MARTIAL BOOK XI

a commentary

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Preface

The major theme which Martial gives his Eleventh Book is that of Saturnalian licence and the freedom it bestows on the epigrammatist to write without inhibition; a proportion of the epigrams are consequently of a very frank nature. Until recently there has been little written on the nature and function of obscenity and its vocabulary in ancient literature and this commentary contains a thorough treatment of the subject as it relates to Martial. However, there is a great deal more to Martial than his notorious rudeness, and the whole varied and entertaining range of his writing is apparent in this book. He paints a revealing picture of everyday Roman life, society and attitudes, he sheds light on the politics of his day and the operation of the imperial regime, and, as the greatest exponent of epigram, his literary importance is undoubted.

The present volume contains a text and a translation of Greek passages quoted because I believe that such a commentary should be able to be read without recourse to a separate text and that it should be accessible to those with no Greek; I also give a translation of the epigrams of Book Eleven, which obviates the necessity of discussing some minor points as well as elucidating and highlighting the commentary proper (for these reasons the translation of each epigram appears at the head of the commentary on it rather than as a parallel text). The commentary itself is, I hope, reasonably full (though I cannot aspire to expertise in all the fields on which it touches), but I would mention in particular three recent works relevant to Martial and the vocabulary of this book, to which reference is often made and of which I have tried not to duplicate material unnecessarily: these are the commentaries by M.Citroni and Peter Howell on Book One of Martial, and J.N.Adams' *Latin Sexual Vocabulary*.

This commentary began life as an Oxford D.Phil. thesis, and as a student, as an examinee, and subsequently I have benefited greatly from the advice and criticism of teachers, friends and colleagues. Not only have they rescued me from errors, but they have also generously offered me their own suggestions and insights which I have often silently incorporated without any specific acknowledgment. I trust they will accept this sincere expression of thanks, and I mention especially Dr.J.N.Adams of Manchester University, Mr.J.G.Griffith, formerly of Jesus College, Oxford, Mr.P.A.Howell of Bedford College, London, Professor R.G.M.Nisbet of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and Mr. M.D.Reeve of Exeter College, Oxford. I would also record my thanks to Mr.Andrew Cohen for much help with photocopying and proof-reading. I must finally thank the Delegates of the Oxford University

Press for permission to base the text and apparatus criticus which are printed with this commentary on the Oxford Classical Text of W.M. Lindsay.

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N.K.

Introduction

(i) The date of Book XI

Books I to XI of the Epigrams appeared at almost yearly intervals from 85/6 onwards; Book XII came out after Martial's return to Spain, and shortly before his death, in either 101 or 102.[1] Book XI can be precisely dated. Martial makes great play with the fact that it appeared in December, around the time of the festival of the Saturnalia (see 11.6 intro.); and the year must be 96: Domitian is dead and Martial welcomes the accession of Nerva; 11.1 is addressed to Parthenius, who was murdered in the middle of 97; and 11.4 celebrates the forthcoming consulship (the third one) of Nerva, which began on 1 January 97. Later on Martial made a selection of pieces from the first edition of Book X[2] and Book XI, which he asked Parthenius to present to Nerva (12.4(5); 12.11).

(ii) The text

The text printed with this commentary is based on Lindsay's Oxford Classical Text: he was an excellent editor and all students of Martial are greatly in his debt. On a few occasions, however, my own choice of reading differs from his and appears in the body of the text[3] (since a translation is included with this book, this seemed the most sensible course of action). I have not collated the manuscripts of Book XI myself, and I doubt whether any significant benefit would have been gained by doing so: Citroni performed the task for his edition of Book I, but although he has a much fuller apparatus than Lindsay he found nothing of significance that was new. I also quote Housman's rather back-handed compliment to Lindsay: 'Students of Martial now live in an age which was begun by Professor Lindsay's edition of 1903, one of those works which are such boons to mankind that their shortcomings must be forgiven them. All that energy could do in the investigation or skill and industry in the collation of MSS was done, and the

1. The basic treatment of the chronology of the epigrams is still that of Friedlaender (1.p.50f.); see also Citroni, p.ix-xxi.

2. For the two editions of Book X see Friedlaender, 1.p.64.

3. See notes on 11.7.10; 8.1; 24.9; 31.18; 50(49).3-4; 56.11; 70.6; 79.3; 80.7; 90.3; 94.8; 96.3; 98.12; 98.22; 99.5-6. I have also been unable to understand Lindsay's use of capital letters in the text, which seems quite arbitrary: in 11.1, for example, why do 'certe' and 'ecquid' merit capitals, when 'numquid' and 'sunt' do not? I have therefore used capitals only for the first letter of each epigram and for proper nouns.

fruits of this labour were condensed in an apparatus criticus of the most admirable lucidity. It is true that one was obliged to form one's text for oneself, but without Mr. Lindsay that would not have been possible."[4]

For a full discussion of the manuscript tradition and a description of the most important manuscripts I would refer the reader to Citroni's thorough treatment.[5] I shall give here only a brief outline of the recension and mention some points of particular interest.

There are three families of manuscripts of Martial, which derive from Lindsay's archetypes $A^AB^AC^A$ (Heraeus' αβγ; for the most important members of each family see the sigla, p.46), and which exhibit distinctive characteristics. The A^A family is known only from florilegia and has an expurgating tendency towards references to heterosexual activity; both 'complete' families omit epigrams (thus, for example, B^A does not have 1.41.4 to 1.47; C^A does not have 10.56.7 to 10.72); and the order of the epigrams in Books I to IV is radically different in the B^A tradition from in the C^A tradition (and, as far as can be told, the A^A tradition).[6] Furthermore, no one member of a family ever parts with its fellows to take the significantly different reading of another family (Lindsay and Heraeus would inform us of such instances by expanding their apparatus: note them, for example, on 6.10.4; 11.84.1). This demonstrates that there was no contamination between the various families from the time the archetypes were written until, in fact, around the twelfth century, when contamination can be seen beginning in France (largely between A^A and C^A) and later spreading to Renaissance Italy (largely between B^A and C^A).[7] The dates of the archetypes $A^AB^AC^A$ cannot be established with any great precision: B^A appears to have been an Italian manuscript written in Beneventan minuscule, dating most probably to the ninth or tenth centuries; C^A appears to have been a French manuscript written in Caroline minuscule, dating to the eighth or ninth centuries; of A^A it can only be said that it was probably written in a French monastery, though at an uncertain date.[7a] It thus appears that three manuscripts survived the Dark Ages and were the ancestors of $A^AB^AC^A$.

As for the archetypes themselves, do they derive independently and without contamination from one source, and is that source an autograph? There are reasons for answering all these questions in the affirmative. All three families contain epigrams unique to them (the *Liber de Spectaculis*, for example, is found only in the A^A tradition; 11.96 only in the B^A; and 11.50(49) only in the C^A), and all three families have unique good readings:[8] this demonstrates their

4. *Class. Pap.* 3.p.1098.

5. p.xlv-lxxix; also M.D.Reeve, *Texts and Transmission*, ed. L.D.Reynolds (1983), p.239f.

6. See Citroni, p.liv.

7. See Reeve, op.cit. p.241f.

7a. On A^A see further Citroni, p. xlix; on B^A see Lindsay, *Ancient Editions*, p. 6 and *CR* 15 (1901), p. 417; on C^A see Citroni, p. lix and Lindsay's preface to the Oxford Classical Text.

8. The following examples are taken from places where all three families are extant, and where there is a significant difference between the correct and incorrect readings: in A^A: 6.32.1; 7.64.3; 10.48.23; 11.39.10; 12.19.2; 12.94.5; 12.94.10; 13.65.2; 14.37.1; 14.167.2; in B^A: 1.92.8; 5.11.2; 7.18.9; and in C^A: 3.60.5; 9.31.1; 10.48.11; 11.99.5; 12.46.1; 14.48.1. On the 'unique' epigrams see 11.96 intro.

9. The following are cases of agreement in error, both trivial and deeper corruption:
(a) $A^AB^AC^A$ extant, jointly incorrect: 2.60.2; 4.49.4; 5.21.2; 5.28.3; 6.34.1; 6.34.7; 6.60.2; 6.86.6; 7.92.10; 10.11.6; 10.48.20; 11.8.1; 14.46.1; 14.166.1 (and see also 11.21.1n.; 11.94.8n.).
(b) $A^AB^AC^A$ extant, all incorrect, but only two jointly: 8.64.6; 9.54.10; 12.57.9; 14.16.2; 14.26.1.
(c) $A^AB^AC^A$ extant, C^A correct, A^AB^A jointly wrong: 3.60.5; 5.46.3; 11.99.5; 14.46.1.
(d) $A^AB^AC^A$ extant, B^A correct, A^AC^A jointly wrong: 4.59.3; 5.11.2; 7.18.9-10; 8.54(53).4; 9.67.2; 9.71.6; 10.11.6.
(e) $A^AB^AC^A$ extant, A^A correct, B^AC^A jointly wrong: 3.24.2; 3.85.3; 4.4.12; 4.31.2; 4.42.2; 4.59.2; 4.74.3; 6.10.4; 7.35.4; 8.21.4; 8.46.1; 9.95b.3; 11.39.10; 11.84.1; 12.14.7; 12.19.2; 12.90.3; 12.94.5; 12.94.10; 13.1.5; 13.24.2; 14.37.1; 14.117.1; 14.158.1; 14.162.1; 14.167.2; 14.197.2; 14.211.2.
(f) B^AC^A only extant, and jointly wrong: 1.53.4; 2.61.5; 2.84.4; 3.58.39; 4.23.3; 4.64.31; 5.14.11; 5.22.5; 5.35.1; 5.38.3; 5.38.7; 5.84.9; 6.39.7; 7.5.3; 7.20.2; 7.29.1; 7.44.7; 7.47.6; 7.79.3; 8.26.1; 8.52.3; 9.1.7; 9.44.6; 10.24.9; 10.30.1; 10.51.5; 10.103.1; 10.104.9; 11.3.10; 11.15.13; 11.24.15; 11.61.3; 12.2.4; 12.70.4; and see also notes to 11.31.18; 56.11; 80.7; and 98.12.

10. See Citroni, p.liiif.

11. *Ancient Editions*, p.13f.; cf. G. Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo*[2] (1952), p.419f.

independence. Minimal contamination is suggested by divergence in error being much commoner than agreement in error in the three families. Where agreement in error does occur, it is usually of such a trivial nature that it could have arisen in each family independently; if it is deeper corruption, we can assume it to be very early (and note that M. himself talks of the errors *librarii* made in transcribing his works (2.8; 7.11))[9] – however it is *a priori* likely that some contamination will have taken place in Antiquity before the archetypes $A^AB^AC^A$ were written (we know, for example, that Torquatus Gennadius 'edited' Martial in 401 (the ancestor of B^A) by the subscriptions which appear in some B^A manuscripts,[10] and that would have been an opportunity for such contamination). But even so, the general triviality of common errors suggests that the common source of $A^AB^AC^A$ is an autograph.

Some of the most interesting divergences of reading among the families are those cases where the variants make equally good sense (which does not necessarily mean that they are equally likely to have been what the author wrote): this led Schneidewin, followed by Lindsay, to believe in a theory of author variants.[11] It can be seen how insecure it is by examining one of the cases most frequently cited in support: at 10.48.23 A^A gives us 'de prasino conviva meus venetoque loquatur'; B^A gives us 'de prasino scutoque meus conviva loquatur'; and C^A gives us 'de prasino conviva meus scipioque loquatur': Gruterus suggested that the name of the charioteer Scorpus lay

behind 'scutoque' and 'scipioque' in B^A and C^A, which Lindsay accepted; he also pointed to 10.2.1f., which showed that Martial put out a second edition of Book X, and to the contemporaneous date of Scorpus' death (cf. 10.50). He then claimed that Scorpus had died in between the two editions of the book, and that Martial had therefore had to change his reference to him. But the arguments against this are conclusive: neither B^A nor C^A actually has 'Scorpo' in the text, though they have no difficulty with the name elsewhere; they do not show the same corruption, or even a different corruption in the same place in the line; and the balance of 'de prasino Scorpoque' would not be tolerable in any case. Quite how the corruption has got into B^A and C^A is uncertain, but corruption it must be, not the relic of a first edition. As another example take 3.13.1: even if we admit that the readings of the archetypes were 'dum non vis pisces, dum non vis carpere pullos' in A^A and B^A, and 'dum non vis leporem, dum non vis carpere mullos' in C^A (which is uncertain), the two are clearly not variants from Martial's pen: what has happened is that C^A has had 'pullos' corrupted into 'mullos', and then, realising that 'mullos' will not pair with 'pisces', has altered 'pisces' accordingly. But in general terms, a strong argument against the author variant theory in Martial is that of probability: it can be seen by looking through Lindsay's many examples (see n.11) that the majority of them consist simply in a change of word order, tense or mood of verb, or a single word altered to a synonym: is it likely that Martial would bother himself with such trivialities, and that his first and second thoughts should remain evident in the manuscripts?[12]

Some of these variants which are not nonsense may possibly have intruded from early attempts at editing (early, because they seem too idiomatic for medieval scribes to have hit upon): 13.65.2 is the best example. The epigram is about partridges: in A^A the second line is 'hanc in piscina ludere saepe soles', which is correct, 'perdicem ludere' presumably being some swimming-pool game of a dubious nature (see 11. 21.11n.). B^A did not understand this and so emended to 'hanc in lautorum condere saepe soles', understanding 'saepe' as the noun. C^A then realised that 'saepe' should be an adverb and tried to emend B^A: 'haec in lautorum mandere saepe soles'; he rashly understood 'cenis' with 'in lautorum' (from 13.7.2), and made a silly contradiction of 'rarissima' in the first line.[13] Note also 14.29.2: A^AB^A give 'Mandatus populo vela negare solet'; C^A did not perceive the name, and therefore altered

12. Note, for example, the frequent disagreement in the manuscripts over names – Maecilianus/Laetilianus/Caecilianus/Gargilianus; Fabullus/ Labullus and so on. Why should M. want to change them? What has usually happened is that a rarer name has been dislodged by a commoner one. I append a fairly complete list of places where names have led to confusion: 1.65.2; 1.73.2; 1.83.1; 1.118.2; 3.20.15; 4.9.1; 4.64.1; 5.12.3; 6.62.1-2; 6.67.1; 6.69.2; 6.84.1-2; 7.4.2; 7.10.1; 7.51.3; 7.55.1; 7.62.1; 7.72.7; 7.87.7-9; 7.90.3; 7.94.2; 8.3.6; 8.6.1; 8.20.2; 8.81.4; 9.10.1-2; 9.42.1; 9.48.1; 9.59.1; 9.84.5; 9.93.3; 9.95.1; 10.14.10; 10.21.2; 10.48.13; 10.52.1; 11.28.1; 11.38.1; 11.97.2; 11.98.1; 11.105.1; 12.7.2; 12.12.2; 12.20.1; 12.40.2; 12.85.2; 12.93.2; 12.98.5.

13. See W.Schmid in *Hommages à J.Bayet* (1964), p.668f.; this is a case where contamination in the pre-archetype tradition can be postulated.

'Mandatus' to 'nam ventus'. Other possible examples of early editing in the various families are: 1.61.5; 1.108.9; 3.16.5; 6.80.8; 9.90.12; 11.29.3; 11.39.10; 11.84.10; 12.94.5.

(iii) The arrangement of the epigrams in Book XI

Martial has arranged his Eleventh Book most successfully to give it interesting variety in a unified framework: the reader who goes through it from beginning to end will not be bored by a long run of poems of an identical nature, nor will he feel that the author has given little thought to the way in which his work is set out. 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; Martial avoids this by giving the book a theme and by various other architectural devices.

First, Book XI has a well defined beginning and end; the former repays close attention. It consists of the opening six poems, and it may be significant that 1 and 6 are both in hendecasyllabics, and both are sixteen lines long;[14] the focus of this group is on Nerva and the new government which Martial, reasonably enough, welcomes and eulogises; he also uses the opportunity to introduce the dominant theme of the whole book – that of Saturnalian licence and the freedom which it bestows (see 11.6 intro.); this is then developed in a series of epigrams which extends outside the introduction proper, thus linking it with what follows (2; 6; 15; 16; 17; 20). These two introductory topics can be seen as complementing each other: the freedom and happiness which is a part and parcel of Saturnalian ribaldry mirrors the general euphoria felt at Nerva's accession:

> clamant ecce mei 'Io Saturnalia' versus:
> et licet et sub te praeside, Nerva, libet. (11.2.5f.)

The idea of bawdiness thus naturally forms the backbone of the book: over half of the skoptic epigrams are of an obscene nature. They occur throughout the book, though concentrations form at certain points (e.g. of 21 to 30 only 24 is not based on material of a sexual nature; 60 to 64 and 70 to 75 are all obscene skoptic pieces). Similarly with the non-obscene skoptic pieces, again well distributed, and again with some concentrations (e.g. 31 to 39 with the exception of 36 (though it too is not obscene); 54 to 56; 82 to 84; and 92 to 94).

Other ways in which Martial holds the book together are the use of connected cycles (e.g. on the parvenu Zoilus: see 11.12 intro.); the use of the same addressees (e.g. Flaccus: see 11.27.1n.); and the use of pairs or groups of

14. But I would not like to press the idea that M. structures the book by balancing metre and length in this way throughout; the approach of Berends (*Anordnung*) is interesting, but ultimately unconvincing.

epigrams to complement or contrast with each other (the clearest examples are 4-5; 9-10; 13-14; 41-42; 48-50(49); 90-91 (91 is also linked with 93, which in turn is linked with 94: see 11.93 intro.); 100-102; and 106-108).[15] In many of these instances the reader's understanding and enjoyment of an epigram is heightened by his recollection of pieces elsewhere in the book; each unit is comprehensible in isolation, but the reader from beginning to end will be more aware of the subtleties.

So much for the unity of the book; but a great measure of its effect also stems from its variety, to which epigram is ideally suited. The subjects extend from praise of Nerva to ridicule of a small farm, from epitaphs on a slave girl and a dog to a quoted poem of the emperor Augustus, from jokes about old women to a description of the delights of Baiae. The types of epigram included are equally wide: naturally the skoptic is prevalent, but although the tenor of the book is obscene Martial includes plenty of material on patrons, parasites, paupers, hosts, slaves, legacy-hunters, poets, thieves and the like. There are also a considerable number of non-skoptic poems which have a similarly wide selection of subject and genre and serve to break up the skoptic mass: they include the amatory (e.g. 8; 26; 89); the laudatory (9; 10; 53; 57); epitaphs (13; 69; 91); an invitation to dinner (52); a *sôtêrion* (36); pieces about Silius Italicus and Vergil's Tomb (48; 50(49)); and a paean to Baiae and friendship (80). Martial takes care to vary his metre as well: the usual elegiacs are broken up by a good sprinkling of hendecasyllabics (1; 6; 13; 15; 18; 24; 31; 35; 40; 51; 63; 66; 72; 75; 88; 106), a few choliambics (61; 80; 98; 100), and two in other metres (59; 77). He also makes sure that his reader does not suffer from a surfeit of poems of similar length grouped together: for example, the distribution of poems over fourteen lines long is thus: 1; 6; 18; 23; 24; 31; 39; 52; 56; 84; 98; 104; and the distribution of single distich epigrams is thus: 9; 10; 12; 14; 17; 19; 25; 28; 30; 38; 62; 64; 67; 68; 72; 74; 83; 89; 92; 95; 97; 101; 103; 105.

These basic observations show the care and design with which M. has arranged this book; he is as concerned with the overall structure as with the structure of each individual epigram. At 7.85. 3f. he remarks: 'facile est epigrammata belle/scribere, sed librum scribere difficile est.'

(iv) The form and structure of Martial's epigrams

Since Martial includes such a variety of types of epigram, form and structure vary correspondingly: no discussion of them will furnish a definition of the workings of each and every one of his poems. However, it is worth while to look into the technique and craftsmanship behind his skoptic pieces to try to see how he builds them up, as this structural aspect of his work is the skeleton through which his wit functions and by which he achieves his impact. Some

15. See further E.Pertsch, *De M. Graecorum poetarum imitatore*, diss. Berlin (1911), p.59f.; K.Barwick, *WJA* 2 (1947), p.1f.

illuminating research has been contributed to this subject, and I do not wish to cover that ground again here:[16] instead I will take a slightly different approach and examine some further features and signposts which enable a reader to feel his way around an epigram and to be led by the author along a particular line of thought to appreciate the humour.

The skoptic epigram in Martial can be seen as a bi-partite structure:[17] in the first part a situation is set up in an (usually) objective fashion ('the set-up': the German term is 'Erwartung'), and in the second part a (usually) subjective comment is provided by the author ('the conclusion', or German 'Aufschluss').[18] This can be seen at its simplest in a piece like 11.82, where the first four lines narrate a story of near disaster, and the last two give Martial's comment. At other times the definition seems less secure: for example in 11.40, where there is no evident separation between an objective and a subjective section; this has happened because the innuendo, which it is usually the author's function to provide *in propria persona*, is instead given out of his own mouth by one of the characters of the poem, Lupercus: but it is still valid to talk of a set-up and a conclusion, because the words 'Glycerae dolere dentes' are the explanation of the situation which has been described, the 'cap' or 'point' of the epigram.

It is worth looking further at the relation of the conclusion to the set-up, because epigrams invariably provide clear pointers to the transition from the one to the other, which both direct the reader's thought to the perception of the humour and also bind the whole poem together in a taut and unified structure. For the sake of convenience, my examples will be taken from Book XI, but the same observations apply to all skoptic pieces:

(a) The conclusion is often made distinct from the set-up by a change in the person of the verb (an obvious indication that the author's comment is following an objectively described situation): in 11.56 Charidemus is told that he is living a miserable existence in true Stoic fashion, but would soon give it up if he knew the real pleasures of life; at line 15 the verb changes to the third person: 'rebus in angustis facile est contemnere vitam:/fortiter ille facit qui miser esse potest'. The *sententia* is thus readily separated from what has

16. I would mention especially E.Siedschlag, *Zur Form von M.'s Epigrammen* diss. Berlin (1977); and J.Kruuse, *L'originalité artistique de M.*, *C & M* 4 (1941), p.248f. Both these authors deal with the similarities and differences between M., his Greek precursors (see also P.Laurens, *REL* 43 (1965), p.315f.), and Catullus: though his debt to them is manifestly great, he still manages, using the same basic forms, to obtain more controlled and witty effects; he constantly sharpens and refines the genre. K.Barwick, *M. und die zeitgenössische Rhetorik, Ber. über die Verhandl. der Akad. der Wiss. zu Leipzig*, Philol. Kl. 104.1 (1959), shows how the working of M.'s wit and the form of his epigrams are influenced by rhetoric. Note also Barbara H. Smith, *Poetic Closure, A Study of How Poems End* (1968), p. 196f.

17. The theory was first advanced by J.C.Scaliger, but received its best known exposition at the hands of Lessing: see Barwick, op.cit. p.3f.

18. It is in such cases that M. is closest in structure and spirit to his Greek predecessors: see Siedschlag, op.cit. p.100f.

preceded, and the reader knows that the 'point' of the epigram lies in it.[19] Similarly, in 11.16 the set-up is made of a series of addresses in the second person to various categories of *lector*: at line 9 the main verb changes to the third person and another illustration is given which sums up what has gone before by attacking the hypocrisy of women who pretend not to be interested in Martial's obscene verse: 'erubuit posuitque meum Lucretia librum,/sed coram Bruto; Brute, recede: leget.' Other examples in Book XI are: 8; 11; 14; 15; 17-21; 25; 27; 30; 32-3; 35; 37-9; 41; 43-7; 49; 54-5; 58; 63-5; 70; 73; 78-9; 81-2; 86-7; 90; 92; 96; 98-100; 102-4; 107-8.

(b) A vocative frequently appears in the conclusion which formally marks the comment, advice, exhortation, or imprecation in which the 'point' of the epigram lies: thus 11.79:

ad primum decuma lapidem quod venimus hora
arguimur lentae crimine pigritiae.
non est ista viae, non est mea, sed tua culpa est
misisti mulas qui mihi, Paete, tuas.

On many occasions such a vocative is used in the conclusion as an echo of the beginning of the epigram: most simply, for example, in 11.105:

mittebas libram, quadrantem, Garrice, mittis;
saltem semissem, Garrice, solve mihi.

This is a good example of a formal device not only pointing the bipartite structure, but also binding the piece into a coherent and tight whole (such echoes are not limited to vocatives, but can embrace a wide variety of other words). Further cases of this use of vocatives are: 7; 8; 11; 17; 18; 20; 23; 25; 29; 30; 32; 35; 41; 43; 45; 49; 66-8; 73; 75; 81-3; 85-7; 90; 92; 94; 95; 97; 99; 101. Further cases of the echo structure are: 7; 18; 20; 23; 29; 30; 33; 34; 40; 43; 49; 51; 55; 60; 63; 68; 73-5; 77; 84-6; 92; 94; 99; 101.

(c) Another technique by which Martial leads the reader's thought from the set-up to the conclusion is by a strategically placed direct question: e.g. 11.59:

senos Charinus omnibus digitis gerit
nec nocte ponit anulos
nec cum lavatur. causa quae sit quaeritis?
dactyliothecam non habet.

Note also 8; 10; 19; 27; 38; 42; 44; 46; 47; 73; 90; 106; 108. A slight variation on this is to put the question into indirect speech, as at 40; 63; 88.

(d) A further way of marking a subjective section off from an objective one

19. Such *sententiae* are in themselves a good way of marking the transition from set-up to conclusion (and well illustrate the rhetorical influence on M.: note also 11.32.8; 11.70.11f.; and the parody of 11. 22.9f.).

is by the inclusion of a word which implies that the author's own opinion is being expressed in the conclusion: this is commonly a verb of the kind *scio, puto, oro* or *miror*: see 21; 28; 54; 64; 66; 76; 101; 103; 107. Of a similar nature is a particle which shows that the author is giving an explanation of or an innuendo about the situation which he has described in the set-up: thus *nam* in 14 and 18; *at* in 55 and 58; *ergo* in 75 and 78; *sed* in 30; and *tamen* in 51.

