'seek the venerable': cf. 1.70.5 *inde sacro veneranda petes Palatia clivo* (see below on 12ff. for other reminiscences of 1.70 in this poem). The *limina* (pl. for sg.) is the part of a house where a caller would naturally be received (12.29(26).1 *sexagena teras cum limina mane senator*), and the book is thought of as coming home (cf. Ov.Tr.3.1.59ff.,

noted on .12 below).

reddita had been taken by O. Hirschfeld (see Friedländer's note) as evidence that the restoration was more recent, perhaps done by Trajan, but there is no reason to doubt Suetonius' account, and, in any case, a restoration by Domitian would be considered a recent event by M., who was in Rome at the time. It has also been taken (Paley and Stone) to mean that the library was **dedicated** to the Muses, or 'dedicated to culture' (Courtney on Juv.7.37). But the more natural sense here is 'restored to (the use of) the Muses', i.e. rebuilt, to be used as a library: cf. 5.8.8 *nunc est reddita dignitas equestris*. So M. does not fancifully call a library a temple, but rather notes that this temple has returned to its former function.

It is likely that *templa* is a mistake under the influence of *templi* in the previous line: Heinsius conjectured *tecta*, which was printed by Heraeus and recently defended by Shackleton Bailey (292),

> **8 *tecta* Heinsius, recte**
> Note the similar corruption in *Anth.Lat.* (Riese) 126 "tecta novem Phoebo nuperque [*Heinsius:* Phoebi nuper *A*] dicata Camenis / nunc retinet Bacchus et sua templa [*scripsi:* tecta *A*] vocat."

See also O. Hirschfeld, Kaiserlichen Verwaltungebeamten[2] 258 n.1; 300 n.2.

Quite apart from avoiding an inelegant repetition, *tecta* suggests shelter, which is apposite to a 'homeless' book. *tecta* also fits well with *limina* and *atria* below.

M. is fond of applying the word *chorus* to the company of the Muses (cf. also V.Ecl.6.66; Ov.Tr.5.3.10); cf. also his use of the more Roman-sounding *grex* of them at e.g. 12.11.4 and 9.86.3, both with *Pierius*. The introduction of the *novem dominas* by reference to their place of origin (the most ancient cults of the Muses were in Pieria and Ascra) may be

thought particularly appropriate in this place-conscious poem, although M's use of *Pierius* elsewhere (e.g. 10.64.4 *Pieria…tuba*, which ≃ 'heroic poetry') perhaps suggests that the adj. was just a common synonym for 'Muse' or even 'poetry': cf. Juv.7.8 *nam si Pieria quadrans tibi nullus in umbra / ostendatur.*

.9 **VEL SI MALUERIS, PRIMA GRADIERE SUBURA:** The next four couplets make an elaborate bow to M's patron Stella (see below): here M. makes the transition to another well-known region of the city, adding the compliment that the book may prefer Stella's house to the grandeur of the temple / library.

This is M's only use of the uncompounded verb *gradior*: although it does occur as early as Man.1.658 as = *ambulo*, it is not regularly so used until much later and appears to have connotations of solemnity: see TLL 6 .2140.60ff., e.g. Cic.Tusc.1.110 *fidenti animo, si ita res feret, gradietur ad mortem*; Apul.Plat.2.20 *qui…fidenti et securo gradu virtutis via graderetur*. The tone of this poem is deliberate and elevated, and there may be something of the same effect here as is achieved by Horace's use of *scandere* at Od.3.30.9.

The spatial sense of *primus* employed in *prima Subura* is quite regular (cf. V.A.1.541; 2.469 etc.), but the specific reference is elucidated by M. 2.17.1 *tonstrix Suburae faucibus sedet primis*: almost every time M. mentions the area a part is specified in this manner, the commonest reference being *(in) media Subura* (6.66.2; 9.37.1; 10.94.5; 12.21.5).

For the character of the area, which lay in the valley between the southern end of the Viminal and the western end of the Esquiline, now traversed by the Via Cavour and the Via dello Statuto, see Platner-Ashby 501: although it was perhaps best known as a haunt of prostitutes and a

dirty, crowded shopping area, Caesar had also lived there, *modicis aedibus*, before becoming Pontifex Maximus (Suet.Iul.46); as for the more recent past, it is a matter for compliment to be born there (M.12.21.5). Clearly Stella's house is to be thought of as reasonably luxurious (*atria alta*): it has been a well-known phenomenon in the centre of modern cities that places of the respective characters of Soho and Mayfair are often found close together (and Soho once combined both) and e.g. in Sydney, Australia, the red-light district of Kings Cross becomes almost imperceptibly the wealthy residential quarter of Potts Point over a distance of about 100 metres.

.10 **ATRIA SUNT ILLIC CONSULIS ALTA MEI:** *atria* is not only another variation on *domus* (cf. 5.20.5 *nec nos atria nec domos potentum… (nossemus)*), but again has a specific reference, for the *atrium* was where the clients were received by the patron, and so is the proper destination in Stella's house for M's book - cf. 3.38.11 *'atria magna colam'*. Note the repetition of *alta*, from the phrase *domus alta Remi* in .6, firmly associating Stella with the greatness and grandeur of Rome.

consulis mei dates the poem to late 101, as Stella became suffect consul in October of that year, having been praetor in 93 (M. obviously hopes that Stella's further advancement in public office will enhance his usefulness as a patron - see P.White JRS 68 (1978) 85f.).

Lucius Arruntius Stella, an aristocrat, born in Aponus near Patavium (M.1.61.4), is mentioned by M. in 18 poems, spanning nearly the whole of his writing career. He was not only M's friend and a literary patron (to Statius as well as M.), but also a poet of some reputation himself (Stat.Silv.1.praef; 1.2 - an epithalamion for Stella and Violentilla - cf. M.6.21; Sid.Carm.9.267). See PIR² *A* §1151; RE 2.1265.61ff; P.White HSPh 79 (1975) 267-272; Citroni, intro. to 1.7; Syme Tacitus 88; RP 4.384f.

M. first mentions him, as a poet, in 1.7, the famous *columba* poem, imitating Catullus 2 and claiming that Stella is a greater poet than Catullus in the same proportion as that by which a *columba* is larger than a *passer* (on the sexual implications of *passer* vs. *columba* see Howell 122f.). Here, then, M. seems to be hedging his bets slightly - the book is dedicated to Priscus on his arrival in Spain, but it is directed by M. to beat a path to Stella's door to ensure its own (i.e. M's) success in Rome. The whole of .9-16 is an elaborate compliment to Stella, followed by an undisguised request that he advertise the book for M.

.11 **LAURIGEROS HABITAT FACUNDUS STELLA PENATIS**: *penatis* is a further variation on *domus*, which M. also combines with *atria* at 1.70.11f., with *habitare* at 10.28.3, and with *lauriger* at 8.1.1. M. uses *lauriger* several times (cf. especially 10.10.1 *laurigeris…fascibus*) and here it has a dual reference: as the property of a *triumphator* the laurel would be a sign of social standing, while because of its association with Apollo, who in turn is the associate of the Muses (Hes. W&D. 94), it had been re-appropriated by Horace to the poet (see Od. 2.7.19 with N-H; 3.30.15f.; 4.2.9). See also West on Hes. Theog. 30f. - it was thought to have mantic properties, was used in the making of rhapsodes' σκῆπτρα, and was supposedly chewed for inspiration in a way analogous to drinking from the Muses' spring. In the middle ages these two associations came to be drawn together by rhetoricians, and the laurel was thought of as the tree of epic - i.e. 'warrior poetry' (see Curtius 201 n.). For a full treatment see Kambylis, 18ff.

M. uses *habitare* transitively, as here, on 4 other occasions (1.3.1; 9.43.12; 10.28.3; 12.32.24): this active transitive use is not common, although it must have been the original one (see Coleman on V. Ecl. 2.29),

and is mostly confined to poetry, the best known instance being V.A.3.106 *centum urbes habitant magnas.*

facundus is one of M's favourite complimentary epithets for literary men: he uses it of Vergil (14.185.1), Juvenal (7.91.1 - note that this is compatible with Juvenal writing, and being known for it, as early as 92 A.D.), Catullus (5.30.3), Propertius (14.189.1), and of Corduba, for producing the Senecas and Lucan (1.61.8). Cf. also 11.48.2, of Cicero (as an orator); 10.20(19).3, of Pliny; 6.64.11, of Regulus, the famous advocate (see Howell on 1.12).

.12 **CLARUS HYANTEAE STELLA SITITOR AQUAE:** *clarus* not only piles a further compliment on top of *facundus* (the adj. had come to be applied to fame in various fields - cf. e.g. Tac.Ann.1.1 *claris scriptoribus* - and its superlative was also becoming crystalized in officialese as an honorific appropriate to a senator), but also provides a neat pun on the literal meaning of Stella's *cognomen* (see Kajanto 338 'planets'): for such puns see Nisbet in JRS 68 (1978) 1ff., including three on Stella's name in Statius - Silv.1.praef; 1.2.81 and 1.2.212f. (p.8).

There are also many echoes of 1.70 (*vade salutatum pro me, liber…*) in this poem, and there M's directions to the book on how to reach the house of Proculus after passing the Colossus and the temple of Bacchus run *protinus a laeva **clari** tibi fronte **Penates** / atriaque excelsae sunt adeunda domus* (11f.). For such directions cf. also Ov.Tr.3.1.27ff. (at .59ff. the book is conducted into the library in the temple of Apollo - see .7 above).

Lindsay, surprisingly, does not report any of the confusion which lies behind *Hyanteae* (also read by Heraeus). This is perhaps all the more surprising in that he printed *Iantheae* without comment in his first edition of 1903 (with Friedländer): he had presumably changed his mind in the light

of Housman's (see below) and Heraeus' reasoning. Gronov had reached the same conclusion in the mid-seventeenth century: 'Toties totiesque monui, ut scribatur Iantheae, Ἰάνθιος, inquit Scriverius. At ille fallitur. Nihil huc facit Violentilla, nihil fons Ianthidos. *Hyanteae* scripsit Martialis. Et *Hyantea aqua* est unde Castalis. Ausonius: *& Hyantea Aganippe.* Ovidio Actaeon *juvenis Hyantius.* Statio *Hyantiae sorores* Musae. Rursus Ovidius lib. 8 *& Hyanteo Iolao.*'

The question hangs on whether M. wishes to compliment Stella on thirsting for water from his own spring - which seems more than unlikely - or from that of the Muses - which paves the way for the paradoxical compliment in the following couplet. The complication in the tradition arises from the fact that Stella had in his house a spring named for his wife Violentilla (*viola* = ἴον; the name in fact 'has nothing floral in its nature. It derives from 'Violens', an ancient *cognomen* surviving among Volumnii at Perusia' Syme RP 4.385): 7.15.1 *nitidis…Ianthidos undis*; 7.50.1 *fons dominae, regina loci quo gaudet Ianthis*; cf. 6.21.1; 7.14.5 (in all of these places *Ianthis* etc. is transmitted without serious difficulty).

As Housman pointed out, after noting the anomalousness of the form Ἰανθεῖος (Papers 898f.), if the word is removed and the whole of .11-14 examined,

> Here are Parnassus and Helicon and a whole world of metaphor: Stella aspires to poetical inspiration, and the fount for which he thirsts is Castaly or Aganippe. And Aganippe was once found to be in print upon this page of Martial: it was only removed by the importunity of Scriverius…and the ill judgement of modern editors from Schneidewin onwards. Mr Lindsay's apparatus criticus leaves one to suppose that *Iantheae* is in all the MSS: it is probably in some, but it is not in any of the four copies about which I have definite information. L indeed, the best MS of the family β, has *iamthee*, and P in the same family *yantheae*; but Q, a third member, together with E, the best of the family γ, has *hyanteae*, and gives just the sense required: Ouid.met. v 312 'Hyantea Aganippe'.

The movement of thought from the end of this pair of couplets to the beginning of the next is complex, but sense can be made of it if the reader proceeds thus: 'Stella is eloquent and his house adorned as a patrician poet's should be (11); Stella is famed as one who thirsts for the Muses' spring (*Hyanteae* - 12); there (in his house, to which you are going) a "Muses' spring" (*Castalius*) takes pride in its glassy stream (13); from this spring (in his house) the Muses themselves are said often to have drunk (14).'

M. expects his readers to remember Stella's real spring straight away - and this spring is the point of what follows - but .12 adds to the compliment by pointing to the paradox: Stella thirsts for the Muses' water (*Hyanteae*), but **they** come to drink from **his** spring (which is given the epithet *Castalius*), just as the book might prefer **his** welcome to that at the *novum templum* (.9).

The difficulty of reading *Hyanteae* lies in *ibi*, which might be expected to refer to the place mentioned in .12 (i.e. Aganippe, if *Hyanteae* is read), whereas it must then refer back to .11 (*laurigeros…Penatis*). Since *Hyanteae Stella sititor aquae* is comprehensible as a parenthetic phrase which flatteringly characterizes Stella as a poet, M. may not expect the literary epithet *Hyanteae* to have any seriously localizing effect. Certainty about the reading here is impossible. Prof. Nisbet points out that Stella might have called the spring *Ianthis* as a compliment to Violentilla, his 'inspiration': he might then be thirsty for his own fountain, which is described in the following line as a *Castalius fons* to make the point.

sititor (preserved here only in C^{A}) is a rare word, only found in the silver period (also at Apul. Met. 1.2 *sititor…novitatis*). Here it is a

pleasing literary contrivance to integrate the picture which M. is drawing with the metaphor of drinking from the Muses' spring as = 'inspiration'. Cf. 8.70.1ff.

quanta quies placidi tantast facundia Nervae,
sed cohibet vires ingeniumque pudor.
cum siccare sacram largo Permessida posset
ore, verecundam maluit esse sitim,
Pieriam tenui frontem redimire corona
contentus famae nec dare vela suae.

On drinking from the Muses' spring see Kambylis 23-30 (water as a symbol); 66f. (Hesiod); 98-102; 110f.; 113-116; 122 (Callimachus); 127ff. (Propertius 3.3). Propertius 3.3.6 describes *sitiens Ennius* drinking from *tam magnis…fontibus*, later (.13) introducing Apollo *Castalia…ex arbore*, thus conflating Helicon and Parnassos (part of a *recusatio*, Ennius being introduced as = epic, but Propertius being explicitly directed by Apollo not to drink from this spring because his fame is to come from elegy, not epic, .15f. - see Fedeli's notes on the poem generally).

.13 **FONS IBI CASTALIUS VITREO TORRENTE SUPERBIT**: 'Castalian', like 'Pierian', is a common mode of reference to the Muses (cf. 7.12.10; 8.66.5; Stat.Theb.6.338; [Tib.] 3.1.16; Ov.Am.1.15.35f. *mihi flavus Apollo / pocula Castalia plena ministret aqua*). But here, unless *Castalius* is treated as though it were in inverted commas, it is difficult to explain what is so remarkable about the Muses drinking from the spring. The first reference to water, in .12, is to the water of inspiration which is to be found on Helicon or Parnassos. This suggests the, by now familiar, presence of a spring in Stella's house, which is then dignified with the epithet 'Castalian', as part of the compliment to Stella: i.e. he drinks from it and he is a (good) poet, therefore it is 'Castalian'. This, in turn, leads to the realization of the full potential of the compliment in the form of

the Muses paradoxically imbibing from **Stella's** spring.

vitreo torrente, with *fons*, clearly describes an impressive, cascading fountain. It is important to be clear about the manner in which it is said to resemble glass here: a comparison of colour or clarity would suggest an opaque, dirty green! There are, however, several instances of its use in descriptions of water which show that the **glitter** of glass forms the substance of the comparison (in which case the swiftness / strength of the flow is strictly relevant, as aiding the visual effect). This would appear to be the point at M.6.68.7, *te vitreis…sub undis / vidit*, where opaqueness or a greenish colour would be something of a hindrance (cf. also AL.I.2.635.9 *aquae strepentis vitreus lambit liquor*), and the related idea at H.Od.3.13.1f., *O fons Bandusiae splendidior vitro / dulci digne mero non sine floribus…*, confirms the supposition (see also N-H on Od.1.17.20 *vitream…Circen*).

torrens, which is a little harder to parallel, is part of a similar complimentary environment. Although it generally denotes a rushing stream or the current of a river, with a suggestion of considerable force (and cf. Festus p.482f.L; M.10.85.3 *torrentibus undis* which might be translated 'raging floods'; also V.A.7.567 and Stat.Theb.5.80 - great noise; Juv.4.90 - metaphorically, of irresistibility), the point here is clearly that it is a **substantial** *fons*, the river-like speed of which contributes to a glittering surface sheen. Perhaps the clue lies in *superbit*: Stella's spring is to be commended for its strong, reliable flow (and cf. the *tam magnis…fontibus* at Prop.3.3.5 from which Ennius drank).

.14 **UNDE NOVEM DOMINAS SAEPE BIBISSE FERUNT**: *ferunt* adds credibility to the compliment, 'verifying' the report by claiming that it is traditional: see N-H on H.Od.1.7.20.

novem dominas provides yet another variation on the Muses: the word *domina* is often applied to a goddess (e.g. V.A.3.438 - Juno; Ov.AA 1.148; Tr.5.3.17 - the fates; Catul.35.14 - Cybele), usually with an identifying characteristic - here the number. There is no exact parallel for its use of the Muses: TLL 5'.1940.9ff. connects its use here with Statius' application of it to Naiads (Silv.1.5.6; 2.3.49; Ach.1.29).

.15f. **ILLE DABIT POPULO PATRIBUSQUE EQUITIQUE LEGENDUM NEC NIMIUM SICCIS PERLEGET IPSE GENIS:** *populo patribusque equitique* = *omnibus ordinibus*, 'all Rome'. The more familiar formula, *Senatus populusque Romanus*, common in inscriptions and used e.g. by Cicero (Planc.90; Phil.6.4) gives way to M's aim for comprehensiveness - he wants **everyone** at Rome to read his poems. For the expression cf. 8.15.3 *dat populus, dat gratus eques, dat tura senatus*; 8.49.7 *vescitur omnis eques tecum populusque patresque*; Ov.Fast.4.293; Tr.4.2.15f.; Octavia 486; Tac.Hist.1.50.1; Ann.1.7.

The *genae* as the *via lacrimarum* are a commonplace (see TLL 6^2 .1765.61ff.); *siccus* is specifically used of the eyes or face as = 'not wet with tears' (cf. H.Od.1.3.18 with N-H; Tib.1.66; Sen.Ep.63.1; Lucan 9.1044; Stat.Silv.5.3.35), so commonly in fact that it could be extended to a person - *siccus aerumnas tuli* (Sen.HO.1269). What is perhaps more important here is the allusion to Ov.Tr.1.1.28, where Ovid asks for a sympathetic audience, and leniency, from the Emperor, with the words *carmina nec siccis perlegat ista genis* (Shackleton Bailey Mnemosyne (ser.4) 5 (1952) 320 also compares Prop.4.11.80 *cum venient, siccis oscula falle genis*). The point, for M., is that he wishes Stella to be enthusiastic in his own reception of the *liber* (and moved to sadness at the absence of his friend M.). Perhaps he is also indulging in some not untypical hyperbole, by comparing the

disadvantages of his self-imposed retirement to Spain (see praef. 7-18) with Ovid's miserable exile.

perlegere = either 'to run the eyes over, take in at a glance' (as at 1.117.12) or, as here, 'to read through', with a connotation of the book commanding the reader's attention (cf. 1.0.12; 2.1.2 - also within an address to the book). Even as the compliment reaches its high point, and M. appeals to the sentimental picture of Stella's heartfelt welcome of the book, weeping over it, as a token from his absent friend, M's mind is firmly on self-advertisement and the potential of his friend as a publisher-distributor-advertiser. On the process of publishing at Rome in this period see Howell pp.106f. On the role of the 'literary patron' see especially J.P. Saller ('Martial on Patronage and Literature,' CQ 33.1 (1983) 246ff.) who succeeds in substantially modifying the view of Peter White (JRS 68 (1978) 74ff.) that the relationship of writer / 'patron' in no way differed from normal *amicitia*, and shows that M. wanted material and non-material support from his 'patrons' (see Saller 248f. on publicity and publication).

.17f. **QUID TITULUM POSCIS ? VERSUS DUO TRESVE LEGANTUR,**
CLAMABUNT OMNES TE, LIBER, ESSE MEUM: M. comes to an abrupt conclusion, leaving the compliment to Stella behind, as he suddenly addresses the book as a book, and reiterates his familiar claim that his work is instantly recognisable (cf. especially 1.1; 7.88; 8.61; 9.84.5; 11.3, and inscriptions discussed by Heraeus in Hermes 48 (1913) 451f.; for the literary origins of the boast of world-wide fame see N-H on H.Od.2.20.14; also pp.335f. on the *sphragis*). For the idea that the style alone will mark the book as M's cf. e.g. Cic.Fam.7.32.1f. where Cicero claims that he knew from the εὐτραπελία *litterarum* that a letter was from

Volumnius, even though it had been sent *sine praenomine familiariter*.

The transition of thought is cushioned somewhat by *legendum* (.15) and *perleget* (.16), but, even so, the sudden introduction of *titulus* in the staccato question at the beginning of .17 is in contrast with the sinuous rhetoric which precedes it.

The *titulus* performed the same function as a book-title on the spine of a modern book, and is to be identified with the *index*, a small ticket attached to the roll (cf. 3.2.11; Ov. Tr. 1.1.7; Pont. 1.1.17; Citroni intro. to 1.1; Howell p.95).

3 (4)

A warm panegyric of Priscus, praising him for being to M. the 'Maecenas' he lacked at Rome (cf. e.g. 8.55(56).5 *sint Maecenates, non derunt , Flacce, Marones*; also 1.107; 11.3.10). Saller ('Martial on Patronage and Literature', CQ 33.1 (1983) 246ff.) takes this poem and 12.31 as clear expressions of what patronage meant to M.: the gift of *otium* (p.255).

Heraeus, influenced by C^A (which omits 4, 5 and 6.1-6 and thus conflates this poem with 6.7-12 - see below on 12.6), wrongly added 6b to the end of this poem. He was apparently convinced by the lengthy and complicated arguments of Immisch (Hermes 46 (1911) 497ff.), which depended heavily on the latter's interpretation of internal evidence and his idea of the appropriateness of the tone of the lines in an address to the emperor. His technique may be sampled from his argument, at 500f., that *macte animi…* (which he thinks refers to courage, whereas in fact it refers to character - see on 12.6.7) would not be appropriately said to a man whom M. elsewhere makes a type of the *quietus*, and who is characterized in 12.6.1-6 as

mitissimus, *clemens* and *cautus*! He tried, however, to discount a piece of internal evidence for putting 6a and 6b together - that in 11.5 M. compares Nerva to Numa and Cato in terms similar to those employed in 12.6.7f.

Lindsay (CR 17 (1913) 50f.), arguing simply from an improved knowledge of the order of poems in the mss, moved 12.2, according to the old numbering, to make it precede 12.6, and rightly left 12.6a and 12.6b together. See notes below on 12.6.7ff. for further internal features which make the lines appropriately addressed to Nerva.

.1f. **QUOD FLACCO VARIOQUE FUIT SUMMOQUE MARONI MAECENAS, ATAVIS REGIBUS ORTUS EQUES**: The size and solidity of this claim, strengthened by the Horatian allusion in .2, seems in marked contrast with the mannered literary compliment to Stella in the previous poem. Saller (CQ 33.1 (1983) 254f.) may well be right to suppose that the central point of this epigram (and of those to Marcella) is that M. has only now found patronage of the type that he always sought unsuccessfully in Rome.

In the first line M. characteristically sets the scene for the compliment to Priscus by indirectly claiming for himself the first place among epigrammatists: Maecenas' importance is established by the fact that these three clients represent the finest flowering of Roman poetry. That the name of Vergil suggests the Aeneid can hardly be doubted, and the allusion in .2 guarantees that Lyric is to be understood from Flacco - indeed *Maecenas atavis* may well be introduced as the popular 'title' for the Odes, as the Aeneid was referred to as the *arma virumque*. The reference to L.Varius Rufus, unfortunately, is less easy to decode with certainty because he survives only in minimal fragments: H.Od.1.6 makes it clear that he was thought a considerable epic poet (and cf. S.1.10.43f. *forte epos*

acer / ut nemo Varius ducit), but the point here is most likely to be that he was also a successful dramatist. His Thyestes was considered by Tacitus (Dial.12.5), together with Ovid's Medea, the best of Roman drama, and Quintilian (Inst.10.1.98) thought it superior to the Medea and comparable with the work of any Greek tragedian. In the mid first-century A.D. Laus Pisonis (230-245) these three poets are grouped together as outstanding beneficiaries of Maecenas, and 238f. supports the identification of Varius with drama here: *Maecenas tragico quatientem pulpita gestu / erexit Varium.* So M. gives himself the palm in Epigram that these poets held in the three great genres - Lyric, Drama and Epic.

The addition of the epithet *summo*, and the place of honour at the end of the list, make an additional bow to Vergil as the greatest Roman poet - cf. *magni Maronis* at 11.48.1 and 12.67.5.

The reminiscence of H.Od.1.1.1 (*Maecenas atavis edite regibus*) is altered by the reference to Maecenas' rank, *eques* (cf. Propertius 3.9.1 *Maecenas, eques Etrusco de sanguine regum*), which may supply an additional compliment by emphasising that Priscus is a senator.

.3f. **GENTIBUS ET POPULIS HOC TE MIHI, PRISCE TERENTI,**
FAMA FUISSE LOQUAX CHARTAQUE DICET ANUS: This couplet describes the benefit to Priscus (on whom see 12.0 and 12.1 above), while the next concludes the poem with an expansive laudatory description of the nature of his patronage. *gentibus et populis* = 'the whole world': yoked thus they often mean 'all the nations (except Rome)' - see TLL 6^2.1850.32ff.; cf.12.6.5 *populi gentesque*; 12.8.1 *terrarum dea gentiumque Roma*; 10.9.3.

Line 4 is an interesting conflation of two passages in Catullus: 78b.3f. *nàm te omnia saecla / noscent, et, qui sis, fama loquetur anus* and 68.46 *facite haec carta loquatur anus.* M. is fond of using *anus* in this

way: cf. e.g. 1.39.2 (*quales prisca fides famaque novit anus*) with Citroni, Howell. For its use as an adj. of things see TLL 2.200.25ff. M. also extends the metaphor to *charta virgo*, a book as yet unread - 1.66.7, with Citroni, Howell.

For *charta* as an agent of immortality cf. M.1.25.7, and, e.g., H.Od.4.8.21 *si chartae sileant quod bene feceris*; 4.9.30f. *non ego te meis / chartis inornatum silebo*. For *fama loquax* cf. Ov.Pont.2.9.1-3

> *regia progenies, cui nobilitatis origo*
> *nomen in Eumolpi pervenit usque, Coty,*
> *fama loquax vestras si iam pervenit ad auris.*

and also Met.9.137; Octavia 762f.; Lucan 8.781f. (note that *loquor* is also used in both passages of Catullus). *loquax* is reinforced by *dicet*, which also adds to the sense of the final couplet as a piece of direct speech.

.5f. **TU FACIS INGENIUM, TU, SI QUID POSSE VIDEMUR;**
TU DAS INGENUAE IUS MIHI PIGRITIAE: The anaphora of *tu* is very marked, suggesting a recognisable device of panegyric: cf. Suet.Aug.98.2

> *forte Puteolanum sinum praetervehenti vectores nautaeque de navi Alexandrina, quae tantum quod appulerat, candidati coronatique et tura libantes fausta omina et eximias laudes congesserant: **per illum** se vivere, **per illum** navigare, libertate atque fortunis **per illum** frui…*

(in which *illum* is the *O.O.* rendering of the original *te*).

dare ingenium is a common phrase (TLL 7¹.1531.55ff.); *facere ingenium* can be paralleled from Ovid's variation on a proverbial statement about wine at Met.7.432f., *vino / ingenium faciente* (see Otto Sprichwörter §1899; Bömer compares [Ov.] Epist.Sapph.84 *(artis magistra) ingenium nobis molle Thalia facit*) and especially Prop.2.1.3f. *non haec Calliope, non haec mihi canta Apollo. / ingenium nobis ipsa puella facit* (with Enk's note; see also Anderson, Parsons, Nisbet JRS 69 (1979) 148 f.n.116); cf. also 1.107.3 quoted below. The anaphora of *tu*, neatly reinforced by the echo of *ingenium*

in *ingenuae*, and the expansive expression of this line show how nearly panegyric sails to the hymnal style (see E. Norden Agnostos Theos 149ff.). For the form of the second clause cf. 12.0.9f., also addressed to Priscus, although making a rather different point: *si quid est enim quod in libellis meis placeat, dictavit auditor.*

As Saller remarks (CQ 33.1 (1983) 255), 'The placement of *pigritiae* as the final word of the epigram leaves no doubt that Martial considered the gift of leisure to be of paramount importance', and Priscus has clearly made a financial commitment to M's achievement of that leisure at least as considerable as Marcella's gift of a villa. The sentiment is also consistent with M's answer to a critic at 1.107:

> *saepe mihi dicis, Luci carissime Iuli*
> *'scribe aliquid magnum: desidiosus homo es.'*
> *otia da nobis, sed qualia fecerat olim*
> *Maecenas Flacco Vergilioque suo…*

das…ius…pigritiae is a striking adaptation of the form of expression used in phrases like *dare ius trium liberorum* - 2.92.1; 9.97.6; cf. also the parodic use at 11.12.1 *ius tibi natorum vel septem, Zoile, detur.* *pigritia* is elsewhere a word of consistently negative connotations: Cic.Tusc.4.18 *pigritiam metum consequentis laboris*; M.7.32.14; 11.79.2; Plin.Ep.6.17.3 (synonymous with *adrogantia*) etc. The incongruous yoking *ius…pigritiae* is mitigated by the addition of the adjective, *ingenuae*, turning the pejorative word into a joke: *ingenuus* = 'gentlemanly' (cf. M.6.11.6; 10.47.6). The statement of gratitude stands, but the real focus is, as usual, M. himself, just as it was at the beginning in the self-laudatory comparison of Priscus with Maecenas.

4 (5)

A poem which would have appeared at the beginning of an abridged edition of books 10 and 11, perhaps included here as an advertisement. Cf. the epigram at the beginning of Ov. Am. 1:

qui modo Nasonis fueramus quinque libelli,
tres sumus: hoc illi praetulit auctor opus.
ut iam nulla tibi nos sit legisse voluptas,
at levior demptis poena duobus erit.

.1f. **LONGIOR UNDECIMI NOBIS DECIMIQUE LIBELLI**
ARTATUS LABOR EST ET BREVE RASIT OPUS: An epigrammatist might be expected to be interested in the length of his poems (cf. 2.77.1f.), but M. frequently refers to the length of his books: 1.118.1 *cui legisse satis non est epigrammata centum*; 2.1.1 *ter centena quidem poteras epigrammata ferre*; 4.89.1 *ohe, iam satis est, ohe libelle*; 10.1.1f. *si nimius videor seraque coronide longus / esse liber, legito pauca*; 11.108.1 *quamvis tam longo possis satur esse libello* (11 is the second longest book, after 1: 108 and 118 poems respectively).

Whether this is a response to serious criticism, or whether, as is more likely, M. is in pursuit of a 'serial' joke about the incongruity of too large a number of small poems, the point is advertisement. And the suggestion turns out to be not that the books were too long, but that the brilliance of the poems in the abridgement will compel even so busy a person as the emperor to read the full version.

It is interesting that, always ready to give information about his publishing arrangements, M. often refers to the books by the numbers now familiar to us - see 5.2; 6.1; 8.0; 10.2, and 2.93, where a joke is made on the numbering.

The second line is slightly unusual in uniting a collection of words generally applied to something different to refer to the abridgement. C.H.

Roberts and T.C. Skeat (The Birth of the Codex 26) argue, without mentioning this poem, that the other uses of *artare* in M. denote '"compressing" or "confining" (i.e. between the covers of a book).' But here the meaning 'abridged' is unavoidable with *longior, breve rasit opus* and the whole point of the poem (see P. White JRS 64 (1974) 45f.).

Uses of *labor* of a literary work tend to stress the effort involved in composition, to have a quite 'active' sense: cf. Ov.Tr.5.12.64 *ponitur…noster in igne labor*; M.2.86.10, of the effort wasted on *ineptiae*. Cf. also V.Ecl.10.1 *extremum hunc, Arethusa, mihi concede laborem* (Coleman argues that this implies an opposition with *ludum*); Ov.Fast.1.723 *prima mei pars est exacta laboris*; TLL 7².794.80ff. It is interesting to compare H.Ars 289ff.:

> *nec virtute foret clarisve potentius armis*
> *quam lingua Latium, si non offenderet unum*
> *quemque poetarum limae labor et mora.…*

Brink comments on the final phrase:

> the πόνος and ἀγρυπνίη of the Callimacheans, the trouble and time demanded by *ars*-τέχνη, a motif known from all parts of this poem…The file, *lima*, recalls the fine arts considered at the beginning of the poem; *limatus* however described an ideal of style before H., e.g. Cic.*Brut.*93 *limatius dicendi…genus, De Or.* 1.180 *(homo) oratione maxime limatus.* Thus *S.* 1.10.65-6 *fuerit limatior idem / quam rudis et Graecis intacti carminis auctor.* The *Augustus* expresses a similar sentiment to the *Ars: Ep.*II.1.166-7 *nam spirat tragicum satis et feliciter audet, / sed turpem putat inscite metuitque lituram.*

It would seem, then, that M. is taking vocabulary familiarly applied by literary criticism to the careful 'polishing' of a book and, punning on some of the literal meanings of the words, using it of simple abridgement (or perhaps to suggest that the book has become even more 'polished' in the process).

radere is commonly used of literary **revision**: 10.2.3 *nota leges quaedam*

sed lima rasa recenti; Ov.Pont.2.4.17 *ut…meus lima rasus liber esset* (and cf. *limae labor* in Horace). The use seems to be derived from the scraping clean of wax tablets for fresh writing. *breve opus* seems to descibe the book once abbreviated, and so *rasit* presumably would refer to 'polishing' rather than shortening. But there is a considerable harshness in taking *labor* as the subject of *rasit* - either another passive verb should be expected after *artatus*, or an active verb which would take *opus* as its subject.

Haupt's conjecture, *mansit*, is too weak. One solution has been to read *rasit* as 'proleptic', = *breve radendo fecit opus* (Heraeus, app. crit.), but the phrase seems too irregular to be so explained. Heraeus' alternative explanation, ('rasit *non ut 10,2,3 = polivit, sed ut 8,71,8* rasa selibra *('abgestrichen, knapp')*, rasus modius *Thes. Gloss. lat. s.v. Marc.med. 22,14, de quo loco v. Dias, Berl. phil. Woch. 1910, 191.*'), which would refer it also to the process of abridgement, does not solve the problem of the construction. If the present text is to be retained, it seems that *labor* must be read in two ways: first, with *artatus*, as = *opus*, and then, with *rasit*, = '(fresh) work, labour'. Munro, quoted by Friedländer, compared 12.2(3).1, *ad populos mitti qui nuper ab urbe solebas* and 10.2.1f., *festinata prior, decimi mihi cura libelli / elapsum manibus nunc revocavit opus*, and offered the (awkward) solution described above in one of his two paraphrases: *novus labor noster longiorem decimi undecimique libelli laborem artavit, et ita rasit (et perfecit) breve opus.* This still seems problematical.

The easiest solution would be a verb which could have *opus* as its subject. Prof. Nisbet suggests as possibilities *prodit* or *surgit*: the latter has a particular attraction in that it would provide a pleasing

contrast with *artatus* - for its use of literary works cf. Prop.4.1.67; Ov.Am.1.1.17; Fast.5.1.11; Laus.Pis.1. *rasit* should at least be obelized.

.3f. **PLURA LEGANT VACUI, QUIBUS OTIA TUTA DEDISTI:**
HAEC LEGE TU, CAESAR; FORSAN ET ILLA LEGES: Peter White (p.45) believes that this couplet implies that 'it was a unique copy, not duplicated for the public at large.' This is to mistake the point of the lines, which is that M. is dedicating the abridgement to the Emperor in order to compliment him and to draw attention to it in the wider market (otherwise why bother reproducing this poem here?). The suggestion is also that the Emperor, and presumably now anyone else, will be unable to resist reading the whole collection once they have sampled it in its abridged form.

otia tuta dedisti recalls V.Ecl.1.6 (of Augustus) *deus nobis haec otia fecit* (cf. Howell on 1.107.3). *otium* is *tutum* also at H.S.1.1.31; Ov.Tr.4.10.40 and Sen.Ep.14.15.

haec is, of course, the revised / abridged edition, *illa* the original, full-length version of 10 and 11.

forsan and *forsitan* (*fors sit an*) were originally found only with the subjunctive, but from the time of Vergil, mainly in poetry, they are followed by indicatives: see L-H-S 2.334f. The indicative may first have appeared by analogy with *fortasse*.

5 (2)

Friedländer (concurring with Gilbert, RhM 40 (1885) 220f.) labelled this a 'fragment'. Heraeus took up Immisch's suggestion (Hermes 46 (1911) 497, 505f.) here as well, adding the couplet to the beginning of 6a, which seems

no happier than his suggestion of adding 6b to the end of 3 (see intro. to 12.3) - it is **very** hard to see what it could have to do with a panegyric on Nerva, and the *sacra via* does **not** lead directly to the Palatine, so his argument that the book is on its way to the *Ausonia aula* falls (it would also be without parallel in M. to begin a poem with this sort of address to the book and then suddenly to abandon it - 12.2 displays his characteristic interweaving of it with panegyric). Lindsay prints the poem, without comment, as if it were complete.

Pyrgi was a port about 30 miles N.W. of Rome, frequently mentioned in literature, possibly to be thought of here as part of a normal route between Spain and Rome. The *sacra via* is the Roman street *par excellence*, by this time mostly taken up with shops - see Platner-Ashby 456ff.; Nash Pictorial Dictionary 2.284ff.

The point of *iam non pulverulenta* could be that it is winter: cf. *hora nec aestiva est* at 12.1.4 (also 12.62, set in December, at Saturnalia-tide); Cic. Att.5.14.1 *aestuosa et pulverulenta via*; V.G.1.66 *pulverulenta…aestas*. There may be some allusion to 3.5.7f., advising the book to seek a welcome from Iulius (probably Martialis, most famous from 4.64 *Iuli iugera pauca Martialis*): *est illi coniunx, quae te manibusque sinuque / excipiet, tu vel pulverulentus eas*.

There does not, however, seem to be any comprehensible relationship between the two lines, especially as some correspondence between *modo* and *iam* might be expected but cannot be extracted: they could have been, for example, the first and fourth lines of a poem addressing the book as it enters Rome after its long journey from Spain and telling it to make a **triumphal** progress to the Capitol.

6

THOUGHT:

A: Addressing Nerva in the **third** person, as a ruler:
(1-2) Nerva has become emperor; poetry is given free rein.
(3-4) Virtuous rule has returned; fear is in retreat.
(5-6) All Rome's subjects pray for such a ruler, and that he may live long.

B: Addressing Nerva in the **second** person, in panegyric:
(7-8) Blessings on your rare character; such might a Numa or a cheerful Cato have possessed.
(9-12) **Now** it is proper and possible to be generous, to give what even the gods, when indulgent, have scarcely given - but **you** dared to be good even under the tyranny of Domitian.

The structural variation at the end of the poem by the enjambment of couplets at 10f. and the breaking up of the last couplet at the strong caesura in .11 are typical of M's handling of longer epigrams in elegiacs. See above, intro. to 12.3(4), for the reasons for keeping 6a and 6b together; in 12.96, another elegiac poem of 6 couplets, there is a comparable change of subject at .6f.

.1f. **CONTIGIT AUSONIAE PROCERUM MITISSIMUS AULAE**
NERVA: LICET TOTO NUNC HELICONE FRUI: There is a deliberate note of surprise in the opening couplet, made most obvious by the postponement of the name until the striking position at the beginning of the second line, but also implicit in, e.g. *contigit*. This cannot, as Paley and Stone suggest, = *successit*, nor is Ker's 'has attained' correct with a following dative. The suggestion is of something which 'happens', suddenly, unexpectedly, fortunately, etc: cf. 1.99.17f.; Pl.Cist.497 *quodcumque optes, tibi velim contingere*; Cic.de Orat.1.164 *tantum…otii, quantum iam diu nobis non contigit*; H.Ep.1.2.46 *quod satis est cui contingit nihil amplius optet*; Mayor on Juv.8.28; TLL 4 .717.75ff. Nerva comes as a blessing and a welcome change to Rome after the *princeps durus*. He was also something of a 'dark horse': see Syme, Tacitus 1-12. He was of a modestly

distinguished family (*procerum* carefully insists on his four generations of senatorial respectability), had never administered a province or led an army, and was not even an orator. Indeed his principal distinction, under Nero, had been as a writer of light verse - the emperor had called him the Tibullus of his age (see M.8.70; cf. 9.26.9f.). He ruled from September 96 until 98, adopting Trajan as virtual co-emperor in September 97. The security of his position as emperor depended on his ostentatious abandonment of the detested autocracy of his predecessor. He was 'a safe man and a quiet man' (Syme Tacitus 2): M. chooses him as the 'type' of the *quietus* at 5.28.4. The beginning of his reign was full of the relief which this poem conveys.

mitis is often used of deities, sometimes, no doubt, apotropaically (cf. Tib.2.5.79; Ov.Met.1.380), and here provides a specific contrast with *duro* in .11. For applications to the emperor cf. 12.9.1 *mitissime Caesar*; Ov.Tr.1.2.61 *mitissima Caesaris ira*. Here it is especially appropriate to the 'type' of the quietus - cf. 8.70.1 *quanta quies placidi tantast facundia Nervae*.

aula, of the imperial palace, is found at Juv.4.93; Suet.Cal.39; Tit.2; several places in Octavia and at Stat.Silv.3.3.67; 4.2.23. See TLL 2.1457.14ff. *Ausonius*, referring originally to the *Ausones*, primitive inhabitants of Campania, came to be used as an adj., = 'Roman' or 'Italian', especially in 'high' genres: cf. V.A.3.378; 9.639; H.Od.4.4.56. M. uses it of Domitian himself (8.21.10 *Ausonium…ducem*; 9.7(8).6 *Ausonius pater*), which may be why he uses it with *aula* here.

licet is a key word in this poem, introduced here to prepare for .11 (cf. V.Ecl.1.9f. *ille meas errare boves, ut cernis, et ipsum / ludere quae vellem calamo **permisit** agresti*); *frui* = 'enjoy' in the sense 'have the

profitable use of': cf. V.A.8.468 *licito tandem sermone fruuntur*; Sen.Ep.93.9 *Et tamen quousque vivimus? omnium rerum cognitione fruiti sumus*. Here, the point is access to the fullest range of poetic expression, presumably in both writing and reading. This refers to Nerva's enthusiastic literary patronage and personal abilities as a writer, but it also contributes to the point which is being made about the general relaxation synonymous with the overthrow of tyranny.

Helicon is commonly used to suggest poetic inspiration, or poetry more generally - cf. Lucr.1.118; V.A.7.641; H.Od.1.12.5; Ars 296; M.1.76.9; 7.63.12; 10.64.3. Friedländer was unnecessarily worried by *toto* (he seems to suggest a preference for *tuto*): *totus* = *omnis*, as often in Silver Latin (see L-H-S 2.203), and the point is freedom from restriction.

.3f. **RECTA FIDES, HILARIS CLEMENTIA, CAUTA POTESTAS IAM REDEUNT; LONGI TERGA DEDERE METUS**: The first line of the couplet almost has the ring of the mottoes used on coins: among Nerva's were LIBERTAS PUBLICA, SALUS PUBLICA and CONCORDIA EXERCITUUM; among the phrases of Nerva's only surviving edict are *felicitas temporum* and *securitas omnium* (Syme Tacitus p.7).

Unlike the other abstract qualities in this couplet, *Fides* was a deity of considerable antiquity, with a temple on the Capitol (near the great temple of Jupiter - see Platner-Ashby 209), a building attributed to Numa, which may be relevant to .8. *recta* is not elsewhere an epithet of *Fides*: see TLL 6'.691.13ff., which lists also *firma*, *incorrupta*, *sancta* and *rara*. The last is perhaps the most interesting (cf. H.Od.1.35.21) since M. may be reworking 10.78.2ff.:

> *ibit rara **fides** amorque **recti***
> *et quae, cum comitem trahit pudorem,*
> *semper pauperior redit **potestas**.*

Cf. also 11.5, to Nerva, beginning *tanta tibi est **recti** reverentia, Caesar, at aequi / quanta Numae fuerat: sed Numa pauper erat.*

Clementia was often claimed by emperors as a special attribute - cf. Stat.Silv.3.3.169f. *haec est quae…/ suum Dacis donat Clementia montem.* Statius uses *hilaris* with *Virtus* (Silv.2.3.65), *Fides* (5.1.65) and *Probitas* (5.2.73). Cf. also Wallace-Hadrill 'Civilis Princeps' JRS 72 (1982) 32ff., arguing that *civilitas* (opp. *superbia*) was a primary quality that an emperor needed to project as part of his 'ritual condescension': others included *modestia, moderatio* and *comitas* (p.41). This may also be relevant to ***cauta** Potestas*, which is presumably the only type of *potestas* that an emperor wishes to advertise.

For *redire* of such qualities of life cf. Tac.Hist.1.85 *non tamen quies urbi redierat*; Ann.13.48 *redit oppidanis concordia.* For the phrase cf. V.Ecl.4.6 *iam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna.*

This is M's only use of the military metaphor *terga dedere*: cf. Stat.Theb.5.698 *dolor dat terga timori.*

Metus is first found personified at V.G.3.552 (*Morbos…Metumque*) and A.6.275f. (*Morbi…Senectus…Metus*). Seneca often makes use of it - e.g. Oed.593, with *Luctus, Morbus, Senectus and Pestis.* See TLL 8.912.52ff. for a range of personifying uses, none with an adj.

longi Metus stand for everything opposed to the virtues of Nerva, representing the essential character and painful duration of the Domitianic tyranny: *longus* is temporal, = *diuturnus* - cf. e.g. 1.15.2. There is also a contrast with the wish in .6 for *iste diu.*

.5f. **HOC POPULI GENTESQUE TUAE, PIA ROMA, PRECANTUR:**
DUX TIBI SIT SEMPER TALIS, ET ISTE DIU: Rome is *pia* in relation to the emperor, 'dutiful' to the *pater patriae*, just as the *populi*

gentesque, the whole world under her control, are presented as expressing a dutiful prayer for the good emperor.

For the 'long to reign over us' sentiment see H.Od.1.2.45ff. *serus in caelum redeas diuque / laetus intersis populo Quirini…* with N-H: it is a part of the stock-in-trade of panegyric, going back to the Hellenistic ruler-cult.

.7f. **MACTE ANIMI, QUEM RARUS HABES, MORUMQUE TUORUM,**
QUOS NUMA, QUOS HILARIS POSSIT HABERE CATO: The second half of the poem turns to Nerva in personal address, beginning with a prayer which may be intended to suggest that this is an *oratio recta* report of what the *populi gentesque* are saying, a sort of popular panegyric.

macte is a frequent address to deities (originally the voc. of *mactus*, related to *magnus*, 'honoured, extolled, magnified') which came to be used to men, at first in the phrase *macte virtute*, 'be blessed for your courage', 'well done'. It was then generalized (and began governing a gen. or acc. as well as an abl.) to expressions praising someone for a specified quality, as here: cf. Plin.NH.2.54 *macte ingenio este*; Sil.12.257 *macte o virtutis avitae* and especially Stat.Theb.7.280 *macte animo iuvenis* and 2.495 *macte animi tantis dignis qui crederis armis.*

animus and *mores* together here = 'moral character', the moral quality of Nerva which M. sees as benefiting Rome: the first sees character as a state, the second in terms of conduct. Cf. Liv.37.36.2 *ignarus et animi Scipionis et moris Romani*; Quint.Decl.min.278.6 (Winterbottom) *quod longe ab eius animo et moribus abest*; M.10.32.5 *ars utinam mores animumque effingere posset.*

quem rarus habes is a harsh-seeming construction, which appears to be retained by edd. for the sake of maintaining the second-person character of

the lines. It would be better, as Schryver argued, to read *rarus habet* (i.e. *pauci habent*), with C^{A}, here, which would be consonant with *possit habere* in the next line, and with the suppressed *habuit* which must be understood with *Numa*. *rarus* can be used thus, adverbially: see K-S 2.1 236; Caes.Gal.5.9.6; 5.16.4; 5.17.1.

Numa, the second king of Rome, thought of as an *exemplar* of character and morals, was traditionally associated with the reorganization of the priestly colleges, the reformation of the calendar and the building of the *regia*.

Friedländer is mistaken in regarding this reference to Cato as one to a 'type' rather than the historical person: there is no point in the potential nature of the statement (*possit habere*) unless the real Cato Uticensis is meant. The reference to Cato has a double point: he was an *exemplar* of moral steadfastness in the rhetorical schools, and is frequently used by M. as a type of ridiculous seriousness (see Citroni on 1.0.15), which is the point of *hilaris* ('genial') - to be seen as the quality which Nerva adds to a Catonian rectitude (and note the echo of *hilaris Clementia* above, and its relation to the imperial public image - see note). But Cato is also the model **republican**, and M. has previously insisted, in the same poem which began by comparing him to Numa (11.5 - see on .3 above), that Nerva is such an emperor that *si Cato reddatur, Caesarianus erit* (.14 - see Kay): this repetition of the double comparison helps to show that .7ff. belong to this poem and not to 12.3 (see intro. to 12.3).

.9ff. **LARGIRI, PRAESTARE, BREVES EXTENDERE CENSUS**
ET DARE QUAE FACILES VIX TRIBUERE DEI,
NUNC LICET ET FAS EST: The triple accumulation of 'practical' virtues may recall the three abstracts lauded in .3. *largiri* sets the tone

for what follows - material gifts are to be understood. It is frequently used thus absolutely: TLL 7².968.46ff.; M.4.56.7 *quid sit largiri*; 12.53.3 *largiris nihil incubasque gazae*. *praestare* = 'bestow' (perhaps status rather than cash). The third element then makes the request specific.

extendere implies an increase in **amount**: cf. Suet.Cal.38.4 *pretia…usque eo extendens ut quidam…bonis exuti venas sibi inciderent*. For *breves census* cf. H.Od.2.15.13 *illis census erat brevis* (see N-H): *census* refers to specific valuations by the censors, to the amount of a personal fortune (cf. 4.75.3 and 5.41.5; Juv.3.140, where the word = simply 'wealth, capital'). So the phrase means not 'enlarge the narrow census qualifications' (i.e. admit more people to, say, equestrian status by changing the rules), but 'increase the amount at which people are assessed (i.e. incomes)'. There is presumably some hint at personal subsidies to poets.

dare, *tribuere*, and *faciles* typify the nexus which is being built up throughout this poem between divine attributes and the character of Nerva's rule. Cf. 1.103.1/4 *'si dederint superi decies mihi milia centum'… / riserunt faciles et tribuere dei*. For *faciles* cf. also Juv.10.7f. (ironic) *evertere domos totas optantibus ipsis / di faciles*; Lucan 1.510f. *o faciles dare summa deos, eademque tueri / difficiles*; Sen.Ep.101.13 *quid huic optes nisi deos faciles*. The implication that the gods are not always indulgent is included as part of the shadow of Domitian's tyranny which M. is concerned to maintain as a point of contrast throughout the poem.

The marked break at the strong caesura of .11, unusual in the smooth, self-contained flow of M's elegiacs, but sometimes used for this sort of concluding effect, gives great prominence to the statement *nunc licet et fas est*; *nunc* and *sed* also polarize the line. The strict distinction was,

as Cicero puts it *quod aut per naturam fas esset aut per leges liceret* (Mil.43), but the two verbs are sometimes placed thus together to add solemnity: cf. Cic.Cael.27.8

> *tibi autem, Balbe, respondeo primum precario, si licet, si fas est defendi a me…*

(which is mock-solemn: see Austin - additional notes).

.11f. **…SED TU SUB PRINCIPE DURO**
TEMPORIBUSQUE MALIS AUSUS ES ESSE BONUS: The final line and a half not only makes the compliment very specific to Nerva, but also makes explicit the reason for the relief and rejoicing at Nerva's accession which the poem expresses. Favourable comparison with previous emperors is usual in panegyric - see e.g. Plin.Pan.53.

durus may describe character ('austere, harsh, pitiless, unbending'), or refer to 'severe' or 'oppressive' rule or precepts. Although the latter is very much to the point (cf. Tac.Ann.12.47 *vulgus duro imperio habitum*; V.G.2.369f. *dura / exerce imperia*), the reference is perhaps more likely to be personal since the whole epigram insists so much on the personality of Nerva (from the opening word onwards): cf. V.A.10.44f. *coniunx (Iovis) / dura*; H.Od.2.12.2 *durum Hannibalem* (although see N-H for the meaning and the reading).

For *malis temporibus* cf. Tac.Hist.1.76.3 *nam et hi malis temporibus partem se rei publicae faciunt*. The opposition of *malis* and *bonus*, unifying and adding weight to the final line, quickly turns the poem back from the vicious Domitian to the virtuous Nerva for a fitting conclusion.

7

This is the first comic epigram in the book, and also the first in hendecasyllables. This metre was not particularly common in Greek poetry, although it is found as early as Anacreon (fr.33 D). It also occurs in some choral odes in tragedy, and in Attic skolia, later being used by a few Hellenistic poets (Phalaecus was the first to use it continuously - see AP.13.6 - hence it is sometimes called Phalaecian). It became very popular among Latin writers - 43 of Catullus' first 60 poems are composed in hendecasyllables. It is M's favourite metre after the distinctive metre of epigram, the elegiac couplet (see Giarratano Re Metrica s.v.; Siedschlag Form 127f.).

M's contribution to the *vetula-Skoptik* tradition (see Grassmann Epoden index s.v.; Brecht Spottepigramm 62f.), with epigrams of this type, at the expense of bald or toothless women, is often directed at their use of wigs or false teeth (cf. e.g. 1.19 and 1.72 with Citroni and Howell), but here it is the physical deficiency alone which is presented. For baldness (in men) as the favourite target in the tradition of 'adoxography' see A.S.Pease ('Things Without Honor' CP 21 (1926) 27ff.) 38f. Balsdon (RW 258) notes 'unskilful dyeing and the excessive use of the tongs' as frequent causes of baldness in women. Other evidence comes from Ovid: Am.1.14 and, e.g. AA.3.165-7

> *femina procedit densissima crinibus emptis*
> *proque suis alios efficit aere suos.*
> *nec pudor est emisse…*

At 3.93.2, the first element of a catalogue of Vetustilla's physical blemishes is *tres capilli quattuor sint dentes*; cf. also 12.32.4 below. Ligeia's previous appearance, at 10.90, as a ridiculous old hag plucking her pubic hair to make herself sexually attractive, is presumably to be recalled to add to the joke here.

The climax of the epigram is a double joke: there is the incongruity of describing her as a three year-old (for, paradoxically, the reader must deduce from this hyperbolic statement of youth, as equated with the number of her hairs, that she is very old), and there is the visual / number joke of someone with precisely three hairs (the importance of the number is stressed by *quot / tot*, on which the distich hangs). As in many of M's distichs, a chiasmus provides a structure which makes the joke more pointed.

.1 **TOTO VERTICE QUOT GERIT CAPILLOS:** *vertex*, the crown of the head (from which the hair radiates) appears below at 12.45.2 where the joke is baldness once again. For *gero* thus, cf. Lucan 10.129-132 (with both *crines* and *capillos*).

capillus is the expected word of single cranial hairs, *pilus* being, usually, a body hair, but cf. 5.49.4/7, where both words are used, to comic effect, of Labienus' few hairs.

.2 **ANNOS SI TOT HABET LIGEIA, TRIMA EST:** For *habere annos* cf. Liv.25.2.7; Quint.Inst.8.5.17: it is important to the success of the distich that the verb used here might equally apply to hairs.

The name Ligeia probably suggests Greek / servile origins; if any other connotation is present it may be clarity or strength of voice. Although λιγύς is applied by Homer to the unattractive / unaristocratic Thersites (Il.2.246), M. Kaimio (Characterization of Sound in Early Greek Literature 42ff.) has demonstrated that its connotations are essentially positive.

For *trima est* cf. Pl.Rud.744; H.S.2.3.251; Vell.2.94.1.

8

After 12.3 and 12.6, encomia of Priscus and Nerva respectively, M. moves on

to an encomium of Trajan (12.6 is obviously an older poem, possibly included here as an added, if somewhat oblique, compliment to Trajan). And 12.8 is a much more vigorous panegyric than 12.6: M. is able simply to rejoice in Trajan's military prowess, which was, indeed, the reason for Nerva's adoption of him and for his relatively easy accession to the principate.

.1 **TERRARUM DEA GENTIUMQUE ROMA:** *terrarum gentiumque* is another version of *gentibus et populis* - cf.12.3.3.

The cult of *dea Roma* began in the provinces and only gained official admission to the city of Rome itself when Hadrian built the *Templum Veneris et Romae* (the dedication was to *Venus Felix*, ancestress of the Roman people, and *Roma aeterna*, *genius* of the city) on the future site of S. Maria Nova (S. Francesca Romana) on the edge of the Roman forum (see Platner-Ashby 552ff.; Nash Pictorial Dictionary 2.496ff.). The cult of the goddess *Roma* had existed in republican times, among the Italian allies and dependent communities in Greece (see e.g. F. Altheim A History of Roman Religion 325; Latte RR 317). The cult of Augustus had been tied to this in the eastern provinces, and it seems to have been through the emperor-cult that *dea Roma* came to Rome in an official capacity (Altheim 360; Latte 306). The provincial associations of the cult are no doubt relevant here - to Trajan's Spanish origins, and to the climax of the poem.

.2 **CUI PAR EST NIHIL ET NIHIL SECUNDUM:** This is a religious form of expression. Sauter Kaiserkult 120 (Ch. 13 'Aeternus als Kaiserepitheton') rightly compares H.Od.1.12

unde nil maius generatur ipso,
nec viget quicquam simile aut secundum:
proximos illi tamen occupavit
Pallas honores.
(.17-20; see N-H)

and the prose hymn to Zeus of Aristides (Orat.43 Behr: cf. e.g. .8 οὐδ'

ἔστι πρεσβύτερον οὐδὲν Διὸς…ἀλλ' ὅδε ἔστι πρῶτός τε καὶ πρεσβύτατος καὶ ἀρχηγέτης τῶν πάντων, αὐτὸς ἐξ αὐτοῦ γενόμενος; .9 δημιουργοῦ γὰρ ἔργον οὐδέν ἐστι πρεσβύτερον. οὕτως δὴ ἀρχὴ μὲν ἁπάντων Ζεύς τε καὶ ἐκ Διὸς πάντα). He points out that *dea Roma / Roma aeterna* appropriately looks forward to Trajan's longevity (.4): being herself eternal she bestows immortality on the ruler.

.3f. **TRAIANI MODO LAETA CUM FUTUROS**
TOT PER SAECULA CONPUTARET ANNOS: Although he had been made virtual co-emperor by Nerva in September 97, Trajan was campaigning at the time of Nerva's death, in January 98, and did not return to Rome until 99, taking his third consulship in 100, the occasion of Pliny's Panegyricus. To this work is owed much of his subsequent reputation for virtue, which became a legendary model in the late empire, new emperors being acclaimed by the Senate as *felicior Augusto melior Traiano* (Eutropius 8.5).

modo presumably dates the poem as an accession encomium. *laeta* portrays *dea Roma* herself rejoicing at the new reign, and reckoning its long duration. Cf. on 12.6.6 above.

.5f. **ET FORTEM IUVENEMQUE MARTIUMQUE**
IN TANTO DUCE MILITEM VIDERET: *iuvenis*, applied strictly, = any man up to the age of 45, into which category Trajan fits (he was born in either 56 or 53) at the time of his accession, but the rest of the description tends to suggest that the primary reference in *iuvenis* is to Trajan's 'military' age. M. is clearly delighted to be lauding an emperor whose qualities of generalship are self-evident: compare with these lines the more general praise of character in the panegyric of Nerva (12.6.7f.).

in tanto duce likewise keeps the military connotation well to the fore, but cf. also 12.6.6, demonstrating the development of *dux* as an imperial title.

.7ff. **DIXIT PRAESIDE GLORIOSA TALI:**
'PARTHORUM PROCERES DUCESQUE SERUM,

THRACES, SAUROMATAE, GETAE, BRITANNI,
POSSUM OSTENDERE CAESAREM; VENITE: *dixit* picks up *dea Roma* as the subject, and introduces her direct address to the provinces of the empire. *dicere* was not the usual verb for introducing direct speech in earlier Latin, except in epic phrases like *haec* or *talia dixit* where the pronouns have a cushioning effect. M., however, is fond of this use: cf. 1.117.2; 6.10.2; 6.21.2; 9.36.7; 10.75.3 etc. TLL (5¹.982.33ff.) notes some instances in Plautus, Lucretius, Vergil and Lucan.

M. also uses *praeses* of the emperor at 5.3.3; other writers use it of a head of state - e.g. V.Max.9.15 ext.1; Lucan 2.538; Plin.NH.7.75. *gloriosus* was originally pejorative, but came to describe the state of basking in a proper glory or being illustrious because of some particular thing: e.g. Cic.Ver.2.5.97 *Carthaginiensium gloriosissimae classes*; Petr.78.2 *ego gloriosus volo efferri, ut totus mihi populus bene imprecetur.*

The primary significance of the catalogue of races is as = 'far-flung outposts of empire': *Thraces* and *Britanni* are actually part of the empire (by virtue of continuing hard military work) and the rest represent military aspirations (apart from the Chinese, they are also all notably warlike peoples). This is especially true of Parthia, to which Trajan was to devote so much energy later in his reign. For the *Seres* (Chinese) cf. H.Od.1.12.56 (*Seras et Indos*, within three lines of *Parthos* - see N-H). On the particularly warlike Sarmatians see J.J. Wilkes, 'Romans, Dacians and Sarmatians in the First and Early Second Centuries' in Rome and Her Northern Provinces, ed. B. Hartley and J. Wacher, 255ff. *Britanni* are doubtless added to balance the predominance of eastern peoples. The names are also important, not just as places or national boundaries, but as peoples and leaders of peoples, adding a note of pageantry to the poem almost suggestive of a triumphal procession - presumably the point of the

final line.

proceres ducesque = civil and military leaders: cf. Apul. Mun. 25 *militiae principes et curiae proceres.*

For *ostendere* = 'show off' cf. 1.69.2, with Citroni. M. commonly refers to the emperor as Caesar, but the point here seems to be that, just as Rome is *terrarum dea gentiumque*, so, although other races may have *proceres ducesque*, only Rome has **Caesars**, and Trajan is outstanding among them.

Older edd. (e.g. Calderini, Farnaby, Collesson) saw the final imperative as = *venite pacem oraturi*, i.e. 'to pay homage' - cf. the embassy of Scythians to Augustus at Tarraco in about 25 B.C. (res gestae 31.2 *nostram amicitiam appetiverunt per legatos Bastarnae Scythaeque et Sarmatarum qui sunt citra flumen Tanaim et ultra reges*). This may be correct, or the injunction may be more general - 'come, see and wonder!' (*venite adoremus* !). In any case, the point lies in the compliment to Trajan that, as the new ruler of Rome he is a fit object of attention of the whole civilized world.

9

Although it looks as though it will be in praise of Palma, this very formal epigram makes his appointment the springboard for an occasional poem *ad maiorem Traiani gloriam*, tying in closely with 12.8. The address is to the emperor (*mitissime Caesar*), picking up from *Caesar* in the concluding line of the preceding poem. The first line emphasises M's and Trajan's common Spanish origins, and the final line plays on this for its point: *mores in loca nostra tuos* appears at first sight to be distinguishing Spain from the emperor, but the paradox of him sending his own *mores* to his own homeland (cf. the reversed path of M's books in 12.2) provides the conclusion.

.1f. **PALMA REGIT NOSTROS, MITISSIME CAESAR, HIBEROS,
ET PLACIDO FRUITUR PAX PEREGRINA IUGO:** A. Cornelius Palma was consul in 99, and was later sent by Trajan as a pro-praetorian legate to Syria. He held a second consulship in 109, but was executed by Hadrian (Dio 69.2.5; SHA 1.7.2) for allegedly taking part in a conspiracy against him, although Dio claims that Hadrian was in fact concerned about Palma's influence, wealth and fame. It is conjectured from this epigram that, before he went to Syria, he held a similar legateship in Hispania Tarraconensis, the province in NE Spain in which Bilbilis was located. See also PIR² *C* §1412.

regere is used, as well as of kings, of the exercise of imperial and vice-imperial power: cf. 1.86.7 (a praefectus), and especially 7.52.3 *[Celer] meas gentes et Celtas rexit Hiberos.* Cicero even used it of 'ruling' the republic: *erat…ars difficilis recte rem publicam regere* (Att.7.25; cf. de Orat.1.8).

nostros makes immediate reference to Trajan's Spanish origins (he was born at Italica, near Seville), and from this third word onwards Palma is forgotten. The point is repeated in .4 in *loca nostra.*

For *mitissime* cf. on 12.6.1, applied (probably more aptly) to Nerva. Here it is probably intended to associate Trajan firmly with *Pax* in the next line.

Pax peregrina is viewed from Rome: i.e. it = peace abroad (in Spain, or in the empire generally). *Pax* was a commonly acknowledged benefit for peoples subject to Rome: cf. Ov.Pont.2.5.18 *Augusta pace*; Plin.NH.27.3; M.7.80.1 (Romana). Cf. the abstract public virtues which Nerva is credited with having revived at home - *recta Fides, hilaris Clementia, cauta Potestas* (12.6.3). *Pax peregrina* is the foreign policy equivalent of these, and appropriately mentioned here in the context of praising the emperor for

sending a good legate (cf. Men.Rh.378.31ff.). Friedländer asserts that this means *peregrini pacati*: cf. Juv.8.106f. *sacrilegus Verres referebant navibus altis / occulta spolia et plures de pace triumphos*, with Courtney. *de pace = de pacatis*, in Juv's phrase, to make a particular point about Verres' behaviour: because of his earlier use of such abstractions it would seem less obvious that M. **must** mean *peregrini pacati*, although the *placidum iugum* may support the suggestion.

The oxymoron *placido…fruitur iugo* is also interestingly Roman in its point of view - cf. H.Od.2.6.2 *Cantabrum indoctum iuga ferre nostra*. It is ironic that Florus (Epit.2.17.8) describes the Spanish as *impatientes iugi*. *fruor*, as at 12.6.2, = 'derive benefit from'.

.3f. **ERGO AGIMUS LAETI TANTO PRO MUNERE GRATES: MISISTI MORES IN LOCA NOSTRA TUOS:** *grates* is 'archaic and formal,… associated with thanksgiving to the gods' (Fordyce, on Catul.44.16; cf.TLL 6².2204.9ff.). For *laeti* cf. Liv.10.25.5 *laeti atque alacres dis populoque Romano grates agunt quod…*. *agimus* is presumably another real plural, referring to all the Spaniards from the province, preparing for *nostra*.

The virtuous person of Palma has now receded so far into the background as to be described as a *munus* from Trajan. The tone of the expression is grandiloquent: for *munus* as the gift of a god or of Fortune see TLL 8.1664.35ff.

Nor does Palma really return to view in the final line: he has become part of *mores tuos*, 'your (estimable) character' (cf. 12.6.7). So, by now, he is not even an instrument of Trajan, but a sort of advertisement for his person.

nostra is neatly juxtaposed with *tuos*: while, after *agimus*, it most easily refers to M. and his fellow Spaniards, once it is set against *tuos*

it clearly includes Trajan as well, as it did in .1, to give a final edge to the epigram.

10

This is the first epigram in this book in the choliambic metre or scazon: for the use and distribution of this, M's third favourite metre, in his poems, see Giarratano Re Metrica 61ff.; Siedschlag Form 127f. Just as 12.7 introduced a new metre and lightened the mood after the first six poems, here the new metre again marks a move from seriousness to comedy.

The metre was traditionally associated with invective because of the bitterness of the poems written by its inventor, Hipponax, in the 6th century B.C. Catullus, however, who used it 8 times, chose it for poems like that to Sirmio (31) and the famous self-examination *miser Catulle, desinas ineptire* (8), as well as for stronger stuff (e.g. 37, 39 - Egnatius, 59). M's practice mirrors this, in that the subject need not be satirical (e.g. 12.57), and, if it is satirical, the satire for which the metre is employed need not be particularly savage (see especially 12.51). 12.32, the invective against Vacerra, is the poem which most lives up to the reputation of the metre in this book.

Africanus has a huge fortune and yet he practises *captatio*: the moral is that although Fortune gives too much to many, no-one ever has enough. The mock-*sententia* about greed gives the poem its comic point, but M. does not make points like this in the abstract, and so Africanus is briefly introduced to add substance to the argument. *captatores* are presumably intrinsically funny - cf. Petronius' comic fantasy, Croton, the city of legacy hunters (116.7ff.).

.1 **HABET AFRICANUS MILIENS, TAMEN CAPTAT:** M's other use of Africanus

(4.14.5) refers to the Scipiones, and this was, naturally, a very respectable *cognomen* (see Kajanto 49ff.; 205). The point of the poem lies in the suggestion of a rich aristocrat practising *captatio*.

For the idiom *habet miliens* cf. 1.99.1 *non plenum modo vicies habebas* (= *vicies centena milium sestertium* (sc. *sestertiorum*), twenty hundred thousand, i.e. 2,000,000). Here the ellipsis is for *miliens centena milia sestertium*, 100,000,000. It is clearly to be understood as a massive fortune - Trimalchio's fortune, fifty years earlier, of 30,000,000 (Petr.71.12), was intended to seem fantastic and is described by one of the freedmen as *nummorum nummos* (37.8).

tamen captat is set off at the end of the first line by the parallel *satis nulli* in the second, both occupying the final metron of the scazon. *captare* in this sense most commonly has a direct object, but cf. Petr.116.6 *aut captantur aut captant* (the Crotonians) and M.8.38.3; 11.55.3; [Quint.] Decl.min.325.1 (Winterbottom) *numquid hic dives hanc speciosam adamavit, cum ipsa loqui nihil ausus est, locutus est cum viro (et inde opinio), dum captat, fecit testamentum?*.

.2 **FORTUNA MULTIS DAT NIMIS, SATIS NULLI**: *dare* is an activity proper to a deity. For Fortuna, cf. Pl.As.716; Cic.Ver.4.119; Ov.AA 2.256; M.1.12.9; 2.91.5; 4.40.10 etc. The *sententia*, itself a neat paradox, is wonderfully incongruous as an explanation of the behaviour of the wealthy *captator*: Otto (Sprichwörter §705), comparing a German proverb, assumes this to have been a Roman one, but can find no parallels. It is in the general environment of e.g. Aristoph. Wealth 187ff., especially 193 σοὶ δ' ἐγένετ' οὐδεὶς μεστὸς οὐδεπώποτε; H.Od.3.1.25ff. *desiderantem quod satis est neque / tumultuosum sollicitat mare…*; S.1.1.62 *'nil satis est' inquit, 'quia tanti quantum habeas sis'*.

1 1

.1 **PARTHENIO DIC, MUSA, TUO NOSTROQUE SALUTEM:** cf. H.Ep.1.8.1f. *Celso gaudere et bene rem gerere Albinovano / Musa rogata refer, comiti scribaeque Neronis*; 1.13.1ff. *ut proficiscentem docui te saepe diuque, / Augusto reddes signata volumina, Vinni, / si validus, si laetus erit, si denique poscet.* M's Parthenius corresponds in function to Vinnius (see Nisbet CQ 53 (1959) 75f. for a possible identification of Vinnius with a centurion of Augustus' praetorian guard), in that he has access to the emperor. Parthenius was a freedman of Nero who became *a cubiculo* (a position of considerable influence) to Domitian, apparently conspired to kill his master in September 96 and supported Nerva's regime, but was killed by the praetorians in revenge for Domitian's death. See also PIR¹ *P* §101; RE 18⁴.1901.32ff.; Courtney on Juv.12.44. M. was a long-standing friend of Parthenius: 4.45 celebrates the birthday of his son Burrus; 4.78.8 mentions him as someone influential; 5.6 is a request that Parthenius bring the book to the attention of Domitian; 8.28 and 9.49 refer to his gift of a toga to M. In 11.1 M. sends the book to Parthenius who, he anticipates, will be too busy with his master's affairs to receive it: Kay describes the poem as 'a political act, a sign of his allegiance to the new regime' - for Domitian is by then dead, and the master is Nerva.

So this poem must refer to the abridgement advertised in 12.4 and be roughly contemporary with 12.6. It is presumably included as a literary tribute to his old friend, now dead: M. probably also thought it a good poem and did not intend to waste it.

The request to the Muse (cf. H.Ep.1.8.2 above) may suggest that this was in fact the 'dedication' of the abridged edition: cf. also the appearance of Horace's Muse at Od.1.1.33 (a dedication poem; cf. N-H on 1.24.3 for H. and the Muses), and 2.1.37 *Musa procax.* The substance of the

request, that the Muse 'say hello to your friend and mine, Parthenius', is not at all conventional, but represents an original way of turning such an invocation into a complimentary address to Parthenius as a fellow poet.

For *tuo nostroque* cf. Cic.Att.4.2.5 *interventu Varronis tui nostrique* (also 8.15ª.3 *Balbi mei tuique adventu*); Ausonius Ep.16.2.1-3 (Schenkel = 12 p.239 Peiper) *perge, o libelle, Sirmium, / et dic ero meo ac tuo / ave atque salve plurimum.*

salutem dicere is the conversational equivalent of the epistolary *salutem dare.*

.2ff. **NAM QUIS AB AONIO LARGIUS AMNE BIBIT ?**
CUIUS PIMPLEO LYRA CLARIOR EXIT AB ANTRO ?
QUEM PLUS PIERIO DE GREGE PHOEBUS AMAT ?: Parthenius' poetic credentials are established with an interrogative tricolon, introduced *quis…, cuius…, quem.*

On drinking from the Muses' spring cf. on 12.2(3).12ff. where Stella was described as *sititor Hyanteae aquae*; also 12.6.2 where the new poetic freedom of Nerva's regime is described as *licet toto nunc Helicone frui.* Here *largius* uses the metaphor to quantify Parthenius' poetic talent.

Aonius = 'Heliconian', Aonia being the part of Boeotia in which are found the Aonian mountains, Mount Helicon and the spring Aganippe. Cf. Ov.Fast.3.456 *Aonias…aquas*; Sen.Med.80 *Aonius…latex.*

For the connection between *antra* and the Muses / poetry, see Fedeli on Prop.3.1.5; TLL 2.192.8ff.; H.Od.2.1.39 *Dicaeo sub antro* (see N-H); 3.4.40 *Pierio…antro*; Pindar Pyth.6.49 ἐν μυχοῖσι Πιερίδων; Catul.61.28 etc. Pimpla was the spring in Pieria sacred to the Muses: see N-H on H.Od.1.26.9; Fordyce on Catul.105.1.

There is no need to take *lyra clarior* as evidence that Parthenius wrote lyric - although M. does use *lyra* in this way at 5.30.2 and 12.94.5, at 7.23.2 it refers to Lucan's epic (it is also used of epic at Stat.Theb.

10.446 and Silv.1.3.100) and Brink believes that, at H.Ars 407, it refers to 'the whole of poetry'. At Ov.Pont.3.4.46 and Prop.4.5.58 it may refer to elegy.

clarior must, as TLL (3.1275.43ff.) contends, primarily refer to the *celebritas* etc. of Parthenius' poetry, although some suggestion of loudness seems hard to escape when the *lyra* is envisaged issuing forth from a cave and *clarior* is juxtaposed with *exit*.

M. does not elsewhere use *exire* of sounds, but it is regularly so used of their utterance. Alternatively, if *lyra clarior* is not intended to suggest sound, but = 'celebrated poetry', it becomes a sort of metaphor for the act of publication, similar to M's frequent 'send-offs' to his books.

For Phoebus cf. V.Ecl.3.62 *et me Phoebus amat. Pierio de grege* is slightly puzzling, as M's other uses of *Pierius grex* (a phrase he seems to have coined) refer to the band of **Muses** - 6.47.4; 7.12.10; 9.86.3. Obviously here it = *e poetis* (Farnaby; see Löfstedt Peregr. p. 106f. for the development of *de* + abl. doing duty for the partitive genitive), so is M. absent-mindedly (or deliberately) redefining his own phrase? There is no conceptual difficulty with *Pierius grex* = 'poets'.

.5f. **ET SI FORTE - SED HOC VIX EST SPERARE - VACABIT,**
TRADAT UT IPSE DUCI CARMINA NOSTRA ROGA: Having sufficiently flattered Parthenius, in the second half of the poem M. quickly gets down to the point of the address - to ask him to bring the book to the attention of the emperor.

The request is introduced tentatively, deferentially - in much the same manner as is assumed in 11.1 (cf. especially 11.1.6 *nec Musis vacat, aut suis vacaret*: Kay compares 5.6.1f; 4.82; 5.80; 7.26; 7.97; 11.106, as insisting on the extreme business of the addressee).

roga picks up and reinforces *dic* in .1, reminding the reader that M. is

still really talking to the messenger-Muse. Presumably the postponement of the imperative is intended to add to the impression of deference.

.7f. **QUATTUOR ET TANTUM TIMIDUMQUE BREVEMQUE LIBELLUM COMMENDET VERBIS 'HUNC TUA ROMA LEGIT'**: M's becoming timidity is now transferred to the *libellus*, typically personified by M., especially in dedication poems - see above on 12.2; cf. the petition to Domitian at 8.24.1 *si quid forte petam timido gracilique libello*, and note also 5.6.7 (addressed to Parthenius) *timidam brevemque chartam*. Here, however, *brevem* must carry a more literal force and refer to the abridged edition of 10 and 11 (12.4(5).2 *breve opus*).

M. generally uses *commendare* to = 'recommend': cf. 3.5.1/11; 4.82.1; 7.46.1, and especially 1.52.1 and 7.80.6. Also Catul.15.1 *commendo tibi me ac meos amores*. The *quattuor verba* are suitably postponed to give the epigram its climax in a familiar burst of self-complimentary advertisement which gives the lie to the 'humility' of the petition: the suggestion is that the emperor ought to read the book to keep up with his constituency. *Roma* may be *tua* (the emperor's) for politeness' sake, but she is also the focal point of the advertisement, as an audience whose preference can command attention. See on 12.2.18 for the claim.

12

Drinking provides an obvious comic theme, frequently exploited by M. (cf. e.g.1.11; 1.26; 1.28; 1.106). Here the joke is at the expense of a man who is generous in his promises when drunk, but whom the generous impulse deserts along with the effects of the alcohol. For the opposite joke cf. the punch-line of 1.27 μισῶ μνάμονα συμπόταν.

Mane bibe is inherently comic because M. is recommending, as a

solution, a far more reprehensible action than the crime of which he is complaining. For drinking in the morning as a sign of improper behaviour cf. Cic. Pis. 13; H. Ep. 1.19.5; Juv. 1.49 (with Mayor, Courtney).

The main function of the hyperbolic *tota nocte* is as a 'logical' lead-up to *mane*, but it is also intended to have the ring of a drinker's boast. A displacement of the accusative of duration by the ablative had begun in literary Latin by this period - see Löfstedt Peregr. p. 51f.; the earliest surviving example is Catul. 109.5 (*tota…vita*). For examples with *totus* cf. PLM 4.155B *nocte pluit tota, redeunt at mane serena / commune imperium cum Iove, Caesar, agis*; Caes. BG. 1.26.5 *ex eo proelio circiter milia hominum CXXX superfuerunt eaque tota nocte continenter ierunt*. The poem turns on the repetition of *mane*, which gives the final injunction a pseudo-logical status. For this type of 'logical paradox' in M. see Siedschlag Form 84f.

A famous *citharoedus* called Pollio appears at 4.61.9, and Friedländer (on 3.20.18) believed him to be present in 3.20 and here as well (he also appears at Juv. 6.387; 7.176). There is no need for Pollio to be so identified here: it was a common name (see Kajanto p. 164), held most notably by Asinius Pollio, and seems to be merely a tag for the joke in this poem. In 4.61 and 3.20 the *citharoedus* is mentioned in passing, not as someone M. claims to know.

13

Farnaby: '*ne donarent fingebant iras*'. Cf. 3.37:

irasci tantum felices nostis amici.
non belle facitis, sed iuvat hoc: facite.

The comedy lies in the presentation of an observed phenomenon as if it were a deliberate ploy, calculated to make money.

For *genus lucri* cf. Ov.Pont.1.7.10 *vita…mortis habenda genus*. Part of the joke here lies in it being *lucrum* of a negative kind - a saving of money rather than a straightforward gain - and the sheer perversity of this as a point of view.

Only in the final two words is the point of *lucri* made explicit. For *constat* + adv. = 'costs…' cf. Lucil.651K *trado…nummo…quod mihi constat carius*; Sen.Ep.42.6 *quae carissime constant*; Col.12.39.4 *hoc…vilissime constat*; M.1.0.5; 10.3.11f.

The name Auctus (see Kajanto pp. 18, 350)is presumably chosen for its connotations of 'enrichment' and sim.

METRE: Choliambic - see on 12.10.

14

Another address to Priscus - see on 12.0 and 12.1 - this time urging him to be careful of his life when hunting (with the complimentary implication that he is too precious to take this kind of risk).

.1f. **PARCIUS UTARIS MONEO RAPIENTE VEREDO,**
PRISCE, NEC IN LEPORES TAM VIOLENTUS EAS: The opening is familiar, conversational, stressing the close relationship with the patron.

rapere, of carrying or sweeping along, suggests violent movement - for example of winds or waves, as at 9.38.6 *et rapiant celeres vela negata Noti*.

veredus is an interesting and obscure word, found first in M. (here and 14.86), probably of Gallic origin, cognate with German *Pferd*. It is obvious from M's two references that it is specifically a hunting horse: cf. CIL.12.1122 (to Hadrian's favourite horse) which begins

BORYSTHENES ALANUS
CAESAREUS **VEREDUS**
PER AEQUOR ET PALUDES

ET TUMULOS ETRUSCOS
VOLARE QUI SOLEBAT
PANNONICOS IN APROS…

Much hunting was done on foot, running behind the hounds (see e.g. Xen. Cyn. 6.17 and *passim*), but Aymard (Chasses 378) believes that hunting hare on horseback was a more 'lordly' version of the sport. Arrian, one of Hadrian's governors of Bithynia, described this style of hunting (2.4f.; 3.1–4 etc.) emphasising the pleasure of the chase rather than the kill. It appears to have more or less approximated to modern 'coursing' - i.e. the object was to watch the hounds race the hare, rather than to catch and kill it. Cf. M. 14.200:

non sibi sed domino venatur vertragus acer,
inlaesum leporem qui tibi dente feret.

H. S. 2.2.9f. *leporem sectatus equove / lassus ab indomito*, and especially M. 1.49.25 *leporemque forti callidum rumpes equo* (see also on *rumpere* at .12 below).

violentus, of the rider, picks up *rapiente*, of the horse. *violentus* suggests unbridled force and is used, e.g., of wild animals: Lucr. 3.296 *vis violenta leonum*; Ov. Met. 8.338 *aper…violentus*; Juv. 8.36f. *nomen erit pardus, tigris, leo, si quid adhuc est / quod fremat in terris violentius*; cf. also e.g. Octavia 122 (*hostis*) *violentus ensem per latus nostrum rapit*. There may be a suggestion here of the hunter taking on a characteristic of the dogs and horses, and of wild animals like the boar, in hunting something as innocuous as the hare, which does not warrant the force employed.

.3f. **SAEPE SATISFECIT PRAEDAE VENATOR ET ACRI**
DECIDIT EXCUSSUS NEC REDITURUS EQUO: *satisfacere* is generally a prose word (not found, e.g., in Vergil, Horace, Juvenal, Persius, Statius or Lucan), and in Silver Age prose it generally means 'please' or 'satisfy' - see e.g. Plin. Ep. 1.7.3 etc.; Petr. 57.10; 87.1 (sexual satisfaction). There is a second sense of 'give satisfaction', i.e. make amends or

reparation (cf. 12.78.2), but the present use seems to be an extension of this to 'give satisfaction by paying a penalty'. That is, the hunter 'makes amends' to the hare for hunting it by paying with his own life. The idea is very compressed, but the paradox is fully explained in the following line.

praeda = 'prey' in poetry and post-Augustan prose. *acer*, of dogs, refers to their sense of smell, but of, e.g., lions, boars and wolves, to savage wildness, and of horses to vigour, energy and courage: Varro RR.2.7.15; Lucr.4.420; V.A.1.444; 4.156f.; 8.3; Ov.Met.3.706 (and see TLL 1.358f.). So this adds to the effect which M. is building with *rapiente* and *violentus*.

equo is ablative after *excussus*: *nec rediturus* should perhaps be set apart from the rest of the line in commas. It = 'not to remount (ever)', i.e. dead. *nec rediturus* has a natural connotation of death: cf. Culex 381 *digredior numquam rediturus*; Sen.Ep.36.10; Med.632.

.5f. **INSIDIAS ET CAMPUS HABET: NEC FOSSA NEC AGGER**
NEC SINT SAXA LICET, FALLERE PLANA SOLENT: Even the plain has its snares - and even if these (the *fossa*, *agger* and *saxa*) are missing, the flat can still be deceptive. *insidias* implicitly compares the hunter with the prey once again, suggesting that the *campus* sets out to trap him. M's only other use of the word refers to the gifts of a legacy-hunter: *fallere* recalls this sense of malicious intent. It is to M's purpose to suggest that the odds are stacked against the sportsman, and he does so by creating a background of violence and hostile terrain. The *campus* is an obvious place for hunting hare: 4.66.5 *saltus aprum, campus leporem tibi misit inemptum*.

.7f. **NON DERIT QUI TANTA TIBI SPECTACULA PRAESTET**
INVIDIA FATI SED LEVIORE CADAT: The second half of the poem is directed at suggesting alternatives to Priscus, and, in the received text, seems to open with the idea that he could find his enjoyment as a

spectator, watching e.g. *bestiarii*. Shackleton Bailey (292) questions the likelihood of this as an argument, although his judgement on the traditional reading of these lines ('practically nonsense') is an over-statement. There is evidence of disturbance in the transmission of the terminations of the verbs, and his suggestion is as follows:

> Consider "non deerit quo tanta tibi spectacula praestes, / invidia fati sed leviore cadas." There are nobler quarry for Priscus to hunt, such as boar (9-10), which would give him as good a show and, if he were to fall, a worthier death (fate would be less severely blamed).

This has some merit in making this couplet cohere with 9f.: it would also add point to the opening word - *parcius* ('more sparingly') would have an undertone of 'more selectively / discriminatingly' (cf. also *temeraria* in .11).

The change is, however, probably not necessary. On, e.g., the feast of Flora, hare and wild goats were hunted in the Circus in place of fiercer beasts for the enjoyment of spectators (see Jennison Animals 42f.; Ov.Fast. 5.371f.). 12.1 addresses Priscus as someone who enjoys hunting boar (cf. .10 below). The idea that a *bestiarius* is more expendable than Priscus is not foreign to the Roman view of the world. Shackleton Bailey's weakest point is the suggestion that M. is recommending **any** kind of death to Priscus; he also ignores the fact that he would not be hunting boars on horseback according to .10 (*insidiemur*). The text should remain unaltered.

What may seem surprising is that reference to *bestiarii* would most naturally suggest a setting in Rome, whereas Priscus' appearance, after 12.0 and 12.1, suggests a setting in Spain. But this poem must be an earlier composition, included here as a further compliment to Priscus, as the reference to hunting Tuscan boars, in the next couplet, shows.

.9f. **SI TE DELECTANT ANIMOSA PERICULA, TUSCIS**
- TUTIOR EST VIRTUS - INSIDIEMUR APRIS: *animosa* = 'requiring

bravery': cf. Juv.12.82 *garrula…pericula*, 'dangers which make (men) talkative'.

insidiari in its usual hunting context of, e.g., catching a boar in a net, serves to reinforce the insinuation of *insidias* in .5 above. *insidiemur* suggests that M. is offering his own participation as some sort of friendly incentive.

For Tuscan boars see Juv.1.22f. *cum tener uxorem ducat spado, Mevia Tuscum / figat aprum et nuda teneat venabula mamma*; M.7.27.1 *Tuscae glandis aper populator*; Stat.Silv.4.6.10 and CIL.14.3911.3. Pliny's boar hunting (see, most famously, Ep.1.6) seems to have taken place on his Tuscan estate, and the woods in the area were clearly well supplied with boar.

The oxymoron *tutior est virtus*, and the phrase *frena temeraria* in .11, play with more conventional expressions such as that at Lucan 5.682 *quo te, dure, tulit virtus temeraria, Caesar ?*. For the present sentiment, cf. 6.25.5ff.

cauta sit ut virtus nec te temerarius ardor
in medios enses saevaque tela ferat.
bella velint Martemque ferum rationis egentes,
tu potes et patris miles et esse ducis.