These observations provide one way of looking at how Martial builds up a skoptic epigram: certain signposts repeatedly occur for the reader to grasp the logic of the piece, for him to be aware of the transition from set-up to conclusion, and for him to interpret and appreciate epigrams according to the 'rules' of the genre.

(v) Latin epigram before Martial

This section is concerned specifically with Latin epigram before Martial not because it was a more significant influence on him than Greek epigram (as will be apparent from the body of the commentary), but because it is much less well preserved; Martial's debt to it is for that reason less assessable and less remarked, Catullus being the major exception. What will be said can by the nature of things be little more than a catalogue, but it will at least show the plethora of names familiar and unfamiliar of the Latin epigrammatists who preceded and were contemporary with Martial; it will also demonstrate the wretched rag-bag of scraps of their surviving writing. Yet whilst it is only in the case of Catullus that one can point to a marked and specific influence on Martial, we can still observe a long and thriving epigrammatic tradition in Latin before Martial and the evident popularity of the genre; we can detect certain similarities of structure and technique between Martial and his Latin precursors; and, important from the point of view of this book in particular, we can see that there was in earlier Latin epigram a tendency to use basic obscenities, which is much less pronounced in its Greek counterpart (see further 11.2 intro.).

Latin epigram begins with metrical epitaphs; of these the earliest extant are in Saturnian metre and probably date from the mid-third century B.C. They come from the Tomb of the Scipios near the Porta Capena in Rome and were written for Lucius Cornelius Scipio Barbatus (cos. 298 B.C.) and his son Lucius Cornelius Scipio (cos. 259 B.C.); there is a rugged simplicity and nobility about them (*CE* 6f.; see also E.Galletier, *Étude sur la poésie funéraire romaine* (1922), p.191f.):

Cornelius Lucius Scipio Barbatus
Gnaiod patre prognatus, fortis vir sapiensque,
quoius forma virtutei parisuma fuit,
consol censor aidilis quei fuit apud vos,
Taurasia Cisauna Samnio cepit,
subigit omne Loucanam opsidesque abdoucit.

This is from the beginning of Latin literature, at the time when its growth was stimulated by contact with Greece and Greek literature. Such influence can clearly be seen in the epitaph on Plautus (died *c.* 184 B.C.) which is quoted by Aulus Gellius (*N.A.* 1.24.3 = *FPL* p.32 Morel; see also 11.13 intro.). Gellius also preserves epitaphs on two other literary figures of the second century, Naevius and Pacuvius (ibid. = *FPL* p.28; 32 Morel); he suggests, and he may be right, that the poets composed them for themselves. This is the one on Pacuvius:

adulescens, tam etsi properas, hoc te saxulum
  rogat ut se aspicias, deinde quod scriptum est legas.
hic sunt poetae Pacuvi Marci sita
  ossa. hoc volebam nescius ne esses. vale.

From this period too comes the inscription on the Temple at Ardea, celebrating the fame of its Greek painter, who took up a Latin name and citizenship (ap. Pl. *N.H.* 35.115 = *FPL* p.32 Morel). As with Greek epigram (note Howell, p.6f.), the origins of Latin epigram are thus to be seen in epitaph and inscription:[20] the literary epigram develops later.

The earliest literary epigrams that have survived date from the end of the second and the beginning of the first centuries; all are extant from only secondary sources (especially Varro, Aulus Gellius and Nonius Marcellus), and it is impossible to be certain of the kind of works from which they originated.[21] They are by no means lacking in inspiration, and in their construction and effect they are sometimes not dissimilar to Martial's technique – though it would be imprudent to suggest anything more than that. Thus, for example, the opening couplet of an epigram attributed to Papinius (unknown elsewhere)[22] at Varro *L.L.* 7.28 (=*FPL* p.42 Morel):

ridiculum est cum te Cascam tua dicit amica,
  fili Potoni, sesquisenex puerum.

20. For other early epitaphs and inscriptions see, most accessibly, E.H. Warmington, *Remains of Old Latin* (Loeb), vol. 4 (1940).

21. How then, it might be asked, can we be sure they were epigrams? In fact in most of the references I give the author in question specifically says he is citing from an epigram; but epigram also seems to have had a much wider signification for the Romans than for us, including any reasonably short poem which its author did not label by another name. In a single letter, Pliny, referring to his own oeuvre in the field, uses the terms *lusus*, *hendecasyllabi*, *nugae*, *epigrammata*, *idyllia*, *eclogae*, *poematia*, and, significantly, 'seu quod aliud vocare malueris'; in the same letter he says 'his iocamur ludimus dolemus querimur irascimur, describimus aliquid modo pressius modo elatius, atque ipsa varietate temptamus efficere, ut alia aliis quaedam fortasse omnibus placeant' (4.14.3). This, of course, can readily be seen in M. himself, in his wide range of subject matter, style, metre and length.

22. It is unnecessary to suppose that an attested poet's name (e.g. Pompilius) should be read.

Or these lines by Q.Lutatius Catulus (quoted by Cicero at *de Nat.Deor.* 1.79 = *FPL* p.43 Morel):

constiteram exorientem auroram forte salutans,
  cum subito a laeva Roscius exoritur.
pace mihi liceat, caelestes, dicere vestra:
  mortalis visus pulchrior esse deo.

Or these by Porcius Licinus (quoted by Aulus Gellius *N.A.* 19.9.13 = *FPL* p.46 Morel; and cf. *A.P.* 9.15):

custodes ovium tenerae propaginis, agnum,
  quaeritis ignem? ite huc; quaeritis? ignis homost.
si digito attigero, incendam silvam simul omnem,
  omne pecus flammast, omnia qua video.[23]

The Hellenistic tone of these pieces is at once evident. An important series of nine epigrams was discovered written on the west entrance gate of the Small Theatre at Pompeii: the first of them, signed by one Tiburtinus, is again Hellenistically inspired and seems to have been followed by the rest in mocking reply; the date would appear to be about the mid – first century B.C. This is striking evidence of an enthusiastic 'amateur' interest in the form, which, as we shall see, carries through to Martial and beyond (in another direction these pieces are also the precursors of neoteric poetry and elegy.)[24] It is also worth noting here another inscriptional remain, this time a skit on epitaphs which again comes from Pompeii; in its use of witty, non-euphemistic obscenity it points the way to Martial:

hospes adhuc tumuli ni meias, ossa prec (antur).
  nam, si vis huic gratior esse, caca.
Urticae monumenta vides, discede, cacator.
  non est hic tutum culu(m) aperire tibi.[25]

This poetry leads up to, and influences, Catullus and his contemporaries. Of them, a piece by M.Furius Bibaculus (ap. Suet. *de Gramm.* 11 = *FPL* p.80 Morel) is reminiscent of Martial in the catalogue method by which it depicts an ascetic life-style (compare e.g. 11.32; 56):

si quis forte mei domum Catonis
depictas minio assulas et illos
custodes videt hortuli Priapos,

23. Other epigrammatic authors of this period of whom we possess scanty fragments are T. Quintius Atta, Pompilius and Valerius Aedituus (see *FPL* p.42f. Morel; Schanz-Hosius, 1.p.116f.).

24. See D.O. Ross, *YCIS* 21 (1969), p.127f.

25. *CIL* 4.8899; and see W.D. Lebek, *ZPE* 22 (1976), p.287f.

miratur, quibus ille disciplinis
tantam sit sapientiam assecutus,
quem tres cauliculi, selibra farris,
racemi duo tegula sub una
ad summam prope nutriant senectam.

A strange epigram by Cicero is quoted in 11.18 intro.; C.Helvius Cinna wrote a piece about the physical appearance of his book (ap. Isid. *Or.* 6.12 = *FPL* p.89 Morel); and we possess invective epigrams directed at Julius Caesar and Ventidius Bassus (ap. Suet. *J.C.* 51; Aul.Gell. *N.A.* 15.4.3 = *FPL* p.92f. Morel). Perhaps most interesting, however, are two epigrams of Calvus written against Pompey and Julius Caesar (ap. schol. Juv. 9.133 = *FPL* p.86 Morel; and ap. Suet. *J.C.* 49 = *FPL* p.86 Morel):

Magnus, quem metuunt omnes, digito caput uno
scalpit: quid credas hunc sibi velle? virum.

and:

Bithynia quicquid
et pedicator Caesaris umquam habuit.

In the second one non-euphemistic obscenity is used, while in the first the pointed structure is equally redolent of Martial.

But it is of course to Catullus himself that Martial is most indebted; he imitates and alludes to him frequently, acknowledging him as his precursor and mentor, particularly in his use of non-euphemistic obscenity (see 11.2 intro.), but also in a general epigrammatic tradition (cf. 1.*pref.*10f.; 2.71; 5.5; 7.99; 10.103; and see my index under Catullus). But despite the similarities between Martial and Catullus, there are important differences. In Martial there is none of the personal, especially political, invective which Catullus manifests in his attacks on Caesar, Pompey, Mamurra and Piso.[26] This type of epigram was still written (see below), but imperial politics dictated that it was anonymous; poets like Martial wanted and needed to keep on good terms with the emperors and their regimes (see 11.1; 4; and 5 intros.), and invective against them was inevitably ruled out. And, in general terms, there is far less of the personal element in Martial than in Catullus: it is, for example, a reasonable proposition to chronicle in some detail Catullus' life and attitudes from his poetry – not so with Martial, who is much more an objective observer whose stance and opinions shift as his wit demands. The influence of Catullus on Martial lies in the vocabulary, structure and technique, an influence as it were more formal than poetic.

26. There is, however, invective against dead emperors: e.g. the treatment of Domitian in this book (note too the epigram which is printed as *Sp.* 33). But this invective is for that reason of a different kind, and in fact is designed to heighten praise of the living emperor.

Finally, the Augustan period and the Principate up to Martial. When he was still Octavianus, Augustus himself had written a singularly obscene epigram which Martial quotes in this book (see 11.20 intro.; most other emperors (cf. Pl. *Ep.* 5.3.6) had also tried their hands at epigram, another indication of its popularity). In the Vergilian Appendix the *Catalepton* and three *Priapea* are epigrams containing obscenities, some of which may be the early work of Vergil himself.[27] Martial cites as his predecessors, in the same breath as Catullus, Domitius Marsus, Albinovanus Pedo and Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus (see Citroni and Howell on 1.*pref.*10f.); a fragment of the *Cicuta* of the first named survives (*FPL* p.110f. Morel), and non-epigrammatic fragments of the latter two (*FPL* p.115f.; 123 Morel). Suetonius preserves epigrams written against most of the emperors, some of which again it does not seem fanciful to see as being close to Martial in structure and technique. This couplet is about Tiberius:

asper et immitis, breviter vis omnia dicam?
dispeream si te mater amare potest.

(ap. Suet. *Tib.* 59; cf. *Aug.* 70; *G.C.* 8; *Nero* 39; *Galba* 6; *Otho* 3; and *Dom.* 23).

Of other literary figures Ovid may have written epigrams (see *FPL* p.113 Morel), Lucan certainly did (cf. M. 10.64.5f.; *FPL* p.130 Morel), so did Petronius (*PLM* 4.p.95f. Baehrens), and so did Seneca (Pl. *Ep.* 5.3.5).[28] Pliny's letter, reference to which has been made above (5.3), lists over twenty august senators and emperors who wrote *lusus* (and the implication is that they contained obscenities); those not mentioned above, and whose work in this field is scarcely extant at all, include Asinius Pollio,[29] M.Messala, Q.Hortensius, M.Brutus, L.Sulla, Q. Scaevola, Servius Sulpicius, Varro, the Torquati, and C.Memmius. Nor must we forget that Pliny himself likes to refer to his epigrammatic activities and to his friends who likewise dabbled in the genre (note also *Ep.* 4.14); when he published his *hendecasyllabi* it was 'exemplo multorum' (*Ep.* 7.4.8) – again the great popularity of the form is indicated; it was staple diet for the 'amateur' litterateur, a pleasant relaxation to which the sophisticated *urbanus* could turn his hand.

27. See R.E.H. Westendorp Boerma's commentary on the *Catalepton*, p.xxxif. and Buchheit, *Priapea*, p.66n.2.

28. In the Codex Salmasianus three epigrams attributed to Seneca are extant (*A.L.* 232; 236; 237), one on the nature of time and two on the nature of Corsica, where Seneca was in exile from 41 to 49 A.D. Other epigrams in the Latin Anthology have been attributed to Seneca, but unconvincingly: see e g. C.Prato, *Gli epigrammi attribuiti a L.Annaeo Seneca* (1964), p.1f.

29. But an epigram by his son, C.Asinius Gallus (cos. 8 B.C.), is extant (ap. Suet. *de Gramm.* 22 = *FPL* p.123 Morel).

(vi) The Nachleben of Martial from late Antiquity

Martial was well known in late Antiquity: authors like Ausonius,[30] Sidonius Apollinaris,[31] and Luxorius[32] quoted from him and imitated him; the grammarians used him for illustrations;[33] and in the seventh century Isidore of Seville cites him some fourteen times, though twelve of these instances are from the *Xenia* and *Apophoreta*.[34] During the following years Martial continued to be known to Carolingian and other scholars, and, though some of their knowledge of him stems from the grammarians, Isidore and each other, some is independent of these sources; we find citations in Alcuin's pupils Hrabanus Maurus (776-856) and Theodulf (d. 821), and in Maurus' pupil Walahfrid Strabo (*c.* 809-49).[35] In the early Middle Ages Martial enjoyed popularity in England: the epigrammatist Godfrey of Winchester (*c.* 1050-1107)[36] produced good enough imitations to be confused with him in succeeding centuries; Henry of Huntingdon (d. 1154?)[37] used deliberate echoes of him in his small output; and John of Salisbury (*c.* 1115-80)[38] knew him better than anyone since Antiquity (his quotations include 11.56.15f. and 11.104. 19f.). At a slightly later date we find Vincent of Beauvais (d. 1264) citing liberally from Book XI (e.g. 55.3; 56.1f.; 56.15f.; 68.1f.)[39] So from Antiquity to the Middle Ages there is no time at which Martial drops completely from sight; though never one of the most popular authors,[40] knowledge of him and interest in him was always somewhere maintained.

With the thirteenth century we come to the North Italian pre-humanists, in particular Lovato Lovati (d. 1309), Albertino Mussato (d. 1329), and Zambono di Andrea (d. 1315), all of whom were familiar with Martial; they heralded the great revival of learning of the humanists and a continuing concern with Martial in the period.[41] Petrarch and Boccaccio both allude to him,[42] though his importance and influence grew greater in the fifteenth

30. See G. Bernt, *Das lateinische Epigramm im Ubergang von der Spätantike zum frühen Mittelalter, Münchener beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance Forschung* 2 (1968), p.46.
31. ibid. p.95.
32. ibid. p.108f.
33. ibid. p.181: M.Manitius, *Philologus* 3 (1890), p.560f.
34. Bernt, op.cit. p.181.
35. ibid. p.183; 242n.27.
36. See F.R. Hausmann, *M. in Italien, Studi Medievali* 17 (1976), p.173f.; F.J.C.Raby, *A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages*[2] (1957). 1.p.41.
37. e.g. the reminiscence of 11.5.3 'difficile est opibus mores non tradere, Zeta' (T.Wright, *Satirical Poets of the Twelfth Century, Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores* 59b (1872), 2.p.166).
38. See Hausmann and Manitius locc.cit.
39. ibid.
40. e.g. his works are listed in only about a dozen medieval library catalogues: see Bernt, op.cit. p.178f.
41. See Hausmann, op.cit. p.178f.; and passim, for humanist work on M.
42. ibid. p.179f.; G.Martellotti, *RCCM* 2 (1960), p.388f.

century: a notable case in point was one of the great book collectors of the day, Giovanni Aurispa (*c.* 1369-1459); he was a friend of Antonio Beccadelli, whose collection of epigrams called *Hermaphroditus* (written *c.* 1425) caused a literary scandal. One of the poems (1.41) asks Aurispa to send a copy of Martial (which he did; it still exists); and the generally obscene tone of Beccadelli's work clearly shows the influence of Martial, though he had a voice of his own and produced epigrams far more lively and humorous than most neo-Latin poets and poetasters.[43] A single example must suffice, chosen for its similarity in subject to 11.21:

Ad Aurispam de Ursae Vulva (2.7)

ecquis erit, vir gnare, modus, ne vulva voracis
  Ursae testiculos sorbeat usque meos?
ecquis erit, totum femur haec ne sugat hirudo,
  ne prorsus ventrem sugat ad usque meum?
aut illam stringas quavis, Aurispa, medela,
  aut equidem cunno naufragor ipse suo.

In this same period Martial began to be read in Italian schools, which further boosted his popularity (some 110 manuscript copies of the time bear adequate witness)[44] – the placing of an author on school curricula often confirms a resurrection of his work or a deepening of interest in him. This also resulted in an increased output of imitations: many such neo-Latin pieces survive,[45] for the most part tediously uninteresting, but some, like those of Politian (1454-94) and Marullus (*c.* 1453-1500), well worthy of note.[46] Martial was one of the first authors to benefit from the advent of printing (first edition Rome 1470/1), and Calderinus' huge commentary, which is still of interest, appeared in 1474.[47]

This Italian work on Martial awakened interest in the rest of Europe: during the sixteenth century we find poets imitating and translating him for the first time in the vernacular. In France this begins in the 1530s with M.Scèves and the Lyons poets, Etienne Dolet, Nicolas de Bourbon and Gilbert Doucher;[48] Clement Marot wrote his epigrams in *c.* 1544, though they were not published until 1596 – in them he draws much on Martial, but he often expands on the original to suit the social conditions of his day.[49]

43. See Hausmann, op.cit. p.186f.
44. ibid. p.191f.
45. Some can be found in the anthologies of Ranutius Gherus (i.e. Jan Gruter): *Delitiae Poetarum Italorum; Gallorum;* and *Belgicorum.*
46. See L.Bradner, *M&H* 8 (1954), p.62f.
47. The first commentary on M. may have been that of the Englishman John Marrey (d.1407), but the authenticity of the work is doubted by F.R. Hausmann (*Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum, Medieval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries*, ed. F.E.Cranz and P.O. Kristeller, 4 (1980), p.295).
48. See K.H.Mehnert, *Sal Romanus und Esprit Français, Romanistiche Versuche und Vorarbeiten* 33 (1970), p.47f.
49. ibid. p.55f.

This is his version of 11.62, '*De Macée*':

Macée me veult faire ecryore
Que requise est de marrite gent.
Tant plus viellist, plus a de gloire
Et jure comme ung vieulx sargent
Qu' on n'embrasse point son corps gent
Pour neant; et dit vray Macée:
Car toujours elle baille argent
Quant elle veult estre embrasée.[50]

Though the poets of the Pleiad knew Martial and produced some creditable copies of him,[51] they formulated a policy of denigrating him in favour of Catullus: thus of Ronsard's three translations (of 2.17; 3.46 and 9.73), the two latter were removed from later editions of his poetry. Michel de Montaigne, very widely read in ancient literature, gives more than forty quotations of Martial in his *Essays* – quotations which he sometimes doctors to suit his own ends; in one essay he displays a thorough acquaintance with the sexual material of Book XI.[52] François de Maynard wrote the bulk of his epigrams between 1615 and 1642, by virtue of which he was labelled 'alter Gallico in orbe Martialis'; as a riposte to the Venetian Andrea Navagero (1483-1529), who had burned a copy of Martial each year, he had a copy made for himself annually. Though he expands a lot on the originals, he is by no means slavish in his imitation and displays considerable innovation.[53]

Meanwhile the epigram was flourishing in England in a century (*c.* 1550-1650) in which it reached a perfection which falls short of only Martial himself. Sir Thomas More had published his epigrams in 1518, but they rely heavily on the Greek Anthology and show little familiarity with Martial.[54] One of the first English translations of Martial, by Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey (*c.* 1517-47), is also one of the best known and deservedly so:

My friend, the things that do attain
The happy life be these, I find:
The riches left, not got with pain;
The fruitful ground, the quiet mind ...[55]

50. ed. C.A.Mayer (1970), no.174.
51. For versions of 11.63 and 68 by de Baif, see E.T.Simon's complete translation of M. (1819), which includes versions by many French poets. It is interesting that 11.68 is the most popular piece for imitation in this book with eleven examples: how many, one wonders, go back to the original, and how many were redone from a French version?
52. See D.Coleman, ap. R.R.Bolgar, *Classical Influences on European Culture A.D. 1500-1700* (1976), p.137f.
53. See Mehnert, op.cit. p.106f.
54. See H.H.Hudson, *The Epigram in the English Renaissance* (1947), p.29f.
55. From M. 10.47.

By 1550 Martial was being taught in the schools, and the composition of epigrams in Latin was a daily chore for many boys;[56] but the result was a rich crop of imitators and translators towards the end of the century. Of these the most worth reading are Timothy Kendall, George Turbevile, Edward Guilpin, Thomas Bastard, Sir John Davies, John Weever and John Harington.[57] A piece of Bastard's can stand as a motto for them all (1.17):

Martiall, in sooth none should presume to write
Since time hath brought thy Epigrams to lighte:
For through our writing, thine so prais'de before
Have this obteinde, to be commended more:
Yet to our selves although we winne no fame,
Wee please, which get our maister a good name.

But though they do indeed all owe much to Martial, these poets at their best (debatably Davies and Harington) provide their own witty turns of phrase and describe or lampoon situations and people of their own day to great effect. And they paved the way for the epigrammatists who have made the most innovative and durable use of Martial's legacy – Ben Jonson, Robert Herrick and John Donne.[58] A contemporary of theirs was the Welshman John Owen (*c.* 1560-1622), whose Latin epigrams (about 1500 of them in ten books, the vast majority being single elegiac distichs) gained almost as much renown, and were translated and imitated almost as much as those of Martial.[59]

Much the same pattern is followed by the Spanish vernacular epigram: the first sign of Martial's influence comes with the translation of *Sp.* 25b by Garcilaso de la Vega (*c.* 1501-36); the Sevillan Juan de Mal- Lara (*c.* 1524-71) translated over thirty of Martial's pieces, among them 11.32; 100 and 101; best known are Baltasar Gracian y Morales (1601-58),[60] who quoted freely from Martial in his prose works, and Francisco de Quevedo (1580-1645), who used Martial pointfully in his own satirical verse,[61] as well as making some straight translations.[62]

56. See Hudson, op.cit. p.147f.
57. See T.K.Whipple, *M. and the English Epigram from Wyatt to Ben Jonson, Univ. of California Publications in Modern Philology* 10 (1925), passim.
58. Pieces by Jonson and Herrick relevant to this book have been quoted in the appropriate places in the commentary. See further W.D.Briggs, *CPh* 11 (1916), p.169f.; *ModPh* 15 (1917/18), p.277f.; P.Nixon, *CPh* 5 (1910), p.189f. For more general works on the English Nachleben of M. see P.Nixon, *M. and the Modern Epigram* (1927); H.P.Dodd, *The Epigrammatists* (1876); and A.Amos, *M. and the Moderns* (1858).
59. There is an edition of Owen's epigrams by J.R.C.Martyn (vol. 1, 1976; vol. 2, 1978); he quotes Ben Jonson's opinion of the man: 'a pure Pedantique Schoolmaster, sweeping his living from the posteriors of little children, having no thinge good in him, his Epigrammes being bare narration.'
60. See A.A.Giulian, *M. and the Epigram in Spain in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, diss. Philadelphia (1930).
61. See L.S.Lerner, *A & A* 23 (1977), p.122f.
62. Edited by A.M.Arancon (1975).

Thus in England, France and Spain the impulse from Italy led to a flourishing of epigrammatic activity during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, especially the years 1550-1650. In Germany that flourish began rather later, the vernacular superseding the Latin epigram only after 1650, whereupon many minor poets[63] addressed themselves to the task of imitating Martial: none can be said to rise above the merely competent.[64] As a sample here is G.P.Harsdörffer's (1607- 58) version of 11.92, '*An den Klügelmann*':

Der fehlt Herr Klügling sehr, der dich schalkhaftig nennt,
Du bist die Schalkheit selbst, wie männiglich bekennt.[65]

From the eighteenth century onwards there have been many translators of Martial, both in prose and verse, but none that have been anywhere near as successful or entertaining as their predecessors[66] (the reason lies in the fact that they have been for the most part translators pure and simple; they have not tried to adapt Martial to their own style, idiom and climate as, for example, Beccadelli, Jonson or Herrick did). To take an example: one James Elphinston rendered all of Martial into verse, but his fame rests on the ridicule his efforts evoked from Burns:

O thou whom Poesy abhors,
Whom Prose has turned out of doors,
Heard'st thou yon groan? - proceed no further!
'Twas laurelled Martial calling, Murther!

(Dr. Johnson remarked of the same translations that 'they had too much folly for madness and too much madness for folly'; he also quipped to Boswell 'Sir, if you should search all the mad-houses in England, you would not find ten men who would write so, and think it sense'). For English readers of today who require a translation of Martial, the revised (1968) Loeb edition of W.C.A.Ker is the most accurate available; for those who prefer the flavour of a poet, Peter Porter's *After Martial* (1972) is excellent, as are James Michie's selections in their rather different style (Penguin ed. (1978)).[67]

63. See R.Levy, *M. und die deutsche Epigrammatik des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts*, diss. Stuttgart (1903).

64. Though (at a later date) Goethe's Venetian Epigrams are notable exceptions.

65. Again it is interesting that most imitators made for the same over- worked epigrams in M.: in Book XI, for example, 56; 92; but esp. 67 were German favourites (see Levy, op.cit.).

66. The reminiscences of M. in *Don Leon* are a welcome exception (see 11.104 intro.). Robert Louis Stevenson's versions of 11.18 and 56 (ed. Vailima, 8.p.575f.) are disappointingly drab.

67. For further bibliography on the Nachleben of M. see that of G.Pfohl, *Das Epigramm* (1969).

M. VAL. MARTIALIS EPIGRAMMATON LIBER XI

I

Quo tu, quo, liber otiose, tendis
cultus Sidone non cotidiana?
numquid Parthenium videre? certe:
vadas et redeas inevolutus:
libros non legit ille sed libellos;
nec Musis vacat, aut suis vacaret.
ecquid te satis aestimas beatum,
contingunt tibi si manus minores?
vicini pete porticum Quirini:
turbam non habet otiosiorem
Pompeius vel Agenoris puella,
vel primae dominus levis carinae.
sunt illic duo tresve qui revolvant
nostrarum tineas ineptiarum,
sed cum sponsio fabulaeque lassae
de Scorpo fuerint et Incitato.

II

Triste supercilium durique severa Catonis
frons et aratoris filia Fabricii
et personati fastus et regula morum
quidquid et in tenebris non sumus, ite foras.
clamant ecce mei 'Io Saturnalia' versus:
et licet et sub te praeside, Nerva, libet.
lectores tetrici salebrosum ediscite Santram:
nil mihi vobiscum est: iste liber meus est.

III

Non urbana mea tantum Pimpleïde gaudent
otia nec vacuis auribus ista damus,
sed meus in Geticis ad Martia signa pruinis
a rigido teritur centurione liber,
dicitur et nostros cantare Britannia versus.
quid prodest? nescit sacculus ista meus.
at quam victuras poteramus pangere chartas
quantaque Pieria proelia flare tuba,
cum pia reddiderint Augustum numina terris,
et Maecenatem si tibi, Roma, darent!

IV

Sacra laresque Phrygum, quos Troiae maluit heres
quam rapere arsuras Laomedontis opes,
scriptus et aeterno nunc primum Iuppiter auro
et soror et summi filia tota patris,
et qui purpureis iam tertia nomina fastis,
Iane, refers Nervae; vos precor ore pio:
hunc omnes servate ducem, servate senatum;
moribus hic vivat principis, ille suis.

V

Tanta tibi est recti reverentia, Caesar, et aequi
quanta Numae fuerat: sed Numa pauper erat.
ardua res haec est, opibus non tradere mores
et, cum tot Croesos viceris, esse Numam.
si redeant veteres, ingentia nomina, patres,
Elysium liceat si vacuare nemus:
te colet invictus pro libertate Camillus,
aurum Fabricius te tribuente volet;
te duce gaudebit Brutus, tibi Sulla cruentus
imperium tradet, cum positurus erit;
et te privato cum Caesare Magnus amabit,
donabit totas et tibi Crassus opes.
ipse quoque infernis revocatus Ditis ab umbris
si Cato reddatur, Caesarianus erit.

VI

Unctis falciferi senis diebus,
regnator quibus inperat fritillus,
versu ludere non laborioso
permittis, puto, pilleata Roma.
risisti; licet ergo, non vetamur.
pallentes procul hinc abite curae;
quidquid venerit obvium loquamur
morosa sine cogitatione.
misce dimidios, puer, trientes,
quales Pythagoras dabat Neroni,
misce, Dindyme, sed frequentiores:
possum nil ego sobrius; bibenti
succurrent mihi quindecim poetae.
da nunc basia, sed Catulliana:
quae si tot fuerint quot ille dixit,
donabo tibi passerem Catulli.

VII

Iam certe stupido non dices, Paula, marito,
ad moechum quotiens longius ire voles,
'Caesar in Albanum iussit me mane venire,
Caesar Circeios.' iam stropha talis abît.
Penelopae licet esse tibi sub principe Nerva:
sed prohibet scabies ingeniumque vetus.
infelix, quid ages? aegram simulabis amicam?
haerebit dominae vir comes ipse suae,
ibit et ad fratrem tecum matremque patremque.
quas igitur fraudes ingeniosa paras?
diceret hystericam se forsitan altera moecha
in Sinuessano velle sedere lacu:
quanto tu melius, quotiens placet ire fututum,
quae verum mavis dicere, Paula, viro!

VIII

Lassa quod hesterni spirant opobalsama dracti,
ultima quod curvo quae cadit aura croco;
poma quod hiberna maturescentia capsa,
arbore quod verna luxuriosus ager;
de Palatinis dominae quod Serica prelis,
sucina virginea quod regelata manu;
amphora quod nigri, sed longe, fracta Falerni,

quod qui Sicanias detinet hortus apes;
quod Cosmi redolent alabastra focique deorum,
quod modo divitibus lapsa corona comis:
singula quid dicam? non sunt satis; omnia misce:
hoc fragrant pueri basia mane mei.
scire cupis nomen? si propter basia, dicam.
iurasti. nimium scire, Sabine, cupis.

IX

Clarus fronde Iovis, Romani fama cothurni,
spirat Apellea redditus arte Memor.

X

Contulit ad saturas ingentia pectora Turnus.
cur non ad Memoris carmina? frater erat.

XI

Tolle, puer, calices tepidique toreumata Nili
et mihi secura pocula trade manu
trita patrum labris et tonso pura ministro;
anticus mensis restituatur honor.
te potare decet gemma qui Mentora frangis
in scaphium moechae, Sardanapalle, tuae.

XII

Ius tibi natorum vel septem, Zoile, detur,
dum matrem nemo det tibi, nemo patrem.

XIII

Quisquis Flaminiam teris, viator,
noli nobile praeterire marmor.
urbis deliciae salesque Nili,
ars et gratia, lusus et voluptas,
Romani decus et dolor theatri
atque omnes Veneres Cupidinesque
hoc sunt condita, quo Paris, sepulchro.

XIV

Heredes, nolite brevem sepelire colonum:
nam terra est illi quantulacumque gravis.

XV

Sunt chartae mihi quas Catonis uxor
et quas horribiles legant Sabinae:
hic totus volo rideat libellus
et sit nequior omnibus libellis.
qui vino madeat nec erubescat
pingui sordidus esse Cosmiano,
ludat cum pueris, amet puellas,
nec per circuitus loquatur illam,
ex qua nascimur, omnium parentem,
quam sanctus Numa mentulam vocabat.
versus hos tamen esse tu memento
Saturnalicios, Apollinaris:
mores non habet hic meos libellus.

XVI

Qui gravis es nimium, potes hinc iam, lector, abire
quo libet: urbanae scripsimus ista togae;
iam mea Lampsacio lascivit pagina versu
et Tartesiaca concrepat aera manu.
o quotiens rigida pulsabis pallia vena,
sis gravior Curio Fabricioque licet!
tu quoque nequitias nostri lususque libelli
uda, puella, leges, sis Patavina licet.
erubuit posuitque meum Lucretia librum,
sed coram Bruto; Brute, recede: leget.

XVII

Non omnis nostri nocturna est pagina libri:
invenies et quod mane, Sabine, legas.

XVIII

Donasti, Lupe, rus sub urbe nobis;
sed rus est mihi maius in fenestra.
rus hoc dicere, rus potes vocare?
in quo ruta facit nemus Dianae,
argutae tegit ala quod cicadae,
quod formica die comedit uno,
clusae cui folium rosae corona est;
in quo non magis invenitur herba
quam Cosmi folium piperve crudum;
in quo nec cucumis iacere rectus
nec serpens habitare tota possit.
urucam male pascit hortus unam,
consumpto moritur culix salicto,
et talpa est mihi fossor atque arator.
non boletus hiare, non mariscae
ridere aut violae patere possunt.
finis mus populatur et colono
tamquam sus Calydonius timetur,
et sublata volantis ungue Prognes
in nido seges est hirundinino;
et cum stet sine falce mentulaque,
non est dimidio locus Priapo.
vix implet cocleam peracta messis,
et mustum nuce condimus picata.
errasti, Lupe, littera sed una:
nam quo tempore praedium dedisti,
mallem tu mihi prandium dedisses.

XIX

Quaeris cur nolim te ducere, Galla? diserta es.
saepe soloecismum mentula nostra facit.

XX

Caesaris Augusti lascivos, livide, versus
sex lege, qui tristis verba Latina legis:
'Quod futuit Glaphyran Antonius, hanc mihi poenam
Fulvia constituit, se quoque uti futuam.
Fulviam ego ut futuam? quid si me Manius oret
pedicem, faciam? non puto, si sapiam.
'aut futue, aut pugnemus' ait. quid quod mihi vita
carior est ipsa mentula? signa canant!'

apsolvis lepidos nimirum, Auguste, libellos,
qui scis Romana simplicitate loqui.

XXI

Lydia tam laxa est equitis quam culus aeni,
quam celer arguto qui sonat aere trochus,
quam rota transmisso totiens inpacta petauro,
quam vetus a crassa calceus udus aqua,
quam quae rara vagos expectant retia turdos,
quam Pompeiano vela negata Noto,
quam quae de pthisico lapsa est armilla cinaedo,
culcita Leuconico quam viduata suo,
quam veteres bracae Brittonis pauperis, et quam
turpe Ravennatis guttur onocrotali.
hanc in piscina dicor futuisse marina.
nescio; piscinam me futuisse puto.

XXII

Mollia quod nivei duro teris ore Galaesi
basia, quod nudo cum Ganymede iaces,
– quis negat? – hoc nimiumst. sed sit satis; inguina saltem
parce fututrici sollicitare manu.
levibus in pueris plus haec quam mentula peccat
et faciunt digiti praecipitantque virum:
inde tragus celeresque pili mirandaque matri
barba nec in clara balnea luce placent.
divisit natura marem: pars una puellis,
una viris genita est. utere parte tua.

XXIII

Nubere Sila mihi nulla non lege parata est;
sed Silam nulla ducere lege volo.
cum tamen instaret, 'deciens mihi dotis in auro
sponsa dabis' dixi; 'quid minus esse potest?
nec futuam quamvis prima te nocte maritus,
communis tecum nec mihi lectus erit;
complectarque meam, nec tu prohibebis, amicam,
ancillam mittes et mihi iussa tuam.
te spectante dabit nobis lasciva minister
basia, sive meus sive erit ille tuus.

ad cenam venies, sed sic divisa recumbes
ut non tangantur pallia nostra tuis.
oscula rara dabis nobis et non dabis ultro,
nec quasi nupta dabis sed quasi mater anus.
si potes ista pati, si nil perferre recusas,
invenies qui te ducere, Sila, velit.'

XXIV

Dum te prosequor et domum reduco,
aurem dum tibi praesto garrienti,
et quidquid loqueris facisque laudo,
quot versus poterant, Labulle, nasci!
hoc damnum tibi non videtur esse,
si quod Roma legit, requirit hospes,
non deridet eques, tenet senator,
laudat causidicus, poeta carpit,
propter te perit? hoc, Labulle, verum est,
hoc quisquam ferat? ut tibi tuorum
sit maior numerus togatulorum,
librorum mihi sit minor meorum?
triginta prope iam diebus una est
nobis pagina vix peracta. sic fit
cum cenare domi poeta non vult.

XXV

Illa salax nimium nec paucis nota puellis
stare Lino desît mentula. lingua, cave.

XXVI

O mihi grata quies, o blanda, Telesphore, cura,
qualis in amplexu non fuit ante meo:
basia da nobis vetulo, puer, uda Falerno,
pocula da labris facta minora tuis.
addideris super haec Veneris si gaudia vera,
esse negem melius cum Ganymede Iovi.

XXVII

Ferreus es, si stare potest tibi mentula, Flacce,
cum te sex cyathos orat amica gari,

vel duo frusta rogat cybii tenuemve lacertum
nec dignam toto se botryone putat;
cui portat gaudens ancilla paropside rubra
allecem, sed quam protinus illa voret;
aut cum perfricuit frontem posuitque pudorem,
sucida palliolo vellera quinque petit.
at mea me libram foliati poscat amica
aut virides gemmas sardonychasve pares,
nec nisi prima velit de Tusco Serica vico
aut centum aureolos sic velut aera roget.
nunc tu velle putas haec me donare puellae?
nolo sed his ut sit digna puella volo.

XXVIII

Invasit medici Nasica phreneticus Eucti
et percidit Hylan. hic, puto, sanus erat.

XXIX

Languida cum vetula tractare virilia dextra
coepisti, iugulor pollice, Phylli, tuo:
nam cum me murem, cum me tua lumina dicis,
horis me refici vix puto posse decem.
blanditias nescis: 'dabo' dic 'tibi milia centum
et dabo Setini iugera culta soli;
accipe vina, domum, pueros, chrysendeta, mensas.'
nil opus est digitis: sic mihi, Phylli, frica.

XXX

Os male causidicis et dicis olere poetis.
sed fellatori, Zoile, peius olet.

XXXI

Atreus Caecilius cucurbitarum
sic illas quasi filios Thyestae
in partes lacerat secatque mille.
gustu protinus has edes in ipso,
has prima feret alterave cena.
has cena tibi tertia reponet,
hinc seras epidipnidas parabit.

hinc pistor fatuas facit placentas
hinc et multiplices struit tabellas
et notas caryotidas theatris.
hinc exit varium coco minutal,
ut lentem positam fabamque credas;
boletos imitatur et botellos,
et caudam cybii brevesque maenas.
hinc cellarius experitur artes,
ut condat vario vafer sapore
in rutae folium Capelliana.
sic inplet gabatas paropsidasque,
et leves scutulas cavasque lances.
hoc lautum vocat, hoc putat venustum,
unum ponere ferculis tot assem.

XXXII

Nec toga nec focus est nec tritus cimice lectus
nec tibi de bibula sarta palude teges,
nec puer aut senior, nulla est ancilla nec infans,
nec sera nec clavis nec canis atque calix.
tu tamen adfectas, Nestor, dici atque videri
pauper et in populo quaeris habere locum.
mentiris vanoque tibi blandiris honore.
non est paupertas, Nestor, habere nihil.

XXXIII

Saepius ad palmam prasinus post fata Neronis
pervenit et victor praemia plura refert.
i nunc, livor edax, dic te cessisse Neroni:
vicit nimirum non Nero, sed prasinus.

XXXIV

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.

XXXV

Ignotos mihi cum voces trecentos,
quare non veniam vocatus ad te
miraris quererisque litigasque.
solus ceno, Fabulle, non libenter.

XXXVI

Gaius hanc lucem gemma mihi Iulius alba
signat, io, votis redditus ecce meis:
desperasse iuvat veluti iam rupta sororum
fila; minus gaudent qui timuere nihil.
Hypne, quid expectas, piger? immortale Falernum
funde, senem poscunt talia vota cadum:
quincunces et sex cyathos besemque bibamus,
GAIUS ut fiat IULIUS et PROCULUS.

XXXVII

Zoile, quid tota gemmam praecingere libra
te iuvat et miserum perdere sardonycha?
anulus iste tuis fuerat modo cruribus aptus:
non eadem digitis pondera conveniunt.

XXXVIII

Mulio viginti venît modo milibus, Aule.
miraris pretium tam grave? surdus erat.

XXXIX

Cunarum fueras motor, Charideme, mearum
et pueri custos adsiduusque comes.
iam mihi nigrescunt tonsa sudaria barba
et queritur labris puncta puella meis;
sed tibi non crevi: te noster vilicus horret,
te dispensator, te domus ipsa pavet.
ludere nec nobis nec tu permittis amare;
nil mihi vis et vis cuncta licere tibi.
corripis, observas, quereris, suspiria ducis,
et vix a ferulis temperat ira tua.
si Tyrios sumpsi cultus unxive capillos,

exclamas 'numquam fecerat ista pater';
et numeras nostros adstricta fronte trientes,
tamquam de cella sit cadus ille tua.
desine; non possum libertum ferre Catonem.
esse virum iam me dicet amica tibi.

XL

Formonsam Glyceran amat Lupercus
et solus tenet imperatque solus.
quam toto sibi mense non fututam
cum tristis quereretur et roganti
causam reddere vellet Aeliano,
respondit Glycerae dolere dentes.

XLI

Indulget pecori nimium dum pastor Amyntas
et gaudet fama luxuriaque gregis,
cedentes oneri ramos silvamque fluentem
vicit, concussas ipse secutus opes.
triste nemus dirae vetuit superesse rapinae
damnavitque rogis noxia ligna pater.
pingues, Lygde, sues habeat vicinus Iollas:
te satis est nobis adnumerare pecus.

XLII

Vivida cum poscas epigrammata, mortua ponis
lemmata. qui fieri, Caeciliane, potest?
mella iubes Hyblaea tibi vel Hymettia nasci,
et thyma Cecropiae Corsica ponis api!

XLIII

Deprensum in puero tetricis me vocibus, uxor,
corripis et culum te quoque habere refers.
dixit idem quotiens lascivo Iuno Tonanti?
ille tamen grandi cum Ganymede iacet.
incurvabat Hylan posito Tirynthius arcu:
tu Megaran credis non habuisse natis?
torquebat Phoebum Daphne fugitiva: sed illas
Oebalius flammas iussit abire puer.

Briseis multum quamvis aversa iaceret,
Aeacidae propior levis amicus erat.
parce tuis igitur dare mascula nomina rebus
teque puta cunnos, uxor, habere duos.

XLIV

Orbus es et locuples et Bruto consule natus:
esse tibi veras credis amicitias?
sunt verae, sed quas iuvenis, quas pauper habebas.
qui novus est, mortem diligit ille tuam.

XLV

Intrasti quotiens inscriptae limina cellae,
seu puer adrisit sive puella tibi,
contentus non es foribus veloque seraque,
secretumque iubes grandius esse tibi:
oblinitur minimae si qua est suspicio rimae
punctaque lasciva quae terebrantur acu.
nemo est tam teneri tam sollicitique pudoris
qui vel pedicat, Canthare, vel futuit.

XLVI

Iam nisi per somnum non arrigis et tibi, Maevi,
incipit in medios meiere verpa pedes,
truditur et digitis pannucea mentula lassis
nec levat extinctum sollicitata caput.
quid miseros frustra cunnos culosque lacessis?
summa petas: illic mentula vivit anus.

XLVII

Omnia femineis quare dilecta catervis
balnea devitat Lattara? ne futuat.
cur nec Pompeia lentus spatiatur in umbra
nec petit Inachidos limina? ne futuat.
cur Lacedaemonio luteum ceromate corpus
perfundit gelida Virgine? ne futuat.
cum sic feminei generis contagia vitet,
cur lingit cunnum Lattara? ne futuat.

XLVIII

Silius haec magni celebrat monimenta Maronis,
iugera facundi qui Ciceronis habet.
heredem dominumque sui tumulive larisve
non alium mallet nec Maro nec Cicero.

XLIX (L)

Nulla est hora tibi qua non me, Phylli, furentem
despolies: tanta calliditate rapis.
nunc plorat speculo fallax ancilla relicto,
gemma vel a digito vel cadit aure lapis;
nunc furtiva lucri fieri bombycina possunt,
profertur Cosmi nunc mihi siccus onyx;
amphora nunc petitur nigri cariosa Falerni,
expiet ut somnos garrula saga tuos;
nunc ut emam grandemve lupum mullumve bilibrem,
indixit cenam dives amica tibi.
sit pudor et tandem veri respectus et aequi:
nil tibi, Phylli, nego; nil mihi, Phylli, nega.

L (XLIX)

Iam prope desertos cineres et sancta Maronis
nomina qui coleret pauper et unus erat.
Silius orbatae succurrere censuit umbrae,
et vates vatem, non minor ipse, colit.

LI

Tanta est quae Titio columna pendet
quantam Lampsaciae colunt puellae.
hic nullo comitante nec molesto
thermis grandibus et suis lavatur.
anguste Titius tamen lavatur.

LII

Cenabis belle, Iuli Cerealis, apud me;
conditio est melior si tibi nulla, veni.
octavam poteris servare; lavabimur una:
scis quam sint Stephani balnea iuncta mihi.

prima tibi dabitur ventri lactuca movendo
utilis, et porris fila resecta suis,
mox vetus et tenui maior cordyla lacerto,
sed quam cum rutae frondibus ova tegant;
altera non derunt tenui versata favilla,
et Velabrensi massa coacta foco,
et quae Picenum senserunt frigus olivae.
haec satis in gustu. cetera nosse cupis?
mentiar, ut venias: pisces, conchylia, sumen,
et chortis saturas atque paludis aves,
quae nec Stella solet rara nisi ponere cena.
plus ego polliceor: nil recitabo tibi,
ipse tuos nobis relegas licet usque Gigantas
Rura vel aeterno proxima Vergilio.

LIII

Claudia caeruleis cum sit Rufina Britannis
edita, quam Latiae pectora gentis habet!
quale decus formae! Romanam credere matres
Italides possunt, Atthides esse suam.
di bene quod sancto peperit fecunda marito,
quod sperat generos quodque puella nurus.
sic placeat superis ut coniuge gaudeat uno
et semper natis gaudeat illa tribus.

LIV

Unguenta et casias et olentem funera murram
turaque de medio semicremata rogo
et quae de Stygio rapuisti cinnama lecto,
inprobe, de turpi, Zoile, redde sinu.
a pedibus didicere manus peccare protervae.
non miror furem, qui fugitivus eras.

LV

Hortatur fieri quod te Lupus, Urbice, patrem,
ne credas; nihil est quod minus ille velit.
ars est captandi quod nolis velle videri;
ne facias optat quod rogat ut facias.
dicat praegnantem tua se Cosconia tantum:
pallidior fiet iam pariente Lupus.
at tu consilio videaris ut usus amici,
sic morere ut factum te putet esse patrem.

LVI

Quod nimium mortem, Chaeremon Stoice, laudas,
vis animum mirer suspiciamque tuum?
hanc tibi virtutem fracta facit urceus ansa,
et tristis nullo qui tepet igne focus,
et teges et cimex et nudi sponda grabati,
et brevis atque eadem nocte dieque toga.
o quam magnus homo es qui faece rubentis aceti
et stipula et nigro pane carere potes!
Leuconicis agedum tumeat tibi culcita lanis
constringatque tuos purpura pexa toros,
dormiat et tecum modo qui dum Caecuba miscet
convivas roseo torserat ore puer:
o quam tu cupies ter vivere Nestoris annos
et nihil ex ulla perdere luce voles!
rebus in angustis facile est contemnere vitam:
fortiter ille facit qui miser esse potest.

LVII

Miraris docto quod carmina mitto Severo,
ad cenam cum te, docte Severe, vocem?
Iuppiter ambrosia satur est et nectare vivit;
nos tamen exta Iovi cruda merumque damus.
omnia cum tibi sint dono concessa deorum,
si quod habes non vis, ergo quid accipies?

LVIII

Cum me velle vides tentumque, Telesphore, sentis,
magna rogas – puta me velle negare: licet? –
et nisi iuratus dixi 'dabo', subtrahis illas,
permittunt in me quae tibi multa, natis.
quid si me tonsor, cum stricta novacula supra est,
tunc libertatem divitiasque roget?
promittam; neque enim rogat illo tempore tonsor,
latro rogat; res est inperiosa timor:
sed fuerit curva cum tuta novacula theca,
frangam tonsori crura manusque simul.
at tibi nil faciam, sed lota mentula lana
λαικάζειν cupidae dicet avaritiae.

LIX

Senos Charinus omnibus digitis gerit
nec nocte ponit anulos
nec cum lavatur. causa quae sit quaeritis?
dactyliothecam non habet.

LX

Sit Phlogis an Chione Veneri magis apta requiris?
pulchrior est Chione; sed Phlogis ulcus habet,
ulcus habet Priami quod tendere possit alutam
quodque senem Pelian non sinat esse senem,
ulcus habet quod habere suam vult quisque puellam,
quod sanare Criton, non quod Hygia potest:
at Chione non sentit opus nec vocibus ullis
adiuvat, absentem marmoreamve putes.
exorare, dei, si vos tam magna liceret
et bona velletis tam pretiosa dare,
hoc quod habet Chione corpus faceretis haberet
ut Phlogis, et Chione quod Phlogis ulcus habet.

LXI

Lingua maritus, moechus ore Nanneius,
Summemmianis inquinatior buccis;
quem cum fenestra vidit a Suburana
obscena nudum Leda, fornicem cludit
mediumque mavult basiare quam summum;
modo qui per omnes viscerum tubos ibat
et voce certa consciaque dicebat
puer an puella matris esset in ventre:
– gaudete cunni; vestra namque res acta est –
arrigere linguam non potest fututricem.
nam dum tumenti mersus haeret in volva
et vagientes intus audit infantes,
partem gulosam solvit indecens morbus.
nec purus esse nunc potest nec inpurus.

LXII

Lesbia se iurat gratis numquam esse fututam.
verum est. cum futui vult, numerare solet.

LXIII

Spectas nos, Philomuse, cum lavamur,
et quare mihi tam mutuniati
sint leves pueri subinde quaeris.
dicam simpliciter tibi roganti:
pedicant, Philomuse, curiosos.

LXIV

Nescio tam multis quid scribas, Fauste, puellis:
hoc scio, quod scribit nulla puella tibi.

LXV

Sescenti cenant a te, Iustine, vocati
lucis ad officium quae tibi prima fuit.
inter quos, memini, non ultimus esse solebam;
nec locus hic nobis invidiosus erat.
postera sed festae reddis sollemnia mensae:
sescentis hodie, cras mihi natus eris.

LXVI

Et delator es et calumniator,
et fraudator es et negotiator,
et fellator es et lanista. miror
quare non habeas, Vacerra, nummos.

LXVII

Nil mihi das vivus; dicis post fata daturum.
si non es stultus, scis, Maro, quid cupiam.

LXVIII

Parva rogas magnos; sed non dant haec quoque magni.
ut pudeat levius te, Matho, magna roga.