.11f. **QUID TE FRENA IUVANT TEMERARIA ? SAEPIUS ILLIS,**
PRISCE, DATUM EST EQUITEM RUMPERE QUAM LEPOREM: *frena* stands for *equi*: as at Stat.Theb.6.348 (*effera…frena*), and cf. Sen.Ag.296 (*Phoebum*) *nocte subita frena revocantem sua*. It is also a natural choice, with *temeraria*, of the *rapiens veredus*, which will require much reining.

datum est adds an oracular-sounding impersonal solemnity to the warning.

rumpere is interesting: the point of the line, and the poem, is that all too often the **hunter** dies instead of the hare, but *rumpere* does not usually = 'kill'. At 1.49.25 (*leporemque forti callidum rumpes equo*) it = 'burst' (active) - Friedländer (on 1.49.25) believes this to be a t.t. of

this type of hunting. It presumably implies a collapse due to exhaustion, and indeed 14.200 (quoted above) depicts the hare being brought back alive - it was then killed with a two-pronged hunting spear. But here, applied to the *eques*, it must = 'break utterly', i.e. 'kill'. In the context it could be a humorous appropriation of the hunting term: cf. 9.97, a poem in which *rumpitur invidia* occurs in every line and the final line puns as follows: *rumpatur quisquis rumpitur invidia* where Ker suggests '*rumpatur* = διαρραγείη'. A word-play of this kind on a hunting term would give this poem the type of pointed conclusion that one expects from M.: cf. Sen. Phaed.1101f. *haesere biiuges vulnere - et pariter moram / dominumque rumpunt.*

15

.1f. **QUIDQUID PARRHASIA NITEBAT AULA**
DONATUM EST OCULIS DEISQUE NOSTRIS: For *aula* of the imperial palace, cf. on 12.6.1.

Παρρασία was a town in Arcadia, Evander was an Arcadian (V.A.11.31 *Parrhasio Evandro*) who settled on the Palatine, and so the adj. comes to be used by M. as an epithet of the palace: 7.56.2 *Parrhasiam mira qui struis arte domum*; 7.99.3 *carmina Parrhasia si nostra legentur in aula*; 8.36.3 *pars quota Parrhasiae labor est Mareoticus aulae.*

nitere is used of the reflected glitter of polished surfaces, of being brilliant or resplendent with ornament: Plin.NH.37.69 *eosdem (smaragdos)… longius quam ceteros nitere*; 3.49 *omnia nobilibus oppidis nitent*; Tac.Dial.20.7 *(templa) marmore nitent.*

It is interesting that the addressee of this laudatory epigram is not named: all that is clear is that it falls into the period after the death

of Domitian. It refers to a dedication of imperial jewels to Jupiter Capitolinus and the other gods, probably by Trajan, whose generosity in public spending and building programmes is well known.

Farnaby and Collesson wanted *donatum est* to = *consecratum est*, but the presence of *oculis* secures the simpler meaning, 'has been given, granted'.

.3ff. **MIRATUR SCYTHICAS VIRENTIS AURI**
FLAMMAS IUPPITER ET STUPET SUPERBI
REGIS DELICIAS GRAVESQUE LUSUS: *stupere* is part of an elaborate compliment - it usually represents the attitude of men to gods, but here is used of Jupiter's attitude to the imperial jewels, which reflects glory on their owner (cf. the Muses drinking from Stella's spring at 12.2.14). The verb came into transitive use by analogy with *mirari*: see Austin on V.A.2.31f.; M.5.63.3 *admiror, stupeo*, and, a rare prose example, [Quint.] decl.4.15 *artem tantum mirari me, pater, putas ? ego miror animum, stupeo constantiam.*

Scythicas virentis auri flammas, a periphrastic and hyperpoetical way of saying 'emeralds set in gold', is doubtless intended to convey the majesty and beauty of the whole collection. It is an unusually indirect form of expression for M., and indeed each element of the phrase is striking. *Scythicis…ignibus*, of emeralds, is found at 14.109.1: Scythia was famous for these - cf. also 4.28.4 *Scythas zmaragdos.*

flammas in this sense ('gleam') can be paralleled from Vergil (A.8.620 *terribilem cristis galeam flammasque vomentem*), and from Plin.NH.37.93 (*carbunculos*) *liquidiores aut flammae nigrioris.* For *virere* cf. Plin.NH. 37.115 *viret et saepe tralucet iaspis.* For the whole phrase cf. Lucr.4.1126f. *et grandes viridi cum luce zmaragdi / auro includuntur*; Ov.Met.2.23f. *sedebat / in solio Phoebus claris lucente smaragdis.* So the idea of the emeralds' striking brightness was conventional, but M. is aiming at a suggestion of exotic and mysterious wealth.

Although *rex* (here of Domitian) was in common usage as = 'patron' (cf. 1.112.1 etc.), it remained pejorative when applied to an emperor (cf. 0.2.3, of Nero) and, with *superbus*, may contain an echoing reference to the hated and infamous last king of Rome, L.Tarquinius Superbus: cf. Cic.Rab.Perd.13 *Tarquini, superbissimi atque crudelissimi regis.*

Lindsay, reading *lusus* with the mss., notes in his apparatus '"luxus" *Junius, fort. recte*' (and cf. Heraeus' lengthy note). Friedländer and Ker read *luxus*. M. nowhere else uses *luxus*, and it is almost never found in the plural (indeed it is sometimes purposefully avoided: see TLL 7^{2} .1935.7ff.). It seems possible that M. is in fact pleased with the oxymoron *graves lusus*, and he could also be toying with a favourite phrase, *lusus deliciasque*, which he uses as a term of endearment - cf. 1.14.1; 4.87.2; 7.14.2 and also 10.35.9 *lusus delicias facetiasque*. The oxymoron adds tension and point, and is consonant with the way in which *delicias* tugs against *superbi regis*. The meaning would be something like 'weighty trifles' (or *gravis* might mean 'expensive': cf. M. 10.75.10; 11.38.2; Stat.Silv.3.4.58; Plin.Ep.8.17.4). One possible parallel for *luxus* here would be Lucr.5.48, *luxus desidiaeque* (although, as TLL points out, this is probably not plural).

.6f. **HAEC SUNT POCULA QUAE DECENT TONANTEM,**
HAEC SUNT QUAE PHRYGIUM DECENT MINISTRUM: The *pocula* may be the specific objects which were emerald-encrusted above: the poem is now moving away from the mystery of tyrannous royalty and towards the important business of lauding the present, emphatically untyrannical, monarch.

Cups suggest a cupbearer, and so, if they are worthy of Jupiter (it is ironic that M. also used the epithet *tonantem* of Domitian - 7.56.4; 9.86.7), it stands to reason that they are worthy of Ganymede. There is a slightly odd shift of thought in that, at .4, Jupiter wondered at the

spectacle: now the cups are, as it were, presented as valuable because they are 'fit' for him.

The repetition of *decent* with *haec sunt quae* is very striking, and the reference to Ganymede is in the epic mode - cf. Stat.Theb.1.548 *Phrygius…venator*; V.Fl.5.694 *Phrygius minister*. The effect of these two lines is to reiterate the splendour described at the beginning, but the point of view has been subtly reversed.

.8ff. **OMNES CUM IOVE NUNC SUMUS BEATI;**
AT NUPER - PUDET, AH PUDET FATERI -
OMNES CUM IOVE PAUPERES ERAMUS: The pattern of repetition is continued, and the point is made with a hyperbole comparable to that which represents Jupiter as wondering at the imperial jewels: everyone, Jove included, suffered 'impoverishment' under Domitian, and, under the new regime, all, including Jove are 'enriched'. Presumably the jewels are to be taken as symbolic of material and political benefits conferred by the emperor: now both gods and men (cf. .2) are *beati* because the wealth is freely available; then they were *pauperes* because it was hoarded away.

beati, which, as the poem is first read, appears to have its religious sense, 'blessed', is revealed as carrying a double meaning: it also = 'rich, wealthy'.

pudet, ah pudet fateri, a parenthesis of emotionally shamefaced 'confession', is, once again, consciously poetical and elevated in tone: it signals the final vilification of Domitian, and the climax of the poem. Presumably the point is carefully orchestrated shame at a period of the principate which does no credit to the idea of Rome. It is possible that the warmth of this sentiment should suggest that the poem is addressed to Nerva, but the shortness of Nerva's reign means that an address to Trajan which vilifies Domitian is not particularly unlikely, and the gesture

praised here is more in character with Trajan's principate. For the phrase, in a rather different context, cf. Catul.6.5 *hoc pudet fateri*.

The mss. have *at* or *ac* here, but *ah* is certainly right: cf. 4.67.7 *ah pudet ingratae, pudet ah male divitis arcae*; 6.10.4 *pudet, ah, pauca rogasse Iovem*; and numerous occurrences with comparable words: 7.65.3; 11.70.5; 11.91.3; also 2.18.1 and 14.101.2.

16

The comic edge of this hendecasyllabic epigram is created by the patterning in threes: there are three lines, three vocatives (of the same name), and three instances of the number 3. The comic climax is produced by a succession of three verbs, the third unexpected (*addixti, emisti, pedicas*), in combination with an ABA pattern of nouns (*agellos, cinaedos, agellos*). Buchheit ('Feigensymbolik' 224) paraphrases 'Drei Äckerchen hast du verkauft und dafür drei andere Äckerchen gewonnen.' For other epigrams built around patterns of repetition see Siedschlag Form 45 and n.10.

For the idea, cf. 10.31.1f./6: *addixti servum nummis here mille ducentis / ut bene cenares, Calliodore, semel… / (.6) hominem, Calliodore, comes*. The present epigram is reworked at 12.33, still addressed to Labienus, but substituting for *pedicas agellos* the well-worn pun on *ficetum*.

.1 **ADDIXTI, LABIENE, TRES AGELLOS**: M. also uses *addicere* to = 'auction (slaves)' at 10.31.1 (see intro.); cf. CIL.2.5181.4 SI INSTITUTA AUCTIONE UNIVERSALITER OMNIA ADDICTA FUERINT.

Labienus was most notably the name of a great orator (Quint.Inst.4.1.11 etc.), but, as PIR² suggests, in M. he is just a 'persona ficta': he appears in four other epigrams, in all but one of which the name is

repeated, as here. 2.62 is another sexual jibe, 5.49 refers to baldness, 7.66 satirizes a legacy-hunter; the fourth is 12.33.

Given the comedy extracted from the extreme incongruity of *pedicas agellos* in .3, the unobtrusiveness of this first appearance of *agellos* adds to the effect.

.2 **EMISTI, LABIENE, TRES CINAEDOS:** *emere* supplies the logical opposite of *addicere*, leading the reader to expect some conventional exchange for the *agelli*. When *cinaedi* appear instead, the regular reader of M. immediately expects a 'piles' joke (as indeed eventuates in 12.33) but M. provides something else.

A *cinaedus* was not necessarily the passive partner in homosexual intercourse: the origin of the word (= 'dancer': see Adams LSV 194) suggests a well-known connection between musicians / dancers and **prostitution**, but that should not be thought of as defining a sexual role. The word is in fact used loosely for a man of effeminate or luxurious habits, and is often simply vituperative. But it is true that the male prostitute is more often than not despised because of his passive role, it being unacceptable to use him as the active partner, and here the third line shows that these *cinaedi* are indeed pathics.

.3 **PEDICAS, LABIENE, TRES AGELLOS:** The joke is created by making explicit the suggestion in .2, and by the wonderfully fallacious logic of the proposition 'A sold B, A bought C, therefore B = C'. Into this formula M. need only insert two suitably incongruously associated items, preferably with an obscene suggestion, to make a joke. The physical image in *pedicas tres agellos* adds to the comedy, but the joke is part of a complex of sexual euphemisms to do with agriculture in which *ager / agellus* etc. = *cunnus / culus* (see Adams LSV 24, 84, 113; Buchheit 'Feigensymbolik' 223f.;

M.9.21; Juv.9.45).

For *pedicare* = 'bugger (with object usually male)' see Adams 123-5.

17

Laetinus wonders why his fever will not go away - it is so attached to his luxurious lifestyle (which M. expects the reader to recognize as the real medical cause) that it cannot be expected to move on to a poor man. Cf. AP. 11.403 (Lucian - to gout):

μισόπτωχε θεά, μούνη πλούτου δαμάτειρα,
ἣ τὸ καλῶς ζῆσαι πάντοτ' ἐπισταμένη,
εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀλλοτρίοις ἐπιϊζομένη ποσὶ χαίρεις,
πιλοφορεῖν τ' οἶδας, καὶ μύρα σοι μέλεται,
τέρπει καὶ στέφανός σε, καὶ Ἀυσονίου πόμα Βάκχου
ταῦτα παρὰ πτωχοῖς γίγνεται οὐδέποτε.
τούνεκά νυν φεύγεις πενίης τὸν ἀχάλκεον οὐδόν,
τέρπῃ δ' αὖ πλούτου πρὸς πόδας ἐρχομένη.

Relying on plodding puns and paradoxes, this is far less witty than M's poem: the specific common elements are the unguent (.4), the wine (.5) and the idea of the disease preferring the rich (.1f.; 6-8). Cf. also Juv.13.96f.; Aristoph.Wealth 559.

.1f. **QUARE TAM MULTIS A TE, LAETINE, DIEBUS**
NON ABEAT FEBRIS QUAERIS ET USQUE GEMIS: M's other Laetinus (in 3.43) dyes his hair in comic pursuit of his lost youth. The name has obvious connotations of prosperity and luxury.

The personification of the fever is developed as the poem proceeds, and forms the basis of the joke: by the end of the poem the disease has almost the character of a parasitic *cliens*, foolishly indulged by an extravagant *patronus*.

usque takes up and emphasises the extent of *tam multis diebus* (see above on 12.12.1 for the abl. of duration of time) so that the reader's initial impression is that Laetinus is worried, quite reasonably, by the

duration of his, so far unexplained, fever. *quaeris* is a regular part of a common mechanism of question and answer in epigram, especially distichs - see below on 12.20.

.3 **GESTATUR TECUM PARITER TECUMQUE LAVATUR**: Almost every idea in the epigram is paired: here two luxurious activities, in chiasmus, introduce the orgy of eating and drinking in .4-6.

gestatur and *lavatur* make explicit the personification of the fever - it has become Laetinus' inseparable 'companion'. Both verbs describe predictable activities in a pampered lifestyle: cf. Pl.Mil.251f. *dormit, ornatur, lavat, / prandet, potat*, and especially M.7.76.3f. *tecum…/ gestari iuvat et iuvat lavari* (also 2.14.13; 11.51.4).

pariter = 'together', with connotations of 'in concert': cf. V.A.6.633, Aeneas and the Sybil, *pariter gressi*; Austin on 2.205.

.4 **CENAT BOLETOS, OSTREA, SUMEN, APRUM**: For *cenare* = 'dine on' cf. H.S.2.3.234f. *ut aprum / cenem ego*; M.10.37.9 *et fatuam summa cenare pelorida mensa*. All four foods typify the eating of the extravagantly wealthy. Such an asyndetic 'bill of fare' may be found e.g. at Pl.Curc.323 *pernam, abdomen, sumen suis, glandium.*

boleti were an especially prized edible fungus: cf. Petr.38.4 *ex India semen boletorum mitteretur* (with Smith); Sen.Ep.95.25 *illos boletos, voluptuarium venenum*; Howell on 1.20.2 (noting a possible derivation of the name from the Spanish town Boletum, modern Boltaña). They are contrasted with ordinary fungi at e.g. M.3.60.5 and Juv.5.146f. They were often eaten as part of the *gustatio*, usually cooked - see Apicius §§313-315; André L'alimentation 43f.

ostrea appear in the precepts of Aufidius at H.S.2.4.33, and at Juv.4.142 - see Courtney on their production and consumption at Rome - and also Plin.Ep.1.15.3. Apicius gives advice for their preserving (§13); for a

suitable sauce (§§31f.) and for their inclusion in three dishes (§§140, 158, 433). See also André L'alimentation 108f.

sumen, sow's udders and matrices, were considered a particular delicacy, so much so that Pliny nicknamed a famous gourmet *Sumen* (NH.8.209). He also advises that *sumen* is at its best before the piglets have made use of it (11.211). Cf. Petr.36.2 (with Smith); Juv.11.138 (with Courtney) and M.7.78.3, where a list of expensive comestibles runs as follows *sumen, aprum, leporem, boletos, ostrea, mullos.* Apicius first mentions *sumen* at §§141f., and provides two recipes, one for par-boiling and roasting (with a suitable sauce), the other for stuffing and, presumably, roasting, at §§258f. See also André L'alimentation 141.

Boar is mentioned by Aufidius (H.S.2.4.41), and turns up in the Cena Nasidieni (H.S.2.8.6). Trimalchio was likewise well supplied with boar (Petr.38.15; 40.3 - with Smith) and Juvenal mentions it as part of a rich man's fare (1.140f. *quanta est gula quae sibi totos / ponit apros, animal propter convivia natum*; also5.116 - with Courtney). Horace also vouchsafes the information that *rancidum aprum antiqui laudabant* (S.2.2.89); cf. also M.7.78.3; 12.48.1. Apicius devotes the first section of his eighth book (§§330-339) to boar - including methods of roasting, boiling and stuffing, and the preparation of sauces. See also André L'alimentation 118f.

.5f. **EBRIA SETINO FIT SAEPE ET SAEPE FALERNO**
NEC NISI PER NIVEAM CAECUBA POTAT AQUAM: M. now shifts to drinking, to complement the gourmandizing of .4. Celsus (Pr.69) notes a connection between drinking and fever.

Note the further chiasmus in introducing the famous wines. All of these were rated among the 17 or 18 finest of the ancient world (see Younger 202-204; Seltman Wine in the Ancient World 153f.) and came from the classic Italian vineyards of Latium and Campania; they were also among those

considered to improve with age (Younger 208).

Setinian appears at Juv.5.34 and 10.27 and Pliny relates that it was Augustus' favourite (NH.14.61). See also M.8.50(51).19; 9.2.5; 9.22.3; 13.124.1.

Falernian is the most famous Roman wine, although in the classical period it was considered inferior to Setinian and Caecuban. It was produced in both a 'white' and a 'red' (Younger 203): Pliny (NH.14.62) places it firmly in the *secunda nobilitas*, and laments its recent decline - *exolescit haec quoque <culpa> copiae potius quam bonitati studentium*; Horace gives it the epithet *ardens* at Od.2.11.19. See also Mayor, Courtney on Juv.4.138; Smith on Petr.34.6; H.S.2.4.19, 24, 55; 2.8.16; Od.1.20.10.

Caecuban had been considered the finest of all wines in the time of Augustus (Plin.NH.14.61; cf. H.Od.1.37.5), but had declined, and stopped production altogether by 79 A.D. (Younger 203). As it was particularly noted for its quality when aged, its appearance as a luxury c.101 A.D., and with a whole line devoted to it, is not surprising.

The Caecuban's appearance is heralded by a new extravagance - snow-water. Wines might be strained through a *saccus* or *colum*, and chilled by the placing of snow or ice in the strainer, the wine then being passed through this (Younger 205f.). Pliny mentions among the constituents of a sumptuous meal *halica cum mulso et nive (nam hanc quoque computabis, immo hanc in primis quae perit in ferculo)* - Ep.1.15.2 (Sherwin-White has found evidence of a similar use of snow in eighteenth century Italy). The practice was probably unknown at Rome before the 1st century A.D.: cf. Sen.Ep.119.3; Juv.5.49f. with Mayor. Although Nero was credited with its invention (Plin.NH.31.40), Athenaeus tells a story of Simonides composing an epigram when the cupbearers who were serving the other guests with snow for their wine on a hot day passed him by (Athen.3.125^{c}; cf. 124^{d}).

Gell.19.5.3 and Plin.NH.19.55 mention **drinking** snow water, while at Petr.31.3 it is provided for washing the hands - an extravagance worthy of Trimalchio. See also Forbes Technology 110ff.; T.R.Glover 'Iced Water', in The Challenge of the Greeks 110ff.; SG.2.142 = 2.277f.; Blümner PrA.402.

.7f. **CIRCUMFUSA ROSIS ET NIGRA RECUMBIT AMOMO**
DORMIT ET IN PLUMA PURPUREOQUE TORO: Cf. M. 8.77:

Liber, amicorum dulcissima cura tuorum,
Liber, in aeterna vivere digne rosa,
si sapis, Assyrio semper tibi crinis amomo
splendeat et cingant florea serta caput;
candida nigrescant vetulo crystalla Falerno
et caleat blando mollis amore torus.
qui sic vel medio finitus vixit in aevo,
longior huic facta est quam data vita fuit.

Lying on roses (or rather rose-petals !) was the height of hedonism: see H.Od.1.5.1 with N-H. For *circumfundere* cf. e.g. Nep.Ages.8.7 (*Agesilaum mortuum*) *amici…quod mel non habebant, cera circumfuderunt*, and other uses of liquids.

niger was obviously appropriate of overdoing hair-oil - cf.12.38.3 *crine nitens, niger unguento, perlucidus ostro* - as an alternative to *madidus* (5.64.3): cf. Juv.4.108 *sudans…matutino…amomo.* For *Amomum*, a perfume which was made from the leaves of a shrub growing in India, Armenia, Media and Pontus see Plin.NH.12.48f.; RE 1.1873f.; André Lexique des Termes de Botanique en Latin 28.

For the affluence implied by *plumae* cf. Lucil.257K; Juv.1.159; 6.88; 10.362, with Mayor; Sen.de prov.3.10 (Maecenas) *tam vigilat in pluma, quam ille [Regulus] in cruce*; RE 21'.612.19ff.; SG 2.143 = 2.278; Marquardt Prl.724; Blümner PrA.115f. Also M.9.92.3f.; 10.14.6; 14.146.2.

On *purpureus* see Pease on V.A.4.134 (*ostro = purpureo* there).

On the *torus*, a type of bolster placed on either a couch or a bed, sometimes signifying the 'marriage bed' (as at 12.96.2) see Marquardt Prl. 303, 724; Becker Gallus 2.240.

.9f. **CUM RECUBET PULCHRE, CUM TAM BENE VIVAT APUD TE, AD DAMAM POTIUS VIS TUA FEBRIS EAT ?**: *recubare* does not occur elsewhere in M., and *recubet* is only preserved here in A^{Θ}: B^{Θ} and C^{Θ} have *sit ei* and *si te* respectively. Friedländer printed *cum sit ei pulchre*, but Heraeus points out that the dative *ei*, an iamb, was avoided in poetry and explains the corruption '*Olim corruptum fuisse puto* cum [recuv]et *sim., unde* "cum <sit> ei" *interpol., cf. sim. vit.13,65,2'*. *recubet* is surprising, so soon after *recumbit* (.9). *recubare* is less common, and more general in meaning, than *recumbere*. When used as = 'recline at table' it is usually associated closely with *torus*, as here. Perhaps the suitability of *recubet* to the specific nature of the personification, and to the end of the previous line, are sufficient to allow its retention. But it is also possible that B^{Θ}'s *sit ei* points to something else. Mr John Griffith suggests *sit ibi* (sc. *toro*), which would go well with *apud te*, and should be considered.

For *pulchre* cf. 1.77.1 *pulchre valet Charinus et tamen pallet.*

bene vivere is a common phrase for 'have a good time': cf. Pl.Mil.706; Ter.Hec.461; also the joke at M.12.50.8 *quam bene non habitas.*

There is a Dama at e.g. H.S.1.6.38, where Kiessling-Heinze note its use as a typical slave-name in the Satires, and that it was often so used by the Jurists. The name occurs also at Petr.41.10 and Pers.5.76 as the type of a freedman of humble origin. Here it suggests *pauperem* (by contrast with Laetinus): M. typically prefers to give the type a name.

After the long catalogue of the 'causes' (which are never explicitly given the status of causes) of Laetinus' fever, the throw-away final line is M's way of drawing the connection.

18

M. addresses Juvenal from Bilbilis and contrasts Juvenal's miserable urban existence with his own rediscovery of idyllic country life at home in Spain. There is no need to doubt the identification with the poet Juvenal - cf. 7.24 and especially 7.91.1 (*facunde…Iuvenalis*; Highet Juvenal pp. 17ff.). On the contrast between country and city life, familiar from e.g. Theocritus and the Eclogues, see e.g. 1.49 (and Howell p.213); 12.57; H.S.2.6; Ep.2.2.65ff.; and most importantly Juv.3 (see below); (also, e.g. 11); H. Kier De laudibus vitae rusticae, diss. Marburg (1933).

.1ff. **DUM TU FORSITAN INQUIETUS ERRAS**
CLAMOSA, IUVENALIS, IN SUBURA
AUT COLLEM DOMINAE TERIS DIANAE: The epistolary familiarity of the opening address to Juvenal, occupying the first 6 lines, serves mainly as a lead-up to the contrast with *me* (.7), and the idyllic picture of Spanish country life. Cf. the avowedly epistolary opening of e.g. Catul.68.

The *tu* suddenly reappears as a homosexual seducer at .22 (there is an obscene joke in both of the other poems in which M. mentions Juvenal). There, as in this first section, the address is light-hearted: the reader should beware of treating this too seriously as biographical.

On *forsitan* + indicative see above on 12.4.4: here, with *aut* in .3, it is part of the personal / epistolary mirage, serving to 'deny' any authorial omniscience to M. and to insist on the identification of narrator and author.

inquietus = 'restless', perhaps with an overtone of sleeplessness here (note *clamosa* in .2). Cf. H.Epod.5.95f. *inquietis adsidens praecordiis / pavore somnos auferam*; Sen.HO.1526 *regnum canis inquieti*. For the phrase cf. 1.2.5f. *ne tamen ignores ubi sim venalis et erres / urbe vagus tota*; and 4.78.3; 10.5.3. All of these characterize *errare* as an unfortunate, or even accursed, activity.

M. uses *clamosus* of the Circus at 10.53.1 (as at Juv.9.144, and, of the whole *Urbs*, at Stat.Silv.4.4.18f.). Juvenal characterizes the *Subura* (on which see above on 12.2.9) as the most objectionable part of the city:

> *…ego vel Prochytam praepono Suburae;*
> *nam quid tam miserum, tam solum vidimus, ut non*
> *deterius credas horrere incendia, lapsus*
> *tectorum adsiduos ac mille pericula saevae*
> *urbis et Augusto recitantes mense poetas* (3.5-9).

This could suggest that M's location of his friend in the *Subura* is a deliberate joke, made with knowledge of Juv.3, but it is pointless to attempt precise relative dating of M. and Juvenal because the evidence is too limited, and vitiated by the type of 'publication' practised in the ancient world. All that can be said with certainty is that M. knew Juvenal as a writer (*facunde*, 7.91.1) in 91-92 A.D. (the accepted dating of M.7).

For the *collem dominae Dianae* see Platner-Ashby 149f.: the *Aedes Dianae* was the oldest and most important temple on the Aventine, known as *Diana Aventina* (Prop.4.8.29) or *Aventinensis* (M.6.64.13; V.Max.7.3.1), and the Aventine itself is called, in consequence, the *collis Dianae* here and at 7.73.1. It was the site of many rich houses, the point of the reference here. For *domina* of a goddess cf. 12.2(3).14 (the Muses).

terere, of repeatedly treading the same ground, reinforces *inquietus erras*: cf. Ov.AA.1.491; M.10.10.2; 12.29.1 (below).

.4ff. **DUM PER LIMINA TE POTENTIORUM**
SUDATRIX TOGA VENTILAT VAGUMQUE
MAIOR CAELIUS ET MINOR FATIGANT: *limina* has a literal force in the experience of the weary client - cf. 12.29.1 *sexagena teras cum limina mane senator*; 5.20.5; also 12.2.7 of the book presenting itself at the *limina* of the *novum templum*. For *potens* cf. Sal.Cat.20.7 *postquam res publica in paucorum potentium…dicionem concessit*; V.A.12.519f. (*cui*) *pauper…domus nec nota potentium / munera*.

sudator is found only at Plin.NH.23.43, and the feminine form only here

(cf. the apparent coinage *ructatrix* at 10.48.10; see Salemme 17): clearly the point is 'causing perspiration', achieved by a personification of the garment. Literally the phrase = 'the perspiring toga' (it would, of course, be dripping wet with the wearer's sweat). It was a woollen garment which, even if it were a 'light homespun flannel' (Wilson Toga 34), must always have been uncomfortable on a hot Roman day. It had been compulsory wear in and around the forum since the time of Augustus (Suet.Aug.40.5), and clearly also in the performance of the *salutatio*, with which M. often equates it. Cf. especially 1.49.31f. *lunata nusquam pellis et nusquam toga / olidaeque vestes murice*; also .17f. below, where pleasure is equated with not wearing the toga, as at e.g. Plin.Ep.5.6.45 *nulla necessitas togae* (at his Tuscan villa).

ventilare then provides a heavily ironic oxymoron: it suggests fanning to make cool, but the picture may be of it flapping about without providing much relief from the heat which it creates: cf. e.g. Suet.Aug.82.1 *in peristylo…ventilante aliquo cubabat*; Juv.3.253 *servulus…cursu ventilat ignem*.

With *errare / terere*, *vagus* adds to the suggestion of restless / aimless wandering: see Fordyce on Catul.64.271 where he characterizes it as = 'always on the move'.

For *maior Caelius et minor* see Platner-Ashby 87f.: the *minor* here is the *Caeliolus* (sometimes called the *Caeliculus*), the smaller part of the *mons*, east of the *vicus Capitis*. The Caelian proper, after a serious fire in 27 A.D. (Tac.Ann.4.64), had become a favourite dwelling place for the rich. The Caelian regions weary (*fatigant*) the unfortunate Juvenal as he climbs: this verb is used of strenuous physical activity like fighting (Lucr.3.491; V.A.11.306) or ploughing (H.Od.3.6.43).

.7ff. **ME MULTOS REPETITA POST DECEMBRES**
ACCEPIT MEA RUSTICUMQUE FECIT

AURO BILBILIS ET SUPERBA FERRO: The real focus of the poem is now introduced: *me…Bilbilis* picks up the 2nd person pronoun of the first line with this emphatically placed 1st person pronoun.

multos post Decembres ≃ ter denos…per annos below (cf. Juv.4.93f. *sic multas hiemes atque octogensima vidit / solstitia*): it may refer to the date of M's return, although it does not seem likely that he would choose to travel at this time of year. 12.62 and, perhaps, 12.1.4 seem to suggest that this is the time of Priscus' homecoming: December often appears in such expressions (cf.H.Epod.11.5; Ep.1.20.27; M.3.36.7), probably because, for at least the last 250 years, it had marked the end of the calendar year - see A.K. Michels, The Roman Calendar 97ff.

For *repetere* of returning to a place cf. Ov.Pont.4.4.41 *inde domum repetes*; and especially M.1.49.21f. *aprica repetes Tarraconi litora / tuamque Laletaniam.*

accipere is often used of 'welcoming, receiving': Pl.Cist.11; V.A.6.693; Tac.Hist.3.6.2.

rusticus is the opposite of *urbanus*, as M. has renounced the archetypal city: cf. 3.58.33 (in Faustinus' Baian villa) *nec venit inanis rusticus salutator.* The formal phraseology, *rusticumque fecit*, as if he has undergone some change of citizenship, is a joke at his own expense: it is as if he has instantly lost his city veneer, acquired over 34 years in the capital of the world (cf. the *nomina crassiora* below). The adj. later comes to have general overtones of uncouth or coarse behaviour: see Peter Brown The Cult of the Saints 119, on the late antique use of *rusticitas* as = 'boorishness, slipshodness', not limited to the rural population, and exemplified in antithesis of *reverentia* and *rusticitas* in the writings of Gregory of Tours.

For Bilbilis, M's birthplace, see Dolç 107-167; Citroni, Howell on

1.49.3ff. It was situated on a hill (modern *el cerro de Bámbola*) above the confluence of the Salo (*Jalón*) and its tributary the Ribota, NE of the modern town of *Calatayud*. On its local industries see on 12.2(3).3; Dolç 129f.

.10ff. **HIC PIGRI COLIMUS LABORE DULCI**
BOTERDUM PLATEAMQUE - CELTIBERIS
HAEC SUNT NOMINA CRASSIORA TERRIS - : As in *pigritiae* at the end of 12.3, there is common ground here with the preface, and its *desidia* (.2). The idea can be readily explained by reference to 12.68 (where M. assumes a jaded view of country life): *non sum ego causidicus nec amaris litibus aptus / sed piger et senior Pieridumque comes* (.3f.). The only sort of *labor* which is *dulcis* to M. is poetic composition (cf. 12.4(5).2), and *piger* suggests that, in his idyllic Spanish setting, he has trouble motivating himself even to do that: cf. H.S.1.4.12 *piger scribendi ferre laborem*. A paradox is being drawn from M's *labor* being a kind of *otium*; there is an immediate contrast with the restless movement of *erras*.

colere does not elsewhere = 'frequent' (Ker's translation), but it can = *accolere*: cf. 10.58.3ff. *quod…cicadae / non novere nemus, flumineosque lacus / dum colui*; V.A.7.684; also Prop.3.5.19. There is presumably also a play on the literal sense of *colere* when it is juxtaposed with *labore*.

Boterdus, also mentioned at 1.49.7, was probably situated below Bilbilis on the left bank of the Ribota, near its confluence with the Jalón: see Dolç 189f. Platea, also mentioned at 4.55.13, was 'encircled by the Salo': see Dolç 212ff. Neither can be confidently located.

Celtiberae terrae cover a large area of NE Spain, in Hispania Tarraconensis, Bilbilis being at the Western side.

crassus, of words, refers to the sound - the Roman ear would have found Boterdus barbaric-sounding, although Platea seems less odd (perhaps it was pronounced differently from the Greek place name ?). Cf. Gell.13.21.15

(giving Cicero as his authority) *erat enim crassius iam vetustiusque 'perangusto freto' dicere* [as opp. to *fretu*]; Pers.5.190 *crassum ridet Pulfennius* (see Harvey's note).

The present passage is further clarified by M.4.55.9 *nostrae nomina duriora terrae*, where a similar metaphor is used, one already current in critical language: see H.Ars 446, with Brink, and TLL 6'.2310f.; .2314f.

.13ff. **INGENTI FRUOR INPROBOQUE SOMNO**
QUEM NEC TERTIA SAEPE RUMPIT HORA,
ET TOTUM MIHI NUNC REPONO QUIDQUID
TER DENOS VIGILAVERAM PER ANNOS: For lack of sleep in Rome cf. 12.57.3ff.; Juv.3.235ff. Note the opposition to *inquietus* above. *ingens* and *inprobus* are comically applied to sleep here: *ingens* is applied to the degree or intensity of physical phenomena and their sounds (winds, hail, storms etc) - see TLL 7'.1539.39ff; cf. the more conventional phrase at Juv.1.16f. *consilium dedimus Sullae, privatus ut altum / dormiret* (with Mayor's note). *inprobus* (= something like 'abandoned') makes quite clear that M. is engaged in a mock-castigation of this 'vice'.

For *rumpere* of interrupting sleep cf. Lucan 4.395 *certos non rumpunt classica somnos*; M.4.64.20f.; and especially 1.49.35 *non rumpet altum pallidus somnum reus.*

tertia hora is a variable term (cf. on 12.1.4), but *nec* (= *ne…quidem*; see Duff on Juv.11.7) makes it clear that it is to be thought of as late in the morning here: it would average out at about 8 to 9 a.m. The point is that the *salutatio* took place in the 1st and 2nd hours, often forcing the client to leave home before dawn. For the tired client's longing for sleep cf. 10.74.

reponere = 'make up for', from its use of repaying money: cf. Juv.1.1f. *semper ego auditor tantum ? numquamne **reponam** / vexatus*, where Courtney translates it 'retaliate'. In all examples the idea of repayment remains

strong: cf. e.g. Sen.Ep.81.9; Thy.1053. It should perhaps be translated 'repay myself for'.

The exact period of absence was 34 years (10.103.7). Although inability to sleep is being described, *vigilare* suggests not so much 'sleeplessness' as , positively, 'spending time awake', forcibly marking the contrast with *ingenti…improboque somno*: Gell.pr.19 *qui in lectitando, <percontando>, scribendo, commentando numquam voluptates, numquam labores ceperunt, nullas hoc genus vigilias vigilarunt…*; Prop.3.15.2 *nec veniat sine te nox vigilanda mihi*; Ov.Ep.12.169 *noctes vigilantur amarae*; Tac.Ann.13.20 *vigilatum convivo noctem*, and 12.68.5f.

17f. **IGNOTA EST TOGA, SED DATUR PETENTI**
RUPTA PROXIMA VESTIS A CATHEDRA: The reference to the absence of the toga is the most specific point of comparison with Juvenal's life at Rome. *ignotus* = 'strange, unfamiliar'. Cf. Juv.3.171f. *pars magna Italiae est…in qua / nemo togam sumit nisi mortuus.*

Ker translates *petenti* as 'ask for', but in the absence of another person at this point this may not be the point. With *a cathedra* it could = 'reaching for': cf. Cael.Orat.15 *proximae cuiusque collum amplexu petebat*; V.A.1.610f. *amicum / Ilonea petit dextra*, and especially V.Fl.1.288f. *illa…fessis longe petit umida palmis / vellera* (cf. also Catul.2.3 *cui primum digitum dare appetenti*). *datur* would then = 'there is provided / available', without any personal agent.

Farnaby thought *ruptă vestis* a possibility, but the hendecasyllable always begins with a spondee in M. (as in Statius) - see Giarratano Re Metrica 49. *rumpere* = 'tear' would be possible (e.g. Ov.AA.3.707f.; M.12.29.9), but 'break' is actually a much commoner meaning, and *ruptā cathedrā* must be accepted.

vestis is used collectively to = 'clothes', so *proxima vestis* may just

mean 'the nearest pieces of clothing, the clothes that are to hand', stressing the informality of country life which is exemplified by just throwing clothing on to a chair at the end of the day (as Calderini correctly interpreted the line).

But cf. also the humble cottage of Baucis and Philemon at Ov.Met.8 .611ff. When the gods enter,

> *membra senex posito iussit relevare sedili;*
> *cui superiniecit textum rude sedula Baucis*

with which Hollis compares Callim. frg.s 240f., the second of which is especially interesting here. In 240 the old woman makes Theseus sit on a couch, and in 241 she provides a covering for it:

> αὐτόθεν ἐξ εὐνῆς ὀλίγον ῥάκος αἰθύξασα.

Cf. also Ov.Met.8.657ff.

> *vestibus hunc velant, quas non nisi tempore festo*
> *sternere consuerant, sed et haec vilisque vetusque*
> *vestis erat, lecto non indignanda saligno.*

Clothing did double service as **bed**-coverings (although not usually chair-coverings !): see e.g. Gow on Theoc.18.18, where a χλαίνα is so used, and also his note on 2.74, which records instances of the ἱμάτιον, τρίβων, φάρος, χλανίς and ξυστίς used as bed-covers or hangings, pointing out that Greek garments were 'mostly rectangular pieces of stuff'. The important point is that, at home in the country, not only does M. not have to put on a toga, but he needn't think about what he does put on.

The *cathedra* was a developed form of the κλισμός, and is often translated 'armchair', although it frequently had no arms. In Rome it lost the delicate curved lines of the Greek original, and came to resemble a heavy Victorian or Edwardian dining or occasional chair. See Richter Furniture 101f. and figs 3 & 4: she believes that this type of chair was less common in Rome than in Greece. It is distinctively the chair on which

poets or rhetoricians sit, or the more distinguished members of a theatre audience (Citroni on 1.76.14, also Howell, referring to Juv.7.47, on theatre seats; Courtney on Juv.7.203). Its use as a sedan-chair was considered effeminate: see on 12.38.1. But the present line appears to be testimony to its unremarkability in an unpretentious provincial Roman house (perhaps it is unremarkable if broken !).

.19ff. **SURGENTEM FOCUS EXCIPIT SUPERBA**
VICINI STRUE CULTUS ILICETI,
MULTA VILICA QUEM CORONAT OLLA: *surgere* is commonly employed of getting up from bed. The *focus* is part of conventional rustic bliss: cf.1.49.27 with Citroni, Howell; H.Epod.2.43f. For *excipere* in this type of expression cf. Cic.Mil.101 *locus*; Fam.4.6.2 *domus*; H.S.1.4.134 *porticus*; Prop.4.8.62 *taberna*, etc.

superba is intended to look grandiose with *strue* - a 'lordly pile' of firewood, perhaps a dig at the picture of rustic bliss. *strues* probably contributes to a tone of mock-elevation: it is often a funeral pyre (Mela 3.83; Lucan 8.257; Tac.Ger.27.2), and cf. Liv.21.37.2 *struem ingentem lignorum faciunt*, a very large pile of wood in an engineering operation.

For *vicini…iliceti* cf. 1.49.27, where, as if in the golden age, *vicina in ipsum silva descendet focum.* For *ilex*, 'holm-oak', used as fire-wood, cf. V.A.4.505 (with Pease); M.14.71.2.

colere, 'tend, keep going', is unremarkable of a fire, but M. adds a characteristic touch by personifying the pile of wood and making it the agent which tends the fire.

The pots on the fire are described in more mock-inflated diction: the *olla* is a common bronze or earthenware cooking pot (see Flower-Rosenbaum's edition of Apicius p.33 and pl.s I, III and IVa & b), but the phrase *multa…coronat olla* as = 'she puts many a pot around the fire' is fanciful in the extreme: cf. 10.48.11 *secta coronabunt rutatos ova lacertos* (where

coronare = 'garnish').

The *vilica*, the wife of the *vilicus*, would often perform such domestic duties, especially in a small household.

.22f. **VENATOR SEQUITUR, SED ILLE QUEM TU**
SECRETA CUPIAS HABERE SILVA: This could be merely random abuse rather than an accurate biographical remark about Juvenal's sexual preferences (see above on .1; note that the other two poems addressed to him contain sexual jokes). Nevertheless, *tu* is emphatically placed at the end of the line and, together with *cupias* ('you might wish'), makes the insinuation quite strongly.

At 1.49.29f. social conventions are so relaxed that the *venator*, presumably a slave or freedman of the household whose task is to provide meat, will dine with the master of the house and live within earshot. With *secreta…silva* M. may be parodying 'green retreats' and 'sacred groves' (as Horace does at Ars 298 - see Brink) by suggesting a use for them (or rather the sort of use he believes Juvenal would put them to).

habere was a euphemism for *futuere* (see on 12.20.2) and Adams (LSV 187f.) notes its use of homosexual relations. Such euphemisms occur in M. in sly sideways jokes like this, but *futuere* is in fact used far more often by him than any other surviving author (see on 12.26 below). Euphemisms of this kind are also a feature of elegy (see G. Luck Latin Love Elegy 13, 72f.), which the tone and matter of this epigram may be playfully imitating.

.24f. **DISPENSAT PUERIS ROGATQUE LONGOS**
LEVIS PONERE VILICUS CAPILLOS: The *dispensator* was an employee distinct from the *vilicus*, fulfilling the role of 'steward': that the *vilicus dispensat* here may be intended as a sign of the simplicity of the establishment. *dispensare* used absolutely = 'pay', at Juv.7.219.

rogare + inf. is rare, but cf. Catul.35.10; M.1.109.13. *ponere* = 'cut

(hair)' is found at e.g. Sen.HF.853; M.9.36.1.

Friedländer and Ker assume that the *vilicus*' own hair is meant (Ker 'and asks permission to crop his long hair'), which cannot be right; Farnaby refers it to the *pueri* (i.e., the *vilicus* asks the *pueri* to cut their long hair), which is a more natural use of *rogare* - 'ask (someone to do something)'.

Friedländer and Ker seem to assume further sexual innuendo from *levis*, which they take to mean 'beardless', a sign of effeminacy or youthful attractiveness. But the *vilicus* would normally be a senior slave or freedman, rather than a beardless youth: for his considerable responsibilities see Cato Agr.5.1-5. *levis* might = **bald** here (although it would be difficult, without qualification): cf. Petr.109.10 (part of Eumolpus' *capillorum elegidarion*)

> *infelix, modo crinibus nitebas*
> *Phoebo pulchrior et sorore Phoebi.*
> *at nunc* ***levior*** *aere vel rotundo*
> *horti tubere, quod creavit unda,*
> *ridentes fugis et times puellas.*
> *ut mortem citius venire credas,*
> *scito iam capitis perisse partem.*

Also Juv.10.199 *leve caput* (one of the characteristics of an old man); M.9.27.3 *et prostitutis levius caput culis*. In this case there would presumably be some sort of joking incongruity intended in the juxtaposition of the bald bailiff and the long-haired boys.

A possible alternative would be to read *lenis* ('mild, lenient'), which might add point to the use of *rogat* rather than a verb of ordering (cf. 3.58.30f., discussed below, where the lack of coercion is part of the idealization).

Why, in any case, are *capillati* introduced here and why is their hair being cut ? The idea is most familiar from contexts in which the *delicatus* is passing into manhood and is no longer the object of pederasty: cf.

12.84; 1.31 (with Citroni, Howell); 5.48; 9.16f.; 11.78.4; H.Od.4.10.3f.; Stat.Silv.3.4 (on Earinos, Domitian's favourite, the subject of M.9.16f.). If the point is the suggestion of a further homosexual hunting-ground, what would be the point of the boys' hair being cut, presumably a signal of the end of such joys ? It would seem in fact that M. presents the picture as one of rustic innocence which Juvenal would inevitably pervert: first there is the hunter whom Juvenal will lust after, then there are the boys, presumably introduced to suggest that they would also attract his interest, whose hair is being cut according to normal practice. The innuendo could be that Juvenal would be upset by the passage of the boys to manhood. The juxtaposition of these lines with the concluding sentiment might seem to implicate M., but, if the point is that these are elements of innocent rustic bliss which Juvenal would receive in a different spirit, M. can remain dissociated from the innuendo: this may also be exactly why the boys are having their hair cut.

It is true that the apparent intrusion of homosexual fantasy here and at 22f. is sudden and at first surprising. But compare 3.58.29ff. (on the Baian villa of Faustinus),

> *exercet hilares facilis hortus urbanos,*
> *et paedagogo non iubente lascivi*
> *parere gaudent vilico capillati,*
> *et delicatus opere fruitur eunuchus.*

Moreover, homosexual **practice** was a familiar part of the rustic idyll - cf. e.g. Theoc.5.41f.:

> ἄνίκ' ἐπυγιζόν τυ, τὺ δ' ἄλγεες. αἳ δὲ χίμαιραι
> αἵδε κατεβληχῶντο, καὶ ὁ τράγος αὐτὰς ἐτρύπη.

(see Dover's note; cf. 7.120ff. etc.). So, even if this element of the description is introduced purely to add an edge to the address to Juvenal, it is not necessarily out of place in such a context. And, of course, M. does not elsewhere hesitate to cast himself in the role he ascribes to

Juvenal here: cf. e.g. 12.75; 12.84.

.26 **SIC ME VIVERE, SIC IUVAT PERIRE**: The final line provides a retrospective title for the poem, and an abrupt, prescriptive conclusion: the sweeping generality of the wish further idealizes the rustic context in opposition to the urban milieu of Juvenal.

19

Aemilius always has to make do with 'snack' food at the baths, but tries to conceal his failure to 'catch' invitations (the ultimate indignity for a κόλαξ-παράσιτος - see RE 18⁴.1397.30ff.) by saying that he does not dine at home. In, e.g., 2.11, Selius behaves like a man bereaved because he is reduced to dining at home; in 11.24 this constitutes a terrible indignity for M. himself (see Kay on 11.24.15; J.K.O. Ribbeck, Kolax, eine ethologische Studie).

.1 **IN THERMIS SUMIT LACTUCAS, OVA, LACERTUM**: On *thermae* see below on 12.82.1f. In Rome, Aemilius would have had a variety of grand public establishments to choose from, including those of Agrippa (Platner-Ashby 518ff.; Nash Pictorial Dictionary 2.429ff.), Nero (Platner-Ashby 531f.; Nash 2.460ff.) and Titus (Platner-Ashby 533f.; Nash 2.469ff.; also J.B. Ward Perkins, Roman Imperial Architecture fig.33 p.72).

For literary and archaeological evidence of the availability of food and drink in the baths see especially T. Kleberg, Hôtels, Restaurants et Cabarets dans l'Antiquité Romaine 51-3; also Blümner PrA. 435. Food and drink shops were located outside the bathing areas, but within the buildings, of *thermae* (and some *balnea*), while hawkers brought food into the bathing areas themselves: Seneca (Ep.56.2) was able to buy cakes,

sausages, confectionery and other food from hawkers who worked in the baths over which he made his experiment of living. Wine was equally easy to get: Juv.8.167f. *Lateranus ad illos / thermarum calices inscriptaque lintea vadit*; Sen.Ep.122.6 *frequens hoc adulescentium vitium est, qui vires excolunt <ut> in ipso paene balnei limine inter nudos bibant, immo potent et sudorem quem moverunt potionibus crebris ac ferventibus subinde distringant*; Quint.Inst.1.6.44 *igitur ut velli et comam in gradus frangere et in balneis perpotare, quamlibet haec invaserint civitatem, non erit consuetudo, quia nihil horum caret reprensione*; Plin.NH.14.139; M.12.70 .5f.; 12.82.11.

sumere is commonly used as = 'eat': cf. M.3.60.5; Varro RR.2.11.3; Plin.NH.27.75 etc. Cf. the idiom 'to take', of food, which survives in conservative modern English usage, though most often confined to medicine, snuff and, sometimes, tea. Lord Curzon, when Chancellor of Oxford University, is reported to have returned a prospective menu with the comment 'Gentlemen do not take soup at Luncheon.'

lactuca is the generic term for lettuce: for varieties known in Rome see André, L'alimentation 49 n.476; 23f.; 48f. In the *Cena Nasidieni*, lettuces form part of the *gustatio*: André considers them evidence of poverty if they form the substance of a meal. At 11.52.5, in part of a typical poor client-poet's invitation to a rich patron (see Kay ad loc.), M. mentions them as part of a *gustatio*, together with leek-shoots. At H.S.2.4.59, Aufidius advises that lettuce and wine mix unhappily in the stomach. Here the three foods suggest cheapness and paucity of food: at M. 10.48.9ff. they form only a part of the *gustatio* of a *cena* which M. is laying on for friends (who include Stella). For recipes with *lactucae* see Apicius §§105f.; 109-111; 130.

For *ova* cf. 1.55.12, where they are prepared over charcoal; 10.48.11;

11.52.8f. ('eggs stirred on a slow flame' - Kay assumes the eggs are 'Scrambled'); see e.g. Apicius §§302f., and especially §§327-329 - fried, hard and soft boiled, served with sauce; André L'alimentation 149f. In the *Cena Nasidieni* (.8), as in M.10.48, they form part of the *gustatio*.

For *lacertum*, the χολίας or 'Spanish mackerel', see D'Arcy Thompson Fishes 120f., who notes that, at the time of writing (1947), it

> is little valued for food, but is of considerable importance in the Black Sea fishery, where it is pickled and a kind of *garum* made of it.

It was regarded as inferior to the mackerel proper (σκόμβρος, *scomber*), being strong-flavoured and having a taste similar to the sea-onion (σκίλλα, *squilla*). It was often salted or pickled.

Obviously, here, it is a fittingly cheap addition to Aemilius' meagre meal, and easily sold as 'snack' food. M. also mentions it at 11.27.3 and 7.78.1 and it appears in a list of cheap foods at Juv.14.131 (see Courtney). Apicius' only reference to it is in a *ius in lacertos elixos* (§455). See also André L'alimentation 99 (modest food, boiled and seasoned with rue) and 111 n.236.

.2 **ET CENARE DOMI SE NEGAT AEMILIUS:** *cenare domi* is the sign of a failed client or parasite in M.: cf. *domicenium* (a word he probably invented) at 12.77.6.

se negat is an unexceptional phrase for such a denial, which is part of the joke: Aemilius **says** he doesn't dine at home, as in strict terms he doesn't, but he isn't getting any invitations either, and he actually eats (poorly) at the baths so much that they might as well be his *domus*. 12.82 shows that the baths were, in fact, a prime hunting ground for dinner invitations, so the implication is that he tries and fails. The joke lies in his pathetic sophistry. For 'angling' for invitations cf. also Catul.47.6f. *mei sodales / quaerunt in trivio vocationes*, with Fordyce's

note.

Aemilius, being a *nomen gentilicium* rather than a *cognomen*, was extremely common (see PIR² *A* §§320-410): it is probably intended to suggest a free-born Roman fallen on hard times.

20

A hendecasyllabic distich built around a pun on the sexual sense of *habere*.

For the stock formula of question and answer in such distichs, see J. Kruuse, C&M 4 (1941) 281.

There seems to be no particular point to the name Fabullus here: apart from instances where the bearer of the name is attacked directly by M. (see 12.85), his attention is sometimes drawn to the satirically observed behaviour of others: e.g. the boasting doorkeeper of 5.35, the thieving Cilician of 6.72 and *lusca Philaenis* of 12.22 (cf. also the Fabullus of Catul.12, 13, 28 and 47; Fordyce p.132f.).

Themison is often a doctor's name, most notably the famous pupil of Asclepiades, from Laodicea (Cels.pr.11; 3.4.6; Plin.NH.14.115; Sen.Ep. 95.9). Note especially Juv.10.221 where the doctor Themison appears in sexually naughty company.

habet puns on the euphemistic use of the word as = 'have sexual intercourse with' to insinuate incest against Themison: see Adams LSV 187f. Housman (Papers 735) castigated Friedländer roundly for his dimness in failing to understand the poem and trying to explain it by examples of *soror = amica*.

21

M. praises his fellow-countrywoman Marcella in a panegyric which takes as its theme that no-one would ever guess that she was anything but a native-born Roman: if this had been a rhetorical exercise, one might expect her to be praised for the place she **does** come from (see Men.Rh.369.18ff.). The motivation (the gift to M. by her of a villa in Bilbilis) becomes clear in 12.31. Many older commentators (e.g. Farnaby, Collesson) assumed that this woman was M's wife, mentioned in 11.104: a wife is also mentioned in 3.92, 4.24 and 7.95.7. On the other hand, 2.49, 8.12 and 11.19 are first person discussions about why M. has never married, which make it far more likely that he was single, the pretence of having a wife (when he was unmarried) being easier to account for than the pretence of **not** having one (if he was married). The balance of 2.92, about receiving the *ius trium liberorum*, with its throw-away remark *valebis uxor*, would also seem to be against his being married. See J.P. Sullivan, CW 72 (1979) 238f., for the debate: he believes that M. was homosexual, which does not, of course, preclude his being married (nor does his being unmarried in any sense prove that he was homosexual in this period at Rome). If he was married it is most unlikely that Marcella was his wife.

.1f. **MUNICIPEM RIGIDI QUIS TE, MARCELLA, SALONIS**
ET GENITAM NOSTRIS QUIS PUTET ESSE LOCIS ?: On Marcella, and the two poems to her, see Dolç 94-96. Like the *gentilicium* Marcius, the name is a simple derivation from the *praenomen* Marcus: see Kajanto 27, 39f., 124.

For the *quis te…putet* opening cf. 6.13.1f. *quis te Phidiaco formatam, Iulia, caelo, / vel quis Palladiae non putet artis opus*; also e.g. Priap.51.1 *credere quis possit ?*

On Bilbilis, see above on 12.2 and 12.18: it is designated *municipium Augusta Bilbilis* on its coins; cf. M.10.103.1f. *municipes Augusta mihi quos*

Bilbilis acri / monte creat, rapidis quem Salo cingit aquis. municeps = 'native of the same *municipium*': M. personifies the Salo (see on 12.2.3) as if it is a citizen of the town as well. For *municeps* applied to things cf. 14.114.2; Juv.4.33 (with Courtney); 14.271.

rigidus, of water, = 'ice-cold': Stat.Theb.10.497f. *rigidi…natator / Eurotae*; M.7.80.8 *Sarmatica rigido ludit in amne rota*. While, like *tetricus* in 12.2, it is a picturesque epithet, suggestive of the river's special characteristic (its usefulness in tempering iron), there is also the implication that Marcella is herself the opposite of *rigida*, which can be used of a character which is 'uncivilized' (H.Od.3.24.11) or 'stern' (M.7.92.3).

genitam is the second of a series of words stressing Marcella's origins running through the epigram and forming its theme: *municipem; esse suam; nata; alumna; partus*. *gignere* is commonly used with a place as subject.

.3f. **TAM RARUM, TAM DULCE SAPIS. PALATIA DICENT,**
AUDIERINT SI TE VEL SEMEL ESSE SUAM: *sapere* of **quality** is a development of the literal sense (= 'taste'), and is useful in the pursuit of double meanings, as in 11.90.8 (a literary critic / *fellator*). Here Ker rightly translates 'is your quality': in M., Persius and Quintilian it often refers to **literary** style or quality, but the present line shows a more general application. Cf. 9.11.3 (*nomen*) *Hyblam quod sapit Atticosque flores*; Pers.1.11 *cum sapimus patruos*. Lindsay's full stop after *sapis* is misleadingly final: although this might look at first sight like a parataxis appended to .1f, the reference is more appropriately forward, to the quality of Marcella's voice (M. also rarely enjambs **couplets** in his elegiacs except for a concluding effect).

Both *rarum* and *dulce* are obvious enough laudatory words: the parallelism with repetition of *tam* adds a certain formal panegyric tone,

and there is wit in their juxtaposition with *sapis*, since they could equally well complement its literal sense.

The Palatine hill, often named in a poetic plural as here, is the first of three topographical references (the others are *media…Subura* and *Capitolini collis*) intended to stand for the heart of Rome - all three places are contiguous with the Roman Forum. See Platner-Ashby 374ff. (especially 378f.); Nash Pictorial Dictionary 2.163ff. *dicent* introduces a personification of the hill typical of M., which is developed, in *audierint*, into a picture of a 'parent' recognizing its child (*dicent…esse suam*).

The point of *audierint si te vel semel* could be a compliment to Marcella for having a 'native' Roman accent (i.e. she doesn't sound like the provincial she is !): *sapis*, with *dulce*, plausibly refers to the modulations of her voice.

.5f. **NULLA NEC IN MEDIA CERTABIT NATA SUBURA NEC CAPITOLINI COLLIS ALUMNA TIBI:** See on 12.2(3).9 for the Subura: the present line adds weight to the suggestion that it was a fashionable residential area in this period (see above on 12.2.9). Indeed *media* seems to suggest that to live 'right in' it was most desirable: this is M's commonest adj. of the Subura (cf. *prima Subura* at 12.2.9). The phrase *media…nata Subura* is repeated from 10.94.5, where it refers to apples as bought in the most typically **urban** part of the city. Cf. Juv.3.80 *mediis…natus Athenis*.

For *certare* cf. Sen.HO.1807 *videre natum laude certantem Iovi.*

See Platner-Ashby 95ff. (especially 97f.) for the Capitoline: the Palatine was no doubt given first place here as the Imperial seat, and the presence of the Subura and Capitoline makes clear that M. is talking about parts of the city which are quintessentially Roman: Marcella is to be

compared with women who are Roman *par excellence*. *alumna* is another conventional word in describing a place of origin: cf. especially Stat. Theb. 12.181 *Rhodopes non ulla nurus nec alumna nivosi / Phasidis*.

.7f. **NEC CITO RIDEBIT PEREGRINI GLORIA PARTUS**
ROMANAM DECEAT QUAM MAGIS ESSE NURUM: *ridebit* is difficult, and Shackleton Bailey (292) makes a suggestion which may be correct:

> Among many conjectures only *parebit* (Munro) is worth mention. But read *prodibit*; cf. Ov. *Fast.* 1.33 "utero matris dum prodeat infans"; Tertullian *Carn. Chr.* 4 "si re vera de lupa aut sue aut vacca prodire voluisset."

parebit would presumably be synecdoche for *apparebit*. *prodibit* would be an improvement, although the specific and rather concrete references to birth in Shackleton Bailey's two parallels sit a little uneasily with *nec cito* and the context here.

peregrini gloria partus = 'the *ornament* of foreign birth', i.e. the best / noblest of women born elsewhere than in Rome - cf. 2.91.1 *terrarum gloria Caesar*, 10.64.3 *Heliconis gloria nostri* and especially Sil.3.87 *tu vero, tanti felix quam gloria partus / exspectat…*, in all of which *gloria* means 'ornament' or sim.: see TLL 6^{2}.2070.65ff., and e.g. Pl. Trin. 656 *gloriam maiorum*; Cic. Sest. 144 *civium…gloria*; Ov. Am. 3.15.7f. *Mantua Vergilio gaudet, Verona Catulli / Paelignae dicar gloria gentis ego*; Hier. Epist. 46.34 *gloria totius provinciae*. The couplet will, then, proceed from the complimentary assertion that she would pass for the most Roman of Roman women to the further compliment that, allowing that she is in fact of foreign birth, it will be a long time before a woman more worthy than she of a Roman **husband** will be born to the noblest of foreign houses.

Romanam…nurum then makes the point strongly that even though Marcella is not of Roman birth she could, or rather, it would be fitting that she **should**, be a Roman wife. *nurus*, which originally meant 'daughter-in-law', came, in poetic usage, to stand for a 'young married woman'. Ovid

(Met.3.529), for example, differentiates *nurus* from older *matres*: perhaps a compliment on her youthfulness is also intended.

.9f. **TU DESIDERIUM DOMINAE MIHI MITIUS URBIS ESSE IUBES: ROMAM TU MIHI SOLA FACIS:** Marcella is so sophisticated that, for M., she makes Bilbilis a Rome away from Rome. For *domina urbs* = Rome, see 12.8.1; 1.3.3; 3.1.5; 9.64.4; 10.103.9; H.Od.4.14.43f.; Ov.Fast.4.831 *dominae…terrae.*

desiderium is defined by Cicero as specifically a wish for what is absent (Tusc.4.21), and is found with comparable objective genitives at e.g. Ter.Hec.88; Cic.Fam.7.6.1.

mitius…esse iubes = 'bid it to be bearable': cf. Cic.Tusc.2.53 *haec cogitatio…dolorem…mitiorem facit*; Ov.Tr.4.4.51 *mitius exilium pauloque propinquius opto*; Lucan 8.452f. *mitissima sors est / regnorum sub rege novo.*

For the sentiment of the final line cf. 10.13(20).9f. *si tibi mens eadem, si nostri mutua cura est, / in quocumque loco Roma duobus erit. tu sola facis*, repeating the *tu* from the previous line, has a distinct touch of the panegyric / hymnal mode: cf. the final sentence of the Gloria, *quoniam tu solus Sanctus, tu solus Dominus, tu solus Altissimus, Jesu Christe, cum Sancto Spiritu: in gloria Dei Patris* (on which see E. Norden Agnostos Theos 276; also 245f.; cf. A. Cameron, on the address *imperator unice* at Catul.29.11, Hermes 104 (1976) 158).

'Do you want me to tell you how indecorously one-eyed Philaenis is ? She'd look more decorative if she were blind.'

luscus can refer to blindness, and an unsightly discharge, in one eye,

or to the absence of one eyeball: Philaenis has the former problem in 4.65

> *oculo Philaenis semper altero plorat.*
> *quo fiat istud quaeritis modo ? lusca est.*

but the present poem depends on a grotesquerie of appearance resulting from her lack of one eye, which is then exploited in the tradition of *vetula-Skoptik* (see on 12.7). For M's references to this particular deformity, and the degree to which it must have been a frequent and serious medical problem to his contemporaries, see P. Watson, G&R 29.1 (1982) 71-5.

Philaenis (= 'lover of praise / stories' ?) is a favourite name in this type of epigram in M. Apart from 4.65, she appears again in 2.33 as a **red-haired** (and bald !) *lusca*, and M. also uses the name of a rapacious lesbian (7.67 and .70), a recently deceased witch / *lena* (9.29), someone who is odoriferous (9.62), and a *fellatrix* (9.40; 9.62). The name was commonly attached to a (probably fictional) Greek poetess, who was credited with writing pornographic material of the kind also ascribed to Elephantis (see e.g. Priap.63.17; for a detailed discussion of the evidence, D.W.T. Vessey, 'Philaenis,' RBPh 54 (1976) 78ff.).

The whole poem turns on the word play *indecenter / decentior*, which turns *decorum* of appearance into a relative matter, of symmetry or proportion: cf. 5.14.7 *oculoque ludos spectat **indecens** uno*; also 2.11.4 *quod paene terram nasus indecens tangit*. The point is sharpened by the variation of construction: the joking conclusion is stated by a straightforward use of the comparative adjective *decentior*, but the word is introduced by the use of *lusca* as an adjective qualified by the adverb *indecenter* - cf. Petr.64.6 (of a puppy) *indecenter pinguem*, which suggests a slangy or playful tone, just as 'indecently fat' might have in English. This construction, common in early Latin (e.g. Pl.Merc.35f. *quia numquam ullus amator adeost callide / facundus quae in rem sint suam ut possit*

loqui), was not frequent in the classical period, although cf. Cic.Brut.205 *litterate peritus*, and H.Od.3.11.35 *splendide mendax*; 3.17.9 *late tyrannus*. It came to be more used in the Silver period: see K.F. Nägelsbach, Lateinische Stylistik 374f.: Quint.Inst.12.10.18 *neque enim Attice pressi neque Asiane sunt abundantes*; 10.1.96 *Horatius…varius figuris et verbis felicissime audax*; H.Ep.2.2.70 *intervalla vides humane commoda*; Sen.Ep.100.10 *volo luxuriam obiurgari, libidinem traduci, inpotentiam frangi. sit aliquid oratorie acre, tragice grande, comice exile*; 115.8 *nos circa tabulas et statuas insanimus, carius inepti*; Petr.68.7 *desperatum valde ingeniosus est* (= 'desperately clever': Smith compares Pl.Mil.24 *estur insanum bene*; Nervol.frg.6 *insanum valde uterque deamat*); M.1.0.12 *si quis tamen* ***tam ambitiose tristis est*** *ut apud illum in nulla pagina latine loqui fas sit, potest epistola vel potius titulo contentus esse*. See also Löfstedt Peregr.35; L-H-S 2.163 (§97).

vis dicam tibi is a typically conversational address in such 'question + answer' structures: cf. e.g. 4.26; the final couplet of 2.7; 6.30.6f.; 10.14.10. Fabullus has just appeared in 12.20, a question + answer distich about the incestuous Themison.

indecenter, breviter, decentior may be intended to add to the comic effect of the poem with a jingle.

caeca insists that the incongruity (*indecorum* ?) of having one eye is far worse even than being blind: M. stresses that it is unpleasant to **look at**, which is probably a further unexpressed joke. *caecus* and *luscus* share the -ko- suffix which is associated with words to do with infirmity (see E&M s.v.; cf. e.g. *mancus*).

23

In this further contribution to *vetula-Skoptik* (and note the juxtaposition of this with the previous poem, also about a *lusca*) M. combines the tarted-up hag with the *lusca*: see Howell on 1.19 for toothlessness as part of the attack on the old woman who is trying to appear youthful. For baldness see on 12.7, and also 1.72.8, 6.12, 9.37 and AP.5.76, 11.68 and 11.310 for attacks on the bewigged. *dentes* and *comae* which have been purchased are always good for a joke, however tired, but the introduction of an analogous but impossible *oculus emptus* adds a new liveliness.

It is worth comparing AP.11.310:

ἠγόρασας πλοκάμους, φῦκος, μέλι, κηρόν, ὀδόντας.
τῆς αὐτῆς δαπάνης ὄψιν ἂν ἠγόρασας.

See Burnikel Witzepigramm 36-38 for a comparison of these two poems. He sums up the point of Lukillios' poem as being that one can buy the parts, but the whole is more than the sum of its parts and isn't commercially available (his added point that ὄψις can = '*schönes* Gesicht', which would enrich the joke, is unfortunately not supported).

.1 **DENTIBUS ATQUE COMIS - NEC TE PUDET - UTERIS EMPTIS:** Toothlessness, and therefore false teeth, are a well-recognized part of the *vetula-Skoptik*: see Grassmann Epoden 13, 20; AP.11.310 above; H.S.1.8.48f. M. mentions teeth which are *piceique buxeique* (2.41.6f.) and also, presumably, ivory (5.43.1). J. Woodforde (The Strange Story of False Teeth 8-13) notes the skill of the Greeks and Phoenicians in this field, and especially of the Etruscans (passing into Roman dentistry), who outdid all subsequent dental technicians until the 19th century: see illustrations at Woodforde 10; D.E. Strong The Early Etruscans 103. Literary references are unfortunately limited to texts like M. and the AP: medical writers such as Celsus discuss only diseases and non-mechanical remedies.

As usual, the point here is an attack on Laelia as a visually ridiculous *anus*. For *emptis* cf. 1.72.4 *emptis ossibus (= dentibus)*; 6.12.1 *capillos…emit*; Ov.AA.3.165ff. *femina procedit densissima crinibus emptis / proque suis alios efficit aere suos. / nec rubor est emisse* (M. seems to be recalling .165/7 in the present line).

Specific references to wigs (*capillamenta* or *galeri*) are also predictably rare: see Petr.110.5; Suet.Otho 12; Nero 26.1; Cal.11; Juv.6.120 (with Courtney); Blümner PrA.276; Marquardt Prl.603f.

.2 **QUID FACIES OCULO, LAELIA ? NON EMITUR**: *non emitur* implies the point of the line, *lusca es*. The joke is made by the paralleling of *emptis* and *non emitur* at the end of each line of the distich, and the already slightly comical directness of *emptis…dentibus atque comis* (cf. ἠγόρασας in AP.11.310).

quid facies oculo ? = not 'what will you do **for** an eye' (Ker, reading *oculo* as dative ?), but 'what will you do **about** your eye (*oculo* abl.): cf. e.g. Ter.Heaut.317 *quid illo facias*; Cic.Ver.2.2.42 *quid hoc homine faciatis*.

PIR² lists two real Laeliae (*L* §§57f.) as well as M's 3 (the others are 5.75 and 10.68) uses of the name: like the name Philaenis, in the previous poem, he uses it consistently of a disreputable woman.

24

A thank-you poem, something of a rarity in M., but cf. 12.31; 8.28. Cairns (GC 74) regards the 'everyday thanksgiving utterance' of this sort as a discrete genre, related to the 'eucharistikon'. He offers, among his examples, Catul.49, to Cicero (although that is very widely recognized to be both formal and possibly heavily ironic - see Fordyce), Stat.Silv.4.2,

to Domitian (see K.M.Coleman's commentary pp.82ff., pointing out that the *gratiarum actio* of this type was 'integral to Roman social relations' and, among rhetoricians, was considered to require an elevated delivery - Quint.Inst.11.3.153 - which may have some bearing on the tension between formality and colloquialism in M's poem), and M.8.49(50), once again to Domitian, fulsome and formal. These do not seem to support Cairns' picture of something 'everyday' or 'unofficial': Jasper Griffin's reservations about treating 'real life' in the terms of rhetorical handbooks (Latin Poetry and Roman Life, Ch.3 'Genre and Real Life in Latin Poetry') would seem to be particularly apposite to the present poem. Cf. also on 12.31, the unaffected and affectionate poem of thanks to Marcella for her gift of a villa. Similarities will inevitably be found between any poems of thanks, but there seems to be little evidence that M. is setting out to write his poem in a particular way to conform to a recognized literary norm. On the language of this poem see Salemme 25ff.

.1ff. **O IUCUNDA, COVINNE, SOLITUDO,**
CARRUCA MAGIS ESSEDOQUE GRATUM
FACUNDI MIHI MUNUS AELIANI: The opening is formal and mannered in phrasing, thoroughly undercut by the banality of the word *covinnus*. On the type of expression (largely absent in Greek, but taken up in Latin Poetry), which he terms 'inserted apposition', see Joseph B. Solodow, HSPh 90 (1986) 129-153. He shows that the enclosure of a **single** word, as here, is commoner in the higher genres, where the technique itself is, however, less common: Vergil uses it 8× in the, relatively short, Eclogues, 3× in the Georgics and only twice in the Aeneid. Moreover, as here with *covinne*, at, e.g., Juv.7.120 (*veteres, Maurorum epimenia, bulbi*), 'The wide gap between the high-flown phrasing and the pedestrian subject creates an ironic effect' (153). In M. Solodow notes 13.1.3 *perdite Niliacas, Musae, mea damna, papyros*, 'blunted' by *Musae* (add also e.g. 12.72.3 *deseris urbanas, tua*

praedia, Pannyche, lites). It may be important to M. that Ovid made great use of it (see 141-146), sometimes with single word insertions and many vocatives - e.g. Pont.3.3.2 *sidus Fabiae, Maxime, gentis*; without the genitive e.g. Met.14.833 *praecipuum, matrona, decus.* He notes 2 examples with *O*: V.Ecl.3.3 *infelix o semper, oves, pecus !*; Dirae 82 *o male devoti, praetorum crimina, agelli*; and cf. Prop.1.11.30 *a pereant Baiae, crimen amoris, aquae.*

The apostrophe (*O*), which adds a note of solemnity to the opening, makes the contrast of tone with the (personified) *covinnus* all the more marked here. *iucunda…solitudo* makes a virtue out of the fact that this carriage does not require a driver - the 'solitude' is an absence of slaves.

covinnus is a gallic word for a vehicle which was, apparently, of British origin (Tac.Agr.35.3, with Ogilvie-Richmond), cognate with *vehere* and related to Welsh *gwain*, 'wagon' (see A. Walde and J.B. Hofmann Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch³ 282). The original military vehicle was a two-horsed war-chariot; the non-military adaptation was a small travelling carriage, presumably with two seats (or possibly three - see on line 10, below). Accurate identification of these vehicles is difficult: the only distinctive thing about the *covinnus* that is known is that it had no driver (and that only from this poem - see RE 4.1679.48ff.), whereas the *carruca* and *essedum* did. See also D-S 1².1551; Vigneron Cheval 169; Marquardt Prl.734. It is interesting that M. considers driving himself to be perfectly acceptable, indeed an advantage. In Rome it was considered undignified to drive onself: see Juv.1.61; 8.146ff. (with Courtney). Perhaps this is another sign of the rusticity of his life in Bilbilis.

Both *carruca* and *essedum* are also words of Gallic origin. The *carruca* (gall. *carrus*, 'wagon') was merely a relative of the simple and ubiquitous

four-wheeled covered wagon, not unlike those used in the American Old West: see Vigneron Cheval pl.s 65, 67. It could be highly decorated (Plin.NH.33.140; M.3.62.5), and was suitable for family travel, using a slave as driver. A variant, the *carruca dormitoria*, was equipped for sleeping. See RE 3.1614.35ff; D-S 1².928 (and fig.s 1197 & 1198); Vigneron Cheval 168; Marquardt Prl.736.

The *essedum* (gall. **ensedon* < *sed* 'sit' and *en* 'on') was a Gallic two-horsed military chariot adapted as a light travelling carriage by emperors and officials. It could be quite elaborate, even fitted for eating or gaming: see L. Casson Travel in the Ancient World 179; Cic.Phil.2.58; Suet.Cal.26.2 etc. At 10.104.7 M. says that Bilbilis was 5 *esseda* (i.e. 5 days travel by *esseda*) from Tarraco, i.e. at a speed of about 60 km (35 miles) per day. Once again it requires a driver. See Vigneron Cheval 169; RE 6.687.4ff.; D-S 2'.815f.; also, possibly, Casson's illustration on p.160, although only one mule is there depicted pulling the vehicle.

Aelianus is an extremely common *cognomen*, formed by the addition of the suffix *-anus* to a *gentilicium* - see Kajanto 35, 139. M. also uses the name at 11.40.5 (see Kay, who believes him to have been a 'real' person - his rule of thumb for making such decisions may be found on p.78 of his commentary). This need not be the same Aelianus. *facundus* suggests that he is some sort of literary man (see on 12.2(3).11), which is presumably why Friedländer has taken up the suggestion of Giese that he may be the author of a work entitled Ταχτιχή θεωρία, or a praetorian prefect under Domitian, Casperius Aelianus, but, as Kay remarks on 11.40.5, neither poem gives any information about him, so the attempt at identification is futile.

.4f. **HIC MECUM LICET, HIC, IUVATE, QUIDQUID**
IN BUCCAM TIBI VENERIT LOQUARIS: The name Iuvatus would be attested only from here (Kajanto 352) and is probably a mistake: older edd. (see

Heraeus' app. crit.) suggested Iubatus, which is not only an easy change, and attested elsewhere (Kajanto 222), but also provides a pun, in close proximity to horses and mules (see on 12.2.12 *clarus…Stella*, for similar puns). See also Syme RP 3.1117. *Iubate* should be read here.

For *quidquid in buccam tibi venerit loquaris* see Otto §273: e.g. Cic.Att.1.12.4 *si rem nullam habebis quod in buccam tibi venerit scribito* (quoted by Sen. at Ep.118.1); cf. Athen.5.217^{c}; Lucian hist.scrib.32; Plato Rep.563^{b} οὐκοῦν κατ' Αἰσχύλον, ἔφη, ἔροῦμεν ὅ τι νῦν ἦλθ' ἐπὶ στόμα. Cf. also the more straightforward expression *quidquid venit in mentem* (Cic.Att.9.19.4; 11.25.1); Schaefer on Dion.Hal.de comp.verb. 12f., with a list of similar Greek phrases. *bucca* is colloquial, and = 'mouth' here: cf. Fr. *bouche*.

.6ff. **NON RECTOR LIBYCI NIGER CABALLI**
SUCCINCTUS NEQUE CURSOR ANTECEDIT;
NUSQUAM EST MULIO: MANNULI TACEBUNT.: M. spells out exactly why the *covinnus* is so pleasantly private.

niger could refer to suntanning (admittedly a likely occupational hazard of such a job) or to skin-pigmentation, which is more likely. See F.M. Snowdon Blacks in Antiquity who shows that *niger* = *Aethiops*, the generic designation for all black races.

Contrasts of colour are relished as points of observation: cf. M.1.115 (see Howell for the conventional theme of the fair vs. the dark beloved - M. prefers the dark). Here the interweaving of *rector niger* with *Libyci caballi* is clearly intended to be an amusing juxtaposition, which supports the supposition that the man is **black**. Mayor, on Juv.5.53 notes that it is the mark of μικροφιλοτιμία for a man to take care to have an Ethiopian attendant (Theophrast.Char.21). A black slave seems rather exotic for Bilbilis, so the setting of this poem might be worth questioning: there is no reason why it could not have been written at Rome, although it would fit

better into the book if it were not. Perhaps, since this slave is only an imagined absence, M. is still thinking in Roman terms.

caballus (cf. Fr. *cheval* < medieval Latin use of *caballus* as the usual word for 'horse') is often derogatory in classical Latin (cf. e.g. Pers.pr.1 *fonte…caballino*), or at least pitying - Juv.10.60; 11.195 (Courtney: 'the vulgar word for "horse"'). Seneca (Ep.87.10) considers a *caballus* a sign of unpretentiousness and thrift; cf. also Lucil.161K *succussatoris, taetri tardique caballi*. Note also the name Tettius Caballus at 1.41.17, apparently the name of a comedian (see Citroni, Howell).

There may be a specific point to *Libyci*: Aelian 14.10 μικροὶ μὲν ἰδεῖν εἰσιν οἱ Λίβυες ἵπποι, δραμεῖν δὲ ὠκιστοι (also 3.2), which would make sense of their use with a light, fast carriage, and also M's use of the dim. *mannuli*.

The function of the *cursor* is not known with certainty - obviously he 'runs' in front of the carriage - perhaps to make way or lead the horses in busy streets, but more likely for the sake of ostentation (cf. Petr.28.4 *phaleratis cursoribus*). See Mayor and Courtney on Juv.5.52f. (being served wine by a *cursor Gaetulus*); also SG 1.288 = 1.341f.; Marquardt Prl.150 nn.6 & 7; Blümner PrA.466.

succinctus is the proper state of clothing for any physical activity - here running or fast walking. The reference to the absence of a *mulio* again distinguishes the *covinnus* from other, slower, types of carriages, drawn by mules.

The dim. of *mannus* is found only here and at Plin.Ep.4.2.3: *habebat puer mannulos multos et iunctos et solutos, habebat canes maiores minoresque, habebat luscinias, psittacos, merulas*. A *mannus* was itself a small horse or pony (Vigneron Cheval 169, note a).

tacebunt seems to have been largely ignored in the interpretation of

this poem, yet it provides the climax of these three lines, and the clearest explanation of *solitudo* in .1: the *mannuli* will not, strictly, 'be silent', but they will 'not talk' - i.e. they won't retell what they hear, which is the point of this future tense, after *antecedit* and *est*.

.9ff. **O SI CONSCIUS ESSET HIC AVITUS,**
AUREM NON EGO TERTIAM TIMEREM.
TOTUS QUAM BENE SIC DIES ABIRET: Shackleton Bailey 292f.:

> Martial imagines himself as taking a ride in a *covinnus* with his friend Juvatus. They can talk freely, for there is nobody to listen. "Wie man hier sieht, hatte es [i.e. *covinnus*] für zwei Personen Raum, von denen die eine selbst fuhr" (Friedländer). Not so. "Wie man hier sieht," the *covinnus* had room for three. If only Avitus were there in the third seat ! No need to be / afraid of a third pair of ears, if they were his. But, as it is, Martial and Juvatus must have the *covinnus* to themselves.
>
> A regular conditional sentence with protasis and apodosis is not normally introduced by *o*. Punctuate: "o si conscius esset hic Avitus!" *O si = utinam* (*TLL*, 9.2:12. 7).

This is helpful so far as it goes, but does not address the question of why M. is concerned about privacy here - something he simply does not explain. Unless the reader was expected to know something about the personalities involved, it is difficult to see how this could have been more than an 'in joke'.

Stertinius Avitus, consul in 92, first appears in 1.16 as a 'distinguished friend and admirer' (Howell), and turns up again for certain at least in 9.0, where he is so keen on M. that he has wanted to put up a bust of him in his library, for which M. provides an inscription. Avitus is also addressed in 6.84, 10.96, 10.102 and 12.75 (a likely conjecture): Peter White (Patronage 56f.) argues that this is not always the same man, and there is something to be said for his point that, in 9.0, M. is anxious to specify to Toranius **which** Avitus he means (*de quo scribendum tibi putavi, ne ignorares Avitus iste quis vocaretur*). But, apart from 10.96, which appears to be addressed to a fellow client, the others are non-

committal, and arguments about the inappropriateness of a 'flippant tone' to a man nearing his consulate are not compelling (cf. on Instantius Rufus in 12.95), especialy as Avitus is a close friend (*conscius*).

conscius = 'sharing (often secret) knowledge', i.e. a 'confidant': cf. Cic.Clu.36 *non modo conscio, sed etiam conviva et adiutore Oppianico*, and phrases such as *nec mihi conscius est ullus homo* (Pl.Rud.926ᵐ).

abire is often used of the passing of time: cf. e.g. Catul.61.90 *sed moraris, abit dies.*

25

Telesinus, a *vetus sodalis*, pretends that he has no money to lend M. without security, but, when M's *agellus* is offered, he suddenly has the money. M. suggests that the *agellus* may as well perform the duties of friendship as well.

.1f. **CUM ROGO TE NUMMOS SINE PIGNORE, 'NON HABEO' INQUIS;**
IDEM, SI PRO ME SPONDET AGELLUS, HABES: For a similarly direct and insistent beginning, with *rogo*, cf. 5.44.1; 10.66.1.

nummi = 'cash': 12.53.1; Catul.103.3 *si te nummi delectant*; H.Ep.1.1.54 *virtus post nummos.*

pignus = 'security on a loan' - this is the only case in M. where the word has this, its original sense. It had come to be used of various types of pledge, especially of love or friendship, often metaphorically, and M's other uses are of this kind.

As often in M., the personification becomes more important as the poem progresses, so that, although *spondere* was used of things, as = 'act as a guarantee that' ([Quint.] decl.13.17 *plena horrea*; Prop.1.14.13 *mea gaudia*), the more usual personal sense of 'stand surety, act as guarantor'

is required. Cf. M.10.19(18).1f.

nec vocat ad cenam Marius, nec munera mittit,
nec spondet, nec volt credere, sed nec habet.

and, e.g. Pers.5.79f. *Marco spondente recusas / credere tu nummos*;

Cic.Att.12.17 *quod pro Cornificio me abhinc amplius annis XXV spopondisse dicit Flavius* (= Shackleton Bailey Att.255; see his commentary for the technical details); Juv.7.134 *spondet enim Tyrio stlattaria purpura filo.*

As in 12.16, the diminutive force of *agellus* is intended to be felt: it helps to deflate Telesinus and emphasise his lack of trust, when compared with M's longstanding *sodalitas* with him. For uses referring to size cf. Varro RR.3.16.10; H.S.1.6.71.

.3f. **QUOD MIHI NON CREDIS VETERI, TELESINE, SODALI,**
CREDIS COLICULIS ARBORIBUSQUE MEIS: *credere* is a t.t. for 'lend with a guarantee': cf. 10.19(18).2 and Pers.5.79 above.

sodalis implies a very close friendship, and the idea of the *vetus sodalis* is very common in M., as is the theme of friendship more generally: see Howell on 1.54.6f. The closeness of the relationship of *sodalitas* may be demonstrated by its comparison in some places with brotherhood: e.g. Ter.Ad.708; Ov.Tr.1.3.65. Cf. also N-H on H.Od.1.25.19f. Telesinus' conduct is therefore to be taken as particularly reprehensible.

M. also uses the name Telesinus at 3.41(40), of a miserly creditor, and at 6.50, of a poor man who becomes rich by courting wealthy homosexuals; Juvenal (7.25) uses it of a bad poet. See Kajanto 187: it is found as a slave name, and also notably as the name of a Samnite leader in the Social War, Pontius Telesinus (RE 22.36.48ff.), and of a consul of 66 B.C., C. Luccius Telesinus (PIR² *L* §366).

coliculus most often = a (small) cabbage (also called *brassica*), on the medicinal qualities of which Cato waxes lyrical (Ag.156f.). M. incongruously yokes the very small, and specified, *coliculi* with the large,

generalized, *arbores* in a 'polarized' short-hand description of his whole estate.

.5f. **ECCE REUM CARUS TE DETULIT: ADSIT AGELLUS.**
EXILII COMITEM QUAERIS: AGELLUS EAT: *ecce* vividly introduces a new or surprising statement (see F. Hand Tursellinus 2.343ff.), and here the surprise is well orchestrated, not to say heavily ironic (not least because M. would never appear as an advocate or go into exile). It also signals a shift of the narrative away from M's *ego-persona* as he distances himself from Telesinus.

deferre, only here thus in M., is another legal t.t. (cf. *delator*) = 'inform against, accuse', here with *reum* as a predicative acc.: cf. Asconius Scaur. p.21 *Scaurus tanta fuit continentia animi…ut Caepionem contra reum detulerit*, and several instances in Quintilian, e.g. Inst.12.7.3 (see TLL 5'.317.6ff.). More often found with *reum* are *facere* (the combination = 'indict'), *citare*, *postulare* ('prosecute') and *agere* ('try').

Mettius Carus was a famous *delator* under Domitian, whose name M. uses by metonomy for his profession: cf. Plin.Ep.1.5.3; 7.19.5; Juv.1.35. This is one type of case in which M. will use a real name.

adesse as a t.t. = 'appear for (as an advocate)' - e.g. Cic.de Orat.2.280; Tac.Ann.13.55; TLL 2.923.20ff.

To be a *comes exilii* was the ultimate demonstration of true friendship: the final couplet takes the apparently unexceptional personification of the *agellus* in .2 and makes the whole joke turn on it. *exilium* was originally a voluntary absence (like that of Verres) to escape certain conviction, and only later became a formal sentence of banishment pronounced by the courts (or the emperor): see H.F. Jolowicz and B. Nicholas, Historical Introduction to the Study of Roman Law[3] 403. For the phrase cf. Liv.1.3.2

comes…paternae fugae; 6.3.4 *mulierum ac puerorum qui exsilii comites…*; Cic. Att. 9.10.2.

The joke is enhanced by the chiastic and contradictory line endings of .5f.: *adsit agellus / agellus eat.*

26 (27)

This poem has been explained in three different ways. Farnaby, for example, suggests first that the *latrones* are denying Saenia's **unwillingness**. This is wrong because *futuere* does not = 'rape' (Ker's translation). Lemaire's commentary suggested as a second possibility that Saenia is an ugly *vetula*, boasting about her sexual powers, and the *latrones* recoil in horror at being implicated in the suggestion. This is possible, but a simple denial, which would surely be commonplace in such a situation, lacks the sort of point for which M. generally strives. The third possibility (Calderini, Farnaby, Collesson, Ker), which is also the most likely, is like the case of Callistratus in 12.35, who admits to submitting to buggery and so must be concealing something worse: Saenia **says** she was *fututam*, but the *latrones* say she was **not** *fututam* - i.e. she is a *fellatrix* or something similar. This is a favourite type of sexual innuendo in M., and wittier than the second explanation. A different interpretation of this third possibility has been suggested to me by Mr John Griffith - that Saenia's sexual performance is so feeble that having sex with her was not worthy of description by the verb *futuo*.

latrones presumably represent a popularly notorious example of glamorous rough manhood for Saenia to fantasise about (cf. Keith Hopkins, Death and Renewal 21-23 on the sex-appeal of gladiators); it might also suggest *latrocinari* (= 'serve as a mercenary soldier') and the world of

e.g. Plautus' Miles Gloriosus and his sex-life. At 12.63.12 M. has the phrase *nil est deterius latrone nudo*, which may suggest that there is a double entendre current to do with such men (see ad loc.). Cf. Petr.91.2 '*eripe me latroni cruento…*', in which Giton is describing Ascyltos as a sexual *latro* (having stolen him from Encolpius); also 98.6, where the word is used by Eumolpus of Encolpius, when he has stolen Giton.