LXIX

Amphitheatrales inter nutrita magistros
venatrix, silvis aspera, blanda domi,
Lydia dicebar, domino fidissima Dextro,
qui non Erigones mallet habere canem,
nec qui Dictaea Cephalum de gente secutus
luciferae pariter venit ad astra deae.
non me longa dies nec inutilis abstulit aetas,
qualia Dulichio fata fuere cani:
fulmineo spumantis apri sum dente perempta,
quantus erat, Calydon, aut, Erymanthe, tuus.
nec queror infernas quamvis cito rapta sub umbras.
non potui fato nobiliore mori.

LXX

Vendere, Tucca, potes centenis milibus emptos?
plorantis dominos vendere, Tucca, potes?
nec te blanditiae, nec verba rudesve querelae,
nec te dente tuo saucia colla movent?
ah facinus! tunica patet inguen utrimque levata,
inspiciturque tua mentula facta manu.
si te delectat numerata pecunia, vende
argentum, mensas, murrina, rura, domum;
vende senes servos, ignoscent, vende paternos:
ne pueros vendas omnia vende miser.
luxuria est emere hos – quis enim dubitatve negatve? –
sed multo maior vendere luxuria est.

LXXI

Hystericam vetulo se dixerat esse marito
et queritur futui Leda necesse sibi;
sed flens atque gemens tanti negat esse salutem
seque refert potius proposuisse mori.
vir rogat ut vivat virides nec deserat annos,
et fieri quod iam non facit ipse sinit.
protinus accedunt medici medicaeque recedunt,
tollunturque pedes. o medicina gravis!

LXXII

Drauci Natta sui vocat pipinnam,
conlatus cuï Gallus est Priapus.

LXXIII

Venturum iuras semper mihi, Lygde, roganti
constituisque horam constituisque locum.
cum frustra iacui longa prurigine tentus,
succurrit pro te saepe sinistra mihi.
quid precer, o fallax, meritis et moribus istis?
umbellam luscae, Lygde, feras dominae.

LXXIV

Curandum penem commisit Baccara Raetus
rivali medico. Baccara Gallus erit.

LXXV

Theca tectus ahenea lavatur
tecum, Caelia, servus; ut quid, oro,
non sit cum citharoedus aut choraules?
non vis, ut puto, mentulam videre.
quare cum populo lavaris ergo?
omnes an tibi nos sumus spadones?
ergo, ne videaris invidere,
servo, Caelia, fibulam remitte.

LXXVI

Solvere, Paete, decem tibi me sestertia cogis,
perdiderit quoniam Bucco ducenta tibi.
ne noceant, oro, mihi non mea crimina: tu qui
bis centena potes perdere, perde decem.

LXXVII

In omnibus Vacerra quod conclavibus
consumit horas et die toto sedet,
cenaturit Vacerra, non cacaturit.

LXXVIII

Utere femineis conplexibus, utere, Victor,
ignotumque sibi mentula discat opus.
flammea texuntur sponsae, iam virgo paratur,
tondebit pueros iam nova nupta tuos.
pedicare semel cupido dabit illa marito,
dum metuit teli vulnera prima novi:
saepius hoc fieri nutrix materque vetabunt
et dicent: 'uxor, non puer, ista tibi est.'
heu quantos aestus, quantos patiere labores,
si fuerit cunnus res peregrina tibi!
ergo Suburanae tironem trade magistrae.
illa virum faciet; non bene virgo docet.

LXXIX

Ad primum decuma lapidem quod venimus hora,
arguimur lentae crimine pigritiae.
non est ista viae, non est mea, sed tua culpa est
misisti mulas qui mihi, Paete, tuas.

LXXX

Litus beatae Veneris aureum Baias,
Baias superbae blanda dona Naturae,
ut mille laudem, Flacce, versibus Baias,
laudabo digne non satis tamen Baias.
sed Martialem malo, Flacce, quam Baias.
optare utrumque pariter inprobi votum est.
quod si deorum munere hoc mihi detur,
quid gaudiorum est Martialis et Baiae!

LXXXI

Cum sene communem vexat spado Dindymus Aeglen
et iacet in medio sicca puella toro.
viribus hic, operi non est hic utilis annis:
ergo sine effectu prurit utrique labor.
supplex illa rogat pro se miserisque duobus,
hunc iuvenem facias, hunc, Cytherea, virum.

LXXXII

A Sinuessanis conviva Philostratus undis
conductum repetens nocte iubente larem
paene imitatus obît saevis Elpenora fatis,
praeceps per longos dum ruit usque gradus.
non esset, Nymphae, tam magna pericula passus
si potius vestras ille bibisset aquas.

LXXXIII

Nemo habitat gratis nisi dives et orbus apud te.
nemo domum pluris, Sosibiane, locat.

LXXXIV

Qui nondum Stygias descendere quaerit ad umbras
tonsorem fugiat, si sapit, Antiochum.
alba minus saevis lacerantur bracchia cultris,
cum furit ad Phrygios enthea turba modos;
mitior inplicitas Alcon secat enterocelas
fractaque fabrili dedolat ossa manu.
tondeat hic inopes Cynicos et Stoica menta
collaque pulverea nudet equina iuba.
hic miserum Scythica sub rupe Promethea radat,
carnificem nudo pectore poscet avem;
ad matrem fugiet Pentheus, ad Maenadas Orpheus,
Antiochi tantum barbara tela sonent.
haec quaecumque meo numeratis stigmata mento,
in vetuli pyctae qualia fronte sedent,
non iracundis fecit gravis unguibus uxor:
Antiochi ferrum est et scelerata manus.
unus de cunctis animalibus hircus habet cor:
barbatus vivit ne ferat Antiochum.

LXXXV

Sidere percussa est subito tibi, Zoile, lingua,
dum lingis. certe, Zoile, nunc futues.

LXXXVI

Leniat ut fauces medicus, quas aspera vexat
adsidue tussis, Parthenopaee, tibi,
mella dari nucleosque iubet dulcesque placentas
et quidquid pueros non sinit esse truces.
at tu non cessas totis tussire diebus.
non est haec tussis, Parthenopaee, gula est.

LXXXVII

Dives eras quondam: sed tunc pedico fuisti
et tibi nulla diu femina nota fuit.
nunc sectaris anus. o quantum cogit egestas!
illa fututorem te, Charideme, facit.

LXXXVIII

Multis iam, Lupe, posse se diebus
pedicare negat Charisianus.
causam cum modo quaererent sodales,
ventrem dixit habere se solutum.

LXXXIX

Intactas quare mittis mihi, Polla, coronas?
a te vexatas malo tenere rosas.

XC

Carmina nulla probas molli quae limite currunt,
sed quae per salebras altaque saxa cadunt,
et tibi Maeonio quod carmine maius habetur,
'Lucili columella hic situs Metrophanes';
attonitusque legis 'terraï frugiferaï',
Accius et quidquid Pacuviusque vomunt.
vis imiter veteres, Chrestille, tuosque poetas?
dispeream ni scis mentula quid sapiat.

XCI

Aeolidos Canace iacet hoc tumulata sepulchro,
ultima cui parvae septima venit hiems.
ah scelus, ah facinus! properas qui flere, viator,
non licet hic vitae de brevitate queri:
tristius est leto leti genus: horrida vultus
apstulit et tenero sedit in ore lues,
ipsaque crudeles ederunt oscula morbi
nec data sunt nigris tota labella rogis.
si tam praecipiti fuerant ventura volatu,
debuerant alia fata venire via.
sed mors vocis iter properavit cludere blandae,
ne posset duras flectere lingua deas.

XCII

Mentitur qui te vitiosum, Zoile, dicit.
non vitiosus homo es, Zoile, sed vitium.

XCIII

Pierios vatis Theodori flamma penates
abstulit. hoc Musis et tibi, Phoebe, placet?
o scelus, o magnum facinus crimenque deorum,
non arsit pariter quod domus et dominus!

XCIV

Quod nimium lives nostris et ubique libellis
detrahis, ignosco: verpe poeta, sapis.
hoc quoque non curo, quod cum mea carmina carpas,
conpilas: et sic, verpe poeta, sapis.
illud me cruciat, Solymis quod natus in ipsis
pedicas puerum, verpe poeta, meum.
ecce negas iurasque mihi per templa Tonantis.
non credo: iura, verpe, per †Anchialum.†

XCV

Incideris quotiens in basia fellatorum,
in solium puta te mergere, Flacce, caput.

XCVI

Marcia, non Rhenus, salit hic, Germane: quid opstas
et puerum prohibes divitis imbre lacus?
barbare, non debet, summoto cive, ministri
captivam victrix unda levare sitim.

XCVII

Una nocte quater possum: sed quattuor annis
si possum, peream, te Telesilla semel.

XCVIII

Effugere non est, Flacce, basiatores.
instant, morantur, persecuntur, occurrunt
et hinc et illinc, usquequaque, quacumque.
non ulcus acre pusulaeve lucentes,
nec triste mentum sordidique lichenes,
nec labra pingui delibuta cerato,
nec congelati gutta proderit nasi.
et aestuantem basiant et algentem,
et nuptiale basium reservantem.
non te cucullis adseret caput tectum,
lectica nec te tuta pelle veloque,
nec vindicabit sella saepibus clusa:
rimas per omnis basiator intrabit.
non consulatus ipse, non tribunatus
senive fasces nec superba clamosi
lictoris abiget virga basiatorem:
sedeas in alto tu licet tribunali
et e curuli iura gentibus reddas,
ascendet illa basiator atque illa.
febricitantem basiabit et flentem,
dabit oscitanti basium natantique,
dabit et cacanti. remedium mali solum est,
facias amicum basiare quem nolis.

XCIX

De cathedra quotiens surgis – iam saepe notavi –
pedicant miserae, Lesbia, te tunicae.
quas cum conata es dextra, conata sinistra
vellere, cum lacrimis eximis et gemitu:

sic constringuntur gemina Symplegade culi
  et nimias intrant Cyaneasque natis.
emendare cupis vitium deforme? docebo:
  Lesbia, nec surgas censeo nec sedeas.

C

Habere amicam nolo, Flacce, subtilem,
cuius lacertos anuli mei cingant,
quae clune nudo radat et genu pungat,
cui serra lumbis, cuspis eminet culo.
sed idem amicam nolo mille librarum.
carnarius sum, pinguiarius non sum.

CI

Thaida tam tenuem potuisti, Flacce, videre?
  tu, puto, quod non est, Flacce, videre potes.

CII

Non est mentitus qui te mihi dixit habere
  formonsam carnem, Lydia, non faciem.
est ita, si taceas et si tam muta recumbas
  quam silet in cera vultus et in tabula.
sed quotiens loqueris, carnem quoque, Lydia, perdis
  et sua plus nulli quam tibi lingua nocet.
audiat aedilis ne te videatque caveto:
  portentum est, quotiens coepit imago loqui.

CIII

Tanta tibi est animi probitas orisque, Safroni,
  ut mirer fieri te potuisse patrem.

CIV

Uxor, vade foras aut moribus utere nostris:
  non sum ego nec Curius nec Numa nec Tatius.
me iucunda iuvant tractae per pocula noctes:
  tu properas pota surgere tristis aqua.
tu tenebris gaudes: me ludere teste lucerna

  et iuvat admissa rumpere luce latus.
fascia te tunicaeque obscuraque pallia celant:
  at mihi nulla satis nuda puella iacet.
basia me capiunt blandas imitata columbas:
  tu mihi das aviae qualia mane soles.
nec motu dignaris opus nec voce iuvare
  nec digitis, tamquam tura merumque pares:
masturbabantur Phrygii post ostia servi,
  Hectoreo quotiens sederat uxor equo,
et quamvis Ithaco stertente pudica solebat
  illic Penelope semper habere manum.
pedicare negas: dabat hoc Cornelia Graccho,
  Iulia Pompeio, Porcia, Brute, tibi;
dulcia Dardanio nondum miscente ministro
  pocula Iuno fuit pro Ganymede Iovi.
si te delectat gravitas, Lucretia toto
  sis licet usque die, Laida nocte volo.

CV

Mittebas libram, quadrantem, Garrice, mittis.
  saltem semissem, Garrice, solve mihi.

CVI

Vibi Maxime, si vacas havere,
hoc tantum lege: namque et occupatus
et non es nimium laboriosus.
transis hos quoque quattuor? sapisti.

CVII

Explicitum nobis usque ad sua cornua librum
  et quasi perlectum, Septiciane, refers.
omnia legisti. credo, scio, gaudeo, verum est.
  perlegi libros sic ego quinque tuos.

CVIII

Quamvis tam longo possis satur esse libello,
  lector, adhuc a me disticha pauca petis.
sed Lupus usuram puerique diaria poscunt.
  lector, solve. taces dissimulasque? vale.

Apparatus criticus

A = Vossianus Leidensis primus (Q 56), saec. xi.
A^A = archetypum codicum *HTR*.
B = Vossianus Leidensis secundus (Q 121), saec. xii.
B^A = archetypum codicum *LPQfW*.
C = Vossianus Leidensis tertius (F 89), saec. xiv.
C^A = archetypum codicum *EXAVEpored.BGC*.
cod. = codex archetypus qui solus est in hac parte testis.
codd. = codices archetypi qui soli sunt in hac parte testes.
E = Edinburgensis bibliothecae Facultatis Advocatorum, saec. x in.
(*Epored.* = Eporidiense fragmentum, saec. xi. Continet XIII i-cx).
F = Florentinus membranaceus bibliothecae Laurentianae (xxxv 38), saec. xv.
f = Florentinus chartaceus bibliothecae Laurentianae (xxxv 39), saec. xv.
(*G* = Gudianus Wolfenbuttelensis (157), saec. xii).
(*H* = Hauptii florilegium Vindobonense (277), saec. ix in. Continet *Sp.* xix-xxx, I iii-iv).
Ital. = Italorum doctorum coniecturas codices et libri impressi qui exhibent.
L = Lucensis bibliothecae regiae Berolinensis (fol. 612), saec. xii.
N = Nostradamensia excerpta Parisina (188), saec. xiii.
P = Palatinus Vaticanus (1696), saec. xv.
Q = Arondellianus Musei Britannici (136), saec. xv.
R = Vossianum florilegium Leidense (Q 86), saec. ix.
T = Thuaneum florilegium Parisinum (8071), saec. ix-x.
V = Vaticanus (3294), saec. x.
(*W* = Wittianum fragmentum Perusiae repertum, saec. xiii. Continet X xxxvii-xxxviii).
X = Puteanus Parisinus (8067), saec. x.

Bracketed mss. are not cited individually in the apparatus criticus.

I. 2 sindone B^A: sidone C^A 4 inevovolutus C^A 8 continguunt C^A si *om.* C^A 9 vicinum B^A: vicini C^A.
II. 2 Fabricia *Wagner, Gilbert* 5 metio C^A (T *pro* I) 6 libet … licet *Ital.* 7-8 *nov.epigr.* B^A 7 tetricu (-cii) C^A edicite santrum B^A
III. 1 pieride B^A: pipeide C^A: *corr. Ital.* 3 genicis C^A 6 iste *LQ* 7 tangere C^A 8 quamtaque C^A 10 darent *Heinsius*: daret *codd.*
IV. 1 troia C^A 2 laumedontis C^A 3 et] es B^A 4 nota B^A 6

refers (*V ex corr. X*)*vel* referas (*EA*) C^A
V. 1 est tibi (*EA*) *vel* tibi est (*X*) C^A 4 croceos (*EA*) *vel* creceos (*X*) C^A 7 te colet] tholet C^A *ut vid.* (tholet *EA*, tollet *V*, te volet *X*) (H *pro* EC) 9 sylla *codd.*
VI. 5 non B^A: nec C^A
VII. *vv.* 1-2, 9-10 *hab. R.* 1 dicis A^AB^A: dices C^A 6 metus C^A 7 agis B^A: ages C^A 10 pares A^A: paras B^AC^A 11 dicet et hictericam (ic-) C^A alter mecham B^A
VIII. *vv.* 1-12 *hab. T.* 1 hesternis pyrant (*i.e.* hesterni spirant) B^A (hesternis spirant *Q*) drauci *codd*: dracti *Housman* 4 vernat B^A 5 domini *T* pleris C^A 7 nigris C^A 8 opes B^A 11 satis *om.* C^A omnia *om. T* 12 fraglanti C^A
IX. *cum* VIII *confl* C^A
X. 2 cui C^A eat C^A
XI. *cum* X *confl.* C^A 3 tonsor B^A 4 restituitur C^A (*pro* -etur?) 5 portare B^A
XII. 2 nemo det nemo tibi p. C^A *ut vid.*
XIV. *hab. T*
XV. 1 *om.* C^A 8 loquar (*EA*) *vel* loquatur (*X*) C^A 13 meos *Ital.*: meus *codd.*
XVI. *vv.* 1-2, 5-10 *hab. T.* 1 hic C^A (*cum T ante corr.*) 2 ita (*EA*) *vel* ista C^A 3 iam B^A (in *P*): nam C^A me C^A 4 tarpesiaco C^A ora C^A 5 pulsabit B^A 6 sic *T* licet] fecit B^A (*pro* lecit?) 8 uda] und (*sic*) *T* legas A^A: leges B^AC^A 10 sector ambruto (*EA*) *vel* sed coram bruto C^A Brute *om. T*
XVII. *hab. T. Cum* XVI *confl.* B^A
XVIII. *vv.* 1-18, 21-27 *hab. T.* 2 magis *T* 4 rupta B^A 9 quas *T* costi C^A 10 nec *om.* C^A *ut vid.* 12 urucam A^AC^A: erucam B^A 19 ungues B^A 23 parata B^A (par *pro* per)
XIX. *hab. TR*
XX. 3-8 *nov. epigr. in codd.* 3 fuit (*EA*) *vel* futuit C^A 4 ut C^A 5 mammanius B^A: me mamius C^A 8 canat B^A: canant C^A 9-10 *nov. epigr. in codd.*
XXI. *hab. T.* 2 cerer C^A 3 rora *T* intacta A^A: inpacta B^AC^A 5 exspectent C^A 6 negato (*EA*) *vel* negata C^A 9 ravennati B^A guttur] tutor *T* 11 ducor *T* 11,12 saliisse A^A (*pro* futuisse): fuisse (*EA*) *vel* futuisse C^A
XXII. *hab. T.* 3 nimium (*om.* est) A^AC^A: nimium est B^A sed A^AB^A: ne C^A 4 salitrici A^A (*pro* fututrici) 5 lusibus inpuris A^A 6 praecipitante (*om.* que) *T* 7 tragos A^A, *fort. recte* 9 marem A^A: matrem *ut vid.* B^A: mares C^A
XXIII. *hab. T.* 4 dixit B^A quod *T* 5 saliam A^A (*pro* futuam) 6 comminus C^A 8 mitte sed A^A: mittes et B^A: mittes sed C^A 12 tangatur *T* tui *T* 13 et A^AC^A: set (sed) B^A 15 recurras A^A (*pro* recuras: r *pro* s)
XXIV. 3 et *om.* B^A 4,9 fabulle B^A: labulle C^A 14 fit B^A: est (*pro* sit; s *pro* f?) C^A 15 poeta non vult *Gruterus*: non vult p. *codd.*: nevult p. (?)

Schneidewin

XXV. 1 sagax B^A nec in paucis (*EA*) *vel* nec paucis C^A

XXVI. *vv.* 1-4 *hab. T*

XXVII. *vv* 1-2 (*v.* 2 *eras.*), 5-14 *hab. T.* 2 cari C^A *ut vid.* (C *pro* G) 3 cybis C^A tenuemque B^A: tenuemve C^A 5 cum *T* (*qui v.* 2 *erasit*) 6 quam *om.* C^A vocaret *T* 8 dedit petit *T* 12 rogat *T* 13 hoc A^A: haec B^AC^A donare A^AB^A: dare dona C^A

XXVIII. *hab. T.* 1 eucti A^A: eucli B^A: ducti *vel* aucti C^A (*in lemm.* DE AUCTO C^A)

XXIX. *hab. T. Cum* XXVIII *confl.* C^A 3 vitam A^A: murem B^AC^A me tua] mea C^A *unde* tu cum mea (?) *Schneidewin* 5 dic tibi] dicti C^A (ti *pro* ti, *i.e.* tibi) 6 certa A^A: culta B^AC^A 8 digiti *T*

XXX. 1 causidici set *ut vid.* B^A (*i.e.* -is et)

XXXI. 5 alteraque *L ante corr.* 7 epidipniclas C^A (cl *pro* d) paravit C^A (*i.e.* -bit) 8 placidas facit pl. B^A: facit fatuas pl. C^A: *corr. Ital.* 14 cybili C^A 18 paropsidasque *Housman*: paropsidesque *codd.*

XXXII. *hab. T.* 1 *om.* B^A (*propter homoeoarch.* nec) cimile C^A 2 tegas *T* 5 noster *T*

XXXIV. *hab. T.* 1 Sedes *T* (pro ‹A›edes ?) 2 ideo *T* 3 illic *T* (*et fort.* A^A): illi B^AC^A nitidos *T* (*et fort.* A^A)B^A: nitidus C^A 4 caenavit *T* (*i.e.* -bit) habitavit *T* (*i.e.* -bit)

XXXV. 2 a te *Ital.*

XXXVI 5 falerno C^A 7 quicunces C^A bessemque C^A

XXXVII. *hab. T*; *vv.*3-4 *hab. R.* 1 totam B^A gemma *T* libram C^A 2 sardonicam (-ich-, -yc-) *T*C^A 3 tuis (*R*) *vel* tuus (*T*)A^A: tuis *ex* tuus *ut vid.* B^A (*ita L*, tuus *P*, tuis *Qf*): tuis C^A

XXXVIII. 1 aucte C^A (*non X*), *sed in lemm.* AD AVLVM

XXXIX. *hab. T.* 2 adsiduisque *T* 4 iuncta A^A: puncta B^AC^A puellis (-æeis?) C^A *ut vid.* (puella tuis *X*, puella suis *V*) 5 crevit A^AB^A: crevi C^A 6 ipse *T* 9 queris *T* 10 temperat ira sua A^A (tua *Beverland*): abstinet ira manum B^AC^A 13 triantis *T*

XL. 5 velles C^A

XLI. 5 ruinae *Rooy*

XLII. *hab. T.* 2 quid A^AC^A: qui B^A fleri C^A 4 et] ea *T*

XLIII. *vv.* 1-2, 9-12 *hab. T.* 5 artu C^A (*non A*) 7 sed illas] sebellas C^A 9 haeresei multo *T* 10 propior *T ante corr. LfA* levus *T* 12 monstros A^A (*pro* cunnos)

XLIV. *hab. T.* 3 verae] iure *T*

XLV. 3-4 *om.* B^A (*propter homoeotel.* tibi) 5 suspicor (-cior *X*) imae C^A (*non X*)

XLVI. *vv.* 1-4 *hab. T. Cum* XLV *confl.*C^A 1 arrigit *T* 4 levet *corr.* -at *ut vid.* C^A 5 miseros *om.* C^A lacessas *L ante corr.*

XLVII. 1 delecta B^A

XLVIII. 3 tumulique larisve C^A

XLIX. *vv.* 1-6, 11-12 *hab. T.* 2 dispolias A^A: despolies B^AC^A 8 somno B^A 10 et dixit B^A (*pro* edixit ?): indixit C^A 12 Phylli *alt.*] phylle C^A (*et in lemm.* AD PYLLUM)

L. *om.*B^A (*idem lemma atque* XLVIII *habuisse videtur*): *post* XLVIII *Ital. fort. recte* 3 Silius optatae *cod.*: illius orbatae *Ribbeck*: en tantae *vel* o tantae *Gilbert* censuit umbrae *Heinsius*: cenis ut cliabrae (diabrae) *cod.* 4 Silius et vatem *cod.*: et vates vatem *Hall*: et vatem vates *Richmond* non minus i. tulit *cod.*: *corr. Heinsius*

LI. 2 lam saciae C^A *ut vid.* (*ita E*, iam saciae *rell.*) 5 auguste (-tae) C^A (*non* A)

LII. 6 resecta] secata *L ante corr.* 10 vela brendisi massica cocta C^A 13 coloephia B^A: conchylia (-chi-) C^A 18 rara B^A (a *pro* u)

LIII. 2 cur...gentis B^A: quam...plebis C^A 3 matres B^A: matrem C^A 7 si B^A: sic C^A

LIV. *hab.* (*post* LV) *T.* 4 de turpi] detur C^A 5 protervam B^A 6 eras A^AB^A: erat C^A

LV. *hab. T.* 1 H. tibi f. *T* quod te] quo die C^A (quotidie *A* cotidie *V*) 3 nobis C^A 4 nec faciat *T* 6 pariete C^A

LVI. *vv.* 1-10, 13-16 *hab. T.* 1 mortem...laudas A^AB^A: laudas...mortem C^A dieremon *T* stoi C^A (*non X*) 2 miser B^A (s *pro* r) 7 qui] que *T* r. acer C^A 11 qui cum modo *codd.*: modo qui dum *Gronovius* miscet B^A: misces C^A, *unde* qui commoda C. miscens (?) *Gilbert*

LVII. 1 severo B^A: severe C^A 3 ambrosias C^A vivet C^A 4 cruda] cura C^A (*corr.* tura *EB*)

LVIII. *vv.* 1-10 *hab. T.* 2 puto *T* 4 qua *T* sibi C^A multa] nulla *T* (*et fort.* A^A) 5 cum *om. T* super C^A (*non A*) 9 tuta] tua *T* 11 lana] laeva *Scaliger* 12 λαικάζειν *Schneidewin*: λαιτκζε in B^A: leicazin C^A: λειχάζειν *Domitius Calderinus* dicit B^A: dicet C^A

LX. 1 chio veneris C^A 8 marmoreamve B^A: marmoreamque C^A 10 possetis B^A: velletis C^A 11 haberet] habere C^A

LXI. 1 (*in lemm.* DE MANNEIO B^A) 2 summemianis (- emmi-) B^A: summum mianis C^A 3 a *om.*B^A suburbana *codd.*: *corr. Ital.* 11 uluas C^A 14 nunc] n *ut vid.* C^A (nunc *EA*, non *XV*)

LXIV. *hab T.* 1 cum A^A (*pro* cur ?): quid B^AC^A

LXV. *hab T.* 1 ad te A^A: a te B^AC^A 4 hinc *T* (*et fort.* A^A): hic B^AC^A 5 reddis] sed his *T* mensae A^AB^A: cenae (cae-) C^A

LXVI. *hab T.* 3 fallator *T*C^A

LXVII. *hab T.* 2 mare C^A (*sed in lemm.* AD MARONEM)

LXVIII. *hab T.* 2 levis *T*

LXIX. *vv.* 1-4, 7-12 *hab T.* 4 canem A^AC^A: canes B^A 5 dictama C^A 11 umbras A^AB^A: undas C^A

LXX. 1 centenos C^A 3 rudesque querellae B^A: rudesvequepellae C^A (rudesvequepelle *E*, rudesvepuellae (-elle-) *XV*, rudesque puellae *A*) (p *pro* r): *corr. Ital.* 5 utrimque *Ital.*: utrumque (-un-) *codd.* 6 inspiciturque B^A: aspiciturque C^A 9 vendere (vende *X*) paterno *ut vid.* C^A 11 dubitatque negantem C^A

LXXI. *hab T.* 1 sed differat *T* 2 subigi A^A (*pro* futui) necesse sibi] nae tense si *T* 5 sederat *T* 8 tollunt utraque *T*: tollenturque B^A o A^AB^A: a C^A

LXXII. 1 nata *codd.* (natta *fQ*) bipinnam C^A

LXXIII. 1 digde (*C*) *vel* digne (*EXAV*) C^A (*sed in lemm.* AD LYGDUM)
LXXIV. 1 eum misit C^A (*pro* cumm.) Raetus *Schneidewin*: graecus (gre.) B^A: vetus C^A
LXXV. 1 aenea B^A: ahena C^A
LXXVI. *hab T.* 1 pede *T* 3 crimi *T*: carmina B^A 4 pede *T*
LXXVII. 2 consumpsit (-ups-) B^A: consumit C^A
LXXVIII. *hab T.* 3 texantur C^A 9 plere *ut vid.* C^A, (*i.e.* patiere) (piere *EX*, periere *A*) 10 mundus A^A (*pro* cunnus) 11 suburbane *T* trade A^AC^A: redde B^A
LXXIX. 3 est (*Pf*) *vel om.* (*LQ*) B^A viae B^A: quidem C^A culpa, *om.* est, *Q*
LXXX. 1 Letus C^A 2 dature (-rae) B^A 3 vers. flacce C^A 4 tamen satis B^A: satis tamen C^A 5 mallo C^A 6 obtare *L* (*et fort.* B^A) inprobum B^A: inprobi C^A 7 mihi *Gilbert*: tibi *codd.*
LXXXI. *hab T.* 1 sane comune *T* 3 est ut. (*om.* hic) *T* 4 utrique l. A^A *ut vid.* (uterique *T*): uterque duobus B^A (*cf. v.* 5): uterque labor C^A 6 facies *T*
LXXXII. 3 *vel* obit
LXXXIII. *hab T.*
LXXXIV. *hab T. Post* LXXVIII *in* B^A. 1 umbras A^AN(*cum* Q): undas B^AC^A 2 fugiat A^AB^A: fugiet C^A (-at *A*) 3 alba A^AB^A: orba C^A 4 furit A^A (fuerit *T*),*ex* fugit B^A: fugit C^A frigiose *T* 5 mitius A^AN: mitior B^AC^A 6 delolat C^A 8 iuua A^A (iuuat *T*) B^A 9 stycha (sti-) (*EA*) *vel* scythica C^A 10 duro A^A: nudo B^AC^A pascat (*pro* poscat) A^A: poscet B^AC^A 11 meanada C^A 13 numerati C^A (*seq.* s) 14 vituli picta *T* 16 et *om. T* 17 habet cor] habetur B^A
LXXXV. *post* XCVII *in* B^A 2 lingi cerne C^A futuis (*pro* -es?) B^A: futues C^A
LXXXVI. *hab T. Post* LXXX *in* B^A. 3 iubes *T* 4 sinis C^A 6 haec (hec) A^AB^A: hoc C^A
LXXXVII. 1 erat C^A (*cum L*) 2 nota B^A: nata C^A
LXXXIX. 1 quere (quaere) C^A mihi mittis *Q* (*cf. F*) 2 vexatas a te B^A: a te vexatas C^A mallo C^A
XC. 3 res...maior B^A: quod...maius C^A: quoque...maius *Lachm. ad Lucr. p. 122* 4 Lucilli C^A (*cum Q*): Luceilei *Scriverius* heic *Scriverius* situs B^A (*cum X*): situs est *vel* situ est C^A 5 ferrai C^A 7 visum iter C^A christille B^A (*sed in lemm.* CHREST.*ut vid.*) 8 nisi (ni sci *L*) B^A: ni C^A
XCI. 1 Aeolidos] Aeolis heu *N* canache *codd.* 2 ultimas (*EA*) *vel* ultima C^A 3 ah *bis om.* B^A quid B^A: qui C^A (quia *E*) 6 aptilit C^A teneros C^A (*seq.* s) 10 facta C^A
XCIII. *hab TR.*
XCIV. *hab T. Cum* XCIII *confl.* C^A 1 lives] levibus *T* 3 tum C^A (tu *V*) mea] in me *T* carpas A^A (chartas *T*) B^A: carpis C^A 4 conpilis (*ex* -pulis) *T* 8 anchalium *T*: anchialum B^AC^A
XCVI. *om.* C^A (cum *Q*). 1 non Rhenus] inrenum *L* (*vix* B^A) (*cf. lemm.* DE MARTIA CAPTIVA MERSA IN RENUM) obstas *cod.* 3 ministro *cod.*: ministri *Gronovius*
XCVII. 2 Telesina B^A: Telesilla (Th-) C^A

XCVIII. 1 flacce B^A: basse C^A (*sed in lemm.* AD FLACCUM) 4 nol (*EA*)*vel* non C^A pusisulaeve (*EA*) *vel* pustulaeve (*X*)C^A 5 sordidaeque *L* 6 dilibus acerato C^A 10 asserit B^A: adseret C^A 11 te *om.* C^A 12 vindicavit *codd.* (*pro* -bit) saepius *codd.*: saepibus *Walter* 18 et te B^A *ut vid.* (et te *P*, et de *Qf: versum om. L*) 19 *om.* B^A 22 dabit c. B^A: dabit et c. C^A 23 non vis B^A: nolis C^A
XCIX. *hab T.* 1 iam saepe] saepe ima (*pro* iam?) *T* 2 miserae A^AB^A: miseram C^A 5 si B^A magni A^A (magnis *T*) B^A: gemina C^A inplegade C^A *ut vid.* 6 nimias *codd.*: Minyas *Aldinus* (?): minias *Köstlin* intrat *ut vid.* C^A (intrat *EX*, intra *A*) 8 ne...nec*P*
C. *hab. T.* 1 nolo] non B^A 3 rodat *PQF* 4 emicet *Heinsius* 5 nollo A^A 6 carnunarius (*vel.* -rmin-) B^A
CI. *hab T.*
CII. *hab T.* 6 et si (*pro* sibi?) plus nulla *T*
CIII. *hab T.* 1 saphroni B^AC^A
CIV. *vv.* 1-16, 21-22 *hab T*; *v* 1 *hab.R.* 1 *in fine versus* equales una domus teneat *add. R* 8 nulla satis nulla *TL ante corr.f*: nuda satis nulla *L ex corr.* placet *T* (*et fort.* A^A): iacet B^AC^A 10 avia A^A: aule B^A solet A^A (*vix pro* solent) 12 paras *ut vid. T* (*et fort.* A^A) 14 seddaret *T* 15 quavis *T* 17 gracco B^A 21 tota A^A: toto B^AC^A
CV. *hab T.* 1,2 carice A^A (*sed in lemm.* AD GARRICUM) B^A
CVI. 1 Vbi C^A habuere B^A (*pro* habere, *i.e.* hab- *corr.* hav-): habere C^A 2 hoc] H *ut vid.* B^A (*ita L*: Non *Q*: Hoc *Pf*) 4 hoc C^A sapisti] si sapis B^A (*pro* sapissi?)
CVII. 2 perlectum B^A: perfectum C^A 4 Quinte *Heinsius*
CVIII. 4 salve B^A

Commentary

1

Where, leisured book, where are you heading for, spruced up in your extra-special purple? It isn't to see Parthenius? Of course it is: go, and return unrolled. He doesn't read books, but petitions; nor does he have time for the Muses, or he would have time for his own. Do you think yourself lucky enough if less important hands fall upon you? Then make for the Temple of Quirinus round the corner; a more leisured crowd is not to be found in Pompey's portico, or that of Agenor's girl, or that of the fickle master of the first ship. There are two or three people there who may unwind the moths of my triflings, but only when the gossip and betting on Scorpus and Incitatus has petered out.

The address to the book, sending it on its way to a specific place or person, is particularly common in M. (see Citroni's introduction to 1.3). It is largely modelled on some of Ovid's exile poetry (e.g. *Tr.* 1.1; 3.7; *ex Ponto* 4.5), but the device had already featured in both Catullus (35) and Horace (*Ep.* 1.20); note also Stat. *Silv.* 4.4, and see further J.S.P.Tatlock, *ModPh* 18(1921), p.627f.

A tone of affected modesty runs throughout this piece: the visit to Parthenius is seen as pointless before it starts – he is too busy to bother with M.'s trifles, and any leisure he did have would be employed for his own poetic talents; M.'s book will be satisfied if *manus minores* read it, but it turns out that there are only two or three of them to unwind a mothy roll of trivia when they have nothing better to do. This is a poetic attitude often adopted by M.: thus he can presuppose the boredom of readers to his work (1.118; 2.1; 4.89; 7.28.9; 11.106.4), he can imagine that they have more exciting things to spend their money on than his poetry (1.117.18; 4.72), or he can admit he writes bad epigrams, fit only for scrap paper (3.2; 3.100; 4.10; 13.2). The origins of such self-denigration can be seen in e.g. Catullus 1, though M. develops it into a recurrent facet of his epigrammatic persona. See also E.R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, English trans. (1953), p.83f.

The addressee of this opening poem is especially interesting: Parthenius (see *PIR*[1] P.101; *RE* 18.4.1901.(19)) had been Domitian's *a cubiculo* and had exercised considerable authority in the court. P.R.C. Weaver, *Familia Caesaris*, (1972), p.7, comments 'Even more influential, especially under particularly susceptible emperors, were the cubicularii, who together with the

freedmen ab admissione controlled access to the emperor, and because of their close and confidential contact with the emperor exercised a potent but unofficial (hence uncontrolled) influence on matters of policy outside their strictly domestic sphere.' This can be seen most clearly in Philo's account of Caligula's *a cubiculo* Helico (*leg. ad Gaium* 171f.); see further *RE* 4. 1734f.; G. Boulvert, *Esclaves et affranchis impériaux* (1970), p.241f. This position of trust had allowed Parthenius to be instrumental in Domitian's assassination (Dio 67.17.1), and later authors, with considerable exaggeration, see him as the key figure in establishing Nerva as the next emperor (Eutrop. 8.1; *Epit. de Caes.* 12.2; 12.8). Whatever its exact nature, Parthenius' importance in the affair is undeniable, and for M. to address a poem to him, hardly three months after Domitian's death, is a political act, a sign of his allegiance to the new regime. To place this epigram first in the book, the most prominent position, underlines this. (P.White, *JRS* 64 (1974), p.50f., points out that the focus of this piece is nevertheless peculiarly diffuse; only the first six lines deal with the addressee, the rest concerning themselves with general publication: the reason is that a too elaborate opening address might have disturbed the equilibrium of compliments to benefactors in the rest of the book, and that M. is, as ever, bearing in mind the consideration of aiming his wares at the general public – *lector, opes nostrae*; see further 11.16. 1n.).

Parthenius was also a suitable addressee for this opening poem because he was a long-standing friend of M.'s. He had known him at least as early as 88 A.D.: 4.45 is a prayer for his son; he is mentioned as a man of influence at 4.78.8; he is addressed as a poet himself who appreciates M.'s work at 5.6, where he is asked to convey M.'s latest book to Domitian; at 8.28 and 9.49 his gift of a cloak earns hyperbolic gratitude; and finally he is asked to present a book to Nerva at 12.11 – evidence of what a useful contact he was for M.: the book in question must have been the abridged version of Books X and XI made for Nerva (see 12.4(5)), because the praetorian guard murdered Parthenius in 97, before Book XII came out, to avenge the death of Domitian (*Epit. de Caes.* 12.2; 12.8). However, it would be going too far to suggest an intimate friendship between M. and this man; the epigrams addressed to him maintain the reserve and distance appropriate to a poet's dealings with the dignitaries of the imperial court (contrast the type of poem sent to Flaccus: 11.27.1n.). And it can be pointed out here that M. had also known Nerva before his principate and addressed epigrams to him (8.70; 9.26), though again their tone is not one of personal intimacy. Moreover, it would be mistaken to believe that M. was on anything like close terms with the emperors he writes to or about. It was necessity to mention them, and optimism to hope for some benefit or recognition from them (see H.Szelest, *Eos* 62 (1974), p.105f.).

1. otiose: the book has time on its hands and can therefore afford to make the unfruitful journey to Parthenius (there is a clear contrast between this leisured existence, which is echoed in the easy life of the prospective audience (line 10), and Parthenius' lack of time for relaxation (lines 5f.): a deft compliment to a benefactor). The adjective also hints that the book is written

for the *otiosi* (see 11.3.2n.), thus advertising the kind of light poetry it contains.

2. cultus: as often, the book is personified as a dandy: cf. 8.72.1f. 'nondum murice cultus asperoque/morsu pumicis aridi politus'; Ov. *Tr.* 1.1.3f. 'vade, sed incultus, qualem decet exulis esse ... nec te purpureo velent vaccinia fuco'

Sidone C^A; *sindone* B^A: B^A's *sindon* (from the Greek) is a type of muslin, a material not elsewhere connected with the physical appearance of books. But reference to purple suits the case well, and C^A's reading should be adopted; since Sidon was always closely associated with Tyre, the transference of the usual 'Tyrian' to 'Sidonian' purple was common (e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 4.137; M. 14.154). The purple clothing here mentioned is the *membrana* or *paenula* (envelope) by which the closed roll was protected; purple was the most beautiful and luxurious colour for it: cf. Ov. *Tr.* 1.1.5; Stat. *Silv.*4.9.7; M. 10.93.4; Luc. *de Merc. Cond.* 41; see T.Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen* (1882), p.64f.; *Die Buchrolle in der Kunst* (1907), p.239f. These physical descriptions of book-rolls go back to Cat. 22.6f.; note also C.Helvius Cinna, *FPL* p.89 Morel; and see Citroni 1.117.16n.

non cotidiana: a nice touch – purple, always a symbol of luxury (see 11.39.11n.), could hardly be considered everyday in any case.

3. videre: the infinitive is dependent on 'tendis' in the previous line. For the infinitive in a final clause after a verb of motion see Hofmann-Szantyr p.344f.

certe: M. answers his own question; it is unlikely that the book is supposed to be replying, as this would be the only word it utters. For the idiom compare Cat. 94.1 'Mentula moechatur, moechatur Mentula? certe' (Mynors' punctuation).

4. inevolutus: a *hapax legomenon*, of the closed roll; cf. 9.47.1 'inexplicitosque Platonas'.

5. libros ... libellos: the use of identical or closely related words at the beginning and end of the hendecasyllabic line (which is here a form of *annominatio*: see 11.18.27n.), is imitated from Catullus: e.g. 27.4 'ebrioso acino ebriosioris'; 42.2 etc.. Though both *liber* and *libellus* can refer to books of poetry, the *libelli* here are documents, particularly petitions, for the attention of the emperor, which were usually dealt with in the first place by the freedman *a libellis* (see *RE* 13.30f.; F.Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World* (1977), p.240f.). This may indicate that Parthenius changed his position from *a cubiculo* to *a libellis* under Nerva; if he is assumed still to be in his old post, it shows how influential he had become and how that influence extended to matters outside his proper sphere of activity.

6. nec Musis vacat: Parthenius' lack of recreational time is reminiscent of the section of Seneca's *Consolation to Polybius* where he reminds Polybius, Claudius' *a libellis*, of the exigencies of his post: 'magna servitus est magna fortuna. non licet tibi quicquam arbitrio tuo facere. audienda sunt tot hominum milia, tot disponendi libelli; tantus rerum ex orbe toto coeuntium congestus, ut possit per ordinem suum principis maximi animo subici, exigendus est ... non licet tibi ad utilitates tuas, ad studia tua respicere' (6.5; 7.3).

aut suis vacaret: Parthenius was an amateur poet himself: cf. 12.11.1f. (where he is asked to present a book of M.'s to Nerva):

> Parthenio dic, Musa, tuo nostroque salutem:
> nam quis ab Aonio largius amne bibit?
> cuius Pimpleo lyra clarior exit ab antro?
> quem plus Pierio de grege Phoebus amat?
> et si forte – sed hoc vix est sperare – vacabit ...

Note also 5.6.1f. It is a commonplace in M. that his addressees are busy men and will lack the leisure to read the poems he humbly sends them (e.g. 4.82; 5.80; 7.26; 7.97; 11.106); there is present here another frequent compliment, that the addressee could write better poetry than M. himself if he really wanted to (see 11.57 intro.).

9. vicini ... porticum Quirini: a *porticus* was the Roman version of the stoa; it was either rectangular in shape, with a garden or temple in the centre, or bordered the street. It took its name from its builder, its purpose, the structure to which it was attached, or a famous work of art in it. The Temple of Quirinus was on the north side of the Alta Semita of the Quirinal, probably in the eastern part of the present gardens of the royal palace (Platner-Ashby, p.438f.); it is here described as *vicinus* because M. himself lived on the Quirinal (cf. 10.58.10 'vicinosque tibi, sancte Quirine, lares'; Friedlaender, 9.18.12n.; Platner-Ashby, p.185).

pete: giving the book detailed topographical directions in this manner is another motif of this type of poem, again descended from Ovid (*Tr.* 3.1; *ex Pont.* 4.5; see Citroni, 1.70 intro.).

10. otiosiorem: see 1n.; 11.3.2n.

11. Pompeius: the *porticus Pompei* was built by Pompey in 55 B.C. at the same time as his theatre, which it adjoined to provide shelter for the audience on a rainy day (Vitr. 5.9.1). It was rectangular and large, its central area being laid out as a garden with shady walks: 'scilicet umbrosis sordet Pompeia columnis/porticus, aulaeis nobilis Attalicis' (Prop. 2.32.11f.); works of art could be viewed in it (Pl. *N.H.* 35.59; 114; 126; 132), and it was always a popular Roman haunt, especially for picking up girls (see 11.47.3n.). Cf. Platner-Ashby p.428; G. Lugli, *I monumenti antichi di Roma e suburbio*, vol.3, (1938), p.79f; 105f.

Agenoris puella: i.e. Europa (cf. Ov. *Met.* 2.858 'Agenore nata'). The existence of this portico is known only from M. From 2.14.3f. it seems it was near the Saepta Julia in the Campus Martius, and a brief description of it is given at 3.20.12f. 'an delicatae sole rursus Europae/inter tepentes post meridie

buxos'. The name implies there was a statue or painting of Europa in it. Hülsen's identification of it with the *porticus Vipsaniae* or *Pollae* is not secure and is unnecessary (ap. H.Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom in Altertum* (1871f.), vol. 1.3, p.458, followed by Friedlaender, 2.14.3n.); see further Platner-Ashby, p.422; Lugli, op.cit. p.271; F.Castagnoli, *Athenaeum* n.s.28 (1950), p.70f.

12. primae dominus levis carinae: i.e. Jason, and hence the *porticus Argonautarum*. He is called *levis* (in a facetious mythological periphrasis typical of M. and Juvenal) because of his treatment of Medea – cf. Cat. 61.97f. 'non tuus levis in mala/deditus vir adultera' (with *TLL* 7.2.1208.41f.). M. may have intended a weak pun, in that physical lightness would have been helpful in keeping the first boat afloat. The *porticus Argonautarum* was also in the Campus Martius, bounding the Saepta on the west and standing between the Pantheon and the Temple of Isis. Dio calls it the Stoa of Poseidon, and it could be entered from the east entrance of the Basilica Neptuni, which was dedicated by Agrippa; the *porticus* itself was built by him in 26/25 B.C. (Dio 53.27). Its perimeter wall, decorated with niches, still stands: see Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary*, 2.p.291 with Pls.1052/3; Platner-Ashby, p.420; Lugli, op.cit. p.105f.

14. tineas: a neat *para prosdokian*: we expect a word meaning 'rolls' but find 'moths' – which were a sure sign of the dullness of a book because they thrived on the dustiness and dryness bred of disuse (Pl. *N.H.* 11.117); cf. Hor. *Ep.* 1.20.12 'aut tineas pasces taciturnus inertis'; Stat. *Silv.* 4.9.10 'rosum tineis situque putrem'; M. 6.61(60).7; and see Mayor, Juv. 7.26n.

ineptiarum: a stock piece of poetic self-deprecation to describe works of minor genres; note Cat. 14.24 'si qui forte mearum ineptiarum lectores eritis'; Cic. *ad Att.* 12.24.2; Pl. *Ep.* 4.14.8. M. uses the word only here and at 2.86.10; the synonymous *nugae* is much commoner (see Citroni, 1.113.6n).

15. sponsio: betting at the races was obviously a popular pastime: 'aspice populum ad spectaculum iam cum furore venientem, iam tumultuosum, iam caecum, iam de sponsionibus concitatum' (Tert. *de Spect.* 16.1; and see Mayor, Juv. 11.202n.).

16. Scorpo: Flavius Scorpus was one of the most famous and successful charioteers of the day. M. refers to the amount of money he could earn at 10.74.5, and mentions him at 4.67.5 and 5.25.10; his death – a constant hazard of the profession – is lamented at 10.50 and 53 (he was only twenty-seven years old). That he is dead in the previous book yet alive here is to be explained by there having been two editions of Book X (see 10.2), the second of which, according to Friedlaender (1.p.63f.), came out in 98 A.D., probably the summer. Scorpus therefore died between December 96 and then. His fame is also recorded on inscriptions: he won 2048 victories (*CIL* 6.10048.19f.) and was almost certainly the subject of a lost statue, the base of which survives – 'vicit Scorpus equis his' (*CIL* 6.10052); he can also be seen driving a *quadriga* on the inset of T.Flavius Abascantus' tomb (*CIL* 6.8628, illustrated at Balsdon, *LL* Pl. 16b); see further *PIR*² F.359; Friedlaender, *SG* 4.p.194; 2.p.28f.; R.Syme, *AJAH* 2 (1977), p.86f.

Incitato: another charioteer, known only from here and, probably, 10.76.9. The name (Swift) is obviously appropriate.

2

Away with you, glum frown and stern brow of kill-joy Cato, and the daughter of Fabricius the farmer, and hypocritical airs, and polite behaviour, and whatever we aren't in the dark. Look, my verses cry 'Io Saturnalia': it is both permissible and agreeable with you as our protector, Nerva. You strait-laced readers, learn up rugged Santra; I've nothing to do with you; this is my book.

This is the first of an extended cycle of epigrams (see also 11. 6; 15; 16; 17; 20) which dominates the opening of the book and proclaims its preoccupation with non-euphemistic obscenity. In these pieces M. apologises for the obscene character of the present collection and wards off any prudish readers; he excuses himself by claiming Saturnalian licence (see 11.6 intro.) and by the old arguments that his writing is not a reflection of his personal morality (see 11.15.13n.) and that he had been preceded by illustrious and revered men in the field (see 11.20 intro.); he adds that there are some unobjectionable epigrams here as well (see 11.17). All this is not to be taken too seriously: it is designed to arouse prurient interest as well as to warn (compare the joke he plays with the risqué section of Book III (3.68 and 86)).

This type of warning – or advertisement – is a commonplace of obscene verse, and standard motifs recur (e.g. the ritualistic cry to ward off the strait-laced; the use of exemplars like Cato; key words to describe an inappropriate morality – *supercilium, frons* etc. – or an appropriate one – *simplicitas, lusus, mentula* etc.; it is also usually emphasised that this is a light and frivolous kind of poetry, therefore undeserving of serious moral criticism – it refers unashamedly to things which everyone knows about in any case) . A few examples are illuminating: thus Petr. 132.15:

quid me constricta spectatis fronte Catones,
  damnatisque novae simplicitatis opus?
sermonis puri non tristis gratia ridet,
  quodque facit populus, candida lingua refert.
nam quis concubitus, Veneris quis gaudia nescit?
  quis vetat in tepido membra calere toro?
ipse pater veri doctos Epicurus amare
  iussit, et hoc vitam dixit habere telos.

And *Priap.* 49:

> tu quicunque vides circa tectoria nostra
> non nimium casti carmina plena ioci,
> versibus obscenis offendi desine; non est
> mentula subducti nostra supercilii.

And Strato *A.P.* 12.2:[1]

> μὴ ζήτει δέλτοισιν ἐμαῖς Πρίαμον παρὰ βωμοῖς
> μηδὲ τὰ Μηδείης πένθεα καὶ Νιόβης ...
> ἀλλ' ἱλαραῖς Χαρίτεσσι μεμιγμένον ἡδὺν Ἔρωτα
> καὶ Βρόμιον· τούτοις δ' ἁρπύες οὐκ ἔπρεπον.

('Do not look for Priam at the altar or Medea's and Niobe's sufferings in my book ... but for sweet Love, mingled with the gentle Graces, and for Dionysus – a glum frown does not suit them.') Compare also Ov. *Am.* 2.1.3f.; M. 1.*Ep.*9f.; 10.64 (and cf. 8.*Ep.*; 8.1; 5.2); *Priap.* 1; 2; *A.L.* 90; 429.