M. uses *futuere* 50 times (and derived substantives, possibly his own coinings - see on 12.43.6 - a further 11 times), even extending it to the female role in sexual intercourse (Adams LSV 122). The word is found in graffiti and in the Priapea, and there is no **clear** relationship with φύω and its derivatives, although there may be some common ground with IE **bhu* (see H. Frisk Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch 1052ff.; E&M 470). Adams considers it more likely that it may be derived from **futo* 'hit, beat' (LSV 118 - see 118-122 generally), and that it 'was freely used as an unemotive technical term in brothels by both clients and prostitutes (cf. Mart. 1.94.1),' but points out that M. indirectly comments on the tone of the word at 1.35.1ff. (which refer to *futui*, the final word of the previous poem)

> *versus scribere me parum severos*
> *nec quos praelegat in schola magister,*
> *Corneli, quereris.*

This is M's only use of the name Saenia, spelt thus here because inscriptions always have Saenius and Saenianus (see PIR *S* §§39ff.): the mss. have Senia.

27 (28)

M. amalgamates two standard topics - the complaint (*quereris* .2) from the lowly guest who is served wine which is inferior to that given to the more

important *conviva*, and the attack on drunkenness - to create a joke παρὰ προσδοκίαν. The poem is conceived as an answer to the first charge, by M. himself, in the character of a host who could not support Cinna's capacity for drinking if he served him good wine. For the complaint see Plin.Ep.2.6.2; Juv.5.24ff.; M.2.43; 3.60; 3.82; 6.11; 9.2; also Plin.NH.14.91. Cf. stories like that of Julius Caesar punishing a baker for serving him special bread (Suet.Jul.48) and Hadrian's care always to eat the same food as his guests (SHA.1.17.4).

Used absolutely, the fractions *sextantes* and *deunces* ('sixths' and 'eleven-twelfths') refer to the *sextarius*, which, as a liquid measure, approximated a pint, or just under 600 ml: see Flower and Rosenbaum's edition of Apicius, intro. p 39; Blümner PrA. 404; Hilgers Gefässnamen 278 (and f.n.809). It was used as a wine-measure, an oil-measure, and in cooking generally.

For *sextans* , cf. M.5.64.1 *sextantes, Calliste, duos infunde Falerni*; for *deunx*, 6.78.6f. *misceri sibi protinus deunces / sed crebros iubet*; 7.67.9f. *nec cenat prius aut recumbit ante / quam septem vomuit meros deunces.*

Cinna is possibly an Etruscan name (Kajanto 42), relatively common in M. (27×) though not frequently attested elsewhere (PIR² *C* §737): only at 10.21.4 does M. use it unequivocally of Cinna the poet.

For *bibere idem* cf. 6.11.1ff.:

> *quod non sit Pylades hoc tempore, non sit Orestes*
> *miraris ? Pylades, Marce, bibebat idem,*
> *nec melior panis turdusve dabatur Orestae,*
> *sed par atque eadem cena duobus erat.*

28 <29>

M. creates a fantasy character who steals table napkins (so far an observable social criminal) and builds around him, in comic hyperbole, a reputation for skill, daring and grandness of design in a succession of self-contained couplets. See Burnikel Witzepigramm 28-30, who calls the character '*Der Meisterdieb*' and compares AP.11.315 (Lucillius):

Εἴσιδεν Ἀντίοχος τὴν Λυσιμάχου ποτὲ τύλην,
κοὐκέτι τὴν τύλην εἴσιδε Λυσίμαχος.
(all Lucillius)

Cf. also AP.11.174, 176, 179; M.8.59, on Autolycus the *luscus* who pockets *mappae* among other items from the dinner table, and Catul.12, demanding from Asinius the return of a table napkin (called a *linteum*) which he has stolen and which has sentimental value for Catullus (see Fordyce).

The poem is carefully patterned: on the larger scale, note the repetitions of Hermogenes' name (see Salemme 59), and the word *mappa*; on the smaller scale there is the marked repetition of the unusual syncopated form *surpuit*, and the thoroughness of the antithesis in the final couplet (see Burnikel 28; below on .21f.). See also U. Joepgen, Wortspiele bei Martial, diss. Bonn (1967) 142f.

.1 **HERMOGENES TANTUS MAPPARUM, †CASTRICE†, FUR EST**: Hermogenes is a well-attested name (PIR² *H* §§146-150), but nevertheless the meaning (= *natus Mercurio* - cf. Autolycus in 8.59, from Od.19.394ff.) is no doubt intended to be felt since Hermes / Mercury is the patron of thieves. The name, and the defining characteristic, are quickly and staightforwardly introduced, and the playful jokes then begin to accumulate.

The *mappa* was most often a table napkin provided either by the host or the guest (here, as at 8.59, the latter: see .11 and .21 below), attested as a possible present at e.g. M.5.18.1 and Stat.Silv.4.9.25. Varro LL.9.47 shows that *mappae* might also belong to the host, describing them as part of

a matching dining-room set (Catul.12 confirms this; see also Marquardt Prl. 313). Blümner (PrA.390) notes a category of slave *a mappis* from CIL.6.8891f. They were sometimes used as 'doggie bags', for taking food home from a dinner (more evidence that they could belong to the guest): M.2.37.7; 4.88.4; Petr.60.7; 66.4 and especially M.7.20.8ff. - a massive theft of comestibles. The *lintea* stolen at Catul.12.3 are clearly the same sort of item; cf. those provided by the host at H.S.2.4.81 and Ep.1.5.22.

mappa was also the correct word for the cloth dropped by the praetor to start a race (.9f.; Juv.11.193, with Courtney; Suet.Nero 22.2), and could clearly be used as well of the cloths waved by the crowd asking *missio* for a gladiator (.7f.), although these must in fact have been more like handkerchiefs, the nearest specific word for which was *sudarium* (see Kay on 11.39.3, who notes the lack of distinction of vocabulary for such items among both Greeks and Romans; see also Fordyce on Catul.12.3; D-S 3^2 .1593ff.). M. intends the range of things which may be designated as *mappae* to seem comic - and then proceeds to fantastic analogies like sails and awnings.

For *fur* with an objective genitive cf. Pl.Capt.1018; M.1.66.1 *meorum fur librorum*; Sal.Cat.52.12.

Castrice was Lindsay's supplement to fill out the unmetrical line transmitted in the mss. (see CR 17.1 (1903) 51); Heraeus was right simply to mark the missing syllables, since such speculation is pointless.

.2 **QUANTUS NUMMORUM VIX, PUTO, MASSA FUIT**: The hyperboles to come are immediately signalled. *puto* is often used thus, parenthetically, by M. (over 30×), and is characteristic of a colloquial, conversational tone - see Hofmann LU 106f.; 198 and, e.g. Petr.77.1 *rogo, Habinna - puto, interfuisti*; Citroni on M.1.5.2, who compares Italian *evidentemente* or *a quanto pare*.

Massa is probably the Baebius Massa who was proconsul in Baetica in 93 A.D. and a famous *delator* under Domitian: see Plin.Ep.7.33.4ff. The comparison of a *delator* with a thief seems natural enough.

nummi = 'cash' (cf. 12.25.1). The jingle of the two genitive plural terminations, *mapparum / nummorum*, so deliberately contrasted (*tantus / quantus*) adds a further comic edge to the incongruity and hyperbole.

.3f. **TU LICET OBSERVES DEXTRAM TENEASQUE SINISTRAM,**
INVENIET MAPPAM QUA RATIONE TRAHAT: *tenere* is an obvious verb in the context; *observare* is regularly used of exactly this type of precautionary watching: Ter.And.412f. *erus me…iussit Pamphilum / hodie observare*; Cic.Orat.210 *non enim id agit ut insidietur et observet*; and especially Juv.5.40f. *custos adfixus ibidem, / qui numeret gemmas, ungues observet acutos*. Cf. also M.5.50.7; 9.90.10.

For the left hand cf. Catul.12.1ff.

> *Marrucine Asini, manu sinistra*
> *non belle utaris: in ioco atque vino*
> *tollis lintea neglegentiorum.*

and also 47.1f.

> *Porci et Socration, duae sinistrae*
> *Pisonis, scabies famesque mundi.*

where Fordyce compares Pl.Pers.226 and Ov.Met.13.111, *nataeque ad furta sinistrae*. So it is natural to restrain someone's left hand, but Hermogenes is such a scoundrel that he succeeds in thieving despite the restraint, and even with a watch kept on his **right** hand as well.

For the phrasing in .4 cf., e.g., Cic.Quinct.67 *dum invenietur qua ratione res…recedet*; M.6.51.2 *inveni noceam qua ratione tibi*.

trahere = 'plunder' (e.g. Cic.Balb.54) or 'kidnap' (Helen, in H.Od. 1.15.1f.), usually of more valuable things than this.

.5 **CERVINUS GELIDUM SORBET SIC HALITUS ANGUEM:** cf. Lucr.6.765f.

> *naribus alipedes ut cervi saepe putantur*

ducere de latebris serpentia saecla ferarum

(see Bailey); Plin.NH.8.118 *et his [sc. cervis] cum serpente pugna: vestigant cavernas nariumque spiritu extrahunt renitentes*; 11.279; 28.149. The exact process envisaged is not clear from these instances - M. seems to picture a 'vacuum-cleaner' effect (*sorbet*). Aelian (2.9) offers an apparently more sophisticated view:

> Ἔλαφος ὄφιν νικᾷ, κατά τινα φύσεως δωρεὰν θαυμαστήν καὶ οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸν διαλάθοι ἐν τῷ φωλεῷ ὢν ὁ ἔχθιστος, ἀλλὰ προσερείσας τῇ καταδρομῇ τοῦ δακετοῦ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ μυκτῆρας βιαιότατα ἕσπνει, καὶ ἕλκει ὡς ἴυγγι τῷ πνεύματι, καὶ ἄκοντα προάγει, καὶ προκύπτοντα αὐτὸν ἐσθίειν ἄρχεται.

But this may in fact be a 'commonsense' interpetation of Pliny's *nariumque spiritu extrahunt renitentes* with ὡς ἴυγγι (as ἕλκει…τῷ πνεύματι, καὶ ἄκοντα might suggest). For M's simile here the idea of 'sucking' is essential.

For *sorbere* cf. Plin.NH.9.91 (on a type of octopus) *luctatur enim [polypus] complexu et sorbet acetabulis* [i.e. 'suckers'] *ac numeroso suctu trahit, cum in naufragos urinantesve impetum cepit.* The commoner use is of sucking liquid - e.g. from an egg (Plin.NH.7.183) - or blood from a wound (Plin.NH.28.4).

For *gelidum…anguem* cf. M.7.87.7 *gelidum…draconem*; V.Ecl.3.93; 8.71 (*frigidus*); TLL 2.52.38ff. Vergil's use of the phrase appears to allude to Theoc.15.58 τὸν ψυχρὸν ὄφιν (see Gow).

.6 **CASURAS ALTE SIC RAPIT IRIS AQUAS**: For *aquae* = 'rain', cf. Tib.1.1.47; Plin.NH.11.101 (*vernis aquis*) and M.14.130. For *casuras alte* cf. V.Ecl.6.38 *altius atque cadant summotis nubibus imbres.*

rapere is used of physical forces, as in this simile (cf. Aetna 236; Liv.24.8.12; Stat.Theb.1.366), but is, of course, also usual of violent robbery (cf. e.g. Pl.As.321; Cic.Ver.1.60; Tac.Hist.1.67) and so supplies a pun in the present line.

See Pease on V.A.4.700 for a full discussion of Iris' relation to the rainbow and ancient descriptions of it; also Bömer on Ov.Met.11.589f. For more scientific attempts at explanation see Aristotle Meteor.3.2ff. (= 371ᵇff.) and Sen.Nat.1.3.1-1.10.1, one of whose points of comparison is relevant here:

> *videmus cum fistula aliquo loco rupta est, aquam per tenue foramen elidi, quae sparsa contra solem oblique positum faciem arcus repraesentat. idem videbis accidere, si quando volueris observare fullonem; cum os aqua implevit et vestimenta tendiculis diducta leviter aspergit, apparet varios edi colores in illo aere asperso, quales fulgere in arcu solent.*(1.3.2).

(cf. especially Aristot.Meteor.3.4 = 374ᵇ.1-6). M. appears to have simply envisaged Iris, the divinity associated with rainbows, sucking up the water in just this way, ready to spray it out to make the rainbow in the sunlight. Cf. M.4.19.10, where she is the agent of a shower of rain; Sen.Oed.316, where she is *imbrifera*.

.7f. **NUPER CUM MYRINO PETERETUR MISSIO LAESO,**
SUBDUXIT MAPPAS QUATTUOR HERMOGENES: *missio* could be granted to wounded gladiators (*laesi* - cf. Liv.41.20.12) at their request and with the approval of the crowd, which might, obviously, be signalled by the waving of *mappae*. See RE suppl.3.782.9ff.

Myrinus is also mentioned as a popular gladiator at 0.20.1; he is otherwise unknown.

.9f. **CRETATAM PRAETOR CUM VELLET MITTERE MAPPAM,**
PRAETORI MAPPAM SURPUIT HERMOGENES: This *mappa* was clearly a ceremonial ornament: cf. the use of the pope's maniple to signal the beginning of stational Masses in 7th century Rome. The maniple was a liturgical vestment derived from the *mappa* and worn over the left wrist at Mass by bishops, priests, deacons and subdeacons, originally used to wipe the vessels, and the hands and faces of the ministers. At S. Vitale in Ravenna there is an illustration of the Emperor Justinian and his courtiers

wearing a decoration similar to the Eastern Orthodox version of this vestment, the ἐπιγονάτιον (see J.G Davies A New Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship 526; 537). For the present purpose it was *cretata* in order to make it more clearly visible: Isid.Orig.19.24.6 *toga candida…addita creta quo candidior insigniorque esset*, and Pers.5.177 with Jenkinson's note.

cum vellet mittere together with *surpuit* suggests a comic picture of Hermogenes stealing the *mappa* from the praetor while he is in the very act of dropping it. ***mittere signum / -a*** is a common phrase of starting races.

For the praetor's role in organizing these and other festivities see Balsdon LL 263ff.; cf. M.10.41.5-7 (with reference to the Megalensian festival and Ludi Plebeii).

surpuit, a syncopated form of *subripuit* (which is found unsyncopated at 6.72.6 and 13.38.1), is used by M. only here and at .12 below: although it is metrically necessary, one suspects from the repetition that he means it to be noticed - perhaps an onomatopoeic effect is being pursued.

.11f. **ATTULERAT MAPPAM NEMO DUM FURTA TIMENTUR:**
MANTELE A MENSA SURPUIT HERMOGENES: *attulerat* prepares the way for *attulit / rettulit* in the final couplet. Because *nemo attulerat mappam*, Hermogenes branches out into thieving things which could only be comically related to *mappae*, and this enhances the joke.

This apears to be the first recorded use of *mantele* = 'tablecloth'. It was originally another word for hand-towel or napkin (indeed *mantile* remained one possible word for the maniple - see Davies *op.cit.*526), but the context here, with *a mensa* provided almost like a gloss, ensures that a tablecloth is meant (with the older meaning intended to be punningly felt). Isidorus notes the shift of meaning at Orig.19.26.6 *mantelia nunc pro operiendis mensis sunt; quae, ut nomen ipsud indicat, olim tergendis manibus praebebuntur*. No doubt the alliteration also appeals to M.

.13f. **HOC QUOQUE SI DERIT, MEDIOS DISCINGERE LECTOS**

MENSARUMQUE PEDES NON TIMET HERMOGENES: On the types of cushions, covers and mattresses to be found on *lecti* see Richter Furniture 117ff.; also fig.s 554, 569, 597, 649.

discingere usually = 'unbelt', 'ungirdle' or 'disarm', so its use here may be intended to be comically incongruous: see TLL 5'.1315.77ff. There seems to have existed some, perhaps colloquial, expression parallel to English 'strip', of beds (or altars): cf. the use at Juv.8.120, *cum tenuis nuper Marius discinxerit Afros*, = 'despoil'. *medios* = 'in full view' (i.e. in the midst of the gathering).

On Roman tables generally see Richter 110ff., but she does not note any coverings on their *pedes* (see also Blümner PrA. 124ff.). Presumably worried by this detail, some older edd. (e.g. Farnaby, Lemaire's commentary) suggested *distringere* and referred .13f. to the stripping of some precious ornamentation from the tables themselves, but that would not be relevant to H's activities. Something like a protective bag or cover, perhaps put over the ornamented feet of tables to protect them when in use, must presumably be referred to, although no other evidence of such items survives from antiquity.

non timet makes an attractively understated conclusion to this triplet of audacious thefts, and Hermogenes' mere presence causes public panic.

.15f. **QUAMVIS NON MODICO CALEANT SPECTACULA SOLE,**
VELA REDUCUNTUR CUM VENIT HERMOGENES: The thefts (or the fear of them) now move into the realm of comic fantasy.

spectacula often = 'the seats in the theatre': cf. Pl.Cur.647; Cic.Har.22; Vitr.5.6.2 *cunei spectaculorum in theatro ita dividantur*; Ov.Met.10.668; Tac.Ann.14.13. Most interesting, however, is Juv.11.193f.

interea Megalesiacae spectacula mappae
Idaeum sollemne colunt

(another reference to the praetor's *mappa*; see Courtney): in the present

line *caleant* makes clear that, as in Juv., *spectacula* is transferred from denoting the seats to the spectators who use them.

For *vela reducuntur* cf. Suet.Cal.26.5 *gladiatoris munere reductis… flagrantissimo sole velis*; Lucr.4.75ff. (with Bailey); Vitr.10.pr.3; Prop.4.1.15. Such awnings were said to have been first introduced by Q. Lutatius Catulus at the dedication of the Capitol in 78 B.C. (Plin.NH.19.23).

.17f. **FESTINANT TREPIDI SUBSTRINGERE CARBASA NAUTAE, AD PORTUM QUOTIENS PARUIT HERMOGENES:** *festinare* probably suggests a comic swiftness of action - cf. 12.75.1.

substringere = 'furl', of sails, only here in M. Cf. Sen.Ben.6.15.6 *iubenti vela substringi, armamenta demitti*; Sil.1.689.

carbasus (= κάρπασος) is one of a range of terms for 'sail' (see C. Torr, Ancient Ships 96 f.n. 207). It appears partly for variation after *vela*, although its accustomed use in elevated contexts probably means that it is intended to be comic here: e.g. Enn.Ann.573V; Catul.64.227; V.A.4.417. Servius comments on the word at A.3.357 *genus lini est, quod abusive plerumque pro velo ponitur.*

trepidi…nautae may also be intended to be comical, or at least paradoxical, in view of the common poetic topos of the danger of sailing: cf. e.g. H.Od.1.3.9ff.

> *illi robur et aes triplex*
> *circa pectus erat qui fragilem truci*
> *commisit pelago ratem*
> *primus…*

Note again the alliteration, in *portum…paruit*; *pareo* can = *appareo* - Sen.Ag.457; Stat.Silv.2.2.76.

.19f. **LINIGERI FUGIUNT CALVI SISTRATAQUE TURBA, INTER ADORANTES CUM STETIT HERMOGENES:** The priests and devotees of Isis wore linen and shaved all their body hair according to their

beliefs about purity and cleanliness - see J.G. Griffiths on Plut. Isis et Osiris 4; Courtney on Juv.6.533.

The attention to detail, and the colourful verb *fugio*, suggest that this picture of the *adorantes* is intended as a comic climax. *calvi* are of course inherently comical - see on 12.7. One might compare modern attitudes to the festal processions of the devotees of Krishna in Western cities, who also make a noise with tambourines, bells and chanting. In processions in honour of Isis, σεῖστρα, metal rattles (see RE 3.370.3ff.), were brandished: cf. Ov. Met. 9.784; Pont. 1.1.38. The only use of the noun in M. is of a child's rattle, and he may have coined *sistratus*.

turba in this sort of context is clearly derogatory: cf. Howell on 1.20.1; also 1.73.4; 6.48.1; Juv.1.96.

For *adorans* used absolutely as a subst. cf. V.Max.1.1.7; Plin. Pan. 3.5; Quint. Inst. 11.3.115.

.21f. **AD CENAM HERMOGENES MAPPAM NON ATTULIT UMQUAM, A CENA SEMPER RETTULIT HERMOGENES:** *attulit*, parallel with *attulerat* (.11), is now capped with *rettulit*, which leaves the reader with a picture of Hermogenes carrying a napkin off in triumph after every *cena* - one of the primary uses of *referre* is of bringing back spoils from battle. The final couplet is satisfyingly exact in its antithesis: *ad cenam / a cena; non umquam / semper; attulit / rettulit.*

29 ‹26›

M. 'answers' a senator who goes to great lengths in the *salutatio* and accuses M., an *eques*, of laziness for not courting patrons in the same way. M. points out that while he and the senator have to expend the same amount of effort on the *salutatio*, the senator's potential rewards from *his*

patrons are great, whereas the most M. can hope for from the senator is a free dinner.

.1f. **SEXAGENA TERAS CUM LIMINA MANE SENATOR,**
ESSE TIBI VIDEOR DESIDIOSUS EQUES: On *limina* see on 12.2(3).7; 12.18.4. For the opening phrase cf. 10.10.2 *mane salutator limina mille teras*; 8.44.4 *sed omne limen conteris salutator.*

Voss rightly emended the metrically impossible *sexagintā* to *sexagena.* M. conjures up the picture of the *senator-cliens* maniacally scuttling from *atrium* to *atrium* to fulfil his morning's (impossibly large) quota. For 60 as an indefinite large number see E. Wölfflin ALL ix 178ff.; 527ff. (conjecturing that the choice of number was to do with the original Roman duodecimal system of counting); cf. e.g. M.6.59.2; 9.37.9; Petr.122, vv.163f. *sanguine Germano sexagintaque triumphis / esse nocens coepi.*

On *mane*, see on 12.12.2; cf. 10.82.2 (M. as a *cliens*) *mane vel a media nocte togatus ero.* On *teras* see on 12.18.3; cf. 8.44.4.

On senators who performed the *salutatio*, cf. 10.10; Juv.1.101, 117f. On the institution generally, Marquardt Prl.259f.; Balsdon LL.21f.

On M's status as an *eques* see 3.95.9f., and Courtney on Juv.7.88, for the type of military tribunate M. held in order to become an *eques.* Cf. also 5.13; 5.17; 9.49.4.

desidiosus (cf. *desidiae* at 12.0.2) is a favourite word in M. for literary 'laziness': cf. 1.107.2, with Citroni; 8.3.11f.; Plin.Ep.1.8.2 *non est tamen quod ab homine desidioso* [i.e. Pliny] *aliquid novi operis expectes.* Also Ep.3.5.19; Suet.Gram.8.

.3f. **QUOD NON A PRIMA DISCURRAM LUCE PER URBEM**
ET REFERAM LASSUS BASIA MILLE DOMUM: *discurrere* has the right tone of indignity - 'scurry, scuttle': cf. Petr.37.1 *mulier illa quae huc atque illuc discurreret*; M.8.33.15 *tenui discurrit aranea tela*; 4.78.3

discurris tota vagus urbe.

prima lux is a common expression for the early morning: see TLL 7², 1906.58ff. and e.g. M.9.92.5. See also 4.8.1 for the typically early start to the *cliens*' day.

On social kissing and its problems see on 12.59 below, and Kay on 11.98 (the *basiatores*). Cf. 8.44.5 *et mane sudas urbis osculis udus*; 7.95.2ff.

> *audes tu tamen osculo nivali*
> *omnes obvius hinc et hinc tenere*
> *et totam, Line, basiare, Romam.*

Here, as at 8.44.5, it is an added hazard of the *salutatio*, that the *cliens* is kissed by the *patronus*.

refero domum is deliberately incongruous of **kisses**: it suggests, perhaps, something brought home from the shops (or cf. *rettulit* at the end of 12.28(29) - Hermogenes' *mappa*).

On *basium* see Fordyce on Catul.5.7 *da mi basia mille*. Catullus may have introduced the word to literary Latin, but, in any case, only Petronius and then M. took it up to any great extent. Donatus (*ad* Ter.Eun.456) made the following famous distinction - *oscula officiorum sunt, basia pudicorum, affectuum, savia libidinum vel amorum* - which is not borne out by usage. M. may have coined *basiator* himself. See also Citroni on 1.3.7. As 12.59.1ff. demonstrates, *basia mille* is intended to recall the number of kisses Catullus wanted from Lesbia at 5.7.

For *lassus* in such contexts cf. Juv.1.132 *vestibulis abeunt veteres lassique clientes*; 10.74.1f. *lasso…gratulatori / lasso clienti*; also 3.7.2 and *fatigant* at 12.18.6. While it is a logical consequence of the activity of the previous line, the enclosure of this adj. by *referam…basia mille* is an additional comic touch.

.5f. **SED TU, PURPUREIS UT DES NOVA NOMINA FASTIS**
AUT NOMADUM GENTES CAPPADOCUMVE PETAS: *purpureis = consularibus* -

either from the broad purple stripe on a senator's *toga* (see Wilson, Toga 118f. for the colour), or possibly from the colour of the lettering on the *fasti consulares* themselves: cf. 11.4.5f. *et qui purpureis iam tertia nomina fastis / Iane, refers Nervae…* with Friedländer - certainly coloured lettering was employed on the *Fasti* - see A.K. Michels The Calendar of the Roman Republic 23 and pl.4; Stat.Silv.4.1.1f. *laeta bis octonis accedit purpura fastis / Caesaris*; Sid.Ep.8.8.3 *fastis recolas purpurissatos*. The *salutatio*, for him, is a means of gathering political support.

For the expression *dare nova nomina fastis* see Lucan 5.5; cf. Plin.Pan. 92.2. Here the phrase might suggest a *novus homo*, successfully ingratiating himself.

The emphatic *sed tu* is picked up by *at mihi* at the beginning of the next couplet to underline the contrast.

C^ reads *Numadum* and *Ital.* reads *Numidum* for *Nomadum* here. Although this is not a possible form for the gen. pl. of *Numida* (originally < the acc. of νομάς), the juxtaposition with *Cappadocum* shows that it is the *Numidae* who are meant (the connection with *Nomades* must have been felt). *Nomades = Numidae* at e.g. V.A.4.320 and M.8.53(55).8; 9.75.8. *Numidae* were first known to the Romans as nomads, town life only developing under Masinissa in the mid-2nd century B.C. Numidia became the province of *Africa Nova* in 46 B.C., was a client kingdom under Juba II (30-25 B.C.), and was then united with the older province of Africa, where it still remained in M's day. See Plin.NH.5.22. The governorship was a proconsular appointment.

Cappadocia was a similarly important province, governed by a consular legate, north of Cilicia and Syria and east of Galatia. See Plin.NH.6.8.

Both places are introduced by M. to suggest the lucrative provincial governorships much sought after by those eager to exploit their money-making possibilities.

petas would have to suggest the senator's actual journey to his province ('make for'), which is slightly odd, and could have appeared under the influence of *petitur* below. Heinsius wished to emend to *regas*, which is convincing (cf. 12.9.1 *Palma regit nostros…Hiberos*): this provides what is required by the sense, a thing desired, parallel to *ut des nova nomina fastis*, and is to be preferred.

.7f. **AT MIHI, QUEM COGIS MEDIOS ABRUMPERE SOMNOS**
ET MATUTINUM FERRE PATIQUE LUTUM: The picture, then, is of M. dancing attendance on a senator who in turn greets **his** superiors - but for much higher stakes.

cogere = 'press', with some sense of urgency, although not necessarily compulsion - cf. e.g. H.Ep.1.9.2f. *cum rogat et prece cogit / scilicet ut tibi se laudare et tradere coner.*

For the interruption of sleep by the *salutatio* see 12.18.13f.; 4.64.20f.; 1.49.35 *non rumpet altum pallidus somnum reus* and, e.g., V.G.3.530; Juv.5.19.

abrumpere is often found closely with *medius* to describe the breaking off of a process: cf. Ov.Rem.495; Lucan 6.610. For *somnos abrumpere* cf. Ov.Am.2.10.19; V.G.3.530 *nec somnos abrumpit cura salubris*; Sil.15.48.

In *matutinum lutum* the adj. is used instead of *mane* in a manner suggestive of a 'high' tone which is clearly at comic variance with the matter. For mud as a hazard of the *salutatio* cf. 3.36.3f.

The emphatic collocation *ferre patique* similarly suggests some epic labour here. It is frequently used by M. - cf. 12.60.13.

.9f. **QUID PETITUR ? RUPTA CUM PES VAGUS EXIT ALUTA**
ET SUBITUS CRASSAE DECIDIT IMBER AQUAE: *rupta aluta* = not exactly 'a broken shoe' (Ker), but 'torn / split shoe leather': cf. Juv.7.192; Ov.AA. 3.271, and especially Juv.3.149f. *si toga sordidula est et rupta calceus alter / pelle patet*; also the picture of the client rushing to the

salutatio without having time to tie his shoes at Juv.5.19f.

For *rumpere* = 'tear' cf. Ov.Ep.3.15 *rupique capillos*; 5.71 *rupique sinus et pectora planxi*; AA.3.708 *tenues a pectore vestes rumpit* .

The phrase *pes vagus* is taken from Ov.AA 1.516 *nec vagus in laxa pes tibi pelle natat*, of a small foot in a large shoe, whereas here the foot is *vagus* because the shoe-leather no longer adequately confines it. Cf. M.6.52.3 *vagos capillos*. For the adj. in a similar context cf. also 7.39.1.

Although *imber* could refer to many types of shower, its primary application is always to rain. *crassae…imber aquae* stresses the quantity: cf. Tib.1.2.30 *multa decidit imber aqua*; see TLL 2.350.73ff. *subitus*, like *matutinus* above, instead of the more usual adv., adds to the mock-solemn effect.

crassus is frequently applied to liquids, often with reference to viscosity, but is also found elsewhere of heavy rain: Plin.NH.16.143 *nata est et silva…imbre piceo crassoque*; cf. Sil.12.656f. *crassusque rotante / austro nivorum fervet globus.*

For *decidere* of rain, cf. H.Epist.1.14.29; Tib.1.2.30 (above); Ov.Fast.2.494 *decidit imber aquis*; Plin.NH.2.103; 17.192.

.11f. **NEC VENIT ABLATIS CLAMATUS VERNA LACERNIS,**
ACCEDIT GELIDAM SERVUS AD AURICULAM: Not only has M. inadequate footwear for the sudden rain-storm, but his slave has gone off with his cloak, and so his *toga* will get a soaking.

On the proverbial cheekiness of home-born slaves, and the indulgence shown to them, see 1.41.2 with Citroni, Howell; cf. 12.87.2.

clamare can = *voco (cum clamore)*: cf. Lucil.145K; Ov.Met.2.443; Apul.Met.10.72.

The *lacerna* was a large cloak worn over the *toga* and clearly a suitable protection from rain: cf. Plin.NH.18.225; M.14.131 (with a hood);

H.S.2.7.55; Juv.9.28 (with Courtney); Wilson Clothing 117-125 and illustrations; RE 12.327.53ff.

ablatis worried Heinsius (who suggested *oblatis*) and Bongars (*adlatis*), but it is correct: the point is that the *verna* has taken the cloak away with him and does not respond to M's call, otherwise the ablative absolute becomes problematical (the normal temporal distinction inherent in it works against *adlatis*, which is otherwise not impossible).

That the slave is a *verna* (and that there is only one) is the mark of M's poor establishment: this is emphasised by the appearance of Laetorius' *servus*, who adds insult to injury by obviously doing his job while M's *verna* cannot be found.

accedere is not common in M., but cf. 11.71.7 *accedunt medici*, a similarly sudden appearance. Cf. Cic.Ver.2.3.133; Petr.25.1 *cum haec dixerit, ad aurem eius Psyche ridens accessit…*.

auriculam…gelidam is another comic phrase, drawing attention both to the whispering and to the physical discomfort described in the previous few lines. For the action cf. Horace's frantic attempts to escape the attentions of the Bore in S.1.9, which include *in aurem / dicere nescio quid puero* (.9f.) and he uses the dim. in responding to the Bore's adversary at 76f., *'licet antestari ?' ego vero / oppono auriculam*: the diminutive always refers to the physical ear, whereas *auris* can = 'hearing'.

.13ff. **ET 'ROGAT UT SECUM CENES LAETORIUS' INQUIT.**
VIGINTI NUMMIS ? NON EGO: MALO FAMEM
QUAM SIT CENA MIHI, TIBI SIT PROVINCIA MERCES,
ET FACIAMUS IDEM NEC MEREAMUR IDEM: *rogare* regularly = 'invite', although it is more often followed by an acc. + inf. For such invitations cf. H.Ep.1.7.60f. *scitari libet ex ipso quodcumque refers; dic / ad cenam veniat.*

Laetorius suggests 'successful, prosperous': PIR² lists two Laetorii; M. also has a Laetoria in 6.45.

viginti nummis = 'at 20 sesterces', i.e. per head - a poor return for the exertions of the *salutatio*.

Note the pointed structure of the final couplet, chiasmus in the hexameter followed by parallelism in the pentameter, and the careful stressing of *merces* and *idem* at the end of the lines. The final pentameter comprises two 'interchangeable' metrical halves: see M. Platnauer, Latin Elegiac Verse 14f., on the usual avoidance of this phenomenon. Here it is presumably deliberate, emphasising the balance of the opposition in the final line.

merces is often found of non-monetary remuneration: Pl.Cas.1015 (applause); Cic.Arch.28; H.Od.3.2.26; Liv.24.14.10; Suet.Nero 5.2. *mereri* is from the same root as *merces* and is presumably intended to be felt as such here.

30

M. doesn't want Aper for a friend, because the latter's unconvivial attitude to life is what one might want from a slave, not a friend. For another comical non-drinker cf. AP.11.429 (Lucian):

ἐν πᾶσιν μεθύουσιν Ἀχίνδυνος ἤθελε νήφειν,
τούνεκα καὶ μεθύειν αὐτὸς ἔδοξε μόνος.

siccus sobrius was a clichéd expression, the formation of which was doubtless encouraged by its alliterative quality (it is noted by Eduard Wölfflin in his compilation of alliterative combinations, Ausgewählte Schriften 275): cf. Afran.Comm.61; Petr.37.7; Sen.Vit.beat.12.4; Ep.18.4; 114.3; Macr.5.1.5.

siccus may refer to one who refrains from drinking on a particular occasion, or, as here, to one who is generally abstemious: H.Od.1.18.3 *siccis omnia nam dura deus proposuit*. Note also the *siccum corpus* which is healthy because 'free from noxious humours' and 'secured by temperate living' (Fordyce on Catul.23.12).

sobrius, like English 'sober', extends from 'not drunk' to 'staid, sensible, temperate.'

Aper was among the commonest of the *cognomina* derived from fauna (Kajanto 325). The name appears in M. of a dowry-hunter (10.16(15).2) and then a parasite (11.34 - see Kay). More importantly, the present Aper reappears in 12.70, having inherited a substantial sum and become a drunkard.

For *quid ad me* cf. 7.10.1 *quid ad te* (repeated three times and adapted for the punch-line); Pl.Per.497 *hae quid ad me ?*; Cic.Dom.21.5; Att.12.17; Catul.10.31. Cf. Koine Greek τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί; (NT Jn.2.4 - cf. Lk.4.34 and several instances in LXX).

The point of *laudo* (note the shortened final *o*; see Hartenberger 91) seems to be that Aper is being 'recommended' in terms which M. would employ of a worthy inferior rather than an equal. Farnaby over-paraphrases, *qui amicum volo madidum ac ebrium, servum siccum et sobrium*, but the comic corollary is presumably suggested. For a similarly patronizing testimonial cf. e.g. Cic.Ver.2.3.67 *sunt omnes Siculi non contemnendi…homines satis fortes et plane* ***frugi et sobrii…***.

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12.21, also addressed to Marcella, was a panegyric: the present poem thanks her for her gift of a pleasant villa at Bilbilis. See Cairns GC 74f. for

the 'genre *eucharistikon*.' This poem, however, bears more direct relation to the group of pseudo-epistolary conventions which may be observed in poems and letters about villas, whether other people's or one's own: see Sen.Ep.55 and 86; Stat.Silv.1.3 and 2.2; Plin.Ep.1.3, 2.17 and 5.6; introduction to 12.50 below.

In addition, the opening polyptotic anaphora of *hic* yokes together all the essential elements of what has come to be called the *locus amoenus*: ' a tree (or several trees), a meadow, and a spring or brook. Birdsong or flowers may be added' (Curtius 195; cf. T.G. Rosenmeyer, The Green Cabinet 179ff.). D.M. Halperin (Before Pastoral 107f.) notes similar descriptions throughout the literature of the Ancient Near East, and also, especially, in Egypt at the end of the second millenium B.C. At 62 n. he takes issue with Curtius' romantic notions about the *locus amoenus*, but the component parts of it remain unchallenged by him. It is frequent in AP - e.g. 9.313-315; 16.227, .228, .230; cf. also Callim.Hymn.6.25-29; Theoc.25.18-2; 26.1-6; 18.43-8.

While similar groups of features might seem to congregate fairly artlessly in several of the poems and letters about villas, the present instance is particularly deliberate and sharply focused, the final couplet betraying a distinctively **literary** approach to the description. Indeed Nicholas Purcell points out that 'the Roman view of nature and landscape is a very literary and traditional one' ('Town in Country and Country in Town' in Ancient Roman Villa Gardens ed. E.B. MacDougall, 201), and that this view actually **determined** their building in some cases, so that literary ideas about the *nemus* and the *locus amoenus* may well have influenced not only the descriptions but also their subjects.

.1f. **HOC NEMUS, HI FONTES, HAEC TEXTILIS UMBRA SUPINI**
PALMITIS, HOC RIGUAE DUCTILE FLUMEN AQUAE: A highly formal

opening, successfully conjuring up a *locus amoenus*, starting with the essential ingredient, the *nemus*. For *nemora* associated with villas cf. Plin.NH.31.6; Stat.Silv.1.3.17; M.10.51.7; 10.58.4 and the groves of 12.50.1.

For *fontes*, Plin.Ep.2.17.25; 5.6.20, .23, .40; M.2.90.8; 6.47.1 and 7.50.1 (Violentilla's *fons* in Stella's villa - see on 12.2.12); 10.51.7.

umbra, often of plane trees, is a prominent part of all the descriptions mentioned.

palmes, standing for the whole vine, although strictly only a branch or shoot of it, is another natural source of rustic shade: cf. Stat.Silv. 3.1.147; M.1.88.5; also Plin.Ep.2.17.15. It is *supinus* because, to someone lying in its shade, its leaves present their under-side.

textilis, properly used of fabrics, makes a delightful metaphor here: cf. AL.I.2.635.15f. *fecunda vitis coniuges ulmos gravat / **textasve** inumbrat pampinis harundines.*

The extreme rarity of the adj. *ductilis*, and the presence of *aquae* at the end of the line, might well be expected to suggest *aquaeductus*, as Farnaby thought. Elsewhere, *ductilis* = 'malleable', often of metals or similar materials: Plin.NH.34.94; Isid.Orig.16.20.8; Sid.Ep.9.7.3; TLL 5^{1}.2166.3ff. So this is possibly its first use of water, and *aquaeductus* may be lurking in it (as it may be in *aquae fluctus* at 12.50.6 - see below). But M. is more likely, in describing a villa, to be referring to a *euripus*, or artificial watercourse (the name taken from the channel between Euboea and the mainland at Chalcis - see RE 6.1284.29ff). *euripi* were a favourite feature of well-appointed villas, and were sometimes even so designed as to appear tidal: see Plin.Ep.1.3.1; Sen.Ep.55.6; and, especially relevant here, Cic.Leg.2.2 ***ductus**...aquarum, quos isti Nilos et euripos vocant*. For private *euripi* see M. Della Corte, Case ed Abitanti di

Pompeii² 311; for those in public buildings see Platner-Ashby 203f.; Nash Pictorial Dictionary 1.393f.; Purcell 192; in gardens Grimal Les Jardins Romains 296-299.

riguae aquae, the adj. suggesting running water for agricultural purposes, stresses that the water is adequately and constantly supplied; cf. ALI.2.635.9f. *aquae strepentis vitreus lambit liquor / sulcoque ductus irrigat rivus sata.*

.3f. **PRATAQUE NEC BIFERO CESSURA ROSARIA PAESTO, QUODQUE VIRET IANI MENSE NEC ALGET HOLUS:** Meadows are prominent both in *loci amoeni* (see Curtius, above) and also in descriptions of idyllic villas (Plin.Ep.2.17.3; 5.6.10f.; 5.6.18). M. juxtaposes them with the shade of vines at Alcimus' graveside, 1.88.6; cf. also 1.114.2.

For *cessura* in such panegyrics of place see Curtius 162f. 'Outdoing'; for the general use of comparison in such poems see N-H, intro. to H.Od.2.6 pp.95f.; Men.Rh.3.383.18f.; M.12.63, below. For this particular comparison cf. V.G.4.119 *biferi…rosaria Paesti*; Prop.4.5.61 *vidi ego odorati victura rosaria Paesti*; Ov.Met.15.708; M.5.37.9; also 4.42.10; 6.80.6. This is obviously a commonplace allusion to the Georgics. Both the high quality and the frequent blooming of the roses are suggested.

The gardens of the villa are so well sited that, even in midwinter (*Iani mense ≃ bruma*), green vegetables grow and flourish, obviating the need for winter stores.

holus is a common collective singular for green vegetables or pot-herbs: cf. 7.31.4; 3.58.50 (cabbages).

At 7.31.4 M. refers to the effect of frost on such vegetables: *algere* here = *frigus pati*, as opposed to *virere*, which implies spring / summer growth. See TLL 1.1544.3ff. (trees and vines); M.5.71.2 *et viridis Cancri mensibus alget ager*; Plin.NH.18.194 *ager, si non stercoretur, alget.*

virere is found of evergreen leaves in spring at e.g. H.Od.1.25.17; Ov.Met.10.97; V.A.6.206; M.1.88.6 *virent…roscida prata*; 9.61.10 (of a plane tree).

Each of lines 3 to 6 has *-que* attached to the opening word, stressing the bounty of the catalogue.

.5f. **QUAEQUE NATAT CLUSIS ANGUILLA DOMESTICA LYMPHIS,**
QUAEQUE GERIT SIMILES CANDIDA TURRIS AVES: *domesticus* of 'household' animals is not common, but cf. Sen.Ep.85.8 *rationi nullum animal optemperat, non ferum, non domesticum*; Col.8.14.3 *genus varium (anserum) quod a fero mitigatum domesticum factum est*; 8.15.1 *domesticis avibus*. TLL 5¹.1866.34ff. also notes Cic.Tusc.1.108 *canes* (i.e. *privatos*, opp. *publicos*).

The *anguilla* (= ἔγχελυς) is often mentioned in Greek writers as being good eating, but for the present instance it is perhaps more interesting that tame eels are referred to in the fountain of Arethusa at Chalcis in Euboea, in the Sicilian river Helorus, and elsewhere (Thompson Fishes 58-61).

clusis…lymphis presumably = *piscina*, 'fishpond': these were also a common feature of well-appointed villas - see Balsdon LL 207f. They might be stocked for food or decoration. This one could have been fed by the *euripus*. *lympha* (B^A has *nympha*, from which word *lympha* may be derived - see E&M 374) is a common poeticism for *aqua*. It is found only here in M.

turris = 'dove-cote', as at Ov.Tr.1.9.7f. *aspicis, ut veniant ad candida tecta, columbae / accipiat nullas sordida turris aves*, from which it is clear that the *turres* were thought to be *candidae* to attract the *columbae*. (cf. also Met.4.48). At RR.3.7.1ff. Varro discusses *peristerotrophia* in which he twice refers to types of pigeon living in the *turres* of the roof. M. also mentions *columbae* in the *turres* of Bassus'

Baian villa at 3.58.18. See McKay Houses p. 106, noting 'turrets with dovecotes which alternate with sturdy buttresses' on a *villa rustica* in Etruria which probably dates from the second century B.C.; see also Thompson Birds 243.

candidus is typically the bright white of snow (e.g. H.Od.1.9.1; M.4.42.5), marble (Ov.Fast.6.394; M.9.90.17) or chalk (hence, probably, *candidatus* - see E&M s.v.); see also André Couleur 31ff.

similes = *concolores*: cf. M.6.77.8 *quaeque vehit similem belua nigra Libyn.*

On the *columba* see Thompson Birds s.v. πελεία.

.7f. **MUNERA SUNT DOMINAE: POST SEPTIMA LUSTRA REVERSO HAS MARCELLA DOMOS PARVAQUE REGNA DEDIT:** *munera* defines all that has gone before and signals the movement to the specific thank-you.

domina is a title of respect or affection, often applied to a wife, which is doubtless one reason why Marcella was sometimes thought to be in that relation to M., but it is also, by this period, commonly applied to one's mother. Cf. Sen.Ep.104.1, where Seneca refers to his elder brother as *domini mei Gallonis*; M's use of the word of Stella's wife Violentilla at 6.21.3 and 7.50.1; TLL 5¹.1938.28ff. (and note .47ff., the later use of the word as a simple title). Here it must indicate close friendship.

lustrum = '5 years' (from the name of the purificatory ceremony performed by the censors at the end of the *census*, which was held every 5 years): the mannered expression is similar to the periphrasis in .6, above. M. also uses the word at 10.71.5 and 1.101.4 (see Citroni).

revertor commonly = 'return home': cf. Ter.Heaut.68; Tac.Hist.2.92; M.8.32.8 and especially 12.59.2 *post annos modo quindecim reverso.*

On Marcella see above on 12.21.

domos = *domum*: cf. Cic.Dom.113 *suas domos comportari.*

parvaque regna provides a near-oxymoron of a rather cosy type. *regna* is used of an area in which one is master, a 'domain' - cf. V.G.3.476f. *deserta…regna / pastorum*; Prop.4.7.6 *et quererer lecti frigida regna mei*; M.12.57.19. The effect adds to M's expression of appreciation of the gift.

.9f. **SI MIHI NAUSICAA PATRIOS CONCEDERET HORTOS,**
ALCINOO POSSEM DICERE 'MALO MEOS': The final *a* of Nausicaa is always long, as here.

For the legendary and proverbial gardens of Alcinoos see Od.7.112-132. It is interesting to compare the fancies of M's *locus amoenus*-style garden with the sumptuous practicalities considered worthy of note by Homer.

In Od.7, of course, an offer is made of Nausicaa's hand, together with οἶκον…καὶ κτήματα (.314): perhaps this also contributed to beliefs held about M's marital status, but M. is merely praising Marcella's gift by making the most flattering **literary** comparison possible.

horti, although they could be the great pleasure gardens of the nobility, and later of the emperors (see Purcell *op.cit.* 203), are mostly, in M., 'kitchen gardens' - e.g. 7.49.1; 9.18.3.

Alcinoos is elsewhere introduced by M. as the generous model host (4.64.29), but his gardens are the usual point of allusion. *poma dare Alcinoo* is a Latin equivalent of 'carrying coals to Newcastle'. See Ov.Pont.4.2.10; Am.1.10.56; Prop.3.2.13; M.7.42.6; 10.94.2; Priap.16.1-4; 60; Otto Sprichwörter §53; Mayor, Courtney on Juv.5.151f. For a different Latin idiom cf. H.Sat.1.10.34 *in silvam non ligna feras insanius.*

Thus the formal and self-conscious threads of the poem are drawn together in an elegant couplet, making a highly decorous comparison with a popular figure from epic, complimenting both Marcella (presumably there is an oblique comparison with Nausicaa's youth and beauty) and her gift.

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Cf. Furius, the subject of Catul.23; also the graphic realism in the portrait of Santra in M.7.20. Vacerra drags his pathetic entourage of family and possessions about as if moving to a new apartment - the procession of his belongings suggests that he might as well take up residence with all the other beggars. Most of the comedy of the poem is extracted from the protracted detailed and 'realistic' description of Vacerra's seedy family and effects as if they form an extensive 'establishment'. See Salemme 107ff.

METRE: Choliambic - see on 12.10.

.1 **O IULIARUM DEDECUS KALENDARUM**: The formal opening, with the yoking of the invocatory *O* to *dedecus* instead of the *decus* which the reader instinctively expects (and which the word deliberately suggests), signals the incongruity which is the keynote of what follows. *O !* here is mock-formal.

dedecus, only here in M., is typically applied to things of a shameful or disgraceful nature. Phaedr.1.21.11 (an ass) *te, naturae dedecus* illuminates the present phrase, while Juv.4.130f. shows the word in use in a mock-solemn context (the *mullus*): *absit ab illo / dedecus hoc.* The word was current in the vocabulary of insult - e.g. Petr.74.9; Apul.Met.4.7; cf. Lucan 10.59f. (Cleopatra); Cic.Phil.11.36; Pis.53.

The first of July was 'moving day', the day on which new leases were taken up: see B.W. Frier, Landlords and Tenants in Imperial Rome 34ff. and f.n.45. Vacerra is a *dedecus* to the general activity for the reasons outlined in the lines which follow. In .23f. it emerges that at this late stage he is actually still trying to find somewhere to live. For *Kalendae* thus see H.S.1.3.87 *cum tristes misero venere Kalendae*; cf. also Aristoph. Clouds 1134 ἕνη τε καὶ νέα (the day of the month fixed for the lodging of

deposits by intending litigants); H. Lucas, 'Martial's *Kalendae Natalicíae*,' CQ 32 (1938) 5f. on the religious and commercial significance of the Kalends.

.2 **VIDI, VACERRA, SARCINAS TUAS, VIDI**: The mock-formality is continued - M. can 'prove' his accusation that Vacerra is a *dedecus* in this sense, because he has seen the evidence, his possessions. The weightily repeated *vidi* has the flavour of giving evidence: cf. Juv.7.13f. *hoc satius quam si dicas sub iudice 'vidi' / quod non vidisti; faciant equites Asiani*; also Pers.1.120 *vidi, vidi ipse, libelle.*

sarcinae are belongings which can be packed up and carried - e.g. a soldier's kit (Pl.Trin.596; Tac.Hist.3.73); the word is also a t.t. of legal evidence as the divorce formula at Juv.6.146 shows - '*collige sarcinulas…et exi*'. It = 'chattels' or sim.: cf. also M.2.11.8;. 2.68.4, the belongings of a slave, and [Quint.] Decl.12.13 *iacent relictae sine herede sarcinae.*

Vacerra is a 'joke-name', = 'fence-post' or 'wooden stake' - a good tag for undernourished poverty. It was apparently used as a term of abuse: Paul.Fest. p.513L *vacerram dicunt stipitem, ad quem equos soleant religare. alii dicunt maledictum hoc nomine significari magnae acerbitatis, ut sit vecors et vesanus*; cf. Fest. p.514L, quoting Livius Andronicus *vecorde et malefica vacerra* (*vacerra* is a certain emendation for *vecordia*). Suetonius reports that *vacerrosus* was Augustus' favourite word for an idiot (Aug.87.2). The name appears in three other epigrams, all uncomplimentary: 8.69 (a pretentious admirer of dead poets only); 11.66 (a rich *delator, calumniator, fraudator, negotiator, fellator* and *lanista*); 11.77 (one who spends all day in the public lavatories, hoping for a dinner invitation).

.3ff. **QUAS NON RETENTAS PENSIONE PRO BIMA**
PORTABAT UXOR RUFA CRINIBUS SEPTEM
ET CUM SORORE CANA MATER INGENTI: *retinere* also has a technical

meaning of 'impound as compensation for unpaid rent': Pl.St.727; Liv.2.34.4; Suet.Jul.43.2; M.2.32.5 and J.A. Crook Law and Life of Rome 154. The implication is that none of the *sarcinae* are worth impounding, as the subsequent 'inventory' confirms.

From *pensio*, 'rent', comes Fr. *pension*, It. *pensione*. Cf. Suet.Nero 44.2; Juv.9.63; M.3.30.3; 3.38.6; 7.92.5; Julian Dig.23.4.22 etc.

bima means that Vacerra has failed to pay for two years: according to Frier (*op.cit.*37) the whole amount would normally be paid at the end of the rental year, so this detail is probably intended as a clue to the reason for his current homelessness.

The epigram now turns away from this particular predicament to a general skoptic attack, the transition made by reference to Vacerra's wife who is forced to act as a pack-horse for him in the absence of an appropriate animal. M. then proceeds directly to a favourite point of attack - baldness (cf. Ligeia in 12.7). *crinis* is rare of single hairs, though not unexampled (see TLL 4.1202.4 - M's is the most persuasive example, however), and definitely to be preferred to the explanation of Paley and Stone that the reference is to an unusual number of **locks** of hair, the regulation number being six. This in fact only applies to the dressing of a **bride's** hair (see e.g. Balsdon RW 182f. - for more usual styles, 255ff.). M's consistent practice in such descriptions is to enumerate single hairs (cf.12.7) and that must be the point here. The word may also hold this meaning at H.Od.2.12.23, where N-H are unsatisfied by the parallels, but have not noticed the present use.

Red hair was considered both ugly and amusing - M.2.33.2 *cur non basio te Philaeni ? rufa es*; 6.39.18; Pl.Ps.1218; Ter.Heaut.1061f. Varro LL.7.83 makes it clear that the polite designation was *rutila* (the colour of dawn, reddish gold).

The mother is *cana*, not only as a proof of age but also by way of comic colour-contrast with the *uxor*. See H.Od.2.11.15 (with N-H); also M.4.36.1; 4.53.3 etc.

As if it is not sufficiently incongruous that Vacerra is following in the wake of an ugly wife and an aged mother, the regular jokes at the expense of baldness and hair-colour being exhausted, a grossly fat sister makes up the trio: the word *ingens* suggests 'huge, obese', as at 8.75.6. It is also used of monstrous height (a positive quality in **males**) - e.g. V.A.6.423; Sen.Tro.181.

.6 **FURIAS PUTAVI NOCTE DITIS EMERSAS**: As at .10 below, three lines of description are summed up in a comic image - here a comparison of the trio with the Furies.

For the picture, cf. Vergil's comparison of the distraught Dido with figures in Aeschylus Eumenides and Euripides Bacchae - see Pease and Austin on A.4.469ff. The Erinyes appear in Homer as avengers of sin against a family, and as upholders of the moral order: see e.g. Il.9.454. They are usually conceived of as dwelling in the netherworld, and *nocte Ditis emersas* may specifically refer to the epithet ἠεροφοῖτις at Il.9.571 (cf. also 19.87). The idea of a beggar's entourage acting as his own Erinyes is engaging, especially when it is noted that the usual picture is inverted - here we have three ugly women, one of them *ingens*, and one pathetic man who **follows** them.

For similar uses of *emergere* cf. Ov.Met.14.155f. *sedibus…Stygiis emergit… / Aeneas*; Oct.134 *emergere umbris et fer auxilium.*

Dis was the ruler of the underworld, and *nox* is sometimes used to describe the unrelieved murk of his domain: Ciris 523; V.A.6.827; Sil.13.708.

.7ff. **HAS TU PRIORES FRIGORE ET FAME SICCUS**
ET NON RECENTI PALLIDUS MAGIS BUXO

IRUS TUORUM TEMPORUM SEQUEBARIS: The introduction of the second-person address is a marked change in the presentation of this second detailed picture.

For instances of *fames* and *frigus* together see Wölfflin's collection of alliterative combinations at Ausgewählte Schriften 261 - among them Catul.28.5; H.S.1.2.6; Juv.6.360; 14.318. Cf. also Catul.23.12ff. (Furius)

> *atqui corpora sicciora cornu*
> *aut siquid magis aridum est habetis*
> *sole et frigore et esuritione.*

siccus, as at 12.30.1, seems to convey temperate living carried to excess, but here by necessity rather than choice - 'parched, drained'.

For *pallidus* cf. Catul.81.4 *inaurata pallidior statua*, where Fordyce notes that, applied to the complexion, the adj. denotes not whiteness but a 'yellowish shade', which is consonant with M's comparison with boxwood here, and is in fact a cliché: see TLL 2.2264.3ff. and e.g. Ov.Met.4.135; 11.417f.; Priap.32.1f. *uvis aridior puella passis, / buxo pallidior novaque cera*). For the possible origin of the idea cf. Theoc.2.88 καί μευ χρὼς μὲν ὅμοῖος ἐγίνετο πολλάκι θάψῳ, where, however, the reference is probably to actual colouring of the skin, by malingerers, with a dye prepared from the wood (see Gow *ad loc.*; Aristoph. Wasps 1413). The mediterranean skin is, of course, on the whole, sallower than the Anglo-Saxon in any case.

The point of *non recenti* is presumably that as the wood dries and ages it yellows further.

Irus is the classical 'type' of a beggar, from Od.18.1ff.

> ἦλθε δ'ἐπὶ πτωχὸς πανδήμιος ὃς κατὰ ἄστυ
> πτωχεύεσκ' Ἰθάκης. μετὰ δ'ἔπρεπε γαστέρι μάργη
> ἀζηχὲς φαγέμεν καὶ πιέμεν. οὐδέ οἱ ἦν ἰς
> οὐδὲ βίη, εἶδος δὲ μάλα μέγας ἦν ὁράασθαι.

It should be inferred from this that M. intends by the allusion not only a type-casting of Vacerra, but also a further uncomplimentary detailed

personal comparison. Note the proximity of Irus' appearance in the Odyssey to Odysseus' exclamation about πτωχῶν...Ἐρινύες (17.475; cf. above, on .6).

tua tempora is a favourite expression in M.: cf. 4.55.1; 5.19.2; 7.99.6; 8.30.2; 8.55.1; 8.70.7; 9.70.9.

sequebaris seals the inversion of the conventional picture of the Furies, but M. immediately follows it with a second comic comparison, more specific to Vacerra and his Roman context.

.10 **MIGRARE CLIVOM CREDERES ARICINUM:** cf. 1.86.11 *migrandum est mihi* (see Citroni): it = 'emigrate' or 'move house'.

For *clivom Aricinum* cf. Juv.4.117 *dignus Aricinos qui mendicaret ad axes*, with Courtney: Aricia was in a hollow, approached by a steep hill, on the Via Appia (see Strabo 5.3; 12.239; RE.2.822.29ff.), which caused carriages to brake hard, thus giving beggars their opportunity; cf. Pers.6.56; M.2.19.3.

.11ff. **IBAT TRIPES GRABATUS ET BIPES MENSA**
ET CUM LUCERNA CORNEOQUE CRATERE
MATELLA CURTO RUPTA LATERE MEIEBAT;
FOCO VIRENTI SUBERAT AMPHORAE CERVIX: Now follows a twelve-line comic inventory of Vacerra's possessions, beginning with his 'furniture'. Poverty thus represented is often a legitimate subject for mockery and invective: cf. the inventory-style description of what it brings with it at Aristoph. Wealth 535ff. (see below).

ibat moves the picture away from his pack-horse wife to an independent 'procession', gradually reinforced by personifications typical of M. (*meiebat* and *fatebatur*).

The *grabatus* (= κράββατος) was a poor and unpretentious bed, here rendered all the more unattractive by the lack of one of its four legs (*tripes* implies that it ought to be *quadrupes* as well as leading into *bipes mensa*): see Blümner PrA.119; Catul.10.22f. *fractum qui veteris pedem*

grabati / in collo sibi collocare posset (note the broken foot); Petr.97.4 *imperavi Gitoni ut raptim grabbatum subiret*; Moretum 5 *membra levat vili sensim demissa grabato*; M.1.92.5, where Mamurianus is so poor that he has only a *sponda grabati* (cf. the *amphorae cervix* in .14, below); 11.32.1; 11.56.5; 4.53.5; TLL 6^2.2128.31ff.; C.L. Ransom (Williams) Couches and Beds of the Greeks, Etruscans and Romans 109. Cf. also Aristoph. Wealth 540f. πρὸς δέ γε τούτοις ἀνθ' ἱματίου μὲν ἔχειν ῥάκος. ἀντὶ δὲ κλίνης / στιβάδα σχοίνων κόρεων μεστήν, ἣ τοὺς ἐὖδοντας ἐγείρει. The word is an early borrowing from Greek - see G. Shipp Modern Greek Evidence for the Ancient Greek Vocabulary 106f. (the usual modern Greek word for bed is κρεββάτι); NT Mk.2.4; 6.55 *et al.*

Although by this period the really fashionable table had a single central leg (*monopodia*), this line shows that Romans thought of tables as typically having three legs, which is the point here - both items in the line lack one leg. Cf. the picture at Ov.Met.8.661f. (part of the description of the house of Baucis and Philemon) *mensae sed erat pes tertius impar; / testa parem fecit.*

lucernae were the commonest form of nocturnal illumination at Rome (see Blümner PrA.135ff.; Marquardt Prl.642ff.), being made in a wide variety of materials - here no doubt terracotta or something similar. They did not provide much light (and the side effects could be unpleasant - *pinguem nebulam vomuere lucernae* - Pers.5.181), and the fact that Vacerra has only one among four people is doubtless intended to be noted as a sign of poverty - Juv.7.225, for example, suggests that a schoolboy would take one to school with him.

The *crater* (κρατήρ) was a vessel for wine, and sometimes oil, again made of a variety of materials, many precious: wood, of course, comes very low on the list of possibilities, and *corneus* is only recorded here

(Hilgers Gefässnamen 157f.); cf. Ov.Met.8.668ff.

> *…post haec caelatus eodem*
> *sistitur argento crater* ***fabricataque fago***
> ***pocula****, qua cava sunt, flaventibus ilita ceris.*

(see Hollis' notes; the *crater* there is actually earthenware).

A *matella* (probably not exactly a 'chamberpot', but a flagon with a narrow neck for use by men - see Howell p.187; Hilgers Gefässnamen p. 217 - note especially Varro Men.104 and Gloss. Corp.M58) appears at, e.g. Petr.27.3ff. (Trimalchio has one, made of precious metal, brought for his use while playing ball).

For *rupta* see on 12.18.18, and, e.g., H.Epod.10.20 *carinam ruperit*; Leg.Pub. (Font.Iur. p.113) 22 *quicumque…rivos specus fornices fistulas…sciens dolo malo foraverit ruperit.*

meiere, 'urinate', effects a comic personification of the *matella*.

For *curtus* cf. 1.92.6 *curtus Chiones Antiopesve calix*; 3.82.3 *curtaque Ledae sobrius bibat testa*. It means, strictly, 'missing a part, broken'.

For *latus* of wine-jars cf. Cato Agr.152 *eabus latera doliis intrinsecus usque bene perfricato*; Col.12.23.2 *si quid faecis aut labris vasorum aut lateribus inhaesit.*

focus apparently = *foculus* (only here), a brazier or small portable stove, although TLL (6'.987.71ff.) does not differentiate the present use from the normal equation with ἑστία, as at 12.18.19. Clearly here it is both portable and made of bronze: cf. Juv.3.250 / 262 *sequitur sua quemque culina /…[domus] bucca foculum excitat*; and especially Sen.Ep.78.23 *quia non circa cenationem eius tumultus cocorum est ipsos cum opsoniis focos transferentium.* Cf. also *foculus* at Gell.1.19.5; Flor.Epit.2.26 (4.12.16); Cato Agr.11.4. The introduction to the Flower-Rosenbaum edition of Apicius (p.30) notes the possibility of such a stove being in use at the 'House of the Dioscuri' at Pompei. Early Roman houses had no kitchen and meals were

prepared in the *atrium* or open air, doubtless making use of types of stove similar to this.

For *virere* of verdigris cf. 10.33.5 *si viridi tinctos aerugine versus*. Here it adds another striking colour to those above (*rufa, cana, pallidus magis buxo*), as well as a suitable touch of decay, and the suggestion that the *focus* is never used.

The *amphora* was most commonly a wine storage-jar (Hilgers Gefässnamen 99ff.) and tapered at the top to what was called its *cervix* (cf. e.g. Petr.34.6; 136.2): why even Vacerra would have kept this useless item is hard to imagine. It is presumably intended to serve as a comic climax to the inventory of furniture. M. now moves on to food and commodities.

.15ff. **FUISSE GERRES AUT INUTILES MAENAS**
ODOR IMPUDICUS URCEI FATEBATUR,
QUALIS MARINAE VIX SIT AURA PISCINAE: *gerres* and *maenae* are both extremely cheap fish, treated as more or less synonymous by many writers: see Thompson Fishes 155, who also notes (147) that the name *gerres* survived in his day on Ibiza in a local word, *jarret*. M. mentions them also at 3.77.7; cf. Plin.NH.32.148, with the dim. *gerriculae*, in a catalogue of fishes. It is also sometimes found in the form *cerrus*. The *maena* is rather more frequently mentioned: at AP.9.412 (Philodemus) one is described 'sputtering' in a pan; Cic.Fin.2.9 *qui voluptatem ipsam contemnunt, iis licet dicere se accipenserem maenae non anteponere*. Thompson (154) also notes *mangiamenoli* ('sprat-eater') as Italian slang for 'very poor': cf. Pl.Poen.1312 *deglupta maena* (a term of abuse); Pompon.Com.81; Cato Agr.23.1; 88.2; Pers.3.76 and M.11.31.14. Such fish formed the staple diet of the Roman poor, especially salted, which may have a bearing on *marinae* (see below).

fuisse shows that there are no fish in sight - it is only their odour which lingers. *inutiles* may suggest that the odour is one of fish which have gone bad: Sen.Nat.6.27.3 *aquae…inutiles pestilentesque in abdito*

latent, though at M.3.47.9 *non inutiles* = 'digestible', and the point here may be merely that these fish are generally thought inedible.

This is the only use of *impudicus* thus: elsewhere it always = 'shameless, immoral, unchaste'. Here it must = *foedus*: perhaps there is some suggestion of the common theme in invective that evildoers smell ill (the *os impurum* etc.).

For *odor* of an unpleasant smell cf. e.g. Pl.Capt.808; M.3.24.6.

fateor can be extended to mean 'show, betray, allow to appear' or sim. (cf. Stat.Silv.4.6.29; Quint.Inst.5.14.32; 11.3.142; Juv.10.172 *mors sola fatetur quantula sint hominum corpuscula*), but some sense of personification is probably intended to be felt.

urceus is used only here of a jar of fish: elsewhere of honey, wine, water or other stores (Hilgers Gefässnamen 299f.). Cf. M.11.56.3 (also relevant to .14) *fracta…urceus ansa*. It is a loan-word: cf. ὄρχη, 'jar'; see E&M 1334.

There is some confusion in the mss. over *vix sit*, which led Heraeus to speculate at some length about the possibilities of *vissit* (see his *app.crit.*), but, as Housman pointed out,

> …the learned illustration of uissit at XII 32 17 is futile, because no such noun as *aura* can be the subject of this verb: uissitur aura, non uissit. (Papers 1102).

For *aura* = *odor* cf. H.Od.2.8.24 (with N-H); Lucr.2.851; and especially M.4.4.3 *piscinae vetus aura quod marinae [redoleti]*.

piscinae were common on farms (Cato Agr.120) and in public buildings (Tac.Hist.5.12). A *piscina marina* would presumably be more odoriferous because of the salt water (there may be a deliberate comparison with the smell of salted fish, as suggested above). The phrase is used to refer to a sea-water swimming pool (as at Liv.23.32.4; Sen.Ep.86.6; Tac.Ann.13.21; Plin.Ep.5.6.25 and 2.17.11), but the context here demands the older sense

of the word, 'pond, fish-pond' (here, in the sea) - possibly the smell is also enriched by that of rotting fish ?

.18ff. **NEC QUADRA DERAT CASEI TOLOSATIS,**
QUADRIMA NIGRI NEC CORONA PULEI
CALVAEQUE RESTES ALIOQUE CEPISQUE,
NEC PLENA TURPI MATRIS OLLA RESINA
SUMMEMMIANAE QUA PILANTUR UXORES: *nec derat* is a common variant in such formulae - cf. 12.14.7; 12.28(29).13.

quadra = 'a quarter' - used by Juvenal of a loaf of bread at 5.2; of a *placenta* by M. at 9.90.18; 3.77.3; 6.75.1. The cheese is presumably round and so readily quartered.

On Roman cheeses generally see André L'alimentation 152ff.; also the introduction to Flower and Rosenbaum's edition of Apicius, 26f., noting Pliny's catalogue of cheese (NH.11.240-242), in which 'Toulouse cheese' does not rate a mention. Columella reports methods of making cheese (7.8); M. often mentions cheeses in lists of desirable food (e.g. 3.58.50; 4.46.11). The present reference is necessarily derogatory: perhaps this type was not only considered inferior but was also very small, rendering *quadra* a comical quantity. But unfortunately it is mentioned nowhere else. Pliny (NH.11.240) rates most highly a cheese from Nîmes, so the point is not that it has travelled too far to be edible.

puleium ('penny-royal') is an aromatic herb which was widely used in ancient medicine: see Plin.NH.20.152ff. It was credited with relieving stomach disorders, menstrual pain, coughs, ulcers, serpent-bites and scorpion-stings. Cicero uses *puleium* figuratively as = 'antidote for something unpleasant' at Fam.16.23.2 (= S.B. 330.2 - see his note). Its use in a *corona* was, however, against headaches, as Pliny notes, on the authority of Varro (NH.20.152). See also TLL 4.984.79ff.; Pease on Cic.Div.2.33.

quadrima and *nigri* are cause and effect: the *corona* is old, shrivelled

and useless.

Such *restes* were in fact the fibrous tops of garlic or onions, suitably twisted or plaited: Plin.NH.20.51 (*alium*) *tostum cum restibus suis…inlinitur*. This is possibly the type of *aridam restem* which constitutes Marullinus' legacy to Ammianus in M.4.70.

For onions and garlic, and their many uses for the Romans, see Plin.NH.20.39-43 and .50-57. *cepae* appear frequently in Apicius' recipes, *alium* (garlic) only twice (§§127 and 432). They are yoked together by Pliny (NH.19.101) as among the deities by whom the Egyptians swear oaths.

calvus applied to the *restes* means 'shorn, bare': cf. Cato Agr.33.3 *si vinea a vite calva erit*.

Vacerra's *mater* is reintroduced for a final unsavoury detail, and insulting yoking with the '*uxores*' of the following line. An *olla* (*aula*) could be a medicine jar - Hilgers Gefässnamen 114; Col.12.59.4; Pelagonius 18.

Here the resin has been used as a depilatory, probably of the genitals or anus, hence *turpi*: see Rosenbaum Lustseuche 370ff.; Henderson MM.133 §111; cf. M.3.74.4. The object seems to have been to make women look like pre-pubescent girls. M.9.27.3 makes clear that men practise this in imitation of female prostitutes. The final disgusting touch here appears to be that Vacerra's mother keeps and re-uses the resin.

The reason for the name of the *Summemmianae uxores* is not certain: they are clearly prostitutes - cf. 1.34.5f. *at meretrix abigit testem veloque seraque / raraque Submemmi fornice rima patet* (see Citroni); 3.82.2 *Summemmianas uxores*; 11.61.2 *Summemmianis inquinatior buccis* (see Kay). Ps.-Cornutus, on Juv.3.66, records the existence of a *lupanaria Memmiana*, and Kay argues that the prefix *sub-* denotes geographical proximity to this (i.e., presumably, another real brothel is referred to), as in *suburbanus*.

He points out that attempts to explain the compound as derisive, on the analogy of Domitian being called 'sub-Nero' (Tert.de Pall.4.5) or Pseudolus being called 'Sub-Ballio' (Pl.Ps.607) fail, because the prefix is only ever found in this sense attached to nouns.

For *uxor* and other 'marriage' vocabulary of purely sexual unions and prostitution see Adams LSV 159f.; Pl.Cist.43f.; Rhet.Her.4.45; M.1.24.4 and 12.42.1 (homosexual intercourse / mock-marriage). Note also that MGk γαμῶ exclusively = Anc.Gk βινέω (= *futuo*): see Shipp Modern Greek Evidence for the Ancient Greek Vocabulary 187.

.23ff. **QUID QUAERIS AEDES VILICOSQUE DERIDES,**
HABITARE GRATIS, O VACERRA, CUM POSSIS ?
HAEC SARCINARUM POMPA CONVENIT PONTI: The return to the second-person address and the repetition of *O* signal the dénouement. M. asks Vacerra why he **pretends** to look for a house: *deridere vilicos* must = 'insult the *vilici* by asking them for a lease' **a)** at this ridiculously late stage, **b)** as a well-known bad risk and **c)** being so obviously indigent. Frier shows that it would actually have been difficult to find tenants as much as a **month** before the first of July, such was the pressure to have a firm arrangement in place by then (*op.cit.*36).

The *vilicus* is the 'middleman' (see Frier *op.cit.*37) whose duties seem to be those of a caretaker / rent-collector: cf. Bargates, the *procurator insulae* of Petr.96.4ff. Cf. Juv.3.194ff. *nam sic labentibus obstat / vilicus et, veteris ruinae cum texit hiatum, / securos pendente iubet dormire ruina.*

For the phrase in .24 cf. M.11.83.1 *nemo habitat gratis nisi dives et orbus apud te* (a *captator*-landlord).

pompa is a ceremonial procession, notably in religious festivals or *triumphi*, suitably incongruous when juxtaposed with Vacerra's *sarcinae*: cf. facetious uses elsewhere - Sen.Ep.110.15; [Tib.] 3.1.3f. *vaga nunc certa*

discurrunt…pompa per vias urbis munera; V.Max.3.2.24. Cf. also Aristoph.Eccl.730ff., where household items are laid out in imitation of a Panathenaic procession (see Ussher's note). The picture of a mock procession draws together the earlier vision of Vacerra following his female company and the force of *ibat* at the beginning of the list of *sarcinae* (.11).

The point of the two concluding words is that, like the *clivos Aricinus*, the *pons* slows the traffic and is therefore a profitable position for beggars: cf. Ov.Ib.415f. *qualis erat…fortuna binominis Iri, / quique tenent pontem*; Sen.Vit.beat.25.1 *domum illam splendidam malo quam pontem*; M.10.5.3 *erret per urbem pontis exul et clivi*. At Juv.14.134 *aliquis de ponte* = 'a beggar' (and cf. 5.8); Courtney believes 4.116 (*caecus adulator dirusque, a ponte, satelles*) to be spurious (see his note). Vacerra should stop pretending that he is looking for lodgings - his *sarcinarum pompa* suggests just the place, beggars' bridge.

33

The hexameter describes a straightforward business proposition: Labienus sells gardens to buy slaves. The pentameter transforms the transaction into the purchase of catamites by means of the familiar 'fig' joke. This in turn turns the reader back to the first line to note the possible ambiguity of *hortos* as well as that of *pueros*.

For the play on *hortus* cf. *ager* at 12.16; 9.21; for figs cf. on 12.96. On both see Adams LSV 15 n.1; 84; 113f.; V. Buchheit, 'Feigensymbolik' (on this poem and 12.16 / 9.21 223-226); Gow-Page on Philip 1507f. (ἰσχάς = πρωκτός). (=Anth.Plan. 241.5f, Argentarius)

Buchheit points out that Friedländer undervalues the poem by seeing it

merely as a repetition of the 'figs = piles' joke: *hortus* is part of the complex *ager / agellus / arare* etc, standing for either the vagina or the anus (Adams 24; 84; 154; cf. also Housman Papers 1176f., arguing for the same meaning underlying *pratum*, an emendation for the mss. *partem / portam*, at Priap.52.9), and so M. is wittily combining two groups of sexual symbolism. Buchheit (225) also rightly emphasises the importance of the sexual sense of *habet* (see Adams 187) in the mechanism of the joke.

Particularly relevant to the present poem is Priap.5:

> *quam puero legem fertur dixisse Priapus,*
> *versibus his infra scripta duobus erit:*
> *quod meus hortus habet, sumas impune licebit,*
> *si dederis nobis, quod tuus hortus habet.*

and, of a female, AL 885:

> *hortis Hesperidum, Sabelle, cultis*
> *nostrae cultior hortus est puellae.*
> *mirari, o bene, desinas, Sabelle.*
> *hortorum deus ipse nam Priapus*
> *cunctis hunc fodit et rigat diebus.*

Adams (84) noting Diogenes Laertius' use of κήπος = κύσθος (2.116), does not find an example of *hortus = cunnus*, although at AL 712.18 the diminutive *hortulus* is so used. Priap.51, a long poem in which a priapus laments his failure either to ward off thieves or to procure a good harvest for his master, begins with a yoking of the two metaphors, but then the description of the garden is extended over a further 23 lines, and while several of the items mentioned among the produce could be seen as sexually suggestive, it would be difficult to show that the whole poem is a virtuoso exercise on the *hortus* metaphor. Lines 1-5 are nevertheless also relevant:

> *quid hoc negoti est quave suspicer causa*
> *venire in hortum plurimos meum fures,*
> *cum quisquis in nos incidit, luat poenas*
> *et usque curvos excavetur ad lumbos ?*
> *non ficus hic est praeferenda vicinae.*

34

A poem on the nature of friendship, to M's old friend Iulius Martialis.

1f. **TRIGINTA MIHI QUATTUORQUE MESSES**
TECUM, SI MEMINI, FUERE, IULI: cf. 1.101.4 *quarta tribus lustris addita messis*: *messis* is a metrically convenient alternative to *annus* or *aestas* - cf. also 4.78.1; 6.28.8; 6.70.1; 10.103.7 (with *aestas*); Catul.95.1 *Zmyrna mei Cinnae nonam post denique messem*; Petr.89 vv.1f. *iam decuma maestos inter ancipites metus / Phryges obsidebat messis*.

mihi…tecum, si memini, fuere suggests a very close relation, a day-to-day *sodalitas* (see .10). The parenthetical *si memini* adds a conversational touch to the familiarity, with its care to be accurate about the precise length of time in question. For similar colloquial uses cf.1.19.1 (with Citroni, Howell); 9.8(9).2; 11.65.3 (*memini* alone); see also Hofmann LU 198; TLL 8.646.80f.

It has generally been assumed, correctly, that the addressee is Iulius Martialis, most famously addressed in 4.64 (*Iuli iugera pauca Martialis*), and also in 1.15 (see Citroni, Howell), 3.5, 5.20, 6.1 (a dedication of the book to him), 7.17, 9.97, 10.47, and 11.80 (see Kay). The reference to 34 years of friendship means that M. must have known him almost from his arrival in Rome: *fuere* is pointed, in that the *sodalitas* is now perforce ended by M's return to Spain - the present poem could well be an 'answer' to a reproach on M's leaving Rome. As Kay notes, judging from the poems which M. writes to him, Iulius Martialis seems to have been fond of the 'reflective, moralising type of epigram' - 10.47 is a particularly good example of this, in a similar vein to the present poem. 5.20.6 may suggest that he was a lawyer. See also PIR² *I* §411; RE 10.672.52ff. He is not always named in full - sometimes called just Iulius, sometimes Martialis.

.3f. **QUARUM DULCIA MIXTA SUNT AMARIS**
SED IUCUNDA TAMEN FUERE PLURA: *dulcia* vs. *amara* is, naturally, a

common proverbial opposition: see TLL 5¹.2196.10f.; Otto Sprichwörter §1083 (s.v. *mel*) and, e.g., Catul.68.17f. *non est dea nescia nostri, / quae dulcem curis miscet amaritiem* (see Fordyce); also H.Od.2.16.25f.

> *laetus in praesens animus quod ultra est*
> *oderit curare et amara lento*
> *temperet risu; nihil est ab omni*
> *parte beatum.*

which is labelled by Ps.-Acron a *philosophicum praeceptum*. Cf. also Phaedr.4.18.10 *totam…vitam miscet dolor et gaudium*. Obviously a range of moralizing commonplaces is recalled; the opposition is also specifically used of love (e.g. Pl.Cist.69f.; Trin.258ff.), which has some common ground with *sodalitas*.

Note the repetition of *fuere*, stressing that this is all in the past. *iucundus* = *dulcis*: cf. Rhet.Her.4.21; Plin.Ep.8.21.3. *dulcia* and *amara*, it has been admitted, were present in the friendship, but, contrary to the natural law expressed by Phaedrus (above), there has been a predominance of *dulcia*. Paley and Stone compare Eur.Suppl.199 for the sentiment: πλείω τὰ χρηστὰ τῶν κακῶν εἶναι βροτοῖς. There now follows an extended conceit on this pleasant 'imbalance'.

.5ff. **ET SI CALCULUS OMNIS HUC ET ILLUC**
DIVERSUS BICOLORQUE DIGERATUR,
VINCET CANDIDA TURBA NIGRIOREM: The reference is to a supposed custom whereby white or black pebbles were daily placed in a jar to represent happiness or unhappiness respectively, and a final reckoning determined the degree of happiness of the person's life. Cf. also the idea of the 'white mark' - Catul.107.6; 68.148; Plin.Ep.6.11.3; H.Od.1.36.10 *Cressa…nota* (with N-H); Plin.NH.7.131 (who ascribes the custom to the Thracians); M.8.45.2; 9.52.5. As Fordyce suggests (on Catul.107.6), it is most likely to have originated in the practice of marking lucky days on a primitive calendar; he compares the (not strictly analogous) 'red letter

day'.

For *diversus* of colour cf. V.Ecl.8.73 *terna…triplici diversa colore* (with Coleman's note). Friedländer censured M. at this point - he considered *diversus bicolorque* otiose. The problem in fact arises because one expects *diversus*, the essence of which is difference of direction, to go closely with *digeratur*: taken closely (as it must be) with *bicolorque*, it is comprehensible (= 'differing and two-coloured'), though striking. OLD explains it, 'applied to separate groups, each having a distinctive colour.' Munro paraphrased '*si omnes calculi qui unum acervum bicolorem efficiunt, in duos diversos acervos, unum candidiorum calculorum, alterum nigriorum digerantur.*'

digerere is used of setting out or disposing things (again with a certain idea of different directions implicit) - e.g. Ov.Am.1.7.11 *digestos…laniare capillos* (cf. M.3.63.3) and especially Ov.Fast.5.213 *digestas volui numerare colores.*

vincere in comparisons = 'surpass', and so here *vincet* = 'will surpass in number', a rephrasing of *plura* above. Cf. Plin.NH.12.78 *quoniam in iis* [sc. trees] *vincitur (Arabia)*; M.5.37.7 (*puella*) *quae crine vicit Baetici gregis vellus.*

candidus is the usual word for 'white' of such markers: the word also has overtones of happiness and joy (see André Couleur 38). Black was generally a colour of ill-omen to the Romans, as white was of happiness: see Prop.2.28.38; Festus p.184L. *niger* is an appropriately intense black - see André Couleur 52ff., concluding that it is to *ater* what *candidus* is to *albus.*

turba, of a multitude of **things**, is unexceptional, as well as being in keeping with M's love of personification.

.8ff. **SI VITARE VELIS ACERBA QUAEDAM**
ET TRISTIS ANIMI CAVERE MORSUS,

NULLI TE FACIAS NIMIS SODALEM:
GAUDEBIS MINUS ET MINUS DOLEBIS: *acerba = amara*: cf. Ter.Hec.281; V.A.12.500; Juv.7.57; M.12.46.1 (opp. *iucundus*); see also TLL 1.369.65ff.

The idea is once again presented at length: cf. Catul.2.10 *tristis animi levare curas*; Ov.Pont.1.1.73f. *sic mea perpetuos curarum pectora morsus /…habent*; Stat.Silv.5.2.3 *sed mea secreto velluntur pectora morsu.*

cavere ≃ vitare ('beware so as to avoid'): cf. Juv.11.129f. *ergo superbum / convivam caveo*; Petr.29.1 *superque…scriptum 'cave canem'.*

For the almost brotherly relationship described by *sodalitas* see above on 12.25.3. Cf. also West's note on ἑταῖρος at W&D 183 (and 707ff.); Od.8.546f.; 15.69f.; Theogn.97-99; OT Prov.18.24. So the brother / friend comparison is a commonplace underlying many of these exhortations: M., however, undercuts the customary advice by pointing out that the alternative is to avoid friendships. The 'occasion' of the poem is presumably the separation of the two friends owing to M's departure for Spain.

The final line (see Salemme 49f. on its structure) sets a seal on the parallelisms and polarizations of what has gone before, drawing a moralizing 'conclusion' out of the statement made at .3 and then expanded.

35

simplicitas is a quality highly valued by M.: perhaps more importantly, he associates it with his defence of obscenity (see 1.0.7; 11.20.10, with Kay; cf. Petr. 132.115 vv.1ff. *quid me constricta spectatis fronte Catones / damnatisque novae simplicitatis opus ? / sermonis puri non tristis gratia ridet, / quodque facit populus, candida lingua refert*; also Priap.3.9 and 38.1), which makes his use of it in the present poem the more pointed.

simplicitas is generally a positive moral quality, suggestive of lack of pretension and, positively, of innocence and honesty. Otto Hiltbrunner (Latina Graeca 15-105) deals with it at length - see 75f. on M. Cf. also Plin.Ep.1.13.2 (people leaving a recitation) *alii dissimilanter et furtim, alii simpliciter et libere.*

.1f. **TAMQUAM SIMPLICITER MECUM, CALLISTRATE, VIVAS, DICERE PERCISUM TE MIHI SAEPE SOLES:** *simpliciter mecum vivere* seems to be an expression favoured by M. for 'be a close / frank confidant': cf. 1.87.8 *sis ebria simpliciter*; 3.42.3 *simpliciter pateat vitium fortasse pusillum*; also *simpliciter dicere* and sim., 11.63.4; 14.215 etc.

For Callistratus see PIR^{2} *C* 231 (a famous *iuris consultus*). In 12.42 it is the name of the persona who takes part in a homosexual 'wedding' as a pathic: it presumably contains an ironic suggestion - 'glorious warrior' or sim. - of the stock character of the *miles gloriosus* type.

percidere is related to the sexual sense of *caedere* (see Adams LSV 145ff.), and may refer to beating or cutting, with overtones of punishment. *percidere* most often carries its literal sense of 'hit' (Adams 146f.): in literature its sexual application is mostly to *pedicatio*; it is also found at M.2.72.3 with *os* as a direct object, of *irrumatio*, punning on *os percidere* 'hit in the face' (Adams 212). Cf. M.4.48.1/4; 6.39.14; 7.62.1; 9.47.8; 11.28.2; Priap.13.1; 15.6; Adams 215 (on intensive forms of such verbs). It is also found with a heterosexual reference - see Adams 146 and e.g. CIL 4.2319.

.3f. **NON ES TAM SIMPLEX QUAM VIS, CALLISTRATE, CREDI. NAM QUISQUIS NARRAT TALIA PLURA TACET:** *simplex esse* is a variation on *simpliciter vivere* and reinforces the idea that it is a state of character rather than just a habit of open speech. Cf. Plin.Ep.4.9.6 *quod homo simplex et incautus quaedam a provincialibus ut amicus acceperat*;

M.10.13.3 (of the guilelessness of childhood) and 6.7.6.

The final polarization of the line between *narrat* and *tacet* and the bald general statement make a pointed, if conventional, conclusion, which is that, in matters sexual, *quod tegitur, maius creditur esse malum* (3.42.4). In 12.26 above *dicis* alone is used to suggest that behind Saenia's sexual boast there lurks a viler practice which she does not mention. Here, in a longer poem, *dicere…te mihi saepe soles* stresses further the divergence between what is reported and what is practised.

36

M. attacks Labullus, a mean patron who thinks himself generous, by pointing to the real generosity of famous literary patrons of the past: such mean patrons, and the quality and quantity of their Saturnalia gifts, are a favourite target for M. - cf. 8.71; 10.57; 5.19; 7.53.

The view of a decline in the quality of literary patronage is common to M. and Pliny (Ep.3.21). It is difficult to evaluate its accuracy. Gordon Williams (Change and Decline pp. 276f.; 297ff.) points to the increasing trend, under the Empire, for writers to come from a senatorial or equivalent background, removing the necessity for patronage in most cases. But, as Saller (CQ.33.1 (1983) p. 255) points out, 'Decline was such a common motif in Roman writing that it must always be treated with suspicion.' Pliny may have been trying to highlight his own generosity to M.; Maecenas and the famous patrons of this poem may have been exceptional. There are perhaps a few reasons for scepticism about a decline. Despite his comment about *pecunia*, Pliny and others are known to have given money to poets. Moreover, if we compare Calpurnius Siculus and Juvenal, the same theme about the poet's poverty can be discovered, before and after the supposed decline. Both write of the emperor (Nero and Hadrian, respectively) as being the great hope of the poor poet. Calpurnius (*Ecl.*4.334) acknowledges some support received from his private patron, while Juvenal will

> not admit to this much aid. This difference could easily be explained by difference of genre and purpose: in Juvenal's satires everything must be unrelievedly bad for effect. The point is that even in the Neronian Age poets were not satisfied with private patrons and looked to the emperor for more lavish gifts. Emperors must have varied in their propensity to fund poets. Augustus' open-handedness towards Virgil contrasts with Domitian's rejections of Martial's undignified requests. But here too there is no clear evidence of a trend. (Saller *ibid.*)

.1 **LIBRAS QUATTUOR AUT DUAS AMICO**: Cf. 8.71.1ff.