Despite their lightheartedness, these apologetic and excusatory pieces do reflect a genuine Roman concern about obscenity, and non-euphemistic obscenity in particular (the non-euphemistic vocabulary used by M. includes, for example, *cunnus, mentula, culus, irrumo, fello, futuo* and *pedico*). There was a lively debate over when and where such vocabulary was excusable, if at all. Thus Cicero claims 'quodque facere turpe non est, modo occulte, id dicere obscenum est. itaque nec actio rerum illarum aperta petulantia vacat nec orationis obscenitas. nec vero audiendi sunt Cynici ... qui reprehendunt et irrident, quod ea, quae turpia non sint, verbis flagitiosa ducamus, illa autem, quae turpia sint, nominibus appellemus suis. latrocinari, fraudare, adulterare re turpe est, sed dicitur non obscene; liberis dare operam re honestum est, nomine obscenum' (*de Off.* 1.127f.). He also deals with obscene words and their unsuitability for a 'gentleman' in a revealing letter to Paetus (*ad Famm.* 9.22; he is concerned particularly with *kakemphaton* and the necessity of avoiding it: see the interesting dissertation of W. Wendt, Giessen (1929). Although Shackleton Bailey in the introduction to his commentary on this letter says that the whole thing is 'a jeu d'esprit – the Paetus correspondence is rarely more than half serious', the basic moral assumptions behind what Cicero says are still generally applicable.). His idea of obscenity is that it states non-euphemistically in public matters which are suited only to private occasions – i.e. when the speakers know each other well and are unlikely to be offended: 'obscenitas non solum non foro digna, sed vix convivio liberorum' (*de Or.* 2.252). It is clear that the same attitude was held towards the written word, which was likewise publically disseminated: Pliny finds it necessary to write a letter excusing his own *lusus*: 'ex quibus tamen si non nulla tibi petulantiora paulo videbuntur, erit eruditionis tuae cogitare summos illos et

[1] The dates of Strato and the author of the *Priapea* are tendentious, though I accept an early second century provenance for both of them: see, on Strato, A. Cameron, *CQ* n.s. 32 (1982), p. 168f.; on the *Priapea*, Buchheit, *Priapea*, p. 108f.

gravissimos viros qui talia scripserunt non modo lascivia rerum, sed ne verbis quidem nudis abstinuisse; quae nos refugimus, non quia severiores (unde enim?), sed quia timidiores sumus' (4.14.4). And again at 5.3.2f.: 'facio non numquam versiculos severos parum, facio; nam et comoedias audio et specto mimos et lyricos lego et Sotadicos intellego; aliquando praeterea rideo iocor ludo, utque omnia innoxiae remissionis genera breviter amplectar, homo sum. nec vero moleste fero hanc esse de moribus meis existimationem, ut qui nesciunt talia doctissimos gravissimos sanctissimos homines scriptitasse, me scribere mirentur.' Pliny's excuses are the same as M.'s, and so are his reasons for having to write them: it was suggested that the obscene poet was incompatible with the upright Roman citizen possessed of the cardinal virtues – *gravitas, severitas* and *sanctitas*. To read such poetry might also be taken to indicate moral laxity, but it could be excused as an *innoxia remissio* from ordinary life, a frivolous and meaningless pleasure.

This Roman view of obscenity is also strikingly shown by Celsus, a medical writer clearly embarrassed in trying to find acceptable Latin terminology for reference to the male and female genitalia: 'proxima sunt ea quae ad partes obscenas pertinent, quarum apud Graecos vocabula et tolerabilia se habent et accepta iam usu sunt, cum in omni fere medicorum volumine atque sermone iactentur: apud nos foediora verba ne consuetudine quidem aliqua verecundius loquentium commendata sunt, ut difficilior haec explanatio sit simul et pudorem et artis praecepta servantibus. neque tamen ea res a scribendo me deterrere debuit: primum, ut omnia, quae salutaria accepi, comprehenderem, dein, quia in volgus eorum curatio etiam praecipue cognoscenda est, quae invitissimus quisquis alteri ostendit' (6.18.1). Bearing this in mind M.'s poems of warning and excuse, which preface this his most obscene book, and his insistence that what he is writing is merely pardonable good fun, clearly serve a purpose beyond the purely literary one, and are also part apology and part justification (see too the remarks of W.Kroll, *Studien zum Verstandnis der römischen Literatur* (1924), p.111f.).

As, however, can be deduced from the opening section of this introduction, epigram is the Latin genre where non-euphemistic obscenity is most at home and would be expected. So far as we can tell, Catullus was the innovator in introducing basic obscenities into Latin literary epigram; a piece by Augustus cited by M. later in this book (11.20) contains many such words, and the author of the *Priapea*, as well as M. himself, similarly uses non-euphemistic vocabulary. Greek epigram is much more restrained in this respect: although basic obscenities do occur the total number is very small. In Latin comedy and satire (also Petronius, though see Adams, *LSV* p.66) the obscenities are generally euphemistic, the chief exception being the first book of Horace's Satires (possibly Lucilius too); in elegy euphemism is invariably the case; basic obscenities are avoided by medical writers and although in oratory there is plenty of sexual innuendo, again propriety and the unwritten rules of the genre dictate that euphemism is necessary. (For a detailed discussion of this topic see Adams, *LSV* p.218f.) In fact a main source of comparison for the obscenity used by the epigrammatic writers is inscriptional, largely graffiti (though more mime and farce would have been illuminating: M. 3.86.4;

8.*Ep.*12f.). It is the language of the street and assists epigram in attaining its immediacy and its colouring of the everyday as well as its ability to shock and amuse. See also p.9f.

1. triste supercilium: cf. 1.24.2 'cuius et ipse times triste supercilium'; the use of *supercilium* to denote displeasure is common (also M. 1.4.2; *Priap.* 1.2; *A.L.* 431; Sid.Ap. *Ep.* 8.9.2; Aus. *Biss.* 2.2 (p.115 Peiper)); it also indicates a certain haughtiness and knowing moral superiority. The Greek *ophrus* is used in the same way (e.g. Ar. *Frogs* 925; Antip.Sid. *A.P.* 7.409.2; Strato *A.P.* 12.2.6 (quoted above); Rufinus *A.P.* 5.27.3).

durique severa Catonis frons: the agglomeration of words referring to Cato's moral steadfastness is humorous in itself; so is the treatment of historical exemplars in this manner. Romans enjoyed fun poked at figures who were the staple diet of the rhetorical schools. We know of many handbooks which were written classifying the various worthies in exemplar categories to help the student in his composition of *suasoriae* (see H.W.Litchfield, *National exempla virtutis in Roman literature, HSCPh* 25 (1914), p.62f.). Cato Uticensis is a frequent model of (ridiculous) *gravitas* in M. (see Citroni on 1.*Ep.*15f.) and elsewhere (Otto 358; H.Stubbe, *Philologus Suppb.* 25 (1933), p.152), largely because of the story of his leaving the theatre during the Floralia festival so that the mime could proceed unimpeded by his moral presence (M. 1.*Ep.*). Note also Val.Max. 2.10.8: 'omnibus numeris perfecta virtus, quare quidem effecit, ut quisquis sanctum atque egregium civem significare velit, sub nomine Catonis definiat.' See P. Pecchiura, *La figura di Catone Uticense nella letteratura latina* (1965), p.91f.; and, in general, A.Nordh, *Historical exempla in M., Eranos* 52 (1954), p.224f.

Compare the opening of Herrick's '*To his Booke*': 'Be bold my Booke, nor be abasht, or feare The cutting Thumb-naile or the Browe severe.'

2. aratoris filia Fabricii: C.Fabricius Luscinus (cos. 282 and 278, cens. 275) defeated Pyrrhus at Beneventum. He was primarily an exemplar of frugality (see 11.5.8n.). He was so poor that the Senate gave his daughter money for a dowry, and she thus brought her husband 'gloriam domesticam, pecuniam publicam' (Val.Max. 4.4.10; Apul. *Apol.* 18); M. assumes that she inherits her morality from her father. There is also the implication that women are naturally more prudish than men and need to be sheltered from obscenity: cf. 3.68; 3.86; 11.15.1f.; 11.16. 9f. etc.; note also 5.2, where non-obscene verse is deemed suitable for 'matronae puerique virginesque'.

The genitive 'Fabricii' has caused unnecessary consternation: though M.'s normal practice is for the -i form, -ii is found elsewhere (12.25.6; and for the -ii genitive in other literature of the period see Neue-Wagener, 1.p.147f.; Housman, Man. 2.740n.; Citroni, 1.26.7n.).

3. personati fastus: a metaphor from the theatrical world: *masked*, and thus *put on* or *feigned*; cf. Sen. *Ep.* 80.8 'personata felicitas'.

regula morum: Ausonius borrowed the phrase for use in a similar context: 'salva mihi veterum maneat dum regula morum,/ plaudat permissis sobria musa iocis' (*Ep.* 25, p.320 Peiper).

4. quidquid et in tenebris non sumus: M. bids the social constraints and conventions which regulate normal behaviour to be gone. It was often assumed that things got livelier when the lights went out: 'extinctam liceat quid ad lucernam' (12.43.10; but see 11.104.5n.).

et: for delayed *et* in M. see Friedlaender's extensive note at 1.26.8; it is delayed by three words at 10.10.8.

ite foras: a formula of divorce (see 11.104.1n.), and apposite in this context; M. divorces himself from the aforementioned restraints.

5. Io Saturnalia: for the Saturnalia see 11.6 intro. This is the traditional cry of revelry at the festival: cf. Petr. 58.2 'io Saturnalia, rogo, mensis December est?'; *CIL* 4.2005a, from a Pompeian inn: 'Saturnina io Saturnalia'. It is thus ideally suited to the context, but the metre is difficult: 'io' (as the same Greek word) would appear to be naturally disyllabic (see *TLL* 7.2.281.20f.) and is so elsewhere in M.; but the hiatus with 'mei', even allowing for a doubtful correption of '-o', is impossible (see Gilbert, *RhM* 40 (1885), p.217f.; Korsch, *RhM* 41 (1886), p.155f.). Munro, however (*Criticisms and Elucidations of Catullus*[2] (1905), p.134f.), makes a convincing case for a Latin monosyllabic 'io', citing the Catullus wedding refrain 'iō̆ Hymen Hymenaee iō̆, iō̆ Hymen Hymenaee' (61.117f., the text accepted by modern editors; cf. too Plaut. *Pseud.* 702f.). To keep 'io' with this explanation is more convincing than a lame emendation such as Scriverius' *bona* or Schrader's *iam* or *vos*.

6. et licet et ... libet: this might be thought presumptuous of M., but it was known that Nerva liked obscene poetry for he wrote it himself (Pl. *Ep.* 5.3.5). M. had known him as an amateur poet well before he became emperor (8.70; 9.26), and had broadcast the fact that he used to listen to Nero's *lascivum opus* (9.26.9f.). So he could safely assume that the new princeps would not object to being mentioned in a context like this. There is also an implicit contrast with Domitian: freedom has arrived.

te praeside: a phrase M. uses also of Titus (*Sp.* 2.11) and Domitian (6.2.5; 8.80.5; 9.18.1); despite its being an epithet of gods, it is a politically unextreme term (see further 11.4 intro.).

7. tetrici: i.e. the prudes; see 11.43.1n.

salebrosum: a *salebra* is a hole in the road which causes a jolt; thence it is used of roughness of speech: 'Herodotus sine ullis salebris fluit' (Cic. *Or.* 39; cf. Quint. 11.2.46). It is a word of technical criticism and suggests an archaising style (see 11.90 with commentary); it is appropriate that people who lay claim to old republican morals should read works which imitate old republican writing.

Santram: he lived at the end of the Ciceronian period and wrote a *de viris illustribus*, a *de antiquitate verborum*, and *Nuntii Bacchi*, a tragedy. He was no doubt thoroughly tedious. See Teuffel-Schwabe, 211.2; *RE* 1A.2301f.

8. nil mihi vobiscum est: probably an allusion to Ov. *Tr.* 2.1 'quid mihi vobiscum est?', a line to which M. also refers at 2.22.1. Ovid is asking what use his writings have been to him - and one reason for his exile was that he wrote too frankly – while M. uses much the same phrase as a rebuttal to people who want him to write less frankly: line 6 amply demonstrates the difference between his situation and Ovid's.

iste liber meus est: cf. 8.1.3f. 'nuda recede Venus; non est tuus iste libellus:/tu mihi, tu Pallas Caesariana, veni'; on M.'s use of *iste* for *hic* see Citroni 1.26.6n.

3

It isn't only the leisured city people who take pleasure in my Muse, nor do I give my poems solely to leisured ears, but my book is thumbed by the unbending centurion at his standards of war in the Getic frosts, and it is said that Britain sings my verses. Of what use is that to me? My purse knows nothing of it But what undying pages I could write, what battles I could blow on Pierian trumpet if, since the reverent gods have restored Augustus to the earth, they would give you, Rome, a Maecenas to match!

M. states that he will not write epic unless he is paid for his trouble; the epic would no doubt be in praise of Nerva, and the poem is thus a clever variation on the standard *recusatio* theme (for which see Nisbet-Hubbard, Hor. *Carm.* 1.6 intro.). M. is not literally serious here, though the *recusatio* poem serves the dual function of hymning the subject in a minor genre, while professing the poet's inability to hymn him in the most suitable form – epic. So while this poem is ostensibly concerned with M. and patronage, it also involves the adulation of Nerva and his new regime which runs through the opening five poems of the book.

That M.'s poetry was extremely popular yet brought him little material reward is a constant complaint: 'at nunc conviva est comissatorque libellus/et tantum gratis pagina nostra placet./sed non et veteres contenti laude fuerunt,/ cum minimum vati munus Alexis erat' (5.16.9f.; and cf. 5.13; 5.15; 6.82). Elsewhere M. advises Flaccus against taking up the unprofitable profession of poetry (1.76 with Citroni's intro.). It is impossible to be sure what M.'s financial state really was: we know that he had a farm at Nomentum (9.60.6 etc.) and a house at Rome (11.1.9n.), and, taking into account the Roman notion of *paupertas* (see 11.32 intro.), he cannot have been impoverished. P.White convincingly argues that since M. was an *eques* he must have been able to live in reasonable style and did not need to work. His relationship to his benefactors was not what we would understand by 'patronage' but is an example of the Roman concept of *amicitia* – any material benefits M. received from people to whom he 'dedicated' work were the perquisites of friends rather than the due of poetry (*JRS* 68 (1978), p.85f.). See now also R.P. Saller, *Personal Patronage under the Early Empire* (1982), esp. ch.1, and *M. on patronage and literature, CQ* n.s. 33 (1983), p. 246f.

1. urbana ... otia: i.e. the *otiosi* of the city, with the same implication as 'vacuis auribus'. M.'s epigrams are *lusus, nugae* or *ineptiae*, and they are traditionally written by an *otiosus* for *otiosi* (Cat. 50.1f.; Ov. *Tr.* 2.223f.; Quint. 10.5.15; and H.Wagenvoort, *Ludus Poeticus, Studies in Roman Literature, Culture and Religion* (1956), p.30f.; Buchheit, *Priapea*, p.29f.).

Pimpleide: Pimpleis is the name of a Muse (*RE* 20.1389); for the orthography of the word see Heraeus' apparatus ad loc. and Nisbet-Hubbard, Hor. *Carm.* 1.26.9n. Pimpleia is a place in Pieria near Mount Olympus, associated with the Muses from Hesiod onwards (*Op.* 1; *Theog.* 53). In Hellenistic times Pimpleia was the name of a local fountain; cf. Varro *L.L.* 7.20 'Musae ab terrestribus locis aliis cognominatae Libethrides, Pimpleides, Thespiades, Heliconides'.

2. vacuis auribus: as the *otiosus* writes for *otiosi*, so the *vacuus* writes for *vacui*: cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.6.17f. 'nos convivia, nos proelia virginum/sectis in iuvenes unguibus acrium/cantamus vacui'; ibid. 1.32. 1f. The phrase is also a standard one to indicate the leisured attention of an audience: 'da vacuam pueris certantibus aurem' (*Carm. Eins.* 1.2; cf. Lucr. 1.50; Hor. *Ep.* 1.16.26; Ov. *Met.* 5.334; Juv. 1.21).

ista: i.e. 'my work as a whole', understood from 'mea Pimpleide'; see also 11.16.2n.

3. sed: the contrast is that tough working men read M. as well as lazy aesthetes, and that he is read in far-flung outposts of the empire as well as in Rome. He often emphasises his own popularity: 'hic est quem legis ille, quem requiris,/toto notus in orbe Martialis/ argutis epigrammaton libellis' (1.1.1f.; see Citroni 1.1.2n.); he tells us he is read in Vienne (7.88) and Vindelicia (9.84.5) as well as 'in toto orbe'. This claim to universality (either of the poet himself or, by extension, of his subject) is particularly Ovidian: 'in toto plurimus orbe legor' (*Tr.* 4.10.128), though it is usually expressed as a wish or a prophecy rather than as a statement of fact. But the topic goes back to Alcman (148 Page) and Theognis (237f.); the catalogue of nations is well illustrated in Horace: 'me Colchus et qui dissimulat metum/Marsae cohortis Dacus et ultimi/noscent Geloni, me peritus/discet Hiber Rhodanique potor' (*Carm.* 2.20. 17f.; see Nisbet-Hubbard, *Carm.* 2.20 intro. and 14n.).

in Geticis pruinis: the Getae (nothing to do with the Geats of Beowulf fame) were a tribe of Northern Thrace on the shores of the Black Sea, the north-eastern corner of the empire. Propertius had already linked them with a British reference (4.3.9), and they were associated with the cold: 'frigidior Geticis petitur decocta pruinis' (Juv. 5.50). This was the area to which Ovid was sent in his exile, and he often complains of the severity of the frost (see Mayor, Juv. loc.cit.). The centurion's location in this area is not only poetic fancy: the Getae lived in the province of Moesia Inferior, the eastern end of the Danube, where there were two legions stationed in 96. This was a potential trouble-spot from Domitian's reign to Trajan's because of the activities of various hostile tribes – Marcomanni, Quadi, Jazyges, Dacii, Bastarnae and Roxolani – on the northern bank of the Danube. See R.Syme,

The Rhine and the Danube Legions under Domitian, JRS 18 (1928), p.41f.

4. rigido: an aptly chosen adjective. The centurion would be *rigidus* from the effects of the frost (note Lucr. 2.521 'rigidae pruinae'; M. 1.49.17); *rigidus* in the sense of strictness; and *rigidus* because he was uncultured and crude, thus contrasting with 'urbana otia' (cf. 'rigidis Sabinis' Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.25; M. 12.21.1).

teritur: a further hint of the roughness of the centurion, but also indicating the frequency of his reading: cf. 8.3.4 'teritur noster ubique liber'.

5. Britannia: i.e. the north-west limit of the empire (see *TLL* 2.2196. 68f.): cf. 'extremos ultra volitat gens si qua Britannos' (Claud. *in Ruf.* 2.149); Thyle is also often used in this type of context (Otto 1781).

6. sacculus: borrowed from Cat. 13.8 'plenus sacculus est aranearum'; and note M. 5.39.7 'excussi loculosque sacculumque'.

7. victura ... chartas: the reference is to epic, as against the insubstantial *nugae*; cf. 3.20.1f. 'dic, Musa, quid agat Canius meus Rufus:/utrumne chartis tradit ille victuris/legenda temporum acta Claudianorum?' (and 1.25.7 with Citroni; 1.107.5). It is interesting to contrast Pliny's rather misguided comment on the work M. did produce: 'at non erunt aeterna quae scripsit: non erunt fortasse, ille tamen scripsit tamquam essent futura' (*Ep.* 3.21.6).

pangere: a common metaphor for writing (see Bailey, Lucr. 1.25n.). *pangere* is used of planting things (e.g. Col. *R.R.* 11.3.26) and it seems most likely that the metaphor comes from the act of pressing the stylus into the wax: cf. Paul. Fest. p.235 Lindsay 'pangere, figere ... inde etiam versus pangi vel figi in cera dicuntur'.

8. proelia flare: again the phraseology suggests epic (it is often found in *recusationes* and similar pieces): cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 6.3f. 'cum canerem reges et proelia, Cynthius aurem/vellit et admonuit'; Prop. 3.3.41f.; Ov. *Am.* 1.1.1; M. 8.3.14. All of this of course looks back to the prologue to Callimachus' *Aetia* (esp. 19f.).

tuba: used of epic writing also at 8.55(56).4 'nec quemquam tanta bella sonare tuba'; 10.64.4; Val.Flacc. 1.268f.; Claud. *Pan.Prob.et Ol.* 198.

9. pia... numina: note Verg. *Aen.* 4.382 'si quid pia numina possunt'; M. may well have borrowed the phrase from there – with obvious aptness in this context. For the same phrase see also Ov. *A.A.* 3.347; Aus. *Ep.* 19.37 p.256 Peiper; for *pietas* predicated of gods as well as men, see too Verg. *Aen.* 2.535f. Pease remarks 'one signification of *pietas* is the devotion of men to the gods, comparable to that of children to their parents, and as the latter relation may be reciprocal, so the gods are sometimes considered as *pii* towards men who show *pietas* towards them' (*Aen.* 4.382n.).

reddiderint: for the idea of the soul coming from heaven and returning there after death, and its relation to the ruler cult, see Nisbet-Hubbard, Hor. *Carm.* 1.2.45n.

Augustus: Augustus was an official title of Nerva (Front. *de Aq.* 93; *CIL* 6.950f.) as well as of most other emperors (Friedlaender, 4.27.1n.; *TLL* 2.1384.81f.); for its being used to refer to emperors subsequent to the original Augustus, without the addition of any other names, see *TLL* 2.1388.32f. M.'s choice of it here allows him to introduce the idea of Maecenas and patronage in a neat allusion.

10. Maecenatem: cf. 8.55(56).5f. 'sint Maecenates, non derunt, Flacce, Marones,/Vergiliumque tibi vel tua rura dabunt'; 1.107.4; 12.3(4).2; Mayor, Juv. 7.94n.

4

Sacred objects and native gods of Phrygia, which Troy's heir preferred to carry off rather than Laomedon's wealth, which he left to burn; and Jupiter portrayed now in gold eternal for the first time; and his sister; and the daughter of this great father, wholly his own work; and you, Janus, who now add Nerva's name for the third time to the purple fasti: I pray to you all with dutiful words: preserve him as leader, and preserve the Senate. May it live by the standards of the princeps, he by his own.

The adulatory cycle on the new emperor continues; this is a most interesting piece in the historical context. The concluding prayer encapsulates the hopes and expectations of Romans, especially the Senate, for Nerva's reign: the very balance of the last two lines puts the Senate almost on an equal footing with the ruler; the titles which describe Nerva – *dux* and *princeps* – point the contrast to what Domitian had been – *dominus ac deus*. It was Domitian's disgracefully high-handed treatment of the Senate which was largely responsible for his bad reputation; thus Tacitus – 'non vidit Agricola obsessam curiam et clausum armis senatum et eadem strage tot consularium caedes ... praecipua sub Domitiano miseriarum pars erat videre et aspici, cum suspiria nostra subscriberentur, cum denotandis tot hominum palloribus sufficeret saevus ille vultus et rubor, quo se contra pudorem muniebat' (*Agr.* 45.1f.). Not surprisingly, the Senate was elated at his demise (Suet. *Dom.* 23.1). Nerva, in his brief reign, set about altering this terrorising of the Senate: he promised that no senator would be executed (Dio 68.2.3), he restored confiscated property (Dio 68.2.1), and he brought some of the *delatores* to justice (Dio 68.1.2). This was hailed as the restoration of Libertas: e.g. Tac. *Agr.* 3.1 'nunc demum redit animus; et quamquam primo statim beatissimi saeculi ortu Nerva Caesar res olim dissociabilis miscuerit, principatum et libertatem'; note also Pl. *Ep.* 9.13.4. The flattery, servility and self-abasement which had been the price of a precarious existence in Domitian's Senate were done away with under Nerva (see C.Wirszubski, *Libertas as a Political Idea at Rome*[3] (1968), p.138 etc.). The same change is

reflected in the titles of *dux* and *princeps* M. gives to Nerva, both used by Augustus himself: that emperor had said he saw the *princeps* as a soldier at his post (Aul.Gell. *N.A.* 15.7.3); Tiberius had said the *princeps* should be a servant of the state (Suet. *Tib.* 29; cf. Pl. *Pan.* 65.1); and both of them had rejected the appellation *dominus* (Suet. *Aug.* 53.1; *Tib.* 27). But Domitian had set himself above the state as *dominus ac deus* (see Scott, *Cult,* p.102f.), to the disgust of the Senate at all it implied: cf. Pl. *Pan.* 2.3 'nusquam ut deo, nusquam ut numini blandiamur; non enim de tyranno, sed de cive, non de domino, sed de parente loquimur'. M. himself, who had been liberal in supplying Domitian with the titles he liked (e.g. 7.34.8f.; 8.2.6f.; 8.82.1f.; 9.28.7f.), expressly changed his tune for Trajan's benefit:

> frustra, Blanditiae, venitis ad me
> adtritis miserabiles labellis:
> dicturus dominum deumque non sum ...
> non est hic dominus sed imperator,
> sed iustissimus omnium senator ...
> hoc sub principe, si sapis, caveto
> verbis, Roma, prioribus loquaris. (10.72.1f.)

In the present prayer for Nerva, short and succinct as it is, we can see how M.'s terminology and sentiments reflect the new political climate at Rome; note also 12.6.