> *quattuor argenti libras mihi tempore brumae*
> *misisti ante annos, Postumiane, decem;*
> *speranti plures - nam stare aut crescere debent*
> *munera - venerunt plusve minusve duae*

which suggests that *quattuor librae* is acceptable, with the hope of an increase in the amount in future, but two *librae* is too little. At 7.53.12 M. considers *argenti…pondera quinque* adequate. Friedländer (SG 4.278f. = 4.301-303) notes many other instances of presents in this form and shows that it is gold and silver **plate** that is referred to: by his reckoning, 4 *librae* = 1.3 kilograms (nearly 3 pounds avoirdupois), surely a considerable amount even of silver, let alone gold. This tells very much in favour of Saller's contention (CQ.33.1 (1983) 246ff.; see 252f.), against Peter White (JRS 68 (1978) 74ff.; see 86f.), that such gifts could represent a substantial contribution by the 'patron' to the client's income.

Originally the gifts at this season were symbolic only, candles and clay dolls (*sigillaria* - see Balsdon LL 124f.), but, by M's day, full-scale present-giving had become the norm - as M's books 13 and 14 show - and the *patronus* was clearly expected to make a good sized present to each *cliens*. Information about the nature and size of such gifts is sketchy: Suet.Cl.5 records a gift of 40 *aurei* from Tiberius to Claudius, but that is clearly in a different league of present giving, as is that described at e.g. SHA 1.17.3. The most substantial surviving record of such gift-giving is M.13 and 14, but the relative values of the gifts described there would be

nearly impossible to calculate: they include a range of foods (e.g. grapes, cheese, lentils, ducks, capons, swans, *garum*), wines, writing paper, a parrot, gemmed cups, cloaks, furniture and books.

.2 **ALGENTEMQUE TOGAM BREVEMQUE LAENAM**: For the *toga* as a gift to a *cliens* cf. 10.11.6; 10.73.

algens (= 'which makes the wearer feel cold') suggests an unusual chilliness: the *toga* was typically of wool (at 12.18.5 it is *sudatrix*), so Labullus is probably giving a worn-out garment (or one made of inferior or unsuitable cloth). Cf. 14.135.2 *cum teget algentes alba lacerna togas*; also 9.49.4ff., on a *toga* given to M. by Domitian's secretary Parthenius (see 8.28) which has become so threadbare that M. colourfully describes it as *nivea* (= 4.34.2); 10.11.6, where a client receives a *lotam, ut multum, terve quaterve togam.*

Literary references to the *laena* are few, making identification of the garment difficult: see L.M. Wilson Clothing 112ff. It was a '*duplex*' cloak (the meaning of the adj. is uncertain) made of wool, circular in shape, fastened with a *fibula* at the shoulder: Varro LL.5.133 *l<a>ena, quod de lana multa duarum etiam togarum instar, ut antiquissimum mulierum ricinium, sic hoc duplex virorum.* It was worn as a formal 'vestment' by the *flamines* when sacrificing.

brevitas is clearly an incongruous characteristic of this garment, which is noted for its size. Cf. also Stat.Silv.2.1.128ff. where *brevis* = 'tight-fitting, small':

> *cum tibi quas vestes, quae non gestamina mitis*
> *festinabat erus ? brevibus constringere laenis*
> *pectora et angusta telas artare lacerna*

(see Van Dam).

.3f. **INTERDUM AUREOLOS MANU CREPANTIS**
POSSINT DUCERE QUI DUAS KALENDAS: Only M. uses the diminutive form

of *aureus* (which = 25 *denarii*), and it presumably suggests something about the attititude of a particular persona to the money - cf. 11.27.12 (with Kay); 9.4.1/3. Here, as in 11.27, it is probably intended to suggest that large sums are nothing to Labullus - he carries them about in his hand and jingles them casually as if they were small change.

crepare denotes a range of sharp, loud noises, from snapping fingers, creaking doors and children's rattles (*crepundia*) to rumbling stomachs and farting. For the present use cf. especially M.5.19.14 (again, stingy patrons at the Saturnalia) *qui crepet aureolos forsitan unus erit.*

ducere here = 'last for', a meaning not often found: cf. Sen.Ep.58.37 *est…materia quae ducere diem possit* (the contents of a letter).

Kalendae = *menses* (see H. Lucas CQ 32 (1938) 5f. on their various uses as a point of reckoning): cf. Ov.Fast.3.99f. *nec totidem veteres, quot nunc, habuere Kalendas: / ille minor geminis mensibus annus erat*; CIL.5.7468 CURATORI KALENDIOR(UM) REI P(UBLICAE). The implication is that Labullus' small change, which is far more than the value of his gifts, would be enough for M. to live on for two months, so that, however substantial a gift even 4 *librae* of plate can be shown to be, it is clear that what M. expects is something on which he can live.

.5ff. **QUOD NEMO NISI TU, LABULLE, DONAS,**
NON ES, CREDE MIHI, BONUS. QUID ERGO ?
UT VERUM LOQUAR, OPTIMUS MALORUM ES: Labullus is a name found only in M. (also at 11.24.4/9, a rich and garrulous *patronus* who wastes M's time).

Here, Labullus is playing his role cheaply: other patrons are not giving presents to their clients, so M. says that Labullus thinks that his meannness will pass for generosity.

For *non es, crede mihi…quid ergo ?* cf. 1.41.1f. *urbanus tibi, Caecili, videris. / non es, crede mihi. quid ergo ? verna. crede mihi* is a

parenthesis with a tone similarly colloquial to that of *si memini* at 12.34.2. It is common in Ovid - see Hofmann LU 126 (§114). *quid ergo* is a colloquial ellipse for *quid ergo es* - see Citroni on 1.41.2. On the form of .6 see Siedschlag Form 73f.

Ker translates *bonus* 'good at giving,' which is perhaps slightly over-blunt: cf. Juv.5.108ff., where the patron is told that he is no longer expected to give such gifts as e.g. Piso or Cotta, both characterized as *bonus* (.109). The idea is presumably more in the range 'benign, beneficent.' Also, *malus* never means 'bad at', so the balance of the poem is disturbed if *bonus* = 'good at': *bonus* is an important lead-up to the *optimus malorum / ultimus bonorum* opposition, which M. is presenting as if it were a serious moral judgement.

ut verum loquar picks up from *quid ergo* at the end of the previous line, maintaining the conversational tone of *crede mihi*. Cf. e.g. Petr. 129.11 *verum fatendum est.*

For the conceit, Paley and Stone compare Il.17.105 κακῶν δέ κε φέρτατον εἴη, which Leaf describes as 'a sort of meiosis for "least ill"; ὡς ἐν κακοῖς τουτ' ἂν εἴη φέρτατον, Schol. A.'. M., however, means something more like Ker's 'best of a bad lot'. The two superlatives in oxymoron are introduced principally for the fun of reversing them at .10.

.8ff. **PISONES SENECASQUE MEMMIOSQUE**
ET CRISPOS MIHI REDDE, SED PRIORES:
FIES PROTINUS ULTIMUS BONORUM: The plurals are of the same 'generic' kind as *Catones* at 10.20(19).21 and the *Maecenates* at 8.55.5. C. Calpurnius Piso and the younger Seneca also appear as types of generosity at Juv.5.109 (see Mayor's note). The former was executed in 65 A.D. for conspiring against Nero; his generosity is also recorded at Tac. Ann. 15.48; Laus Pis. 109ff. Seneca did not long survive him, being forced to commit suicide after alleged participation in the same conspiracy

(Tac. Ann. 15.61ff.) - M. speaks of both as generous patrons at 4.40.1f.

Friedländer assumes that the Memmius mentioned here is Memmius Regulus, the consul of 63 A.D., because this will maintain a Neronian ambience, but it seems more likely to be Gaius Memmius (praetor 63 B.C.), Lucretius' addressee, with whom Catullus and Cinna travelled in Bithynia: Memmius Regulus is not anywhere mentioned as a literary patron, whereas M. would expect Gaius Memmius' associations with Lucretius, and especially Catullus, to be familiar to his readers.

Crispus appears most likely to be Q. Vibius Crispus, a *delator* under Nero: see Tac. Hist. 4.41.3 etc, giving him a bad press; Quint. Inst. 10.1.119 - a good press, *iucunditas* etc. ascribed to him; Juv. 4.81-93 - fairly neutral (see also J.G. Griffith, 'Juvenal and the Flavian Establishment,' G&R. 16 (1969) pp. 134ff.; on Crispus pp. 139f.). He was a man of great eloquence (Tac. Dial. 8) and wealth (M. 4.54.7 *divitior Crispo*). It is of this Crispus that Suetonius tells the story that (Domitian being known habitually to kill flies), when asked if anyone was with the emperor, he replied *ne musca quidem* (Dom. 3.1). His career flourished under Vespasian, so he need not suggest Nero either.

mihi redde, sed priores adds another conversational phrase, the qualification adding an edge to the criticism of Labullus.

fies ultimus bonorum, as well as neatly reversing the oxymoron in .7, insists that, in the present decadent age (when literary patronage is in decline), any such competition for Labullus must remain hypothetical. For *ultimus* thus cf. Liv. 26.6.17; Juv. 8.44 *volgi pars ultima nostri* (cf. Lucan 6.593f.) and, in an expression of abuse, Apul. Met. 3.16.5 *tune, ultima, non cessas…capillamenta surripere* (also Apol. 85).

.11ff. **VIS CURSU PEDIBUSQUE GLORIARI ?**
TIGRIM VINCE LEVEMQUE PASSERINUM:
NULLA EST GLORIA PRAETERIRE ASELLOS: M. now introduces an analogy

from racing, using the names of two race-horses also mentioned at 7.7.10. Passerinus is also known from inscriptions - see Syme RP 3.1064. For *cursus* of racing horses see TLL 4.1553.19ff.; with *levis* Phaedr.1.12.8f. *cursu levi / canes elusit (cervus)* and cf. M.4.19.8.

gloriari, picked up by *gloria* in .13, epitomizes the point, for Labullus, of gift-giving: M. shows, by comparison with famous patrons of the past, that the mere fact of giving **something** is not sufficient to deserve praise if it is only the greater meanness of other patrons which makes Labullus exceptional and causes him to boast of his generosity.

asini and *aselli* (the latter word seems to have ousted the former over time - see Housman Papers 1163-1165) were naturally proverbially slow; in comparisons with men they are used to suggest both physical and mental sluggishness, as well as obstinacy: see TLL 2.794.36ff.; 779.36ff.; Otto Sprichwörter §§179ff., mostly of mental slowness. Here, however, with *praeterire* firmly continuing the picture of the race (and *gloria* picking up *gloriari*), *asellus* clearly suggests someone who is 'easily outdone'.

37

.1 **NASUTUS NIMIUM CUPIS VIDERI:** *nasutus* and *nasus*, used of critical ability, provide M. with several visual jokes and puns, usually to do with size. Cf. especially 13.2.1f. *nasutus sis usque licet, sis denique nasus, / quantum noluerat ferre rogatus Atlans*, and 12.88; also 1.41.8; 2.54.5; H.S.1.4.8 (see below); 1.3.29f.; Ep.1.19.45; Pers.1.40f.; 1.118. The metaphor was kept alive by classical scholars: Calderini's own introductory poem to his edition and commentary (addressed to the book) includes the line *nec turbae metuis subire **nasum***, and Bentley refers to some scholars who merit his approval as *nasutiores*.

.2 **NASUTUM VOLO, NOLO POLYPOSUM:** M. makes the anticipated switch to the literal meaning of the adj., but refers unexpectedly to disease rather than size: at Juv.6.108f. part of the ugliness of a gladiator is *mediis in naribus ingens / gibbus*, but the nasal polyp to which M. refers here should be internal and invisible, so that it is not easy to see how the joke would approximate to the more familiar *nil praeter nasum* type (cf. 12.88). M. is referring to a type of tumour which is rarely malignant and most common in the interior of the nose (see e.g. Black's Medical Dictionary 27th edn. p.719).

What is surprising is that the form of the joke (as well as its familiar expression elsewhere) seems to require *polyposus* to convey an unwelcome **exaggeration** of the critical faculty. It is not easy to see how *polyposus* can do this. Either there is some meaning in *polyposus*, now lost, on which M. is playing (Mr J.G. Griffith suggests the, apparently proverbial, use of *polypus* of a greedy *dives* at Pl.Aul.198, cited at Otto Sprichwörter §1146, as a possibility here), or he is making some subtler joke at the expense of the reader by building up to one familiar joke, but substituting a different one in the final word.

Jenkinson, on Pers.1.118 (*excusso…naso*), compares Lucian Alex.20 τοῖς δὲ ἰδιώταις καὶ κορύζης μέστοις τὴν ῥῖνα, 'the blocked or clear nose symbolizing dull-wittedness or its opposite'; see also TLL 8.1555.50ff. ('*mucosus…i.q. incultus, stupidus*'); Schol.H.S.1.4.8 [*emunctae naris*, of Lucilius] *significat…sapientem, quia e contrario mucosum stultum appellamus*; J. Bramble, Persius and the Programmatic Satire 103 f.n.5 (commenting on Pers.1.40f. '*rides,*' *ait,* '*et nimis uncis / naribus indulges.*')

> Cf. Horace's complaints about the keen noses of those able to see others' faults, but not their own, S.1.3.29-30 *acutis / naribus*; 1.6.5 *naso suspendis adunco* (Maecenas is praised for not despising the low-born H.), and Ep.1.5.23, *corruget nares. nasus*

corresponds to the Greek μυκτήρ.

A nasal polyp does most distinctively block (and therefore dull) the organ: the joke would then presumably be that the reader expects M. to complain about exaggerated critical faculties, but in fact he complains about something far more straightforward - stupidity. The thought of the second line would then be 'I **do** want someone who is *nasutus*; what I don't want is someone stupid (like you)'; *videri* might then be taken as suggesting that the man foolishly wishes to be thought *nasutus* although he knows he isn't. The Calderini-Merula commentary came to the conclusion that this must be the point (Calderini had originally tried to harmonize this poem with the jokes about size).

volo nolo provides a neat jingle on which to pivot the chiasmus: cf. 12.96.9 below, and other related combinations like *velim nolimve*, *volens nolens*.

38

Candidus need not worry about his wife's constant and attentive companion: he is a (passive) homosexual. The poem develops a mocking picture of the effeminate companion and then drives the point home with the firm conclusion, *non futuit*.

.1f. **HUNC QUI FEMINEIS NOCTESQUE DIESQUE CATHEDRIS**
INCEDIT TOTA NOTUS IN URBE NIMIS: For the opening cf. e.g. 2.57.1 *hic quem videtis gressibus vagis lentum*; 4.53.1 *hunc, quem saepe vides intra penetralia nostrae*; 5.51.1 *hic, qui libellis praegravem gerit laevam*.

On the *cathedra* and its form, as household furniture, see on 12.18.18. M. mentions the use of it as a sedan chair as being typically effeminate at 3.63.7 (*femineas…cathedras* used by a *bellus homo*) and 10.14.1 (*cathedrata…*

raeda); cf. Juv.6.91 *molles…cathedras*. For the use of the *cathedra* by women see Marquardt Prl.726; Blümner PrA.123 nn.6 and 11.

For *femineus* = 'effeminate' cf. Plin.NH.25.61; Stat.Silv.2.6.38; Sil.1.259. L. Casson (Travel in the Ancient World 67) notes a similar attitude to men's use of the sedan-chair among the Greeks (noting an attack on the use of one by Demosthenes at Din. κατὰ Δημ.36). Roman men might use the *lectica* - see e.g. Sen.Ep.15.6 - even for quite long journeys: Augustus used one to go up into the hills from Rome (Suet.Aug.82.1).

noctes diesque is a common expression, in various forms, for 'all the time': cf. 2.5.1f.; 7.20.3; and e.g. Pl.Mer.46; Cic.de Or.1.260; V.A.6.127; Sen.Ben.7.14.6.

incedit has worried many editors: Friedländer and Gilbert adopted Guttmann's *insidit*. Housman (Papers 735) believed it to be 'incongruous' with *cathedris*, which he thought 'must depend on *notus*': he thought that the latter word would be better served by *adsidet*, but that '*incedit* sits so well with *tota notus in urbe* that the pentameter will be spoilt by any alteration'. He therefore suggested that two lines are missing, so that the poem might have begun

> *hunc, qui femineis noctesque diesque cathedris*
> *‹adsidet atque aliqua semper in aure sonat,*
> *qui matronarum iungens latus usque catervis›*
> *incedit tota notus in urbe nimis.*

He compared 2.14.7f. *Memphitica templa frequentat / adsidet et cathedris, maesta iuvenca, tuis*; 3.63.7f. *inter femineas tota qui luce cathedras / desidet atque aliqua semper in aure sonat*; 11.47.1f. *femineis…dilecta catervis / balnea*.

Housman's argument rests on his assumption that *cathedris* depends on *notus*, but there is no need for it to do so, firmly embedded as it is in the phrase *tota…in urbe nimis* (cf. M.1.1. 2, quoted below), and the problem

he perceives to be present largely disappears if that dependence is removed, especially as he points out that *incedit* suits the pentameter perfectly. As for the incongruity of *cathedrae* and *incedere* together, although it is true that this verb is generally used of walking, often with connotations of a slow or stately gait (see Pease on V.A.4.141; Sen.Nat.7.31.2, contrasting it with the movement implied by *ambulare*), cf. Suet.Aug.53.2 *in consulatu pedibus fere, extra consulatum saepe adoperta sella per publicum* ***incessit***. Heraeus adds Justinus 41.3.4 *hoc denique discrimen inter servos liberosque est, quod servi pedibus, liberi non nisi equis incedunt*. It seems, then, that *incedit* should stand: it may be intended to emphasise the slow progress of the sedan-chair, prolonging the man's parading about.

tota in urbe = 'all over the city', i.e., to a Roman, 'everywhere', the spatial equivalent of *noctes diesque*: cf. 1.1.2 (M's claim to be *toto notus in orbe*); 1.2.6 *urbe vagus tota* (where Citroni notes that it is parodic of V.A.4.68f., *uritur infelix Dido totaque vagatur / urbe furens*, and other Vergilian passages); 1.73.1; 1.86.9; 2.72.6; 3.15.1 etc.

notus nimis, 'all too well-known', plays on the more sinister sense of *notus* as = 'notorious, infamous' - cf. e.g. Cic.Fam.10.14.1; Juv.6.42; 6.314.

.3f. **CRINE NITENS, NIGER UNGUENTO, PERLUCIDUS OSTRO,**
ORE TENER, LATUS PECTORE, CRURE GLABER: M. intends the symmetry and regularity of the description, carefully fitted to the couplet, to be inherently comical, as well as stressing characteristics of a **pathic**. A similar effect is employed in the hexameter of 12.54.

crinis is used in its usual collective singular (cf. 12.32.4 for a striking use of single hairs).

nitens is commonly used of radiance or beauty generally: cf. Catul.2.5,

61.21, and especially phrases like *ore nitere* and sim. (Ov.Med.52; Met.11.690). More relevant here is the use of this word of the glossy coat of healthy or well-groomed animals (Juv.7.181; Phaedr.3.7.4; V.A.3.20; and especially Liv.45.39.19, of Galba), since *niger unguento* probably implies an unnatural sheen on the hair.

For *niger unguento* cf. 12.17.7 *nigra recumbit amomo*, = 'dark, smothered with perfume' (suggesting the actual darkening in the appearance of hair which is produced by unguents). *unguenta*, perfumed ointments, were applied to the hair (see e.g.Prop.2.4.5; M.6.57.1), but not exclusively - e.g. Petr.47.1 *(Trimalchio) unguento manus lavit*; Suet.Nero 31.2; Pl.Mos.42; Ter.Ad.117, the last two stressing their perfumed character.

For *ostrum* and sim. cf. 12.17.8 (*purpureo toro*); see Pease on V.A.4.134. While not in itself a sign of effeminacy, *ostrum* used to excess was considered ostentatious and decadent: M.3.82.7 *effultus ostro Sericisque pulvillis*.

perlucidus, of clothing, can denote garishness ([Tib.] 3.12.13 *adnue purpureaque veni perlucida palla*) or clothes which are indecently translucent (doubtless the point here) - Sen.Const.18.3; Juv.2.78 (*perluces*, of another homosexual; see Courtney's note).

tener is common as a pejorative adj., implying soft or sensuous effeminacy: Cic.Att.6.2.8 (with Shackleton Bailey); Pis.89; V.Max.6.9.2; Quint.Inst.9.4.31; M.4.66.9; 9.25.9.

os = 'face' - cf. *niger ore* in 12.54.1; Pl.Ps.1219; H.S.1.5.61; Plin.NH.6.187. Ker's 'languishing of eye' mistakes the point - M. is describing a weak, fleshy countenance.

latus pectore would suggest strength (cf. e.g. Physiogn.2.83.6), which is clearly out of place here. Shackleton Bailey (294) and W.S. Watt (LCM 9.9 (1984) 131) are right to call for emendation. Shackleton Bailey

suggests first *labris*, meaning the area around the mouth which could be covered by a beard: this would destroy the balance of the couplet, which is carefully constructed as a sequence of six pairs of words, each comprising an adj. plus a noun in the abl. He prefers, however, *levis*:

> *Levis* and *glaber* are not synonymous. The first might refer to natural smoothness, the second implies depilation.

But Watt's suggestion is also attractive:

> Paleographically easier than *levis* would be *lactens*, 'milk-white'. The word is not often found in this sense, but it is used of a girl's nipples by Catullus 64.65 and of a boy's nipples by Petronius 85.6; compare also Martial 14.149.2 *niveo pectore* (of a girl).

Either of these would be an improvement; Watt's emendation is perhaps marginally more to be favoured, not only because it is striking and close to what is transmitted, but also because it provides more of a contrast with *glaber* than *levis* would.

crure glaber reflects a commonplace attack on effeminate homosexuals for aping women by depilation: cf. e.g. Lucil.266f.K *rador, subvellor, desquamor, pumicor, ornor, / expilor, <ex>pingor*; 915K *'Gnato, quid actum est ?' 'depilati omnes sumus'*. Although often involving the sexual organs or anus, the present type of depilation is also remarked upon: cf. a speech of Scipio Aemilianus, reported at Gell.6.12.5:

> *'nam qui cotidie unguentatus adversum speculum ornetur, cuius supercilia radantur, qui barba vulsa, **feminibusque subvulsis** ambulet, qui in conviviis adulescentulus cum amatore cum chiridyta tunica interior accubuerit, qui non modo vinosus sed virosus quoque sit, eumne quisquam dubitet, quin idem fecerit quod cinaedi facere solent ?'*

(the *chiridyta* was a tunic with sleeves reaching to the fingers, considered a particularly effeminate effect). Cf. also M.2.36.5; 2.62.1; 5.61.6; 6.56.1; 9.27.4; 10.65.7f.

glaber is commonly used of depilated skin: see TLL 6².1998.81ff.; Blümner PrA.438ff.; Phaedr.4.5.22; Catul.61.135; Sen.Ep.47.7 (a *minister*);

Varro RR.1.2.26; Cels.6.4.1.

.5f. **UXORI QUI SAEPE TUAE COMES INPROBUS HAERET,**
NON EST QUOD TIMEAS, CANDIDE: NON FUTUIT: For *inprobus* cf. 12.97.2 *inprobus maritus*: it denotes immoral or unprincipled behaviour (and often persistence as well, which is to the point here), specifically that which is sexually shameless, immodest or wanton. Cf. Ov.AA.2.400 *(Clytemnestra) casta fuit; vitiost improba facta viri*; Petr.86.1 (transf.) *si hunc…tractavero inproba manu*; M.3.75.4 (of an aphrodisiac); 2.61.2.

comes has no specific sexual overtones. It simply stresses the man's constant presence with Candidus' wife, as it would be used of the attendance of a client or other hanger-on: cf. e.g. Juv.1.46 *gregibus comitum*. Cf. the modern American 'walker' - a man hired by rich women (e.g. Nancy Reagan) to accompany them during the day, and sometimes to social functions.

haerere is frequently found closely with *comes*: Catul.21.6 *haerens ad latus*; M.3.91.3 *huic comes haerebat*; 7.45.9/11; 11.7.8 *haerebit dominae vir comes ipse suae*. But there is also an important sexual sense of the verb which M. means to be noticed, especially by setting *haeret* and *non futuit* in parallel at the end of the lines of the final couplet: Adams (LSV 181f.) notes a wide range of sexual uses, of copulation, manual stimulation, *cunnilingus* and *fellatio*. Cf. also TLL 6^{3}.2496.26ff.

Candidus was a relatively common name under the empire: PIR^{2}.C §384 etc. Kajanto (64) suggests that its original reference was to the colour of hair and skin: if it suggests hair colouring there could be some allusion to the stock figure of the foolish old husband worried about the behaviour of his young bride.

On *futuere* see on 12.26.1; *futuit* (fricative plus two dentals) provides an arresting, hard-sounding conclusion to the poem, and suddenly and

summarily disposes of the effeminate *comes*. Since the man is a pathic M. may expect the reader to supply an implicit *sed futuitur*.

39

M. attacks Sabellus with a series of word-plays on his name and the vogue-word *bellus* - the reader may even be intended to surmise that Sabellus himself is fond of using the word. Cf. Catul.78:

> *Gallus habet fratres, quorum est lepidissima coniunx*
> *alterius, lepidus filius alterius.*
> *Gallus homo est bellus: nam dulces iungit amores,*
> *cum puero ut bello bella puella cubet.*
> *Gallus homo est stultus nec se videt esse maritum,*
> *qui patruos patrui monstret adulterium.*

.1 **ODI TE QUIA BELLUS ES, SABELLE**: *odi te* provides a very direct opening, following hard on the aggressive conclusion to the previous poem: it is the very antithesis of the more detached and ironical opening of M's famous 'Dr Fell' distich *non amo te, Sabidi*. Here it is followed by an equally direct statement of the reason, whereas the comic point of 1.32 is *nec possum dicere quare*. For M's use of *odisse* see also on 12.13.2. Fraenkel (Horace p. 263) noted that *odi* can = 'I want nothing to do with', but the present poem is funnier if M. is expressing an irrationally strong emotion.

Although the form of the statement *quia bellus es* is simple, the exact sense of the diminutive *bellus* requires consideration. The simplest sense of the common expression *bellus homo* is 'gentleman' - see Shackleton Bailey's translation of Cic.Att.1.1.4; Hofmann LU 150; Catul.22.9, with *urbanus* - see Fordyce. At Catul.24.7 it means 'a nice guy' (Kroll 'netter Kerl'); at 78.3 it ≃ κομψός: cf. M.3.63, where it is the proper term for the type of effeminate described in 12.38. In fact it is often used with

heavy irony - TLL 2 .1856.31ff. notes nine instances in Plautus alone. There was also a movement away from *pulcher* and *formosus* to *bellus* - see E&M 73, s.v. *bonus*. So the two main possibilities of meaning here are 'gentleman' (i.e. **not** a gentleman) and *cinaedus*. The jingle with the name is also important to the comedy: cf. 7.85.1f. *quod non insulse scribis tetrasticha quaedam / disticha quod belle pauca, Sabelle, facis* (where there may be a further joke in his writing **little** poems and **few** of them). The reader expects that M. is taking exception to Sabellus' effeminate appearance, as expressive of his decadent morals: in 12.43 he is a devotee of pornography. But it turns out that here the persona provides a 'back-drop' for the word-play.

Sabellus was a real name, the original reference of which was Samnite (see E.T. Salmon Samnium and the Samnites 32 & nn.2 & 3). M. makes frequent use of it with a consistently unattractive and immoral persona: 3.98; 6.33.1f.; 9.19; 4.46 (meagre Saturnalia presents); 7.85; 12.43. See also AL 885, a heterosexual priapic poem addressed to Sabellus (quoted on 12.33 above).

It is important to the structure of the epigram that, in this opening line alone, the adj. and the name are differently inflected: here the sense is unambiguous, whereas below, to add to the confusion of puns, M. gives the pair of words the terminations *-us*, *-um* and *-e* respectively in successive lines.

.2 **RES EST PUTIDA, BELLUS ET SABELLUS**: Ker's 'Tis a disgusting object' is not sufficiently subtle: cf. Cic. de Orat. 3.51 *quoniam haec satis spero vobis…molesta et putida videri, ad reliqua aliquanto odiosiora pergamus*; Att. 1.14.1 *vereor ne putidum sit scribere ad te quam sim occupatus* (Shackleton Bailey, '**putidum** "pretentious", as implying an undue sense of the importance of the writer's affairs as compared with his friend's

feelings.'); H.S.2.7.21f. *non dices hodie, quorsum haec tam putida tendant / furcifer* (= 'talk rubbish' or sim.); Petr.73.2 *putidissimam eius (i.e. Trimalchionis) iactationem…effugere* (= 'foolish chatter, boasting'). It is also used as = 'affected in language / speech, pedantic': Cic.Off.1.133; Orat.27 (with Sandys).

Since the stress of *putidus*, metaphorically used, is often on pretentious or foolish words or conversation (unfortunately M's only other use of the word is in a pun which has not been fully explained, playing on the word's literal sense, 'putrid', of a boar served at dinner - 3.50.8), and since *res* is often the matter and substance of talk or writing, the joke seems to be 'It's a piece of nonsense / affectation, *bellus* **and** Sabellus' - i.e. the actual combination of the words or ideas *bellus* and *Sabellus* in a phrase. In 2.7 M. mocks the use of *belle / bellus* in fashionable speech; cf. *bella…et puella* at 1.64.1, with Citroni; see also Kay on 11.52.1 *cenabis belle*; Hofmann LU 70f.; 142f. This second sense was that in which the lines were read by Calderini, who thought that the repetition of syllables involved in *bellus et Sabellus* was the *res putida*.

.3 **BELLUM DENIQUE MALO QUAM SABELLUM:** As Housman rightly insisted (Papers 736), this would be very lame indeed if *bellum* is masc. acc. adj. = κομψόν τινα, since the point of .1f. is already *odi te quia bellus es*, and to differentiate a *bellus vir* from Sabellus here would not advance the sense. In fact, M. now proceeds to cap his previous line with a pun:

> Of course it is neuter substantive and means πόλεμον: the emergence of this unexpected sense is the chief point of the epigram. The same idea occurs in a very different connexion at xi 20 7 sq. '"aut futue aut pugnemus" ait. quid quod mihi vita / carior est ipsa mentula ? signa canant.' and I see that the Delphin editor was right: 'magis placet *bellum* hoc loco sumi pro ipsa belli contentione.'

To moderate Housman's enthusiasm slightly, *bellum* = πόλεμον is the point of the line: 11.20.7f. provides a good parallel, and the assumption of many

editors, including Friedländer, that this is an adjective is virtually impossible to support with a sensible translation. It would be odd, however, if this were the 'chief point of the epigram', if for no other reason than that M. invariably reserves his chief point for the final line. The positioning of *bellum* at the beginning of this line adds to the comic effect, as the reader has *bellus* firmly in mind from the previous line: if the point of .2 is that *bellus Sabellus* is, as a phrase, a *res putida*, such virtuoso punning immediately strengthens that joke.

.4 **TABESCAS UTINAM, SABELLE BELLE**: As Lindsay and other editors read and punctuate this line, it concludes with a rather weak double vocative, merely restating the point of .1. Housman, again rightly, noted the further word-play in this apparent juxtaposition of name and epithet. He changed the punctuation to *tabescas utinam, Sabelle, belle*:

> I should have thought…[*belle*] was an adverb. *belle habere* means to be in good health, so that *tabescas belle* will be an oxymoron, 'may you go off in a fine decline.' (Papers 736).

This is correct. Farnaby had another idea, which is worth recording for its ingenuity at least, and which takes the idea that M. is commenting on the combination of the words themselves a step further:

> *Tabescas utinam &c.*] Ut nomine tuo ex primae syllabae tabe deminuto Sabellus fiat bellus.

In any case, the whole poem depends on a series of self-conscious word-plays, each different in character from the last.

tabescas might also add a punning reference to the literal meaning of *putidus* in .2: *tabescere* (cf. τήκω) is found of both physical and mental wasting or decay - cf. Pl.Capt.135; Cic.Att.2.14.1 *hoc otio quo nunc tabescimus*; Lucr.2.1173; Sen.Con.exc.3.9 *domini, quem videbat insanabili morbo tabescere*; Ep.101.14 *qui velit inter supplicia tabescere*. For its

literal use of putrefaction cf. e.g. Lucr.3.581; Plin.NH.31.95; Ov.Met.15.363.

40

The ego-narrator describes himself playing the part of a *parasitus* (on which see RE 18⁴.1397.30ff.; 1402.22ff. on M.) who is failing to live off his chosen *patronus* despite the extremity of his fawning: he receives nothing but the promise of a handsome legacy. The narrator redeems himself by rejoining that the death of the *patronus* will be reward enough. The style of fawning is very much that of the Greeks of Juv.3.103 (*si dixeris 'aestuo,' sudat*).

For the form of .1-4 cf., in a rather different context, Ov.AA.2.197-202,

cede repugnanti: cedendo victor abibis;
fac modo, quas partes illa iubebit, agas.
arguet; arguito; quidquid probat illa, probato;
quod dicet, dicas; quod neget illa, neges.
riserit: adride; si flebit, flere memento:
imponat leges vultibus illa tuis.

.1f. **MENTIRIS, CREDO: RECITAS MALA CARMINA, LAUDO:**
CANTAS, CANTO: BIBIS, PONTILIANE, BIBO: The introductory couplet depicts the narrator assenting to lies and poetic pretensions, the opening pair of verbs boldly providing a programme for the rest of the poem. For the same verbs in a similar narrative mechanism cf. 3.91.6f. *…sed tacitos sensit et ille dolos: / mentitur, credunt.*

Recitations were, under the empire, both a common form of publicity and also a social activity: Ovid (Tr.4.1.89) complains that, in exile, he cannot recite his work for lack of an audience; Pliny (Ep.1.13.1) complains of the unremitting programme of recitation which involves providing an audience for one's friends as well as reading one's own work.

He also reports (Ep.7.17.11) that Pomponius Secundus, the writer of tragedies, sought critical judgements from his friends via recitation before general publication (possibly in the form of staging). Juvenal complains of the quality as well as the frequency of *recitationes*, most famously in the opening of his first satire *semper ego auditor tantum ?*, and at 3.8f. *mille pericula saevae / urbis et Augusto recitantes mense poetas* (see Mayor's extensive note on Greek and Roman *recitatio* ad loc.); cf. also M.2.20

carmina Paulus emit, recitat sua carmina Paulus.
nam quod emas possis iure vocare tuum.

10.10.9 *saepius adsurgam recitanti carmina ?*; 9.83.4 etc. T.P. Wiseman (Roman Studies 254) shows that recitations did not, as has traditionally been thought, suddenly arise in the Augustan age and at the instigation of Asinius Pollio, but were rather a part of the general influx of Hellenistic culture which took place from the late second century B.C.

For *mala carmina* cf. H.Ep.2.2.106; Apul.Apol.8ff., with some examples of his own.

M. now varies the form of assent, moving from belief and praise to imitation. The second line might suggest that the narrator-persona is to be envisaged as the *umbra* of his *patronus* at a *cena*: in any case *bibis…bibo* suggests that the setting is in some way convivial. *cantare* is most often applied to public or professional performances, at least when the reference is to music rather than poetry (which has already been dealt with here in the hexameter), although it may sometimes denote solo or unaccompanied song (TLL 3.287.69ff.). It was a sign of freedom from care for a Roman to sing - see Juv.10.22, where Courtney notes that it was also thought to be a habitual occupation of travellers (Calp.Sic.1.28; cf. H.Sat.1.5.15ff.).

B^{e} reads Pompilianus, a better attested *cognomen*, but one not found

elsewhere in M. Pontilianus is used by him in two other poems, both distichs about a person whom M. does not wish to see again - perhaps the present poem is an 'explanation'. In 5.66 he is a patron,

saepe salutatus numquam prior ipse salutas:
sic eris Aeternum, Pontiliane, Vale.

and at 7.3 a bad poet,

cur non mitto meos tibi, Pontiliane, libellos ?
ne mihi tu mittas, Pontiliane, tuos.

.3f. **PEDIS, DISSIMULO: GEMMA VIS LUDERE, VINCOR:**
RES UNA EST SINE ME QUAM FACIS, ET TACEO: *pedis* is intended to surprise after the two previous activities: for the connotations of farting to Greeks and Romans see on 12.77.3; Sittl Gebärden 99f. On the verb see Adams LSV 2; 249f.: he considers that it was 'more offensive' than *crepare*. It occurs at Catul.54.3 and H.S.1.8.46 (and cf. 1.9.70) as well as the six instances in M.

Both *pedis* and *dissimulo* prepare for the innuendo in .4: *dissimulare* = 'pretend something is not happening' - cf. M.11.108.4 *lector, solve. taces dissimulasque ? vale*; also Tac.Hist.1.73.

gemma is used thus only here (TLL 6^{2}.1756.75), but 14.18(20) makes it clear that the word denotes a piece in the board-game *ludus latrunculi*:

insidiosorum si ludis bella latronum,
gemmeus iste tibi miles et hostis erit.

See also R.G. Austin 'Roman Board Games. I' G&R 4 (1934) 24-34, especially 25-30; Balsdon LL 156f.; RE 12.980.38ff. It was a war-game in which the victor was hailed as '*Imperator*'. *gemma* may be used of glass (cf. M.8.68.5, of a greenhouse for vines, *condita perspicua vivit vindemia gemma*), and there are references to glass pieces for the game at e.g. Ov.AA.2.208; Tr.2.477; M.7.72.8; some have also been discovered at Perugia (see Balsdon).

ludere is customarily used with an abl. of the game or piece: cf.

Ter.Ad.739; Cic.De Orat.1.217; Suet.Nero 22.1.

vincor = 'I lose (deliberately)', the verb being more familiar in an active sense in such contexts as = 'win': cf. Suet.Aug.71.3; M.11.33.4; Rhet.Her.4.29 *quos homines alea vincit*; and especially Sidonius' account of losing to Theodoric at *tabula* for the sake of expediting his petitions (Ep.1.2.8) *tunc etiam ego aliquid obsecraturus feliciter* ***vincor***, *quando mihi ad hoc tabula perit, ut causa salvetur.*

Shackleton Bailey (294) believes that the punctuation should be changed to express his reading of .4:

> For the sake of line 4, punctuate thus:
> Mentiris: credo. recitas mala carmina: laudo.
> cantas: canto. bibis: Pontiliane, bibo.
> pedis: dissimulo. gemma vis ludere: vincor.
> res una est sine me quam facis: et taceo.
> *Et = etiam.*

The point of .4 would presumably then be that M. means the reader to expect the *res una* to be something reprehensible, but it turns out to be nothing more offensive than keeping silent. This is ingenious, but lacks a sufficient point. All the actions of the ego-narrator thus far have involved what might be politely characterized as tact. According to Shackleton Bailey's reading there is no conscious tact involved in *taceo*. The line reads more easily with the meaning 'there's one thing you do without me, and I'm keeping quiet about that' - i.e. some sort of sexual innuendo which the narrator does not wish to bring up because he is indirectly implicated. The suggestion would be that the *res una* is masturbation, and that the narrator is expected to submit sexually to Pontilianus. *et* then simply means 'and', adding emphasis, and the structure of the line remains parallel to that of those preceding it. Calderini '(*res una*) *quam facis: paedicas*'; Farnaby '*turpicula quaepiam.*' For *tacere* in a similar innuendo cf. 12.43.7; spelled out at 12.35.4.

.5f. **NIL TAMEN OMNINO PRAESTAS MIHI. 'MORTUUS,' INQUIS,**

'ACCIPIAM BENE TE.' NIL VOLO: SED MORERE: Unlike the case described in 12.29 the poor parasite doesn't even receive a *cena*.

The direct speech adds immediacy to the conclusion of the epigram, giving M's narrator the last word. The joke in this phrase, at the expense of Pontilianus' grotesque meanness, is the juxtaposition of the colloquial *accipio bene* with *mortuus*, adding, in comic logic, the suggestion of M. being fêted by a corpse. The directness of *mortuus* is also presumably intended to be comical when set against the man's reticence about actually giving, and his coyness in referring to the legacy: for *accipiam bene* and sim. see TLL 1.310.42ff.; espec. Petr.42.6; Pl.Bac.101; also the opposite, *male accipere* etc.

Presumably *nil volo* is the automatic polite rejoinder from the parasite, possibly also direct speech here, and *morere* is what he is really thinking, or muttering under his breath - or perhaps we are intended to see the last word as the man breaking down under the pressure of this final insult and saying what he really thinks.

For *morere* as a final exclamation cf. 8.27,

> *munera qui tibi dat locupleti, Gaure, senique,*
> *si sapis et sentis, hoc tibi ait 'Morere'.*

41

It is not enough for Tucca that he is a glutton - he wants to be famous for it.

The name Tucca is found fourteen times in M.: it was a *cognomen* of Etruscan origin, found among 'republican and senatorial aristocracy' (Kajanto 106). The hallmark of the name in M. is excess: cf. 12.94; 11.70 (extravagance); 9.75 (the builder of an oversized private *balneum*); 7.41

(heavily perfumed); 6.65 (a critic who complains of the length of 6.64). In the present context it is doubtless no accident that there was a well-known dish of beef or pork preserved in seasoning or marinade called *tuccetum*: see André L'alimentation 143; Apul.Met.2.7 (*sapidissimum*); 9.22.3; Pers.2.42 *tucceta…crassa*, where they epitomize gourmet eating, and where the scholiast connects the word with the name Tucca.

For *non est satis quod* cf. 0.6.1f.; 1.118.1f.; 4.57.6; 8.64.17; 9.30.4.

The throat, or more accurately the gullet, *gula*, was a traditional seat of the appetite: Juv.1.140f. *quanta est gula quae sibi totos ponit apros*; cf. M.1.20.3; 5.70.5. *gulosus* came to mean '*gulae deditus vitio, sive multorum sive lautorum*': TLL 6^2.2.58.5ff., most of the examples from M., but cf. Sen.Nat.3.18.7 *non sunt ad popinam dentibus…contenti - oculis quoque gulosi sunt*; Juv.11.19; [Quint.] Decl.min.333.3 (Winterbottom) (transf.). For gluttony as a social disease at Rome cf. Juv.1.140 (above); 5.114ff.; M.7.59; Balsdon LL 37ff.

Tucca's gluttony is rendered comical, however, by his desire for publicity: he wants to be called *gulosus* and to seem *gulosus*. The chiasmus formalizes this reprehensible wish into a neat character study: cf. Sen.Ep.122.14,

> *praeterea luxuriosi vitam suam esse in sermonibus dum vivunt volunt; nam si tacetur, perdere se putant operam. itaque aliquotiens faciunt quod excitet famam. multi bona comedunt, multi amicas habent: ut inter istos nomen invenias, opus est non tantum luxuriosam rem sed notabilem facere: in tam occupata civitate fabulas vulgaris nequitia non invenit.*

42

M. mocks the homosexual 'marriage' of Callistratus and Afer in terms which ultimately are not so much moralizing as incredulous: he manipulates an

incongruity introduced into the normal wedding rites for the sake of a good joke. Cf. Juv.2.117-142 (it is possible that Juvenal knew the present poem), the 'marriage'of Gracchus to his *cornicen* where, as one might expect, moral outrage is to the fore. For a comparison with the passage in Juv. see W.S. Anderson Essays on Roman Satire 386-389 (part of his essay designed to counter what he saw as H.A. Mason's presentation of Juvenal as 'Martial set to a different tune').

.1f. **BARBATUS RIGIDO NUPSIT CALLISTRATUS AFRO**
HAC QUA LEGE VIRO NUBERE VIRGO SOLENT: The two men are introduced as *barbatus* and *rigidus* respectively to suggest that they pose as 'philosophers', i.e. that they are hypocritical moralists, a favourite satirical target: for the beard cf. 11.84.7 *tondeat hic inopes Cynicos et Stoica menta* (with Kay's note); also 1.24 for a similar character to the present ones; Marquardt Prl.600f.; Blümner PrA.270, who quotes the proverb ἀπὸ πώγωνος σοφισταί (Apostol. prov. VI 93e); D-S 1.1355ff.; RE 3.32.5ff. Until Hadrian's day the full beard was a sign of adherence, or, as here, vaunted adherence, to the severe Cynic-Stoic way of life: for similar affectations cf. Gell. 9.2.1f. *palliatus quispiam et crinitus barbaque prope ad pubem usque porrecta…tum Herodes interrogat, quisnam esset. atque ille vultu sonituque vocis obiurgatorio philosophum sese esse dicit et mirari quoque addit, cur quaerendum putasset, quod videret*; M.4.53 (the well-worn pun on *Cynicus*); AP.11.154-158; 430 + 434.

It is also relevant, however, that beardlessness was considered a characteristic of the effeminate - see RAC 4.633 - and that a homosexual might grow a beard to appear manly (see Courtney on Juv.6 06 (*barbata chelidon*) .who compares Lucil.994K *inberbi androgyni, barbati moechocinaedi*; M.7.58.1f.). So *barbatus* probably has a double meaning similar to that of *rigidus* (see below), suggesting simultaneously a hypocritical moralist and

an obvious homosexual.

For the name Callistratus see above on 12.35.

rigidus is similarly an adj. proper to a moralist - cf. 10.20(19).21 *rigidi Catones*; also H.Ep.1.1.17; Ov.AA.2.664; Sen.Ep.81.4; Tac.Ann.16.22. It is, however, also one of the adjs proper to Priapus, the *rigidus deus*: see e.g. Priap.4.1; 45.1. Cf. also uses of the phallus: *rigida…vena* M.11.16.5 and 6.49.2 (and cf. 9.47.6); Catul.56.7 (with Kroll); Petr.134.11 etc.; Adams LSV 103; Grassmann Epoden 65, espec. n.143). M. probably intends a sexual *double entendre* here, since Afer is the 'husband'.

Afer, in various forms, was a common *cognomen*, most famously of Terence: see Kajanto 205.

nubere is properly used only of a woman taking part in the traditional wedding ceremony. It is also found at M.1.24.4 and Juv.2.134/137 of the passive partner in a homosexual 'marriage'. See also Adams LSV 160, who wishes to distinguish the present use from that at M.1.24 which, he argues, belongs with the use of *nubere* as a euphemism for 'have sexual intercourse with'.

In the pentameter M. insists that he is talking here about an actual marriage ceremony (cf. Tac.Ann.15.37; Suet.Nero 29, Nero's similar 'marriage'; SHA 17.10.5; 17.11.7, that of Elagabalus), emphasising the point with the jingle *viro…virgo*. The desire for such ceremonies is a continuing feature of some homosexual subculture to the present day.

For the phrase *hac qua lege* cf. Pl.Truc.141f.; Cic.Quinct.50; H.S.1.3.72.

.3f. **PRAELUXERE FACES, VELARUNT FLAMMEA VULTUS,**
NEC TUA DEFUERUNT VERBA, TALASSE, TIBI: Torches were used in the *domum deductio*, the ceremonial escorting of the bride to her new home (see Balsdon RW 184f.; Pl.Cas.118 *huic lucebis novae nuptae facem*; Cic.Clu.15;

V.Ecl.8.29; Prop.4.3.13; Paul.Fest. p.77L

> *facem in nuptiis in honorem Cereris praeferebant; aqua aspergebatur nova nupta, sive ut casta puraque ad virum veniret, sive ut ignem atque aquam cum viro communicaret.*

The *flammeum* was a flame-coloured veil which covered the bride's head but not her face: see Balsdon RW 183. See also Catul.61.8 *flammeum cape laetus*; Lucan 2.361; Petr.26.1; Juv.6.225, and especially 2.124, part of the similar homosexual ceremony reported there, *segmenta et longos habitus et flammea sumit*; Blümner PrA.352; Marquardt Prl.45.

velare is used specifically of ceremonial veiling, often of the head: cf. H.Od.1.35.22 (see N-H); Cic.Dom.124 (with R.G. Nisbet's note).

See Balsdon RW 183 for the 'vows' (the bride said '*ubi tu Gaius, ego Gaia*'), but *verba* here may in fact refer to the cries and ribald songs which accompanied the *deductio*, or even the invocation '*Talasse*' itself. The present line suggests that M. believed that *Talassus* (elsewhere *T(h)alas(s)io*) was the name of a nuptial deity: the word was shouted at the bride by friends and onlookers during the *deductio*. Its origin is (and was to the Romans) unknown: antiquaries connected it with τάλαρος, 'wool' (Fest. p.478L); Livy (1.9.12) connected it with the rape of the Sabine women; see Plut.Quaest.Rom.31; Fordyce on Catul.61.127; Ogilvie on Liv.1.9.12; Citroni and Howell on M.1.35.6; RE 4A.2064.5ff.; R. Schmidt De Hymenaeo et Talasio (diss. Kiel, 1886). At 3.93.25 it = 'intercourse' (cf. 12.95.5), part of the 'marriage' euphemism (see Adams LSV 159-161). E&M believe the spelling *Th-* to have arisen from a false analogy with θάλαμος.

.5f. **DOS ETIAM DICTA EST. NONDUM TIBI, ROMA, VIDETUR HOC SATIS ? EXPECTAS NUMQUID UT ET PARIAT ?**: The agreement on the dowry was part of the marriage contract, a legal document signed by, probably ten, guests (see Balsdon RW 183). Here reference to it emphasises once again the fulness of the mock ceremony: cf. Juv.2.117-121,

> *quadraginta dedit Gracchus sestertia dotem*

cornicini, sive hic recto cantaverat aere;
signatae tabulae, dictum 'feliciter,' ingens
cena sedet, gremio iacuit nova nupta mariti.
o proceres, censore opus est an haruspice nobis ?

The dowry is *dicta* because it was due for payment afterwards in annual instalments: cf. Ter.Heaut.942 *me mea omnia bona doti dixisse illi*; Cic.Caecin.73; Ov.Fast.6.594; Sen.Contr.1.6.5.

pariat packs a typical last-word punch: cf. the more expansive satirical treatment at Juv.2.137-142,

interea tormentum ingens nubentibus haeret,
quod nequeant parere et partu retinere maritos.
sed melius, quod nil animis in corpora iuris
natura indulget: steriles moriuntur, et illis
turgida non prodest condita pyxide Lyde,
nec prodest agili palmas praebere luperco.

Anderson argues (387ff.) that, in M's version, the whole poem, and the final hyperbole about giving birth, essentially exist for the sake of the joke, whereas it is typical of Juvenal's 'angry wit' that he brings his denunciation to its climax with the comforting thought that these despicable unions will at least be childless.

43

Another poem addressed to Sabellus (see 12.39, also hendecasyllables) who is here a writer of pornography.

.1f. **FACUNDOS MIHI DE LIBIDINOSIS**
LEGISTI NIMIUM, SABELLE, VERSUS: For hyperbaton with ***nimis*** cf. Cic.Pis.17.8, with Nisbet: Ker is probably right to translate 'all too eloquent,' which is certainly relevant here, even though the adv. is juxtaposed with *legisti*, since it is the **quality** (*quales* .3) of the verses with which the poem is concerned.

For *facundus* of **poetry** cf. Sal.Iug.85.26 *facundam et compositam*

orationem (the second adj. suggesting elaboration); M.9.77.2 *facunda Prisci pagina*.

For *libidinosis* (presumably neuter) cf. Priap.47.6 *libidinosis incitatus erucis*: Burmann, '*erucae libidinosae*. quae ad libidinem incitant, ut *salaces erucae* Ovidio *Rem. Am.* 799'. Adams (LSV 188) notes that, under the empire, *libido* may = *coitus*.

.3f. **QUALES NEC DIDYMI SCIUNT PUELLAE**
NEC MOLLES ELEPHANTIDOS LIBELLI: Friedländer assumes, probably rightly, that Didymus is the name of a well-known pimp at Rome: δίδυμοι was used as a personification of the testicles (also *gemini*, see Adams 68), so it may have been a 'professional' name.

puella is a usual word (as is 'girl' in English) for women working in a brothel, regardless of age: cf. Juv.6.127; 14.45; M.6.66.1. Here, they are especially obliging, but not up to the standard of Sabellus' writings.

mollis, of writings, can = *voluptarius* and sim. (Pichon 206): cf. e.g. Catul.16.8 (*versiculi*) *…molliculi ac parum pudici*; see also TLL 8.1377.4ff. Here it must ≈ *libidinosus*, or perhaps *lascivus*, no doubt an extension of meaning from its moral connotations in the general environment of effeminate or voluptuous behaviour to promiscuity and deviant sexual practices (see TLL 8 .1378.32ff.).

Elephantis, like Philaenis (see above on 12.22.1; Vessey, cited there, 83), was a, probably fictional, Greek poetess credited with writing (and illustrating ?) a sex-manual: Plin.NH.28.81 mentions that she disagreed with an otherwise unknown Lais about abortives, fertility and barrenness; the Suda identifies her with one Ἀστυάνασσα. See also Suet.Tib.43.2,

> *cubicula plurifariam disposita tabellis ac sigillis lascivissimarum picturarum et figurarum adornavit librisque Elephantidis, ne cui in opera edenda exemplar imperatae [impetratae] schemae deesset.*

and Priap.4

decadence: Cic.Mil.55; Sen.Prov.3.13; Sen.Contr.10.4(33).17; M. 12.91.2. Together with the *fututor* of the previous line, the *exoleti* act as a male balance to the *puellae* and the reference to Elephantis in .3f. For *tacere* in similar contexts cf. 12.35.4; 12.40.4.

.8 **QUO SYMPLEGMATE QUINQUE COPULENTUR**: M. now changes his tack to a more specific reference to the contents of the verses, which appear to describe an orgy. The famous sex-manual ascribed to Philaenis, the περὶ σχημάτων συνουσίας (see Polyb.12.13.1, with Walbank), must presumably have covered this ground: cf. also M.11.81, with Kay; 9.32.4; AP.5.49; 11.225; 328; Suet.Tib.43.1.

σύμπλεγμα described wrestling and sexual grappling: cf. Plin.NH.36 .24/35 (statues of wrestlers); συμπλέκειν was also used to = 'have intercourse with' - Soph.frg.618 Θέτιδι συμπλακείς; Pl.Symp.191a & c συμπλέκεσθαι ἀλλήλοις; Aristotle HA 541ᵇ3; 542ᵃ16 (animals). Cf. the pun at the end of 14.201: ἐπικλινοπάλη, a wrestling term, is used as a pun with κλίνη (see Friedländer).

copulare was not, in fact, extensively used of sexual connection, although it was commonly used of, e.g., two people affectionately holding on to one another: Cic.Ver.4.148; cf. Lucr.6.1078; Sen.Ep.5.7; Plin.NH.17.137; Plin.Ep.5.6.32. Some examples are found in sexual contexts: Arnob.Nat.4.21; 6.22; Apul.Plat.2.14; Amm.31.9.5. It occurs only here in M.

.9 **QUA PLURES TENEANTUR A CATENA**: Perhaps this line explicates *symplegma* for the uninitiated ? The suggestion of an orgiastic human chain is clear enough. But, after *quo symplegmate*, one expects *qua…catena*, and the preposition *a* is a surprise (it is missing in C^A): *qua* must be the adverbial relative (= 'in the manner in which, as'; cf. e.g. Ov.Ars.1.285 *Myrrha patrem, sed non qua filia debet, amavit*), and *a* is presumably an example of the (fairly uncommon) use of this preposition with an inanimate

or impersonal agent - e.g. Ov.Ars.1.763 *hic iaculo pisces, illic capiuntur ab hamis*; see OLD *ab* §21; TLL.1.34.59ff. - the action of a person is always to some extent implied in such cases.

tenere is used of an amorous embrace - Catul.64.28, Prop.2.22.37, Tib.2.6.52 - and sometimes appears to shade over into sexual euphemism: Adams LSV 181, 187.

.10 **EXTINCTAM LICEAT QUID AD LUCERNAM:** *quid* concludes the sequence *quales, quid, quo, qua, quid* in .6-10 which adds cumulative force to the description. This line is also a further excursion into euphemism: there is a clear tension between the directness and technical exactitude of words like *exoleti, fututor, symplegma* and a tendency to euphemistic phrasing and expression which provides the point of .11. Moreover, M. ironically reflects the behaviour of the *exoleti* by keeping quiet about most of the details, despite the apparent frankness of .8f. (lines which are in fact technical rather than frank).

ad lucernam commonly = 'after dark', but M. takes the cliché and, adding *extinctam*, transforms the activities described from things suited to the night to things which must be done furtively: cf. H.Od.3.6.25-28,

> *mox iuniores quaerit adulteros*
> *inter mariti vina, neque elegit*
> *cui donet impermissa raptim*
> *gaudia* ***luminibus remotis***,

(with Peerlkamp's note); cf. M.11.104.5, with Kay ('the lamp as the silent witness is a frequent motif in erotic epigram').

.11 **TANTI NON ERAT ESSE TE DISERTUM:** Shackleton Bailey 294:

> The last line is usually misunderstood with Scriverius, "non erant haec digna tanto ingenio," or otherwise ("la materia non era si sublime per comparire eloquente" Ker). It means: "It was not worth while for you to be (i.e. show yourself) a skillful versifier at such a price (i.e., at the price of wading through all this filth)."

One doubts whether a man of M's tastes would have characterized the

exercise as 'wading through all this filth' ! Ker's English translation, available since 1968, 'It was not worth all that much - your being so fluent with words', is in fact closer to Shackleton Bailey's own than those he quotes, and has the advantage of an economy which is truer to the tone of *tanti* (= 'worth it' - cf. M.12.48.11; 12.59.11) than 'worth while…at such a price'. This confirms his main point of interpretation: there is no need for reference to *ingenium* etc. - *disertus* = 'skilled in writing', and is sometimes even found as a subst.: Cic.Orat.13 *doctis eloquentia popularis et disertis elegans doctrina defuit*; Ov.AA.2.507 *neque declament medio sermone diserti.* And whatever is, or is not, 'worth it' must be viewed from the perspective of the narrator: so the full force of *tanti* is 'worth it to you, worth your trouble.' For the idiom *tanti est ut* (the *ut* clause is replaced here by *esse te disertum*) see Duff's note on Juv.3.49.

tanti might be expected to relate in some way to *nimium* in .2, which is presumably the point of Ker's 'your being so fluent with words.' The final phrase is most easily understood as meaning 'this material would hold the attention of a listener regardless of how *disertus* you might be', or, 'why waste such sophisticated technique on such crude material?'

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Cf. 11.10

contulit ad saturas ingentia pectora Turnus.
cur non ad Memoris carmina ? frater erat.

and Kay's introduction; also 8.18, on M's friend Cerrinius who does not publish his epigrams, which might rival or surpass those of M., out of friendship; and, in a lighter vein, 12.94, in which an 'emulator' forces M. out of other kinds of poetic endeavour.

.1f. **UNICE, COGNATO IUNCTUM MIHI SANGUINE NOMEN**

QUI GERIS ET STUDIO CORDA PROPINQUA MEIS: Unicus is only found here in M. as a name, and PIR¹ notes it only from here. One might expect it to refer to an only child, so it does, at first, look odd of someone with a *frater*.

For *cognato iunctum…sanguine* cf. V.A.12.29; Ciris 409 *illa ego sum cognato sanguine vobis*; and especially CIL 6.34866 COGNATO SANGUINE IUNCTUS. The *nomen* seems to be stressed in establishing the relationship here: the addressee is presumably a Valerius Unicus. *gerere* acts as a hinge between the blood-relationship and the poetic one. *propinqua* continues the theme of kinship.

corda, as integral to the *studium*, is important in the light of the contrast between *pectus* and *pietas* below: it seems to be the 'spirit' in which Unicus' poetry is composed, or his poetic 'heart' which has an 'affinity' to M's. The thought is 'whose heart is related to mine in poetic endeavour also.'

.3f. **CARMINA CUM FACIAS SOLI CEDENTIA FRATRI,**
PECTORE NON MINOR ES SED PIETATE PRIOR: In the second couplet the relationship is elaborated by comparison with the relationship of genres.

For *facio carmina* cf. e.g. V.Ecl.3.86; Prop.2.8.11. For *cedentia* cf. the final couplet of 8.18 *aurum et opes et rura frequens donabit amicus: / qui velit ingenio* ***cedere*** *rarus erit*; Juv.7.38f. *ipse facit versus atque uni cedit Homero / propter mille annos*; Cic.Fam.4.4.1 *facile* ***cedo*** *tuorum scriptorum subtilitati et elegantiae.*

soli fratri again draws attention, jokingly, to the name. Farnaby thought this *frater* was a separate relative of Unicus, a full brother, but this is surely unlikely. Unicus appears only in this poem, and a further, unnamed, character would be confusing and pointless. Together with the traditional reading of .4, it would make the couplet irrelevant and

incomprehensible. *frater* = 'cousin' commonly enough (Cic.Att.12.7.1; Ov.Ep.8.28; 14.130; Met.13.31; Curt.6.10.24; Suet.Cal.15.2) and, in any case, 'poetic' fraternity is as much to the fore here. Moreover, M's usual motivation in this type of poem is self-advertisement, so it is most likely that M. himself is the *frater*, Unicus' cousin.

The pentameter has usually been taken to mean that Unicus is of equal ability but greater 'affection' (Bohn) or 'mutual devotion' (Ker). Obviously it does mean that he is M's equal in intellect and poetic ability, but displays greater *pietas*: in view of the third couplet's stress on his skill as an elegist, some reference to the fields of poetic endeavour is desirable here too. It must refer to the avoidance by Unicus of writing, in his chosen genre, better / more successful poetry than M. does in epigram, even though, M. asserts, he could do so.

For *pectus* = *ingenium* or sim. cf. Cic.De Orat.3.121 (with Wilkins); Fam.15.6.2; Catul.63.45; V.Max.8.12.ext.1; Tac.Dial.31.1. For the form of the comparison, *minor* vs. *prior*, cf. M.10.78.15f. *nec multos mihi praeferas priores / uno sed tibi sim minor Catullo.*

.5f. **LESBIA CUM LEPIDO TE POSSET AMARE CATULLO,**
TE POST NASONEM BLANDA CORINNA SEQUI: Catullus and Ovid, coupled with Lesbia and Corinna respectively, = their elegiac works, on which ground M. considers Unicus their equal.

On Lesbia see Fordyce Catullus xiv-xviii; on Corinna, Barsby Amores I 15f. Corinna is also mentioned by M. at 5.10.10 and 8.73.10 in similar comparisons (with M. himself). For Lesbia (Catullus' mistress) in M. see 6.34.8; 7.14.4; 8.73.8; 12.59.3 and 14.77.2: he also uses the name separately in amorous contexts - see Howell on 1.34.1.

Catullus is most often called *doctus* (e.g. M.8.73.8; 7.99.7; 14.100.1; 14.152.1; Ov.Am.3.9.2 etc.), and also *facundus* and *argutus*. The present

adj. could be an allusion to Catul.1.1, *cui dono **lepidum** novum libellum.*

M. varies the comparison by applying the second epithet to the *amica*: *blandus* can just = 'attractive', though it also = 'seductive': cf. Ov.Am.1.15.18; 2.2.34; 3.2.55; also Juv.6.125 (a prostitute).

There is also variation in the pentameter in that, in the previous line, it is said that Unicus would rival Catullus in Lesbia's affections, whereas here the comparison is expressed in the form *post Nasonem…sequi*. *sequi* seems to have a particular sense of the female role in an amorous attachment for M.: cf. 12.52.8 *illa virum voluit nec repetita sequi*, and the pun in 9.78.2 *sequi vult, puto, Galla, viros* (of a poisoner); also Juv.6.100 *quae moechum sequitur, stomacho valet*. It presumably = 'be subject to, under the sway of' or 'attend, accompany'. See also Pichon 261 (s.v. *sequi, sectare*).

.7f. **NEC DERANT ZEPHYRI SI TE DARE VELA IUVARET;**
SED TU LITUS AMAS. HOC QUOQUE FRATRIS HABES: The Zephyr, only mentioned here in M., is introduced as another means of expressing Unicus' potential to outdo M. in poetic endeavour. On *dare vela* see Kenney, in Ovidiana (ed. Herescu), 205f.:

> A device not by any means peculiar to didactic poetry, but often used in it and characteristic of the poet's awareness of a high and holy calling is what might be called the 'progress' image, in which the poet's progress in his task is compared to the movement of a ship or car. Nautical images / are abundant in Ovid; it is significant that the kind which concerns us here is found most frequently in the *Ars*, *Remedia* and *Fasti*. It is too common in the poets to be accounted characteristically didactic: as well as in the *Georgics* and Manilius it is found *e.g.* in Pindar, Propertius and Horace, and the rhetoricians also were fond of it. It conveys a certain pretension: Ovid is voyaging boldly over the deep sea of poetry, not merely skirting the shore.

Cf. Sil.3.706; Ov.Ep.15(16).122; V.Fl.6.597; Cic.De Orat.2.187; Orat.75, and especially M.8.70.5f. *Pieriam tenui frontem redimire corona / contentus famae nec dare vela sua*. If, in the present poem, .3f. refer to Unicus not writing epigram and .5f. refer to him writing elegy, the final couplet

suggests, in a movement to the top of the 'hierarchy' of genres, that Unicus is perfectly capable of writing epic. See also Shackleton Bailey 294, pointing out that Friedländer is mistaken in thinking that both narrator and Unicus are writers of elegy.

But Unicus' choice of field (or rather sea) is more modest. For the whole image cf. V.G.2.39ff.:

> *tuque ades inceptumque una decurre laborem,*
> *o decus, o famae merito pars maxima nostrae,*
> *Maecenas, pelagoque volans da vela patenti.*
> *non ego cuncta meis amplecti versibus opto,*
> *non, mihi si linguae centum sint oraque centum,*
> *ferrea vox. ades et primi lege litoris oram;*
> *in manibus terrae. non hic te carmine ficto*
> *atque per ambages et longa exorsa tenebo.*

also Quint.Inst.12.pr.2; 12.10.37; cf. Liv.31.1.5; Nemes.Cyn.58ff.

The final sentence is not exactly a punch-line, but it is a final forceful statement of kinship and sympathy of ideas.

45

Another variation on the joke at the expense of baldness: see on 12.7; Headlam (Herodas intro. 1, and n.1.) points out that the bald were characterized by the Greeks as 'shameless, brazen-faced', and baldness was a conventional signal, on the stage, of 'ridiculous and contemptible characters…parasites, *lenones*, and braggarts'.

.1f. **HAEDINA TIBI PELLE CONTEGENTI**
NUDAE TEMPORA VERTICEMQUE CALVAE: *pellis* is treated skin or leather in general; here, with *haedina*, it = 'kid'. M. also refers to such a cap at 14.50:

> *ne lutet inmundum nitidos ceroma capillos*
> *hac poteris madidas condere pelle comas.*

Hats were not commonly worn by the free-born, so the very covering of his

head by Phoebus in this fashion is probably comical. The only exceptions seem to have been the *cucullus*, which might be pulled up over the head against rain, and the *petasus*, a broad-brimmed hat, which might be worn during a long day in the sun at e.g. the games. The *pilleus*, a felt cap, was the distinctive mark of a freedman, though worn by all (even the Emperor) on the Saturnalia. For head-coverings generally see Becker Gallus 428; Marquardt Prl.571f.; Blümner PrA.228f.

The *galerus*, which is most likely to be the hat meant here, was probably in origin a rustic cap: Prop.4.1.29 *prima galeritus posuit praetoria Lycmon*; V.A.7.688f. *fulvosque lupi de pelle galeros / tegmen habent capiti*. In historical Rome the holders of the most ancient priesthoods wore a version of the *galerus*; Juv.8.208 may also suggest that the gladiator's *pilleus* was sometimes so named (see Courtney ad loc.). So, not only is Phoebus being ridiculed for wearing a hat, but he has also chosen one as incongruous to a Roman as a yokel's hat, or a mitre, might seem to us, as everyday attire in the city.

As for the material, kid does not seem to have been a prized commodity, as modern associations with gloves might suggest: see Cic.Mur.75, where *pelliculae haedinae* are used as tablecloths, in a simple Stoic setting which also includes wooden benches and rough Samian earthenware.

contegere can simply = 'clothe', which is appropriate to the final joke, but it also has the sense of concealing or hiding, which is to the point here. Cf. Cic.Off.1.126; V.A.12.885. Julius Caesar is said to have been delighted to wear the laurel wreath to which he was entitled in order to conceal his baldness (Suet.Jul.45.2).

For *tempora* cf. 10.83.1ff.,

> *raros colligis hinc et hinc capillos*
> *et latum nitidae, Marine, calvae*
> *campum temporibus tegis comatis.*

In the present poem the size of the cap is dwelt upon for similar comic effect: Phoebus tries to cover every inch of the upper part of the head which might be expected to have hair on it.

vertex is commonly used of the crown of the head - so Vergil can use it in a double sense of the mountain Atlas, personified, at A.4.247.

nudus is strictly redundant, but the idea of nakedness both makes Phoebus' baldness into a hyperbole and contributes to the final joke.

calva = 'bald head' is found often in M.: cf. 6.57, also addressed to a Phoebus,

> *mentiris fictos unguento, Phoebe, capillos*
> *et tegitur pictis sordida calva comis.*
> *tonsorem capiti non est adhibere necesse:*
> *radere te melius spongea, Phoebe, potest.*

The name occurs 11× in M., elsewhere in attacks on homosexuality and creditors. Here its comic point is a reference to Apollo as the type of male beauty in general, and as having long flowing locks in particular: cf. V.A.4.141ff. (Aeneas compared with Apollo).

.3f. **FESTIVE TIBI, PHOEBE, DIXIT ILLE**
QUI DIXIT CAPUT ESSE CALCEATUM: The chiasmus *dixit ille qui dixit* adds a conversational pleonasm to the tone, as well as presenting the witticism as if it had been a publicly delivered *bon mot*.

festive is used, e.g., of the urbane style of oratory into which this type of verbal joke might be inserted. Cf. Gell.1.25.7 *'belli' autem 'ferias' festive magis dixit quam aperte atque definite*; also M.6.44.1f. *festive credis te, Calliodore, iocari / et solum multo permaduisse sale*, of someone who constantly makes jokes at other people's expense. It is clearly also appropriate of witty conversation.

calceatus ('shod') is found only here in M. *calcei* were leather shoes, appropriate with the *toga* - Becker Gallus 424ff.; Blümner PrA.224ff.; Marquardt Prl.589. Note the more laboured comic exploitation of this

participiple at Pl.Capt.184ff.:

> HE: *i modo, venare leporem; nunc irim tenes;*
> *nam meus scruposam victus commetat viam.*
> ER: *nunquam istoc vinces me, Hegio, ne postules:*
> *cum calceatis dentibus veniam tamen.*

46 (47)

A couplet in the tradition of *odi et amo*, and similar, Hellenistic, conceits. Cf. Ov.Am.2.4.5 *odi, nec possum cupiens non esse, quod odi*; Kroll and Fordyce on Catul.85. Cf. also Orat.Rom.frg. Malcovati p.108 §6 (Metellus Macedonicus):

> *si sine uxore <vivere> possemus, Quirites, omnes ea molestia careremus; set quoniam ita natura tradidit, ut nec cum illis satis commode, nec sine illis ullo modo vivi possit, saluti perpetuae potius quam breve voluptati consulendum est.*

The epigram begins with a neat 'etymological' oxymoron, both *difficilis* and *facilis* being commonly used of personalities and relationships. At 1.57.2 *facilem difficilemque* is used in a sexual sense - see Howell, Citroni.

For *iucundus acerbus* cf. 12.34.3f., where *amarus* and *iucundus* are opposed.

The second line is more or less lifted from Ov.Am.3.11b.39, *sic ego nec sine te nec tecum vivere possum.* M. successfully makes this hexameter over into a pentameter which is an independent sense-unit. Cf. also H.Od.3.9.24 *tecum vivere amem, tecum obeam libens*, where the spirit is more conventional.

Addison translated the couplet as follows:

> In all thy Humours, whether grave or mellow,
> Thou'rt such a touchy, testy, pleasant Fellow;
> Hast so much Wit, and Mirth, and Spleen about thee,
> There is no living with thee, or without thee.
> (The Spectator, no. 68 [May 18, 1711])

47 (46)

As Farnaby noted, this poem is a joke about poetic ἐνθουσιασμός, and the common conception that all poets are mad. The point is that these two write bad, saleable verses, presumably for other people to pass off as their own. They are in fact *sani poetae*, both because of their commercial acumen, and because of the low quality of their productions. Cf. 7.77, on Tucca, who wants M. to give him free copies of his work in order that he may sell it himself.

The names Gallus and Lupercus comically evoke the eunuch-priests of Cybele (*Galli*), and the priests at the Lupercalia (*Luperci* - from whom the latter name in fact derives - see Kajanto 318). They also occur together at Prop.4.1.93ff.

The poets are *sani* in the terms of the mob because they make money, and in the terms of poetry because their poems are 'uninspired', i.e. bad: cf. H.Ars 295ff.,

> *ingenium misera quia fortunatius arte*
> *credit et excludit sanos Helicone poetas*
> *Democritus, bona pars non unguis ponere curat,*
> *non barbam, secreta petit loca, balnea vitat.*
> *nanciscetur enim pretium nomenque poetae,*
> *si tribus Anticyris caput insanabile numquam*
> *tonsori Licino commiserit. o ego laevus,*
> *qui purgor bilem sub verni temporis horam !*
> *non alius faceret meliora poemata.…*

on which see Brink, who sees this as a 'burlesque' of Democritean (and Platonic) notions of inspiration. Cf. also Ov.Pont.1.5.31f. *an populus vere sanos negat esse poetas, / sumque fides huius maxima vocis ego.*

At M.2.69, Classicus is a glutton; at 2.86 he has accused M. of being a *malus poeta* because his style is insufficiently virtuoso. As a name it probably has its origin among soldiers (*classicum* - see Kajanto 319) although it could also = 'of the highest class'.

48

A variation on the *captator* theme, in which M. is courted with rich dinners, probably in the hope of a legacy: M. replies with a pseudo-philosophical essay on the vanity and undesirability of rich food.

.1f. **BOLETOS ET APRUM SI TAMQUAM VILIA PONIS
ET NON ESSE PUTAS HAEC MEA VOTA, VOLO:** For *boleti* and boar see above on 12.17.4; also 7.78.3.

si tamquam vilia ponis = without making a fuss about it, i.e. 'with no strings attached', as the pentameter makes plain. For *haec mea vota* cf. Juv.5.18 '*una simus*' *ait.* ***votorum summa.*** *quid ultra / quaeris*?

volo may represent the actual word of answer, since *vis* or *visne* could be used in a formula of invitation.

.3f. **SI FORTUNATUM FIERI ME CREDIS ET HERES
VIS SCRIBI PROPTER QUINQUE LUCRINA, VALE:** Note the carefully orchestrated comic echo of *volo* with *vale*: the imperative, or subjunctive, of *valere* is often used as a formula of contemptuous dismissal: cf. H.S.2.5.110 *vive valeque*; Petr.79.8 v.4 *valete curae*; Tib.2.6.9 *valeatque Venus valeantque puellae*; Catul.11.17 *vivat valeatque* (see Fordyce).

fortunatus = 'rich, wealthy'; *heres / vis scribi* incorporates the technical vocabulary for being named a legatee: cf. Cic.Mil.48; Juv.9.87; Ulp.Dig.29.1.6.

For Lucrine oysters, a superior variety, cf. 6.11.5 (in a poem on the standard satirical topic of the inferior dinner for the inferior guest) *tu Lucrina voras, me pascit aquosa peloris*; Juv.4.141 (with Mayor, Courtney); CIL.14.914 VIXI LUCRINIS POTABI SAEPE FALERNUM; Plin.NH.9.168; H.Epod.2.49; A.C. Andrews 'Oysters as Food in Greece and Rome', CJ 43 (1948) 299-303; André L'alimentation 105f.; recipes in Apicius (see above on 12.17.4). Although the number 5 is intended to be exaggeratedly small, it adds to the sense of their status as a luxury item.

.5f. **LAUTA TAMEN CENA EST: FATEOR, LAUTISSIMA, SED CRAS NIL ERIT, IMMO HODIE, PROTINUS IMMO NIHIL:** For *fateri* = 'admit' cf. 12.15.9. The sequence *sed cras / …immo hodie, protinus immo* neatly recasts the original assertion as if spontaneously, in conversation, as does the movement *lauta…fateor, lautissima. lautus* and its superlative very frequently express Encolpius' ironical mock-approbation of Trimalchio and his *cena*: it was indeed often used of food and drink more staightforwardly - cf. M.11.31.20; Plin.NH.14.92; Stat.Silv.1.6.32.

.7ff. **QUOD SCIAT INFELIX DAMNATAE SPONGEA VIRGAE VEL QUICUMQUE CANIS IUNCTAQUE TESTA VIAE: MULLORUM LEPORUMQUE ET SUMINIS EXITUS HIC EST, SULPHUREUSQUE COLOR CARNIFICESQUE PEDES:** M. now expands graphically on *nihil*, beginning with an amusing periphrasis for the *xylospongium*, a stick with a sponge on the end (the Roman equivalent of toilet paper): cf. Sen.Ep.70.20 *ibi lignum id quod ad emundanda obscena adhaerente spongia positum est*; P.Mich.471.29 *non magis quravit me pro xylespongium*; A.Epig.41.5 VERBOSE TIBI NEMO DICIT DUM PRISCIANUS <V>TARIS XYLOSPHONGIO; Hippiatr.69.100.

infelix is mock-grave: cf. V.Fl.4.180 *infelix domus et sonitu fremebunda profundi*; Stat.Silv.2.2.150f. *non tibi sepositas infelix strangulat arca / divitias….*

damnatus = damno affectus: Serv.A.4.699; Nonius 276; cf. Prop.4.11.15 *damnatae noctes et vos vada lenta paludes*; Sen.Thy.511 *animis odia damnata excident*; Ov.Pont.3.4.97 *perfida damnatas Germania proicit hastas*: this too is mock-solemn, 'doomed' or sim., although it can = 'hateful'.

Farnaby saw the point of *canis* as being '*qui ad vomitum accurrunt*,' although our only acquaintance with any ancient observation of this phenomenon (and probably Farnaby's as well) appears to be from OT Prov. 26.11 'Like a dog returning to **his** vomit is a stupid man who repeats his folly', also quoted at NT 2.Pet.2.22. At Plin.NH.6.108 the hyena is said

vomitionem hominis imitari ad sollicitandos canes quos invadat. Vomit is not specified here, but since faeces and urine are specified it is possible that this is what M. means. It would, however, be simpler if it referred to dogs' habit of sniffing excreta.

Pots were provided as public urinals in the streets by fullers, who used urine in their trade: see Becker Gallus 449; Lucr.4.1026; Prop.4.5.73; M.6.93.1f. For the expression cf. Nux 1f. *nux ego iuncta viae cum sim sine crimine vitae / a populo saxis praetereunte petor*; Curt.9.1.13 *iunctum erat flumini nemus.*

mullus = τρίγλη, the red mullet. See D'Arcy Thompson Fishes 264ff., and especially 266f. for its price and luxuriousness: it was a typical adornment of the sumptuous table, most notably at Juv.4.15 (the 6lb mullet) and 5.92; also Petr.93.2 v.8; Apicius §149, exc.14-16 and Plin.NH.9.66 with further information about Apicius' views on the fish as food.

Apicius gives 13 different recipes for hare; see also André L'alimentation 118f. M. says that it holds the first place among quadrupeds as food (13.92.2), and at 6.75.2 a *femur leporis* is thought by a poisoner to be an appetizing titbit. At 7.78.3 it forms part of a catalogue of sumptuous foods - *sumen, aprum, leporem, boletos, ostrea, mullos*; Horace thought the shoulder a delicacy - S.2.4.44; 2.8.89.

For *sumen* see above on 12.17.4.

For the phrase *exitus hic est* cf. 5.22.11; also 6.78.7; Juv.7.129. There is a word-play in *exitus*, which means not only 'result', but also 'egress' or 'issue'.

sulphureus as a colour seems to be applied elsewhere only to the appearance of a mackerel in water (Plin.NH.9.49): the yellowish colour of dried boxwood typifies an unhealthy complexion at 12.32.8 - here a pallor induced by indigestion is suggested.

For *color* = 'complexion' cf. Ter.Eu.689 (*mustelino*); Pac.Trag.147 (*rubicundo*); Cic.Mor.33 (*fusca*); M.3.93.3; 7.4.1.

carnifices…pedes provides a graphic description of gout: cf. AP.11.414 (Hedylus),

λυσιμελοῦς Βάκχου καὶ λυσιμελοῦς Ἀφροδίτης
γεννᾶται θυγάτηρ λυσιμελὴς ποδάγρα.

The *carnifex* (= 'executioner, torturer') appears as a contemptible person at Catul.97.12 and Juv.8.175; M.2.61.4. For the present use, = 'tormenting', cf. M.11.84.9f. *hic miserum Scythica sub rupe Promethea radat, / carnificem nudo pectore poscet avem*; Plin.NH.7.43 (*animus*); Arnob.Nat.1.65 (*libido*).

.11ff. **NON ALBANA MIHI SIT COMISSATIO TANTI**
NEC CAPITOLINAE PONTIFICUMQUE DAPES;
INPUTET IPSE DEUS NECTAR MIHI, FIET ACETUM
ET VATICANI PERFIDA VAPPA CADI: The *Albana comissatio* was the feast, given annually by Domitian at his villa on the Alban mount in honour of the festival of his patroness Minerva, called the *quinquatrus* (see 4.1.5; Suet.Dom.4 *celebrabat in Albano quotannis Quinquatria Minervae, cui collegium instituerat*; also, for the villa, M.11.7.3, with Kay's note). It was held from March 19th-23rd: see Ov.Fast.3.809-848, with Bailey's commentary; cf. Juv. 10.115f. *et totis quinquatribus optat / quisquis adhuc uno parcam colit asse Minervam* (with Mayor's note). Here it serves as a type of sumptuous feasting.

Capitolinae refers to the banquet (*epulum*) in honour of Jupiter, served by the *septemviri epulones*, on the Capitol. The *pontificum dapes* seem to have been another popular type of lavish banqueting: Macr.Sat.3.13.13 *ubi iam luxuria tunc accusaretur quando tot rebus farta fuit cena pontificum*; also H.Od.2.14.28; 1.37.2ff. (with N-H).

daps has a specialized use of a sacrificial or ritual meal: see TLL 5¹.38.20ff.

inputare = 'to set down something as a favour granted to someone' - so

Summers, on Sen.Ep.79.4. His specific translation of *inputes mihi* there, 'expect me to feel grateful for' would do here; see also Duff on Juv.5.14. Cf. Phaedr.1.22.8 *noli imputare vanum beneficium mihi*, 'don't set me down as your debtor for imaginary services'; Sen.Ben.2.15.2 *qui, quod dedit, inputat, gratiam destruit.*

For the paratactic conditional with present subjunctive (*imputet…fiet*) see K-S 2.2.165f.; cf. e.g. H.Ep.1.10.24 *naturam expelles furca, tamen usque recurret*; Lucan 10.191 *spes sit mihi certa videndi / Niliacos fontes, bellum civile relinquam.*

Here, *nectar* = 'Jupiter's best vintage': even this would not tempt M. on such terms. *acetum* = 'wine turned sour', but, more importantly here, also = 'inferior wine': Juv.3.292f.; H.S.2.3.116f.; Pers.4.32. *vappa* = 'wine gone flat': Plin.NH.14.125

> *vitium…musto quibusdam in locis iterum sponte fervere, qua calamitate deperit sapor: vappae accipit nomen, probrosum etiam hominum, cum degeneravit animus.*

It is *perfida* because it looks like a drinkable wine but is not.

Wine produced on or near the Vatican hill was apparently both cheap and inferior: see M.1.18.2; 6.92.3; 10.45.5 (it is mentioned by no-one else; see Younger 156). So perhaps all wine from this region might in fact be described as *perfidus.*

.15ff. **CONVIVAS ALIOS CENARUM QUAERE MAGISTER**
QUOS CAPIANT MENSAE REGNA SUPERBA TUAE:
ME MEUS AD SUBITAS INVITET AMICUS OFELLAS:
HAEC MIHI QUAM POSSUM REDDERE CENA PLACET: M. returns to and expands on *vale* to make the conclusion to the epigram.

cenarum…magister is an ironic 'title' on the analogy of *arbiter bibendi* etc., suited to the behaviour of the addressee: cf. CIL 14.2112.2.14 MAGISTRI CENARUM EX ORDINE…HOMINES QUATERNI PONERE DEBEBUNT VINI BONI AMPHORAS SINGULAS; Gell.15.2.4; Apul.Apol.98. Also Macr.Sat.2.1.3 *rex*

mensae; H.S.2.8.7 *cenae pater*, glossed by ps-Acron ὁ ἀρχισυμποσιαστής.

capiant is intended to suggest *captare, captator, captatio*: M.5.44.7 *captus es unctiore mensa*. This *captator* is obviously the more reprehensible because he is at least rich enough to provide a *cena lautissima*.

mensae regna superba tuae picks up the ironical title *cenarum magister*. *mensa* can = 'food' - cf. e.g. 5.44.7 (quoted above); Sen.Thy.916; Prop.2.16.34; Pers.5.44; 13.211.

regna = 'domain', the place in which one is master: cf. 12.31.8; V.Ecl.1.69 *post aliquot, mea regna, videns mirabor aristas*; Juv.6.224f.; Prop.4.7.6.

For *superbus* see above on 12.15.4 and also 12.18.9/19: the connotations of regal arrogance, traditionally embodied in Tarquinius Superbus, may once again be felt when the adj. is employed as an epithet for *regna*.

For *ofella* cf. Juv.11.144 *…et exiguae furtis inbutus ofellae*. *offa* = 'a lump of food'; *ofellae* do not require cutting up before eating (M.10.48.15). So, *pace* Dunbabin (CR 49 (1935) 10), who would translate '(pork)-cutlets', they are rissoles or meatballs of minced meat, or even just small pieces of meat like stewing beef, as Apicius' *ofellae Ostienses* and *ofellae Apicianae* appear to be - §§262-267; see André's note on §262. Here M. probably envisages something like a *ragoût* - see André L'alimentation 143, 218f. Mayor's translation at Juv.11.144, 'pot-luck', is characteristically accurate. For *subitas* cf. Suet.Cl.21.4 *ad subitam condictamque cenulam invitare se populum* (the *sportula*).

For *reddere*, 'return, repay', cf. Cic.Brut.15 *eadem mensura reddere…qua acceperis*; Catul.50.6 *reddens mutua per iocum atque vinum*.

49

M. addresses Linus in terms which at first suggest that he wishes the latter to abuse his position as a *paedagogus* to gratify M's lust, by giving M. access to his charges. The punch line reveals that the desire to be gratified is not lust but covetousness / greed.

.1f. **CRINITAE LINE PAEDAGOGE TURBAE,**
RERUM QUEM DOMINUM VOCAT SUARUM: For *turba* cf. 12.57.11 *turba… entheata* and 12.28(29).19 *sistrataque turba* - this is a favourite word of M's (and cf. *grex* at e.g. 12.11.4, and the *grex capillatus* at 2.57.5; *caterva* at 9.29.7); it is a gently ironic way of describing a (not necessarily large) group: the address is mock-poetic - 'guardian of the long-haired tribe' or sim.

crinitus is found only here in M. It may be intended to suggest school-boys, (Pers.1.29f. *ten cirratorum centum dictata fuisse / pro nihilo pendes?*; M.9.29.7 *matutini cirrata caterva magistri;* 10.62.1f. *ludi magister, parce simplici turbae / sic te frequentes audiant capillati*), but the central point here must be physical attractiveness - cf. Petr.58.2 *cepa cirrata* (of Giton).

Bonner (Education 45) notes the existence of 'large training establishments, called *paedagogia*' in wealthy households, the function of which was to train young slaves for the full range of household duties, from waiting at table and hairdressing to writing and bookkeeping. Charge of such an establishment might be given, as a paid position, to a freed *paedagogus*, and this may be the picture here (given that he is described as *dominus rerum*). More usually, the *paedagogus* was the *custos* or guardian of the sons of the family, taking them to and from school (or the baths or the theatre), and acting as their protector, as well as teaching them Greek (Bonner Education 37ff.): it is this type of role which Eumolpus describes

himself as having abused in the story of the Pergamene boy - note

especially Petr.85.3,

> *iam ego coeperam ephebum in gymnasium deducere, ego studia eius ordinare, ego docere ac praecipere, ne quis praedator corporis admitteretur in domum…*

cf. also M.9.27.10f.; 3.58.30f.; SHA 1.2.7 *paedagogos puerorum, quos Traianus impensius diligebat.* M. teases the reader, from the beginning of the poem, with the suggestion that it is the boys that he is interested in: this is presumably the reason for them heading the list of 'possessions' entrusted to Linus by his *patrona*, Postumilla.