1. sacra laresque Phrygum: (perhaps the rhythm of these opening words would appropriately suggest the first line of the Aeneid). These are the main Trojan religious symbols which Aeneas brought with him to Italy, highly important and emotive in the state religion, symbolising the connection between Troy and Rome (see F. Bömer, *Troia und Rom* (1951)): 'sacra suosque tibi commendat Troia penatis;/hos cape fatorum comites, his moenia quaere/magna, pererrato statues quae denique ponto' (Verg. *Aen.* 2.293f.). There was a small temple on the Velia where the Penates or Lares might be seen represented as two seated youths with spears; there was a cryptic cult of them in the Temple of Vesta, which also boasted the Palladium brought by Aeneas (Ov. *Tr.* 3.1.29; *RE* 18.3.172f.). What precisely the other *sacra* (if any) were in the Temple of Vesta was never known because it was shrouded in secrecy and mystery (Dion.Hal. 2.66.3f.), but Timaeus says that in his day there were preserved in the sanctuary at Lavinium some iron and bronze heralds' wands and a Trojan earthenware vessel (ap. Dion.Hal. 2.67.4). See further A.Alföldi, *Early Rome and the Latins* (1965), p.284f.; Ogilvie, Liv. 5.40.7-10n.; 5.52.7n.; Platner-Ashby, p.557.

Troiae ... heres: this is the only time this epithet is applied to Aeneas, and its legal flavouring is not without significance, because the original point of making a will lay less in the transmission of property than in ensuring the continuation of the family *sacra* and household gods – precisely Aeneas' function here (see J.A.C.Thomas, *Textbook of Roman Law* (1976), p.479 with refs.).

2. Laomedontis opes: reminiscent of a Propertian pentameter: 'cum caderent magnae Laomedontis opes' (2.14.2). Laomedon was the mythical builder of the walls of Troy. The point is that Aeneas preferred to rescue the sacred symbols of Troy, which were only emotively and religiously valuable, rather than the monetary wealth.

3. scriptus et aeterno nunc primum Iuppiter auro: a reference to the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, which he shared with Juno and Minerva. Like the Trojan relics, it was one of the most important Roman religious symbols; in Platner-Ashby's words 'it was the centre of the religious system of the empire: consuls offered their first public sacrifices there, the Senate met in solemn assembly inside it; it was the destination of triumphal processions and the repository of archives dealing with foreign relations' (p. 297f.). It was also frequently being burned down and rebuilt, the last occasion as recently as 80 A.D. (Dio 66.2.4), when it was splendidly restored in a remarkably short time by Domitian (Suet. *Dom.* 5); see Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary,* Pls.654-9.

'scriptus auro' must refer to the cultic statue of Jupiter inside the temple: we know that gold was connected with the temple at a later date (Zosimus 5.38; Aus. *Clar.Urb.* 19.17 p.151 Peiper). In an elaborate restoration it is more than likely that Domitian provided a golden statue (note Juv. 11.116 and Suet. *Dom.* 13). For *scriptus* used of carving and moulding cf. Stat. *Silv.* 1.1.100 'Apelleae cuperent te scribere cerae' (with Vollmer's note), and the equivalent use of Greek *graphô* (e.g. Ar. *Frogs* 537).

'nunc primum' boldly qualifies 'aeterno' as well as 'scriptus': the statue was not eternal previously because the temple was constantly being destroyed; this one, it is hoped, will last for ever.

4. soror: Juno, like Jupiter, was a child of Saturn, and is often referred to as his sister as well as his wife: e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 1.46f. 'quae divum incedo regina Iovisque/et soror et coniunx' (with Austin's note).

summi: ambiguous: in the obvious sense 'greatest', but also because Minerva was born from her father's head (West, Hes. *Theog.* 886-900n.).

tota: cf. *A.L.* 278.1 'Pallas tota Iovis patrio de vertice nata'; she was all her father's work, having no mother (Jupiter had eaten her).

5. purpureis: the traditional epithet for the consular fasti (see Friedlaender ad loc.); it seems more likely that the epithet was given simply because of the association of the consuls with purple, but it may be, as Friedlaender suggests, that their names (only the ordinarii?) were inscribed in purple lettering on the fasti.

tertia: Nerva had been consul ordinarius in 71 with Vespasian, and again in 90 with Domitian. His third consulate began in January 97 – his colleague being Verginius Rufus, similarly honoured for the third time (*PIR*² C.1227).

6. Iane: cf. 10.28.1f. 'annorum nitidique sator pulcherrime mundi,/publica quem primum vota precesque vocant'. This connection of Janus with the New

Year explains why he is linked with the consulship in poetry, since the consuls entered office on 1 January (e.g. Lucan 5.5f.; Stat. *Silv.* 4.1.13f.; M. 8.2.1; 8.66.9f.). It has been suggested that a record of the consular fasti for the years after 14 A.D. was kept on the Arch of Janus Quadrifons in the Forum Transitorium (L.Ross Taylor and L.A.Holland, *CPh* 47 (1952), p.137f.): this would make the frequent references to Janus in this context even more appropriate.

7. servate ducem ... : for the form of this line cf. Hor. *A.P.* 269 'nocturna versate manu, versate diurna', with Brink's note.

8. moribus ... **principis**: this brings to mind the frequent theorising about the *optimus princeps* during this period: see Wirszubski, op.cit. p.153f. Compare 9.79.7f. (on Domitian): 'nemo suos – haec est aulae natura potentis –,/sed domini mores Caesarianus habet.'

5

You have as great reverence for justice and equity as Numa did, Caesar; but Numa was poor. It is a difficult thing not to sacrifice morality to wealth and, when you are wealthier than so many Croesuses, to stay a Numa. If the fathers of old, those great names, should return, and if they could leave the Elysian grove, you will be revered by Camillus, unconquered in the name of freedom, and Fabricius will want the gold if you honour him with it; under your leadership Brutus will rejoice, to you bloody Sulla will hand over power when he is about to put it down; and Pompey, with Caesar as a private citizen, will love you, and Crassus will give you all his wealth. If Cato himself should also be restored, called back from the infernal shades of Pluto, he will be a Caesarian.

This is the last of the adulatory cycle on Nerva: here M. compliments him by claiming that all the staunchest republicans of old will be happy to live under his principate if they should return from the grave. The relationship of the principate to the old republican institutions – especially the Senate – was one of the major issues of first century Roman politics, and 'Republicanism' had been a feature of the 'oppositions' to Nero and Domitian (see C.Wirszubski, *Libertas as a Political Idea at Rome*[3] (1968), p.5f.; 124f.). We have seen how Nerva wanted to create a balance between the Senate and himself (11.4 intro.), and M. here prophesies success and gives the reasons for it.

The conceit of republican worthies returning to life and supporting another leader is foreshadowed in Lucan (7.358f.): 'si Curios his fata darent reducesque Camillos/temporibus, Deciosque caput fatale voventes,/hinc starent' (i.e. with Pompey); note also Stat. *Silv.* 1.1.27f.: 'te signa ferente/et minor in leges gener et Cato Caesaris iret' (of Domitian! The text is Housman's, following Scriverius: see Man. vol.1, p.lxvii). It appears later in Claudian (*Pan. M.Theod.* 163f.): 'nunc Brutus amaret/vivere sub regno, tali

succumberet aulae/Fabricius, cuperent ipsi servire Catones.'

1. recti reverentia ... **et aequi:** cf. 11.49(50).11 'veri respectus et aequi'; Sen. *Herc.Fur.* 730; Lucan 9.192. There is an implicit contrast with Domitian.

2. Numae: the second king of Rome, renowned for his religiosity and strength of character, as Livy's first mention of him shows: 'inclita iustitia religioque ea tempestate Numae Pompili erat' (1.18. 1). His incorruptibility is also shown by Livy: 'suopte igitur ingenio temperatum animum virtutibus fuisse opinor magis instructumque non tam peregrinis artibus quam disciplina tetrica ac tristi veterum Sabinorum, quo genere nullum quondam incorruptius fuit' (1.18.4). The comparison is a fitting symbol for Nerva's aims, and one M. uses of him again: 'macte animi, quem rarus habes, morumque tuorum,/quos Numa, quos hilaris possit habere Cato' (12. 6.7f.); cf. also 12.62.8; Antoninus Pius was favourably compared to Numa (*S.H.A.* 2.2); and for further Numa propaganda see R.Zoeppfel, *Chiron* 8 (1978), p.391

pauper: see 11.32 intro.

3. ardua res haec est: cf. 7.28.9 'res est haec ardua'; Hor. *Carm.* 2.3.1f. 'aequam memento rebus in arduis/servare mentem'; *TLL* 2.495.69f.

opibus non tradere mores: the theme of virtue being corrupted by wealth is a commonplace of ancient literature, and a widely held historical doctrine at Rome: Sallust attributes Rome's alleged downfall from republican greatness to *avaritia* and *ambitio*, money playing a large part: 'avaritia pecuniae studium habet, quam nemo sapiens concupivit: ea quasi venenis malis imbuta corpus animumque virilem effeminat, semper infinita insatiabilis est, neque copia neque inopia minuitur' (*Catil.* 11.3); Livy saw the greatness of early Rome in its lack of *avaritia* and *luxuria*: 'ceterum aut me amor negotii suscepti fallit, aut nulla umquam res publica nec maior nec sanctior nec bonis exemplis ditior fuit, nec in quam tam serae avaritia luxuriaque immigraverint, nec ubi tantus ac tam diu paupertati ac parsimoniae honos fuerit' (*pref.* 11); see also Prop. 3.13.59f.; Sen. *Ep.* 87.41; Dio 62.6.4; E.Fraenkel, *Horace* (1957), p.212f.; Ogilvie, Livy, *pref.* 11n.; 1.19.4n.

4. viceris: it was easy for Numa to be a paragon of virtue for he had no riches on hand to corrupt him, but Nerva can manage it despite his great wealth.

5. veteres, ingentia nomina, patres: for the device of noun and adjective sandwiched between another noun and adjective, see G. Williams, *Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry*, p.727f.; *Change and Decline* (1978), p.236. It seems that a reminiscence of this line has corrupted the *phi* tradition of Juvenal at 7.139.

7. invictus pro libertate Camillus: Marcus Furius Camillus was the captor of Veii for Rome in 396, and victor over the Gauls who had overrun Rome in 387/6. For this latter feat he was hailed 'parens patriae conditorque alter urbis' (Liv. 5.49.7); 'invictus pro libertate' refers to this military success. The

phrase has caused difficulty because this is the only time *pro* is thus used with a past participle (*TLL* 7.2.189.83); but Heraeus points to the close similarity of 'pro veritate firmus' (Pl. *Ep.* 2.11.19) and 'pertinax pro libertate' (Sen. *Dial.* 5.28.6); compare too the first line of the epigram at Athen. 13.589b, cited at 11.104.22n. There is an additional point here: *libertas* in M.'s day had a definite political sense, embodying the ideas of security of life and property, sanctity of hearth and home, and inviolability of basic civic rights. It was particularly used in connection with the Senate (see 11.4 intro.), where it meant not simply freedom from a reign of terror, but also the right for senators to be able to speak and vote freely, and for the Senate to be as equal as possible to the princeps in status if not in power (see Wirszubski, op.cit. p.136f.; 158f.). So Camillus' cultivation of Nerva 'invictus pro libertate' suggests that *libertas* in this sense will not be alien to the new ruler. There is a paradox between the phrase and 'colet', as indeed there is a paradox in the actions of all the exemplars in this poem: they will reverse the very acts that made them famous republicans, Nerva's rule will be so congenial to them.

8. aurum Fabricius: see 11.2.2n.; Nisbet-Hubbard, Hor. *Carm.* 1.12. 40n.; Otto 625. M. here alludes to the story of Fabricius' rejection of a bribe from Pyrrhus, which is fully told at Plut. *Pyrr.* 20; cf. Sen. *Ep.* 120.6 'Fabricius Pyrrhi regis aurum reppulit, maiusque regno iudicavit regias opes posse contemnere.'

9. te duce: perhaps an echo of Hor. *Carm.* 1.2.52, also an adulatory piece. For the anaphora of *tu* in these lines see E.Norden, *Agnostos Theos* (1923), p.150f.; it is essentially a feature of hymns, clearly suited to this type of context.

Brutus: this could be either L.Junius or M.Junius Brutus (see H.W. Litchfield, *HSCPh* 25 (1914), p.44n.8: both were staunch republicans and both brought down the monarch of the day). The older one is perhaps more likely, because Julius Caesar, victim of the younger, also comes back to life in this piece; and Litchfield points out that the younger one is very infrequently used as an *exemplum virtutis* in any case (op.cit. p.42f.; cf. p.27f.).

Sulla cruentus: cf. 9.43.10 'Sullam trucem' (the adjectives allude to the proscriptions); Sulla was considered an arch enemy of republicanism (Marius being a pure patriot), and his dictatorship a *dominatio, tyrannis, servitium* and *regnum*; see Litchfield, op.cit. p.50f.; p.51n.4; Wirszubski, op.cit. p.62n.6. The point of Sulla's resigning his rule was that the republic would be restored and no line of imperial succession initiated: but now he would be happy to hand over to the capable hands of Nerva. Argument about Sulla's resignation of power was a standard topic for *suasoriae* (Quint. 3.8.53; 5.10.71; Mayor, Juv. 1.16n.).

11. privato cum Caesare Magnus: M. suggests that if Caesar and Pompey were alive today they would not need to initiate civil war and would be content to live under Nerva's principate. 'privatus Caesar' is something of an oxymoron at this date, of course, though the main reason for the war of 49 was Julius' refusal to become a private citizen: but he would have no objection now. Cf. Lucan 4.188 'et Caesar generum privatus amabit'.

12. donabit ... opes: Crassus was as proverbially rich as Croesus (Otto 457), though this line has far less point than the other exempla. M. wrote it simply to include the third member of the First Triumvirate.

13. ipse quoque: the emphasis shows that the best example has been saved for the climax of the poem. That the three previous couplets have been apodoses to the protasis of lines 5-6, while a separate conditional construction is introduced here, also highlights this. (For the phrasing, note also 4.16.5.)

14. Cato ... Caesarianus: for the topic of Cato Anticaesarianus see P.Pecchiura, *La figura di Catone Uticense nella letteratura latina* (1965), p.96f.; see also my introduction to this poem. Cato's republicanism was admired under the empire, and even worshipped by the disaffected, and he was the leading light in the pantheon of the 'opposition'; note Seneca's 'neque enim Cato post libertatem vixit, nec libertas post Catonem' (*Dial* 2.2.2), and see Pecchiura, op.cit. p.47f.; Wirszubski, op.cit. p.126f.. However, he was also criticised: Seneca's admiration of him was tempered by his inability to exist under anything other than the republican system (*Ep.* 14.13). The implication here is that if Cato can support Nerva everyone will.

6

On the festive days of the old sickle-bearer, when King Dice-Box rules, you allow, I think, cap-clad Rome, trifling in unserious verse. You smiled: so it is allowed, we are not forbidden. Away with you far from here, cares that make us pale; let us say whatever comes to mind without any morose reflection. Mix half measures, boy, like the ones Pythagoras gave to Nero, mix them, Dindymus, but make them more frequent: I can't do anything when I'm sober; dozens of poets will help me if I'm drunk. Give me kisses now, Catullan ones: if they are as many as he said, I will give you Catullus' *passer*.

This, the second of the cycle of introductory poems on the obscene nature of the book (see 11.2 intro.), develops in its second half into a symposiastic setting, the ambiguity of which gives the reader the first taste of the heralded rudeness. The publication of this book at the Saturnalia of 96 gives M. one of his best excuses for the content (cf. also 11.2.5; 11.15.12). This festival had its origin as a religious farm celebration but had gradually become more widely accepted, growing by the early empire into the main holiday of the year; under the republic it had been of a single day's duration, but by Domitian's time it was at least five (4.88.2; 7.53.2; 14.79.2), sometimes seven days long (14.72.2), beginning on 17 December. Catullus called it 'optimus dierum' (14.15), and it had become customary to exchange sigillaria (little pottery or wax figures) and presents with friends (Cat. 14; Suet. *Aug.* 75; M. 4.46; 4.88; 7.53; 14 passim; *S.H.A.* Hadrian 17); we can see in this the origins of our

Christmas festivities, which did not completely usurp the Saturnalia until the fifth century (*RE* 2A.210f.; *Oxford Dictionary of the Church* s.v. Christmas). But for the Romans its most noticeable characteristic was the general licence, an attempt to recreate the Golden Age: 'December est mensis: cum maxime civitas sudat. ius luxuriae publice datum est' (Sen. *Ep.* 18.1); normal social conventions were relaxed, exemplified by a (partial) change of roles between slave and master (Hor. *Sat.* 2.7.4f.; Sen. *Ep.* 47.14; M. 14.79; Macr. *Sat.* 1.7.26; 1.24.22f.); gambling was legally allowed (2n.); drunkenness and revelry were the rule (1n.); the toga was discarded in favour of the more comfortable *synthesis* (11.16.2n.); and see further G.Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2] (1912), p.204f.; Balsdon, *LL* p.124f.; *D.-S.* 4.1080f.; Roscher, 4.437f.

The suitability of obscene writing at this time of the year is obvious; the point had also been made by Statius: 'et Phoebus pater et severa Pallas/et Musae procul ite feriatae:/Iani vos revocabimus Kalendis./Saturnus mihi compede exsoluta/et multo gravidus mero December/et ridens Iocus et Sales protervi/adsint' (*Silv.* 1.6.1f.; cf. ibid. 93f.; M. 4.14.11f.). The hendecasyllabic metre of the present poem is also ideal for the season (cf. Stat. *Silv.* 4.*Ep.*24f.), it being often associated with obscenity (Quint. 1.8.6; Pl. *Ep.* 4.14).

The epigram is cleverly built: after establishing his Saturnalian right to write obscenely, M. adds a drinking poem which has both an appropriate seasonal connection and illustrates the dictum of lines 6f. (see 16n.).

1. unctis ... diebus: the association of unguent with symposia is frequent (see 11.15.6n.), as is the connection of the Saturnalia with drinking and feasting. Thus Lucian (*Sat.* 2) has Cronus say that at this time of the year he is allowed to 'drink and get drunk and shout out loud and play games and dice and appoint kings and entertain the household slaves lavishly and sing naked and clap his hands shaking himself about'; Seneca talks of 'ebrio ac vomitante populo' (*Ep.* 18.4); cf. also Hor. *Sat.* 2.3.5; Stat. *Silv.* 1.6.5; M. 14.1.9; Pl. *Ep.* 2.17.24; Tac. *Ann.* 13.15.2; *A.L.* 286.

falciferi senis: the same epithets are used of Saturn at Ov. *Ibis* 214; the sickle is associated with this god because of his identification with Cronus, who used it to emasculate his father Uranus (see West, Hes. *Theog.* 175n.). But it is also representative of his standing as an agricultural deity (Mayor, Juv. 13.39n.).

2. regnator ... imperat fritillus: *fritillus* is deliberately frivolous at the end of this grandiose line; it is the box from which the dice were thrown. Gambling was illegal (in theory) in Rome for most of the year, the Saturnalia being the notable exception: cf. 14.1.3 'nec timet aedilem moto spectare fritillo'; 4.14.7f.; 5.84.3; *A.L.* 117.24. For extant laws against gambling see *Dig.* 11.5.2f., and note Cic. *Phil.* 2.56; Hor. *Carm.* 3.24.58; Ov. *Tr.* 2.472; Suetonius (*Aug.* 71.1) considers it a point in Augustus' favour that he did not try to conceal the fact that he played dice all year round. See further *D.-S.* 1.179f.; *RE* 7.108f.; and for Roman dice games see Owen's commentary on Ov. *Tr.* 2, p.251f.

3. ludere: i.e. writing *nugae*; see 11.3.1n.; and compare *A.L.* 39.1f. 'iam libet ad lusus lascivaque furta reverti;/ludere Musa iuvat, Musa severa vale.'

non laborioso: for a similar contrast between light and *laboriosus* verse see Cat. 1.3f.: 'namque tu solebas/meas esse aliquid putare nugas/iam tum, cum ausus es unus Italorum/omne aevum tribus explicare cartis/doctis, Iuppiter,et laboriosis.' The basic idea is that such writing involves the poet in a lot of work; but there is also the suggestion that such poetry is full of dry learning and cultured pedantry, altogether too polite for a Saturnalian book. Cf. *Priap.* 2.1f.: 'ludens haec ego teste te, Priape,/horto carmina digna, non libello,/scripsi non nimium laboriose.'

4. pilleata: the *pil(l)eus* was the cap which was regarded as the symbol of freedom. Slaves were given it on their manumission (Liv. 24.32.9; Sen. *Ep.* 47.18; Suet. *Tib.* 4.2); Suetonius describes the Roman populace as 'plebs pilleata' on the news of Nero's death (*Nero* 57.1); the goddess Libertas was often depicted on coins carrying it in her right hand (S.W.Stevenson, *Dictionary of Roman Coins* (1889), p.518). It was also connected with the Saturnalia as a token of the licence of the festival: cf. 14.1.2 'dumque decent nostrum pillea sumpta Iovem'; Sen. *Ep.* 18.3; and further *RE* 20.1328f.; *D.-S.* 4.481.

5. risisti: for the smile of approbation cf. 1.103.4; 6.82.7.

6. pallentes: 'making pale'; cf. Verg. *Aen.* 6.275 'pallentes morbi'.

procul hinc abite: the identically placed formula at Stat. *Silv.* 2.7.131 'procul hinc abite Mortes'; *Priap.* 8.1 'matronae procul hinc abite castae'. The cry is ritualistic; see Hollis, Ov. *A.A.* 1.31n.; Bömer, Ov. *Met.* 7.255n.

curae: this and the next two lines form the bridge between the two parts of the poem in that they contain topics which belong to the world of sympotic epigram: for the removal of sorrow and care (by wine) see Theogn. 879f.; *Anacreontea* 43; 46; 48 Bergk; and Nisbet- Hubbard, Hor. *Carm.* 1.18.4n.

7. quidquid venerit obvium: compare the colloquialism 'dicere quod in buccam venerit': Russo, Sen. *Apoc.* 1.2n.; *TLL* 2.2226.34f.

8. morosa sine cogitatione: the idea that the guests at symposia should feel free to speak their minds, secure in the knowledge that their companions will not consider it polite to remember what they said, is common: e.g. Hor. *Ep.* 1.5.24f.; M. 10.48.21f.; and cf. the Greek proverb *mîsô mnâmona sumpotân* ('I hate the drinking companion with a memory').

9. dimidios ... trientes: Friedlaender ad loc. says 'halb Wasser, halb Wein', and the ratio of water to wine was a commonplace (e.g. Hom. *Od.* 9.209; Anacr. 356a Page); nor would it be an irrelevant detail here because neat wine was considered an antaphrodisiac (Evenus, *A.P.* 11.49; Meleager, *A.P.* 12.49; Asclepiades, *A.P.* 12.50; Citroni, 1.106 intro.), while mixed wine – as it was ordinarily taken – was thought to be an aphrodisiac (see 12n.). But the

use of *dimidius* in this sense would be unparalleled, and even though *triens* can be the name of a cup (Hilgers, *Gefässnamen*, 360) it is difficult to divorce from it all notion of measurement (a *triens* is a third of a *sextarius* or four *cyathi*). Note also the identical idiom of 6.78.6f.: 'misceri sibi protinus deunces/sed crebros iubet'. So it seems more likely that M. is asking for half-full *trientes*, measures of two *cyathi*, though it is not easy to see why: there may have been a story about the way in which Pythagoras served Nero (cf. also the circumstantial detail 'sed frequentiores') which would have explained the allusion ('quales'); or it may be that M. wants small measures so he can kiss the boy more often as he pours the drink (see 11.26.4n.)

puer: for the address to the server cf. Cat. 27.1 'minister vetuli puer Falerni'; note the Greek *ô pai*; and see Nisbet-Hubbard, Hor. *Carm.* 1.38 intro.

10. Pythagoras: the story of Nero's 'marriage' to this freedman eunuch appears in Tacitus: 'nisi paucos post dies uni ex illo contaminatorum grege (nomen Pythagorae fuit) in modum sollemnium coniugiorum denupsisset' (*Ann.* 15.37). Nero used a similar ceremony with Sporus, though he was the 'husband' on that occasion (Suet. *Nero* 29); see *PIR*[1] P.826.

11. Dindyme: a name not attested outside M. (though Dindyma is found at *CIL* 4.4101). Dindymus was a mountain in Cyzicus where there was centred the cult of Cybele (see Ellis, Cat. 63.91n.): it is thus an ideal name for a eunuch (see 11.72.2n.): cf. 6.39.21 'si spado Coresus Dindymusque non esset'; 11.81.1. Thus Dindymus is the name of a *delicatus* at 10.42, and of a pathic at 12.75.4; he is also the object of homosexual attention at 5.83.

12. possum nil ego sobrius: this and the following line ambiguously state two common themes. The first is that poets cannot write while sober, which is sometimes expressed as the ineffectuality of water-drinkers: e.g. Nicaenetus, *A.P.* 13.29.1f.:

οἶνός τοι χαρίεντι πέλει ταχὺς ἵππος ἀοιδῷ·
ὕδωρ δὲ πίνων οὐδέν ἂν τέκοις σοφόν.

('Wine is like a swift horse for the poet who charms; if you drink water you will not create anything clever.') Note also Hor. *Ep.* 1.19.1f.; Ov. *Met.* 7.432f.; H.Rubensohn, *Hermes* 26 (1891), p.153f.; G.Giangrande, *Sympotic Literature and Epigram, Entretiens Hardt* 14 (1967), p.158f.. The second is that of wine (taken in the right way) engendering the fires of love (for *possum* in this sexual sense, see 11.97.2n.): thus Anacr. 396 Page:

φέρ' ὕδωρ φέρ' οἶνον ὦ παῖ φέρε δ' ἀνθεμόεντας ἡμῖν
στεφάνους· ἐνεικον, ὡς δὴ πρὸς Ἔρωτα πυκταλίζω.