Linus is rarely found as a real name (although see P.M. Fraser and E. Matthews A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names I.288f. for some examples from Chios and Rhodes): the mythological Linus first appears at Il.18.570 λίνον δ' ὑπὸ καλὸν ἄειδε / λεπταλέηι φωνῆι (cf. M.9.86.4 *'ipse meum flevi' dixit Apollo 'Linon'*), but Theoc.24.105f. is more relevant to the present poem, in that he features there as teaching γράμματα to Heracles (he is more often Heracles' lyre teacher - see Gow's note). The name is used several times by M., in various satirical contexts - e.g. 1.75.1, of a bad lending risk; 7.95, of a compulsive kisser; 11.25, in a sexual jibe.

For *rerum…dominum…suarum* cf. Prop.2.34.15f.:

> *te socium vitae, te corporis esse licebit,*
> *te dominum admitto rebus, amice, meis.*

.3 **ET CREDIT CUĪ POSTUMILLA DIVES:** For disyllabic *cui* see F. Neue and C. Wagener Formenlehre der lateinishen Sprache 2.p.454f.: first in Sen.Tro.852; in M., at the same point in the hendecasyllable, at 1.104.22; 8.52.3; 11.72.2; in Juv. at 3.49 & 7.211. *credit cui* leads into a section which 'glosses' line 2, specifying the scope of Linus' control. For *credit*, cf. Prop.2.34.1 *cur quisquam faciem dominae iam credat amico.*

The name Postumilla is, once again, unusual and found only here in M.

Varro quotes Postuma as one of the *praenomina mulierum antiqua* (LL.9.61). It might suggest an only, late-born child, and thus an heiress.

The emphasis in the line is on the strategically-placed *dives*, which describes Postumilla's most significant quality for Linus, or so the reader is presumably intended to conclude: it turns out to be her most significant quality for M's author-persona as well. It also acts as an appropriate hinge between the introductory 3 lines and the list of possessions.

.4 **GEMMAS, AUREA, VINA, CONCUBINOS:** A comic list (συναθροισμός): Aristophanes uses this technique to good effect at e.g. Frogs 147ff., a list of terrible deeds, culminating in ἢ Μορσίμου τις ῥῆσιν ἐξεγράψατο; cf. Juv.3.7-9, the famous list of the perils of the city, the last of which is *et Augusto recitantes mense poetas*; also 8.215-221: there is usually some kind of twist, or surprise, in the final, or penultimate, item. *crinitae… turbae*, at the beginning of the poem, seemed to suggest M's real object of interest; now he lulls the reader into believing, momentarily, that jewelry, gold and wine are the attraction (actually nearer the mark, in the end), but then turns the line on its head by introducing *concubinos*.

aurea is a slightly unusual substantive use (see TLL 2.1489.28): here the point should be that the items are **solid** gold, not *inaurata* (Plin.NH.33.49 *nomina…quibus deliciis pluris veneunt inaurata quam aurea*).

gemmas and *vina* are obvious enough items of respectable wealth - it is, however, relevant to line 13 that the former word may be used of pearls (e.g. M.8.28.14; Prop.1.14.12; 2.16.17 etc.), so the preparation for *uniones* is discreetly made.

.5f. **SIC TE PERPETUA FIDE PROBATUM**
NULLI NON TUA PRAEFERAT PATRONA: The flavour of *sic te…praeferat* is colloquial - cf. phrases like *sic felicem me videas* (Petr.61.2; cf. also 72.3 & 69.3); *sic me fronte legat dominus, Faustine, serena / excipiatque*

meos qua solet aure iocos (M.7.12.1f.); see also Siedschlag Form 36.

perpetua fide looks, at first, just conventionally flattering: in fact it is a bold suggestion that if Linus betrays his trust in this one instance he will get away with it. It is typical of M's sense of humour to suggest that someone commit a dishonest act by making a flattering reference to their honesty. For the construction with *probatum*, cf. Tac.Ann.15.64 *Statium Annaeum, diu sibi amicitiae fide et arte medicinae probatum.*

patrona is, in fact, the last reference in the poem to Postumilla: it now turns to M's entreaty.

.7 **SUCCURRAS MISERO, PRECOR, FURORI:** The parenthetical *precor* signals the poem's change of direction, and that the authorial persona is now openly involved. *misero…furori* (mis)leads the reader into the environment of love elegy: cf. Catul.8.1 *miser Catulle, desines ineptire*; 64.54 *indomitos in corde gerens Ariadne furores*; 91.2 *in misero hoc nostro…amore*; Pichon 157f.; 202f.

.8 **ET SERVES ALIQUANDO NEGLEGENTER:** The elegiac tone of line 7 makes the oxymoron in *serves…neglegenter*, albeit softened by *aliquando*, all the more bathetic. M. is finally coming to his point, although he is still concealing the object of his desire. *aliquando* (shortened final *o* also at 4.61.16) is slyly euphemistic, with its casual suggestion of impropriety. For a more straightforward use of the same oxymoron, cf. M.14.108

> *quae non sollicitus teneat servetque minister*
> *sume Saguntino pocula facta luto.*

.9 **ILLOS QUI MALE COR MEUM PERURUNT:** Fire is a common symbol of love - see Pease on V.A.4.2 and N-H on H.Od.1.19.5: *uro* is more common in this sense, but M. is exaggerating the emotional signals throughout to maintain the impression that it is the boys in whom he is interested. *cor meum* is

clearly part of the same elegiac verbal environment: cf. Catul.64.54 quoted above; Pichon 114.

male thus can = simply *non*, but may also suggest some discomfort in the accomplishment of the action of the verb. See Fordyce on Catul.10.33 (*insulsa male*); Hofmann LU 74 for its use in emphasising a pejorative expression, and, in Plautus, its expletive use with verbs - e.g. Most.609; cf. Ter.Eu.438; also CIL 1.2520.43 MALE PERDAT, MALE EXSEAT, MALE DISPERDAT and phrases such as *peream male si non / optimum erat* (H.S.2.1.6f.). So, 'damnably', 'horribly' is the effect of it here.

.10f. **QUOS ET NOCTIBUS ET DIEBUS OPTO**
IN NOSTRO CUPIDUS SINU VIDERE: *et noctibus et diebus* adds another convention of erotic passion: M. is working hard to keep the reader in the wrong context.

For *opto videre* see TLL 9².829.82: Ter.Hec.651 *hunc videre saepe optabamus diem*; cf. Ov.Pont.1.3.33f. *optat* [*Ulixes*] */ fumum de patriis posse videre focis*. For *opto* in contexts of love see Fordyce p.281, and Catul.62.30, 42; 64.31, 141, 328, 372; 66.79; Ciris 496 *multis opta labella*; Ov.Met.10.622 *optari potes a sapiente puella* (Bömer, 'optare ἐρωτικῶς "begehren"'); Pichon 221f.

While *sinus* need not be specifically obscene in an erotic context, it is clearly intended to be (mis)taken as = 'erotic embrace' here (cf. Adams LSV 90f. for the more graphically physical sense): this is a particularly fine ambiguity, the high point of M's deception of the reader, for M. would, of course, like the *uniones* to be in his **pocket** - cf. 11.54.4, with Kay's note, for this sense of *sinus* in M.

cupidus is easy to locate in the elegiac context: the *cupidus maritus* is an especially common figure. Cf. Kroll on Catul.64.374; also 70.3; Prop. 2.33.5; M.11.78.5, in an overtly sexual context. Likewise, looking ahead,

cupidus = φιλάργυρος: cf. 11.58.12 *cupidae avaritiae.*

.12f. **FORMONSOS, NIVEOS, PARES, GEMELLOS, / GRANDES:** The first 2 adj.s are conventional of the beauty of a beloved, male or female: Varr.LL.5.5 *quem puerum vidisti formosum…*; Prop.2.13.53 *niveum…Adonem*, and see Kay on M.11.22.1 (noting that white skin is admired for its 'scarcity-value' in southern Europe). Both adj.s are also, of course, natural enough of inanimate objects - Petr.88.10 *formosior videatur massa auri quam quidquid Apelles Phidiasque… fecerunt*; Sen.Phaed.391 *niveus lapis…Indici donum maris.*

The following 3 adj.s are beginning to look odd, if the reader is expecting *pueros*: they could all conceivably be used of boys, but they would hardly be qualities on which a besotted lover might be expected to concentrate! *grandes* could just mean 'sexually mature' - see Kay on M.11.43.4, comparing the present line (this should surprise the reader, because to desire sexually mature boys would suggest the passive role). *pares, gemellos* in a less (apparently) sexually charged context could refer to being the same age, and twins, respectively, though the appearance of the words together, like this, might seem a little more unusual - cf., however, Pl.Men.119f. *uter eratis, tun an ille maior ?:: aeque ambo pares;…geminei ambo eramus.* Calderini points out that *pares laus est unionibus.* It is probably, however, a mistake to push the specific words too far: total realism is not to be expected in such a joke.

.13 **NON PUEROS, SED UNIONES:** M. finally disabuses the reader, convicts him of a certain degree of dirty-mindedness in the process, and swiftly brings about the dénouement. For the *non…sed* structure in such ἀπροσδόκητα cf. 12.89.2; also e.g. 1.66.14; 6.22.4.

uniones has a double joke of its own, embedded in the word, which *pares, gemellos* is doubtless intended to elicit - it meant originally

something **unique**, often e.g. an unusually large pearl (<*unus*, E&M compare Fr.'solitaire', an outstanding diamond).

For pearls as a prized item of women's jewelry, see Plin.NH.9.106-123, espec. 112, on the origin of *unio*, = 'unique', and 121, for the story of Cleopatra wearing a pearl in each ear (also Balsdon RW 263f.): doubtless the vogue, among wealthy women, for wearing them as earrings, does, in fact, make *pares, gemellos* particularly apt, of pearls.

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A poem about pretentious, imperial-scale building, given a pointed conclusion by the joke - the anonymous builder has got so carried away with creating something impressive that the house has nowhere in which to eat or sleep: *quam bene non habitas.*

M. begins with a set piece on a rich man's villa, which appears to hover between the laudatory flights of Statius (Silv.1.3 and 2.2) and the complaints of the moralists (e.g. H.Od.2.15; 2.18; 3.1). The first 6 lines describe conventional details of such a property, although the scale is surprisingly large. The two elements which are comically absent in 7f. are usually found described at some length in such writing.

Pliny Ep.1.3.1 provides a useful comparison with this poem, because it offers an allusive, yet fairly complete, list of the desirable attributes of such a villa, without excessive dilation on the merits of the property:

> *quid agit Comum, tuae meaeque deliciae? quid suburbanum amoenissimum, quid illa porticus verna semper, quid platanon opacissimus quid euripus viridis et gemmeus, quid subiectus et serviens lacus, quid illa mollis et tamen solida gestatio, quid balineum illud quod plurimus sol implet et circumit, quid triclinia illa popularia illa paucorum, quid cubicula diurna nocturna?*

This displays all the desirable, and none of the purely luxurious,

components of M's description: it has a *platanon* but not several, and no *daphnon* or *pityon*; it has a *balneum*, a *porticus* (but no extravagance of columns), a *gestatio* (but no extravagance of materials), and running water, as well as the *triclinia* and *cubicula* which the villa in M's poem lacks. It conspicuously does not have a *hippodromos*.

It is worth noting at this point that the *platanon* appears to be the most frequently mentioned type of grove in these contexts: on the connotations of the plane see Mayor on Juv.1.12; N-H on H.Od.2.15.4; V. Hehn, Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere 294ff. In Greece planes were a feature of public places (see Curtius 187 and f.n.10 for their function as a literary ambience); in Italy, by this period, they were a feature of the parks of the rich.

Sidonius Apollinaris' description of his country villa at Ep.2.2 shows the stock elements still in place in the 6th century. If the reading of the mss. at .10 (*hippodromos*) is correct, his description includes all the items listed by M. (the columns, marble and *hippodromos* are specified as absent).

Other descriptions contemporary with M. display all the features specified in the present poem (except the *pityon* - see below), though not quite all in one place! Pliny's Laurentine villa (Ep.2.17) is not endowed with columns (although perhaps some may be inferred from the *porticus*), nor with the precious floor and *hippodromos*; here alone Pliny does refer to an *atrium* - that this room is not usually mentioned adds force to M's final couplet. There is plenty of marble in Pliny's Tuscan villa (Ep.5.6), though no *balnea* or precious floor. Both houses abound in *triclinia* and *cubicula*.

Statius' poetic, and therefore more fanciful, descriptions of the villas of Manilius Vopiscus and Pollius Felix, do not mention *triclinia*, which is not, perhaps, surprising. They do, however, allude to sleep

(*somnos* 1.3.23) and *cubilia* (1.3.37), and hint grandly at other rooms not mentioned (2.2.45f.; 50f.). Again, columns are not specified, but 2.2 includes a *porticus* (.30-35) and 1.3 a precious floor (.55-57: the famous *asarota*): both stress the presence of marble. Neither has a *hippodromos*.

Seneca's description of Vatia's villa (from the outside) in Ep.55.6 includes a *platanon* with water running through it (a *euripus*) and 2 man-made grottoes *laxo atrio pares* - an interesting oblique reference to an *atrium*.

M's stichic approach to relaying these largely conventional elements in .1-6 is unusual, for his elegiacs: his normal preference is for self-contained couplets. Here, he uses 6 end-stopped lines, giving considerable power to the enjambment in the final couplet. The content may be set out as follows:

FIRST THREE COUPLETS:
.1 groves
.2 baths
.3 *porticus* (and columns)
.4 precious floor
.5 *hippodromos*
.6 running water
FINAL COUPLET:
.7 *atria longa patent* / NO *triclinia*
.8 NO *cubicula* / *quam bene non habitas*.

On this sort of building in general, see Karl M. Swoboda, Römische und Romanische Paläste (espec. ch. 3 'Italische Luxusvillen des zweiten Jahrhunderts' pp.61ff.); Zoja Pavlovskis, Man in an Artificial Landscape (passim - treating Statius, Pliny and Sidonius, as well as M., less fully, at 21-5); McKay Houses pp. 99ff.; RE 8A².2142.28ff. On the gardens, see P. Grimal, Les Jardins Romains (espec. ch. 13 'Les jardins et le luxe'; he discusses this poem at p. 417) and Ancient Roman Villa Gardens ed. E.B. MacDougall.

Cf. also 12.31 above - the villa given to M. by Marcella - for a more down-to-earth structure.

.1 **DAPHNONAS, PLATANONAS ET AËRIOS PITYONAS**: A *daphnon* and a *platanon* form part of the idyllic setting, at Petr.126.12, for Encolpius' romantic encounter with 'Circe'; in M.10.79, Torquatus' *praetoria* includes a *daphnon* (as well as *nitidas vario de marmore thermas* .3). The *platanon* is the regular grove in such descriptions (see above). Cf. also the setting for recitations described at Juv.1.12 *Frontonis platani convulsaque marmora clamant*, with Mayor, Courtney.

The word *pityon* (presumably = *pinetum*) is unknown to LSJ and may, indeed, have been invented by M. for this line. The 3 '*-onas*' terminations not only add a comical jingle to the description but also provide a consciously and extravagantly Graecizing opening (note also the typically 'Greek' word-division - a 'weak' caesura in the third foot, none in the fourth, and 'strong' caesurae in the second and fifth), and *aerios* adds the final touch. *aerios* is also a 'high' word (of trees, cf. Catul.64.291 etc.), and amplifies the third element in this 'list', as if it were a fuller τρίκωλον. The vocabulary and formal structure of the line, together with the plurals, and the variety of the groves, already suggest something on the scale of an Imperial villa.

.2 **ET NON UNIUS BALNEA SOLUS HABES**: In .1, the extravagant size of the property was established, by forceful repetition: now new elements, of incongruity, and possibly also meanness, are added. *non unius…solus habes* encloses the main word in the line, to stress the point; cf. also the moralizing motif of the rich man dining, luxuriously, alone at e.g. Juv.1.94f.; 135ff.

See Sherwin-White on Plin.Ep.2.17.11 for the details of Pliny's baths; Sidonius (Ep.2.2.4f.) is especially proud of his. See also M.9.75 for a

bath extravaganza. McKay (Houses pp. 106, 108, 120, 125) documents some examples in Italian *villae rusticae*.

In 3.26 M. builds a whole poem around a joke on *solus habes*.

.3 **ET TIBI CENTENIS STAT PORTICUS ALTA COLUMNIS**: *stat* is strong-sounding, more emphatic than *est*.

The portico is the focus of the line, neatly enclosed by words which express grandeur of scale: cf. 5.13.5 *at tua centenis incumbunt tecta columnis* - answering a rich freedman's jibe at his (M's) poverty; as here, the whiff of excess is to be scented. This is another pretension to imperial, or regal, style - cf. the description of Latinus' temple/palace at V.A.7.170f. *tectum augustum, ingens, centum sublime columnis / urbe fuit summa, Laurentis regia Pici*. It is the size of the building on which M. wishes to insist, so that the absence of the elements which are missing may be all the more comical. At 3.19.1, *centenis…columnis* = the *hecatostylon* (see Platner-Ashby 251), surrounded, indeed, by a *platanon*, which would make a public building the point of comparison here. See also P. Grimal Les Jardins Romains 180 (the *hecatostylon*); pl.xv (the portico at Hadrian's villa), pl.x (at the villa of Julius Felix, at Pompei). D.S. Robertson (A Handbook of Greek and Roman Architecture 312) notes an 'increasing emphasis on the exterior and a growing sense of the freedom possible in country-house planning', by the end of the 1st century A.D., which tended to encourage the building of porticoes at the expense of the interior peristyle.

Sidonius (Ep.2.2.10) stresses that his portico is *…magis rotundatis fulta coluriis quam columnis invidiosa monobilibus* - although he is, at the same time, proud that, in his *piscina,…nec pilae sunt mediae sed columnae* (2.2.8). When *columnae* turn up in other descriptions, they are few, and a point of pride: Pliny boasts of a pergola with *quattuor columellae*

Carystiae (Ep.5.6.36). Cf. also H.Od. 2.15.16;.18.4; and Juv.7.182 *longis Numidarum fulta columnis* (a *cenatio*; the portico in the preceding lines is used for riding in wet weather. See on *ungula*, below).

.4 **CALCATUSQUE TUO SUB PEDE LUCET ONYX:** Another *argumentum luxuriae* - *onyx*, alabaster, was a much-prized kind of marble; see Marquardt Prl.622; SG (index s.v. 'Alabaster'); TLL 3.135.58ff.; note especially Petr.135.8 vv.2f. *nec iam calcato radiabat marmore terra / muneribus delusa suis*; Lucan 10.116f. *tota…effusus in aula / calcabatur onyx*. For *onyx* as a sign of opulence, see Plin.NH.36.59-61; RE 18'.535.40ff. At 6.42.14 (describing the luxurious baths of Etruscus), M. characterizes it as *pinguis*; Statius includes it among the rich materials of a temple (Silv.1.2.149).

For *calcare* cf. Stat.Silv.1.3.53, part of the description of the *asarota* in Vopiscus' villa (*calcabam necopinus opes*): the action of treading down luxurious things is also a commonplace of arrogant behaviour - cf. Aesch.Ag.957 εἶμ' ἐς δόμων μέλαθρα πορφύρας πατῶν, where the action suggests desecration (see Fraenkel *ad loc.*; also on 946, f.n.1).

The scale of the luxury is stressed here by the proportion of the line devoted to the treading underfoot, by the retention of the word *onyx* until the emphatic final position, and by the colourful use of *lucet* to capture all the brilliance of the stone. The verb is part of the convention of such descriptions - *nitet* Juv.7.181; *radiabat* Petr.135.8 v.2.

tuo picks up *tibi*, which in turn connects with *non unius...solus habes*.

.5 **PULVEREUMQUE FUGAX HIPPODROMON UNGULA PLAUDIT:** Sidonius probably also boasts of the absence of a *hippodromos* from his villa (Ep.2.2.10), but the text is, unfortunately, uncertain. See P. Grimal Les Jardins Romains 249ff.; Sherwin-White, on Plin.Ep.5.6.32 (*hanc dispositionem amoenitatemque tectorum longe longeque praecedit hippodromus…*) quotes Grimal, and strays into M.12.50:

> [Grimal] suggests that the fashion was set by Gaius and Nero whose "hippodromes" were regular riding-grounds, whereas those of private owners were only that in shape. But Martial expects his friend to use his hippodrome for riding, 12.50.5. It does not take more than a circle of fifty yards' diameter to make a riding-school. However Pliny used his for ambulatio, s.40, and his rides in IX.36.5 were elsewhere.

Whether or not such *hippodromoi* were usually mere stadium-shaped gardens, the point here is that the building is conceived on an imperial scale (note, e.g., the vast *hippodromos* on the Palatine - see Platner-Ashby pp. 162f., suggesting that it was merely a garden; P. Romanelli, The Palatine (1950), p. 23, however, points to various factors which make its use as a 'place for races and games' more likely). *pulvereum* and *fugax* are clearly meant to suggest that there is room for the horses to get up to a good gallop - *fugax* has an implication of distance as well as speed. Sherwin-White's comparison with a 'riding-school' is opposed to the whole tenor of the poem; cf. V.Fl.4.607f. *turma /…pulvereis exsultat equis.*

ungula, pars pro toto, is a poeticizing touch, adding (mock-) dignity to the description. Cf. Stat.Silv.5.3.54f. *non arva rigaret / sudor equum aut putri sonitum daret ungula fossa;* Juv.7.178-181

> *balnea sescentis et pluris porticus in qua*
> *gestetur dominus quotiens pluit. anne serenum*
> *expectet spargatque luto iumenta recenti ?*
> *hic potius, namque hic mundae nitet ungula mulae.*

plaudit is the third of a succession of five striking verbs: *stat, lucet, plaudit, sonat, patent* (*plaudit* and *sonat*, placed at the end of successive lines, and both referring to sound, are particularly arresting). It may be intended to recall Enn.Ann.439V *it eques et plausu cava concutit ungula terram* . In M's line the alliteration is more limited and speed seems to be the main point - 4 of the possible 5 dactyls are employed (the pentameter which follows, describing the running water, has 4 out of 4). This is M's only use of *plaudo* other than of applause.

.6 **ET PEREUNTIS AQUAE FLUCTUS UBIQUE SONAT:** *fluctus* = *fluxus*: see TLL 6¹.947.15ff., characterizing this passage as *de aqua saliente*, which *sonat* and the profusion of dactyls certainly suggest. The phrase *aquae fluctus* is probably a comic echo of *aquae ductus* (cf. above on 12.31.2 *ductile flumen*). As at 12.31.2, however (see note *ad loc.*), this is probably a *euripus* or artificial channel. For running water in the villa itself see especially Stat.Silv.1.3 *litus utrumque domi*.

pereuntis led Friedländer to conclude that this was merely a fountain, but the wastefulness is on a grander scale, and a further addition to the ostentation, if it is a full-blown stream. For the word applied to water, cf. H.Od.3.11.26f. *inane lymphae / dolium fundo pereuntis imo*; Front.Aq.2.88 *ne pereuntes quidem aquae otiosae sunt*.

sonat generally denotes a loud or violent sound - so, at Pl.Rud.206, of the sea, and V.A.11.562, of the river Amasenus in flood. Like *pereuntis*, then, its function here is to add to the atmosphere of prodigality and disproportion.

.7 **ATRIA LONGA PATENT:** V.A.2.483 *atria longa patescunt* (in Priam's palace - another hint of regal grandeur). *atria* is emphasized not only by its initial position in the line, but also by the abruptness of this clause, which finishes the sentence at the principal caesura (the following sentence is then carried over to the principal caesura of the pentameter, giving a noticeably different structure to the final couplet). The close recollection of Vergil is intended to be comical, and to set the seal on the earlier poeticizing - perhaps M. even wants to suggest that the house's owner would describe it, crassly, in 'epic' terms, as a modern real estate agent might wield a poetical cliché. Note also the pleasure taken by the Romans in views and vistas: M. Wheeler, Roman Art and Architecture 201,

> It may be averred that the Roman delight in the natural vista is properly extended to the architectural vista, and particularly to

> the architectural interior, in which the Roman mind took a particular and fruitful interest.

See also N. Purcell ('Town in Country and Country in Town,'in Ancient Roman Villa Gardens ed. E.B. MacDougall 187ff.) 194-196.

atria longa patent also provides something like a break-off formula here, summing up the whole house, and what M. wants to say about it (the phrase is almost a short-hand phrase for its size), as well as preparing for the final joke. Not only does *atria* suggest 'halls' in the grand, generalizing sense, but it also finishes the description with a part of the house in which one *non habitat*. It is noteworthy, as well, that *atria* do not usually feature in such descriptions (see intro. to this poem). For the position of *atria* in such *villae* note Vitruv.6.5.3 *in urbe atria proxima ianuis solent esse, ruri ab pseudourbanis statim peristylia, deinde tunc atria habentia circum porticus pavimentatas spectantes ad palaestras et ambulationes.*

.7f. **SED NEC CENANTIBUS USQUAM NEC SOMNO LOCUS EST**: The enjambment, the sandwiching of the sentence exactly between two caesurae, balanced by *nec…nec* in each line, and the typically careful variation - a participle and a noun - give the statement of absurdity great force and prominence.

nec…locus est is masterfully comic after the sustained emphasis on the scale of the builder's achievement - it may be heavily ironic, 'there's no space for', or doggedly literal, 'there's no place for'.

.8 **QUAM BENE NON HABITAS**: Note M's characteristic trisyllabic ending to the pentameter, as against the previously prevailing trend towards a disyllablic ending (see G.A. Wilkinson, 'The Trisyllabic Ending of the Pentameter: its treatment by Tibullus, Propertius, and Martial,' CQ 62 (1948) 68ff.). It is often used, as here, to place a key word at the end of the epigram.

The joke is neatly integrated into the couplet by *non* picking up *nec…nec*, and is consummated by the negation of the set phrase *bene habitare* (see TLL 6³.2475.53ff., incl. M.11.34.4 *cenabit belle, non habitabit Aper*). Without *non* the sentence would mean 'how fine your home is', so this means 'how fine is your negation of a home'. William Hay's version of the final couplet catches the spirit of it:

Apartments grand: no place to eat or sleep!
What a most noble house you do not keep.

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An epigram in the familiar 'question + answer' form (see Kruuse C&M 4 (1941) 281): the two names in the small compass of a distich, and the use of a *praenomen* in the address, give the poem its 'setting' - an informal , conversational rejoinder.

METRE: Choliambic - see on 12.10.

.1 **NOSTRUM…FABULLINUM:** *nostrum* is affectionate - the remark is placed as being to one close friend, about another.

Fabullus is a common *cognomen* in M., but Fabullinus occurs only here: see Kajanto 170; CIL 6.29683.

.2 **MIRARIS, AULE?**: Aulus (sometimes Olus) was a common *praenomen* (Kajanto 40) and is found often in M. - see 11.38, a similar type of distich, the second line of which also begins with *miraris*, as part of the proposition-question. Kay (see on 11.7.1) believes that such vocatives may be taken as addressing real persons unless there is good reason to doubt it - i.e., generally, except in the case of a skoptic epigram directed against the addressee - and that, in 11.38, Aulus is 'most likely…M's friend and benefactor of long standing Aulus Pudens (see Citroni, 1.31 intro.)'.

The use of the *praenomen* in address among Romans is a little difficult to unravel. It is not frequently found elsewhere, but is relatively frequent in M. (Aulus, e.g., 25×; Marcus 15×; Gaius 10×). See Howell on 1.5.2; J.G.F.Powell, 'A note on the use of the *praenomen*', CQ n.s. 34 (1984) 238f. (also J.N. Adams CQ n.s. 28 (1978) 145ff.). Powell adds to explanations relating to family-style intimacy, or mock-familiarity / contempt (Adams 161f.) the conjecture that use of the *praenomen* increased among friends owing to the influence of Greeks on Hellenizing Romans of the late republic, arguing that Greeks would have taken the *praenomen* for a family name. It is at least plausible that, by M's time, use of the *praenomen* had become common practice in a merely friendly context, as opposed to the older custom among upper-class Romans of the late republic, of using the *cognomen*.

SEMPER HOMO BONUS TIRO EST: *semper* picks up *tam saepe* from the proposition and 'betters' it, as M. moves from the particular to the general.

See Otto Sprichwörter §1788 for the sentiment, comparing e.g. Cic. Q.fr. 1.1.12 *ut quisque est vir optimus, ita difficillime esse alios improbos suspicatur*. Aristotle's passage on the 'youthful character' at Rhet. 1389a contains some similar ideas, espec. 17f., καὶ εὔπιστοι διὰ τὸ μήπω πολλὰ ἐξαπατῆσθαι, καὶ εὐέλπιδες. At 3.36.8, M. uses the phrase *tiro tuae semper amicitiae* which suggests that he likes the oxymoron *tiro semper*: the point is a general one about inexperience.

For the *bonus homo* see TLL 2.2084.51ff.; 6².2884.70ff.

The point of the epigram could be a gentle dig at a mutual friend, especially if Aulus is the name of a real person. But this would not make a typical punch line, nor, if it is intended to be complimentary, is it a very Roman compliment. The form of the final phrase is that of the

sententia, which suggests that the point is in fact an unexpected twist on a familiar type of pseudo-philosophical definition or homespun wisdom.

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'hoc tantum epigramma non tam commemorat mortem Rufi quam raptum Semproniae' (Calderini): the epitaphic beginning is nevertheless an important stratagem in the shaping of the poem - see N-H, intro. to H.Od. 2.20, on poets' (pseudo-)epitaphs for themselves and other poets; for actual epitaphs, Lattimore Themes passim, especially ch. 8, 'Biographical Themes'. It is a common feature of epitaphs that they turn on a 'then / now' principle of organization, which can be observed at work here. Peter Howell suggests that the content of this poem is so unusual that it must refer to a real situation, perhaps with a change of names - cf. his intro. to M.1.7, p. 123, noting that there are references to a scandal in Stella's past in M.6.21 (a poem celebrating his patron's wedding to Violentilla) and in Statius' epithalamium for Stella (Silv.1.2).

The patternings of words in this poem, notably *amor* and sim. and *raptus* and sim. are particularly careful:

.4	*amore* (w. *flagrat*)	.6	*raptus*
.9	*amores*	.7	*raptore*
.13	*amat*	.10	*rapina*
.14	*amor* (w. *iste*)	.13	*raptas*.

Note that both threads do not come together in one line before the final couplet, for special effect - see note on 13f. below. The poem is also patterned with personal/possessive pronouns.

The epigram divides clearly into 2 sections, the 1st 2 couplets being devoted to Rufus, and, in fact, serving as an introduction to the following 5, which turn their attention to Sempronia. Within the 2nd part are 2 sub-

sections (of 3 and 2 couplets respectively), the 1st focussing on Helen as a point of comparison, the 2nd on Sempronia's future entry into the underworld. This gives the poem a symmetrical structure: 2 + 3 + 2 couplets.

The comparison of Sempronia with Helen adds a rhetorical edge - see Nordh, 'Historical exempla in Martial', Eranos 52 (1954) 223-238, especially 234 'rhetorical comparison', 236f. 'mythological exempla'. Also, Lattimore (Themes 293) notes that, in epitaphs, 'women are sometimes compared with Penelope, or to Arete the wife of Alkinous' (see also f.n.225).

Friedländer is uncertain, from .10, as to whether Rufus is the husband or the abductor. If he is the abductor (and *cuius et ipse tui flagrat amore cinis*, especially, may be rather too passionate, of a husband and wife), the story is the more 'romantic', added poignancy being achieved by making Rufus' death the occasion and motive for its telling. Sempronia is, then, to be envisaged as having been abducted by Rufus (who was compelled by his great love for her), but having dutifully returned to her husband.

.1 **TEMPORA PIERIA SOLITUS REDIMIRE CORONA**: A weighty opening, for which cf. the first couplet of 6.76, an epitaph for Cornelius Fuscus, killed in Dacia. The whole couplet is suggestive of an epitaphic *laudatio* (see Lattimore Themes §81, 290ff.), which is, of course, not realized as the poem moves quickly away from its initial subject. For the symbolism see Kambylis 173; cf. 8.70.5. for the phrase, and also Ov.Fast.3.269 and 6.321; for *redimire* also 8.65.5; 12.98.1 and e.g. V.A.3.81; for *corona*, e.g. Lucr.1.117f.; Prop.3.1.19f.; Ov.Tr.1.7.4.

.2 **NEC MINUS ATTONITIS VOX CELEBRATA REIS**: *vox* is vivid rather than technical; it effectively = 'oratory', although there is clearly a literal suggestion that Rufus (as yet unnamed) also had a fine voice.

For *celebrare* thus, cf. Tac.Ann.4.61 *Q.Haterius, familia senatoria, eloquentiae quoad vixit celebratae.*

rei are conventionally worried or afraid: cf. 1.49.35; 2.24.2; 4.4.8; 4.5.4; and especially 5.16.6, with *sollicitis*, the adj. also used by Horace at Od.4.1.14. *attonitis* is stronger than *sollicitis*, almost hyperbolic, 'stunned, dismayed' or sim. Cf. Juv.11.199; Sen.Dial.11.15.5 *non solum maestum sed etiam attonitum.*

.3 **HIC SITUS EST, HIC ILLE TUUS, SEMPRONIA, RUFUS:** The epitaphic formula itself is brought into play even as the shift away from Rufus is being accomplished. The names are carefully juxtaposed.

Rufus is a very common *cognomen*. *Sempronia*, only here in M., introduces a distinguished *gens*, the Sempronii. The names, if they are not those of real people, represent high social standing.

.4 **CUIUS ET IPSE TUI FLAGRAT AMORE CINIS:** The first 2 couplets are so self-contained and conventional that they could stand alone as a fairly unexceptional elegiac epitaph. At the same time, this line contains the first use of the word *amor* in the poem, which is the keynote of what follows.

The conceit *flagrat amore cinis*, playing on the 'fire of love' imagery and the physical detail of death, is still in use in, e.g., Gray's Elegy 89-93:

> On some fond breast the parting soul relies,
> Some pious drops the closing eye requires;
> Ev'n from the tomb the voice of Nature cries,
> Ev'n in our ashes live their wonted Fires.

(Gray's immediate source was Petrarch Sonnet 170);

cf. also Ov.Tr.3.3.81-4; Lucr.4.925f.; Stat.Silv.2.1.1ff.

> *quod tibi praerepti, Melior, solamen alumni*
> *improbus ante rogos et adhuc vivente favilla*
> *ordiar? abruptis etiam nunc flebile venis*
> *vulnus hiat, magnaeque patet via lubrica plagae.*

.5 **DULCIS IN ELYSIO NARRARIS FABULA CAMPO:** Normally this type of compliment would be in the form 'you're a living legend', but M. characteristically inverts the convention and betters it by suggesting that Sempronia's fame is spread by Rufus, after his death, throughout the Elysian fields. TLL (6'.25.41ff.) notes that this use of *fabula* is 'raro in bonam partem', which may partially explain its qualification with *dulcis*. Cf.Sen.Ben. 3.23.3 *sic servata domina nobilis fabula et exemplum fuit*, and especially Stat.Ach.1.947f. *ast egomet primae puerilis fabula culpae / narrabor*.

This poem makes use of conventional ideas and phrases, so *in Elysio campo* comes as no surprise. For the islands of the blest and Elysium see E. Rohde Psyche ch. 2, and especially V.A.6.637-78, with Norden and Austin - this is also relevant to *loca laeta* below.

.6 **ET STUPET AD RAPTUS TYNDARIS IPSA TUOS:** Helen's amazement is explained, unusually fully for M., in the next couplet. Lucretius refers to Helen's story as *Tyndaridem raptam* (1.464). *raptus* (only here in M.) is the first of 4 words for the abduction which run through the poem; it is used of the abduction of Proserpine at Plin.NH.34.69.

The juxtaposition *ipsa tuos* draws attention to the pronouns with which M. patterns the poem.

.7f. **TU MELIOR QUAE DESERTO RAPTORE REDISTI,**
ILLA VIRUM VOLUIT NEC REPETITA SEQUI: A reference to the Ἑλένης ἀπαίτησις (the title of Sophocles' play on the subject), the negotiations for Helen's recovery - see N-H on H.Od.1.15.6. *repeto* is the Latin equivalent of ἀπαιτέω (cf. also Hdt.1.3.2) in such passages, as well as having the appropriate legal provenance in the sense 'reclaim' (cf.*res repetundae*). Cf. Ov.Ep.16.341 (Paris to Helen) *tot prius abductis ecqua est repetita per arma*; M. specifically recalls V.G.1.39 *nec repetita sequi*

curet Proserpina matrem. For *redisti* cf. Ulp.Dig.32.3 *si…in matrimonium eius…redierit.*

The alliteration of 'r', and the parallelism of the verbs at the ends of the lines, matching the emphatic initial *tu / illa* parallelism, adds to an impression of structured complexity centring on *voluit nec…sequi.*

Sempronia's *obsequium* is praised, as well as her proper sense of shame: she has bettered Helen by leaving her abductor and returning to her husband; see Balsdon RW 206ff. on conventional virtues in marriage. The compliment is rhetorically fine, and therefore looks a little laboured in M.: *deserto raptore* is pointed, stressing Sempronia's rectitude.

.9 **RIDET ET ILIACOS AUDIT MENELAUS AMORES**: Stephenson, unhappy with the sequence of thought, suggested the transposition *audit et Iliacos ridet Menelaus amores.* Others have preferred the substitution of *ut* for *et*, or *ridens* for *ridet.* Friedländer notes Munro's reading of the line as it stands as = *audit (ut iudex)*, preparing for *absolvit* in .10, but this does not address the real problem of the sequence of thought, and is probably, in any case, an over-reading. To read *ut* instead of *et* is the simplest solution.

There may be a recollection of Catul.51.3ff. *te / spectat et audit / dulce ridentem* (admittedly in a very different context), the original of which is Sapph. fr.31.3ff. καὶ πλάσιον ἆδυ φωνεί - / σας ὐπακούει / καὶ γελαίσας ἰμερόεν.

Iliacos amores is intended to suggest a title, picking up the allusion in *repetita* and the point of *fabula* above (cf. Coleman on V.Ecl.10.6 *sollicitos Galli dicamus amores*; Ov.AA.3.343 *deve tribus libris, titulo quos signat AMORUM*). Does the line mean that Menelaus hears Sempronia's story and smiles at its similarity to the story of Helen and Paris (which would be rather near the bone), or that this love-story makes him smile (a

sign of his being charmed by it)? The plural tends to suggest the latter (cf. the idiom at e.g. 10.20(19).21 *tunc me vel rigidi legant Catones*). The literary status of the lovers' story is essential to the development and point of the poem.

.10 **ABSOLVIT PHRYGIUM VESTRA RAPINA PARIM**: Menelaus might be expected to condemn Sempronia and Rufus because of the similarity of their story to that of Helen and Paris. Instead, M. characteristically inverts this expectation to turn the compliment, as at .7f., so that the charm of their story (*dulcis…fabula*) is said to be such as to change Menelaus' mind and induce him to pardon Paris. Only if Rufus is the **abductor** can this mean very much - it presumably implies that Rufus' telling, in the underworld, of Sempronia's exemplary action, disposes even Menelaus, Helen's husband, to pardon his own wife's abductor, and could constitute a delicate hint to Sempronia's husband to be similarly forgiving (for has not she behaved more dutifully than Helen?).

vestra cannot be a real plural: *vestra rapina* must = 'the story of your abduction', in keeping with what has gone before. *rapina* is the third component of the sequence *raptus, raptore, rapina, raptas*, the first three of which occur in the 'Helen' section. Cf. Ov.AA.3.759f. *Priamides Helenen avide si spectet edentem, /oderit et dicat stulta rapina meast*; also *Phrygius…raptor* Stat.Silv.5.1.57. For *absolvit* cf. 12.0.2; TLL 1.175.46ff.

.11 **ACCIPIENT OLIM CUM TE LOCA LAETA PIORUM**: For the *loca laeta* cf. V.A.6.638f. *devenere locos laetos et amoena virecta / fortunatorum nemorum sedesque beatas*; H.Od.1.10.17f. *tu pias laetis animas reponis / sedibus*; Ov.Met.4.441 *sic omnes animas locus accipit ille* (see Bömer).

The final pair of couplets reinforces the legendary status of the wife as established earlier in the *dulcis fabula*, by describing Sempronia's future reception in *Elysium*.

.12 **NON ERIT IN STYGIA NOTIOR UMBRA DOMO**: cf. 6.18.2 *qua melior Stygias non videt umbra domos. ad Stygias umbras* and sim. is a common poetic formula: see Citroni on 1.101.5. *notior* is this line's contribution to the *fabula* motif.

.13f. **NON ALIENA VIDET SED AMAT PROSERPINA RAPTAS:**
ISTE TIBI DOMINAM CONCILIABIT AMOR: *non…sed* polarizes the line in a way which heralds the making of a concluding point in the pentameter. *non aliena videt* is a compression for *non alieno animo videt* (Calderini); cf. Prop.1.8.18 *sit Galatea tuae non aliena viae.* Proserpine's own experience at the hands of Pluto makes her sympathetic to Sempronia. The placing of *amor* in the final position in the last line (further emphasised by the fact that *iste…amor* encloses the rest of the line) should lead the reader to expect, according to M's consistent practice, that it contains the poem's point. Here this seems to be a play on *amat* in the previous line - there the reference is to divine favour (cf. 12.11.4; .98.3), while here it is to romantic love (probably, again, it = 'a love story', as in Ovid's Amores, and, indeed, *Iliacos amores* above, thus providing a final insistence on the legendary character of the incident, and the relationship).

raptas finishes the sequence of four words mentioned above with another generalizing, collective plural.

Proserpine is called *dominam Ditis* at V.A.6.397; cf. Serv.A.3.113 *Proserpinam ideo a Vergilio dominam appellatam quod ipsa terra esse dicatur, sicut et mater deum.* For her role in the kingdom of the underworld see N-H on H.Od.2.13.21 *regna Proserpinae.* She will presumably be Sempronia's *domina* on the arrival of the latter in the underworld. But there may be more significance in the appearance of the word *dominam* here: the typical situation might find *iste…amor* winning round an unsympathetic

dominum, so *dominam* is pointed and surprising.

conciliare, only here in M., = 'make well-disposed towards', 'win over'; it picks up and follows through the sense of *amat*, and thus strengthens the pun by its juxtaposition with *amor*. cf. Stat.Silv.5 praef.2ff. *pietas, quam Priscillae tuae praestas, et morum tuorum pars et nulli non conciliare te, praecipue marito, potest. Uxorem enim vivam amare voluptas est, defunctam religio.*

The miser is a familiar figure in satire - see Lejay, intro. to H.S.2.3 p.377; Mayor's intro. to Juv.14, which also deals with the passing on of vices from parents to children; Theophrastus Char.9, 10, 22 and espec. 30 (αἰσχροκέρδεια). Aristotle treats the vice at Eth.Nic.1121ᵇ. New Comedy is surprisingly free of misers, although note e.g. Euclio in Plautus' Aulularia: he is not exactly a miser, but the plot does depend on him trying to conceal the pot of gold he has found. There is an extremely relevant motif in New Comedy, of the conflict between a father and son (which can sometimes touch on money), typified by the contrasting relationships around which Terence's Adelphoe is built. See R.H.Martin's commentary on Adelphoe, passim, and his intro., 16-29: M. doubtless expects his reader to be reminded of this motif by the miser's name.

The poem is markedly divided in half at the end of .5, and .1-5 is exactly split between the introduction of the character and the comic mythological comparison (see on .3-5). Lines .6-10 are devoted to the 'commentary', culminating in the punch line which relies on the father / son motif.

.1 **NUMMI CUM TIBI SINT OPESQUE TANTAE** : *nummi*, 'cash', so emphatically

placed leaves no doubt about the subject of the poem - in fact all of the first 2 lines is devoted to the extent of Paternus' wealth. Cf. the hyperbolic expressions of riches at Petr.37.2 *'uxor' inquit 'Trimalchionis, Fortunata appellatur, quae nummos modio metitur.'*; 37.8 *'(Trimalchio) ipse fundos habet, qua milvi volant, nummorum nummos. argentum in ostiarii illius cella plus iacet quam quisquam in fortunis habet.'*

Presumably here, however, this is not pure pleonasm, but an insistence that Paternus has great amounts of ready cash and estates / resources.

.2 **QUANTAS CIVIS HABET…RARUS**: cf. 12.6.7 above, *quem rarus habes*; the sequence *tantae / quantas…rarus* makes the point very emphatically. For this use of *civis ≃ privatus* cf. e.g. Plin.Pan.2.3 *non enim de tyranno sed de cive, non de domino sed de parente loquimur.* There is probably also a sneer, in *civis*, at parvenu freedmen, or at least the suggestion that Paternus' status is not beyond question.

PATERNE: Only here in M. - obviously to augment the *filius / pater* joke; the addressee is essentially 'paternal', in the sense advanced in .10. See Kajanto 79f. (interestingly, given the setting of this book, he notes it as one of a group of '*cognomina* obtained from relationship' found particularly in Spain).

.3 **LARGIRIS NIHIL**: This type of oxymoron is much favoured by M. - cf. 12.51.2 *semper…tiro.*

INCUBASQUE GAZAE: See Otto Sprichwörter §860 espec. Cic.Phil.13.12 *an is non reddet qui domini patrimonium circumplexus, quasi thesaurum draco*; Liv. 6.15.5 *istos incubantes publicis thesauris*; V.G.2.507 *defosso…incubat auro*; Quint.10.1.2 *velut clausis thesauris incubabit. incubo* is, of course, used of literal 'brooding', of birds, and indeed *serpentes* (Cels.5.27.10); cf. TLL 7¹.1062.75ff.; 1063.3.

gaza in earlier literature had strong connotations of oriental monarchy

and decadence: see H.Od.1.29.1f. *Icci, beatis nunc Arabum invides / gazis, et acrem militiam paras*, with N-H. It comes to = *opes, divitiae* (TLL 6².1722.36ff.), probably from this and similar uses, but presumably retains its exotic, foreign flavour.

.4f. **UT MAGNUS DRACO QUEM CANUNT POETAE**
CUSTODEM SCYTHICI FUISSE LUCI: For the *draco*, cf. Cic.Phil.13.12 above, and especially Pease on V.A.4.484 (*Hesperidum templi custos, epulasque draconi*): there is an etymological connection with δέρκεσθαι (see Frisk Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch s.v.). Snakes, having no eyelids, are thought of as unsleeping, and therefore good at watching over things, which is relevant to this motif - indeed Fest. p.59L draws the connection. It turns up most notably in the story of the Golden Fleece (Eur.Med.480f.; Ap.Rhod.2.402ff.; Ov.Ep.6.13; Sen.Med.703f.; V.Fl.1.58ff. etc), which is the point of .5 - Scythia was N.E. of the Black Sea (and **Scythians** might be thought of as, more generally, east of it), Colchis, Medea's home, on its S.E. shore, between Armenia and the Caucasus. To Pease's very full coverage might also be added Phaedr.4.21.3f. *pervenit ad draconis speluncam ultimam, / custodiebat qui thesauros abditos*; Ov.Met.4.647 *vasto dederat servanda draconi* (with Bömer); 7.151 (*draco*) *custos erat arietis aureae*. It is not surprising that it survived into fairy-tales and fantasy writing - e.g. the dragon Smaug in J.R.R. Tolkien's The Hobbit. The comparison of Paternus, as a miser, with this fantastic and grotesque figure creates a visual joke, and also undercuts the use of mythological exempla generally.

.6f. **SED CAUSA, UT MEMORAS ET IPSE IACTAS,**
DIRAE FILIUS EST RAPACITATIS: The poem takes a sudden more down-to-earth turn: after a fulsome introduction of P's wealth, and the comical parallel drawn to illustrate his attitude to it, *sed causa…est* suddenly brings the reader to the point. *causa* is often used, as here, of an excuse

or pretext, mostly in the phrase *per causam* (see K.F.Smith on Tib.1.6.26), but cf. V.A.4.51 *causas…innecte morandi* (with Pease); Ov.Ep.2.22 *ad causas ingeniosa fui*. The pleonasm *ut memoras et iactas* gives the impression of P. endlessly excusing his miserliness - it is presumably to be thought worse because he is aware of it.

Stephenson took the genitive as dependent on *causa*, but this would be confusing and intolerably weak. It must be a descriptive genitive with *filius*: cf. 6.72.1 *fur notae nimium rapacitatis*.

A^{A} and C^{A} read *es* here; B^{A} reads *est*, which is clearly correct: *es* may be suggested by the person of the two preceding verbs, or, more likely, is an attempt to simplify the joke at .10 ('you're not the son of *rapacitas*, you're the father of it').

dirus has a certain elevation about it, adding seriousness to the fault in the son which P. is using as an excuse: see TLL 5'.1273.5ff., e.g. Lucr.4.1090 *dira cupedine*; V.Max.4.3.pr. *his tam diris vitiis*. The son who wastes his father's substance is also a stock figure - cf. Pheidippides in Aristoph. Clouds (see e.g. Strepsiades' opening speech, .8ff.).

.8f. **ECQUID TU FATUOS RUDESQUE QUAERIS**
INLUDAS QUIBUS AUFERASQUE MENTEM?: More pleonasm, this time expressive of indignation. *ecquid* adds to the impatience. *fatuus* = 'fool' (Sen.Apoc.1.1 *qui verum proverbium fecerat, aut regem aut fatuum nasci opportere*), while *rudis* refers to a lack of worldliness, or at least experience.

inludere and *auferre mentem* (both only here in M.) may be intended to correspond with the parallel nouns in the line above.

.10 **HUIC SEMPER VITIO PATER FUISTI** : cf. 11.92, a related joke:

mentitur qui te vitiosum, Zoile, dicit.
non vitiosus homo es, Zoile, sed vitium.

But here, although the point is basically the same, the joke is in the

general environment of what Curtius called 'personal metaphors' (131-134): these are elevated ideas such as 'Panic, the son of Ares', at Il.13.299, or proverbial ones, such as *utilitas, iusti prope mater et aequi*, H.S.1.3.98, but they do also fulfil a sort of superlative function in more colloquial usage. The nearest parallel is Catul.21.1ff.:

> *Aureli, pater esuritionum,*
> *non harum modo, sed quot aut fuerunt*
> *aut sunt aut aliis erunt in annis,*
> *pedicare cupis meos amores.*

See Kroll's very full note on the first line. It is worth noting also the rather harsh construction at the end of NT Jn.8.44: ὑμεῖς ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ διαβόλου ἐστὲ καὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν θέλετε ποιεῖν…ὅταν λαλῇ τὸ ψεῦδος, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων λαλεῖ, **ὅτι ψεύστης ἐστὶν καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ** ('a liar and the father of it [i.e. τὸ ψεῦδος]').

semper…fuisti picks up the comic mythical comparison in .5 and gives to Paternus the status of the archetypal progenitor of the vice. Paternus is offering as an excuse for miserliness a fictional stock character, the uncontrollable son, and the point of .8-10, and the joke in .10, is that he has no son. He is a miser not as a result of his invented 'son', but because he is the 'father of all greed', and this climax provides simultaneously a satisfying pun on his name. The mechanism of the joke remains dependent on the reader's expectation of references to the New Comedy father / son motif and stock satirical treatments of the effect of parents' vices on their children.

54

Zoilus is the subject of two 'cycles' of skoptic epigrams, especially within Books 2 and 11, but also, more diffusely, in other books. This is a

device which M. evidently took from Catullus: see Barwick 'Zyklen', who notes (302f.) that, as well as their subject-persona, the Zoilus cycles have in common elegiac metre and (except for 3.82) a range of length from 1 to 3 couplets. Z's basic characteristic is ostentatious wealth - he has much in common with a Trimalchio or a Nasidienus. Here, as at 11.92 (quoted on 12.53.10 above), however, M is using the reader's familiarity with him as a short cut so that he can launch directly into a distich on his ugliness: indeed the punch line there (*non vitiosus homo es, Zoile, sed vitium*) is probably intended to be held in mind when reading *si bonus es* here. See further Kay on 11.12.

The name is taken from the famously unpopular and unattractive Homeric critic, 'Zoilus Homeromastix', who had an almost legendary status by the time of M. Kay notes that, in e.g. Aelian Var.Hist.11.10, his unpleasant character is given expression in a comically corresponding grotesquerie of appearance, and it is this tradition to which M. is obviously, in part, attracted. Cf. the description of Thersites at Il.2.216ff. and his humiliation at the hands of Odysseus at .246-270; RE 22'.1064.1ff., s.v. 'Physiognomik', espec. §§II & III; Elizabeth Evans, Physiognomics in the Ancient World (TAPA n.s. vol. 59, pt. 5). Such personal attacks were a traditional tool of invective, which informed Roman satire and certain types of rhetoric - see Nisbet on Cic.Pis., p.194 (Appendix V). The critic Zoilus is known from Vitr.7.praef., and his fame lives on in English letters thanks to Pope:

> Nay shou'd great *Homer* lift his awful Head,
> *Zoilus* again would start up from the Dead.
> *Envy* will *Merit* as its *Shade* pursue,
> But like a Shadow, proves the *Substance* true;
> For envy'd wit, like *Sol* Eclips'd, makes known
> *Th'opposing Body's* Grossness, not its *own*.
> (An Essay on Criticism 464-469).

Dryden also makes use of him in the dedication of Examen Poeticum.

There is a strong mechanical contrast between the structured density of .1 and the direct statement of the single idea in .2: note in .1 the two chiastic arrangements of nouns and adj.s; also the jingle of the terminations, *-e, -er, -er. -e / -is, -e, -e, -us*, and the maximizing of dactyls in .1, as opposed to the two opening spondees of .2.

.1 **CRINE RUBER, NIGER ORE, BREVIS PEDE, LUMINE LAESUS**: Zoilus is portrayed as uniting a number of commonplace Roman dislikes about appearance: for red hair cf. the *uxor rufa* at 12.32.4 above; de Physiognomonia (ed. J.André) .73 *quod rubei subalbi avaros mores et quod harum omnium contrarietatum medietas optima sit, sed qui vehementer rubicundi sunt, ut flos mali granati, repudiandi sunt: nam et ferum et indocilem significant* (see also .14).

niger is the proper derogatory adj. for swarthiness in a **woman** (cf. Ov.Rem.327; M.1.72.5f. with Howell), and it might be expected to be a positive manly quality - as at 10.12.10 where the pallid Romans will envy Domitius' tan, acquired in Egypt, which makes him *formosus*. Nevertheless the punch line of 10.12, *Niliaco redeas tu licet ore niger* appears to poke fun at the oddity of the effect; cf. also Cic.Ver.2.2.108 *videtis illum subcrispo capillo, nigrum* ; also the *rector Libyci niger caballi* at 12.24.6 above. It appears to be neutral, applied to a man, but can become derogatory in certain contexts: Physiognom.79 (discussing different **races**) *color niger levem [lenis?], imbellem, timidum, versutum indicat: refertur ad eos qui in meridiana plaga habitant, ut sunt Aethiopes, Aegyptii et qui his iuncti sunt…cum fuscior color pallori permixtus est, ‹quod Graeci μελάγγλωρον vocant›, voracem, loquacem, intemperatum irae linguaeque denuntiat.*

For *brevis pede* cf. φολκός, χωλός of Thersites (Il.2.217); Plin.NH.11.257 (*breves pedes*, opp. *longipedes*); Physiognom.72 *crassi pedes*

et breves admodum ferinos mores indicant…pertenues et breves malignum produnt. The attack is presumably on some kind of deformity. H.S.1.2.93 *brevi latere ac pede longo est* clearly mocks a lack of proportion.

lumine laesus might refer to poor sight (cf. *luminibus/-ine captus* and sim. at e.g. Liv.9.29.11; V.Max.1.1.17; Plin.Ep.4.22.5; Ov.Fast.6.204), but, given the 3 preceding, highly visible, deformities, and M's fascination with *lusci* (see above on 12.22.1), it is more likely that this = *luscus* (referring to a disease causing the eyes to 'weep', or an unsightly gaping socket), so expressed as to fit in with the structure of the line.

.2 **REM MAGNAM PRAESTAS, ZOILE, SI BONUS ES**: cf. 6.46:

> *vapulat adsidue veneti quadriga flagello*
> *nec currit: magnam rem, Catiane, facit.*

(also Citroni on 1.17.2). *magna res* clearly = 'something very remarkable': the joke is a comically pointed insistence on the accuracy of the practice, in invective and skoptic, of treating a man's looks as expressive of his character. This is, of course, also the premise of physiognomy itself - M. says that Zoilus looks so ugly that it would be a miracle if he were a good man.

55

A variation on a familiar slur: girls shouldn't bestow sexual favours for nothing, but they ought to kiss for nothing; Aegle sells her kisses, but performs *fellatio* for nothing. A piece of sententious advice is followed by a paradox, which is not resolved but further developed into a joke against Aegle. There is further incongruity in the idea of Aegle, a *fellatrix*, selling her kisses.

There are several key repetitions which contribute to the mechanism of the joke:

Aegle .4 / .13
gratis .1 / .3 / .12 / .13
dare .1 / .3 / .12
basiare / basium .3 / .5 / .9 / .12
negare / recusare .4 / .10 / .12 / .13.

For a really hammeringly repetitive approach to the same theme cf. 1.77.

The theme of payment, or gifts, for the *amica* is woven into these repetitions: she was supposed to be expensive to keep, and the girl who was not was suspect - see Kay intro. to 11.27; cf. 4.29.5; 10.75; H.S.1.2.55f.

For the importance of the gifts see e.g. Ov.Am.1.8.61f. / .67f.:

qui dabit, ille tibi magno sit maior Homero;
crede mihi, res est ingeniosa dare…
quin, quia pulcher erit, poscet sine munere noctem;
quod det, amatorem flagitet ante suum.

On payment for kisses see Apul.Met.10.21.2,

tunc exosculata pressule, non qualia in lupanari solent basiola iactari vel meretricum poscinummia vel adventorum negantinummia, sed pura atque sincera instruit…

On Roman prostitution generally see RE 15.1018.27ff. (s.v. *Meretrix*); RAC 3.1149ff.

.1 **GRATIS** : In contexts of payment for sex also at 1.73.2; 7.75.1; 11.62.1; 14.175.2 (and **four** times in this poem - see above).

DARE : Cf. 7.75:

vis futui gratis, cum sis deformis anusque.
res perridicula est: vis dare nec dare vis.

For the verb used absolutely, in this sexual sense, cf. also 2.9; 4.7.1 etc.; Catul.110.4; Ov.AA.1.345; Priap.50.2f. *fucosissima me puella ludit / et nec dat mihi, nec negat daturum;* TLL 5¹.1673.22ff.

Not only, of course, does it carry this sense, but it is used idiomatically with *basium*, and is suggestive of the whole topic of 'gifts', or, rather, payment, in return for sex.

.2 **INSULSISSIMUS INPROBISSIMUSQUE EST:** The strength of the two superlatives is augmented by the way in which they take up the whole line.

insulsus has the colour of tactlessness or ineptitude - someone who doesn't know what's what. Cicero uses it of the type of young man who would tell a *fabula obscaenissima* (Cael.69); cf. also Catul.17.12f. *insulsissimus est homo, nec sapit pueri instar / bimuli tremula patris dormientis in ulna*; 10.33 *sed tu insulsa male et molesta vivis*; Petr.53.11 *baro insulsissimus*. M's other use of the word, at 7.85.1 (*quod non insulse scribis tetrasticha quaedam*), is also to do with aptness to a purpose. Cf. also Priap.10.1 *insulsissima quid puella rides ?*

inprobus, on the other hand, has to do with a lack of moral discrimination, so, here, the sense is '(sexually) shameless', with the added suggestion that the motivation is a shameless sexual appetite. See above on 12.38.5.

.3 **GRATIS NE DATE, BASIATE GRATIS:** The preferred negative imperative in classical Latin was *noli* + infinitive, but *ne* + imperative was not uncommon in poetry (see K-S 2.1.202f.); M's preferred usage is *ne* + present subjunctive (H. Lowther, Notes on the syntax of Martial, Thesis Penn. (1906) 29ff.).

For M's preoccupation with kissing see on 12.29.4 and generally on 12.59: as the latter poem makes clear, the motif is an important Catullan inheritance - cf. M's apparent coinage of *basiator* (11.98) and Catullus' *basiationes* (7.1). *basiare* is frequently found in Petronius (see TLL 2.1773.41ff.), and plays a natural part in the *fellatrix* slur - cf. M.2.33 and espec. 1.94, also on Aegle (although the point there is disputed, the present poem being called in to play in some explanations - see Citroni, Howell).

Note the typically aphoristic introduction, with its pretence at being

'serious' advice to a young girl, in the Ovidian manner: from now on the poem addresses the specific case of Aegle, a prostitute rather than a potential girlfriend or mistress. *basiate* will have given the reader the clue as to what direction the rest of the epigram is likely to take.

.4 **HOC AEGLE NEGAT**: Aegle is a rare name, more often found of nymphs than real people (see Coleman on V.Ecl.6.20), although it is also attested as a *cognomen* at e.g. CIL 6.4683; .20355. Prostitutes in Italy commonly had Greek names, and αἰγλῆ, 'glitter', is the sort which might be expected: M. also uses it at 1.72.3, 1.94.1 and 11.81.1 - all prostitutes, possibly intended to be thought of as a single persona.

negat is a second clue to what is coming: *nil negare* in M. commonly = *fellare* (see Adams LSV 213; e.g. M.4.12.2; 11.49.12; 12.71; 12.79.4), which may add to the point of *hoc…negat* here, which looks at first as though it merely prepares for *avara*. For *negare* = 'refuse sexual favours' cf. Prop.2.14.20; 2.32.60; M.4.38 etc.

HOC AVARA VENDIT: The idea of greedily offering kisses for sale is inherently comical, and will lead to speculation about exactly what sort of kiss is meant. *avara* also lays the ground for *humane* at 11: it is avaricious to sell simple kisses, but she does *humane* to withhold french kisses (because she is a *fellatrix*) - see below.

For *vendere* in a context of prostitution or sim. cf. Pl.Mil.1076; Tib.1.4.59 *qui venerem docuisti vendere primus*; M.9.21.1; 12.33.1.

.5f. - **SED VENDAT: BENE BASIARE QUANTUM EST !** -
HOC VENDIT QUOQUE NEC LEVI RAPINA: These lines, omitted in B^A (its only distinctive omission in book 12) '*propter homoeoarch.* hoc' (Lindsay, app. crit.), were placed after .8 (*aut binos quater a nova moneta*) by Friedländer; against the transposition it might be said that Lindsay's text has 7f. satisfactorily amplifying *nec levi rapina*, whereas this phrase

looks rather lame after the two lines specifying Aegle's unreasonable demands. *sed vendat* is out of place directly after *hoc avara vendit*, and disrupts the sense, and *bene basiare quantum est*, as well as being superfluous, has the tone of an enthusiastic marginal comment. The best solution would be to excise .5, which leaves a satisfactorily cumulative progression: *hoc Aegle negat, hoc avara vendit / hoc vendit quoque nec levi rapina*. The last two lines of the poem display a similar exploitation of close repetition to great effect.

HOC VENDIT QUOQUE NEC LEVI RAPINA : *nec* is presumably used instead of *non* for emphasis.

hoc vendit, then, picks up directly from .4, and the rest of the line = 'at no small "damage" too'. There is presumably a pun intended in *rapina* on its use of the abduction of women (cf. 12.52.10); it appears to be unusual of an exorbitant charge, but its sense - a sort of hyperbolic use of the military notion of plunder - is perfectly comprehensible, and could have been slangy. *levis* is used regularly of expense.

.7f. **AUT LIBRAM PETIT ILLA COSMIANI**
AUT BINOS QUATER A NOVA MONETA : *libra* (about 3/4 lb. avoirdupois) is obviously a great deal of expensive unguent. For perfumes etc. see RE 1A.1851-1866; on Cosmus (and Niceros - see 12.65.4), 1A.1866.26-33.

Cosmus was a famous perfumer in this period (cf. Juv.8.86 - Courtney's assumption that 'his name is derived from his profession' could be correct), and Cosmus and 'Cosmian' (his 'brand') are found fairly often in M.: see Kay on 11.8.9 and 11.15.6. Perhaps there were several generations of Cosmi in the trade.

Farnaby speculates, rather over-ingeniously, '*libram petit Aegle, quo oris impuri foetorem emendet.*' The *os foetidum* is, of course, very much to the point, but to introduce it here would make an anticlimax of the

following line.

binos quater (= 8 *aurei* = 200 *denarii* = 800 sesterces = 3200 asses) is, once again, an exorbitant demand: Balsdon (RW 225) notes prostitutes' charges preserved in Pompei from a little over 20 years earlier ranging from 2 to 18 asses. Herter (JbAC 3, 80ff.) shows that 1 or 2 denarii would have been a high price in Italy in M's day. See also RAC 'Dirne' 1165ff.

For *nova moneta* cf. 4.28.5 *centum dominos novae monetae*; 12.65.6 below: RE 16.118.5 refers the present passage to the new mint which was established 'on the via Labicana close to S.Clemente…not before the time of Vespasian' (Platner-Ashby 345f.), but Ker's translation ('of the new mintage') may be correct: cf. Ov.Fast.1.222 *victa…concessit prisca moneta novae*.

.9f. **NE SINT BASIA MUTA, NE MALIGNA,**
NE CLUSIS ADITUM NEGET LABELLIS: *basia* and *basium* (.12) pick up the doublet *basiate…basiare* (.3, .5); cf. also the way in which *negat…neget* (.4, .10) is picked up in the crucial repetition *recusat…recusat* (.11f.).

There were attempts to distinguish between types of kiss, e.g. Serv. A. 1.256 *sciendum osculum religionis esse, savium voluptatis, quamvis quidam osculum filiis dari, uxori basium, scorto sàvium dicant*, a distinction which, if it was ever true, the present passage alone shows to be untrue by M's day. See also TLL 2.1776.57ff.; E&M s.v. *basium*.

This use of *mutus* is placed by TLL (8.1734.55ff.) under '*brutus, insipidus, iners*', with the qualification '*ambigue*', presumably under the influence of *malignus*. It might be more instructive to compare something like M.1.76.13f. *illic aera sonant: at circum pulpita nostra / et steriles cathedras basia sola crepant*. There M. is making a joke about the sound of clinking coins (see Citroni; 12.36 above), but cf. also Petr.132.1 *iam pluribus osculis collisa labra crepitabant*: this is obviously a sign of

'serious' kissing. Calderini relates *mutus* more closely to the following line as = '*non sine lingua inserta*', which would provide an ingenious specific sense for the adj. here, although perhaps one that it would be difficult to support.

malignus refers to the scale and quality of the kisses: not only are they to be noisy, but generously given. Cf. Sil.3.280 *mensis asper populus victuque maligno*; M.10.96.7f. *tepet igne maligno / hic focus.*

M.13.18 is a case where the opposite of *ne clusis…labellis* is recommended:

> *Fila Tarentini graviter redolentia porri*
> *edisti quotiens, oscula clusa dato.*

For *aditus* cf. Fro.Ver.2.8 p.136N (also of kissing) *fructum capere…in vocis aditu locatum.*

.11ff. **HUMANE TAMEN HOC FACIT, SED UNUM,**
GRATIS QUAE DARE BASIUM RECUSAT
GRATIS LINGERE NEC RECUSAT AEGLE: Housman (Papers 736f.), drawing attention to the evidence of disturbance in the last four lines, described the text, as Lindsay prints it, as 'a mosaic composed by the editors', because B^A inverts 11 / 12, and has *non* for *nec*, and because C^A omits .10 and replaces *tamen hoc facit* with *facit hoc*. He adopted *non* for *nec*, and his final reconstruction was as follows:

> *humane tamen hoc facit: recusat*
> *gratis quae dare basium, sed unum,*
> *gratis lingere non recusat Aegle.*

For the joke, it is, in fact, better to leave *sed unum* where all the mss. have it, directly after *hoc facit*. The repetition of *recusat* is also more effective in successive lines, and then strikingly strengthens the parallelism *gratis…dare / gratis lingere* on which the joke is turned. Housman was also moved by what he considered to be a mistranslation of *humane*, which he saw as being at the heart of the problem: given that it

means 'considerately' (cf. 2.15 *quod nulli calicem tuum propinas / humane facis, Horme, non superbe.*), he attacked Lindsay's solution:

> To say, and to say with the emphasis of *sed*, that this is the *only* thing which Aegle 'facit humane', / the *only* sign of consideration which she displays, is an irrelevancy which throws the whole epigram out of gear. Nobody is concerned to know whether Aegle is considerate or inconsiderate in anything else that she may do. (736f.).

The point in fact depends on the revelation of the type of kiss she sells in 9f.: she asks large sums of money for french kisses. It would be avarice indeed to ask money for a kiss on the cheek or a light touch of the lips, but, when one knows what she does with her mouth for nothing, the apparent paradox is resolved and she is seen to act *humane* in this one matter.

sed unum, therefore, is no irrelevancy, and follows closely on the previous line. Lindsay's text also has the advantage of postponing as far as possible the appearance of *recusat* (essential as it is to the mechanism of the joke), which is a fundamental structural practice in M. As noted above, as well, it greatly adds to the 'punch' in *lingere* if .13 more nearly repeats .12.

lingere obviously refers to *fellatio* rather than *cunnilinctus* here: see Adams LSV 134f. This use occurs most often when the writer wishes to mention the *mentula* specifically; for λείχω = *fello* see Henderson MM 184.

The Index Expurgatorius quaintly prefers the idea that Aegle has 'false teeth, or some other oral defect' (an idea it seems to have taken from Collesson) on the grounds that otherwise *humane* would reveal the sting of the epigram too early and spoil the punch line !

56

A piece of comic hyperbole, typical of M.: cf. 5.39, Charinus' sealing his

last will thirty times in one year; 8.64, on Clytus, who pretends to have a birthday every month.

.1 **AEGROTAS**: cf. 2.16, Zoilus' feigning illness explained by the luxury of his bedding (M's only other use of the verb).

UNO DECIES AUT SAEPIUS ANNO: *uno decies* is a striking juxtaposition, typical of M's comic style. *deciens* often serves as a round number: see Pl.Am.577; .725; H.Ars.294; .365; M.12.77.10 below, and *triciens* in the epigram on Charinus, 5.39.

.2 **POLYCHARME**: PIR¹ notes two instances of this name, one of which is an Attic orator contemporary with Plutarch, but it is clearly employed here for a joke on its sense: not only does it have the usual connotation of a foreign freedman, but M. is probably playing with the meaning of the Greek word, ('very warlike' ,LSJ < χαρμή), and treating it as if it came from χάρμα (cf. χαρμόσυνος). The repetition of it, in the same position in the line, at .4, is typical of M's use of such joke-names, and indeed is also found in the other two poems in which this name is used (8.37; 9.69).

NOCET: two senses are employed: the one of physical harm consequent on sickness, the other of harming someone else's interests. The statement of fact, followed by the statement of paradox, each occupying one line of the couplet, is mirrored in the second couplet by the explanation of the paradox, followed by the joke - on the fact of being sick and its possible outcomes.

.3 **NAM QUOTIENS SURGIS, SOTERIA POSCIS AMICOS**: For *surgo*, of an invalid getting up from bed, cf. H.S.2.3.162; Sen.Ep.78.3. *quotiens* keeps the idea of *decies* to the fore.

soteria must = presents sent to a patron to celebrate his recovery: it is found only here in M., and only once elsewhere in Latin - in the title of Stat.Silv.1.4 *soteria Rutili Gallici*, which denotes a **literary** offering

(see Cairns GC 73f., and index s.v. *soteria* and *eucharisticon* for this genre). Paley and Stone suggest that the custom had its origin in thanksgiving vows (cf. Aesch. Ag. 963-965; Juv. 12.94; Catul. 66.33ff.; OGI 678.1 (Egypt ii A.D.) ὑπὲρ σωτερίας…Αὐτοκράτορος = *pro salute Imperatoris*), which is plausible. See also RE 3A.1.1222.

.4 **SIT PUDOR**: This is a colloquial expression of annoyance or frustration - cf. Hofmann LU 200, on *si pudor est* and sim., which he characterizes as 'unhöflich'; also, in this book, .63.6; .94.11; .97.10, and especially 8.64 (on Clytus - see intro.) .15 *sit tandem pudor et modus rapinis*.

AEGROTA…SEMEL: cf. 5.39 (see intro.) .4ff.:

> *…miserere iam, Charine:*
> *signa rarius, aut* ***semel*** *fac illud,*
> *mentitur tua quod subinde tussis.*

The force of *aegrota semel* (i.e. 'die') is augmented by the build-up in *uno decies…quotiens*.

57

The longest poem in the book, longer by two lines than 12.18, which looks at Rome from Bilbilis: here M. is still in the city, explaining to Sparsus that, although his own Nomentan villa is humble, he resorts to it so frequently because it is impossible to sleep in Rome (cf. e.g. Juv.3). He devotes exactly twice as much space to the horrors of the city as he does to Sparsus' idyllic *rus in urbe*, the possession and enjoyment of which, it is implied, are the only reasons why Sparsus, spoilt by his circumstances, needs to ask the question.

METRE: Choliambic - see on 12.10.

.1 **CUR SAEPE SICCI PARVA RURA NOMENTI** : M. often mentions his *Nomentanus*

agellus, which he possessed even at the time of writing Book 13 (c.84/85 A.D.). In 7.31 and 10.94 its unproductiveness is the object of jokes, although 13.119 suggests that it does at least produce wine, which, however, M. does not recommend. At 1.105.3f., however, he suggests that it improves with age - see Howell, and Ath.1.27b, quoted by him.

For *parva rura* cf. 12.31.8 above; for M's Nomentan farm as a retreat cf. 2.38 (escape from Linus); 6.43 (from holiday resorts). See Howell, intro. to 1.105: the town is modern Mentana, 15 miles N.E. of Rome.

.2 **LAREMQUE VILLAE SORDIDUM PETAM, QUAERIS:** *lar*, = 'household', 'domestic establishment', has a certain old-world respectability about it - cf. Juv.3.110; Plin.NH.14.52; Apul.Met.9.24.1.

sordidus can be used to characterize the simplicity of country life - cf. V.Ecl.2.28f. *sordida rura / atque humilis habitare casas*; H.Od.2.18.28 *et uxor et vir sordidosque natos* (with N-H); Sen.HF.200 *sordida parvae fortuna domus*; Stat.Silv.3.4.33f. *tu sordida tecta iugumque / servitii vulgare feres ?* ; M.1.49.28; 1.55.4; 3.58.12; 10.96.4; .98.8 (*sordidaque villa*). Howell, on 1.49.28, rightly insists that the 'word is intended to be descriptive rather than disparaging - "good clean dirt"'. Cf. also 7.36.2 *rudis…villa*.

.3f. **NEC COGITANDI…NEC QUIESCENDI / IN URBE LOCUS EST PAUPERI:** Presumably these are the two most positive aspects of rustic *otium*. *cogitare* tends towards the pursuit of meditative thought - cf. 12.65.3; *quiescere* can suggest not merely respite but sleep, which is apt here: cf. Prop.2.29.23; Ov.Am.2.9.39; Suet.Cal.50.3; Juv.13.218. The *mens* or *vita quieta* is also a regular feature of country life - cf. M.10.47.5; 10.92.1.

For the sentiment, see Juv.3.235 *magnis opibus dormitur in urbe*; H.S.2.6.60ff.; Ep.1.17.6-8; .2.2.77ff.; Plin.Ep.9.6.1; Stat.Silv.3.5.85-88, and above on 12.18.13.

For the location of M's house at the time of writing Book 1 (near the Porticus Vipsania, in the Campus Martius, just below the western slopes of the Quirinal) see 1.108.3f. with Citroni, Howell.

SPARSE: Possibly the Sextus Julius Sparsus who was suffect consul in 88, or his son - see Plin.Ep.4.5 with Sherwin-White; P.A. Pitcher, 'A Prosopographical Note on Martial 12.57,' Mnemosyne (ser.4) 37 (1984) 454ff.; Syme RP 4.108 (who prefers the consul because of the opulence of his estate); Kajanto 356.

.4f. **NEGANT VITAM / LUDI MAGISTRI MANE, NOCTE PISTORES:** *vita* = 'life worthy of the name' - 6.70.15 *non est vivere, sed valere vita est.*

For disturbance by such early morning lessons cf. 9.68; for the noisiness of them also 5.84.2 *clamoso…magistro*; for the timing Juv. 7.222 (see Courtney) - they did begin before daylight. The *ludus* (*litterarum / litterarius*) was an elementary school, conducted in the open streets - see H.Ep.1.20.17ff.; Bonner Education 116f.

A *pistor* was originally a pounder [< *pinsere*] of grain, or miller, although, by this period, the word most commonly denotes a baker - e.g. M.8.16.4f.; 11.31.8 - who would be working, and, perhaps more to the point, **selling**, *nocte*: 14.223

> *surgite: iam vendit pueris ientacula pistor*
> *cristataeque sonant undique lucis aves.*

.6 **AERARIORUM MARCULI DIE TOTO:** Coppersmiths or bronze-workers wielding their mallets: cf. Lucil.1185f.K *fervens cum marculus…cum magnis ictibus ferrum tundit.*

.7f. **HINC OTIOSUS SORDIDAM QUATIT MENSAM**
NERONIANA NUMMULARIUS MASSA: *nummularii*, a sub-group of the workmen employed by the imperial mint, were 'probably State bankers, whose duty it was to bring the new money on to the market. Their duties would include the receipt of obsolete coin or bullion and the issue of new money in its

place' (H. Mattingly, Roman Coins² 131; see also RE 17.1415f.). Their work would involve a fair degree of noise, but here the man is *otiosus*, has nothing to do, and so is presumably fidgeting (or perhaps trying to attract trade): *quatit* = 'strike repeatedly' (the table, with the coins). cf. H.Od.1.25.1f. *quatiunt fenestras / iactibus* [= 'pebbles' - see N-H] *crebris iuvenes protervi*; Stat.Ach.2.157f. *fila sonantia plectro / cum quaterem.*

The *mensa*, or *mensa nummularia* was a counter or table on which the business was conducted - cf. NT Mt.21.12 τὰς τραπέζας τῶν κολλυβιστῶν κατέστρεψεν (the temple money-changers performed a similar function, changing secular currency into temple currency); LSJ τραπέζα II. *sordidus*, this time, straightforwardly = 'dirty', as might be expected from the nature of the business.

Neroniana…massa refers to the devaluation of the coinage by Nero, which permanently reduced the precious metal content and weight of both the *aureus* and the *denarius* (H. Mattingly, Roman Coins² 123, Pl.XXVI, 5, 6). *massa* is a t.t. for the metal of the coins: see TLL 8.429.45ff., and especially Serv.A.6.861 *aere gravi…id est massis; nam sic et Livius argentum grave dicit id est massas.* Compare also e.g. 3.31.4, *aurea massa.* So, here, this is a way of denoting the current standard - cf. the expression 'in new money' which persisted in the U.K. for some years after decimalization. Friedländer took *massa* more generally, as = 'heap', which, apart from the more specifically relevant use just outlined, is unlikely, given that the action of the verb requires that the *nummularius* is striking the table with the *massa*, which must therefore carry some sense approximate to 'coins'. 'Neronian metal', then, will be an ironic circumlocution, drawing attention to the devaluation (possibly with specific reference to Nero having made it lighter?).

.9f. **ILLINC PALUCIS MALLEATOR HISPANAE**

TRITUM NITENTI FUSTE VERBERAT SAXUM: This is apparently a reference to beating out gold leaf from small grains of gold.

palucis was put into the text by Friedländer from Turnebus' *balucis* emending A^{A} *pollicent*, $B^{A}C^{A}$ *paludis*. This is certainly correct: *balux / palux* is a Spanish word - see Plin.NH.33.77 *inveniuntur ita massae* ['nuggets'], *nec non in puteis, et denas excedentes libras; palagas alii palacurnas, iidem quod minutum est balucem vocant*; Justin.44.1.7 *plerique (amnes)…divites auro, quod in balucibus vehunt*. The usual Latin word would be *brattea*.

malleator survives only here and at CIL 6.44 MALLIATORES MONETAE CAESARIS.

That the *saxum* on which he works is *tritum* from its constant use emphasizes the unremitting nature of the noise. For *verbero* of this sort of activity cf. Cato Agr.91; 144.1.

nitenti is plausibly explained by the particles of gold which will adhere to the mallet, which is rather unusually called a *fustis* - as in the expression *Neroniana massa*, the vocabulary seems a little whimsically exotic.

.11 **NEC TURBA CESSAT ENTHEATA BELLONAE:** A new source of noise - religious frenzy: cf. Juv.6.511f. *ecce furentis / Bellonae matrisque deum chorus intrat*, with Courtney: Bellona, goddess of war, was associated in cult with Cybele (Wissowa R&K 349f.), whose rites included ecstatic trances and self-mutilation. Cf. M.5.41.3; 11.84.3f. - see Kay.

entheatus is only found here, the regular word being *entheus* (ἔνθεος).

.12 **NEC FASCIATO NAUFRAGUS LOQUAX TRUNCO:** The destitute victim of a shipwreck seems to have been a type of beggar which appealed to the imagination: Cic.Catil.1.30; H.Ars.20f.; Pers.1.88f.; 6.32f.; Juv.14.301; Lucian Merc.cond.1. Because, in several of these cases, they are described

as displaying a painted tablet depicting the wreck (Mayor, 'We often see the same thing in England'), a custom thought to have its origin in Greek votive tablets, Friedländer wanted to refer this to the man carrying a piece of the vessel about, wrapped up and ready for display. *truncus* would not seem able to bear this meaning, however, whereas it will quite readily denote the man's body, which must be visualized as exaggeratedly bandaged up (*fasciatus*) to add verisimilitude to his story.

loquax is necessary to point out why the man is troublesome in the present context - he recounts endlessly the story of the wreck. Cf. *garrula* in the same context at Juv.12.82.

.13 **A MATRE DOCTUS NEC ROGARE IUDAEUS**: For Jewish beggars cf. Juv.3.13ff., 6.543 with Courtney; J.Juster, Les Juifs dans L'Empire Romain 2.320. But see Courtney on 3.296 'In fact the Jews attached much importance to charity (Joseph.Contra Apion.2.283, 291), and Julian the Apostate praises them for the absence of beggary (Ep.84 Bidez-Cumont 430d).'

The displaced *nec* breaks up what would otherwise be four consecutive uses of the word at the beginning of a line.

a matre doctus presumably insinuates that these Jews, being brought up to beg, are more contemptible than the shipwrecked sailors, who have, at least, the excuse of misfortune for their behaviour. Cf. modern prejudices about Gypsies (and indeed the nature of their presence in modern Rome).

.14 **NEC SULPHURATAE LIPPUS INSTITOR MERCIS**: Cf. Howell on 1.41.4 (a similar hawker), where he compares 18th and 19th century match-sellers in London, who were featured among the 'Cries of London' - it must be such a cry to which M. refers here: Sen.Ep.56.2 (during his experiment of lodging over a bath-house) *iam biberari varias exclamationes et botularium et crustularium et omnes popinarum institores mercem sua quadam et insignita modulatione vendentis*. An *institor* is a retailer on a sufficiently small

scale as to be inherently disreputable - cf. 7.61.1 *abstulerat totam temerarius institor urbem* (on Domitian's edict of 92 A.D., forbidding stalls to protrude into the street).

sulphurata merx consisted of sticks of wood treated with sulphur to make them readily combustible - they still had to be ignited from a flame.

lippitudo was a common optic disorder, afflicting all members of society: see P.Watson 'Martial's Fascination with *Lusci*' G&R 19.1 (1982) 74f. It could result in blindness in the eye, and must have caused unattractive and visible symptoms for M. to make use of it in skoptic. The man is presumably so employed because his sight is too bad for a better job.

.15ff. **NUMERARE PIGRI DAMNA QUIS POTEST SOMNI?**
DICET QUOT AERA VERBERENT MANUS URBIS,
CUM SECTA COLCHO LUNA VAPULAT RHOMBO: The climax of this catalogue of disturbances is a particularly bizarre source of noise.

damna can be various kinds of loss or detriment: Ov. AA.3.279f. *si niger…erit /…dens tibi, ridendo damna maxima feres*; Tr.4.1.33 *sentit amans sua damna fere, tamen haeret in illis.*

For *pigri somni*, indicating simply rest in sleep, cf. Catul.63.37; M.12.62.2.

The detail of 16f. is disputed: it was usually referred to the apotropaic banging of bronze implements during lunar eclipses, often related to the 'bewitching' of the moon: Juv. 6.441 *tot pariter pelves ac tintinnabula dicas / pulsari. iam nemo tubas, nemo aera fatiget; una laboranti poterit succurrere Lunae*; see e.g. A.M. Tupet La Magie dans la poésie latine 92ff.; especially 101.

D.E.Hill ('The Thessalian Trick', RhM 116, 1973, 221ff.), however, argues that such references occur too frequently to be ascribed to eclipses, which, in any case, such women would not have had the skill to

predict. Addressing the present passage, he takes M's point to be that this is a constant source of disturbance, thus ruling out eclipses (M. is not necessarily saying that the disturbance is constant). Hill then goes on to contend that '*secta* does suggest that something has happened (or has seemed to have happened) to the moon, something that the cymbals seem to put right' (224). He is convinced that *secta…luna* refers to the obscuring of the moon by a cloud, which the credulous crowd then believes to be reversed by the banging of the cymbals. Given the frequency with which clouds pass across the moon, this seems a little unlikely! *secta* is not so difficult - *sectilis*, at Chalc.Comm.37, refers to the **crescent** moon (more usually *dimidiata* etc.; see TLL 7².1836.37ff.), and cf. the regular Greek word for the half moon, διχότομος (e.g. Plu.Mor.929C; Arist.Pr.911ᵇ36). The idea involved - something like a 'sliced' moon - is perfectly comprehensible.

The scene described by M. might be compared with primitive rituals associated with the waning moon, which would be a regular enough event to satisfy Hill's objection (if frequency of occurrence is important here - admittedly all the other disturbances are present as frequent).

Interestingly for the meaning of *secta*, Frazer (Golden Bough 2.153), discussing Plutarch Isis and Osiris 35 etc. and the identification of Osiris with the moon, drew a connection between Osiris' body being rent into 14 pieces and the waning moon, there being 14 days in the second half of a lunar month. He observed that

> To primitive man it seems manifest that the waning moon is actually dwindling, and he naturally enough explains its diminution by supposing that the planet is being rent or broken in pieces or eaten away. The Klamoth Indians of Oregon speak of the moon as "the one broken in pieces"…The Dacotas believe that when the moon is full, a great many little mice begin to nibble at the side of it and do not cease until they have eaten it all up, after which a new moon is born and grows to maturity, only to share the fate of all its countless predecessors.

Some similar custom, surviving in folk-religion or imported from the east,

may be behind the present picture.

For noise directed at the moon, see Frazer 1.30 (wives in N.W. New Guinea singing to the moon for two or three days before and after it is new as a form of 'telepathy' with their absent husbands); OT Ps.81.3 'Blow the trumpet at the new moon, at the full moon, on our feast day' (cf. OT 1.Sam.20.5, where a festal celebration of the new moon is kept at the court of Saul); John Aubrey, Remaines of Gentilisme and Judaisme (in Three Prose Works ed. J. Buchanan Brown (1972)) 242

> '"The wild Irish, or Welch, who during Eclipses run about beating &c. Pans thinking their clamour and vexations availeable to the assistance of the higher Orbes." - Osborns *Advice* - p.105.'

Cf. also p.241, customs associated with the new moon.

The earliest report of the 'Thessalian trick' is at Aristoph.Clouds 749ff. γυναῖκα φαρμακίδ' εἶ πριάμενος Θετταλὴν / καθέλοιμι νύκτωρ τὴν σελήνην etc.; see also Gow on Theoc.2.36 ἃ θεὸς ἐν τριόδοισι, τὸ χαλκίον ὡς τάχος ἄχει.

Colchus is suggestive of sorcery in general from the particular case of Medea - cf. H.Od.2.13.8.

For the *rhombus*, a lozenge-shaped instrument whirled through the air on a string to produce a shrill noise, used in such rites (=ἴυγξ), see Gow on Theoc.2.17 and Plate V; Tupet op.cit. 50ff. Also M.9.29.9 *quae nunc Thessalico lunam deducere rhombo.*

vapulat seems to be in some sense correlative to *verberent* in the previous line: it is as if, when the articles are beaten, the moon itself takes a beating. It is also in keeping with *secta*. Perhaps it is intended as a comic alternative for something like *laborat*, which can be used of the moon in eclipse: cf. Ov.Am.2.5.38 *aut, ubi cantaris, Luna laborat equis.*

.18 **TU, SPARSE, NESCIS ISTA NEC POTES SCIRE:** A transition to the more

compressed section on idyllic country life. Cf. M's Spanish idyll in 12.18: there the addressee, Juvenal, suffers in the city. Here Sparsus only asks the question because his own circumstances are such that he cannot understand M's problem.

.19 **PETILIANIS DELICATUS IN REGNIS**: Cf. Cic.Att.14.16.1 *haec Puteolana et Cumana regna. regna* contains the suggestion of a grand, palatial-scale building, as opposed to its use at 12.31.8, where it = 'my humble abode'.

For the naming of the building, cf. 4.40.1-3:

> *Atria Pisonum stabant cum stemmate toto*
> *et docti Senecae ter numeranda domus;*
> *praetulimus tantis solum te, Postume, regnis:*

and cf. 3.5.6; Juv.3.221f.: apparently houses kept the name of an original, or famous, owner. Paley and Stone compare also Plat.Phaedr.init., where Epicrates lives ἐν τῇδε τῇ πλησίον τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου οἰκίᾳ τῇ Μορυχίᾳ.

For Petilius, Friedländer suggests Q. Petillius Rufus, cos.II. 83 A.D., or Q.Petillius Cerealis, cos. suff. in 70 and 74 A.D. The name is not uncommon - see PIR' *P* §§193 and 191 respectively.

delicatus = 'pampered' or 'spoilt': cf. Plin.Ep.9.32 *scribere…nolim …tamquam delicatus*; 7.24.3, both uses implying luxury and frivolity; also 12.0.13, where it = 'fastidious', and especially Fordyce's note on Catul. 50.3 *ut convenerat esse delicatos.*

.20 **CUI PLANA SUMMOS DESPICIT DOMUS MONTIS**: Friedländer took *plana domus* as = 'ground floor'. *planus* means 'on ground level' at Suet.Aug. 94.6 (*repositus vespere in cunas a nutricula, loco plano*) but would the present use mean 'ground floor', given that villas were almost always single-storey buildings ? It is more likely that it is a slightly forced expression, and that, juxtaposed with *summos montis*, it is merely intended to stress the altitude at which the villa has been built - although the building is of one storey, the elevation is so enviable that it looks down over other

hills. It is, after all, the **view** which is the point (could the house look down on Rome from the Ianiculum? Cf. *rus in urbe* .21). For the thought, cf. 4.54.9ff.

> *puris leniter admoventur astris*
> *celsae culmina delicata villae.*
> *hinc septem dominos videre montis*
> *et totam licet aestimare Romam,*
> *Albanos quoque Tusculosque colles*
> *et quodcumque iacet sub urbe frigus,…*

On the Roman love of views and vistas see above on 12.50.7; Purcell 194ff. (noted there); D. Fehling, Ethologische Überlegungen auf dem Gebiet der Altertumskunde 39ff. ('Fernsicht').

For *despicio*, of a view, cf. Plin.Ep.5.6.23 *(cubiculum) aliis fenestris xystum, aliis despicit pratum.*

.21f. **ET RUS IN URBE EST VINITORQUE ROMANUS**
– NEC IN FALERNO COLLE MAIOR AUTUMNUS – : *rus in urbe* turns the commoner idea of a *rus suburbanum* (cf. e.g. Cic.S.Rosc.133; M.3.58.45) into a pleasing paradox. *vinitorque Romanus* is similarly paradoxical – the property, although idyllically countrified, is 'in the city' and so Sparsus' vine-dresser actually lives in Rome. Moreover, unlike M's Nomentine farm, this produces top-quality wines. *autumnus* = 'vintage' see TLL 2.1605.1ff.

.23 **INTRAQUE LIMEN LATUS ESSEDO CURSUS:** *limen* is a little unexpected: presumably the effect of the line is mock-domesticity – 'room for a chariot inside your own front door, on the premises'. The exact reference in *cursus* is probably to a *porticus* like that in which Regulus rides in 1.12 (see Howell on .5) and 1.82; cf. Juv.7.178ff. For the *essedum*, see above on 12.24.2.

.24f. **ET IN PROFUNDO SOMNUS ET QUIES NULLIS**
OFFENSA LINGUIS, NEC DIES NISI ADMISSUS: *somnus* is picked up from .15. *in profundo* is more impressive than the adj. alone (for which, of

sleep, cf. Apul.Met.2.25.1 and especially 2.30.3 *eo…in profundam quietem sepulto*). For the present form of expression, using the noun (= 'in the furthest depths'), cf. Maecian.dig.32.15 *hae res testatoris legatae quae in profundo esse dicuntur* (i.e. lost without trace). For a similarly restful *cubiculum* see Plin.Ep.2.17.22, with Sherwin-White.

quies picks up *quiescendi* in .3 and stresses stillness and calm - cf. M.7.42.4 *inde sopor nobis et placet alta quies*; 12.62.2 below.

For *offensa* cf.1.53.10 *inproba Cecropias offendit pica querelas*; Stat.Silv.1.3.41f. *offensa…turbine nullo / nox silet. linguis* recalls the whole complaint about Rome.

dies = 'daylight'; for *nec dies nisi admissus* cf. Plin.Ep.2.17.22 *ac ne diem quidem sentit, nisi fenestris apertis.*

.26f. **NOS TRANSEUNTIS RISUS EXCITAT TURBAE,**
ET AD CUBILE EST ROMA.: The concluding lines return to M. in Rome: *turbae* recalls *turba* in .11; *ad cubile est Roma* is a striking summary of M's point, and lays the ground for the conclusion.

excito = 'wake up': cf. Tac.Dial.13.6 *non me fremitus salutantium… excitet. risus* elsewhere in M. implies derision (2.41.9/18; 7.18.10; 8.28.21 - the only other instances), but the specific point of it here is not clear.

.27f. **TAEDIO FESSIS / DORMIRE QUOTIENS LIBUIT, IMUS AD VILLAM:** *taedium* = 'boredom', 'ennui' (not 'worry' - Ker) - cf.H.Od.1.14.17; Juv.7.34. *fessus* can refer to mental fatigue: Tac.Ann.12.39.5 *taedio curarum fessus*; Liv.21.35.5 *fessis taedio tot malorum*; 29.33.8 *taedio et desperatione tandem fessum.* It would seem from these examples that there must have been a stock phrase involving these two words, perhaps a popular paradox of the type 'there's nothing more exhausting than boredom (i.e. doing nothing).'

The punch line consists of an 'answer' to Sparsus' initial question,

which M. has deliberately buried in a satirical-style treatment of city life and country life - Sparsus' lifestyle is such that he cannot appreciate the problem (18). So M. concludes with a final hyperbole - he goes off to his humble villa whenever he needs to - **sleep**.

58

A joke turned on two comical diminutives, *ancillariolus* and *lecticariolus*, the second of which was probably coined by M., partly, no doubt, to conjure up a colloquial tone - see Salemme 24f., who compares the use of *pinguiarius* at 11.100.6; also the speeches of the freedmen at e.g. Petr.38.3 *obiter et* ***vernaculae*** *quae sunt,* ***meliusculae*** *a* ***Graeculis*** *fient.* The comedy is sharpened by the careful positioning of the two adj.s at the beginning of each line, and the sheer space occupied by them in the tiny span of a distich: cf. the long-winded Graecizing opening of 12.50.

Note the placing of a distich after the longest poem in the book.

.1f. **ANCILLARIOLUM TUA TE VOCAT UXOR, ET IPSA LECTICARIOLA EST:** The first adj. is attested at Sen.Ben.1.9.4: *hunc matronae humilem et sordidae libidinis et ancillariolum vocant* (U. Joepgen, Wortspiele bei Martial, diss. Bonn (1967) discusses this poem at pp.130f. and believes that M. is in fact recalling the passage in Seneca). The wife's accusation comes as no particular surprise, but M. immediately caps it with his own, matching, accusation of the wife. In a slave society sexual harassment must have been almost taken for granted, especially of female slaves (see W.L.Westerman, The Slave Systems of Greek and Roman Antiquity 74). There were also notable examples of upper-class women being involved with slaves, most often those perceived to be glamorous,

especially gladiators: there is Juvenal's famous senator's wife Eppia (6.82ff.), and see Balsdon LL 297; Keith Hopkins, Death and Renewal 21ff. The story of Potiphar's wife and Joseph (OT Gen.40.6-20) shows a situation more like the one contemplated by M., and that it was perennial (cf. e.g. the relationship described in D.H. Lawrence's Lady Chatterley's Lover, although the relationship of a lady and her chauffeur would presumably be the exact modern equivalent). Litter-bearers were presumably chosen for their appearance as well as their strength, and so would provide a likely temptation.

N-H on H.Od.2.4 (intro. p.67) point to the present poem, and Seneca's use of the first adj., as evidence that even a man might carry such attachments to a point which would annoy his wife: Stoic moralists saw a man's attachment of this kind as no less reprehensible than a woman's (see Musonius 12 p.66 Hense, van Geytenbeck 76). At Ep.1.18.72ff. Horace advises a social climber not to seduce the patron's slaves because the owner may want them for himself. Quintilian (Inst.5.11.34f.) gives, as an example of ›Αναλογία, '*si turpis dominae consuetudo cum servo, turpis domino cum ancilla*', and, an example of argumentatio ex dissimilibus, '*non idem est dominum cum ancilla coisse quod dominam cum servo.*'

lecticariola is only attested here: it goes one better than the previous adj., and adds to the comedy of the charge, because it specifies the slave with whom the wife is unfaithful.

.2 **ALAUDA**: The name is probably also comical - it is not attested in PIR², and would be most familiar to the Roman reader as the name of a legion raised by Julius Caesar in Gaul: the common suggestion of foreignness is doubtless present. He appears once more, at 12.60.8, as a luxurious and demanding guest. The word is the Latin for χορύδαλος, the 'crested lark' - see Thompson Birds 164ff.; cf. Fr. *alouette*.

ESTIS…PARES: *pares* most simply = 'two of a kind': cf. Catul.57.1-3

> *pulchre convenit inprobis cinaedis,*
> *Mamurrae pathicoque Caesarique.*
> *nec mirum: maculae pares utrisque.*

The 'punch' of the joke, however, lies in the use of *par(es)* = 'perfect match (in marriage)': Catul.62.57 *cum par conubium maturo tempore adepta est*; Prop.1.1.32 *sitis et in tuto semper amore pares* (see Enk); the idea may sometimes involve social compatibility, Ov.Ep.9.32 *siqua voles apte nubere, nube pari*. There is a comparable joke at M.8.12.3f. (if one marries a rich wife, the woman takes on the husband's role): *inferior matrona suo sit, Prisce, marito: / non aliter fiunt femina virque pares*; also 8.35:

> *cum sitis similes paresque vita,*
> *uxor pessima, pessimus maritus,*
> *miror non bene convenire vobis.*

59

On the *basiatores* see above on 12.29.4; 55.3. M's fullest attack on them is found at 11.98 - *Effugere non est, Flacce, basiatores*, on which see Kay: such kissing was not the custom among the Greeks - Herodotus (1.134) considered it distinctively Babylonian, and it only became common in Rome in the early empire. Tiberius issued an edict to stop the practice of the greeting kiss (Suet.Tib.34.2), for the reason mentioned by M. at .8, below; Sen.de Ira 2.24.1 (*ille me parum humane salutavit; ille osculo meo non adhaesit*) shows that it was, by his time, unremarkable. Kay points out that 'Emperors kissed senators and subjects to bestow favour (cf. Pl.*Pan.*23.1; Dio 59.27.1; Suet.*Otho* 6.2), as did patrons their clients (M.8.44.5; 12.29.4)' (p.265). If this last observation is correct, it is possible that *basiatores* are so distasteful, in part, because they are making a claim to social superiority by their action.

The importation of a new and unfamiliar social ritual may serve to explain much of the unease - compare continuing resistance after 15 years to the 'generalizing' to the whole congregation of the 'kiss of peace' in most Roman Catholic and Anglican Eucharists, from what had been for centuries a formal 'continental' embrace, only performed at High Mass and confined to the sanctuary in hierarchical order through the ranks of clergy and servers (see J.G. Davies, A New Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship 'Gestures' §8 p.250f.). In the present context recent concern about AIDS and the common chalice might also be mentioned.

.1-3 **TANTUM DAT TIBI ROMA BASIORUM…QUANTUM LESBIA NON DEDIT CATULLO:** See Catul.5.7ff. (*da mi basia mille* etc.). A comic recollection which makes explicit M's debt to his mentor: cf. the ref.s to Catullus' *passer* poems (2 & 3) in 1.7 (see Howell); 1.109; 4.14; 7.14; 11.6 (see Kay).

POST ANNOS MODO QUINDECIM REVERSO: On *reverso* see above on 12.31.7; Friedländer rightly pointed out that *quindecim* here is simply an indefinite large number, cf.7.10.15f.; 11.6.13. Housman wanted *tibi…reverso* to refer to a real person (see on .9 below), but the repeated 2nd person pronoun in this poem appears to refer to an imaginary person who represents the general type of those who return to Rome after an absence and find the onset of *basiatio* disconcerting - cf. 12.29 where *tu* is used to address a senator who behaves like a client; 12.94, a poet who competes with M. in whatever genre he attempts.

.4 **TE VICINIA TOTA:** *vicinia* serves as a hyperbolic introduction to the whole catalogue of undesirable *basiatores*. Cf. H.Ep.1.16.44f.; S.2.5.105f.

.4f. **TE PILOSUS / HIRCOSO PREMIT OSCULO COLONUS:** The *colonus*, probably a poor tenant farmer, is undesirable enough in the present context, and M. moves on to still less respectable occupations in the lines that follow.

pilosus is a standard jibe against those regarded as uncouth: cf.

Cic.Pis.1 *non enim nos color iste servilis, non pilosae genae, non dentes putridi deceperunt*; Juv.14.194 *narisque pilosas* (with Mayor). At M.9.47.5 (philosophers), *hircosus* is similarly added to *pilosus* to compound the distaste: it generally refers to body-odour and lack of personal hygiene, from the smell of goats - cf. Pers.3.77 *aliquis de gente hircosa centurionum*; it is opposed to *unguentatus* at Gell.12.2.11 (quoting Seneca); cf. also H.S.1.2.27 *pastillos Rufillus olet, Gargonius hircum.*

See on 12.29.4 for ancient attempts to differentiate the words for 'kiss' - it is possible that *basium* and *osculum* are interchangeable here. For *osculum premere* and sim. see TLL 9².1113.37ff.

.6 **HINC INSTAT TIBI TEXTOR, INDE FULLO:** There follows a *cumulatio* of a series of 'low' trades leading to a comical connection with the mouth in *sutor* (see Salemme 80 f.n. 27). This may support the suggestion that some social statement is being made with the kisses, hence M's lack of enthusiasm for them. For a short survey of these trades see Forbes Technology 4.231ff. and 86ff.; *fullones* also in Der Kleine Pauly 2.629. As noted on 12.48.8 (*iuncta…testa viae*) the fuller's cleaning agent was human urine (see Plin.NH.28.66), which might add to the undesirability of such intimate contact. His trade was certainly not highly regarded: Dio 46.4.2ff., part of an invective against Cicero by Quintus Fufius Calenus, makes much of the charge that Cicero was reared as a fuller's son; cf. Firm. Math. 3.8.7 *artes aut sordidae aut squalidae…quales sunt…fullones*. A *textor*, however, would seem to be disqualified as a *basiator* merely by reason of social inferiority.

instat is a comic follow-on from *premit*, as at 11.98.2, *instant, morantur, persecuntur, occurrunt.*

.7 **HINC SUTOR MODO PELLE BASIATA:** On cobblers see RE 4.A¹.989ff.; Forbes Technology 5.53-6 (leather-workers generally), 59f. (Roman footwear). At

Juv.3.294 *sutor* is an insult; at Cic.Flac.17 *sutores*, together with *zonarii*, typify an ignorant mob. Apparently cobblers chewed the leather to make it workable, thus giving M. a comically tenuous tie-in with *basiare*.

For *pellis* = shoe-leather cf. Ov.AA.1.516; Juv.3.150; M.1.49.31.

.8 **HINC MENTI DOMINUS PERICULOSI**: *dominus* thus, of the person to whom a specified part of the body belongs, was apparently an Ovidian form of expression - see Bömer on Ov.Met.3.503 *lumina mors clausit domini mirantia formam*, and 11.149 *rursus erant domino stultae praecordia mentis*. See also TLL 5'.1919.15ff.

menti…periculosi is a reference to *mentagra*, a highly unpleasant skin disease, spread by kissing and initially attacking the chin. See Plin.NH. 26.1ff.; M.4.36; 11.98.5, with Kay, and, for a very full account, Rosenbaum Lustseuche 278-297.

Friedländer unaccountably printed the unmetrical and unnecessary 16th century conjecture *pediculosi*, for the history of which see A. Cameron 'A Lousy Conjecture: Housman to Phillimore', HSPh 89 (1985) 235f.

.9 **HINC †DEXIOCHOLUS†, INDE LIPPUS**: Calderini:

> *Defiocolus*: cui deest oculus dicitur: ita habet codex antiquus: alii codices habent dexioculum: hoc est qui dextrum tantum habet oculum: placet prior scriptura.

Housman, Papers 993:

> Although some MSS of the family γ offer *desiocolus* and *desioculus*, whence the impossible word *defioculus* was coined and used in the old editions, it is plain from the comparison of the two stocks that *dexioc(h)olus* was in the archetype. But *dexiocholus* (if ever there were such a word) is no better sense than metre. Neither leg, so far as I have noticed, is much used in kissing; and it therefore does not appear how lameness can lend horror to a kiss, nor what difference it makes if the lame leg happens to be the right one.

The line is a syllable short, so he suggested that the lack of an addressee was the real problem, mostly because of the

> touch of personal detail in u.2 'post annos modo quindecim reverso': it is addressed at a particular time to a living and

> breathing acquaintance of Martial's, and in view of Martial's practice we expect to have his name. And we have it: *Dexi*.

After quoting some inscriptional evidence for the name, and some examples of M. addressing friends by two names, he conjectured

> *hinc, Dexi Colo, luscus, inde lippus*

which has M's love of *lusci*, and of yoking them with *lippi* (cf. 6.78.1f.; 8.9.1f.; 8.59.1-6) to recommend it, but the sudden introduction of a 'friend', unusually addressed and otherwise unknown, decidedly against it.

This was in CQ 13 (1919). In his review of Heraeus' text (CR 39 (1925) 199-203 = Papers 1099-1104), he castigated the editor for retaining the old reading:

> Mr Heraeus defends it thus: 'δεξιόχωλος mihi est *rechtsseitig gelähmt*, cuius nimirum indecens amplexus est.' Scilicet qui *linksseitig gelähmt* est, eius amplexus minus est indecens. And this ridiculous reading is also unmetrical; but Mr Heraeus, instead of finding in that any cause for suspicion, rebuilds the verse as a shelter for the cripple by prefixing a worse than superabundant *et*. (Papers 1100f.).

By 1926, however, he had changed his mind:

> I can now provide *dexiocholus* with a stouter defence than the imprudent improvisation of Mr Heraeus. Men lame of the right leg were to be dreaded because it was unlucky to meet them. Lucian *pseudol.* 17, ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ τοὺς χωλοὺς τῷ δεξιῷ ἐκτρεπόμεθα, καὶ μάλιστα εἰ ἔωθεν ἴδοιμεν αὐτούς, Pliny *n.h.* XXVIII 35 'despuimus comitiales morbos…simili modo et fascinationes repercutimus dextraeque clauditatis occursum,' wrongly explained in *thes. ling. Lat.* III p.1306 17 and V p.922 9 [as 'claudi a dextra venientis'].
>
> The metre and the missing vocative, about which I wrote in C.Q. XIII p.79, may now be restored thus:
>
> hinc <,Rex,> dexiocholus, inde lippus.
>
> Cicero's correspondent in *fam.* XIII.52 is addressed solely by this cognomen, 'Cicero Regi s.', 'fac igitur, mi Rex, ut intellegat.' (CR 40 (1926), 19 = Papers 1105).

This would seem to guarantee this odd word, even though it does not survive otherwise in either Latin or Greek - M. could, after all, easily have compounded it himself. The vocative 'Rex' is possible, and fills the metrical gap, but is Housman's argument for the need of a vocative here

convincing? It was noticed above that *quindecim* in fact = an indefinite large number, and that *tu* may equally well refer to an imaginary person, representative of a type. So, if a 'touch of personal detail' is not provided, this might seem an unlikely moment in the inexorable *cumulatio* towards *fellatorque recensque cunnilingus* at which to insert an addressee's name. The examples of postponed addressees cited by Housman (3.82.33; 8.38.8; 8.61.8; 10.73.8) are not mere parenthetical vocatives in a rather odd environment, as this one would be, but serve a structural purpose. In any case, 'Rex' was probably a face-saver for Housman, given his tone in the two previous articles. So δεξιόχωλος should stand, and Heraeus' 'worse than superabundant *et*' should probably be admitted before it *metri causa*: it provides a useful emphasis before the strange word (B^{A} has *dexiocholus et*, C^{A} omits *et*). Prof. Nisbet suggests *illinc* as an alternative to *hinc et*, which is attractive after three previous uses of *hinc*, and followed by *inde*.

A famous case of more generally unattractive lameness is, of course, Thersites, who is χωλὸς δ'ἕτερον πόδα (Il.2.217).

Friedländer prints as his text here *nec deest oculis et inde lippus* which has little to recommend it.

For *lippi* cf. on 12.57.14. There seems to have been a certain general yoking of *lippitudo* and debauched tastes - see e.g. Jenkinson on Pers.1.79; LeJay on H.S.1.1.120 - but, more likely than a suggestion of causality is one of simple unpleasantness: M's use of the adj. in an image at 7.20.12, *lippa ficus* ('an oozing fig'), implies a considerable discharge from the eye when the word is used literally.

.10 **FELLATORQUE RECENSQUE CUNNILINGUS**: These common slurs, suddenly introduced to bring the catalogue to a typically shocking conclusion, have an extra and specific application in the present context: 11.30, on Zoilus,

rests on the premise that a *fellator*'s breath smells unpleasant - Kay compares 2.12; 3.28; 3.77 and possibly AP.11.242 (Nicharchus). 12.85 says the same of *cunnilingi*. Similarly, drinking from a cup tainted by a *fellator* is loathsome - see 12.74.10. In 11.95, M. remarks more graphically on the horror of *basia fellatorum*; 11.98.23, *facias amicum basiare quem nolis*, also seems to refer to the kisses of a *fellator* - see Kay. For the word, Adams LSV 131.

On *cunnilinctus* see Citroni, intro. to 1.77, Kay, intro. to 11.25, who points to 2.28.6 where *res duas* are *cunnilinctus* and *fellatio*. On the word, Adams LSV 135.

For *recens* cf. 6.93.3 *ab amore recens hircus* (smells better than Thais); also 8.75.2 *Lingonus a Tecta Flaminiaque recens*; Liv.2.56.6 *auctor* (sc. *legis*) *cum recentior tum acrior erat*.

.11 **IAM TANTI TIBI NON FUIT REDIRE**: For *tanti* see 12.43.11: it = 'worth it' cf. 1.108.5f.:

migrandum est, ut mane domi te, Galle, salutem:
est tanti, vel si longius illa foret.

Also 1.117.18 (after Lupercus has been told where he can get a copy of M's poems for 5 denarii) *'tanti non es' ais? sapis, Luperce*.

redire picks up *reverso* in .2, and = 'return to Rome': the comic 'moral' to be drawn from this picture of Rome, laid low by an epidemic of deadly basiation is obvious - you would be better off staying at home.

The mss. have .1-6 and .7-14 as two separate poems (Lindsay, app. crit., '*fort. recte*'), but this is clearly one poem. Certainly, it lacks the sort of ending that 12.57 has, which ties the sections together. Here, the

structure is more understated, the poem falling into two clear parts. The second part is an answer, although not specified as such, to the apology for simple rustic celebrations in the first. If the final couplet, the pointed remark which makes this an epigram, is taken out, there are six lines each about country and city, both of which elements are necessary to make the final point. Moreover, *natali pallere suo* etc. is not a possible beginning for a poem, but it makes perfect sense as the opposite of *vivere* in .6, and .7-12 illustrate *servire* (.5).

On the celebration of birthdays, with feasting and sacrifices and present-giving, see Marquardt Prl.250f.; RE 7.1143.8ff.; Wissowa R&K² 177 n.4; Wilhelm Schmidt, Geburtstag im Altertum, 25ff.; Censorinus 2. See also Cairns GC, index s.v. 'Genethliakon', and especially 136, examining Ov.Tr.3.13, where the generic topoi (fine clothes, wreathing an altar with flowers, making offerings / praying to the *Genius*; see also f.n. 14 to ch. 4, p.250) are inverted; cf. also Pers.2.1-3:

> hunc, Macrine, diem numera meliore lapillo,
> qui tibi labentis apponit candidus annos.
> funde merum Genio.

.1 **MARTIS ALUMNE DIES**: *alumnus*, the adj., = 'reared by' (the agent in the genitive), can be applied to more abstract nouns than those denoting literal offspring: Plin.NH.11.99 *tenebrarum alumna blattis* [cockroaches] *vita lucemque fugiunt, in balnearum maxime umido vapore prognatae*; Auson. Ecl.14.7f. *hoc numero mensisque Numae redit autumnique / principium referens Bacchi September alumnus*. No parallel appears to exist for the present phrase: apparently the first day of the month is envisaged as 'reared by', or 'the baby of', the month as a whole (or rather the god for whom the month is named), and some sort of associative connection with M's birthday is intended. H. Lucas ('Martial's "*Kalendae Nataliciae*", CQ 32 (1938) 5f.) argues, from 8.64.4, and several other references to birthdays

(including the present one), that Romans celebrated their birthdays on the Kalends of the month in which they were born (or possibly those of the month following). His arguments, about a series of phrases in M. which are otherwise slightly puzzling (cf. 9.52; 10.24.1f.; 10.92.10), are convincing, and may throw light on the expression here. Although it would appear from .6 below that M. was actually **born** on the Kalends of March (hence his being named for them), he may intend the present phrase and those noted by Lucas to refer in some way to the Kalends as standing for all the birthdays of the month.

ROSEAM LAMPADA: Cf. the Homeric and Hesiodic ῥοδοδάκτυλος of the dawn; this commonplace, in keeping with the tone of the whole couplet, is usually found in formal, 'high poetic' passages: Lucr.5.610 *forsitan et rosea sol alte lampade lucens*; Ov.Fast.5.159f. *postera cum roseam pulsis Hyperionis astris / in matutinis lampada tollet equis.*

.2 **MAGNAQUE SIDEREI VIDIMUS ORA DEI**: Cf. Prop.3.20.18 *testis sidereae torta corona deae*; Sen.Phaed.677f. *tuque, sidereum caput, / radiate Titan*; also Stat.Silv.1.1.103f. (of the colossus of Rhodes) *tua sidereas imitantia flammas / lumina contempto mallet Rhodos aspera Phoebo.* For the idea, cf. Greek phrases such as ὁρᾶν φάος ἠελίοιο / φάος βλέπειν = 'be alive'.

.3f. **SI TE RURE COLI VIRIDISQUE PUDEBIT AD ARAS**
QUI FUERAS LATIA CULTUS IN URBE MIHI: For *colo* = *celebrare*, of a birthday, cf.Cic.Fin.2.102; Panegyrici 10(2).13.4 *quanto magis (Roma) hunc natalem suum diem coleret…*; M.8.38.12; 10.87.4.

M. is celebrating his birthday for the first time after returning from Rome: *pudebit* 'apologizes' for the lack of sophistication in the country and leads into a comparison of country and city life characteristic of this book - see especially 12.18 and 57; cf. the attitude of the town mouse to his country cousin's fare at H.S.2.6.86f.

Turf altars for sacrifices were the norm at Rome originally - see Latte RR 386; RE 2.338f; Bailey, Phases 114f.; N-H on H.Od.1.19.13; Mayor on Juv.12.2; Bömer on Ov.Met.7.240. Servius (A.12.119) records a symbolic survival: *Romani…moris fuerat caespitem arae super imponere et ita sacrificare.* Here, of course, it is a specifically relevant sign of rustic simplicity: for the birthday sacrifices cf. 10.24.4f. *quinquagensima liba septimamque / vestris addimus hanc focis acerram.*

Note the carefully balanced opposition *te rure coli / cultus in urbe mihi*. For *Latia…in urbe* = *Roma* cf. especially 10.96.2; also 9.17.4; 12..62.8 etc.

.5 **DA VENIAM SERVIRE MEIS QUOD NOLO KALENDIS**: *da veniam* maintains the personification of the birthday, begun with the opening address; *servire* is illustrated by .7-12; *meis Kalendis* is a variation of the first three words - cf. 9.52.3 *ut nostras amo Martias Kalendas.*

.6 **ET QUA SUM GENITUS VIVERE LUCE VOLO**: M's insistence that this is the exact day on which he was born, directly after he has referred to *meis Kalendis*, his usual phrase, may add support to Lucas' argument that the Kalends were the normal day for celebrating all birthdays (CQ 32 (1938) 5f.).

vivere = 'really / fully live': cf. *vitam* at 12.57.4.

.7 **NATALI PALLERE SUO, NE CALDA SABELLO / DESIT**: The birthday feast was generally given by the person whose birthday it was - see Lindsay on Pl.Capt.174f. (where Ergasilus suggests that he should be **dined**, contrary to custom); also descriptions of such a meal at Pers.768ff.; Pseud.165ff., with the host fussing about the details; also Gell.19.9, where one such feast is the 'setting' for the chapter. On the theme of preparations for a party see N-H I pp.402, 421f.

pallere provides a comic contrast with *vivere*, and suggests disease or

worry; cf. 11.6.6 *pallentes curae*.

For *natalis* without *dies* cf. Cic.Att.7.5.3; V.Ecl.3.76; Plin.Ep.Tra. 10.17a.2; M.9.53.1.

calda, warm water, as well as cold, was customarily mixed with wine according to taste: 1.11.3 (with Citroni); 14.105.1; Juv.5.63 (with Mayor); Athenaeus 123ᵃ⁻ᵉ.

Sabellus appears in 12.39 and 43 and is presumably mentioned as the last person on whom M. would wish to be waiting.

.8f. **…ET UT LIQUIDUM POTET ALAUDA MERUM,**
TURBIDA SOLLICITO TRANSMITTERE CAECUBA SACCO: For Caecuban chilled by snow, see above on 12.17.6; cf. Athenaeus 124ᵉ-125. For *liquidum* cf. H.Od.1.11.6 *vina liques* (with N-H); Colum.12.38.4 *curandum est, ut cum diffundis (vinum), liquidum et sine faece diffundas*; RE 4.590ff.; D-S 1.1331f.

The drinker of *merum* is also attacked at 1.11.4, 6.89 and V.Cat.11.1f. Younger (205) suspects that wine was actually not uncommonly drunk undiluted at Rome (more so, at any rate, than in Greece). The normal dilution was 1:3 (water : wine). For *turbida* cf. Sen.Ep.108.26 *quemadmodum ex amphora primum quod est sincerissimum effluit, gravissimum quodque turbidumque subsidit*; M.8.45.3f. For *transmittere* = 'strain', cf. Larg.156 *per linteum…transmisso oleo*; the *saccus vinarius*, Plin.NH.24.3; Petr.73.5.

sollicitus, a transferred epithet, recalls *pallere* above - cf. the *solliciti…ministri* of 8.59.7.

Alauda appears only here and in 12.58.

.10 **ATQUE INTER MENSAS IRE REDIRE SUAS**: The inappropriateness of ruining the occasion for oneself by having to run about like this in one's **own** (*suas*) house is stressed.

For *ire redire* = 'go back and forth' see Norden on V.A.6.122 *'itque*

reditque ist ein poetische Variation der wohl dem Leben angehörigen asyndetischen Verbindung *it redit* (Hor. ep. I 7, 55 und wahrscheinlich eleg. in Maec. 1, 6).' cf. 1.48.2 (of the swift movements of a hare), with Citroni; also 6.10.8.

.11f. **EXCIPERE HOS ILLOS ET TOTA SURGERE CENA**
MARMORA CALCANTEM FRIGIDIORA GELU: This whole couplet expands on .10 - *hos illos* adds to the effect of *ire redire*. For *excipio* of receiving guests cf.12.0.22; also 12.18.19; for *tota surgere cena* cf. 5.79.1 *undecies una surrexti, Zoile, cena*. Obviously the host was expected to rise and greet his guests: the absence of accurate timepieces must have meant that the time of arrival was a matter of hit and (more often) miss.

The normal practice was to wear outdoor shoes on the way to dinner and have a slave carry those to be worn indoors (*soleae*: see H.Ep.1.13.15, the poor man who has to carry his own *soleae*), which were in turn taken off before reclining at table (cf. 12.87 below). The present idea is that, since treading on the cold floor with bare feet would normally be avoided, it is a sign of the frenzy in which M. finds himself when acting as a host that he does so: cf. Petr.65.4,

> *ego maiestate conterritus praetorem putabam venisse. itaque temptavi assurgere et nudos pedes in terram deferre. risit hanc trepidationem Agamemnon…*

Also H.S.2.8.77 *et soleas poscit*: Nasidienus puts on his slippers when he leaves the table, although he intends to return (.84).

This is the only example of *frigidus* applied to a **floor** among the parts of buildings which are noted with the adj. at TLL 6'.1328.29ff. *gelu* makes the point as clearly and conventionally as the previous lines lead one to expect.

.13f. **QUAE RATIO EST HAEC SPONTE SUA PERFERRE PATIQUE,**
QUAE TE SI IUBEAT REX DOMINUSQUE, NEGES: For the opposition of *sponte sua* (only here in M.) and *iubeo*, cf. H.Ep.1.12.17 *stellae sponte sua*

iussaene vagentur et errent. rex dominusque was a client's respectful salutation of his patron: 1.112.1 (see Citroni); 4.83.5; 10.10.5; Juv.8.161 with Mayor. Here the phrase is heavily ironic, suggesting something like 'you wouldn't do all this if asked by a patron, and your relation to him is servile' (cf. *servire* in .5).

ferre patique is emphatic, = 'put up with': cf. above on 12.29.8; TLL 6¹.540.17ff.

The final couplet makes the point of .7-12 explicit; this in turn has been an 'explanation' to the birthday about why the humble rustic celebration is to be preferred.

61

A *recusatio* in the form of a put-down: Ligurra wants to be made infamous by M., but M. points out that Ligurra is not sufficiently interesting to provide a fit target. This is followed by a graphic description of the only sort of poet who would attack such a man, and the final line sums up M's attitude by characterizing Ligurra as a runaway slave on whom M. disdains to waste a brand. As a technique this has much in common with, e.g., the preface to book 2, in which M. explains why he is not writing a preface: the main joke here is that Ligurra is getting what he wants, although not in quite the way that he might have chosen. For people who wished to be mentioned by M. cf. 4.31 (*quod cupis in nostris dicique legique libellis…*): reporting the phenomenon gives M. another chance to advertise the popularity of his poems.

One of Ben Jonson's poems directed at Inigo Jones (with whom he quarrelled over their collaboration on court masques) is a fairly close imitation of this epigram:

Sir Inigo doth fear it, as I hear,
And labours to seem worthy of that fear,
That I should write upon him some sharp verse,
Able to eat into his bones, and pierce
The marrow. Wretch, I quit thee of thy pain:
Thou'rt too ambitious, and dost fear in vain:
The Libyan lion hunts no butterflies,
He makes the camel and dull ass his prize.
If thou be so desirous to be read
Seek out some hungry painter, that for bread
With rotten chalk or coal upon a wall
Will well design thee, to be viewed of all
That sit upon the common draught or strand:
Thy forehead is too narrow for my brand.

.1ff. **VERSUS ET BREVE VIVIDUMQUE CARMEN
IN TE NE FACIAM TIMES, LIGURRA,
ET DIGNUS CUPIS HOC METU VIDERI**: Cf. 12.78.1 below; 3.9.1 *versiculos in me narratur scribere Cinna*; 3.11.2 *cur in te factum distichon esse putas?*; 6.64.22f. *audes praeterea…in me / scribere versiculos miseras et perdere chartas.* Invective is common property of Epigram and Satire (see U. Knoche, Roman Satire 71), although the necessary economy of M's genre makes its effect, if anything , more devastating, because a whole poem is directed at the person attacked, and the typically pointed and witty final line makes the attack more memorable.

In this opening section of the poem, M. attributes to the object of his attack the 'fear' of becoming a satirical target (cf. 12.78), although it turns out that Ligurra wants only to **seem** worthy of M's attack, which is clearly intended to make him the more contemptible: cf. the slightly different angle in 12.41 - Tucca is a glutton, but it makes it worse that he wants to seem one and be talked about as one.

versus is a rather blander word than might be expected of such productions, and a surprisingly lack-lustre opening to a surprisingly imbalanced line. *versutum* might provide an attractive alternative, but M.

does not use the word anywhere else; having come to the conclusion that *argutum* might be an improvement I found that W.S. Watt (LCM 9.9 (1984) 131) had anticipated me: cf. 1.1.3 *argutis epigrammaton libellis*. Add to this Ov.Tr.5.9.23f. *haec meus argutis, si tu paterere, libellis / poneret in multa luce videnda labor*, and Pliny's definition of epigram as *carmen argutum et breve* (Ep.7.9.9; cf. 4.3.3).

brevis characterizes the preferred mode of attack as something like the *distichon* of 3.11.2 - obviously a witty and memorable two-liner is more to Ligurra's purpose: he wishes to be remembered, perhaps even to repeat the insult against himself over dinner.

For *vividus* cf. 11.42.1f. *vivida cum poscas epigrammata, mortua ponis / lemmata* : in view of the opposition with *mortuus* there, Calderini's suggestion here may be correct - '*vividum: qui sit immortale*'. Kay (intro. 11.42) points out that the word has to do with M's insistence on (and pride in) his realism: cf. 8.3.19f.; 10.4.10 *hominem pagina nostra sapit*; 12.0.9ff. Lines 7-10 do provide some distinctly 'lifelike' material by way of illustrating the sort of poet who might think Ligurra a worthy target.

The name is found only here in M., and not in PIR² or Kajanto. Like Ligurinus (3.44, 45 & 50; H.Od.4.1.33; .10.5) it might suggest *ligur(r)io* - see Orelli-Baiter on Od.4.1.33 and Adams LSV 140f. for the overlap of that verb with the obscene sense of *lingo*.

dignus is effectively undercut by *cupis…videri*: Ligurra does not even wish to be a worthy target, but only to be thought so; he is doubtless broadcasting his 'fear'.

.4 **SED FRUSTRA METUIS CUPISQUE FRUSTRA** : M. gives his uncompromising answer, picking up the key words of the previous line in a neat chiasmus, and juxtaposing them to emphasise the paradoxical foolishness of Ligurra's position: he is fearing and wishing for the same thing. M. then proceeds,

in the remainder of the poem, to illustrate and explain his reaction. Ligurra is beneath his notice.

.5f. **IN TAUROS LIBYCI RUUNT LEONES,**
NON SUNT PAPILIONIBUS MOLESTI: Otto Sprichwörter (§937) compares a German proverb, 'Löwen fangen keine Mäuse'; Calderini, '*Papilionibus: proverbium est apud phalaridem: Elephas indus culices neglegit*'. For the analogy cf. M.10.65.12f. (M. objects to the effeminate Charmenion calling him *frater*) *tam dispar aquilae columba non est / nec dorcas rigido fugax leoni*; 10.100.3f. (on a poet who puts his poems together with M's) *quid congregare cum leonibus volpes / aquilisque similes facere noctuas quaeris*: a commonplace notion of *decorum* is obviously drawn from the animal kingdom.

The Lion is, of course, proverbially strong and fierce (see Otto §§ 931-4; NT 1.Pet.5.8 - 'the devil like a lion'; Sil.7.401 - Hannibal). Africa is the proper home of lions and other beasts familiar to the Romans in animal shows: Jennison (Animals, 45f.) points out that, at various times, *Africanae (ferae)* or *Libycae (ferae)* = 'lions, leopards and other large cats'. Pliny deals at length with lions at NH.8.46ff.; see also Keller Tierwelt 1.24-61. Cf. also the hare / lion 'cycle' of poems beginning with M.1.6 (see Howell pp. 118f.).

For the lion seeking the bull as prey cf. 1.51.1/3; .48.1; 60.3f. (also with *ruo*); Keller 39 fig.9, an Egyptian illustration of a lion attacking a bull; Thompson Motif-Index K2131.2.

The butterfly is introduced as the most insubstantial prey imaginable; the inference is that Ligurra is similarly lacking in consequence. *molestus* adds to the comedy by looking at the 'pursuit' from the butterfly's point of view. .

.7ff. **QUAERAS CENSEO, SI LEGI LABORAS,**
NIGRI FORNICIS EBRIUM POETAM,
QUI CARBONE RUDI PUTRIQUE CRETA
SCRIBIT CARMINA QUAE LEGUNT CACANTES: M. states more bluntly the

motivation of Ligurra's endeavours and moves from the self-exalting comparison with the lion to a description of the sort of 'poet' who would bother with Ligurra - a graffitist. For *si legi laboras*, with its idea of 'straining' cf. 12.94.7 below. Cf. also the less urgent expression at 4.31.1, *quod cupis in nostris dicique legique libellis.*

nigri fornicis is intended to suggest a dark, dirty corner that has become a latrine by custom rather than design - most people in Rome at this time had only public lavatories available to them for **defecation** (see above on 12.48.8 for the pots provided as urinals), and these were doubtless too few to cater for the demand (or at least for most people's convenience). For such latrines see SG 4.284 = 4.310; J. Carcopino Daily Life in Ancient Rome 40ff.; Meiggs, Ostia 143f., Pl.9b; M.11.77.1 (*conclavibus*), with Kay's note. So M. is describing the usual alternative.

ebrium further characterizes the graffitist who will bother with Ligurra, and presumably has implications for the quality of the verse as well. Farnaby, in a rare break into English, translates, 'a pot-poet'.

The specifying of the graffitist's tools, each with an appropriate adj. which may also be intended to reflect the quality of the verse, brings the description to its most 'realistic' point. With *carbo* and *creta* the writer could mark any surface, however light or dark.

The repetition of *legere* from .7 introduces Ligurra's true public - *cacantes*. The graphic word is, typically, postponed to the end of the section. For the alliteration with *carmina* cf. the much stronger opening line of Catul.36 *annales Volusi, cacata charta*, and effects such as those at M.3.44.10f. *et stanti legis et legis sedenti, / currenti legis et legis cacanti*; 11.98.21f. *dabit oscitanti basium natantique, / dabit cacanti*; also the second line of 1.37.

.11 **FRONS HAEC STIGMATE NON MEO NOTANDA EST**: M's final insult compares

Ligurra unfavourably with a runaway slave branded by his master. For the literal sense cf. 3.21.1; 11.84.13. See RE 3A.2520, Blümner PrA.294 and D-S 4.1510. For the present image, 6.64.24-26:

> *at si quid nostrae tibi bilis inusserit ardor,*
> *vivet et haerebit totoque legetur in orbe*
> *stigmata nec vafra delebit Cinnamus arte.*

Also Suet.Jul.73

> *Valerium Catullum, a quo sibi versiculis de Mamurra perpetua stigmata imposita non dissimulaverat, satis facientem eadem die adhibuit cenae hospitioque patris eius, sicut consuerat, uti perseveravit.*

haec is emphatic, = 'a brow such as yours'.

62

A prayer to Saturn to bless the festivities which Priscus has prepared to celebrate his return to Spain (see on 12.0). The choice of deity and the style of the feast itself are determined by Priscus' timing - he is coming in December, at Saturnalia, which allows M. to begin by associating the return and the feasting with the Golden Age.

For the Golden Age, see first Hes.W&D.109-120, with West ad loc. and pp.172-177. The Romans transformed this myth of 'Races' into one of 'Ages' - see Bodo Gatz, Weltalter, goldene Zeit und sinnverwandte Vorstellungen 128-143; H.C.Baldry, 'Who Invented the Golden Age?' CQ n.s.2 (1959) 88-92. It was to become a clichéd point of comparison with the reigns of Emperors in Roman panegyric. For treatments in Latin poetry, see V.Ecl.4.6ff. (with Coleman), and, more fully, Ov.Met.1.89-112.

.1 **ANTIQUI REX MAGNE POLI MUNDIQUE PRIORIS**: From this stately beginning, the first pair of couplets proceeds to introduce Saturn, in terms of his association with the Golden Age, making four descriptive points about it,

each stated and restated within a single line. Not until the second pair of couplets, at 5ff., is Priscus mentioned: the initial effect is one of great solemnity, which magnifies the compliment to Priscus. This opening address emphasizes the antiquity of the period recalled, with the double attribution *antiqui…poli mundique prioris.*

The vocabulary is conventional: for *antiquus* cf. e.g. V.A.6.580 *genus antiquum* (the Titans - see Austin); Ov.Met.1.116 *Iuppiter antiqui contraxit tempora veris. prior* stresses that M. is referring to the old order, superseded by that of Jupiter: cf. e.g. Liv.1.33.1 *secutus morem regum priorum.* The two nouns describe the two spheres of influence, once Saturn's, now Jupiter's: for *polus*, of the heavens as the abode of the gods, cf.M.5.65.1; 9.3.12.

rex magne is often an address to Jupiter (Enn.Ann.175; V.A.5.533), but the honorific is a natural one, perhaps especially so, since Saturn's position is appropriated by Jupiter.

.2ff. **SUB QUO PIGRA QUIES NEC LABOR ULLUS ERAT,**
NEC REGALE NIMIS FULMEN NEC FULMINE DIGNI,
SCISSA NEC AD MANES SED SIBI DIVES HUMUS: The second line of the poem again makes the same point twice, once positively and once negatively: for the absence of work in the Golden Age see Ov.Met.1.99ff.; for *piger* and *quies* see above on 12.57.15/24.

The third line slightly varies the approach with a more direct reference to the inferiority of Jupiter's rule, characterized by his use, and need, of the *fulmen* (the repetition of the word makes the point with particular force). While Saturn is allowed to be, positively, *rex*, the *fulmen* (and, by association, Jupiter) is *regale nimis* - tyrannous. Under Saturn there was no need of such punishment. Cf. Ov.Fast.1.202 *inque Iovis dextra fictile fulmen erat*; H.Od.3.4.42ff. *scimus ut impios / Titanas immanemque turbam / fulmine sustulerit caduco*; Ov.Met.1.154f.; Sen.Ag.

340ff.

The fourth line makes a point in the manner of the second, but this time negatively and then positively. Like the discovery of sailing (Ov. Met. 1.94-96), that of mining is regarded as a fundamental disturbance of nature, and as epitomizing the increase of human greed as man degenerates. In Ovid's iron age (Met. 1.137-140),

> *nec tantum segetes alimentaque debita dives*
> *poscebatur humus, sed itum est in viscera terrae,*
> *quasque recondiderat Stygiisque admoverat umbris,*
> *effodiuntur opes, irritamenta malorum*

(see Bömer); cf. also H. Od. 3.3.49 *aurum irrepertum et sic melius situm* : *sibi dives* presumably carries this connotation ('kept its riches for itself' or sim.). *sed sibi* is Heinsius' certain reconstruction from the confusion of the mss. (B^A (*gloss.*) *nec mihi*; C^A *sed sis*).

ad manes is a common phrase for *ad umbras* and sim. *scindo* is more often used of breaking the ground in ploughing, but cf. Sen. HO. 1157ff. *feret Aetnaeos inde Caminos / scindetque latus montis aperti /…Enceladus.*

.5f. **LAETUS AD HAEC FACILISQUE VENI SOLLEMNIA PRISCI GAUDIA: CUM SACRIS TE DECET ESSE TUIS:** cf. Catul. 61.8f. *laetus, huc / huc veni niveo gerens*, a typical address in a κλητικὸς ὕμνος - see Kroll ad loc., N-H on H. Od. 1.2.30. Cairns (GC 92f.) would insist that the genre here is kletikon (*vocatio*) and that it is only hymnic by virtue of the addressee. M's most conventional example of this type of invocation is probably 8.21, a request to the dawn to come, because the Emperor will then appear (see Cairns 137). Compare *facilis* with *faciles…dei* at 12.6.10; Citroni on 1.103.4; TLL 6^1.62.28ff.

gaudia is common in M. as = 'something enjoyable' - cf. 1.15.8 *gaudia non remanent, sed fugitiva volant. sollemnia* suggests any customary rites (*sacris* restates the idea) - here those of the Saturnalia, to be combined with those for the home-coming. The god is, as usual, asked to be *praesens*

(see H.Od.1.35.2, with N-H), on his festival, which coincides with the home-coming of Priscus, on whom see above on 12.0 etc.

.7f. **TU…PATER OPTIME…REDDIS**: Once again the phraseology suggests Jupiter at first sight (*Optimus Maximus*), but is also another natural honorific: cf. Enn.Ann.491V *optima caelicolum, Saturnia, magna dearum*; Acc.trag.241 *O Dionyse, optime pater*; V.A.5.358; H.S.2.1.12. For Saturn addressed as *pater* see Lucil.25K; Gell.5.12.5. Having asked and argued for the god's favourable presence, M. proceeds to a more specific request. The anaphora of *te* from .6 onwards (including *tua / tuo* in .14f.) is also typical of the form (Norden Agnostos Theos pp. 149ff.).

REDUCEM PATRIAE SEXTA…BRUMA: For *redux* cf. 9.6.1 *de Libycis reduci tibi gentibus, Afer*, and especially 10.103.11 (of Bilbilis) *excipitis placida reducem si mente, venimus. bruma*, like other parts of the year, can be used to = *annus* in expressing periods of time - cf.4.40.5 *tecum ter denas numeravi, Postume, brumas* - although it usually has some literal force as well, here providing a further reminder of the Saturnalia (cf. 5.34.5, of the timing of Erotion's death, where the winter is probably intended to be a contributory cause).

PACIFICI LATIA…AB URBE NUMAE: Note the double enclosure in this line. *pacificus* seems to be simply an auspicious addition to Numa's legendary characteristics (religious zeal, strength of character, incorruptibility). He was supposed to have reformed the calendar and fixed the dates of the festivals, which may be relevant here. He is also a 'real' figure from the distant past (traditional dating 715-673 B.C.) which fits well with the Saturnian context: for his appearance in propaganda see Renate Zoepffel, 'Hadrian und Numa,' Chiron 8 (1978) 391-427; 12.6.8 above.

.9f. **CERNIS UT AUSONIO SIMILIS TIBI POMPA MACELLO / PENDEAT**: The third pair of couplets begins with a fresh calling of the deity to attention,

this time describing the preparations for the festival, and firmly associating the presence of the god with them.

For Ausonius (= 'Roman' or 'Italian') see on 12.6.1 above.

pompa is the 'procession', or splendid array, of dishes at a feast: Pl.Capt.769/771 *offers mihi…pompam, penum, potationes, saturitatem, gaudium* (see Lindsay); Varr.RR.1.2.11 (cf. SG 4.276f. 'A Catalogue of Table Delicacies from a Greek Comedy'). It can also refer to the *pièce de résistance* of a meal - Petr.60.5; M.10.31.3f.

For the *macellum* cf. 10.59.3f. *dives et ex omni posita est instructa macello / cena tibi*; Juv.11.10/64; Blümner PrA 641f.; RE 14.129ff. Of the three known *macella* at Rome, the first was just north of the forum, known simply as the *macellum* (Varro LL.5.147), and seems to have made way for later imperial fora; the other two were the *macellum Liviae*, built on the Esquiline by Augustus, and the *macellum magnum*, built on the Caelian by Nero. They consisted of a central space surrounded by porticoes and shops.

The point of *Ausonio…macello* (perhaps a slightly odd yoking of a grand epithet with a more down-to-earth noun) seems to be that Saturn, a thoroughly Italian deity, should be happy with the quality of this feast because, although taking place in Spain, no effort has been spared to equal the riches of Italian produce (which are often the subject of pride and praise in *laudes Italiae*, most notably at V.G.2.109ff.).

pendeat adds to the picture of the market with a suggestion of food hanging on a stall: presumably the dishes of the feast are thought of as laid out or 'displayed' in a manner which suggests the richly-supplied market.

.10 **ET QUANTUS LUXURIETUR HONOS:** *honos* = the mark of esteem or honour paid to the god - cf. e.g. V.A.1.49; *luxuria*, usually pejorative, seems to be appropriated here to a liberality proper to the festival: TLL 7^2

.1927.54ff. compares M.3.2.9; Ov.Ep.15(16).193f. *hanc faciem [Helenae] largis sine fine paratibus uti / deliciisque decet luxuriare novis.* Cf. also M.10.96.5f. *illa placet tellus in qua res parva beatum / me facit et tenues luxuriantur opes.*

.11 **QUAM NON PARCA MANUS:** A variation on the expression *plena manu* = 'generously', as at Cic.Att.2.25.1; Sen.Apoc.4.2; Ben.1.7.2. Cf. *larga manu*, V.A.10.620; *benigna manu*, Sen.Tran.10.6; *parca manu*, at H.Od.3.16.44.

LARGAEQUE NOMISMATA MENSAE: *nomismata* in this context are tokens, with symbols or verses on them, representing specific gifts (*apophoreta*), allotted to the guests in some random way and then exchanged by them for the gift itself (RE 2.174.31ff.): the word is an unusual Graecism, elsewhere in M. referring to the *tesserae* of the imperial *sparsio* - see Citroni on 1.11.1, Howell intro. to 1.11. *apophoreta* were given to dinner-guests, especially at the Saturnalia, but also at other times - see Marquardt Prl.313 f.n.5; cf. Petr.56.8f.; Suet.Vesp.19 etc.

larga mensa suggests general sumptuousness and generosity (cf. similar phrases at H.S.2.4.87; Colum.12.49.5; Tac.Ann.3.55.1), but here, as the next line confirms, the reference seems to be to the actual table, loaded with tokens and gifts.

.12 **QUAE, SATURNE, TIBI PERNUMERENTUR OPES:** *pernumerare*, with its emphasis on counting or paying out in full, could refer in some specific way to the *apophoreta*, possibly suggesting the exchanging of the tokens for the gifts (*opes* ?): its usual application is to money, and so the phrase may simply mean 'how much money is spent for your sake'.

Despite the long postponement of *Saturne*, the identity of the addressee has been clear from the start; here the vocative acts as a further insistence on the god's presence as a focus for the poem.

.13f. **UTQUE SIT HIS PRETIUM MERITIS ET GRATIA MAIOR,**

ET PATER ET FRUGI SIC TUA SACRA COLIT: M. takes a new complimentary tack in the final pair of couplets, the substance of which is that 'the quality of the person performing the *sacra* is such that it enhances your glory still further - so make many such feasts the lot of Priscus.'

meritum is anything deserved - for the god, his *sacra*. Priscus is a *pater* (presumably this = *pater familias*) and he is *frugi*, which has wider connotations of probity than mere frugality (see e.g. Plin.Pan.88.2; TLL 6¹.1457.4ff.), both of which attributes are clearly seen as enhancing the honour he pays to the god.

.15f. **AT TU SANCTE - TUO SIC SEMPER AMERE DECEMBRI - HOS ILLI IUBEAS SAEPE REDIRE DIES:** Cf. 10.28.7f.:

at tu, sancte pater, tanto pro munere gratus,
ferrea perpetua claustra tuere sera.

Farnaby: '*ut Prisco plurima indulgeas Saturnalia, id est diuturnum vitae usum*'. The anaphora of *tu* and the vocatives are maintained to the end. *tuo…Decembri* obliquely recalls the festival.

amare is used of **gods'** favourable regard for men (cf. 12.11.4; .52.13; .98.3): applied to men, in religious contexts, it = *colere* - cf. 9.29.6 *nec quae turba Sarapin amat*; 9.42.5 *sic Palatia te colant amentque*, which also illustrates the present use of *sic* in prayers (cf. H.Od.1.3.1ff. with N-H), analogous to English 'so help me God'.

The typical bargaining element is very much to the fore - the promise of continued worship in this style is made in exchange for Priscus' future happiness, prosperity and long life.

63

M's last poem on the plagiarism theme, for which see Citroni, Howell,

intro.s to 1.29; RE 20.1956ff.; E. Stemplinger, Das Plagiat in der griechischen Literatur. It is presented as a serious danger by some ancient writers. M. devotes a 'cycle' to the plagiarist Fidentinus in Book 1 (see Howell p. 168), and also deals with the topic at 2.20, 10.100, 11.94. Cf. Plin.Ep.2.10.3 *enotuerunt quidam tui versus, et invito te claustra sua refregerunt. hos nisi retrahis in corpus, quandoque ut errones aliquem cuius dicantur invenient*, and the elder Pliny's defence of his 'unusual' practice in quoting authorities (NH.praef.21-23); H.Ep.1.3.15ff. *quid mihi Celsus agit, monitus multumque monendus / privatas ut quaerat opes, et tangere vitet / scripta Palatinus quaecumque recepit Apollo*; Vitr.7.pr.4-7, where, at a poetry competition in Alexandria, one Aristophanes shows that the six *ceteros aliena recitavisse; oportere autem iudicantes non furta sed scripta probare*; Manil.2.57f. (note the similar phrasing) *nostra loquar, nulli vatum debebimus orsa / nec furtum sed opus veniet*; also Symmachus Ep.1.31.2.

The issue which we might most readily identify as plagiarism was usually called *furtum* (κλοπή), which is to do with the point past which *imitatio* within a written text becomes theft (see Russell, '*De Imitatione*', 11f. in Creative Imitation and Latin Literature, ed. D.A. West and A.J. Woodman), but a *plagiarius* seems to be a special type of thief - one who recites another poet's work and passes it off as his own (the difference might be illustrated by a comparison of the latter case with that of one comedian stealing another's jokes). M. also seems to imply (whether seriously or not) that all is well if the real poet is paid - e.g. 12.47(46), 1.66.12ff. In 1.66 M. describes the thief buying whole books and passing them off as his own - he points out that this is only going to work if the book is unknown, and suggests a business proposition. As Howell (p.106f.) notes, it is extremely unlikely that royalties were paid to

authors: the sale would most probably have been a 'one-off' transaction, the buyer purchasing the first chance of selling the work on a large scale.

For M's appropriation of the word *plagiarius* to literary theft see Citroni and Howell on 1.52.9 (the only use thus before the 15th century: see RE article, 1961f.). Its literal reference is to kidnapping, which is entirely in keeping with M's consistent personification of his books: Pliny's use of *errones* (above) is from the same metaphorical environment - cf. *mutare dominum*, 1.66.9.

But before the reader is aware of the real subject of the poem, it appears that M. is embarking on a panegyric of Corduba. This is done with great solemnity and in the full flight of a pre-existing generic framework: cf. H.Od.2.6 (see N-H, intro.), which shares with this poem references to the sheep of the Galaesus and the olive oil of Venafrum, as well as the assertion that the place praised produces the best of certain things. Men.Rh.3.383.18ff., in part of his treatment of the *epibaterion*, lays down the comparison of countries as an important part of praising a place, and, in the description of their φύσις, specifies crops and vegetation as points of comparison (384.4-14). This 'panegyric of place' is carefully pursued for nearly half the poem, and then suddenly shown to have been nothing more than a piece of flattery leading up to a pretended request.

.1 **UNCTO CORDUBA LAETIOR VENAFRO:** The opening words portentously suggest a serious address to the town (on which see Dolç 45-8; for another address to it cf. AL².405, attributed to Seneca). Corduba (modern Cordova) was a *colonia* in the province of Baetica (Andalusia), in southern Spain - the name is Iberian, and was presumably that of the town which existed on the same site before M. Claudius Marcellus 'founded' it in 152 B.C. It was famous for gold as well as oil (Sil.3.401; M.9.61). Since M. is back in Spain, a Spanish rival, and the extravagant praise of a Spanish place, is

topical. It is possible, however, that M's argument with Corduba's **poet**, so self-consciously dissociated from any criticism of Corduba itself, may in fact reflect regional rivalry. Corduba was, after all, by M's own admission (1.61.7f.), something of a Spanish literary landmark, having produced the Senecas and Lucan, and was at almost the opposite end of Spain from Bilbilis; this may add to the joke of M's **appearing** to write a panegyric about it. M's reference to it at 9.61.1f. helps to gloss *laetior* here:

> *in Tartesiacis domus est notissima terris,*
> *qua **dives** placidum **Corduba** Baetin amat.*

For *laetus* with a place-name, cf. Mela 1.61 *Arabia hinc ad Rubrum mare pertinet, sed illic magis laeta et ditior ture atque odoribus abundat*; Sen.Oed.845f. *laetus Cithaeron pabulo semper novo / aestiva nostro prata summittit gregi.*

Venafrum was an inland *colonia* in Samnium, in the valley of the Volturnus, famous for its olive-groves and oil (still produced there): Varro RR.1.2.6; Juv.5.86. The present comparison may be paralleled from H.Od.2.6.15f. (on Tarentum) *viridique certat / baca Venafro*, where N-H note the predictability of the appearance of the olive in encomia of landscapes - cf. Soph.OC.694ff.; V. Buchheit, Der Anspruch des Dichters in Vergils Georgika 1972 49ff. (on G.2.420ff.). Also RE 8A.670. Pliny's judgement on olive oils was as follows:

> *principatum in hoc quoque bono optinuit Italia e toto orbe, maxime agro Venafrano eiusque parte quae Licinianum fundit oleum, unde et Liciniae gloria praecipua olivae…relicum certamen inter Histriae terram et Baeticae par est; cetero fere vicina bonitas provinciis excepto Africae frugifero solo.* (NH.15.8).

Pausanias is equally nationalistic and gives pride of place to the product from Tithorea (10.32.19). See also Marquardt Prl.443; RE 8.2113.10ff.

uncto is used vividly to suggest 'producing / abounding in olives / oil', with all the associations of richness and celebration conveyed by

this adj. Cf. 11.6.1 *unctis falciferi senis diebus*, where it connotes symposia (Kay); H.Ars.422 *si vero est unctum qui recte ponere possit*, where it is a noun, and = 'a rich table' (see Brink ad loc.).

.2 **HISTRA NEC MINUS ABSOLUTA TESTA:** *absolutus*, of substances, = 'pure': Plin.NH.33.66 *nec ullum absolutius aurum est*; 36.161 *fossili natura (specularis), absolutus in se caementi modo*; Apul.Pl.1.5 *non ignem neque aquam neque aliud de principiis et absolutis elementis esse.*

Histria is the Italian peninsula in the northern Adriatic, bordering on Dalmatia, south of modern Trieste. The reference is once again to olive oil (see Pliny, quoted above).

A *testa* is not distinctively used for oil, being in fact the most general word for an earthenware storage vessel, often for wine (cf. H.Od. 1.20.2; 3.21.4); it also denotes a wine-cup: see Hilgers Gefässnamen 286f. Colum. 12.52.17 does feature it as a container for oil.

.3ff. **ALBI QUAE SUPERAS OVES GALAESI**
NULLO MURICE NEC CRUORE MENDAX,
SED TINCTIS GREGIBUS COLORE VIVO: H.Od.2.6.10f. *dulce pellitis ovibus Galaesi / flumen*; N-H suggest that the name itself, associated with γάλα, may have connotations of fertility and whiteness. The comparison claims superiority for Corduba because, while fleeces from the Galaesus region are to be prized for their pure whiteness, Corduba's go one better in being naturally **coloured**. At M.8.28.3ff. they are equally desirable:

> *Apula Ledaei tibi floruit herba Phalanthi,*
> *qua saturat Calabris culta Galaesus aquis ?*
> *an Tartesiacus stabuli nutritor Hiberi*
> *Baetis in Hesperia te quoque lavit ove ?*

cf. Plin.NH.8.191

> *colorum plura genera, quippe cum desint etiam nomina eis quas nativas appellant aliquot modis: Hispania nigri velleris praecipuas habet, Pollentia iuxta Alpes cani, Asia rutili quas Erythraeas vocant, item Baetica, Canusium fulvi, Tarentum et suae pulliginis*;

also Juv's attempt at explanation (12.38ff.):

> *…vestem*
> *purpuream teneris quoque Maecenatibus aptam,*
> *atque alias quarum generosi graminis ipsum*
> *infecit natura pecus, sed et egregius fons*
> *viribus occultis et Baeticus adiuvat aer.*

(see Mayor, Courtney); M.12.98.1f. suggests that *tinctis* here has a similar force. On these wools see Marquardt Prl.475-479; H. Blümner, Die Gewerbliche Thätigkeit der Völker des Klassischen Alterthums 129. There is no doubt that the sheep were **coloured**, but it is important to remember that, with a limited range of natural dyes available to them, what the Romans might have been prepared to accept as a naturally-occurring red was more likely a reddish brown. See André Couleur 87f. where he points out that the animals to which *rutilus* is applied can generally also be described as *fulvus*; it is used of dogs, like English 'Red' setters (Festus p.358L *rutilae canes, id est non procul a rubro colore*) and of 'red' hair. Corduba is also famous for fleeces which are *pullus* and *fuscus* (see Columella, below) .

M. is fond of mentioning this phenomenon - first at 1.96.5 *baeticatus*; at 9.61.3 a connection is made with the gold-bearing propensities of the river. Pavlovskis (Man in an Artificial Landscape 24), is probably strictly correct to assert that M. 'in speaking of his colorful sheep…is being not Virgilian but geographically exact', but the assertion of the superiority of these sheep must be intended to be enhanced by the reader's recollection of the coloured sheep of Vergil's Golden Age (Ecl.4.42-5).

Of those who treat the topic, Columella comes nearest the truth -

> *color albus cum sit optimus, tum etiam est utilissimus, quod ex eo plurimi fiunt, neque hic ex alio. sunt etiam suapte natura pretio commendabiles pullus atque fuscus, quos praebent in Italia Pollentia, in Baetica Corduba. nec minus Asia rutilos, quos vocant ἐρυθραίους. sed et alias varietates in hoc pecoris genere docuit usus exprimere.* (7.2.4).

He then goes on to tell a story (7.2.4f.), of his uncle cross-breeding coloured African rams (unfortunately he does not specify the colour!) with *tectas oves* and then Tarentine ewes, ultimately producing soft, coloured fleeces, which must point to the explanation of this phenomenon. See Dolç 40f.; K.D. White Roman Farming 302f.

For *murex* cf. 9.62.1 *tinctis murice vestibus*; *cruor* (like αἷμα) can be extended to vegetable juices and so, here, dyes (see TLL 4.1246.51ff.). 14.133 shows that M. also found this use of *mendax* and *tingere* pleasing:

non est lana mihi mendax nec mutor aheno.
sic placeant Tyriae: me mea tinxit ovis.

mendax, of course, suggests the belief that dyeing is a corruption of nature (cf. V.Ecl.4.42 *mentiri*), but it has a clear reference to the activity of the poet who is the real subject of the poem. For a more straightforward use of *tingere* cf.9.62.1; Tib.2.4.28 *niveam Tyrio murice tingit ovem.*

vivus = 'natural', 'occurring in nature', most commonly of rock-formations (see Austin on V.A.1.167f.), but cf. M.2.90.7f. *me focus et nigros non indignantia fumos / tecta iuvant et fons vivus et herba rudis.* There is also a word-play, as the colour is represented as part of the wool on the 'live' sheep.

.6f. **DIC VESTRO, ROGO, SIT PUDOR POETAE**
NEC GRATIS RECITET MEOS LIBELLOS: The real point of the poem, and the reason for addressing Corduba at all, is introduced with comic violence and a sudden drop in tone: *sit pudor* is colloquial and rude (see above on 12.56.4; Hofmann LU 200); cf. Cic.Att.14.16.4 *si quid in homine pudoris est*, which Shackleton Bailey translates 'if he has any sense of decency'. *dic* is also familiar, after the lofty opening address, which is thoroughly undercut.

vestro = *tuo*; Housman showed this to be the case at Catul.39.20 and

99.6, Ov.Am.2.16.2 and Sen.HO.1513, but this falls, as does 12.98.5, into his category of 'confusion or identification of a town or country with its inhabitants' (Papers 793). For a parallel phrase cf. 1.52.2f. (in a similar context) *nostros dicere si tamen libellos / possum, quos recitat tuus poeta.*

gratis might seem entirely natural in an accusation of poetic 'theft' - cf. 1.29

> *fama refert nostros te, Fidentine, libellos*
> *non aliter populo quam recitare tuos.*
> *si mea vis dici, gratis tibi carmina mittam:*
> *si dici tua vis, hoc eme, ne mea sint.*

(see Citroni, Howell) - but it is not clear to what exactly it refers, unless M. is suggesting that the 'poet' who wishes to pass the work off as his own should at least pay M. for the privilege (which seems to be the point of 1.66; cf.also 12.47(46) - *vendunt carmina Gallus et Lupercus…*). It is clear from .8ff. that there is a suggestion that the Corduban poet gets off 'scot-free', to which sense *gratis* can extend, and may do here: cf. Luc.4.275 *vincitur haud gratis iugulo qui provocat hostem.*

.8f. **FERREM, SI FACERET BONUS POETA,**
CUI POSSEM DARE MUTUOS DOLORES: The 'reason' for M's special dislike of this plagiarist is now introduced and expanded by analogy in the following lines: there is no point in M. plagiarizing the work of a literary nobody - the only **exact** return he could make - which of course serves to restate the familiar assertion that M. is himself a superlatively good poet. It is , perhaps, revealing that this is the only occasion on which a *bonus poeta* is mentioned by M.! The specious 'I could put up with it if you did x, but you do y', magnifying the fault by introducing irrelevancies, in order to state it as fully as possible, is a typical feature of invective: cf. Catul.39.10/17 *si urbanus esses…nunc Celtiber <es>…*.

For *mutuus* = '(done) in return' cf. Cic.Att.16.16a.3; Ov.Met.1.655f.

.10 **CORRUMPIT SINE TALIONE CAELEPS:** If a bachelor or widower seduces someone's wife, he cannot be cuckolded in return. For *corrumpo* = 'corrupt sexually', 'seduce', cf.Sen.Con.9.2.13 *matronam corrumpit*; Petr.106.2 *sed Lichas memor adhuc uxoris corruptae iniuriarumque*….

talio represents legalistically what M. means by *mutuos dolores*, 'punishment in kind', and so *sine talione* = 'with impunity' (*gratis*). Cf. Fest. p.496L ***Talionis*** *mentionem fieri in XII (8,2) ait Verrius hoc modo: 'si membrum rup<s>it, ni cum eo pacit talio esto'. Neque id quid significet, indicat, puto quia notum est; permittit enim lex parem vindictam*; Sen.Ep.81.7 *suum cuique reddere, beneficio gratiam, iniuriae talionem.* Presumably M. intends the introduction of a term which E&M characterize as '*rare et technique*' (p.674) to be incongruous. It also refers to a primitive legal (or perhaps pre-legal) notion of simple 'retaliation' for injury: see A. Berger Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Roman Law 730; J.A.C. Thomas, Textbook of Roman Law 369.

Augustus also legislated to encourage marriage, to stop great families dying out - see CAH 10.448ff.; N. Rudd The Satires of Horace 224-227. The *Lex Julia de maritandis ordinibus* of 18 B.C. offered various inducements to marriage and parenthood, one of which was a limitation of the rights of *caelibes* to inherit, so *caeleps* here may be a negatively-loaded term, suggesting an irresponsible person, not doing his duty by Roman society (or at least a popular view of this kind).

.11 **CAECUS PERDERE NON POTEST QUOD AUFERT:** The second illustration is more compressed, but coherent in terms of its correspondence with the previous line. 'An eye for an eye' is not to be achieved in this case.

.12 **NIL EST DETERIUS LATRONE NUDO:** M. changes the tone of his third example and introduces a note of frustration; *deterius* also makes an

incongruous jingle with *securius* in the following line. There is an added element of visual comedy in the picture of the *nudus latro*, and the reversal of the normal situation (in which the victim would be left *nudus*) is comical as well, but the essential point remains the impossibility of proper revenge. See Otto Sprichwörter §§1249f.: e.g. Pl.Asin.92 *nudo detrahere vestimenta me iubes*; Apul.Met.1.15.3 *an ignoras, inepte, nudum nec a decem palaestritis despoliari posse*; Sen.Ep.14.9 *nudum latro transmittit; etiam in obsessa via pauperi pax est*; Juv.10.22 *cantabit vacuus coram latrone viator* (see Mayor's collection of examples).

nudus can be extended to mean 'devoid of wealth', 'penniless' etc. (cf. H.Od.3.16.23; S.2.3.184; Juv.6.232), but clothes themselves, being in no sense 'made to measure' and therefore, within limits, interchangeable for a Roman, were worth stealing (at Petr.30.8 a slave is to be beaten because his master's dinner clothes were stolen while he was bathing - and cf. Pl.Rud.383ff.; Dig.47.17 *de furibus balneariis*).

.13 **NIL SECURIUS EST MALO POETA:** *malo* is more or less inevitable after *bonus* above. The 'argument' is finally made explicit in the comically proverbial form. For the phrase cf. Ov.Pont.2.2.31 *fortuna miserrima tuta est*; also M.4.83.1f. *securo nihil est te, Naevole, peius; eodem / sollicito nihil est, Naevole, te melius.*

64

Cinna is attacked not just for homosexuality, but gourmet (or possibly just gluttonous) homosexuality, the joke depending on a double meaning of *gulosus*, the object of Cinna's attentions being his *coquus*.

.1f. **VINCENTEM ROSEOS FACIEQUE COMAQUE MINISTROS / CINNA COCUM FECIT:** Clearly Cinna is to be envisaged as having a large establishment of pretty

slave boys, which is important to the joke in *gulosus*. The name Cinna was a common one (Kajanto 54, 106f.), and is used frequently by M.

For *roseus* see André Couleur 112: its normal application is to feminine beauty, and it is a favourite epithet of M's for *pueri delicati*.

That they are specifically *ministri* is important to the mealtime ambience of the poem as well as to the joke, for they are presumably employed for other skills than cooking (or serving wine): from Ganymede onwards they are notoriously effeminate, and often the catamites of the master - see Kay p.127. 10.66 is very much to the point here:

> *quis, rogo, tam durus, quis tam fuit ille superbus*
> *qui iussit fieri te, Theopompe, cocum ?*
> *hanc aliquis faciem nigra violare culina*
> *sustinet, has uncto polluit igne comas ?*
> *quis potius cyathos aut quis crystalla tenebit ?*
> *qua sapient melius mixta Falerna manu ?*
> *si tam sidereos manet exitus iste ministros,*
> *Iuppiter utatur iam Ganymede coco.*

On what makes a good cook, cf. 14.220:

> *non satis est ars sola coco: servire palatum*
> *nolo: cocus domini debet habere gulam.*

facieque comaque is an obvious pairing, of physical beauty, especially here, since *facie* relates to *roseos* and *coma* to the fact that they would be *capillati*.

cocum fecit, thus emphasized by postponement to the beginning of the next line, is obviously intended to be intrinsically comical: a cook might be expected to be a greasy, unromantic figure, as 10.66 shows.

.2 **CINNA, GULOSUS HOMO ES**: C^ alone preserves the correct reading, *es*, which the other two groups have changed to *est* to harmonize with *fecit*. As Heraeus points out in his apparatus, the movement from third to second person thus is not uncommon in M. The sudden change to a personal address intensifies the attack.

gulosus = 'fond of / greedy for good food' (Juv.11.19f. *quadringentis*

nummis condire gulosum / fictile; M.13.71.1f. *dat mihi penna rubens nomen, sed lingua gulosis / nostra sapit*) and so the joke would be that Cinna has chosen his cook as would a connoisseur, not of food but of boys. For an application of the word to daintiness about something other than food cf. 10.59.5, of a fastidious reader, and [Quint.] Decl.min.333.2 (Winterbottom) *gulosos figurarum ducet haec species*. But the stress may be on gluttony (cf. 7.20.1ff. *nihil est miserius neque gulosius Santra…*; 12.41, above): greed is very much to the point here, since Cinna is not content with his *roseos ministros*.

65

A reworking of the theme of 12.55 (*gratis qui dare vos iubet, puellae*) from the point of view of the satisfied and generous lover, suddenly turning to an attack on drunkenness for a surprise ending: for the theme in general and the female drunkard in particular see Brecht Spottepigramm 66f. It is also to be found in M. at e.g. 1.28; 1.87; 5.4; cf. Juv.6.300ff. On Roman attitudes to women who drink see Balsdon RW 213; 232.

The twist, then, is a simple one: M. reports a night of passion gratefully remembered, ponders a conventional thank-you gift for his *amica* (see on 12.55) and she then states her preference - 6 gallons of wine.

METRE: Choliambic - see on 12.10.

.1 **FORMONSA PHYLLIS:** *formosus* is an obvious adj. of feminine beauty (see above on 12.49.12; TLL 6¹.1111.25ff.). It is generally avoided in epic, which strongly favours *pulcher*, but relatively common in elegiac: see P. Watson ('Axelson Revisited,' CQ 35.2 430ff.) 439-441, who shows that *pulcher* 'is an objective term describing physical or moral beauty,' whereas 'the most common use of *formosus* is as an epithet of humans who are

sexually attractive. As such it is firmly entrenched in the *sermo amatorius*, where it frequently refers to *puellae…*'. Here it is a significant first step in M's strategy to trick the reader into supposing that this epigram contains no personal attack.

Phyllis is a name used elsewhere of courtesans or prostitutes, who often have Greek names - see Kay on 11.29.2; 12.49 (both on a similar theme to that of the present poem); cf. Prop.4.8.29f.; H.Od.4.11.3.

.1f. **NOCTE CUM MIHI TOTA / SE PRAESTITISSET OMNIBUS MODIS LARGAM:** Cf. 9.67.1ff.:

> *lascivam tota possedi nocte puellam*
> *cuius nequitias vincere nulla potest.*
> *fessus mille modis illud puerile poposci:*

Juv. 6.405f.

> *dicet quis viduam praegnatem fecerit et quo*
> *mense, quibus verbis concumbat quaeque, modis quot.*

also PLM 4 p.73 *modos omnes dulcis imitata tabellas transeat*; Ov.AA.2.680; Am.3.7(6).64; 3.14.24; M.12.43.5 *Veneris novae figurae.*

For this use of *largus* cf. e.g. Pl.Asin.598 *audin hunc opera ut largus est nocturna*; see K-S 2.1.385 (§7a).

praestare is used as here at 12.43.7 (*novae figurae…praestent et taceant quid exoleti*).

.3 **ET COGITAREM MANE QUOD DAREM MUNUS:** The hyperbaton stresses *quod*, and therefore highlights M's 'agonizing' over the choice of *munus*, on which see RAC 3.1165ff. ('Dirne'); M.11.49(50), with Kay. The theme is probably most familiar from Ovid - e.g. Am.1.8.61f., 67f. (quoted in intro. to 12.55 above).

That M. envisages himself as being still with her *mane* presumably places the woman higher up the scale than a brothel-prostitute.

.4 **UTRUMNE COSMI, NICEROTIS AN LIBRAM:** For the famous perfumer Cosmus

see above on 12.55.7; Niceros is also mentioned in 6.55 and 10.38, and then once more, at Sid.Carm.19.323f., presumably copied from M. The context here shows that he is a rival of Cosmus, manufacturing a product of a comparable quality: in the other three instances, the adj. *Nicerotianus*, suggesting a 'brand-name', is used. On ancient perfumes see RE 1A.1851.48ff.

.5 **AN BAETICARUM PONDUS ACRE LANARUM**: On this sort of wool, and its desirability (because of its colour), see above on 12.63.3-5.

pondus = *libra* (about 3/4 lb. avoirdupois; 340 grams): cf.Var.LL.5.169; M.7.53.12. This is obviously a generous quantity of both perfume and wool.

acer is a striking colloquial use: cf. H.S.2.6.69f. (of 'strong' drink) *seu quis carpit acria fortis / pocula seu modicis uvescit laetius*; 2.8.36 *nil sic metuentis ut acris / potores*; TLL 1.361.79ff. The tone is slangy, the sense 'huge', 'enormous', undermining any exactness in *pondus*, so that the amount is no more specific than 'lots of'.

.6 **AN DE MONETA CAESARIS DECEM FLAVOS**: See on 12.55.8 (*binos quater a nova moneta*) above: here the amount, 10 *aurei* (= 250 *denarii*), is even more extravagant: Friedländer concluded that this must reflect the cost of the wool in the previous line, which could only be true in a very approximate sense (the amount is fantastic). The point is that it constitutes a substantial gift: the cash-value of generosity can vary significantly across a range of commodities.

.7 **AMPLEXA COLLUM**: Cf. e.g. Cael.orat.15 *proximae cuiusque collum amplexu petebat*; Cic.Phil.2.77 *in collum (mulieris) invasit*; Catul.9.8f. *applicansque collum / iucundum os oculosque saviabor.*

.7f. **BASIOQUE TAM LONGO / BLANDITA QUAM SUNT NUPTIAE COLUMBARUM**: For *basium* see above on 12.55.9f., where the virtue of the kisses lay in the manner of their execution - here M. is impressed by their prolongation, which fits in with the postponement of *blandita* and the sense of

deliberation which he is suggesting. Cf. 2.6.4 *longas…oscitationes*; 8.11.5 *longa…gaudia*.

blandita suggests persuasive, ingratiating behaviour - e.g. H.Od. 3.11.15f. *cessit immanis tibi blandienti / ianitor aulae*; Plin.Ep.1.2.6 *nisi…auribus nostris bibliopolae blandiuntur*; M.2.26.4 *blanditur Naevia, non moritur* (part of a joke against a *captator*). But it is also used in this specific comparison: cf. 8.32.2 *blanda columba*; 11.104.9 *basia me capiunt blandas imitata columbas*, where the emphasis is on **voluptuous** kissing (see Kay); Plin.NH.10.109 *est…ars illis* (sc. *columbis) inter se blandiri et corrumpere alias*; Ov.Am.2.6.56 *oscula dat cupido blanda columba mari*. Doves were thought of as very affectionate, although, paradoxically, this was sometimes because they were observed to be highly sexed and sometimes because of their monogamy. See D'Arcy Thompson Birds 240f.; Otto Sprichwörter §414. Here it is the mating of the birds to which M. refers (for *nuptiae* and sim. as a metaphor for sexual intercourse see Adams LSV 159f.).

.9 **ROGARE COEPIT PHYLLIS AMPHORAM VINI**: *coepi* may be used periphrastically, with the force of an inchoative aorist in Greek (see K-S 1.569f.; Löfstedt Peregr.209). Here *coepit* also suggests a touch of coyness in Phyllis' approach and allows M. to postpone the real request further.

Just as the drinking of *merum* is a common focus in the attack on drunkenness, so **quantity** is often stressed: in 1.11, for example, both elements may be found. *amphora*, as a liquid measure, would come to about 6 gallons (roughly 27 litres) - see e.g. Cato Agr.57; Plin.NH.9.133; 14.97; Sen.Ep.77.16; TLL 1.1987.44f.; Blümner PrA.152f.; Marquardt Prl.647f. At 1.27 M. and Procillus share about 25 litres, which is there presented as enough wine to make M. unguarded about giving out invitations !

66

Addressed to, and attacking, Amoenus, who is attempting some amateurish profiteering on the property market: he has bought a shack for more than its value and is now trying to sell it. In a valiant attempt to double his money, he tries to make it look good to a potential buyer (who seems to be M's author-persona - see on .8) by fitting it out lavishly: he hopes to trick the buyer into thinking that he is getting the contents with the house. It seems such an obvious ploy that the joke, if any, must be at the expense of Amoenus' stupidity.

.1 **BIS QUINQUAGENIS DOMUS EST TIBI MILIBUS EMPTA:** The mechanism of the epigram demands that 100,000 sesterces is a very small amount to pay for a house - precise information for this period is lacking (and limited to Rome, which need not be the setting of the poem): Cicero had bought a house on the Palatine for 3,500,000 sesterces (Fam.5.6.2; cf. Gell.12.12.2); Juvenal claims that a luxury bath (in a private house) might cost 600,000 (7.178); Fronto spent 300,000-350,000 on a bath (Gell.19.10.4). See SG 2.187ff. = 2.329ff.

.2 **VENDERE QUAM SUMMA VEL BREVIORE CUPIS:** For *summa* cf. 10.75.9f. *centum iussit me mittere nummos; / sed visa est nobis haec quoque summa gravis*; for *brevis*, 12.6.9 *breves extendere census*; Quint.Inst.1.10.43 *brevioribus numeris* etc.

.3 **SED EMPTOREM CORRUMPIS:** *corrumpere* is most familiar in M. in the senses 'seduce' (4×) and 'bribe' (twice): here M. uses the word subtly, as the *emptor* is to be bribed and seduced by the deceptive contents of the house (which include *pueri*, so even the specific sexual sense is apt) into paying twice what Amoenus paid for it. For the sense here, Paley and Stone compare the expression διαφθείρειν τήν γνώμην (Aesch.Ag.931f.) - διαφθείρειν can have both the senses of *corrumpere* favoured by M.

ARTE…VAFRA: Cf. M's other two uses of *vafer*: 6.64.26 *stigmata nec vafra delebit Cinnamus arte*, and the close association with *ars* at 11.31.15ff.

> *hinc cellarius experitur artes,*
> *ut condat vario vafer sapore*
> *in rutae folium Capelliana.*

Both occur in contexts involving the presentation of one thing as something else. The adj. can be used of subtleties of argument or law (e.g. Gell.6.3.34; H.S.2.2.131); *ars* is commonly a stratagem - e.g. Juv.1.123 *hinc petit absenti* (sc. *uxori*) *nota iam callidus arte*; M.5.18.6.

AMOENE: Only found here in M., the name was in fact quite common, especially among slaves and freedmen - see TLL 1.965.4ff.; Kajanto 73, 282 (he treats it as a slave-name suggesting agreeableness, like Acceptus, Blandus, Gratus etc). Obviously it is intended to be comic, perhaps even suggesting an estate agent's clichéd description of a house ('well-presented' might be a modern English equivalent in this context), certainly making reference to the mode of deception the owner of the house is employing to make the sale. The phrase *locus amoenus* is already found (e.g. Cic.Att.12.19.1; Fin.2.107), and it is doubtless also relevant that the adj. is often applied to houses - e.g. Cic.Att.3.20.1 *aedibus amoenissimis*; Sen.Ep.55.8 *vidi in villa hilari et amoena maestos*; Tac.Hist.3.30 *amoenissimis extra urbem aedificiis*; Plin.Ep.5.18.1 *frueris mari fontibus viridibus agro villa amoenissima.*

.4 **ET CASA…LATET**: The *domus* is only a poor *casa* , which the price has already led the reader to suspect. Cf. 11.34:

> *aedes emit Aper sed quas nec noctua vellet*
> *esse suas; adeo nigra vetusque casa est.*
> *vicinos illi nitidus Maro possidet hortos.*
> *cenabit belle, non habitabit Aper.*

The *aedes…casa* progression in that poem has an effect similar to that of the movement from *domus* to *casa* here. Vitruvius, describing the development

of dwellings from ancient times, says *non casas sed etiam domos fundatas et latericiis parietibus aut e lapide structas materiaque et tegula tecta perficere coeperunt* (2.1.7), presumably implying that a *casa* may lack these advantages. For the *casa* as the habitation of the poor man, see the examples collected at TLL.3.509.26ff.

latet comically exaggerates the scale of the deception, the details of which M. has not yet explained.

DIVITIIS AMBITIOSA: *ambitiosa*, characteristically personifying the house, has connotations of tactical, self-seeking behaviour - perhaps, in the environ of *corrumpis*, lurks the notion of *ambitus* ? The adj. is used of various types of ostentation - cf.1.0.12 *si quis tamen tam ambitiose tristis est*; H.Ars.447f. *ambitiosa recidet / ornamenta* (of style, see Brink); Tac.Agr.42.5 *ambitosa morte inclaruerunt*; Quint.Inst.6.4.6 *illum…ambitiosum declamandi sudorem*; TLL 1.1857.15ff.

divitiis acts as a trigger for the next 2 couplets.

.5 **GEMMANTES PRIMA FULGENT TESTUDINE LECTI:** Cf. the list of Postumilla's possessions at 12.49.4; more specifically 9.59.9 and 14.87; Juv.11.94ff.

> *qualis in Oceano fluctu testudo nataret,*
> *clarum Troiugenis factura et nobile fulcrum;*
> *sed nudo latere et parvis frons aerea lectis*
> *vile coronati caput ostendebat aselli*

- see Mayor: tortoise-shell *triclinia* came into fashion under Tiberius; cf. Var.LL.9.47 *lectos alios ex ebore, alios ex testudine*; Plin.NH.9.39; 16.232f.; Lucian Asin.53 κλίνη ἦν μεγάλη ἀπὸ χελώνης Ἰνδικῆς πεποιημένη χρύσῳ ἐσφηκωμένη, cf. Apul.Met.10.34.4 *lectus Indica testudine perlucidus, plumea congerie tumidus, veste serica floridus*; RE 3.371f.; Blümner PrA.117 f.n.2; Technologie.2.377 f.n.2; Marquardt Prl.310. *prima* = 'top quality'; cf. M.1.51.1 *non facit ad saevos cervix, nisi prima, leones*, with Citroni.

For *gemmantes* cf. Sen.Ep.110.12 *non est autem quod te nimis laudes si*

contempseris aureos lectos et gemmeam supellectilem; Ov.Met.3.264f., with Bömer, for *gemmans = gemmatus*; Lucan 10.119ff. *ebur atria vestit / et suffecta manu foribus testudinis Indae / terga sedent, crebro maculas distincta zmaragdo*; also C.L. Ransom (Williams) Couches and Beds of the Greeks, Etruscans and Romans 55f.

fulgere is commonly used of such decorated surfaces - e.g. Lucr.2.27 *nec domus argento fulget*; [Tib.] 3.4.37f. *fulgens testudine et auro /…lyra*; Stat.Silv.2.4.11 *domus rutila testudine fulgens.*

.6 **ET MAURUSIACI PONDERA RARA CITRI**: For this luxurious wood, the tables made of it, and the prices paid for them, see Marquardt Prl.722f.; Plin.NH. 13.95ff.; Strabo 17.3.4; M.2.43.9f.; 9.22.5 (both with a single ivory leg); 14.89 and Lucan 9.426ff.

> *…tantum Maurusia genti*
> *robora divitiae, quarum non noverat usum,*
> *sed citri contenta comis vivebat et umbra.*
> *in nemus ignotum nostrae venere secures,*
> *extremoque epulas mensasque petimus ab orbe.*

pondera rara, since the great size of these tables was noted as a luxurious feature (see e.g. in Pliny), is doubtless intended to suggest something remarkably massive. For the phrase (which may be intended as mock-epic grandiloquence), cf. 9.48.5 *inter quae rari Laurentem ponderis aprum.*

The adj. *Maurusiacus* survives only here (presumably *metri causa*; M. uses the usual adj., *Maurus*, of this wood at 14.89.1). Cf. Vitr.8.2.6 *Maurusia, quam nostri Mauretaniam appellant.*

.7 **ARGENTUM ATQUE AURUM NON SIMPLEX DELPHICA PORTAT**: *argentum* and *aurum* are often coupled thus in contexts of wealth and ostentation - see TLL 2.521.71ff. and, e.g., M.5.59.1; 13.48.1.

non simplex Delphica is a 3-legged table in the shape of a Delphic tripod, heavily ornamented: CIL 6.10215 DONO DELPHICAE AEREAE CUM OMNI

CULTU EXORNATAE. This is an extravagant item of furniture: keeping .5 in mind, *non simplex* most naturally suggests that it would be remarkable unadorned, but that this one is adorned. Cf. H.Od.1.5.5 (*Pyrrha*) *simplex munditiis*; Ov.Met.8.319 *crinis erat simplex*; Sen.Ep.100.6 *luxuria non contenta decore simplici*. Friedländer, comparing H.Od.4.14.13 (*plus vice simplici*), thought *non simplex* meant *non una* (cf. *non unius balnea*, 12.50.2), which is not unattractive in the context, but rather more strained. The table appears to serve the purpose of an *abacus* or 'sideboard' like that at Juv.3.204 (see Mayor's note); cf. the *triclinia* of tortoiseshell and silver described at Plin.NH.33.146; see Richter, Furniture 116.

portare is slightly unusual in a context not involving motion (though cf. Stat.Silv.4.2.29 *Luna…portandis tantum suffecta columnis*) - there may be an incongruity in its juxtaposition with *stant pueri* , at the beginning of the next line. Axelson (UW 30f.) noted an anomaly about the usage of this verb - that it was avoided by good prose writers, and so might be thought colloquial, yet it occurs frequently in poetry.

.8 **STANT PUERI DOMINOS QUOS PRECER ESSE MEOS:** For the sentiment, cf. 12.18.22ff. *dominus* is equivalent to the use *domina = amica* ('mistress'), and so has a similar joke embedded in it to that at 11.70.2 *plorantis dominos vendere, Tucca, potes* - slaves are paradoxically called 'masters' (see Kay ad loc.).

Presumably the intrusion of M's persona here is intended to suggest that he is the person to whom Amoenus is trying to sell the house, and so he can 'vouch' for the details.

.9 **DEINDE DUCENTA SONAS ET AIS NON ESSE MINORIS:** *sonas* obviously suggests the loud, hectoring insistence of the owner that this price is his 'last word' (although the reader knows, from .2, that he is prepared to

take less than 100,000): the verb often introduces or indicates direct speech - e.g. V.Ecl.6.44; Ov.Met.6.597; Sil.15.742 and especially M.2.43.1f. κοινὰ φίλων *haec sunt, haec sunt tua, Candide,* κοινά, / *quae tu magnilocus nocte dieque sonas.*

non esse minoris draws attention to Amoenus' deceit, because 200,000 is twice what he paid for it; it might also suggest blustering real estate rhetoric.

.10 **INSTRUCTAM VILI VENDIS, AMOENE, DOMUM:** As e.g. Cic.Ver.2.2.84 (*domum…exornatam et instructam*) suggests, the sense is probably more 'equipped' or 'fitted out' than simply 'furnished' - cf. M.5.62.8 (gardens); 3.45.2 *(mensa) illa quidem lauta est dapibusque instructa superbis.* The word is stressed by its initial position, and the final position of *domum*, and the force is probably 'fitted out like this'.

For *vili vendere / emere* (without *pretio*) see K-S 2.1.391.

67

A poem in praise of Vergil, comparing the keeping of his birthday with two important religious festivals in Rome (which also happen to occur on the Ides of a month), and linking a wish for the long life of the (unnamed) addressee with the observance in the same way that it might be linked with the festival of a god (cf.12.62.15f.). M. himself clearly revered Vergil greatly (see e.g. 3.38.8; 5.56.5; 11.52.18; 12.3.1).

THOUGHT:

.1 The Ides of May are Mercury's feast
.2 The Ides of August are Diana's feast,
.3 The Ides of October are hallowed by Vergil's birthday.
.4 May you often observe the feasts of Mercury and Diana [= *vivas*]
.5 who piously observe Vergil's birthday.

.1 **MAIAE MERCURIUM CREASTIS IDUS:** Mercury, the patron of merchants

(whose festival this had become), was yoked with Jupiter and Maia in a festival on the Ides of May: the Ides of every month were sacred to Jupiter and it is possible that identification of Mercury with Hermes and a Greek myth which made Hermes the son of Zeus are part of the reason for this. Mercury was in turn associated with Maia, possibly because his oldest temple at Rome (on the slope of the Aventine, facing the Circus Maximus) was dedicated on the Ides of the *mensis Maius*, and Maia was also popularly connected with the month. See Festus p.120L (and cf. p.135L); Macr.Sat. 1.12.18f.; Platner-Ashby 339; Fowler, Festivals 120f.

creare does not seem to be used thus (= 'bear', 'see the birth of') elsewhere with a **date**, but the poetic use of it with places is very similar: cf. M.10.103.1f. *municipes, Augusta mihi quos Bilbilis acri / monte creat, rapidis quem Salo cingit aquis*; Ov.Met.13.358 (with Bömer); TLL 3.1158.72ff. Cf. Plin.Pan.92.4 *diem illum triplici gaudio laetum, qui principem abstulit pessimum, dedit optimum, meliorem optimo genuit.* Note the personal address of the Ides, typical of M's love of personification (cf. intro. to 12.2, above).

.2 **AUGUSTIS REDIT IDIBUS DIANA**: The Ides of August was the *dies natalis* of the temple of Diana on the Aventine, probably the date imported from her shrine at Aricia: see above on 12.18.3 (*collis Dianae*); Stat.Silv.3.1.55ff.; Festus p.460L; Platner-Ashby 149f.; Fowler, Festivals 198ff.; Experience 234; RE 5.331.35ff. (Wissowa). Presumably the point is not only that these dates are the 'birthdays' of the temples, but also that a religious significance is being attached to the celebration of Vergil's birthday.

redire is commonly used of a recurring event: cf. Ov.AA.1.415f.: *quaque die redeunt rebus minus apta gerendis / culta Palaestino septima festa Syro.*

.3 **OCTOBRES MARO CONSECRAVIT IDUS:** Plin.Ep.3.7.8 *(Silius Italicus) multum ubique librorum, multum statuarum, multum imaginum, quas non habebat modo, verum etiam venerabatur, Vergili ante omnes, cuius natalem religiosius quam suum celebrabat, Neapoli maxime, ubi monimentum eius adire ut templum solebat* - see Sherwin-White. Suet.poet. p.72 (Rostagni) records the Ides of October as Vergil's birthday. Cf. Stat.Silv.2.7, on Lucan's birthday, to his widow Polla. The Epicureans kept Epicurus' birthday as a religious festival; birthdays were always religious occasions in any case (see above 12.60 intro.).

For *consecrare* = *immortalem reddere, beare* ('hallow' or sim.), see TLL 4.384.43ff., where this passage is cited; OLD is perhaps correct to attempt to distinguish a more specific sense here as 'to set apart (a day) as a festival', comparing Liv.23.10.8 *ite obviam Hannibali, exornate urbem diemque adventus eius consecrate, ut hunc triumphum de cive vestro spectetis.*

.4 **IDUS SAEPE COLAS ET HAS ET ILLAS:** This is the same type of wish for longevity of the addressee as was noted at 12.62.16; *colere* = *celebrare*, of a birthday - see 12.60.3 - and of other religious rites - see 12.62.14. *et has et illas* obviously refers to the feasts mentioned in the first two lines.

.5 **QUI MAGNI CELEBRAS MARONIS IDUS:** Cf. 11.48.1 *Silius haec magni celebrat monimenta Maronis.* As Kay remarks, *celebrare* suggests religious awe: he compares Cic.Flac.95 *sepulcrum L.Catilinae…hominum audacissimorum…conventu epulisque celebratum est.* Cf. also H.S.2.2.60f. *ille repotia natalis aliosve dierum / festos albatus celebret.*

For the epithet cf. 11.48.1 above; 4.14.14 (addressed to Silius) *magno…Maroni*; 12.3.1 *summo…Maroni*; also 7.22.1 (of Lucan's birth) *magno…ortu*; H.S.1.10.52 *tu nihil in magno doctus reprehendis Homero.*

68

An ironic reversal of M's consistent motif in this book, of having left Rome to escape the bustle of city life, and especially the *salutatio* - cf. 12.18.3-5; 12.29. Here, M. is **subjected** to it: presumably part of the comedy is intended to spring from his sudden elevation to the role of *patronus* in his home town. He makes no other complaints about being **woken** by the insistent attentions of clients, but cf. the *querulus cliens* of 1.49.33; the same phrase at 4.88.4; cf. Stat.Silv.4.4.41f. *nec iam tibi turba reorum / vestibulo querulique rogant exire clientes*; V.G.2.461f. (see on .1); H.S.1.1.9f. *agricolam laudat iuris legumque peritus, / sub galli cantum consultor ubi ostia pulsat.*

.1 **MATUTINE CLIENS, URBIS MIHI CAUSA RELICTAE:** The poem opens with a joking reference to M's reasons for leaving Rome: in fact he himself was the *cliens* there, and he resented **performing** the *salutatio*, which was the cause of the sleeplessness which he suffered in Rome (.5f.).

For the personal use of *matutinus* cf. V.A.8.465 *Aeneas se matutinus agebat*, with Fordyce; K-S 1.236f.

The early-morning nature of the exercise is often stressed: cf. 12.29 .1/8 above; 1.55.6 *et matutinum portat ineptus Have*; 4.8.1 *prima salutantes atque altera conterit hora*; V.G.2.461f. *si non ingentem foribus domus alta superbis / mane salutantium totis vomit aedibus undam*; H.Ep.1.7.75 *mane cliens et iam certus conviva* (and cf. his concluding advice at Ep.1.5.30f. *tu quotus esse velis rescribe, et rebus omissis / atria servantem postico falle clientem*); Plin.Ep.3.12.2 *officia ante lucana*; Mayor on Juv.1.128.

urbs = *Roma* - see on 12.2.1.

For the phrase *urbis relictae* cf. 9.40.2 *Romam cum peteret Pharo relicta.*

.2 **ATRIA, SI SAPIAS, AMBITIOSA COLAS:** Cf. 12.18.10f. where M. uses

colimus with some Spanish place-names to stress that he is avoiding this activity there; 3.38.11, where *atria magna colam* is presented as one of the ways in which the naive Sextus thinks he will be able to live at Rome - M's answer is *vix tres aut quattuor ista / res aluit, pallet cetera turba fame*. *atria ambitiosa* = *atria ambitiosorum*. Cf. the use of *ambitiosus* at 12.66.4; the idea may, as there, be one of tactical, self-seeking and ostentatious behaviour, but the adj. may also denote a (proper) eagerness for glory and advancement - in either case the suggestion is that one should frequent houses of those who are successful (specifically successful *causidici*, given the sequence of thought in .2-3 ?) and wish to build up an impressive *turba clientium* by means of handouts: cf. Rhet.Her.2.5 *si dicet pecuniae causa fecisse, ostendat eum semper avarum fuisse, si honoris ambitiosum*; Cic.Tusc.5.79 *quae perferant…ambitiosi honoris causa*; Balsdon LL 21. So this is not necessarily denigratory, as we might at first assume, and indeed the idea may be present that the sensible *cliens* should himself be *ambitiosus*.

The *atrium* is the venue for the *salutatio* - see on 12.2.10.

The rhyme *sapias…colas* is an example of an effect cultivated by the elegists at the principal caesura and the end of the pentameter, occurring in all of them in between 20% and 24% of cases, although, of those, 90% rhyme the termination of a noun and adj. agreeing with it (M. Platnauer, Latin Elegiac Verse 49).

.3 **NON SUM EGO CAUSIDICUS NEC AMARIS LITIBUS APTUS**: *causidicus* is often pejorative, suggesting a lucrative but contemptible profession - see Wilkins on Cic.de Orat.1.202; Austin on Quint.Inst.12.1.25; Mayor on Juv.7.113/136 - and indeed the second half of this line seems to view advocacy as a tiresome business to which the cultured poet is not suited (Calderini: '*litibus amaris. i. molestiis et proprium epitheton est*

litis'). M. appears to be saying, simply, 'I'm not going to be any use to you because I'm not a pleader', but cf. 4.8.1f. *prima salutantes atque altera conterit hora, / exercet raucos tertia causidicos*, which may suggest that this is also a specific reference to **morning** activities which he wishes to avoid. Cf. also 1.17 (with Howell) and 2.30, with reference to M's unwillingness to practise oratory.

For *amarus* cf. Prop.2.16.29 *aspice quid donis Eriphyla invenit amaris* (Enk - *'quae ei tristem exitum attulerunt'*); Juv.13.247f. *poena gaudebis amara / nominis invisi. aptus* = 'good at': cf. M.11.60.1 *sit Phlogis an Chione Veneri magis apta requiris.*

.4 **SED PIGER ET SENIOR PIERIDUMQUE COMES**: The poet is described as the *comes* of the muses at Varro.Men. p.214.1ff. (Riese) *Pieridum comes / quae tenet cava geloque acri [horrida] montium / saxa*; also Lucr.3.1037; V.A.9.774; Stat.Theb.8.549; Prop.3.2.13; Ov.Tr.4.1.20. Cf. also H.Od.1.26.1 *musis amicos* (see N-H).

For *Pieridum* see on 12.2, 12.11 above; for *piger* cf. 12.18.10; 12.57.15 (both, once again, in the context of reasons for returning to Spanish country life); H.S.1.4.12 *piger scribendi ferre laborem*, and especially M.6.43.9f. *nunc urbis vicina iuvant facilesque recessus, / et satis est, pigro si licet esse mihi*; also 10.24.8 *ut nondum nimia piger senecta.*

The adj.s neatly make a high-poetic conceptualization of the poet's role into a comic self-description of M., and this leads on to the specific point, and joke, of the final couplet.

.5f. **OTIA ME SOMNUSQUE IUVANT, QUAE MAGNA NEGAVIT / ROMA MIHI**: The sentiment might be compared with H.Ep.2.2.78ff. *rite cliens Bacchi somno gaudentis et umbra: / tu me inter strepitus nocturnos atque diurnos / vis canere et contracta sequi vestigia vatum ?* (see Brink - Bacchus is envisaged as endowing his **clients** - cf. *comes* above - the poets with the

enjoyment of sound sleep). Cf. also *desidia* etc. at 12.0.2; Stat.Theb. 3.3ff. *…otia somni / accipit; invigilant animo scelerisque parati / supplicium exercent curae*; want of *somnus* in the *urbs* is also a straightforward motive for leaving Rome at several points in this book (see e.g. 12.18.13ff.; .29.7; .57.3ff./15/24) - here the reference to *magna Roma* is ironical, since, for all her greatness, she can't provide M. with these basic necessities (for the epithet cf. H.S.1.5.1; also *maxima Roma* at M.7.96.2; 10.58.6). *magna* may also suggest the size and bustle of the city, which keep M. awake.

For *iuvant* cf. 6.43.9, quoted above; for *negavit* cf. 12.57.4 *negant vitam.*

.6 **REDEO, SI VIGILATUR ET HIC**: Much of the comedy lies in the baldness and apparent logical simplicity of the statement, and this effect is aided by the enjambment of .5f. (see Salemme 59). *vigilare* has the connotation not merely of wakefulness, but of actively spending (extra) time awake, as the life of the *cliens* forces him to do - see above on 12.18.16 *ter denos vigilaveram per annos.* For the ending cf. the final line of 10.74 (*iam parce lasso, Roma, gratulatori, / lasso clienti…*): *quid concupiscam quaeris ergo ? dormire.*

Bilbilis is the last place in which M. has expected to be woken up, and especially in this role - *et hic*, finishing the line and the poem with 2 monosyllables, is very pointed - it is his practice to break the disyllable 'rule' at the end of an epigram to add force to the final point (see above on 12.50.8), more usually with a trisyllabic, or longer, word. For another monosyllabic ending cf. 4.7.6.

69

A distich complimenting Paulus on his choice of friends by saying that it reflects his discrimination in matters of art.

.1 **SIC TAMQUAM TABULAS SCYPHOSQUE**: For *tabula* = *tabula picta*, cf. Cic.de Orat.1.161 *tabulis et signis propalam conlocatis*; Suet.Jul.47 *tabulas operis antiqui*; M.4.47.1 *encaustus Phaethon tabula tibi pictus in hac est*; 11.102.3f.

A *scyphus* (σκύφος) was a large, two-handled drinking-goblet with no stem - here, like the paintings, presumably a 'collectable' (see Hilgers Gefässnamen 275 for costly examples). M. uses the word twice elsewhere, both times of 'antiques': at 7.72 (on which see below), also to a Paulus, and 8.6.11f. (*hic scyphus est in quo misceri iussit amicis / largius Aeacides vividiusque merum*), in a poem which begins *archetypis vetuli nihil est odiosius Aucti*. For the form of the cup see Hilgers Gefässnamen 274ff.; Marquardt Prl.652, fig.22; D-S 4.1159ff.; RE 3A'.688f.; also Athen.498a-500c; N-H on H.Od.1.27.1, where *scyphi* are employed as missiles in a drunken brawl.

PAULE: Paulus was a very common name - see Kajanto 243 ('pejorative' = 'of small stature') - and is found often in M. The significant parallel here is with 7.72, where M. addresses Paulus and, among other good wishes, hopes, that, at the Saturnalia, *sed lances ferat et scyphos avorum / aut grandis reus aut potens amicus* (.4f.). If the present poem is a compliment (see below), he is presumably a real person, here at least.

.2 **OMNES ARCHETYPOS HABES AMICOS**: It should be noted in any attempt to explain this line that the postponement of *amicos* to the end makes it clear that M. expects it to be surprising after *archetypos*, so the joke may not be much more than a piece of linguistic incongruity.

Commentators, in search of a more typical point, have tried to read

this as suggesting that Paulus' friends are **not** genuine: see e.g. Friedländer, Bridge and Lake (more recently Izaac (1933) and L. Herrmann, Latomus 34 (1975) 759). To this suggestion Housman (Papers 737) replied

> Why, when Martial says a thing, do his commentators suppose him to mean the opposite? The title in β is *laus amicorum*, and that is the gist of the epigram. The friends of Paulus, like the works of art in his collection, are all genuine, all patterns of true friendship straight from the Creator's hand. This is perhaps the Paulus of VII 72, who seems to have been something of a connoisseur…

The interpretation of the poem depends on the exact meaning of the first two words - *sic tamquam* with an indicative, as here, can only convey an exact comparison - 'just like': Petr.39.13 *sic orbis vertitur tamquam mola.*

archetypus, in its surviving occurrences, seems to have a positive, or a neutral, connotation, but never a negative one. It may be used as a t.t. which = the modern bibliographical 'autograph', an original ms. in the author's own hand, the oppposite of an apograph: e.g. Cic.Att.16.3.1 *sed tamen idem* σύνταγμα *misi ad te retractatius, et quidem* ἀρχέτυπον *ipsum crebris locis inculcatum et refectum*; M.7.11

> *cogis me calamo manuque nostra*
> *emendare meos, Pudens, libellos.*
> *o quam me nimium probas amasque*
> *qui vis archetypas habere nugas.*

Then, more broadly, it = 'original', *exemplar* (cf. Anth.Plan.4.151 (Anon.) ἀρχέτυπον Διδοῦς, a portrait of Dido 'as she really was'), and, apart from at 7.11.4., M. uses it to mean (genuine) antiques, as in 8.34

> *archetypum Myos argentum te dicis habere.*
> *quod sine te factum est hoc magis archetypum est ?*

This seems to be addressed to a forger who hasn't made the piece in question and therefore thinks he can get away with claiming that it is an 'original' (Mys was a contemporary of Pheidias - late middle 5th century BC - who worked in silver: he is mentioned at Paus.1.28.2, Athen.11.782b and Plin.NH.33.155). So OLD rightly corrects the interpretation of L&S here

('friends that cost nothing') to '(transf., of friends) genuine'.

It is true that this seems rather lame for a distich, although perhaps the reader can be too ready to look for invective in M. If it is the simple compliment on which Housman wished to insist (and, as noted above, the straightforward incongruity of following *archetypos* with *amicos* may, for M., provide a sufficient joke), perhaps M. expects his reader to know that he counts himself among Paulus' friends, and part of the joke may lie in the characteristic compliment to himself.

70

THOUGHT:

.1 - .3: Aper used to frequent the baths in comic and sordid poverty
.4 - .6: and he used to denounce those who drank there.
.7: He recently inherited 300,000
.8: and now he never leaves the baths sober.
.9: What a difference riches make:
.10: Aper was not thirsty when he could not afford a drink.

Aper is attacked in 12.30 for being *siccus, sobrius*, so M. intends this to be a follow-up poem: here the persona is not merely boringly strait-laced, but a hypocritical moralist. The scene is set in the baths, and M's insistence on this backdrop throughout the poem suggests that, to M's eye, it has inherent potential for social comedy (cf.12.82). Perhaps Aper's desperate desire to show off there, and his jealousy of the equestrian drinkers, suggest that his very frequenting of the baths will be a recognizable sign of (comic) social pretension to the Roman reader - cf. Juvenal's picture of Tongilius at 7.129ff., and Seneca's fulminations about modern bathing at Ep.86.6ff.

.1 **LINTEA FERRET APRO VATIUS CUM VERNULA NUPER**: The first three lines build up a parodic picture of a bathing routine, to establish the extent of

Aper's poverty as well as his fanaticism about drinking: this is probably intended to be a reversal of a more usual *topos*, of the decadent bather with his retinue of slaves (see e.g. Juv.7.130f.; Balsdon LL 29ff.). Galen (13.597) thought daily bathing effeminate; Seneca (Ep.86.12), musing on the social effects of the lavish baths of his day, concluded *postquam munda balnea inventa sunt, spurciores sunt*. Cf. also the story at SHA 1.17.6f., in which Hadrian, seeing an old soldier at the baths rubbing himself against a wall because he couldn't afford attendants, gives him slaves and money for their upkeep and is confronted, on visiting the baths again, with the sight of numbers of old men expectantly rubbing themselves against the wall.

The *vatius vernula* is a comically worthless slave: *vernula*, as well as being a derogatory diminutive, makes the point that this is a slave whom Aper has not had to buy and who is not, therefore, very valuable - cf.5.37.20 *deflere non te vernulae pudet mortem* ? ; also, self-deprecatingly, of M's own books, at 5.18.4 *praeter libellos vernulas nihil misi*. *vatius* ('knock-kneed') is a very rare adj. (only here in M. - it survives also as a cognomen: see Kajanto 17, 242), intended to add to the comic picture of deformity and worthlessness and to produce a marked alliteration.

A *linteum* was a linen towel for use at table (Catul.12.3; Petr.28.2) and after bathing - M.14.51.2; Juv.3.262f. *iam lavat et bucca foculum excitat et sonat unctis / strigilibus et pleno componit lintea guto*; Apul.Met.1.23.8; Sen.Ep.95.47; Plin.NH.28.55.

.2 **ET SUPRA TOGULAM LUSCA SEDERET ANUS**: As noted above on 12.63.12, clothes were often stolen at the baths, and so a slave might watch over them. *supra* can = 'in charge of' - cf. Vitr.7.pr.5 *qui supra bybliothecam fuerunt*; Quint.Decl.min.353.3 (Winterbottom) *dicet hunc sibi placuisse*

servum, et ideo supra rationes esse positum. Cf. also Petr.56.8 *puer…super hoc positus officium.*

togula, like *vernula* above, is a derogatory diminutive, not one denoting size - it is a contemptible *toga*: Cic.Pis.55 *togulae lictoribus ad portam praesto fuerunt*; Att.1.18.6 *noster…Pompeius togulam illam pictam silentio tuetur suam*; M.6.50.2; 9.100.5 *trita quidem nobis togula est vilisque vetusque.*

lusca anus, the one-eyed old woman, is a stock target for M.- see above on 12.22.1, P.Watson, G&R 29.1 (1982) 71ff. and Grassman Epoden 13; this was possibly a new contribution by M. to the *vetula-Skoptik* tradition. For the *anus*, cf. also H.Od.1.25.9f., with N-H, and the following reference to a play title, Acc.poet.17(19F) *nec Geminei lenones…nec Plauti anus.*

.3 **ATQUE OLEI STILLAM DARET ENTEROCELICUS UNCTOR:** This is the final, and also the most grotesque, functionary in Aper's bathing retinue. Cf. 12.83 (*derisor Fabius hirnearum…*). M's only other reference to an *unctor* is similarly disparaging - 7.32.6 *et rapit inmeritas sordidus unctor opes.* *enterocelicus* (= 'suffering from a hernia of the bowel, rupture') is obviously a comical piece of technical medical vocabulary: Celsus' information about the word is interesting (7.18.3) *enterocelon et epiplocelon Graeci vocant: apud nos indecorum sed commune his hirneae nomen est*; see Kay on 11.84.5, *inplicitas…enterocelas* ('strangulated hernias'). As with *vatius*, above, the obscurity of the word is probably intended to be funny. Like those at 12.83 this hernia clearly adds a grotesque visible deformity to the slave's appearance: cf. AP.11.342 (Anon.)

κήλην κηλήτου μὴ φαινομένου προτέθηκας.
μή μοι τὴν κήλην, αὐτὸν ἰδεῖν δέομαι.
(Lucillius)

and also 6.166, about Dionysios, who is hanging up a picture of his hernia as a votive offering because it caused him to float away from a shipwreck

in which 39 others died!

Moreover, as another hyperbolic sign of beggarliness, the *unctor* can only use *stillam olei*. For *oleum* cf. Plin.NH.15.19 *strigmenta olei*; CIL 11.3811 BALNEUM CUM OLEO GRATUITO DEDIT. This is M's only use of *stilla*: cf. Suet.frg.176 (p.292 Reifferscheid) *gutta imbrium est, stilla olei vel aceti*.

.4 **UDORUM TETRICUS CENSOR ET ASPER ERAT**: *udorum* for the pointless *nudorum* of the codd., emended by Lipsius - cf.5.84.5 *udus aleator*, 'the boozy gambler'. There is presumably a punning reference to *modo lotus* in .6; cf. the fairly common similar meaning of *madidus*, TLL 8.37.32ff.

For *censor*, cf.Cic.Cael.25 *fuit in hac causa pertristis quidam patruus, censor, magister*; H.Ars.174 *castigator censorque minorum*; Phaedr.4.10.5 *alii simul delinquunt, censores sumus*. For *tetricus*, cf. 1.62.2 *et quamvis tetrico tristior ipsa viro*, with Citroni - it is a rare adj., mostly occurring in poetry, a few times in Seneca's prose (e.g. Ep.36.3) and late writers. It is applied by M. sarcastically to those aspiring to old-world moral values (Kay on 11.43.1). *asper* '…is almost a t.t. of Stoicism' (Austin on Quint.Inst.12.1.38).

5f. **FRANGENDOS CALICES EFFUNDENDUMQUE FALERNUM**
CLAMABAT BIBERET QUOD MODO LOTUS EQUES: The call to break the glasses is usually to do with an *os impurum* (see 12.74.10, below), but here Aper is merely being peevish because he can't afford a drink: his teetotalism is the more comically hypocritical by reason of its hysterical pitch (*clamabat*). Pouring out Falernian would likewise normally signify decadent extravagance: Petr.28.3 *tres interim iatraliptae in conspectu eius Falernum potabant, et cum plurimum rixantes effunderent, Trimalchio hoc suum propin esse dicebat*; Prop.2.33.39, with Enk.

The *eques* is presumably introduced as a social superior, with more

money to throw about, of whom Aper is jealous. On the availability of drink (and food) in the baths, see above on 12.19.1; T. Kleberg, Hôtels, Restaurants et Cabarets dans l'Antiquité Romaine 51-3; also Sen.Ep.122.6, Quint.Inst.1.6.44, and Plin.NH.14.139, on those who reached the dining table drunk as a result. *modo lotus*, associating the drinking closely with the bathing seems, in Aper's perception, to make the action all the more reprehensible.

.7 **A SENE SED POSTQUAM PATRUO VENERE TRECENTA:** Typically, after he dwells at some length on the comic description of Aper at the baths, the mechanism of M's joke is extremely economical. The inheritance is probably intended to seem a comically low amount to produce the violent change of moral heart in Aper which follows, being 100,000 sesterces short of the equestrian census, directly after the *eques* of the previous line.

For *venire*, of money or gifts, cf. 8.78.9 *nunc veniunt subitis lasciva nomismata nimbis*.

On the stock figure of the stern and censorious *patruus*, see Austin on Cic.Cael.25 (quoted above on .4); also H.Od.3.12.2f.; S.2.2.97; .2.3.88; Pers.1.9ff.

.8 **SOBRIUS A THERMIS NESCIT ABIRE DOMUM:** The roundabout negation of *sobrius* directly recalls 12.30.1, and the phrase *nescit abire domum* delightfully suggests advanced inebriation: Aper's sudden reversal of behaviour is described with an exaggeration commensurate with the earlier description of him. For the phrase cf. H.Epod.11.20 *iussus abire domum ferebar incerto pede*.

.9 **O QUANTUM DIATRETA VALENT ET QUINQUE COMATI:** The *O* adds a note of (mock-) emotion or passion (see Fordyce on Catul.46.9): cf. 11.87.3 *o quantum cogit egestas* ! For *valere*, cf. Pl.Aul.265 *di inmortales, opsecro, aurum quid valet*; Nep.Att.5.3; V.A.11.229.

diatreta are costly drinking-vessels, often with open-work decoration or chasing: see Hilgers Gefässnamen 169; Marquardt Prl.754f.; RE 5.352f.; Forbes Technology 5.173f., who believes that these are a particular kind of cut glass. The *quinque comati* (presumably pretty young slave boys) are also a natural sign of status (cf.12.64), although it is essential to M's point that this is a comparatively small number. See Juv.5.56ff., with Mayor.

.10 **TUNC, CUM PAUPER ERAT, NON SITIEBAT APER**: A heavily ironic reappraisal of Aper's erstwhile teetotalism in the formulation 'when he could not afford to drink he was not thirsty.'

7 1

.1 **NIL NON…MIHI NEGAS ROGANTI**: Note the alliteration. The opening is intended to introduce the expectation of a joke about meanness: cf. 12.25.1 *cum rogo te nummos sine pignore, 'non habeo,' inquis.* The form of expression is also itself a comic inversion - 'there's nothing you won't **deny** me when I ask…'.

LYGDUS: Λύγδος was an outstandingly white Parian marble: see Serv.A. 1.593; M.6.13.3; 6.42.21. It is used by M. as a name for *delicati* at 6.39.13; 6.45.3; 11.73.1; 11.41.7 - see Kay: it was the name of a favourite eunuch of the younger Drusus (Tac.Ann.4.10; PIR² *L* 465).

.2 **AT QUONDAM MIHI, LYGDE, NIL NEGABAS**: M. uses *nil negare* to = *fellare*: see Adams LSV 213; cf. 4.12:

> *nulli, Thai, negas, sed si te non pudet istud,*
> *hoc saltem pudeat, Thai, negare nihil.*

11.49.12 displays a more developed example of this joke, where the double meaning is produced, after 11 lines detailing the *munera* which Phyllis has extracted from M., in the punch-line *nil tibi, Phylli, nego; nil mihi,*

Phylli, nega (see Kay's note); see also 12.79.4.

72

THOUGHT:

.1f.: You have bought a small plot of land in an unpleasant neighbourhood with a tumble-down shack on it.
.3f.: You have deserted the city lawsuits, the small but certain income of the forum, which were your 'estate'.
.5f.: You used to sell farm-produce when you were a *pragmaticus*: now you're a farmer you have to buy it.

Cf. 3.47 and 3.58, where Bassus is mocked for having to carry large quantities of supplies to his villa *sub urbe* (3.58.45), because it produces nothing. Also 11.18, on Lupus' gift to M. of a comically tiny *rus sub urbe*.

.1 **IUGERA MERCATUS PROPE BUSTA LATENTIS AGELLI**: These '*iugera*', it turns out, cannot produce the most basic staple foods, and *agelli* may be the first clue to the punch line. For a comically small plot of land, cf. Juv.3.230f. *est aliquid, quocumque loco, quocumque recessu / unius sese dominum fecisse lacertae*; AP.11.249 (Lucillius):

Ἀγρὸν Μηνοφάνης ὠνήσατο καὶ διὰ λιμὸν
ἔκ δρυὸς ἀλλοτρίας αὐτὸν ἀπηγχόνισεν.
γῆν δ' αὐτῷ τεθνεῶτι βαλεῖν οὐκ ἔσχον ἄνωθεν,
ἀλλ' ἐτάφη μισθοῦ πρός τινα τῶν ὁμόρων.
εἰ δ' ἔγνω τὸν ἀγρὸν τὸν Μηνόφανης Ἐπίκουρος
πάντα γέμειν ἀγρῶν εἶπεν ἄν, οὐκ ἀτόμων.

prope busta latentis adds a comic touch of insignificance to the lack of salubrity of the location: not only did *busta* line the roads out of major cities, but they were also notoriously the haunt of Roman prostitutes (indeed Fellini's Roma would have us believe that they still are). Cf. Cic.Dom.112 *signum de busto meretricis ablatum*; Juv.6 015f. *cum quibus Albanum Surrentinumque recuset / flava ruinosi lupa degustare sepulchri*; M.1.34.8 *abscondunt spurcas et monumenta lupas*; 3.93.14f. *cum te lucerna balneator extincta / admittat inter bustuarias moechas*. They are probably

prostitutes of the lowest class.

.2 **ET MALE COMPACTAE CULMINA FULTA CASAE:** *culmen* = 'roof': V.Ecl.1.68; A.8.456; Ov.Met.5.291; M.4.64.10 *celsae culmina delicata villae* - here, however, not *delicata* but *fulta* ('propped up') and belonging not to a *villa* but a *casa*. Cf. Sen.Ep.90.10 *furcae utrimque suspensae fulciebant casam*; Juv.3.193.

compingo = 'put together, build', a verb much used by Vitruvius, e.g. 4.6.4 *fores ita compingantur, uti scapi cardinales sint…*; also Lucr.2.446 *haec…necessest…/ quasi ramosis alte compacta teneri*. M's only other use of the word is of the construction of a reed pipe (reeds and wax - 14.64 (63).1). *male* insists on the shabbiness of the building (cf. e.g. Liv.1.25.12 *male sustinere arma*, where the idea is 'unskilfully').

.3 **DESERIS URBANAS, TUA PRAEDIA, PANNYCHE, LITES:** The *lites* (cf. *amaris litibus* at 12.68.3), carefully postponed to the end of the line and a slight surprise after *praedia*, are the first clue to Pannychus' occupation.

For the literal sense of *praedia*, cf. 6.5.1 *rustica mercatus multis sum praedia nummis*. At first sight, this appears to be a simple joking equation of Pannychus' work in the city with an income-producing estate. The third couplet reveals, however, that it is the beginning of a subtler joke, because he was paid in kind for his legal work and sold the excess - thus the *lites* were *praedia* to him. This ushers in the final paradox, that, while he was a *pragmaticus*, his *lites* functioned as *praedia*, but when he became a farmer he has to buy basic staple foods.

There is a jingle with *praemia* in a parallel position in the following line: cf. the word play at the end of 11.18, after a virtuoso display of expressions of comic smallness (.25ff.)

> *errasti, Lupe, littera sed una:*
> *nam quo tempore praedium dedisti,*
> *mallem tu mihi prandium dedisses.*

Note also the marked alliteration of 'p' in the couplet (*praedia, Pannyche, parvaque, praemia*), which emphasises the essential elements and ties the comic name to them. This line displays another example of the phenomenon termed 'inserted apposition' by J.B. Solodow (see above on 12.24.1), here with the commoner two-word insertion.

Pannychus is a name which might be expected to have erotic overtones: παννύχος can = 'lasting all night'. Cf. Pannychis at Petr.25f., and see S. Priuli, Ascyltus: Note di onomastica petroniana 51. All M's other uses of it (2.36; 6.39; 6.67; 9.47) are in sexual contexts: here it must be felt as an added comic touch.

.4 **PARVAQUE SED TRITAE PRAEMIA CERTA TOGAE**: This is presumably a signal of Pannychus' low status in the legal profession; for the phrase cf. Sal.Cat.41.2 *pro incerta spe certa praemia.*

The *toga* is associated with the law courts, sometimes specifically with the advocate: Plin.Ep.1.22.6 *in toga negotiisque versatur, multos advocatione plures consilio iuvat*; M.2.90.2 *gloria Romanae, Quintiliane, togae.* But it was also worn by, e.g., all clients performing their *salutatio* (12.18.5 etc.): his wearing of it need not suggest that Pannychus actually practised advocacy, which would conflict with the description of him as a *pragmaticus* (cf. also 7.51.5 quoted below). *tritus* is the real point: he would presumably wear his best *toga* in court to impress his clients, and what he does wear betrays his lack of material success. The next line explains this - he was paid in kind. For the phrase, cf. 3.36.9 *hoc merui, Fabiane, toga tritaque meaque*; 9.100.5 *trita quidem nobis togula est vilisque vetusque.*

.5f. **FRUMENTUM, MILIUM TISANAMQUE FABAMQUE SOLEBAS VENDERE PRAGMATICUS, NUNC EMIS AGRICOLA**: Cf. 4.46, on Saturnalia presents to Sabellus, a *causidicus*, including *farris semodius fabaeque*

fresae (.6). Here the list is less exaggeratedly comic than in that poem, indeed the point here is that corn, millet, barley and beans are staple foods, with which Pannychus must have been paid and which are easily saleable. They are also the sort of produce that one might expect from more conventional *iugera* than his; see André, L'alimentation 35, 52-4; L.A. Moritz, Grain-Mills and Flour in Classical Antiquity xviiff., and, on *tisana* (πτισάνη - 'husked grain' generally, and barley being the husked grain *par excellence* in Greece), 147.

For *pragmaticus* cf. Juv.7.122f. *si quater egisti, si contigit aureus unus, / inde cadunt partes ex foedere pragmaticorum* - i.e. he has to be paid for his advice on the points of law, which the *causidicus* may not know - see Mayor, Courtney; Cic.de Orat.1.198 *apud Graecos infimi homines mercedula adducti, ministros se praebent in iudiciis oratoribus, ei qui apud illos* πραγματικοὶ *vocantur*; Quint.Inst.12.3.4 *neque ego sum nostri moris ignarus oblitusve eorum qui velut ad arculas sedent et tela agentibus subministrant, neque idem Graecos quoque nescio factitasse, unde nomen his pragmaticorum datum est*, with Austin; Friedländer SG 1.162, 166f = 1.181, 187. Friedländer believed that, because the Pompeius Auctus of 7.51 is clearly a *pragmaticus* and he *ultoris prima Martis in aede sedet: / iure madens varioque* ***togae*** *limatus in usu* (.4f.), he must have performed a function analagous to that of a modern instructing solicitor, and might sometimes work as a barrister as well. It is surely more likely, given the specific information provided by Cicero and Quintilian, that *pragmatici* also wore the *toga*. Indeed the combined evidence of 7.51 and the present poem seems to make it certain, at least in M's experience. In any case, *pragmatici* are at the humbler end of the legal profession, and the present case is a comically humble one.

The final twist is in the pointed contrast, at the end of each half of

the pentameter, of *pragmaticus* and *agricola*: the final word is the more comic because Pannychus was more like a farmer when he was a hack solicitor (because he then sold surplus food crops) than he is now that he has become a farmer.

73

A distich in which the addressee is encouraged to prove his vaunted good intentions - probably by getting on with it and dying (cf. 12.40 where the ever-obliging friend responds to such a promise *nil volo: sed morere*): Catullus tells M. that he is named as *heres*, M. replies that he won't believe it until he reads it, which will presumably not happen until Catullus is dead. It is conceivable that the point is not so extreme: M. only says that he won't believe it until he reads it, so he could merely be satirizing this type of 'ingratiating' behaviour (and calling the man a liar). On wills see Balsdon LL 127-129.

At Petr.71.1 Trimalchio tells his guests that he is setting all his slaves free in his will (as Balsdon, LL 113f., points out, by the *lex Fufia Caninia* of 2 B.C., this was illegal - only fixed proportions of various sizes of household could thereafter be freed in a will, with an absolute limit of 100). He goes on to name Fortunata as his principal heir, and two of the slaves who will be freed as receiving inheritances. Then *…ille oblitus nugarum exemplar testamenti iussit afferri et totum a primo ad ultimum ingemiscente familia recitavit* (71.4) - obviously a familiar performance. While not many men might indulge in regular readings of their wills at dinner parties, there is evidence in Valerius Maximus for the situation which M. attacks here: at 7.8.5-9 he tells stories of men on their deathbeds farewelling friends with promises that they will be

legatees. Then, when the will is read, they are not mentioned. So, presumably, the type of person M. is describing is crassly trying to win friends by this approach: M. not only doesn't believe the protestations, but doesn't like the person anyway (this method of making friends is probably sufficient to attract his dislike).

M. sends a present of cheap, locally made, drinking goblets to his friend Flaccus, and turns an apology for doing so into a justification, on the grounds of the day-to-day usefulness of cheap vessels. This suddenly becomes a joke about a situation in which 'disposable' glasses will be a godsend - when Flaccus has to toast someone who is *impuro ore*.

.1 **DUM TIBI NILIACUS PORTAT CRYSTALLA CATAPLUS**: *dum* = 'until' (for the indicative after *dum* in this sense see K-S 2.378f. §7a). The present is at first offered apologetically, as a stop-gap while Flaccus waits for his imported drinking vessels, then M. works up a specious advantage for his gift over the luxury item.

κατάπλους was used with special reference to a fleet or convoy sailing down the Nile (see LSJ s.v. §I.2): M. is stressing the 'genuine Egyptian' origin of the crystal-ware for which Flaccus is waiting.

For *Niliacus* cf. 14.115, quoted below: Egypt was an early centre of glass production (cf. *toreumata* below), and Alexandria the headquarters of the industry. Crystal, however, which first seems to have become sought after in Rome between 20 and 7 BC, and did not become a readily available commodity there until the reign of Tiberius, at first came primarily from Syria (see Forbes Technology 5.166-168; Plin. NH. 36.192 also says *auctores sunt in India et crystallo fracta fieri et ob id nullum conparari Indico*).

It would seem that by the time M. is writing the Egyptians have responded to the challenge. Cf. also 14.115,

aspicis ingenium Nili: quibus addere plura
dum cupit, ah quotiens perdidit auctor opus !

For *crystalla* = 'crystal cups / glasses' see 8.77.5 *candida nigrescant vetulo crystalla Falerno*; 9.22.7; 10.66.5; Stat.Silv.3.4.58; Apul.Met.2.19; Hilgers Gefässnamen 161.

.2 **ACCIPE DE CIRCO POCULA FLAMINIO:** The *Circus Flaminius* was built in 221 B.C. in the southern part of the *Campus Martius* and gave its name to the surrounding area. It eventually became the official designation of the city's *regio IX* and money-changers apparently operated in its arcades (see Platner-Ashby 111-113; Nash Pictorial Dictionary 1.232f.), where other shops could also be found. Here it is obviously intended to suggest a local Roman shopping area in contrast to *Niliacus*.

.3f. **HI MAGIS AUDACES, AN SUNT QUI TALIA MITTUNT / MUNERA:** M. puns on *audax*, which he also applies to cheap glassware at 14.94 (see below): of glasses the sense seems to be developed, perhaps with deliberate incongruity, from that of things which are 'boldly' constructed or used (e.g. Daedalus' wings, Ov.Ep.17(18).49; the construction of the pyramids, Stat.Silv.5.3.49). Of the giver, it implies boldness in giving such lowly vessels as a present: naturally this is only a feint, introducing a justification on grounds of their usefulness.

.4 **SED GEMMIS VILIBUS USUS INEST:** Some mss. read *geminis*, from which came Gruter's conjecture *geminus* ('a double advantage', Ker), but Lindsay rightly retains *gemmis*: cf. 14.94

nos sumus audacis plebeia toreumata vitri,
nostra neque ardenti gemma feritur aqua.

and also Lucan 10.159ff. *manibusque ministrat / Niliacas crystallos aquas, gemmaeque capaces / excepere merum…*. While it originally referred to a cup

made of crystal (or other precious material) or one decorated with gems (Hilgers Gefässnamen 23ff.), as 14.94 shows, M. enjoyed using it sarcastically of cheaper vessels, here to effect an oxymoron.

For *vilis* cf. 14.102.1 *accipe non vili calices de pulvere natos.*

.5 **NULLUM SOLLICITANT HAEC…TOREUMATA FUREM:** *toreuma* refers to engraved or embossed work, here providing yet another synonym for *pocula* (.1 *crystalla*; .2 *pocula*; .4 *gemmis*; .5 *toreumata*; .10 *calix*). See Hilgers Gefässnamen 24 and f.n.81; Cic.Ver.2.4.38 *dicitur habere eum perbona toreumata, in his pocula quaedam,…summo artificio facta*; M.11.11.1; 14.102.2. Here and at 14.94 (see above), like *gemma*, it is applied ironically to inexpensive, rough ware (perhaps there is some joke about the roughness of the finish to the touch - cf. Juv.5.37ff. *ipse capaces / Heliadum crustas et inaequales berullo / Virro tenet phialas*, with Courtney's note).

For the *fur*, cf. Hermogenes the napkin thief, 12.28(29); Juv.5.39f. *tibi non committitur aurum, / vel, si quando datur, custos adfixus ibidem, / qui numeret gemmas, ungues observet acutos* (see Mayor); for this phrase, Sen.Ep.68.4 *furem signata sollicitant.* Here, however, the dinner guests need not be the only potential thieves.

FLACCE: The name Flaccus appears 22 times in M., and is often supposed to be the same **real** person, and a close friend of M. (some of the poems are very frank), in all cases (see Howell on 1.57; Kay on 11.27; White Patronage 113ff.; A. Cartault Mélanges Boissier 106). At 11.80 he is the owner of a Baian villa, which would be in keeping with luxurious tastes.

.6 **ET NIMIUM CALIDIS NON VITIANTUR AQUIS:** Cf. 14.94.2 above: the *crystalla* are so delicate that hot water mixed with the wine in them (see 12.60.7) could crack them. For *vitiare* = 'damage', cf.Plin.NH.28.237 *spasmata et percussu vitiata fimo apruno curant vere collecto et*

arefacto(!); Ulp.dig.39.2.24.5 *si…aqua vitiet fundamenta.*

.7f. **QUID QUOD SECURO POTAT CONVIVA MINISTRO
ET CASUM TREMULAE NON TIMUERE MANUS?**: Cf. 14.108, 11.11.2 - in both of which the **slave** is afraid of dropping the expensive cup (perhaps the point of .8); 14.111 - which argues that the anxious handling which expensive crystal demands will cause a breakage as surely as carelessness would. At Petr.50.7 Trimalchio says that he prefers glass because it doesn't smell, and that he'd prefer it to gold if it didn't break so easily. Pliny (NH.33.5) says that the fragility of such glass was an attraction to those who wished to show off their opulence: cf. Trimalchio's attitude to the silver dish dropped by the slave-boy at Petr.34.2f. Cf. H.S.1.3.90f. for the accidental breakage of a valuable bowl by a drunken friend.

casus = 'a fall', i.e. being dropped.

.9f. **HOC QUOQUE NON NIHIL EST, QUOD PROPINABIS IN ISTIS,
FRANGENDUS FUERIT SI TIBI, FLACCE, CALIX**: M. gives a concluding edge to the poem by pushing his apparently innocent 'utilitarian' defence of cheap drinking-vessels into the realm of a stock joke about avoiding the cup defiled by an *os impurum*. Cf. AP.11.39 (Macedonius of Thessalonica)

ἐχθές μοι συνέπινε γυνή, περὶ ἧς λόγος ἔρρει
οὐχ ὑγιής. παῖδες, θραύσατε τὰς κύλικας.

Juv.5.127f. *quando propinat / Virro tibi sumitve tuis contacta labellis / pocula*; M.2.15; 3.82.25/31; 6.46.6; 8.6.13; 10.49.3f.; also Juv.6 05, with Courtney, who compares Aristoph. Knights 1289.

The action of 'toasting' involved proposing the toast, tasting the cup and then passing it to the person honoured (cf. M.2.15), so the 'argument' is that Flaccus could use the cups to toast anyone suspected of being *ore impuro* and then happily destroy them.

M. here scans *prōpinabis*, as at 1.68.3, 8.6.13, 10.49.3 and 3.82.25; he uses *prŏpinare* at 3.82.31, 2.15.1 and 6.44.6; so also Juv.5.127.

75

The temperamental oddities of boys as objects of homosexual interest are compared favourably with the financial and social advantages of a richly-dowered wife. Part of the comedy lies in the reader's expectation that the first 5 lines are leading to a thoroughly mocking conclusion, but, as often, M. turns that expectation on its head and concludes that rich women are far worse. Cf. 8.12

> *uxorem quare locupletem ducere nolim*
> *quaeritis? uxori nubere nolo meae.*
> *inferior matrona suo sit, Prisce, marito:*
> *non aliter fiunt femina virque pares.*

Also Juv.6, 'a ψόγος of married women' (Courtney p.252). The succession of 5 names, each introduced and given a character in a single line, adds to the comedy. The conclusion is a comic 'defence' of homosexuality as the lesser of two evils.

This epigram was rather oddly misread by Calderini as entirely directed at Polytimus, who is contemplating marriage purely out of greed for a large dowry. The Index Expurgatorius (pp.128f.) seems to have been the first commentary to correct this interpretation.

.1 **FESTINAT POLYTIMUS AD PUELLAS:** The suggestion is presumably of Polytimus' eagerness to be **old enough** for girls (see 12.84): there is a similar comic urgency in *festinare* at 12.28.17. For *puellae* viewed primarily as objects of sexual interest see 12.43.3; 12.55.1. The opening is clearly intended to give the mistaken impression that the poem will deal with heterosexual lust.

'Polytimus' is found again only at 12.84.1: πολύτιμος presumably = 'very expensive'.

.2 **INVITUS PUERUM FATETUR HYPNUS:** *fateor* = 'admit': for the omission of both *esse* and *se* after it see examples at TLL 6'.339.75ff.

The implication of *invitus* is doubtless not only that he would rather be a girl, but also that he would easily be taken for one.

'Hypnus' is found also at 11.36.5. The name presumably has a sexual suggestion: cf. Somnus in 1.71.4; also note on Pannychus in 12.72.

.3 **PASTAS GLANDE NATIS HABET SECUNDUS:** M. suddenly becomes more explicit, with a sexual metaphor and pun describing homosexual intercourse. *glans* = 'acorn', but also has an 'anatomical' sense: Adams, LSV 72, points out that here 'it has tended to shift its reference to the whole organ'; cf. βάλανος, of which it is a calque. Both meanings are exploited by the juxtaposition with *pastas*. The Index Expurgatorius (p.129) claims a similar meaning for 'acorn' in its day. See also Adams 138f on 'fed' (= is a pathic) as a variation of the sexual metaphor 'eat'. M. adds to the comedy here with this rather bizarre euphemism: cf. 9.63.2 *mentula quem pascit, non, puto, purus homo est*; 9.80

duxerat esuriens locupletem pauper anumque
uxorem pascit Gellius et futuit.

Peter Howell suggests that there may be a further suggestion of plumpness in the metaphor (pigs eat acorns).

Secundus looks out of place among the other 4 (decidedly Greek and suggestive) names. It was an extremely common cognomen (Kajanto 292) given to a second child, and is used by M. in 5 other poems with no apparent specific connotation. As an adj. it can = 'favourable, offering no resistance', which may have possibilities in this sexual context.

.4 **MOLLIS DINDYMUS EST SED ESSE NON VULT:** Presumably this is intended as

a doublet with .1, making the idea more explicit. *mollis* is commonly applied to pathics; Phaedr.4.16.1 *tribadas et molles mares*; Juv.9.38 *quod tamen ulterius monstrum quam mollis avarus*; M.1.96.10 (with Citroni) etc.

'Dindymus' is found only in M. (although CIL 4.4101 yields Dindyma). It was the name of a mountain in Cyzicus where a cult of Cybele was centered (see Fordyce, intro. to Catul.63; Ellis on 63.91), and is therefore fittingly applied to a eunuch at 11.6.11 and 6.39.2. M. also uses it of a *delicatus* in 10.42 and of an object of homosexual attention in 5.83.

.5 **AMPHION POTUIT PUELLA NASCI**: Probably intended as a doublet with .2, again more explicit.

'Amphion' presumably suggests sexual ambiguity or, more exactly bisexuality / hermaphroditism (ἀμφί).

.6-8 **HORUM DELICIAS SUPERBIAMQUE**
ET FASTUS QUERULOS, AVITE, MALO
QUAM DOTIS MIHI QUINQUIES DUCENA: The conclusion contrasts markedly with the stichic quality of the first 5 lines. For *deliciae* cf. 12.15.5; Sen.Ep.86.7 *eo deliciarum pervenimus ut nisi gemmas calcare nolimus* and Plin.NH.35.26 *vir rusticitati propior quam deliciis*, both of which refer to degenerate affectation; also Plin.Ep.2.5.4 *ad fastidium legentium deliciasque respicio*, of whims or caprices.

superbia and *fastus* more or less overlap, in the sense of haughtiness or disdain, cf. Ov.Fast.1.419 *fastus inest pulchris, sequiturque superbia formam*; Pichon 271. *fastus* is found fairly often as a quality of one who repudiates a would-be lover: Petr.96.7; Prop.1.13.27; 1.7.25; Ov.Rem.511; AA.1.715; 2.241; 3.511; M.4.29.5 *sic spoliatricem commendat fastus amicam*; Pichon 142f. *querulus* may add a vocal mannerism to the picture of effeminacy - cf. 7.31.3 *et fetum querulae rudem capellae*.

Avite was a conjecture by Heinsius which was rightly accepted by Lindsay: B^A *amice*; C^A *avi*. Avitus is a common cognomen in the imperial

period, especially in Spain and Celtic areas (Kajanto 80), found often in M., possibly a real person, and a friend; see above on 12.24.9.

malo at the end of .7 is παρὰ προσδοκίαν, providing the joke. *malo mihi* is colloquial: cf. Petr.44.13; 50.7 '*ego malo mihi vitrea, certe non olunt*'; Priap.39.7 *hanc mavult sibi quam deos priores*; TLL 8.205.29ff.

The point of the dowry specified is that it = a senatorial *census*: as at Juv.6.136f.:

> *optima set quare Censennia teste marito?*
> *bis quingena dedit: tanti vocat ille pudicam.*

(see Courtney - 'the word χερδογαμέω was invented for this'). Also 10.335; Tac.Ann.2.86; V.Max.4.4.10; M.11.23.3; RE 17².1489. The **equestrian** *census* as a dowry occurs at e.g. Juv.2.117.

76

A distich about the plight of the farmer when prices are low, comically formulated in the picture of him over-indulging in his produce because it isn't worth selling.

In this poem, wheat is selling at 4 *asses* per *modius* and wine for 20 *asses* per *amphora*. Commodity prices are notoriously hard to pin down, but Tenney Frank (An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome 1.402ff.) established what has come to be an accepted average price for wheat throughout the first centuries BC and AD as 3 sesterces (i.e. 12 *asses*) per *modius* (a dry measure, = roughly 16 imperial pints, 9 litres), and for table wine 4-5 denarii (i.e. 64-80 *asses*) per *amphora* (a quantity of about 6 gallons, 26 or 27 litres), so the prices mentioned by M. are a third to a quarter of what the farmer might reasonably expect, and as such a disastrously low return.

For *aes = as*, cf. Juv.2.152 *nec pueri credunt, nisi qui nondum aere lavantur. vigesis* = 20 *asses*. For *dare* + abl. of price = 'sell at' see TLL.5¹.1692.53ff.

crudus = 'dyspeptic': Cic.Clu.168 *cum ad illud prandium crudior venisset*; H.Epist.1.6.61 *crudi tumidique lavemur*; Juv.6.202f. *nec est quare cenam et mustacea perdas / labente officio crudis donanda…*; Quint. Inst. 11.3.27 *crudum…aut saturum aut ebrium.*

77

A poem in which M. makes fun of a parasite by depicting his comical religious observance. The comic impact of the poem is much enhanced by the parallelism of the first and last lines, which both finish with the phrase *Iovem salutat.* The use of *salutare* and *clientem* and the punishment *domicenium*, to suggest that Aethon is not merely a votary of Jupiter, but his dependent *cliens*, integrates the joke against the parasite with the religious motif.

.1 **MULTIS DUM PRECIBUS IOVEM SALUTAT**: As line 3 makes clear, Aethon is addressing Jupiter Optimus Maximus in his temple on the Capitol, the religious centre of Rome, where citizens assumed the *toga virilis*, newly instituted magistrates made offerings, and generals made offerings and vows on departing for battle (and to which they returned in triumph if successful). Here, especially, Jupiter had attained a certain universality of function more characteristic of the deity of a monotheistic religion (see Bailey, Phases 169ff.). Clearly, then, Aethon's religious exercise is intended to seem weighty and serious - his own fervour is expressed by *multis*.

It is likely that M. intends the reader to deduce from the punishment

inflicted on Aethon in .6 that these heartfelt petitions are in fact for invitations to dinner. Genuine private prayers have not survived in any quantity for obvious reasons; what evidence there is suggests that they were as formulaic and as bound to an exact performance as public ones: see Cato Agr.134 (and 141f.); Fowler Experience 187f.; Bailey Phases 85ff.; Latte RR 392f.; Ogilvie The Romans and their Gods in the Age of Augustus 31ff.

Although *vocare* or one of its compounds, or *precari* etc., might be more usual, *salutare* is perfectly regular of 'greeting' the gods in religious observance (cf. Pl.St.623; Cic.S.Rosc.56; Stat.Theb.4.808), but, by the time it is repeated in the final line, complete with comic posture, it is clear that this 'prayer' is a parodic *salutatio* (*clientem* in .6), and the verb a t.t.

.2 **STANS SUMMOS RESUPINUS USQUE IN UNGUES**: The characteristic attitude of prayer was with eyes and palms upturned to heaven: see Sittl Gebärden 175ff., 187ff.; RAC 8.1158ff. Latte (RR 393) sees this as possibly only a poetic convention taken over by Roman poets from Greek poetry without reference to actual Roman practice. In any case it is this posture which is comically exaggerated here: *resupinus* is presumably intended to recall the phrase *supinae manus* (see Pease on V.A.4.205) often used in describing the attitude of prayer; cf. also Ov.Met.1.729ff.,

> *(Io)…positisque in margine ripae*
> *procubuit genibus* ***resupino****que ardua collo*
> *quos potuit solos, tollens ad sidera vultus*
> *et gemitu et lacrimis et luctisono mugitu*
> *cum Iove visa queri finemque orare malorum.*

Here, however, M. depicts a comical and impossible upturning of Aethon's whole body, so that he is said to be 'horizontal'; *summos…usque in ungues* adds a picture of him stretching out on tip-toe as if to increase the chances of his prayer's success by getting a little closer to the god. This

picture of hyperbolic contortion is doubtless also intended by M. to suggest a comic cause of the unwelcome spontaneous accompaniment to his prayer at the end of .3 (cf. Henderson MM §434 'Strain and effort produce crepitation').

For the 'direction' of the prayer thus cf. Macr.Sat.3.9.12 *cum Tellurem dicit, manibus terram tangit; cum Iovem dicit, manus ad caelum tollit; cum votum recipere dicit, manibus pectus tangit.* For the adj., Ov.Met.15.518ff. *ducere vana / frena manu…luctor / et retro lentas tendo resupinus habenas* (leaning back and pulling hard on the reins to check panicking horses); Stat.Theb.4.324. *unguis* = 'toenail'; for the present mode of expression cf. Quint.Inst.11.3.120 *adicias licet eos qui sententias vibrantis digitis iaculantur aut manu sublata denuntiant aut, quod per se interim recipiendum est, quotiens aliquid ipsis placuit in ungues eriguntur* (theatrical orators).

.3 **AETHON IN CAPITOLIO, PEPEDIT**: *pepedit* follows *salutat*, and the posture described in .2, as if in logical sequence. To Aristophanes' audience farting was inherently funny, and there is no reason to doubt that the same was true of M's: it is especially interesting that at Knights 638ff. a fart is a comic omen ταῦτα φροντίζοντί μοι / ἐκ δεξιᾶς ἐπέπαρδε καταπύγων ἀνήρ. / κἀγὼ προσέκυσα…. Cf also Wasps 394 where Philokleon's prayer concludes κοὐ μή ποτέ σου παρὰ τὰς κάννας οὐρήσω μηδ' ἀποπάρδω: see Macdowell's note for the range of feeling it is intended to convey - joy, lack of self-control, contempt, rustic lack of sophistication; also K.J. Dover Aristophanes 41, and, more fully, Henderson, MM 195ff.; Sittl Gebärden 99f. The juxtaposition with *Capitolio* is clearly intended to be bathetic and probably also contains a specific joke on religious practice. An inappropriate **noise** can interfere with the ritual: 'any profane word uttered or even any accidental noise might necessitate the repetition of

the entire formula' (Bailey Phases 87; cf. Ogilvie The Romans and Their Gods in the Age of Augustus 36). The well-known expression *favete linguis* (see H.Od.3.1.2; Cic.div.1.102 with Pease's note) is one example; cf. Plin.NH.28.11 *videmus…alium vero praeponi qui favere linguis iubeat, tibicinem canere, ne quid aliud exaudiatur, utraque memoria insigni, quotiens ipsae dirae obstrepentes nocuerint quotiensve precatio erraverit…*; Plut.Quaest.Rom.10 τοὺς δὲ θεοὺς οὕτω προσεκύνουν ἢ ταπεινοῦντες ἑαυτοὺς τῇ ἐπικρύψει τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἢ μᾶλλον εὐλαβούμενοί τινα φωνὴν προσπεσεῖν αὐτοῖς ἔξωθεν εὐχομένοις ἀπαίσιον καὶ δύσφημον ἄχρι τῶν ὤτων ἀνελάμβανον τὸ ἱμάτιον. ὅτι γὰρ ἰσχυρῶς ἐφυλάττοντο ταῦτα, δῆλόν ἐστι τῷ προσιόντας ἐπὶ μαντείαν χαλκωμάτων πατάγῳ περιφορεῖσθαι - here πατάγῳ probably implies percussion, whereas trumpets and flutes are better known at Roman ceremonies; cf. the beating of bronze vessels to drive away ghosts at Ov.Fast.5.441 (and see above on M.12.57.16). So Jupiter's displeasure at Aethon's involuntary action may be specifically parodic.

Aethon is present as one of the horses of the sun at 3.67.5 and 8.21.7: K.J. McKay ('Studies in Aethon,' Mnemosyne (ser.4) 14 (1961) 324) believes that this is a comical 'how it really happened' account of a trite mythological theme, pointing out that 'The heroic Aithon's transgression is punished by Demeter with incurable hunger; the unheroic Aithon's transgression is punished by Jupiter with *domicenium*.' This probably does explain M's choice of the name, as it supplies just the type of comic point in which he delights, but McKay is surely mistaken in believing that M. engages with the myth so far as to retell it. It is a comic allusion. See Hollis on Ov.Met.8 pp.128ff. for the myth. The name is not attested in PIR^{2} or Kajanto. *captatores cenae* often have Greek names in M., e.g. Charopinus (5.50), Philo (5.47), Menogenes (12.82).

.4ff. **RISERUNT HOMINES, SED IPSE DIVOM**
OFFENSUS GENITOR TRINOCTIALI

ADFECIT DOMICENIO CLIENTEM: Aethon's indiscretion prompts laughter from his fellow worshippers, but *offensus* signals something less harmless in store from Jupiter. *divom…genitor*, the formal title emphasised by the archaic genitive plural, is mock-solemn: for serious uses cf. Ov.Fast. 3.285f.; Tr.2.37. For *offensus* cf. Ov.Met.5.451ff. *puer…audax…deam risit…offensa est.*

adfecit is likewise mock-serious, used, as here, with an abl., of visiting with torture, death, or other unpleasant punishment: Cic.Ver.2.1.9; Caes.Gall.1.274; Juv.8.267f.

On this punishment, the greatest indignity for a client (at least in the conventional literary presentation) cf. 12.19 above, 5.47

numquam se cenasse domi Philo iurat, et hoc est:
non cenat, quotiens nemo vocavit eum

2.11.10 *maeroris igitur causa quae? domi cenat.* Also the figure of Menogenes in 12.82, hanging around bathers and ingratiating himself until he receives an invitation. *domicenium* appears to be a comic coinage by M. - cf. 5.78.1f. *si tristi domicenio laboras, / Torani, potes esurire mecum.* Juxtaposed with this, *clientem*, although it can = 'votary' (H.Ep.2.278; Apul.Met.7.5.4), completes the joking picture of Aethon addressing Jupiter as if he were a wealthy *patronus* dispensing *cenae* to clients or parasites (the word *cliens* had, by M's day, pejorative overtones: see P. White JRS 68 (1978) p. 81). For the relationship see RE 18⁴.1397.30ff. ('parasitos'), and especially .1402.22ff.; Kay on M.11.24.15. For *trinoctialis*, from *trinoctium*, a period of three successive nights, cf. V.Max.2.4.5; Gaius Inst.1.111; Gell.10.15.14.

.7 **POST HOC FLAGITIUM MISELLUS AETHON**: *flagitium* is similarly suggestive of a more serious offence; cf. a comparable comic use at Pl.Poen.609f.

fores hae fecerunt magnum flagitium modo :: quid id est flagiti? ::

crepuerunt clare. The derogatory diminutive *misellus* makes Aethon more comical.

.8ff. **CUM VULT IN CAPITOLIUM VENIRE,**
SELLAS ANTE PETIT PATERCLIANAS
ET PEDIT DECIESQUE VICIESQUE: Again, presumably, a mock-ceremonial act, like the purificatory washing of the hands, or the procedure *praeire verba* by which each phrase was anticipated by a 'professional', so that the magistrate made no mistakes (Latte RR 394f.), and the practice by which a sort of 'pre-sacrifice' was offered to supply any deficiencies in the ritual to follow (Ogilvie The Romans and Their Gods in the Age of Augustus 35f.).

sellae = 'lavatory', on which see above on 12.61.10; J. Carcopino Daily Life in Ancient Rome 40ff.; Friedländer SG.4.284f. = 4.310f.; Meiggs Ostia 143. Latrines are mentioned in Rome as early as 161 B.C. and there seems to be mention of some built by a private individual and commercially run at Juv.3.38 (*conducunt foricas*): the money was probably made from 'the sale of excreta to gardeners etc.' (SG.4.284 = 4.310). For the present context see especially Vit.Lucani (Rostagni) p.146.16ff. *adeo ut quondam in latrinis publicis clariore cum crepitu* [some mss. *strepitu, trepitu*] *ventris emissi hemistichium Neronis magna consessorum fuga pronuntiarit 'sub terris tonuisse putes'*.

So *Paterclianas* must refer to privately erected latrines, perhaps along the lines suggested by Juv.3.38, run as some sort of profit-making enterprise, and known by the name of the builder or owner, but unfortunately no other reference to it survives. Some such buildings were very luxurious (see e.g. Carcopino p. 41), no doubt to attract paying custom.

deciesque viciesque (cf. 12.56.1 *decies aut saepius*) is presumably not only a, generalizing, large number, but also suggests a ceremonial act

repeated to a comically monstrous degree (because Aethon is terrified of repeating the *flagitium*): cf. the common *bis terque* (Pers.2.15f.; Ov.Met.4.517; H.Epod.5.33) and 'three and four times' (V.A.12.155; H.Od.1.31.13; S.2.7.76; Ov.Met.4.734) of such actions.

.11f. **SED QUAMVIS SIBI CAVERIT CREPANDO**
COMPRESSIS NATIBUS IOVEM SALUTAT: *cavere sibi* is again suggestive of serious precaution: cf. Cic.Q.Rosc.35 *quid ita Flavio sibi cavere non venit in mentem*; Tib.1.2.89f. *at tu, qui laetus rides mala nostra, caveto / mox tibi*; Liv.35.21.4 *Roma cave tibi* (a prodigy - spoken by a cow to a consul). This is then appropriately undercut by *crepando*: *crepare* is used thus at Pl.Poen.610 (see above); Cato orat.91 *si quis eorum sub centone crepuit*; cf. also *crepitus* at Pl.Cur.295. It is not frequently attested in this sense elsewhere, but was presumably a typical piece of colloquial onomatopoeia: cf. Henderson MM §431, and especially the passages in Frogs where there is an 'extended contest between the frogs' croaks and Dionysus' antiphonal crepitations' (p.198).

The final line is a comic reworking of the first, with *compressis natibus* taking the place of *multis dum precibus*: it also manages to suggest that this is Aethon's newest ceremonial contortion, i.e. that this has the status of a prayer-posture like that comically presented in .2.

For *nates* cf. 12.75.3. *comprimere* is often used of e.g. pressing the lips together (H.S.1.4.138) or making a fist (Cic.Orat.113; Quint.Inst. 2.20.7). OLD coyly lists the present instance alone under the sub-heading 'other parts'.

78

For the irresistible target for epigrammatic abuse cf.AP.11.340f. (Palladas).

The joke is simple - M. casts himself as a 'debtor' of Bithynicus, who would be required to swear in court (*iurare*) that he does not owe the money, or pay up (*satisfacere*). M. appropriates this as a metaphor for his protestation that he has not made a target of Bithynicus: rather than be bothered convincing him of that he will pay the debt, i.e. write a poem.

The oath in question was a *iusiurandum necessarium* - see e.g. A.H.J. Greenidge, The Legal Procedure of Cicero's time 260-263, quoting Dig.12.1; 12.2.36.4; Gell.10.15.31. 'The taking of such a proffered oath *in iure* meant victory for the swearer; his refusal to take it meant defeat. Both consent and refusal destroyed any further right of action…' (261f.).

For the legal sense of *satisfacere* see e.g. Pl.As.437; Cato Agr.149; Cic.Flac.47; Liv.6.34.2 *fama et corpore iudicati atque addicti creditoribus satisfaciebant.*

'Bithynicus' appears in 9.8, 6.50 and 2.26, in the last as a *captator*; the other two are 'neutral' addressees. PIR² records three instances of the name.

79

For *nil negat* = *fellat* cf. on 12.71 above (*rogare* is also part of the joke there). *fellare*, 11× in M., originally referred to suckling. The obscene sense is found also at Catul.59.1, and TLL (6¹.456.29ff.) notes many examples in CIL. Adams (LSV 130-134) considers that its metaphorical character would no longer have been felt, so common was the obscene use. Cf. *fellator* at 12.59.10.

Logically, the last line refers to M. himself, and the addressee, being female, cannot be the object of *fellatio*: that might in itself appeal to M. as a joke, or perhaps a comic sophistry, i.e. M. justifies his refusal to

give any more by saying that if he gives her any more he'll have denied her nothing (the logical next stage after .2) and *nil negare = fellare*, which he cannot do to her. It is also possible that *fellare* etc. can be used as a blanket obscenity, sometimes quite independently of its literal meaning, as 'fuck' and various compounds are used in English slang (see e.g. E. Partridge, A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English[8] pp.432f.; cf. *irrumator* at Catul.10.12 and espec. *cinaediorem*, of a woman, at 10.24). Or there may be a sort of *ad sensum* insinuation against Atticilla that this is what she does, as in the, admittedly more direct, punch-line of 12.85.

The name Atticilla is used only here by M., but is well attested - see PIR[2] s.v. ; Kajanto 168 = 203.

The almost exact repetition of the first line in the second is certainly a favourite technique of M's: Friedländer compares Catul.3.3f., M.1.109.1ff. and 10.35.1-4, which, although containing repetitions of a mechanically similar nature, are not especially helpful here; 6.14 is more to the point:

> ***versus scribere posse te disertos***
> *adfirmas, Laberi: quid ergo non vis?*
> ***versus scribere qui potest disertos,***
> *conscribat, Laberi: virum putabo.*

Here, at least, the repetition clearly serves a comic purpose (the repetition of the name is probably the commonest form of repetition in M's comic epigrams - see 12.28). In the present case it would seem, however, to be part of a recognisable pleonastic tendency in conversation, sometimes exploited in joke or story telling: 'I've given you a lot of what you asked for, no, more than you asked for': cf. 2.41.1-7

> *'ride si sapis, o puella, ride.'*
> *Paelignus, puto, dixerat poeta.*
> *sed non dixerat omnibus puellis.*
> *verum ut dixerit omnibus puellis,*
> *non dixit tibi: tu puella non es,*

et tres sunt tibi, Maximina, dentes,
sed plane piceique buxeique.

80

Calderini: '*nulla est laus laudari ab eo qui omnes laudat.*' In origin this is probably a satire on the personality which is so busy seeing the good in everybody as to be thoroughly frustrating to a cynical social observer like M.: it looks, at first, like a catty remark of the variety 'the trouble with x is that he's nice about **everyone**'. But M. presents a typically perverse motivation to enhance the joke: he pretends that Callistratus does this precisely **in order** to cheapen his praise by its well-advertised lack of discrimination. Seneca enunciates the principle which M. claims that Callistratus is inverting at Clem.2.2.2: *maluerim veris offendere quam placere adulando* (there was also a range of proverbial expression in the general environment of a line from Naevius' Hector Proficiscens, *laetus sum laudari me abs te, pater, a laudato viro*; see Otto Sprichwörter §926).

For another *malus / bonus* opposition cf.12.36.7 above - *optimus malorum es.*

For Callistratus cf. on 12.35 and 12.42. See also 5.13, 9.95b and PIR^2 s.v. It appears to be just a convenient name for satirical targets, meaning something like 'good soldier' or 'glorious in war'.

81

An attack on Umber, who gives cheaper presents when he becomes rich (perhaps because he no longer needs to ingratiate himself?): cf. 12.13, on the rich man who gives nothing. The joke is extracted from the pun *alicula*

/ alica, as if the former were a diminutive of the latter, and as if Umber is trying to excuse his meanness by the pretence that this makes *alica* a more substantial present.

METRE: Choliambic - see on 12.10.

For Saturnalia presents see above on 12.62.11. For *feriae* cf. Varro LL.6.22 *Saturnalia dicta ab Saturno, quod eo die feriae eius.*

Umber is the name of a *malus poeta* at 7.90.3; 7.53 is about him sending M., with great pomp, the motley array of things he has himself received as Saturnalia presents. Kajanto (188) notes 5 examples of the name in Latin epigraphy, and lists it in his 'tribes and peoples' category (50): Ellis used *Umber…pauper* in the present passage to justify reading ***parcus** Umber aut obesus Etruscus* at Catul.39.11, with the main ms. tradition, but, as Fordyce pointed out in defending *pinguis* (which is also Persius' epithet for Umbrians at 3.74), not only was this **not** a 'habitual epithet of the race' (Ellis), but M's use of it here is as a name rather than an adj. It is also used by Plautus in a pun on *umbra* (of the hanger-on variety) at Most.769f.

alicula, from ἅλιξ, glossed χλαμύς by Hesychius, is first found at Petr. 40.5 *fasciis cruralibus alligatus et alicula subornatus polymita* - there referring to a short hunting-cloak (see Smith's note), and cf. Ulp.dig.34.2.23.2, (a child's cloak).

For such puns cf. 4.53.8 (the well-worn *Cynicus / canis* pun); 8.58.2; 11.18.26f. (*praedium / prandium* (see Kay's note); U. Joepgen Wortspiele bei Martial 121ff. (on this poem 129f.).

For a serious, but no more exact, attempt at etymology, cf. Vell.gramm. 7.68.19 (probably from Varro) *'h' littera se…praeposuit ut cum dicimus halicam et haliculam cum ab alendo possit alica dici et aliculam existiment dictam quod alas nobis iniecta contineat.*

alica was a porridge or gruel, mentioned at 13.6 as typifying the cheap present of a poor man. See André L'alimentation 58f.

82

On Menogenes, a *captator cenae* who frequents the baths to achieve his end: cf.12.40, in which M's ego-narrator is trying to be ingratiating; 2.27, on Selius:

> *laudantem Selium cenae cum retia tendit*
> *accipe, sive legas sive patronus agas:*
> *'effecte! graviter! cito! nequiter! euge! beate!*
> *hoc volui!' 'facta est iam tibi cena, tace!'*

.1f. **EFFUGERE IN THERMIS ET CIRCA BALNEA NON EST MENOGENEN, OMNI TU LICET ARTE VELIS**: For the opening, cf.11.98.1 *effugere non est, Flacce, basiatores*; also the ironic use of the verb by Terence at An.332, *nuptias effugere.*

The insinuation of *in thermis et circa balnea* is that, within the world of bathing, Menogenes is everywhere. *thermae* are the huge, palatial-scale baths, the first of which were built by Agrippa in the Campus Martius (see Platner-Ashby 518ff.; Nash Pictorial Dictionary 429ff.), and which were social centres with galleries and halls as well as bathing establishments - M. complains of a pestiferous poet who pursues him *in thermas* to recite at 3.44.12 (all of 3.44 is taken up with the ubiquity of this character). *balnea* are the older, privately owned establishments, already familiar in Cicero's day; Plin.NH.36.121 *adicit…et gratuita praebita balnea CLXX quae nunc Romae ad infinitum auxere numerum.* Entry cost a *quadrans* (Sen.Ep.86.9). See Balsdon LL 26ff.; Meiggs Ostia 404f.: the words were not rigidly distinguished, but *thermae* were in general grander constructions, and the public imperial ones in Rome were almost always known as such. M. maintains the generally accepted division at 3.20.15f.; see Meiggs 407.

thermae are also mentioned at 12.19.1 and 12.70.8 (in which poem they function as a comic backdrop for M's mockery of social pretension); *balnea* at 12.50.2 (the extravagant villa).

Menogenes may suggest μῆνις, adding an epic touch to his nuisance-value (one of his compliments involves referring to his victim's sparse hair as *Achilleae comae*, .10). PIR² lists one real instance of the name.

For *tu licet* cf. 12.28.3, of someone trying to stop Hermogenes from stealing a napkin, *tu licet observes dextram teneasque sinistram* - like Hermogenes, Menogenes is comically omnipresent and irresistible. For *ars* of such a stratagem, cf. 12.66.3 *arte…vafra.*

.3f. **CAPTABIT TEPIDUM DEXTRA LAEVAQUE TRIGONEM**
INPUTET ACCEPTAS UT TIBI SAEPE PILAS: The precise nature of the game is not known, but the point seems to be that Menogenes joins his victim and a third player in a game of *trigon*, which involves throwing and catching (possibly three) balls, the person with the lowest score (i.e. the least dropped catches) being the winner: it may be this that Trimalchio is playing at the beginning of the Cena. *trigon* (= τρίγων, although the name is only known from Latin authors; see Pasquali Storia p. 382 n.2 for the form) refers to the positioning of three players in a triangle. M. uses the noun here and at 4.19.5, *tepidumve trigona…rapis*, to refer to the **ball** used in the game (*pila* is the usual word for the *trigon* ball - cf. Cic.de Orat.1.73; Prop.3.14.5; M.2.7.6, and the expression *mea pila est*, = 'I've won' at Pl.Truc.706). *tepidum* could refer simply to the temperature of a ball so employed, but is more likely a transferred epithet, indicating that the game was a strenuous one (that played with the *follis* was more leisurely - 14.47). The game is also mentioned at H.S.1.6.126 *fugio campum lusumque trigonem.*

Marquardt (Prl.844f.) believed that there was a 'backstop' assigned to

each player to pick up missed balls and return them quickly to the player, and that there were a further three men who scored: CIL 4.1936 AMIANTHUS, EPAPHRA, TERTIUS LUDANT; CUM HEDYSTO IUCUNDUS NOLANUS PETAT; NUMERET CITUS ET ACUS AMIANTHO. Here Menogenes is certainly both catching and scoring, and it would seem to detract from his attempt to ingratiate himself if he were not also a player. The attempt to reconstruct the details of the game may, in any case, be something of a red herring. The point of .4f. must be that Menogenes can somehow play the game so as to credit the score to his victim. It would seem, then, that .3 need be no more than a typically descriptive periphrasis, and *captabit…trigon* may just mean 'he will play *trigon*', the burden of the point being carried by the *ut* clause in .4, with some suggestion that he does so in order to make himself agreeable being contained in his enthusiastic exertion of skill in a strenuous game.

captare is unexceptional of catching a ball (TLL 3.376.44ff.). It is also intended to suggest *captatio*, in which context it is used at e.g. 12.10.1. From Petr.27.3 it seems likely that the normal mode of scoring was to count the number of catches. Menogenes certainly uses his two-handed skill to his victim's advantage: see Marquardt Prl.844f., f.n.9 and cf. 14.46 *si me mobilibus scis expulsare sinistris, / sum tua. tu nescis? rustice, redde pilam*; also 7.72.11. It is also possible that, in a game which seems to have involved feinting to confuse the other players, he exerts himself to make the victim's catches the easiest, directing the ball to him and playing 'against' himself and the third player.

acceptas (B^A), read by Lindsay and defended by TLL (1.304.67ff.) was rightly rejected by Friedländer in favour of C^{A1}'s *exceptas*: Sen.Ben.2.17.3

> *volo Chrysippi nostri uti similitudine de pilae lusu: quam cadere non est dubium aut mittentis vitio aut* ***excipientis****. tunc cursum suum servat, ubi inter manus utriusque apte ab utroque* ***et iactata et excepta*** *versatur. necesse est lusor bonus aliter illam conlusori longo, aliter brevi mittat….*

2.32.1

> *'qui **accepit'** inquit 'beneficium, licet animo benignissimo **acciperet**, nondum consummavit officium suum, restat enim pars reddendi. sicut in lusu est aliquid pilam scite ac diligenter **excipere**, sed non dicitur bonus lusor, nisi qui apte et expedite remisit quam **acceperat**.*

Even the use of the two verbs in the last sentence seems to place *excipere* firmly in the role of a t.t. of the game in contrast with the more general *accipere*: see Marquardt 843 for such terms in Latin and Greek - *excipere* corresponds to δέχεσθαι.

It seems that Menogenes' main tactic is to keep a false score: *inputare* (see 12.48.13) = 'lay to the credit of' (see Duff on Juv.5.14), or, in this context, 'add to (your) score'. The usual phrase appears to have been *numerare pilas* (CIL 4.936, above; Petr.27.3; Sen.Ep.56.1), and *inputare* probably conveys some tinkering with the scoring.

.5f. **COLLIGIT ET REFERET LAXUM DE PULVERE FOLLEM,**
ET SI IAM LOTUS, IAM SOLEATUS ERIT: The game with the *follis* was more leisurely (14.47), and the ball large, light and soft: 4.19.7 *plumea seu laxi partiris pondera follis*; Marquardt Prl.842; also RE 6.2829.44f. and Balsdon LL 165f. The present couplet suggests that the greatest exertion involved was that needed to pick up the ball when it had gone out of play. *laxus* is also used at 14.45.2, *folle minus laxast et minus arta pila*.

colliget (G) is to be preferred to *colligit*, harmonizing with the other future tenses here, especially *referet*. It is read here by Heraeus (see RhM 70 (1915) 3 f.n.2; cf. on .12 below). *colligere* is used of picking up single objects (e.g. Cels.7.7.1B *neque postea, quia tenuis admodum est potest colligi (vesica)*, Plin.NH.28.263). *referet* makes plain that Menogenes' method of ingratiation in this case is to pick up a *follis* which his victim has dropped in the dust and to return it. For *lotus*, cf. 12.70.6

above - clearly the games were played in the course of an afternoon in the baths and followed by a final wash before dressing for dinner. Menogenes will grovel about in the dirt even after this to please a potential host: the point may be that he's all dressed up with nowhere to go and so might as well get dirty as **have** nowhere to go.

soleae were simple sandals, a sole fastened to the foot by a thong, worn indoors and taken off before reclining (3.50.3 *deposui soleas*; H.S.2.8.77 *et soleas poscit* (to get up from table); M.12.87; Marquardt 595 and 322; RE 1A.2257, 2261.9ff.) and obviously also before playing games: see Petr.27.2, where it is a matter for comment that Trimalchio plays *soleatus*. The adj. is found only here in M.; cf. also Afran.com.105; Cic.Ver.5.86.

.7f. **LINTEA SI SUMES, NIVE CANDIDIORA LOQUETUR,**
SINT LICET INFANTIS SORDIDIORA SINU: Note the jingle of the two comparatives. For *lintea* see 12.70.1 above: it is interesting that their whiteness would be a matter for **compliment**. Presumably one would have to buy new ones frequently to obtain this effect, as fulling doubtless produced a rather imperfect result: cf. NT Mk.9.3 (part of the narrative of the Transfiguration) καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο στίλβοντα λευκὰ λίαν [ὡς χιὼν Textus Receptus], οἷα γναφεὺς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς οὐ δύναται οὕτως λευκᾶναι. *candidiora nive* is proverbial and extremely common, as might be expected: see Otto Sprichwörter §1231, and especially Catul.80.2 and M.1.115.2f. The comparison is found in the Iliad (10.437), of the horses of Rhesus, λευκότεροι χιόνος.

The front of a baby's outer garment (*sinus*) would obviously be correspondingly dirty. For *sordidus* cf 1.49.27f. *focum / infante cinctum sordido*; 1.103.5 *sordidior multo post hoc toga*; H.Ep.1.5.22f. *ne sordida mappa / corruget naris*.

.9f. **EXIGUOS SECTO COMENTEM DENTE CAPILLOS**

DICET ACHILLEAS DISPOSUISSE COMAS: For *capillus* (and a joke about sparse hair) see on 12.7.1. For *exigui* = 'few' cf. Ov.AA.1.440; CIL.6.18324 EXIGUIS DIONYSIA FLEBILIS ANNIS. *comere* (only here in M.) = 'arrange / do (hair)': [Tib].3.8.9f. *seu solvit crines…/ seu compsit, comptis est veneranda comis*; Ov.Met.1.497f. *'spectat inornatos collo pendere capillos, / et 'quid si comantur ?' ait* (see Bömer). *secto dente* = 'with a comb': cf. 14.25 -

quid faciet nullos hic inventura capillos
multifido buxus quae tibi dente datur ?

Var.LL.5.113 *dentibus pectinis*; Tib.1.9.68 *denso pectere dente comas.* *sectus* = 'cut', presumably from a solid piece of box-wood or other material (see Marquardt Prl.713 / 743 nn.).

By the time Menogenes' victim is combing his hair, dinner must be imminent and the parasite reaching an acme of desperation: certainly in this and the preceding couplet he has moved from fawning to active flattery, and within this couplet from praise of clothing to that of personal appearance.

For *Achilleas comas* cf. Selius' *Achilleos…pedes* at M.2.14.4, and 5.48.5f. *talis deprensus Achilles / deposuit gaudens, matre dolente, comas.* There was a tradition (see Hyg.Fab.96) that Thetis sent Achilles in boyhood to the court of Scyros, to keep him out of the Trojan war, where he grew up in female attire with the king's daughters. In Homer, Achilles is credited with ξανθὴ κόμη like other heroes.

For *comae* = 'locks', cf. 12.23.1; for *disponere* cf. Juv.6.490 *disponit crinem laceratis ipsa capillis.* *disposuisse* presumably suggests that Menogenes speaks flatteringly of the style as well as the quality or quantity.

.11 **FUMOSAE FERET IPSE PROPIN DE FAECE LAGONAE**: In this couplet, for the

first time in the poem, two separate flattering activities are embarked upon, presumably again suggesting the increasing urgency of Menogenes' dilemma.

Lindsay, in his first edition (1903) printed *tropin* [< τρόπις, a ship's keel], and, in his app.crit., 'tropin *Ital.*: propin *codd.*' In his revision (1929), no doubt persuaded by Heraeus (RhM 70 (1915) 1ff.; also his Teubner of 1925), he rightly restored *propin*, i.e. προπεῖν, the contracted inf. of προπίνειν, = 'apéritif' (cf.5.78.3, where it = 'appetizer', a first course). This was also plausibly conjectured by Heraeus at Petr.28.3 (*propin esse* for *propinasse*) and cf. CIL 5.5272 OLEUM ET PROPIN PER ROSAM PRAEBEANT. For drinking at the baths see on 12.70. *faex* is the least favoured part of the jar and usually of markedly **cheap** wine (e.g. 1.26.9; 1.103.9; 11.56.7) . *fumosus* refers to a process of artificially 'ageing' wine by keeping the bottles near the hearth where it acquired a smoky taste. Smith, on Tib.2.1.27, compares the 'reek' of scotch whisky which used to be similarly treated; cf. also Ov.Fast.5.518; Colum.1.6.20. M., at 10.36.1 (*inproba Massiliae quidquid fumaria cogunt*, and cf.3.82.23 and 13.123), suggests that, by his day, the process had been commercially overdone, at least at Marseilles, and that 'smokiness' is a negative quality, so the drink is undesirable from another angle.

If *feret ipse* = 'he himself will bring' (emphasising that this should be a slave's office), what is the point of the line ? Ker suggests that the *propin* is supplied as an emetic before dinner (comparing Sen.Helv.10.3, which does not specify the nature of the emetic), or as a detergent for the skin, but these do not seem sufficiently obvious explanations to be likely. It is more likely that *feret* = 'will put up with, endure', i.e. in the interests of remaining agreeable he volunteers to drink the part of the bottle that no-one else wants (although *bibet* would certainly be more

natural if that is the point).

For *lagona*, a wine flask, see Marquardt 649 fig.14; cf. H.S.2.8.40f.; Pers.3.92; M.4.46.9; 6.89.4 etc.

.12 **FRONTIS ET UMOREM COLLIGIT ILLE TUAE**: *colliget* is once again to be preferred here, with *feret*: it is again preserved in G and read by Heraeus.

Menogenes performs the even less pleasant duty of wiping his victim's sweating brow. *umor* (only here in M.) = 'sweat' at e.g. Quint.Inst.11.3.28; for the action cf. Quint.Inst.6.3.60 *cum frontem…sudario tergeret*; for *colligere* cf. Cels.6.6.8E *sudor…in capite collectus est*, which stresses the idea of accumulation.

.13f. **OMNIA LAUDABIT, MIRABITUR OMNIA, DONEC PERPESSUS DICAS TAEDIA MILLE 'VENI!'**: The summary of Menogenes' approach is formalized by the chiasmus, as the dénouement is signalled; *laudare* and *mirari* are predictable activities of the parasite: cf.12.40.1; 2.27.1; Juv.3.86f., with Courtney; also, for the combination of verbs, 4.49.9 and 11.56.1f. In the Cena, Trimalchio's guests and household are in a perpetual state of wonder and ecstatic praise.

The compound verb *perpeti* (only here in M.), like *effugere* and *omni arte* above, adds a note of mock-gravity: cf. the phrase *omnia perpeti* at e.g. H.Od.1.3.25; Prop.2.26.35.

For *taedia*, 'boredoms', cf. 12.57.27 above.

veni, the word of invitation, has been carefully postponed to obtain the maximum effect from the acknowledgement of why Menogenes is doing all this: its brevity and the fact that it does not refer directly to the *cena* which he has been angling for, make a strong ending. Cf. 11.52.2 *conditio est melior si tibi nulla, veni*; also 6.51. Balsdon (LL 33f.) points out that an invitation at this notice would not be to a **formal** dinner party, but notes comparable examples. On the other hand, in a slave-owning

society, *subitas ofellas* (M.12.48.17), or even something more substantial, would be relatively easy to provide.

83

Fabianus mocks those who suffer from scrotal hernias, and then discovers that he has one himself. For the comedy of *hirneae*, not confined to M., see above on 12.70.3.

.1 **DERISOR FABIANUS HIRNEARUM**: See Celsus 7.18.3 (quoted on 12.70.3), for *hirnea* as the usual Latin term: it is clear from Celsus (and from the examples in AP), that this was yet another deformity generally guaranteed to raise a laugh, so it is not odd that Fabianus laughs at those thus afflicted. The point of the poem is that he has chosen as a target of special mockery a deformity which it turns out that he shares.

For *derisor* cf. H.S.2.6.54 *semper eris derisor*; Ep.1.18.11; Ars 433; Phaedr.3.14.4.

Fabius was a very common name, and Fabianus common enough - see Kajanto 146. At 3.36 M. gives it to a demanding patron; at 4.5 to a naive immigrant to Rome; at 4.24 to a 'neutral' addressee.

.2 **OMNES QUEM MODO COLEI TIMEBANT**: As in English, *colei* are quintessentially masculine men: Petr.44.14 *si nos coleos haberemus, non tantum sibi placeret*; 39.7 *in geminis…nascuntur bigae et boves et colei*. A common type of hernia of the bowel, the 'inguinal' (which may even be congenital) often descends along the spermatic cord into the scrotum, where a swelling would result (see e.g. Black's Medical Dictionary, 27th edn. s.v. 'hernia'), and this is presumably the specific point here.

Ker suggests that Fabianus slanderously describes (to women) any sexually active men he knows as suffering from this condition, in the hope

of improving his own chances (in which case there would have to have been a belief current that a scrotal hernia impeded sexual performance, or was the result of unsavoury practices). But the point may be more obvious: *colei* suggests the unusually well-endowed, whose physical appearance Fabianus loudly ascribes to this condition, presumably because he feels insecure himself. The joke is that not only is he **not** a *coleus*, but he has a hernia as well.

.3f. **DICENTEM TUMIDAS IN HYDROCELAS QUANTUM NEC DUO DICERENT CATULLI:** The character of his utterances is notably enthusiastic: *tumidas hydrocelas* is a graphically emphatic insistence on the size - κήλη is the basic Greek word (see on 12.70.3) and *hydrocele* alone describes a serious swelling of this nature.

Ker takes *nec duo…Catulli* as a reference to a mimic poet called Catullus (see 5.30.3; Juv.8.186, with Courtney; RE 3.1796) who, one would have to suppose, made this deformity a frequent target. It could equally be the case that Catullus Veronensis attacked the deformity in a lost poem, or that his effectiveness as a writer of invective is M's point. *nec duo = ne duo quidem.*

.5f. **IN THERMIS SUBITO NERONIANIS VIDIT SE MISER ET TACERE COEPIT:** Apart from making fun of Fabianus, the main strength of the joke is that it is left to be inferred: it must be the case that Fabianus is a sufferer himself and that he discovers it publicly and *subito.* For this 'cast out first the beam out of thine own eye' mode of thought, cf. Petr.57.7 *in alio peduculum vides, in te ricinum non vides.*

For *tacere*, of the silence born of shame, see 12.35.4 above; for *coepit* emphasising a joke or irony, as here, 12.65.9 *rogare coepit Phyllis amphoram vini.*

The Neronian baths (see on 12.82.1 for the distinction between grand

public *thermae* and privately owned *balnea*) are also mentioned at 2.48.8; see Platner-Ashby 531; Nash Pictorial Dictionary 2.460ff. They were the second such establishment in Rome, built by Nero in 62 or 64 A.D., near the Pantheon.

84

Polytimus is presumably the same pretty boy persona as in 12.75. M. is loth to see him have his hair cut because it will mar his beauty, which M. then finds paradoxically enhanced by the change. Cf. 1.31 with Howell, Citroni; also 5.48; 9.16; 9.17; H.Od.4.3f.; Stat.Silv.3.4.

.1 **NOLUERAM, POLYTIME, TUOS VIOLARE CAPILLOS:** *violare* = 'profane' or 'sully': there may be an element of *ille mi par esse deo* about the poem, and the religious overtone in this verb is consonant with the context of the hair-cutting ceremony, in which the cut hair was often dedicated and prayers were offered for long life or other blessings (see Mayor, Courtney on Juv.3.186). But the more literal sense of spoiling the boy's appearance is all that need be present: cf.5.61.6 *crura…nullo…violata pilo*; 8.50.11 *hunc nec Cinyphius tonsor violaverit.*

.2 **SED IUVAT HOC PRECIBUS ME TRIBUISSE TUIS:** For *preces* and *tribuere* cf.6.10.6f.; see also *tribuere* (of gods granting petitions) at 12.6.10. *iuvat* (cf.12.18.26) picks up *nolueram*, introducing M's change of heart when the transformation has been completed.

.3 **TALIS ERAS, MODO TONSE PELOPS:** For the mode of expression cf. 5.48.5f. *talis raptus Hylas, talis deprensus Achilles / deposuit…comas*; cf. also the *tonso ministro* of 11.11.3, with Kay's note. It would seem that M. introduces Pelops, imagining him having his hair cut as if he were a Roman youth, purely for the reference to his ivory shoulder.

.3f. **POSITISQUE NITEBAS / CRINIBUS:** *nitere* is especially appropriate, as used not only of conventional physical beauty, but also of the sheen of a precious surface like ivory (cf. 12.57.10). For its use of physical beauty cf. Prop.1.2.6; Ov.Met.11.690 and also 12.38.3 above (*crine nitens*) and 9.103.4, 10.89.3.

On *ponere (capillos)*, see above on 12.18.25.

.4 **UT TOTUM SPONSA VIDERET EBUR:** For ivory as a type of whiteness cf. H.Od.1.31.6; whiteness is appropriate to the beauty of the beloved, whether female or male - cf. *niveos* at 12.49.12; for ivory as the point of comparison, cf. e.g. Ov.Am.3.7.7 *eburnea…bracchia*; Met.10.592 *terga… iactantur crines per eburnea*. When Pelops' hair had been cut his *sponsa* could see all of his ivory shoulder: when Polytimus' hair is cut, M. can see the beautiful whiteness of his shoulders and so finds him more, rather than less, desirable.

85

An epigram with a similar comic mechanism to that of 12.83, but in the 'you allege x, but you do y (which is worse)' mode: Fabullus makes allegations about *pedicones*, but is himself a *cunnilingus*. Cf. also the punch line of 12.35: *nam quisquis narrat talia plura tacet*. For the form of the joke cf. 9.69.

.1 **PEDICONIBUS OS OLERE DICIS:** *pedico* = 'sodomite', and, probably, by insinuation, *fellator*. The word occurs 5 times in M. - see Adams LSV 123. For *os olere* see 11.30, with Kay, and also 2.12 and 3.28; the idea possibly also lies behind AP.11.242 (Nicarchus) and .415 (Antipatros or Nicarchus).

.2 **FABULLE:** For the name see on 12.20.1, where (as also at 12.22.2) it is used of a 'neutral' addressee; Kajanto 170.

.3 **CUNNILINGIS**: See on 12.59.10. M. does not appear to extend this characteristic to *cunnilingi* elsewhere, and indeed he may not be doing so here: the joke probably consists in a new twist on an old slur, and the main point is to get at Fabullus.

86

A poem to an unnamed addressee who has a surfeit of male and female lovers, but is impotent. Part of the point of the poem appears to be the numerical joke in ***triginta**…pueri totidem puellae / **una**…mentula*. As Calderini and the Index Expurgatorius (p.131) point out, however, there must be an insinuated answer to the final question of the type 'you will practise *fellatio / cunnilingus*': cf. 11.25, where the point is made more explicitly,

> *illa salax nimium nec paucis nota puellis*
> *stare Lino desit mentula. lingua, cave.*

(see Kay's note).

mentula is M's most frequent word for the male organ. Adams (LSV 9) describes it as the 'basic obscenity'; see 9-12 for a history of the word in general usage and literature. It does not occur in satire; it can be used neutrally - e.g. M.1.58.3.

For *surgere*, of an erection, cf. Ov.Am.2.15.25, and Apul.Met.7.23.2 *cum alioquin exsectis genitalibus possit neque in venerem nullo modo surgere.*

For *quid facies* cf. 12.23.2 above, where the question is 'answered' but there is still an implication to be drawn, *quid facies oculo, Laelia? non emitur.*

87

A joke rendering, as if in Cotta's own words, an elaborate excuse for his lack of shoes (a mark of his extreme poverty). Cf. 2.57, on an unnamed subject who puts on an outward display of affluence, which finishes *oppigneravit modo modo ad Cladi mensam / vix octo nummis anulum, unde cenaret.* Cf. also the joke in 5.47 *numquam se cenasse domi Philo iurat, et hoc est: / non cenat, quotiens nemo vocavit eum.* In the present poem, a good deal of the comedy arises from M. setting up an apparently plausible situation (Cotta's version) and leaving the reader to infer the truth.

METRE: Choliambic - see on 12.10.

.1 **BIS COTTA SOLEAS PERDIDISSE SE QUESTUS:** It may be significant that Cotta is not definitely said to have lost the footwear, but rather that he merely **complains** that he has (12.27.2 shows *queri* being used of an **unjustified** complaint).

For *soleae*, indoor shoes or slippers, see above on 12.82.6.

Cotta is an Etruscan name, aristocratic and uncommon - see Kajanto 106; Howell on 1.9.1, who conjectures that it might suggest someone with pretensions, which would accord with parodic genteel poverty here. M. also uses the name at 1.23; 6.70; 10.14(13); 10.49; 10.64; 10.88.

.2 **DUM NEGLEGENTEM DUCIT AD PEDES VERNAM:** *ducere* can = 'bring with' - cf. 8.79.3 *has ducis comites trahisque tecum.*

ad pedes and sim. is regularly used of the disposition of attendant slaves (Petr.68.4 *servus qui ad pedes Habinnae sedebat*; AP.11.11.5f. (Lucillius) εἰ δ' οὕτω τοῦτ' ἐστί, σὺ τοὺς δούλους κατάκλινον, / ἡμεῖς δ' αὖ τούτοις πρὸς πόδας ἐρχόμεθα.), but here, given the context, it is probably intended to have more of the flavour of a (mock-) specific office - cf. CIL 6.4001 ANTHUS LIVIAE PUER A PEDIBUS, i.e. *pedisequus*, and the phrases which eventually designated imperial secretaryships, such as *a rationibus* and *ab*

epistulis - see Tac.Ann.15.35. At Catul.10.16 *ad lecticam homines* = *lecticarii* (see Kroll); see also Marquardt Prl.148, 322, who believes that M. is using a t.t. for a servile function, and notes Pl.Trin.251 where there is mention, as part of a *familia*, of *sandaligerulae*; Shackleton Bailey on Cic.Att.8.5.1 (157.1 in his numbering) (*servum a pedibus meis* - 'one of my personal attendants'); Wilkins on Cic.de Orat.3.225 (*ad manum*); TLL 1.528.19ff.

To make his story more credible, and to keep up the appearance of a gentleman's entourage, Cotta blames a careless slave, perhaps referring to him as *ad pedes* to give the impression that he is one of a number. The *verna* is the least valuable category of slave - see above on 12.70.1; also 12.29(28).11. Cf. also 12.49.8, *serves…neglegenter*, where M's author-persona is encouraging the *paedagogus* Linus to be careless with Postumilla's - pearls.

.3 **QUI SOLUS INOPI PRAESTAT ET FACIT TURBAM:** Cf. Catullus' aside at 10.21ff. after he has boasted of having 8 *lecticarii*:

> *at mi nullus erat nec hic neque illic,*
> *fractum qui veteris pedem grabati*
> *in collo sibi collocare posset.*

In the first two lines Cotta could have been a perfectly respectable visitor to the baths with a suitable attendant and a real grievance. Here M. begins to lay the ground for the dénouement with *inopi* and this comic cutting down to size of *vernam*: Cotta likes to give the impression that the *verna*, his only slave, is one of a large establishment (for the baths as a setting for this type of social comedy see 12.70 intro.).

inops is very direct. Cotta is not merely respectably *pauper*. Cf. *inopes*, of Cynic tramps, at 11.84.7 and *inopem…famem* at 13.1.2; also e.g. Cic.Ver.2.3.164 *ex aerario inopi atque exhausto*; H.S.2.1.59f. *dives, inops, Romae seu fors ita iusserit exsul, / quisquis erit vitae scribam color.*

For *turba* of a real entourage cf. Sen.Ep.47.2 *consuetudo cenanti domino stantium servorum turbam circumdedit*, and the famous *turba clientium* of H.Od.3.1.13. Here it is comically incongruous after *solus*, an effect which is also heightened by the full-blown phrase *praestat et facit*. For a similar, although serious, use of *solus*, cf. 12.21.10, *Romam tu mihi sola facis*.

.4 - **HOMO SAGAX ET ASTUTUS** - : For this 'appositional' use of *homo*, see R.G. Nisbet on Cic.Dom.14 *homo ad caedem imminens*; L-H-S 2.198; Hofmann LU 197: it can have something of the flavour of ὤν + adj. M. is fonder of using the word with *esse* expressed, as in 12.64.2 above; cf. 1.9.2 *sed qui bellus homo est, Cotta, pusillus homo est*: *esse* seems also to add weight to the irony.

sagax (only here in M.) = 'sharp, perceptive, discerning': Lucr.1.402 *animo satis haec vestigia parva sagaci sunt*; Tac.Hist.4.11.4 *civitas rimandis offensis sagax*; Ov.Met.5.146 *Aethon…sagax quondam ventura videre*. *astutus* = 'cunning, clever, astute': Pl.Ps.385 *ad eam rem usust hominem astutum doctum, cautum et callidum*; H.S.2.5.23f. *captes astutus ubique / testamenta senum*; M.8.33.5 *astuti…ministri*.

.4f. **EXCOGITAVIT…/ NE FACERE POSSET TALE SAEPIUS DAMNUM**: *excogitare* (only here in M.) can have connotations of ad hoc invention: Cic.S.Rosc.70 *supplicium in parricidas singulare excogitaverunt*; Att.1.16.2 *Hortensius excogitavit ut legem de religione Fufius…ferret*; Suet.Tib.62.2 *excogitaverat autem inter genera cruciatus…*.

damnum facere adds more irony; it = 'incur a loss', and *damnum* is the technical opposite of *lucrum*. Cf. Pl.Capt.327 *est…ubi…damnum praestet facere quam lucrum*; M.12.57.15 (of sleep); *talia damnum* at 7.14.8 and 10.58.12; opposed to *lucrum* at 13.1.8. M. uses the word frequently outside a financial context.

.6 **EXCALCEATUS IRE COEPIT AD CENAM:** *excalceatus* = 'barefoot' (i.e. too poor to be shod): cf. Sen.Ep.87.4 *mulio excalceatus*; Suet.Ves.8.3. This is obviously a sign of comic poverty. ἀνυπόδητος was an epithet one might expect to find describing austere philosophers or hard-living Spartans (see Phaedr.229A; Symp.173B/174A - Socrates, who did not wear shoes, and expected his disciples to do likewise, puts them on to go to dinner; see also Starkie on Aristoph. Clouds 103). At H.S.2.8.77 Nasidienus calls for his slippers even to get up from the dinner table for a short period of time and at Epist.1.13.15 it is the mark of a poor relation coming to dinner that he carries his *soleae* himself: see above on 12.60.12; 12.82.6.

For the phrase *ire ad cenam* and sim. cf. 2.69.3; 3.44.14f.; 7.20.2; 11.23.11. For *coepit* used thus see above on 12.65.9; its final position here adds to the comedy.

88

Tongilianus appears in 3.52, arranging the ancient equivalent of an insurance fire (cf. Juv.3.212ff.). Tongilius, in 2.40, pretends illness in order to angle for gifts of food and wine. The name is not recorded by Kajanto or PIR¹ but a connotation relevant to this poem can be assumed from Paul.Fest. p.489L *tongere nosse est, nam Praenestini tongitionem dicunt notionem. Ennius 'alii rhetorica tongent'.*

non ego is transmitted in B^A and C^A (A^A is missing here), and read by Lindsay. Heraeus adopted *non nego* from *Ital.*, which Lindsay recorded in his app.crit. with the comment *'fort. recte'*. This would indeed seem to be the better reading. The change is an easy, almost an obvious, one, and produces a far smoother progression to *sed iam* etc. Moreover, the poem is probably intended to pick up from 12.37 (*nasutus / polyposus*), although no name is

mentioned there, which purpose is better served by *non nego*, as if M. has been questioned about his previous poem by some third party, than by *non ego*, which would merely be a **very** uncharacteristic piece of self-deprecation, and would provide a less easy movement to the joke.

The point is that discrimination exercised to excess is ultimately boring for those in the immediate vicinity. This is combined in a pun with the visual joke about someone who is 'all nose', lifted from Catullus 13.14 (Fabullus will wish he were *totum nasum* when gets a whiff of the *unguentum* with which the *Veneres Cupidinesque* have supplied his girl). See Brecht (Spottepigramm 93f.) for a full account of the motif in Greek literature.

See above on 12.37 for noses as symbols of discrimination. For the related use of them in sneering, which should be distinguished from the present case, see e.g. Bramble Persius 103 n.5 (Pers.1.40f. *nimis uncis / naribus indulges*).

Is there any specific point to *iam* ? If not the distich is uncharacteristically loose, but it is difficult to see one. Perhaps the reference is irrecoverably topical (e.g., since the time of his 'insurance fire', reported in 3.52, he has lost all his possessions - therefore *nil praeter nasum habet* - thus giving an added edge to the familiar joke).

89

For epigrams at the expense of bald people, see above on 12.7 and 12.45, in the second of which, as here, a foolish attempt at concealment of the condition provides the joke. Charinus wears a bandage around his head as if he suffers from earache or some other aural affliction; in fact he is trying to hide his baldness. This would seem to be an exact parallel with the famous case of Julius Caesar, as reported by Suetonius (Jul.45.2), who,

because of his baldness, is said to have been happier about his right to wear a laurel wreath at all times than about any other honour voted to him. Other famous cases include Caligula, who, Suetonius says (Calig.50.1) made it a capital offence to look down on his balding head or to mention *capra*. Part of Tiberius' physical degeneration, according to Tac.Ann.4.57.3, was a *nudus capillo vertex*. It would appear that Thersites, the prototype of all Graeco-Roman literary treatments of deformity, had a pointed head with a sparse covering of stubble-like bristles (Il.2.219 φοξὸς ἦην κεφαλήν, ψεδνὴ δὲ ἐπενήνοθε λάχνη - see Leaf, Kirk).

The joke at the expense of this vain and foolish behaviour is enhanced by the incongruity of *dolent capilli*, the familiar postponement of the crucial word until the final position, and the way in which *dolent* has then to be retrospectively reinterpreted as if it means not 'sick' or 'in pain' but 'causing (mental) pain / suffering'.

.1 **QUOD LANA CAPUT ALLIGAS**: *quod* = 'as to the fact that': cf. 1.8.1 (with Citroni); 1.95.1; 2.11.1-5 etc.

For *lana* = 'woollen bandage', cf. Pl.Mil.1430 *nam illic qui ob oculum habebat lanam nauta non erat*; Cels.4.2.6; 4.5.8; 8.6.2; Plin.NH.31.127, and M.6.41 (although there it may = a scarf). For *alligare* of bandaging cf. Cic.Tusc.2.39 *quiesce…et volnus alliga*; Div.1.123 *cum Critonis…oculum alligatum vidisset*.

CHARINE: Charinus first appears in all 6 lines of 1.77, as a *cunnilingus*, which seems also to be the implication at 4.39 (it may be *fellatio*). At 6.37 and 7.34 he is a *cinaedus*, and an object of satire at 5.39, 8.61 and 11.59. It was a common Greek name, and some of M's appropriations of it are, predictably, to a freedman parvenu character. Howell notes that it is the name of a stock figure in Doric comedy. The obvious connotation would be of charm (χάρις), presumably deceptive.

.2 **NON AURES TIBI SED DOLENT CAPILLI:** *dolere* of ears = 'be painful, hurt' and sim., so *dolent capilli*, in addition to giving a final kick at Charinus' pretence, puns on the use of *dolere* as = 'be a cause of pain, grief' - e.g. Cic.Fam.4.4.2 *quid doleat scribere audes.*

There are basically two jokes: *dolent capilli* is inherently funny, because there is no such thing as a 'hairache', and this nonsense idea leads the reader to the real comic point - that Charinus is bald. For the form of the joke cf. 6.48,

> *quod tam grande sophos clamat tibi turba togata,*
> *non tu, Pomponi, cena diserta tua est.*

also 9.62,

> *tinctis murice vestibus quod omni*
> *et nocte utitur et die Philaenis,*
> *non est ambitiosa nec superba:*
> *delectatur odore, non colore.*

90

Maro practises *captatio* by loudly praying for the recovery of a (presumably rich) sick man, in his hearing, with the promise of a suitable sacrifice to demonstrate his 'good faith'. The doctors promise the man's recovery and Maro, not to be thwarted, comically tries using his 'religious' technique in a different way - he offers *vota* for the avoidance of paying his *votum*, i.e. so that the man will die.

.1 **PRO SENE, SED CLARE, VOTUM MARO FECIT AMICO:** For *senex* as an adj., cf. *a sene…patruo* at 12.70.7 above. The age of the friend is the first clue that the vow is a tactic of *captatio*.

Such vows were almost always spoken **aloud**: the worst possible interpretation was put on muttering a vow - see M.1.39.5f. with Citroni; Harvey on Pers.2.6-14. The point of *clare* is that the vow is made in the

hearing of the victim, to prove that Maro is a true friend. At H.Ep. 1.16.59ff. *clare* is used of what is said aloud to cover a disreputable vow made silently, which leads to Ker's speculation that something like this is implied here, but M. does nothing to introduce that possibility, and it would disrupt the flow of the joke.

For *votum facis* cf. Plin.Ep.10.35 *sollemnia vota pro incolumitate tua…suscepimus, domine, pariter et solvimus*; Flor.epit.2.26 (4.12.15) *concepere votum ut caesorum extis ducum…vescerentur*; M.9.64.8; 9.40.10f. For the practice of the private vow, see Fowler, Experience 201f.; Bailey, Phases 93-95, and ch. 3, n.33; Ogilvie, The Romans and Their Gods in the Age of Augustus 37f. It was made, as here, for a specific purpose, and an offering to the deity was promised, contingent on its fulfilment. The practice was readily adopted by the more popular side of Christianity - Augustine (Conf.6.2) records that his mother Monica used to take meal cakes, bread and wine to the shrines of the saints on their memorial days but was forbidden to continue doing this because of the uncomfortable similarity of the practice to the offerings made by pagans to idols. Similar practices have, however, survived in large sections of the Roman Catholic Church, and many members of the Greek Orthodox Church present τάματα, ex-voto offerings, to ikons of the saints, both in anticipation of and in thanks for blessings received (see J.G.Davies A New Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship 474 and pl.48).

Other occurrences of the name Maro in Book 12 refer to Vergil, but cf. 4.80; 9.33; 11.34; 11.67. PIR² lists two Marones other than the poet.

.2 **CUI GRAVIS ET FERVENS HEMITRITAEOS ERAT:** The fever is serious: *gravis* is common of illness, *fervens*, although it might seem obvious of a fever, only survives thus here (see TLL 6'.595.12f.). Cf. its use of inflammations - Pl.Am.1030; Plin.NH.28.76; Ov.Met.4.120.

The *hemitritaeos* was a 'tertian' fever (i.e. recurring on the third day) of an especially violent kind, in which paroxysms were usually suffered during at least 36 of the relevant 48 hours. The fever did not, in fact, disappear on the second day, but became less severe: Cels.3.3.2. Cf. M.2.40.1, where Tongilius uses the pretence of a *hemitritaeos* to gather presents of food and wine - the sort of reverse-*captatio* practised by Polycharmus in 12.56.

.3f. **SI STYGIAS AEGER NON ESSET MISSUS AD UMBRAS,**
UT CADERET MAGNO VICTIMA GRATA IOVI: B^A and C^A read *undas*, as they do at 11.84.1, where Kay believes that there is 'nothing to choose between the variants'. This is true in the sense that both are possible and comprehensible, but *ad Stygias umbras* is a favourite phrase in M. and other poets (see above on 12.52.12; cf. e.g. 1.101.5, with Citroni; 1.114.5), and should be preferred.

For *aeger* as a subst. cf. Cic.de Orat.2.186 (with Wilkins); Lucr.3.110; Juv.13.124 and 234 (the latter referring to a sick man making vows for his own recovery); M.1.101.7.

Wissowa R&K 412 n.6 notes the tendency of a *victima* to be a smaller sacrificial animal (sheep, goats etc), whereas a *hostia* is generally larger. *cadere* is often found in such contexts, = 'be sacrificed': H.Od.3.18.5; Ov.Fast.1.56; Stat.Theb.4.13; M.7.54.6; 9.42.9f.

For *victima grata* cf. 3.24.2; Ov.Fast.1.440.

.5 **COEPERUNT CERTAM MEDICI SPONDERE SALUTEM:** Here, *coepere* may hint at the cautious hedging of bets characteristic of doctors: cf. Juv.16.12 *medico nil promittente*. Doctors, although they get a bad press in many ancient writers, seem to have held a place of some respectability in Roman society - particularly, of course, the better doctors, at the upper end of society (see J. Scarborough, Roman Medicine 109ff.). They are negatively

treated by Pliny, Lucian, Plutarch, writers in the AP (see e.g. 11.15, 11.112-126, 11.131) and Juvenal (see 3.77 with Mayor, Courtney) to name a few. They are famously targets for M. - see e.g. 1.30 and 1.47, a well known doublet on Diaulus, whose skills as a doctor make him a fine undertaker; also 8.74.

spondere, while quite regular in the sense of 'guarantee' or 'promise' (cf. the legal sense 'stand surety' at 12.25.2), must, in the present poem, have a whiff of the vow about it - cf. Juv.13.232f. *pecudem spondere sacello / balantem* (a similar context).

certus, of a doctor's predictions, might be expected to be ironical, but here the literal sense is functionally necessary to secure the joke in the final line.

.6 **NE VOTUM SOLVAT NUNC MARO VOTA FACIT:** For *votum solvere* cf. e.g. Plin.Ep.10.35; M.6.47.5; 8.4.2; Fowler Experience 201f.; Bailey Phases 93ff. Also the abbreviation v.s.l.m. (*votum solvit libens merito*).

Presumably Maro is to be thought of as proceeding from the premise that a plurality of vows will effect the negation of his regrettable success with one. The comedy is heightened by the at once logical and laughable idea of making vows to negate a vow. The mechanism of the joke is basically that Maro, whose true concern is for the death of the sick man, vows many victims if he does not have to deliver one (i.e. his originally promised) victim.

91

For a similar husband and wife team in vice, cf. 12.58. Here Magulla, although she shares something unusual with her husband (the *exoletus*), does not, as one might expect, share the services of the *minister*. The reason

has nothing to do with sex, but rather with the contents of the wine flagon.

.1 **COMMUNIS**: Cf. especially 11.81.1f. *cum sene communem vexat spado Dindymus Aeglen / et iacet in medio sicca puella toro.*

MAGULLA: The name appears only here in M.; Kajanto (162) notes a Magullinus at CIL 6.23293. Perhaps the suggestion here is of a female *magus*.

.2 **LECTULUS**: The diminutive may suggest cosiness in this context. See C.L. Ransom (Williams), Couches and Beds of the Greeks, Etruscans and Romans passim, and Richter, Furniture 105f. and fig.s 530, 532-534 for *lecti*.

EXOLETUS: A male prostitute (TLL 5².1543.2ff.), perhaps a rather faded one (*exolescere*): see on 12.43.7. The word is παρὰ προσδοκίαν after lectulus, and must therefore be important to the point of the poem.

.3 **QUARE, DIC MIHI, NON SIT ET MINISTER**: *dic mihi* is colloquial and intimate, and is often used by M. to open epigrams: see Citroni on 1.20, and cf. e.g. εἰπέ μοι εἰρομένῳ at AP.11.274.1 (Lucian).

The progression *lectulus*, *exoletus*, *minister*, and the traditional literary status of the last as an object of homosexual passion, lead the reader to assume that sexual sharing is meant. The joke lies in the fact that Magulla will not share the *minister* in his proper role as a wine waiter.

.4 **SUSPIRAS; RATIO EST, TIMES LAGONAM**: The sigh of regret presumably continues the sexual suggestion - cf. M's only other use of the verb, of frustrated lust, at 1.106.7 *suspiras, retices, gemis: negavit.*

The final word, true to M's regular practice, contains the twist and makes the joke. Magulla fears the wine flagon, i.e. poison. Friedländer thought that she might fear the flagon for the more straightforward reason

that she doesn't wish to become fuddled by the wine and so miss out on her evening's share of the *exoletus*, which is neither particularly obvious nor at all witty. The *minister* acts as the agent of the husband, who presumably wants to poison his wife so as to enjoy the *exoletus* alone.

For *lagona* see Hilgers Gefässnamen 203ff.; above on 12.82.11. For its use with similarly sinister overtones cf. 4.69.3 *diceris hac factus caeleps quater esse lagona* (a poem about Papylus who poisoned four wives); also 4.43.5.

92

Priscus has asked M. what he would be like if he became rich and powerful. M. replies with two questions: who do you think can tell what he will be like in the future ? what would you be like if you were a lion ?

A problem of interpretation has been created around *leo*. Friedländer, assuming that the point of the final question must be a slur on the bravery of the addressee (see also Brecht Spottepigramm 51), argues that he cannot therefore be Terentius Priscus (on whom see on 12.0). This seems unlikely. Although a fictional Priscus does seem to be present in 0.29, and possibly in 9.10 (see intro. to 12.0), not only are four other epigrams in this book addressed to Terentius Priscus (in 12.3 he is compared to Maecenas), but the whole work is, at least notionally, composed (or compiled) for his arrival in Spain. It would be intolerably confusing if he were **not** addressed here. It should therefore be concluded that *leo* is not an insult. Older commentators such as Farnaby and Collesson, fixing on *mores* in .3, suggested that, as a lion is fierce and devours the weak, so M. suggests that it is likely that riches would make him a *potens tyrannus*, preying on his dependents.

In fact the poem is more of a *jeu d'esprit* than the piece of didactic which the interpretation of the older commentators suggests. M. is insisting on the hypothetical nature of Priscus' question which he addresses by asking two more pointedly hypothetical, or even unlikely, ones. The second couplet is carefully composed of these two parallel questions, which ought to suggest that M. is making and reinforcing a simple point by phrasing the same question in two different ways. The lion is introduced as the equivalent, in the animal kingdom, of a *locuples et potens*: lions were the star attraction of many animal shows (see Jennison Animals 44ff., 177ff. etc.; Howell, Citroni on 1.6, the first of the hare / lion cycle), and were accorded the regal status which they enjoy in modern thought (see especially Howell p.6; Keller Tierwelt I 24; Thompson Motif-Index B240.4). Moreover, there is a joking familiarity in the suggestion that Priscus might suddenly metamorphose into a lion: there may also be the complimentary assertion that, as he is **already** *locuples et potens*, he would have to imagine something as unlikely as turning into a lion to understand M's difficulty in answering his question. In short, the point is rather insubstantial. M. is simply saying 'It's about as likely that I'll become rich and powerful as that you'll turn into a lion' - a straightforward piece of comic realism.

.1 **SAEPE ROGARE SOLES:** For this type of opening to a poem, as if in response to a real question, encouraging the reader to suspend disbelief, cf. H.Od.2.17.1 (*cur me querelis exanimas tuis* ?) with N-H and Cairns GC 223f.; Epod.14.1-5; Catul.7.1f. *quaeris, quot mihi basiationes / tuae, Lesbia, sint satis superque*; Prop.1.22.1f.; 2.1.1 etc; also H.Od.1.9.1ff. *vides ut alta stet nive candidum / Soracte…*; Epist.1.1.1-3; opening phrases in many of Pliny's letters (*rogas ut…* etc - see Sherwin-White 6ff. for a survey). The technique is extremely common in M.: e.g. 1.63.1 (*rogas…ut*);

6.67.1 *cur tantum eunuchos habeat tua Gellia, quaeris* (cf. also 5.73); 1.57.1 *qualem, Flacce, velim quaeris nolimve puellam* ? What is unusual here is that the whole poem is composed of unanswered questions.

.2 **SI FIAM LOCUPLES SIMQUE REPENTE POTENS**: The hypothetical nature of the question, stressed by *sim futurus* in the previous line, is again insisted upon in *fiam* and *sim*. The suddenness of change implied by *repente* seems calculated to make a joke of the idea that he might have wealth and position thrust on him.

For *potens*, cf. 12.18.4 (*limina potentiorum*).

.3 **MORES**: = 'character': see on 12.6.7.

.4 **LEO**: the final o of *leo* is shortened very frequently by M. - see Hartenberger 87.

Fabulla (see on .2 for the name) carries on with her lover in front of her husband by bestowing her kisses on a *parvus morio* and sending him to the *moechus*, who then 'receives' her kisses and sends the emissary back with some of his own.

This has certain similarities with various scenes in which a lover kisses an object which the beloved has kissed and deems him/herself to have kissed the person: the motif is found at e.g. AP.5.261.5f. (Agathias Scholasticus),

πορθμεύει γὰρ ἔμοιγε κύλιξ παρὰ σοῦ τὸ φίλημα
καί μοι ἀπαγγέλλει τὴν χάριν, ἣν ἔλαβεν.

cf. Theoc.7.70 with Gow, and also the idea in *felix iaculum quod tangeret ille* Ov.Met.8.36 - see Bömer, Hollis. Cf. Jonson, Song to Celia, which begins:

Drink to me only with thine eyes
And I will pledge with mine
Or leave a kiss but in the cup

And I'll not look for wine.

It is interesting to compare the medieval liturgical practice whereby the ceremonial Pax ('kiss of peace'), taking place after the Fraction, in the Canon of the Mass, came to be passed from the celebrant through the ranks of clerics, not as a ritual embrace, but by the kissing of a piece of wood or metal, which was then passed on and kissed in the correct hierarchical order. It was often highly ornamented and came itself to be called a 'Pax' - examples may be seen in, e.g., the Victoria and Albert Museum (see Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church s.v. 'Pax Brede').

There is also a certain affinity with various lovers' tricks involving substitution; see S. Trenkner, The Greek Novella in the Classical Period 135ff.

Here, however, the ploy is rendered grotesque by the person of the go-between who 'transmits' the kisses, and by their quantity and the warmth of their reception by the *moechus*. The punch line, for which the whole poem appears to have been written, involves a fairly obvious joke on *morio* - the husband is the greater cretin.

.1f. **QUA MOECHUM RATIONE BASIARET**
CORAM CONIUGE REPPERIT LABULLA: *qua ratione* is an opening technique analogous to that discussed above on 12.92.1, but here the question is indirect. For the phrase cf. 12.28.4.

moechus implicitly introduces the husband before he appears in .2. For *vir* vs. *moechus* cf. 1.74:

moechus erat: poteras tamen hoc tu, Paula, negare
ecce vir est: numquid, Paula, negare potes?

(i.e. by marrying the man Paula has admitted to her former adulterous relationship with him). Here M. presents an ingenious variation on the motif of the stupid or blind husband, for which see Trenkner *op.cit.*, index s.v. 'tricks of lovers'; Thompson Motif Index K1500-1599, 'Deceptions

connected with adultery'; R.W.Reynolds 'The Adultery Mime', CQ 40 (1976) 77ff. Nearer to home, 11.7 deals with the *stupidus maritus* and his adulterous wife Paula: 12 lines describe the sorts of excuses she might use, and the final couplet, παρὰ προσδοκίαν, reveals that she always tells her husband about her infidelities, i.e. he connives at them. For the conniving husband cf. Juv.1.55ff. (with Mayor, Courtney): M's twist on the situation is a rather sophistical one, in that Fabulla's *ratio* involves kissing her lover *coram coniuge*. But it is done in such a way that it is not really done - M. leads the reader to expect a trick of the kind catalogued by Trenkner and Thompson, and presents something far more innocent, despite his conclusion.

reperire, only here in M., hints at the creative ingenuity to which it points: cf. Pl.Capt.1033 *huius modi paucas poetae reperiunt comoedias ubi boni meliores fiunt*; Caes.Civ.3.50.1 *in novo genere belli novae…bellandi rationes reperiebantur*; Tac.Ann.2.27 *quia tum primum reperta sunt quae per tot annos rem publicam exedere*; Q.Inst.10.2.5 *cur igitur nefas est reperiri aliquid a nobis quod ante non fuerit.*

Labulla, preserved in C^A, as at 4.9.1, is otherwise unexampled (see PIR². *L* §§21f.; Kajanto 170; W. Schulze Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen 163 f.n.1). If it were not for the fact that her name might suggest *labella*, which would be extremely apposite here (although not particularly so at 4.9), one would have no hesitation in changing it. She should probably be Fabulla, which is transmitted without difficulty in 1.64 and 4.81 (cf. the same problem with Labulle / Fabulle at 11.24.4). Fabulla is also the name settled on by editors for a famous adulteress at Juv.2.68, where exactly the same uncertainty is found in its transmission. Even if the name did not occur, M. could easily have formed it himself for the sake of the joke, but there seems no point in his doing so at 4.9,

where the woman is a stock adulteress-figure. For this reason, and the fact that we seem to have a stock name to go with the stock figure in Juvenal as well, it would seem preferable to emend to Fabulla.

.3 **PARVUM BASIAT USQUE MORIONEM**: *usque* = 'all the time, continuously'. It would be in keeping with M's general air of grotesquerie in this poem if *parvus morio* = 'dwarf fool' (so Ker), but the adj. means only 'little, small', and the usual words for dwarf were *nanus* (νάνος) and *pumilio* (the former is the vulgar word according to Gell.19.13.2f.). Dwarves were sometimes kept to entertain in rich households: see Juv.8.32, with Mayor (who notes that their bodies were sometimes artificially distorted), Courtney. At Plin.NH.7.75, Augustus' dwarf Canopas (who was 2'5" tall) is introduced as a *minimus homo*, which is certainly much stronger than *parvus*. But the adj. would, of course, far more naturally denote a child: see Slater, '*Pueri, Turba Minuta*,' BICS 21 (1974) 133ff., on children who were kept by adults to play with for relaxation.

moriones were 'naturals', idiots, rather than professional jesters or fools (the latter are known as *scurrae* - see RE 2A.911.21ff.; P. Corbett The Scurra), kept to laugh at: Ulp.dig.21.1.4.3, about the sale of a *fatuum vel morionem*. At 3.82.24 M. characterizes the vulgar host (Zoilus) as 'toasting' his *moriones* (which involves sharing his cup with them); at 6.39.17 a deformed child is described as *morionis filium…Cyrtae*. Cf. also 8.13:

> *morio dictus erat: viginti milibus emi.*
> *redde mihi nummos, Gargiliane: sapit.*

(and 14.210). At Ep.9.17.1f., Pliny quotes the hearty disapprobation of his friend Julius Cunctor of a *cena* at which *scurrae cinaedi moriones inerrabant*; see also Blümner PrA.412 n.6; Marquardt Prl.152 n.5; 338 n.5. One reason for Fabulla's choice of medium for the kiss is doubtless that

the *morio* will not realize what is going on; for M. there is the added colour of it being a mentally sub-normal and possibly rather unattractive figure (the grotesquerie is further developed in the depiction of the *morio* being *osculis madens*).

.4ff. **HUNC MULTIS RAPIT OSCULIS MADENTEM**
MOECHUS PROTINUS ET SUIS REPLETUM
RIDENTI DOMINAE STATIM REMITTIT: For *osculum* see on 12.59.5.

For slobbery kisses, which *madentem* presumably suggests, cf. Petr.23.4 *immundissimo me basio conspuit* (cf. also the descriptions of tongue kissing at Lucr.4.1194, *et tenet assuctis umectans oscula labris*, and Tib.1.8.37f., *et dare anhelanti pugnantibus umida linguis / oscula*).

rapere and *protinus* at once add a mock-dramatic urgency to the response of the *moechus*, almost as if expressing his frustration with the arrangement, while at the same time insisting on his comically passionate embrace of the *morio*.

replere superficially picks up the literal sense of *madere* and emphasises it. As in M's other use of it at 7.20.19, it is often found of filling or stuffing with food or drink, but Plautus uses it of smothering, or thoroughly covering, at Poen.701: *te repplebo usque unguentum geumatis* and 1289ff. *ego illam pugnis totam faciam uti sit merulea, / ita replebo atritate, atritior multo ut siet / quam Aegyptini*. Perhaps it served as a popular metaphor, 'stuffed with', as *madens* can = 'drunk'.

For *ridens*, cf. 1.68.7 *haec legit et ridet demisso Naevia voltu*. Fabulla laughs at the success of her trick, or even, perhaps at its absurdity. *domina* is ironic - cf. the straightforward respectful use at 12.31.7. *remittit*, like *rapit*, stresses the physical actions involved in the transmission of the kiss.

.7 **QUANTO MORIO MAIOR EST MARITUS:** Cf. the joke in 8.13 quoted above: obviously the whole poem has been written for this pun on *morio* as a t.t.,

as against the simple meaning of μωρός.

The effect of the final line is heightened by the marked alliteration of 'm'.

94

A poem which voices the opposite sentiment to that of 8.18, where M. thanks Cerrinus for not competing with him in epigram and compares his action to that of Vergil who chose not to attempt lyric or tragedy so as to leave Horace and Varius secure in their respective primacies (cf. also 11.10 and 12.44): here M. inverts this serious and highly literary topic to produce a mock-*recusatio*, as if this is how he began to write epigram. He draws a comic vignette of himself, dogged by a tenacious imitator who pursues him even into the literary low-ground of epigram, leaving him with nowhere else to go. Part of the comedy derives from M's inexorable progress down the hierarchy of genres (set out with considerably more precision here than any contemporary literary theorist would have been likely to attempt - perhaps this too is intended to be recognised as comic), which reduces the poetic craft to a series of contingent choices. Horace (Ep.2.1.245-259) makes a firm distinction between the *parvum carmen* of satire and the works of Vergil and Varius which perhaps comes closest to the type of stratification M. is setting out here.

For the *recusatio* see W. Wimmel Kallimachos in Rom index s.v., and especially 162ff.; Williams TORP 46f. and index s.v.; N-H, intro. to H.Od.1.6 p.81ff.

.1f. **SCRIBEBAMUS EPOS; COEPISTI SCRIBERE: CESSI,**
AEMULA NE STARENT CARMINA NOSTRA TUIS: The staccato introductory statement adds a comic immediacy to the situation, almost as if Tucca has

crept up on M. in his innocent attempt to write epic. There is also the beginning of a strand of comedy, dependent on the recognition of the *recusatio*, which runs through the whole poem: the reader knows M. to be devoted to his chosen poetic form, but here he presents himself gaily embarking on a large variety of unlikely alternatives to it.

For *epos* cf. H.S.1.10.43ff. *forte epos acer / ut nemo Varius ducit; molle atque facetum / Vergilio advnuerunt gaudentes rure Camenae*; Ov.Rem.396 *quantum Vergilio nobile debet epos.*

For the periphrastic use of *coepisse* in M., see above on 12.65.9. *cessi* (see 12.79.3) stresses a comic suddenness in M's reaction. The explanation which is provided in .2 establishes the excuse for all of what follows, including the final joke. *carmen* may be used of any type of poetry: cf. 12.11.6 (epigram); 12.44.3.

stare can = 'take position, take side' (in war, Juv.8.138; in court, M.9.84.2) and there may be a suggestion of this here, as *aemulus* often = 'rival (in combat)' - cf. Tac.Ann.6.32; Stat.Theb.6.736. M's more conventional expression of literary rivalry (8.18.2) is *vel mecum possis vel prior ipse legi*. For *aemulus* applied, as here, to things, cf. Juv.11.73ff. *de corbibus isdem / aemula Picenis et odoris mala recentis / nec metuenda tibi*; H.Ep.1.19.15 *rupit Iarbitam Timagenis aemula lingua*; Stat.Theb.3.226.

.3 **TRANSTULIT AD TRAGICOS SE NOSTRA THALIA COTHURNOS:** 8.3.13 *an iuvat ad tragicos soccum transferre cothurnos*; Rhet.Her.3.24 *ne ab oratoria consuetudine ad tragicam transeamus*; Ov.Tr.2.393 *tragicos…cothurnos*; 2.553; Pont.4.16.29; Rem.375; H.Ars 80 *hunc socci cepere pedem grandesque cothurni*: Brink compares Od.2.1.11ff. (on which see N-H) and V.Ecl.8.10 for the metonymy; cf. also Bömer on Ov.Fast.5.348; Q.Inst.6.1.36 *nam in parvis quidem litibus has tragoedias movere tale est quasi si personam Herculis et*

coturnos aptare in infantibus velis.

Thalia was the muse particularly associated with comedy and light verse (cf. V.Ecl.6.2; H.Od.4.6.25) and M. seems to have appropriated her to epigram - 4.8.12; 4.23.4; 7.17.4; 7.46.4 etc. Here she adds a comic incongruity, = 'my muse', reminding the reader of M's real area of expertise even as he attempts something foreign to it.

.4 **APTASTI LONGUM TU QUOQUE SYRMA TIBI:** The metonymy is shifted to the tragic actor's long-trained robe (the name comes from σύρω) worn to add the appearance of height to the figure. Cf. 4.49.8 *Musa nec insano syrmate nostra tumet*; see also Mayor on Juv.15.30 (and cf.8.229); Brink on H.AP.215; Marquardt Prl.580f.

For *aptare* cf.4.49.5 *aut puero liquidas aptantem Daedalon alas.*

.5 **FILA LYRAE MOVI CALABRIS EXCULTA CAMENIS:** Cf. especially Ov.AA.2.494 *movit…fila lyrae*; also Sen.Ag.360 *tibi (sc. Iunoni) fila movent docta puellae carmine molli*; Ov.Met.5.117f. *digitis morientibus ille retemptat / fila lyrae*; Stat.Ach.2.157f. *fila sonantia plectro / cum quaterem.*

For the *lyra*, cf. on 12.11.3 above.

Camenae = 'poetry' - see on 12.2(3).8 *Pierio choro*; RE 3.1427f. There was thought to be an etymological connection of the word with *canere* (see Fest.Paul. p.38L), but, in fact, the Camenae seem to have originated as water goddesses, with a grove and a spring outside the Porta Capena: see e.g. H.S.1.10.45; Ep.1.1.1 *prima dicte mihi, summa dicende Camena.*

Calaber is M's usual adj. of Horace's origins - cf. 8.18.5 and 5.30.2. Horace was born at Venusia (H.S.2.1.34f.; Juv.1.51) in what is more usually thought of as Apulia, north of Calabria, which was strictly the 'heel' of Italy (and is now the 'toe'): Friedländer (on 5.30.2) thought that this was a simple case of geographical confusion. But cf. Horace's use of the adj. referring to Ennius at Od.4.8.19f. *clarius indicant / laudes quam Calabrae*

Pierides, on which Porphyrio makes the following interesting comment: *sua vult intellegi carmina, quia in urbe Venusi[n]a natus est, quae est in Calabria atque Apulia*. Cf. also Sidon.Ep.1.11.1 *Calaber ille [Horatius]*. Calabria clearly designated S.E. Italy generally.

excolere is used of developing or polishing a work of art, the metaphor drawn from well-cultivated land: cf. Plin.NH.35.56 *qui…inventa eius* (sc. a painter) *excoluerit*; Tac.Dial.22.3 *primus…excoluit orationem*; Apul.Met.1.1.4 *indigenam sermonem…nullo magistro praeeunte…excolui*; Cels.pr.2 (*medicina*).

.6 **PLECTRA RAPIS NOBIS, AMBITIOSE, NOVA**: *rapis* and *nova* again emphasise a comic immediacy and concreteness about the movements from genre to genre. The *plectrum* is a lesser symbol of lyric, as the *syrma* is of tragedy: cf. Stat.Ach.2.157 (above); Silv.1.2.2 *cui, Paean, nova plectra moves*; 1.3.101 (*Pindaricis*); 3.2.131f. *quanta votiva movebo / plectra lyra*; H.Od.1.26.11 (*Lesbio*); M.7.23.2 *ipse dares Latiae plectra secunda lyrae*.

ambitiose (see above on 12.66.4, where the adj. describes the house trying to appear something other than it is) introduces M's first note of positive annoyance: until now he has been emphasising his own 'proper' deference.

.7 **AUDEMUS SATURAS: LUCILIUS ESSE LABORAS**: The staccato effect of the first line is reintroduced as, at the half-way point of the epigram, M. becomes more urgently concise (2 genres in one couplet), and more openly ironic.

For audere see H.Ars.10, with Brink's note - it often denotes 'ventures of style' and the Greek equivalent is τολμᾶν; also .382 *qui nescit versus tamen audet fingere*. M. suggests that he is taking on something really rash: this is ironic after the genres he has already attempted (the idea of 'daring' to write satire, as if it were something elevated, is in itself

absurd).

Lucilius was the *inventor* of the genre: H.S.1.4.6 *hinc omnis pendet Lucilius*; Juv.1.19-21 with Courtney. *Lucilius esse laboras* is not just a way of saying 'you try your hand at it as well': it is impatiently ironic and picks up the idea of literary audacity from *audemus* with the suggestion that Tucca is showing a hyperbolic presumption, and that his real motive is to **outdo** M. As at 12.61.7 (*si legi laboras*), *laborare* probably also suggests that the attempt is a strain (on Tucca's talent).

.8 **LUDO LEVIS ELEGOS: TU QUOQUE LUDIS IDEM**: The repetition of *ludere* is unlikely to be without point and one suspects another (more sarcastic) attack on Tucca's talent: the verb is a t.t. of writing love elegy (see N-H on H.Od.1.32.1f. *si quid vacui sub umbra / lusimus tecum*), although it is also applied to other 'light' forms, including epigram (see e.g. M.11.6.3). But the point of *tu quoque ludis idem* could be 'and you **play at** the same thing', i.e. Tucca does it unprofessionally, badly: cf. Q.Inst.9.4.28 (the inappropriateness of a quirky style) *quod inter haec pessimum est, quia in re tristi ludit compositio*; Gell.praef.4 (self-deprecation) *longinquis per hiemem noctibus…commentationes hasce ludere ac facere exorsi sumus*. Cf. its use of a child 'playing at' something, Stat.Silv.2.7.55 (Lucan, as a child, writing epic); Suet Nero 35.5 (Nero has his stepson killed because he plays at being a general and emperor); see also TLL.7².1781.48ff. (*ludere* used of making a minor work in painting or other arts).

elegi are lumped together with *togatae* by Juvenal (1.4) as things of which he is a *vexatus auditor* (see Mayor, Courtney). Cf. H.Od.1.33.2f.; Ars.77; M.3.20.6f.; 7.46.5f.

For *levis* of 'light' verse, cf. Cic.Fin.1.7; H.Od.2.1.40 (with N-H); Ov.Am.1.1.19; Phaed.4.2.1; M.7.8.9; 9.73.9.

.9f. **QUID MINUS ESSE POTEST? EPIGRAMMATA FINGERE COEPI:**

HINC ETIAM PETITUR IAM MEA PALMA TIBI: A^A *fingere coepi*; C^A *pingere possis*; B^A *scribere* (perhaps influenced by .1 ?) or *fingere coepi*: for *fingere* of poetic composition cf. 7.69.9 *carmina fingentem*; H.Od.4.2.32 *carmina fingo*; Ars.382 (above); Prop.4.1.135 *elegos*.

M. ironically claims that he is at last reduced to epigram, the expectation of the reader being that this will be the bottom line of the *recusatio*, 'explaining' his choice of genre. *coepi* comically presents M., who is near the end of a very long career as an epigrammatist, as using this poem to recall the 'real' reason for his choice of genre.

The phrase *quid minus esse potest* is also used by M. at 11.23.4, of his 'generous' agreement to marry Sila for a dowry of 1,000,000 sesterces, plus some unusual conditions.

The idea implicit in *ambitiose* is picked up as M. carries the competitive instincts of Tucca beyond the reader's expectations. As usual, M. concedes first place in the field to himself (*mea palma*) even as he comically surrenders it: cf. 4.23.4f. *palmam Callimachus, Thalia, de se / facundo dedit ipse Brutiano*.

.11f. **ELIGE QUID NOLIS - QUIS ENIM PUDOR OMNIA VELLE ? -**
ET SI QUID NON VIS, TUCCA, RELINQUE MIHI: After *elige* a relative, not an interrogative, is required: A^A and C^A have *quid*, but *quod* is preserved in B^A and should be read here.

M. pushes his comic inversion of the topos to its logical absurdity, humbly begging for any generic scraps which might fall from Tucca's poetic table. The oxymoron *elige quod nolis*, recalled by *non vis* in the following line, adds to the comedy and is capped by a proverbial-style admonition about greed: cf. Otto Sprichwörter §§1288-91, *non omnia possumus omnes* (V.Ecl.8.63) etc.

For *pudor* cf. on 12.56.4; 12.63.6.

Tucca appears as the name of a glutton in 12.41, but here there could be a comic allusion to Vergil's literary co-executor, Plotius Tucca, who, with Varius Rufus, was involved with the publication of the Aeneid at Augustus' orders (and contrary to the author's instructions to burn it). This adds a twist to the literary hierarchy on which the poem depends.

relinque mihi is a final comic touch, as M. finishes the poem on a well-sustained note of mock-poignant humility.

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M. recommends the pornography of Mussetius (see on .1 for the name) to Instantius Rufus, as being so efficacious that it would be best if he read it **with** his girl-friend, as its power is such that he will be unable to restrain himself (cf. 12.43, on Sabellus reading erotic verses to M.). The comedy derives from the rather direct advertisement of the pornographer's wares, and the bizarre euphemism comically employed in .4ff. and rephrased in .7 (the structure repeating that of the first three and a half lines).

.1 **MUSAEI PATHICISSIMOS LIBELLOS**: Housman (Papers 994f.) rightly questioned the impulse of Lindsay and some other edd. in reading *Musaei* (*Ital.*) here, against the mss, and without knowing to whom the name would refer: the rest of the codd. read *Musseti*, except for L's *Musetis* (and L's reading is probably to be explained as a misplacing of the 's'). Housman cites several examples of the name Mussetius (and sim.) from CIL. Heraeus retained *Musseti*.

pathicus is used only here by M. and is strikingly used of **books**; it must mean something like 'sexually stimulating'. It tends to be used of passive homosexual behaviour - Catul.112.2; Juv.2.99; 9.130, and cf. Catul.16.2 (*Aureli pathice et cinaede Furi*), in a poem in which Catullus

defends himself against the charge of being *parum pudicum* even though his verses *sunt molliculi ac parum pudici, / et quod pruriat incitare possunt* (.8f.). The adj. is also applied to *puellae* at Priap.25.3, 40.4, 48.5 and 73.1 (prostitutes), where it seems to = 'submitting to sexual intercourse': see Adams LSV 190, who notes πάσχω and παθιχεύεται, of a woman, at Aristoph.Thesm.201 and AP.11.73.7 (Nicarchus) respectively. Remembering, also, M's great fondness for personification, especially of his books, the effect of it here must be something like 'very suggestive / lewd'. As Salemme (37n.) suggests, this is probably another example of a colloquial 'blanket' obscenity (see above on 12.79; cf. Catullus' use of *cinaedior* of a woman at 10.24).

.2 **QUI CERTANT SYBARITICIS LIBELLIS**: For *Sybariticis* see S. Trenkner The Greek Novella in the Classical Period 175f., who argues that there was an independent 'legend of Sybaris, the Greek equivalent of Sodom and Gomorrah'. Athenaeus (518ᵉ-521ᵈ) describes the luxurious behaviour of the Sybarites; Ov.Tr.2.417 (*nec qui composuit nuper Sybaritica fugit*) refers to 'erotic novelettes called Συβαριτικά' (N-H on H.Od.1.8.2). Here also the point is not mere luxury, but pornography, sexually stimulating writing and what might be called sex-manuals: cf. M's reference to the *molles Elephantidos libelli* at 12.43.4. At 11.16 he makes the claim that his own poems will excite his reader. Older commentators on the present passage referred to Hemitheon of Sybaris, but Lucian's description of his work makes this unlikely (31.23): ὁ κίναιδος Ἡμιθέων ὁ Συβαρίτης ὃς τοὺς θαυμαστοὺς ὑμῖν νόμους συνέγραψεν, ὡς χρὴ λεαίνεσθαι καὶ παρατίλλεσθαι καὶ πάσχειν καὶ ποιεῖν ἐκεῖνα. Kay compares Botrys and the *peri schematon sunousias* of 'Philainis' (see Polyb.12.13.1 with Walbank; Vessey, cited above on 12.22). See also Licht 3 p. 154ff.; W. Krenkel WZRostock 26 (1977) p. 621f. It seems more likely that M. is referring to a recognized sub-

species of pornography and a place famous for it, so much so that the name may be attached regardless of the actual place of origin: cf. the modern connotations of 'Swedish', of films. This is probably also what Ovid is talking about at Tr.2.417.

.3 **ET TINCTAS SALE PRURIENTE CHARTAS**: A 'theme and variation' line, which gets to the point of the poem, so Ker's 'and read also' is misleading: all three lines describe the works of Mussetius; the *et* is epexegetic.

For *pruriente* cf. Catul.16.9 (above) and 88.2; Adams LSV 188. The verb is a pornographer's t.t.: M.1.35.10f. *lex haec carminibus data est iocosis, / ne possint, nisi pruriant, iuvare* (with Citroni), cf.11.81.4 and also 5.78.27 and 14.203.1 (dancers from Cadiz - Juv. uses this verb of them at 11.163). The sense seems to be 'titillate', but, given the conjunction with *sal*, the more basic sense of the verb, 'itch' may be suggested. *sal* is suggestive of wit, especially of the more biting variety beloved of Roman satirists: H.S.1.10.3f. *sale multo (Lucilius) / urbem defricuit*; M.8.3.19 *at tu Romanos lepido sale tingue libellos*. It may, however, be significant that this is an item of vocabulary also found at Catul.16.5ff.:

> *nam castum esse decet pium poetam*
> *ipsum, versiculos nihil necesse est;*
> *qui tum denique habent salem ac leporem,*
> *si sunt molliculi ac parum pudici,*
> *et quod pruriat incitare possunt…*

That the pages are *tinctas* tends to insist on the graphic nature of the image: does it have some more specific meaning than the sum of its parts, or does *pruriens* merely define *sal*? It is tempting to wonder whether M. (and others) may have felt a false etymology from *sal* in *salax*: one does not survive, but cf. Isid.Orig.16.2.3 *sal quidam dictum putant quod in igne exiliat* (*salax* **does** come from *salio*, from which *ex(s)ilio* is compounded).

chartae is a common alternative for *libelli* in M.: cf. e.g. 1.25.7;

1.44.2; 1.66.7; 11.15.1.

.4 **INSTANTI LEGE RUFE**: For the injunction cf. 11.20.1f. *Caesaris Augusti lascivos livide versus / sex lege, qui tristis verba Latina legis* (introducing an obscene poem by Augustus as part of the defence of obscenity in book 11).

Despite the comedy which might be found in the name in the present context (Instantius might suggest 'eager for it': cf. e.g. *instes* at 6.23.3 quoted below), its previous appearances (7.68; 8.50(51); 8.73) suggest that it belongs to a real person, a reader and friend of M. He is presumably to be identified with the Instantius whose arrival as proconsul is celebrated in 12.98. For a similar comically frank address to a friend cf. that to Flaccus in 12.74.

.4ff. **…SED PUELLA**
SIT TECUM TUA, NE THALASSIONEM
INDICAS MANIBUS LIBIDINOSIS
ET FIAS SINE FEMINA MARITUS: See Adams LSV 209: *digitus* or *manus* are found frequently, and particularly in epigram, in euphemisms for *masturbari*. The left hand in particular is so employed: cf. Adams *loc.cit.* f.n.1 on the status of the left hand as 'unclean' and used for 'sexual and excretory purposes' in many cultures; M.6.41.1f. *Pontice, quod numquam futuis, sed paelice laeva / uteris et Veneri servit amica manus* (cf. Priap.33.6 *fiat amica manus*); 11.73.3f. *cum frustra iacui longa prurigine tentus, / succurrit pro te saepe sinistra mihi* (see Kay). For *libidinosis manibus*, cf. M.6.23.3 *manibus blandis et vocibus instes*. For M's attitude to masturbation cf. 9.41.7f.

omnia perdiderat si masturbatus uterque
mandasset manibus gaudia foeda suis.

and see Kay's note on 11.104.13.

For *thalassio* see on 12.42.4, *Talasse*. The joke here is that '*thalassio*' is the ritual cry used in the *deductio* part of the wedding

ceremony (Balsdon RW 184), and *indicas thalassionem* is a considerable extension of the common sexual metaphor 'marry': Adams (LSV 161) finds an almost exact point of comparison for this at AP.5.302.19f. (Agathias Scholasticus) πάντ' ἄρα Διογένης ἔφυγεν τάδε, τὸν δ' ὑμέναιον / ἤειδεν παλάμη, Λαίδος οὐ χατέων (see Adams 159ff. for the metaphor generally).

This use of *indicere* is appropriated from that of 'proclaiming' festivals and sim., *thalassionem* suggesting *nuptias*: TLL (7'.1157.43ff.) compares Suet.Cl.15.2 *indicto matrimonio iuvenis*; Quint.Inst.7.4.24 *huic parti subiungit Verginius causas abdicationis, dementiae, malae tractationis, orbarum nuptias indicentium* (where it seems to = 'claiming': TLL glosses it with *poscere*).

maritus is suggestive of the husband specifically as a bridegroom, instead of the more usual *vir*. As noted above, the final line mirrors the 'theme and variation' technique employed in .3. The oxymoron *sine femina maritus* turns the point into a satisfyingly neat conclusion.

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Advice to a wife who is worried by her husband's relationships with *ministri* although she knows that he has no other women (see Kay on 11.23 and 11.26 for such relationships within the household). M. suggests that the *pueri*, providing something that a wife would not wish to, actually keep her husband from being unfaithful to her. This paradox, typical of epigram, concludes the first half of the poem which then takes a new direction when she protests that she does offer what the boys offer. In response, M. suddenly becomes very blunt and, moving unexpectedly into ego-narration, uses a crudely concrete metaphor to describe why the *pueri* are preferable, telling the woman to stick to what she's made for: cf. 11.43, with Kay, for

the same argument (and AP.12.7, quoted by him). The movement from cool paradox to the heated giving of advice has an amusing psychological nicety about it, as does the unexpected intrusion of the first person - the case is suddenly and emotionally particularized to M's narrator. The blatant changing of ground from the detached observation of .6 to the nitty-gritty of sexual preference and the fig metaphor are similarly comic.

.1f. **CUM TIBI NOTA TUI SIT VITA FIDESQUE MARITI**
NEC PREMAT ULLA TUOS SOLLICITETVE TOROS: *ulla* is a neatly understated introduction of the idea that the threat to the wife is not from another **woman**.

premo here has a literal force, of 'putting one's weight on', 'lying on' - cf. Prop.2.29.35 *apparent non ulla toro vestigia presso*; Sen.Ira. 37.4 *demens, quid interest quam lecti premas partem ?*; and cf. the sexual sense at e.g. M.3.58.17 *Rhodias superbi feminas premunt galli.*

For *sollicitare* cf. CIL 14.2605.8 NULLIUS THALAMOS TURBAVI; 12.74.5.

The *torus* was of basically the same design whether it was made for dining or sleeping - see on 12.17.8. As = 'conjugal relations' cf. V.Fl. 2.159f. *nostros…toros virgata tenebit /…nurus*; CIL.6.11252.15 MARITE NE DOLEAS MEI…SUSTINEO IN AETERNO TORO ADVENTUM TUUM; M.8.77.6 *et caleat blando mollis amore torus*; 4.22.1; 6.21.6.

.3f. **QUID QUASI PAELICIBUS TORQUERIS INEPTA MINISTRIS,**
IN QUIBUS ET BREVIS EST ET FUGITIVA VENUS? : The foolish anxiety of the wife is partly conveyed by her fear of the *ministri* as if they were *paelices*: the essential feature of the *paelex* was her installation in the household as a rival to the wife, and so M. needs to make a distinction between the *paelex* and the *minister*, the two types of permanent fixture (he stresses that there is a difference with *quasi*).

For real *paelices* see Balsdon RW 230ff.; Courtney on Juv.2.57 (slave *paelices* in the household and women's attitudes to them): M.6.21.7 *sed*

postquam meus est, nulla me paelice laesit.

For *torquere* cf. H.Ep.1.2.37 *invidia vel amore vigil torquebere*; Tib.1.4.81; M.11.43.7; 11.56.12 (a beautiful *minister* tormenting the guests). *ineptus* may be used of someone who is unsophisticated in matters of love: see Pichon s.v.; cf. Catul.8.1 *miser Catulle, desinas ineptire*: Fordyce '*ineptire* has the implication of misconceiving the situation, being blind to the facts (in Cicero's phrase, "quid postulat tempus non videre…")'; cf. also 12.4 (*inepte*); M.1.68.8. But here the point may be the ascription of a more general lack of sophistication, like that of performing the *salutatio* in the country (M.1.55.6 *ineptus have*). For *ministri* see on 12.64.1.

Howell notes *gaudia…fugitiva* at 1.15.8 as the earliest metaphorical use of the adj. (cf. also 7.47.11) and it may be significant that M. uses it here only after the unremarkable *brevis*. The point is presumably that slave-boys grow up, and the period of their attractiveness is short-lived.

For *Venus* see 12.43.5 *Veneris novae figurae*.

.5 **PLUS TIBI QUAM DOMINO PUEROS PRAESTARE PROBABO**: *praestare* here is effectively a punning use, as, apart from its straightforward sense of rendering advantage, it is often used of giving sexual favours: cf.12.43.7; 12.65.2; *dare* below. 'The boys render you an advantage greater than the gratification they give your husband' is the implication. *probabo* exemplifies the tone of detached argument which disappears in .7ff.

.6f. **HI FACIUNT UT SIS FEMINA SOLA VIRO;**
HI DANT QUOD NON VIS UXOR DARE…: The structural repetition marks the climax of the argument. *femina sola viro* is presumably an ironic inversion of the *univira* ideal. *dare*, like *praestare*, can = 'grant one's favours' - see on 12.55.1 (opp. *negare*).

quod non vis uxor dare is suggestive of a general attitude to buggery

among Roman wives. Cf. Hdt.1.61f.: Megacles' daughter, whom Peisistratus had married, is so upset by Peisistratus' demand that she submit to this - for contraceptive reasons - that she tells her mother, and her father so arranges the political situation that Peisistratus has to leave Attica. See also Kay on 11.43.

.7f. **'DO TAMEN,' INQUIS, / 'NE VAGUS A THALAMIS CONIUGIS ERRET AMOR'**: The answer of the wife, in direct speech, introduces the less detached second half of the poem.

For *vagus* cf.6.21.5f. *saepe ego lascivom Martem furibunda cecidi, / legitimos esset cum vagus ante toros*; H.Ars 398 *concubitu prohibere vago*; Sen.HO.378 *haerere amantes post vagos ignes solent*; Stat.Silv.3.1.42f. (*te - sc. Hercules*) *qualem…vagae post crimina noctis / Thespius obstupuit, totiens socer.*

For *thalami* = 'marriage' see Pease on V.A.4.18 and cf. CIL 14.2605.8 (quoted on .2 above); M.10.63.7.

amor picks up *Venus*; cf. 6.93.3 *non ab amore recens hircus*; Ov.Fast. 6.573 *furtivos timide profitetur amores.*

errare, used of sexual peccadilloes is often mitigating in tone: here it is perhaps in keeping with the generally euphemistic tendency of the poem so far, which will be overturned by the graphic crudeness of .9ff.

.9f. **NON EADEM RES EST: CHIAM VOLO, NOLO MARISCAM:**
NE DUBITES QUAE SIT CHIA, MARISCA TUA EST: As well as being a common metaphor for piles and anal sores, ἰσχάς was sometimes used metaphorically for 'anus' (Anth.Plan.240.8; 241.5).

But at 12.96.9f. Martial goes beyond the common metaphorical use of such words…A husband desiring to *pedicare* boys might say that *pedicatio* of his own wife would not be the same thing: he wants the Chian fig (*Chia*) not the insipid *marisca*. The suggestive phraseology here was adopted with Greek usage in mind; one cannot deduce that *ficus* et sim. were regularly used in the Latin of M's day. (Adams LSV 113).

There may be something significant about the relative shape, size and appearance of the figs, since M. insists on spelling out the metaphor in personal terms in .10, but it is sufficient that one is highly rated and the other is not. Buchheit ('Feigensymbolik' 200ff.) notes that the *marisca* is a cheap local fig, whereas the Chian was a delicacy and strong-flavoured: cf. 7.25.7f.

infanti melimela dato fatuasque mariscas
nam mihi, quae novit pungere, Chia sapit.

and 13.23

Chia seni similis Baccho, quem Setia misit,
ipsa merum secum portat et ipsa salem.

(see also RE 6.2121f.).

For *volo nolo* cf. 12.37.2: here it represents the sudden intrusion of ego-narration, coincident with the more spirited turn of the argument. The sense might be just general, 'a man prefers', but it is surely more comical if it represents a revelation, as if by a slip of the tongue, that the *maritus* has been 'M.' all along.

.11f. **SCIRE SUOS FINES MATRONA ET FEMINA DEBET:**
CEDE SUA PUERIS, UTERE PARTE TUA: The final couplet neatly reduces a moralizing precept of the γνῶθι σεαυτόν type to a crudely graphic piece of sexual counselling (cf. Juv.11.27; .35f. *noscenda est mensura sui spectandaque rebus / in summis minimisque* - see Mayor, Courtney).

For *fines* cf. H.Ep.1.2.56 *semper avarus eget: certum voto pete finem*; Sen.Clem.2.3.1 *videamus quid sit clementia…et quos fines habeat*; M.8.3.3 *sit pudor et finis.*

matrona et femina delineates two counts on which the woman should know better - she should only do what befits a wife (see .7) and what her sex fits her for (.12). For *matrona* in M. cf. 5.2.1 *matronae puerique virginesque* (insisting on the propriety of book 5); 8.12.3f. *inferior*

matrona suo sit, Prisce, marito: / non aliter fiunt femina virque pares.

The second half of .12 is repeated from 11.22.10: Kay notes that it parodies V.A.12.932 *utere sorte tua* and compares H.Epod.14.15 *gaude sorte tua*. Shackleton Bailey (294) notes the double sense of *parte* here: it = i) 'role' and ii) *parte corporis*. He compares AL 317.6f. *illam qua mulier probaris esse / partem cum dederis, puella tunc sis.*

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Bassus has married a rich and attractive wife, but is exhausting himself with the *comati* which he has bought with her dowry. M. 'reacts' to this state of affairs by pretending that the marriage contract implies that Bassus' sexual obligations to his wife have been purchased by the dowry and he is reneging.

.1f. **UXOR CUM TIBI SIT PUELLA QUALEM**
VOTIS VIX PETAT INPROBUS MARITUS: For the opening cf. 12.53.1; 1.11; 1.91 etc.: see Siedschlag Form 31.

For *vota* see above on 12.90: presumably, although such matters no doubt were the subject of vows, a more non-literal sense is actually intended here. For *petere* cf. 8.72.7 *votis petendum est.*

An *inprobus maritus*, one who is sexually shameless or wanton, is one with demanding sexual tastes rather than one who is shamelessly unfaithful. Cf. 4.6:

credi virgine castior pudica
et frontis tenerae cupis videri,
cum sis inprobior, Malisiane,
quam qui compositos metro Tibulli
in Stellae recitat domo libellos.

Also Apul.Apol.76 *improba iuvenum circumspectatrix.*

.3 **DIVES, NOBILIS, ERUDITA, CASTA**: On this type of accumulation, or

συναθροισμός, see Q.Inst.8.4.27; cf. Stat.Silv.2.7.81ff.:

nec solum dabo carminum nitorem,
sed taedis genialibus dicabo
doctam atque ingenio tuo decoram
qualem blanda Venus daretque Iuno
forma, simplicitate, comitate,
censu, sanguine, gratia, decore,
et vestros hymenaeon ante postes
festis cantibus ipsa personabo.

The qualities may also be intended to suggest those of the 'perfect wife', as often enumerated in epitaphs: see Lattimore Themes §81 pp.290ff. - e.g. p.295 CE 1136.3-4 *nobilis Euphrosyne, facilis formosa puella / docta opulenta pia casta pudica proba*. The difference here is that *dives* is placed first, presumably as the most important item.

.4 **RUMPIS, BASSE, LATUS, SED IN COMATIS**: The name Bassus was a common one (see PIR² s.v.), used 24× by M.

For the sexual sense of *latus rumpere*, = 'tire out by sexual exertion', cf.11.104.6 *et iuvat admissa rumpere luce latus*; Kay compares Catul.11.19f. *nullum amans vere, sed identidem omnium / ilia rumpens*; Prop.2.16.14; Juv.6.37 (*lateri parcas*); Adams LSV 49.

For *comati* cf. 12.70.9.

.5 **UXORIS TIBI DOTE QUOS PARASTI**: If the dowry can be a means of enrichment, as it is regarded at e.g. 12.75.8, then comic logic demands that the whole transaction be viewed as strictly a business proposition: in return for the money, Bassus has an obligation to be sexually available to his wife. Instead he's spent the dowry on *comati* on whom he tires himself out. For the dowry itself see on 12.42.5; Balsdon RW 186f. For *parare* cf. Pl.Mer.341 *amicam mihi paravi*; Catul.10.20 *(ut) non possem octo homines parare rectos.*

.6f. **ET SIC AD DOMINAM REVERSA LANGUET**
MULTIS MENTULA MILIBUS REDEMPTA: *domina* is often an affectionate, respectful term for a wife, or another woman (see on 12.31.7; 12.52.14; SG

4.86 = 4.87). Here there is also a joke extracted from the meaning 'mistress, owner': the *mentula* is the wife's property, duly paid for, and so it is envisaged as returning to its owner, unfit for service. Compare the joke at 6.71.6 *vendidit ancillam, nunc redimit dominam.*

For *mentula* see on 12.86.2. For its personification as a separate entity (not confined to M.), see Howell p.122, quoting Giangrande. The idea is an enduring one, comically exploited by e.g. Billy Connolly in a comedy sketch entitled 'Cycling Equipment' (on his album Wreck on Tour, 1985).

For *langueo* cf. Juv.11.167 *inritamentum veneris languentis*; M.1.46.1f. *cum dicis 'propero, fac si facis,' Hedyle, languet / protinus et cessat debilitata venus.* Encolpius' impotence is described by Petr. as *languor* at 129.4; cf. 132.8; Ov.Am.3.7.3, 27, 66; TLL 7².921.42f.; Adams LSV 46, comparing *iners, inutilis.* Cf. also *languida* at 11.29.1; Catul.25.3; 67.21.

.8f. **SED NEC VOCIBUS EXCITATA BLANDIS**
MOLLI POLLICE NEC ROGATA SURGIT: B^A *sed (set) nec*; C^A *vel ne*; Heinsius suggested *quae nec* and Heraeus added *et nec.* Gilbert (RhM 40 (1885) 221) rightly explained *sed nec* as = *sed ne…quidem*, comparing 2.28.3, 10.70.11f. and also 4.82.5 and 5.44.4.

For *surgo* see on 12.86.2. For *excitare* etc. cf. Juv.6.196f. *quod enim non excitet inguen / vox blanda et nequam ? digitos habet…*, which could suggest that Juv. had this or other comparable passages in M. (e.g. 12.95.6; 6.23.3) in mind. For verbal stimulation cf.11.104.11 *nec motu dignaris opus nec voce iuvare*: Kay compares AP 5.132.5f. (Philodemus); 5.56.1 (Dioscorides); 12.209.4 (Strato); Ov.AA 3.795f.

mollis can refer to voluptuous or suggestive movements - e.g. Prop.2.22.5 *molli…gestu* - and also a 'gentle' embrace - Catul.64.88 *in molli complexu matris.* For *molli pollice* see on 12.95.6 *manibus libidinosis*, with Adams LSV 209; for the *pollex* M.11.29.1f. *languida cum*

vetula tractare virilia dextra / coepisti, iugulor pollice, Phylli, tui.

.10 **SIT TANDEM PUDOR AUT EAMUS IN IUS:** *sit pudor* is a colloquial expression of annoyance or frustration - see on 12.56.4; 12.63.6.

eamus in ius is technical: cf. Pl.Poen.1342; Truc.840; Ter.Phorm.981; Sen.Apoc.13.6; Paul.dig.1.1.11 *ius dicitur locus in quo ius redditur.* The Index Expurgatorius (p.135) may be right in suggesting that this line represents 'the words of the wife threatening to be divorced from her faithless husband,' but M's narrator may easily be thought of as acting on her behalf.

.11 **NON EST HAEC TUA, BASSE: VENDIDISTI:** As often, the name is repeated and the joke reformulated, with the point made strongly in the final word. The Index Expurgatorius makes some anthropological observations about conjugal rights as the source of a possible double meaning here, but the joke is stronger if the dowry alone is the point of *vendidisti.*

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The book concludes with a stylized and formulaic poem welcoming Instantius as he comes to succeed Macer as *proconsul Baeticae.* It is recognizably within the category of ἐπιβατήριον for the arrival of a new governor outlined at Men.Rh.378.4-16. Line 6 varies the speech recommended for an occasion when the previous governor has been a good one (378.26ff.), in that, instead of wishing for better times, M. wishes for a year as good as that just past, thus making a courtly gesture to Macer as well. The river Baetis is praised in terms which fall within the tradition of the 'panegyric of place' (see N-H II.95f.).

.1 **BAETIS OLIVIFERA CRINEM REDIMITE CORONA:** Cf. 12.52.1 *tempora Pieria solitus redimire corona* - although here it is not the poet's garland, but

that found at festive gatherings, often together with unguent for the hair: H.Od.1.4.9f. *nunc decet aut viridi nitidum caput impedire myrto / aut flore terrae quem ferunt solutae*; AP.11.19.3f. (Strato) καὶ στεφάνοις κεφαλὰς πυκασώμεθα καὶ μυρίσωμεν / αὖτούς.

olivifera, transferred from *Baetis*, like *navigerum* below, is archaic. Baetic olive-oil was highly prized: see on 12.63. For *Baetis* see Strabo 3.1.9ff.; on the first 4 lines of this poem Dolç 39.

.2 **AUREA QUI NITIDIS VELLERA TINGUIS AQUIS**: For the coloured fleeces of the region (probably achieved by breeding) see on 12.63.3-5. *aureus*, proleptic here, is the adj. used of the Golden Fleece at e.g. V.Fl.7.167; Prop.2.26.6; Ov.Fast.3.876; Sen.Tro.1036. It can also extend to the colour of e.g. apples (V.Ecl.8.52) and flowers (Priap.68.21).

tinguo is similarly used at 12.63.5; *nitidus* might be expected to suggest simply bright, clear water (cf.8.68.8), but presumably also contributes to the idea that the water is thought of as imparting its own bright, golden colour; cf. *nitenti* at 12.57.10, of gold-dust.

.3f. **QUEM BROMIUS, QUEM PALLAS AMAT; CUI RECTOR AQUARUM ALBULA NAVIGERUM PER FRETA PANDIT ITER**: Cf. Stat.Silv.2.2.4f. *qua Bromio dilectus ager, collesque per altos / uritur et prelis non invidet uva Falernis* (Bromius = Bacchus). For *amare* of divine favour see on 12.52.13: as at 12.11.4, where the idea that Phoebus 'loves' a poet suggests that he is a good poet, here the land is thought of as rich in the fruits in which the gods are interested. Just as Bromius represents wine here (the area produced a wine that was highly thought of - see Dolç 39 f.n.32), Pallas represents the olive: cf. 1.76.7f. *quid possunt hederae Bacchi dare? Pallados arbor / inclinat varias pondere nigra comas.*

rector = supreme deity in a particular sphere: cf. Ov.Met.1.331 *rector pelagi* and Bömer's note on 2.574. *rector aquarum* = Neptune, as Farnaby

noted (cf. V.Fl.1.88; Stat.Ach.1.77f.): the Baetis is envisaged flowing into the sea. *albula* is simply a descriptive adj., as Heraeus rightly notes in his app.crit., and was misleadingly capitalized by Lindsay who apparently took it (as did Friedländer and Ker) to be a 'proper name' (Ker: 'Albula'; his note reads 'An old name of the Tiber'). In fact M. is adding a descriptive touch to his picture of the Baetis flowing into the sea. The mouth of the river has changed its form since M's day (see W. Smith Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography s.v. 'Baetis') so what he is describing may not be apparent today. Strabo (3.1.9) does vouchsafe the need of a beacon on the island that was formed between the two mouths then extant,

> ἥ τε γὰρ ἐκβαλλομένη χοῦς ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ βραχέα ποιεῖ, καὶ χοιραδώδης ἐστὶν ὁ πρὸ αὐτοῦ τόπος…

which may add credibility to the suggestion that where the river entered the sea there would have been a noticeable foaming / colouring of the water which *albula freta* is intended to describe. Farnaby: '*cui Neptunus aperit iter navigabile ut exoneretur in cana freta Oceani qui Baetim excipit.*'

freta = 'sea': cf. V.A.10.147 *media Aeneas freta nocte secabat*; H.Od.1.15.1; M.2.24.4; 8.50.16; 10.36.4. For *iter* cf. Liv.28.16.2 *brevius aliud esse iter ad Baetim fluvium.* For *pando*, Var.gramm.371 *Tito Tatio…viam pandere atque aperire permissum est*; V.A.12.626 *qua prima viam victoria pandit*; Stat.Silv.1.1.22 *obvia limina pandit.* The choice of word may also, of course, have something to do with the reefs mentioned by Strabo.

naviger = 'navigable': Strabo 3.2.3 παροικεῖται δὲ ὑπὸ πλείστων ὁ Βαῖτις, καὶ ἀναπλεῖται σχεδόν τι ἐπὶ χιλίους καὶ διακοσίους σταδίους ἐκ θαλάττης μέχρι Κορδύβης καὶ τῶν μικρὸν ἐπάνω τόπων. For the adj., cf. Lucr.1.3 *navigerum mare*, see Bailey: it is first found in Lucr., and is of an archaizing type which he favours (formed from the roots *fer-* and *ger-*).

M. is adding an epic solemnity to Instantius' arrival: he will have come by sea and then up the Baetis.

.5f. **OMNIBUS LAETIS VESTRAS INSTANTIUS ORAS
INTRET ET HIC POPULIS UT PRIOR ANNUS EAT**: For *laetus* cf. 12.8.3; 12.9.3. M. uses *omen* only here and at 14.32.1 (*militiae decus hoc gratique erit omen honoris*). Cf. Catul.61.159 (*bono*); H.Od.3.11.50f. (*secundo*). The phrase would appear to mean simply 'may his arrival be auspicious'.

This is most probably the Instantius Rufus of 12.95 and e.g. 8.73. There has, however, been some difficulty in its transmission here: B^A *intrantibus* (Q *instr-*); C^A *instantibus*. PIR^2 accepts the identification with Instantius Rufus: the proximity of this reference to 12.95 is in its favour (see also Heraeus RhM 74 (1925) 320).

vestras oras intret is particularly formal in tone. Housman noted this expression in his 'VESTER = TUUS' article (Papers 793) as 'only an example of…confusion or identification of a town or country with its inhabitants', i.e. *Baetis* = *Baetici*. He might have called upon the presence of *populis* in the following line to strengthen his point.

One expects a wish for even **better** times (see intro. p.413; Men.Rhet. 378.26ff.), but M. wishes to compliment both governors. Cf. the motif of prayer for τῶν ὄντων νῦν ἀγαθῶν ὄνησιν - see Fraenkel on Aesch.Ag.350; Horace 138 and f.n.4.

.7f .**NON IGNORAT ONUS QUOD SIT SUCCEDERE MACRO;
QUI SUA METITUR PONDERA FERRE POTEST**: Macer (see PIR^2 *M* §12) was *curator viae Appiae* c.95 A.D. (cf.M.10.18), *proconsul Baeticae* in 100/101, and probably *cos.suff.* in 103 (see Syme Tacitus 666f.).

onus, 'a burden of responsibility', only here in M.: cf. Pl.Bac.499; Plin.NH.17.173; Stat.Theb.8.285; Q.Inst.2.1.2. For *succedere*, of succeeding to a task or office, cf. M.5.61.12; 8.46.5.

Otto records nothing exactly parallel to .8, but cf. various plays on

honos / onus (Sprichwörter §828), and especially H.Ep.1.7.98 *metiri se quemque suo modulo*; Juv.11.35 *noscenda est mensura sui*; 6.358; Plin.NH.2.4; Sen.Tran.6.1f. Like *onus*, *pondus* commonly refers to a 'burden of responsibility': 6.64.14 *ipse etiam tanto dominus sub pondere rerum.*

The final couplet, a rather heavy handed compliment which serves to bring the focus back onto Instantius, concludes this poem of formal celebration with a suitable *sententia*: the whole poem seems distinctly to lack warmth or enthusiasm, but, as 12.62 also demonstrates, M. seems not to be at his best or most original in these more serious literary environments.

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