('Bring water, bring wine, boy, and bring us garlands in bloom. Bring them, so I can spar with Love'; Anacreon was traditionally a wine-bibbing pederast:

A.P. 7.23f.) Terence's dictum 'sine Cerere et Libero friget Venus' (*Eun.* 732) was often quoted; Ovid puns 'et Venus in vinis ignis in igne fuit' (*A.A.* 1.244); and at *A.L.* 710.3f. we find 'ardenti Baccho succenditur ignis amoris,/nam sunt unanimi Bacchus Amorque dei'. In fact the sentiment becomes one of the tritest clichés: see Giangrande, op.cit. p.114f.; 127f.; Pease, Cic. *de Nat.Deor.* 2.60n.; Hopfner, *Sexualleben*, p.295f.

13. succurrent: on one interpretation the poets will help M. with his poetic inspiration (for a similar idea see anon. *A.P.* 9.184), on the other (see 12n.) they will help him by their teaching that after drinking wine he will be able to give the *passerem Catulli* to the boy (as G.Giangrande, *MusLondPhil* 1 (1975), p.137n.4).

quindecim: of an indeterminately large number also at 7.10.15f.

14. sed: idiomatic for *et quidem*, as also (possibly) at line 11; see Citroni, 1.43.9n.

Catulliana: an adjective found only here and at Aus. p.196 Peiper. As the following line shows the reference is to Cat. 5.7f.: 'da mi basia mille, deinde centum,/dein mille altera, dein secunda centum,/deinde usque altera mille, deinde centum ...'; note that both poems are hendecasyllabic; and cf. 6.34.7f.

16. passerem Catulli: the precise references of this final line are difficult to establish, but there is more than one allusion. I suggest that M. is here playing with three interpretations of the gift he will give to Dindymus after he has kissed him: (i) *passer* simply in its literal meaning of 'sparrow'; (ii) *passer Catulli*, some poems written for the boy, or in his honour, like those Catullus wrote on Lesbia's *passer*; and (iii) *passer Catulli* in the sense of *mentula* – i.e. M. will have intercourse with the boy after he has kissed him. I will consider these further in turn.

(i) *Catulli* is added as a *para prosdokian* to *passerem*, and until he explores the implications of the final word a reader will naturally expect the *passer* to be a gift typical of the kind which a lover could give to a boy for amatory favours (see 11.58 intro.; Strato, *A.P.* 12.4.2). A particularly close parallel, even down to structure and vocabulary, occurs at Petr. *Sat.* 85.5, where Eumolpus is obtaining the favours of a boy by the promise of various gifts: 'si ego hunc puerum basiavero, ita ut ille non sentiat, cras illi par columbarum donabo.'

(ii) We have seen how M. has been using two intertwined motifs in the latter part of this poem (see 12n.; 13n.) – that of the poet being inspired by wine, and that of wine engendering the fires of love. The ambiguity is maintained here. On the first interpretation M. will be inspired to write some poems for, or in praise of, the boy, like those of Catullus on Lesbia's *passer*. (It would be pointless for M., in a context of inspiration, to offer an edition of Catullus' *Passer* poems to the boy, as Birt thought; he is rightly corrected by Friedlaender ad loc. For M. using *passer Catulli* elsewhere to refer to a famous section of Catullus' poetry cf. 1.7.3; 4.14.14).

(iii) Finally, *passer Catulli* refers to M.'s penis. G.Giangrande (*MusLondPhil* 1 (1975), p.137f.; and see also Howell, 1.7 intro.) has recently reargued the

theory of an obscene interpretation of the Catullus *Passer* poems – i.e. that the *passer* is Catullus' penis. This is not the place to discuss Catullus, for we are only dealing with what M. read into the phrase *passer Catulli* (though see against Giangrande H.D.Jocelyn, *AJPh* 101 (1980), p.421f.); but there seems to me a strong case that M. is playing with such an interpretation here: after he has established his Saturnalian right to write obscenely in the first section of the poem, it is fitting that he should go on to do so, albeit euphemistically; it would also be surprisingly lame if, in a symposiastic and erotic context, M. were to reply to a boy's kisses simply by writing some poems for him (compare e.g. 11.26, a piece in a similar vein, where M.'s kissing of the boy is, he hopes, followed by 'Veneris gaudia vera'); the connection between a wine-server and pederasty is common (see 11.26 intro.); the boy's name has sexual overtones (see 11n.); and the parallel between Pythagoras and Nero, and Dindymus and M., similarly points to an obscene allusion, as do the overtones of *possum* (see 12n.). It is this context which suggests the third interpretation so forcefully; it is what the reader expects. It would of course be something of a dubious and even unwelcome 'gift' to reward the boy with this kind of *passer* (see 11.22 intro.), but this can be seen as humorous in that the boy, no doubt a slave, would be presented with an offer he could not refuse – the gift is for the pleasure of the giver. Nor does the fact that the phrase 'dare mentulam alicui' is not attested preclude this third reference; obliqueness is a function of allusion, and the meaning is apparent from the context.

7

Now, Paula, whenever you want to visit a lover some way off you certainly won't say to your imperceptive husband 'Caesar has ordered me to come to his Alban villa this morning' or 'Caesar has ordered me to come to his Circeian villa'. Such a ruse is useless now. You are allowed to be a Penelope under Nerva's rule, but your lust and ingrained nature forbid you. My poor girl, what will you do? Will you invent a sick lady friend? Your husband will clingingly accompany his wife, and will go to your brother and mother and father with you. So what trickery does your ingenuity dream up? Perhaps another adulteress would claim she was hysterical and wanted to sit for a cure in the lake at Sinuessa. How much better is your method, Paula, who, whenever you want to go for a fuck, prefer to tell your husband the truth!

The adulteress was a perennial figure of ancient as well as modern comedy and satire, famed for her wiles in obtaining her illicit desires (see e.g. Ar. *Thesmo.* 466f.; *Lysis.* passim; Plaut. *Mil.Glor.* passim; Juv. 6 passim; Rufinus *A.P.* 5.41; 43); the characters of the *moecha* and her cuckolded *vir* are basic to elegy (e.g. Tib. 1.2.21f.; 1.6.7f.; Prop. 2.3.19f.; Ov. *Am.* 1.4; cf. Cat. 68.146); but perhaps the most important influence on M. here was the eternal triangle of the adultery mime, one of Rome's most popular entertainments (see 1n.). The subject is frequent in M. (e.g. 1.62; 2.39; 3.92; 6.6; 6.39; 6.90; 11.71).

Though this epigram is clearly skoptic, it has a connection with the previous

poems in the implicit eulogy on Nerva and condemnation of Domitian (lines 2-5): M. suggests that the old regime condoned and exploited moral laxity while the new one does not. It is instructive to remember that M. had been fulsome in his praise for Domitian's tightening up of the Lex Julia de adulteriis in 89/90 A.D.: 'plus debet tibi Roma quod pudica est' (6.4.5; cf. 5.75; 6.2; 6.7; 6.22; 6.91; Stat. *Silv.* 5.2.99f.). But now he says that Domitian disregarded his own legislation; Juvenal makes the same point: 'qualis erat nuper tragico pollutus adulter/concubitu, qui tunc leges revocabat amaras/ omnibus atque ipsis Veneri Martique timendas,/cum tot abortivis fecundam Iulia vulvam/solveret et patruo similes effunderet offas' (2.29f.). Suetonius mentions other misdemeanours: 'libidinis nimiae, assiduitatem concubitus velut exercitationis genus clinopalen vocabat; eratque fama, quasi concubinas ipse develleret nataretque inter vulgatissimas meretrices' (*Dom.* 22). Whether these stories were true or not need not concern us; every emperor's sex life attracted gossip and speculation and it had equally been doubted whether Augustus himself had seen fit to put into practice his own moral legislation (Suet. *Aug.* 69; 71). It is the fact that M. says this kind of thing that has provided his detractors with plenty of ammunition about his hypocrisy. But such changes of tune must have been a frequent necessity in the political climate of the time, all the more so for a man who wrote, on occasion, for the imperial courts. One is reminded of Tacitus' instructions for being a 'magnus vir' under a 'malus princeps' (*Agr.* 42.5), and of a sentence of Pliny: 'praeterea hoc primum erga optimum imperatorem piorum civium officium est, insequi dissimiles: neque enim satis amarit bonos principes, qui malos satis non oderit' (*Pan.* 53.2).

1. stupido: i.e. the cuckold: 'imperceptive' in that he fails to realise his wife's infidelities. The word suggests the adultery mime, where, as far as can be told from the limited evidence, the three main characters seem to have been the *moecha*, young and attractive, her lover, and her unattractive old husband, the *stupidus* or *stultus* (as at Ov. *Am.* 2.19(20).1 etc.):

> quid si scripsissem mimos obscena iocantes,
> qui semper vetiti crimen amoris habent:
> in quibus assidue cultus procedit adulter,
> verbaque dat stulto callida nupta viro? (Ov. *Tr.* 2.497f.)

Note also Juv. 6.41f.:

> quid fieri non posse putes, si iungitur ulla
> Ursidio? si moechorum notissimus olim
> stulta maritali iam porrigit ora capistro,
> quem totiens texit perituri cista Latini?

From this it would seem that the lover usually got his come-uppance in the end. For influence of the adultery mime elsewhere on M. see 5.61; and see further R.W.Reynolds, *CQ* 40 (1946), p.76f.; and, more generally,

G.E.Gaffney, *Mimic Elements in M.*, diss. Vanderbilt (1976). See also 11.13.4n.

'stupidus' is a rare word in poetry, suitable only for the comedians, M. (also 9.94.3), and Juvenal (8.197, again in a mime context).

Paula: a name common in both its male and female forms (spelt also Paulla or Polla); for women it is found both as praenomen and cognomen (see Kajanto, *Cognomina*, p.243). M. uses it again of an adulteress at 1.74; 6.6.

I might here briefly outline my attitude to the question of the reality or unreality of persons in M. I take it that the figures of skoptic pieces are, as here, unreal, because M. says so: 'hunc servare modum nostri novere libelli,/ parcere personis, dicere de vitiis' (10.33.9f.). However, the fact that he has to say so more than once (e.g. 1.*Ep.*1f.; 5.15.2; 9.95b), shows that not everyone chose to believe him. Where there is an addressee mentioned in a skoptic epigram, I take it that this is part of the system of benefaction or patronage, and that such a person, provided that the barb is not directed at him, is real (e.g. 11.38.1; see A.Cartault, *Mélanges Boissier* (1903), p.103f.). In many other epigrams the reality of people is undoubted (e.g. 11.9; 10; 13; 17). But there are difficulties, and places where there is room for serious doubt: at 11.24, for example, the humour would not be offensive to Labullus if M. knew him well and he sympathised with the poet's attitude on benefaction; then again, 11.27 is rather obscene, yet there is good reason to think that the person addressed was one of M.'s closest friends (see 11.27.1n.). (The criterion of how well M. knew addressees is often important from this point of view, and not easily assessable.) But these exceptions do not invalidate a general rule of thumb, and I discuss individual cases ad locc.

2. moechum: again only suited to 'lesser' genres (see Citroni, 1.74.1n.).

longius: because of this factor of distance, Paula's excuses have to enable her to stay away from home for a fair length of time; the word implies that she has lovers closer to home as well.

3. Caesar: the grandiloquent title – note that it is repeated – makes an excellent excuse for Paula and admits of no objection from her husband.

in Albanum: this villa was rudely nicknamed the Arx because it was built into the old fortifications of Alba Longa and was high up on the hills overlooking Rome; it lay off the Via Appia and faced the Alban Lake, in almost the same position as the modern Papal residence of Castel Gandolfo. It was built on three levels, the top one accommodating cisterns, the middle one a *quadriporticus* with a fountain in front of a small theatre whose seats rose up to the top level; the residential quarter was in the south-east of the middle level, and a *cryptoporticus* connected it with the lower one, which provided accommodation for the praetorian guard and stables etc. The Albanum was the envy of its day, with its large areas of parkland, terraces and promenades, waterside landing-stages, and a multitude of nymphaea and gazebos (Dio 66.3; 66.9; 67.1; 67.14; Suet. *Dom.* 4.4; 19; Stat. *Silv.* 5.2.168f.; M. 4.1.5; 5.1.1). See further G.Lugli, *BCAR* 45 (1917), p.29f.; 46 (1918), p.3f.; 47 (1919), p.153f.; 48 (1920), p.3f.; A.G.McKay, *Houses, Villas and Palaces in the Roman World* (1975), p. 131.

4. Circeios: Circeii was situated on the Latian coast about sixty miles from Rome, so this villa was much further away than the Alban. Domitian's connection with it is known only from here and 5.1.5. It has been identified with the ruins of a villa (a first century adaptation of an earlier republican building) at modern Lago di Sabaudia – though not with any degree of certainty: see G.Lugli, *Forma Italiae Regio I*, vol.1.2.65f., with Map 3; G.Jacopi, *NSA* (1936), p.21f.

stropha: in this sense of 'trick' or 'ruse' the word occurs also at Pl. *Ep.* 1.18.6 in the singular, though there are further instances in the plural (see Forcellini *stropha* 3). The trick is to say that Caesar has summoned one, which is a lie to cover a liaison, but which is credible to the husband because he knows of Domitian's adulterous propensities (see intro.); nor dare he challenge the statement.

abît: for the frequent contraction of the perfect in M. see Friedlaender, *Sp.* 16.1n.

6. scabies: in this sense of *prurigo* only here and at 6.37.4 'o quanta scabie miser laborat'; note Hor. *Ep.* 1.12.14 'inter scabiem tantam et contagia lucri'; cf. English sexual slang 'itching for it'.

7. infelix, quid ages: *infelix* opening the hexameter, followed by a rhetorical question, is reminiscent of epic (e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 2.345; 5.465; 11.53). The tone is sarcastic and humorous here, expressing the enormity of the calamity.

aegram ...amicam: a friend's illness was a good excuse for the adulteress since it entailed an *officium* to visit the sufferer. Visiting the sick was a commonplace of the ancient concept of friendship, originating largely in Hellenistic philosophy: if a wife claimed her friend was ill, it would have been morally wrong for her husband to refuse permission to go to see her (see J.Yardley, *Phoenix* 27 (1973), p.283f.). For the same excuse in a similar context cf. Ov. *A.A.* 3.641f. 'cum, quotiens opus est, fallax aegrotet amica/et cedat lecto quamlibet aegra suo'; and Ov. *Am.* 2.2.21f.

10. ingeniosa: echoes the *ingenium* of line 6, which refers to Paula's sexual appetite; the parallel makes clear the field in which her cleverness lies.

paras$B^{A}C^{A}$; *pares*A^{A}: there is disagreement in the manuscripts over the tenses of 'dices' (line 1) and 'ages' (line 7) as well, but the futures convey the hypotheticality which is necessary (see 14n.). The choice between subjunctive and indicative here is not so clear cut, but the former avoids an ugly rhyme with 'fraudes', and makes the reader certain that Paula does have a plan of action which is going to be revealed.

11. hystericam: for hysteria, its causes and symptoms, and its treatment, see 11.71.1n.; this shows that C^{A}'s *ictericam* here is wrong, though the sexual nature of hysteria might make it rather a transparent excuse (see also 12n.). The dictum one R.B.Carter (*On the Pathology and Treatment of Hysteria* (1853), p.34) quotes with approval was precisely the ancient view of the illness: 'salacitas maior, maior ad hysteriam proclivitas.'

altera: the difference in meaning between *alter* (one of two) and *alius*

(another) is not strictly maintained by this period. The first attested instance of the wider usage occurs at Ov. *Fast.* 2.224 ('nec metus alter inest'); *TLL* 1.1736.5f. gives examples from Livy, the elder Pliny, Seneca, Statius etc.; see also Hofmann-Szantyr, p.208.

12. Sinuessano: Sinuessa, north of Cumae on the Campanian coast, was famed for its healing waters: Tacitus comments on the 'mollitia caeli et salubritas aquarum' (*Ann.* 12.66); Strabo claims that the warm waters are beneficial for some diseases (5.3.6); and Pliny elaborates 'in eadem Campaniae regione Sinuessanae aquae sterilitatem feminarum et virorum insaniam abolere produntur' (*N.H.* 31.8). The warm sulphurous springs at the modern Bagni di Mondragone are still in use, for gynaecological complaints among others (*T.C.I. Guide to Campania* (1963), p.102). The connection between sulphur and curative properties was made by Vitruvius (8.3.4); 'omnis autem aqua calida ideo [quod] est medicamentosa quod in pravis rebus percocta aliam virtutem recipit ad usum. namque sulphurosi fontes nervorum labores reficiunt percalefaciendo exurendoque caloribus e corporibus umores vitiosos'. There are many poems on curative springs in the *Anthologia Latina* (e.g. 210f.; 347; 377); see also *Ep.Bobb.* 1 with Speyer ad loc. (*Zetemata* 21 (1959), p.11f.).

The immoral reputation of these curative bathing establishments was well known in the Roman world: Baiae is the best example (see 11.80.1n.). In seventeenth-century England there was much similar criticism of the goings-on at spas:

> A common phrase long used here hath beene,
> And by prescription now some credit hath:
> That divers Ladies coming to the Bathe,
> Come chiefly to see and to be seene.
> But I should declare my conscience briefely,
> I cannot thinke that is their Arrant chiefely.
> For as I heare that most of them have dealt,
> They chiefely come to feele, and to be felt.

(John Harington, *Epigrams* (1618), 1.58; cf. 3.8; and Rochester's *Tunbridge Wells.*)

sedere: the verb is pointedly ambiguous: it also alludes to prostitution. Cf. 2.17.1 'tonstrix Suburae faucibus sedet primis'; 6.66.2 'quales in media sedent Subura'; and see N.J.Herescu, *Glotta* 38 (1959), p.125f.

13. ire fututum: *futuo* (active) is here used of the female role in heterosexual intercourse; elsewhere it is only so used of Lesbians (see Adams, *LSV* p.122); it may here suggest that Paula is so brazen and voracious that she virtually assumes the male role. 'fututum' is the first non-euphemistic obscenity of this book, following the preparatory defences of risqué verse in 11.2 and 6; compare 'futui', the first non-euphemistic obscenity of Book I (34.10), which is followed immediately by a defence of obscene verse.

14. verum mavis dicere: a *para prosdokian* ending, in which there is a hint of satire on the connivance of the husband in his wife's infidelities (cf. Hor. *Sat.* 2.5.75f.; Parmenion, *A.P.* 11.4; Juv. 1.55f.; *A.L.* 127; V.A.Tracey, *CJ* 72 (1976), p.62f.). A difficulty has been found with this concluding couplet in that it implies Paula's practice is and always has been to tell her husband the truth, which does not tally with the lie she supposedly told while Domitian was alive (lines 1f.; 'stropha' proves it was a lie). It does not seem to me a good counter-argument that we have to understand 'sub principe Nerva' in this last couplet, for the verbs do suggest that Paula had always told the truth, not only for the last three months; and why could not she tell the truth under Domitian? (See A.Ker, *CQ* 44 (1950), p.22; *CQ* n.s. 3 (1953), p.174; A.Hudson-Williams, *CQ* n.s. 2 (1952), p.31.) The explanation is that the opening twelve lines of the epigram describe hypothetical situations which lead the reader in the wrong direction: 'Paula will not use the Caesar excuse now because Nerva is princeps' does not state that she did use it under Domitian. It would have been a good excuse, as would feigning a sick friend etc., but Paula needs no deceit. Though the reader is constantly led to expect trickery (*stupido ... stropha ... simulabis ... fraudes ... diceret*), he is confounded by the closing *para prosdokian.*

8

Faint smell of balsam which scent-jars emptied yesterday give off; smell of the last breath which wafts from the saffron stream; smell of apples ripening in the winter chest; smell of a field luxuriant in spring trees; smell of silks from the Palatine clothes-presses of our First Lady; smell of amber warmed in a maiden's hand; smell from afar of a broken jar of dark Falernian; smell of a garden which detains the Sicilian bees; smell of Cosmus' flasks and the gods' altars; smell of a garland just fallen from locks rich in unguent: why list each separate thing? They are not enough. Mix them all together. Such is the sweet smell of my boy's morning kisses. You want to know his name? If it's just because of the kisses I'll tell you. You've sworn it is. Sabinus, you want to know too much.

This poem with its sensuous evocation of 'distant and evanescent fragrance' (Housman) is very similar both in general technique and many points of detail to an earlier piece of M.'s (3.65):

> quod spirat tenera malum mordente puella,
> quod de Corycio quae venit aura croco;
> vinea quod primis cum floret cana racemis,
> gramina quod redolent, quae modo carpsit ovis;
> quod myrtus, quod messor Arabs, quod sucina trita,
> pallidus Eoo ture quod ignis olet;
> gleba quod aestivo leviter cum spargitur imbre,
> quod madidas nardo passa corona comas:

hoc tua, saeve puer Diadumene, basia fragrant.
quid si tota dares illa sine invidia?

(Cf. also his description of the breath of the young slave girl Erotion at 5.37.9f.; he can be equally observant and effective when describing unpleasant smells: e.g. 4.4; 6.93.)

The connection between pleasant smells and eroticism goes back to Homer, where Aphrodite packs Paris off to bed with Helen (*Il.* 3.382); one also recalls Agathon's love, which settles 'wherever there is a place pleasant with flowers and scents' (Pl. *Symp.* 196b). The fragrance and pleasant taste of kisses is a particularly well developed motif: e.g. Pherecrates frag. 131.3 (*CAF* 1.p.183 Kock); Timocles frag. 22.3 (*CAF* 2.p461 Kock); the Greek Anthology has many examples: thus anon. 5.305:

κούρη τίς μ' ἐφίλησεν ὑφέσπερα χείλεσιν ὑγροῖς.
νέκταρ ἦην τὸ φίλημα· τὸ γὰρ στόμα νέκταρος ἔπνει·
καὶ μεθύω τὸ φίλημα, πολὺν τὸν ἔρωτα πεπωκώς.

('At evening time a girl kissed me with moist lips. Her kiss was nectar, for her mouth smelt of nectar. And I am drunk on that kiss, having sipped much love.') Note also Marcus Argentarius *A.P.* 5.118.1f. (of a boy); anon. *A.P.* 12.123.3f.; *Anacreontea* 41.9 Bergk. Earlier Latin poets had used the topic, most notably Catullus (99.1f., of Juventius), Horace (*Carm.* 1.13.15f., of Lydia), and Statius (*Silv* 2.1.46, of the *delicatus* Glaucias); and see further Lilja, *Odours*, p.120f.

1. quod: for the *cumulatio* of relative clauses in this way in M. see 11.21 intro. Note how artfully *quod* is arranged in this poem: second word in lines 1 to 4, fourth word in line 5, third word in line 6, second word in line 7, first word in line 8, and first word in lines 9 and 10.

opobalsama: juice (Greek *opos*) of balsam, considered by Pliny (*N.H.* 12.111) to be the choicest of all perfumes; it also figures in his list of the most expensive commodities, as do some of the other items in this poem (*N.H.* 37.204): the exoticism tends to eroticism. Juice of balsam is collected by making an incision in the bark of the balsam shrub (*commiphora opobalsamum*) and collecting the sap that oozes out, a laboriously slow process. Pliny describes the juice as being rather like thick whitish olive oil, which gradually reddens and hardens (*N.H.* 12.115f.). Tradition had it that the Royal Gardens at Jerusalem and Jericho were originally planted with seedlings brought to King Solomon by the Queen of Sheba, and it was certainly believed in the ancient world that the balsam shrub grew only in Judaea (e.g. Theophr. *Hist.Plant.* 9.6; Pl. *N.H.* 12.111f.). This is botanically incorrect, because it is native to Southern Arabia and East Africa (Strabo may have known this: 16.4.19); since Rome had trade links with those two places it is hard to believe that no balsam was imported from there. Miller points out that Pliny quotes a price for the wood only (*xylobalsamum*), which suggests that *opobalsamum* may have been a government monopoly: it may have suited officials to tell stories about the rarity of the substance, as it no doubt suited the traders. See further *RE* 18.1.691f.; Miller, *Spice Trade*, p.101f.; H.N. and A.L.Moldenke, *Plants of the Bible* (1952), p.84f.

dracti Housman; *drauci* codd.: Housman's emendation is certain. A *draucus* is a circus strong-man, sometimes noted for sexual prowess as well (see 11.72.1n.); the connotations of a perfume which had been on him clearly have no part in the pleasant odours of this poem, and *hesterni* is nonsensical if *drauci* is read. The humanists saw the problem and 'lapsa quod externis spirant opobalsama truncis' is their unconvincing solution. A *dractum* (from the Greek) is a small flask, a rare word known only from inscriptions (Dittenberger, *ISOG* 2.p83), but ideally suited to the context (see Housman, *Class.Pap.* 3.p.1166).

2. ultima: like 'lassa' in line 1, stressing the faintness and subtlety of the smell: see 7n.

curvo ... croco: saffron-water was sprayed over the theatre audience and the stage for its cool refreshing smell. The first reference to the practice is Lucr. 2.416 'et cum scaena croco Cilici perfusa recens est'; that it was a usual occurrence is shown by the frequency of the literary references (e.g. Prop. 4.1.16; Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.79f.; Ov. *A.A.* 1.104; Sen. *Nat.Quaest.* 2.9.1; M. *Sp.* 3.8; 5.25.7; 8.33.4; 9.38.5; *CIL* 4.1177). Pliny says that the best saffron was considered to come from Mount Corycus in Cilicia (*N.H.* 21.31); it is the product of the dried stigmata of the *crocus sativus*, which grows in profusion in parts of Southern Europe and eastwards to Kashmir. These stigmata ripen only in hot, dry regions, though an attempt at cultivation was made in fourteenth century England (whence Saffron Walden); it is now used extensively as a food and material dye and as a perfume. It is still as relatively expensive as Pliny found it (*N.H.* 37.204), because 70,000 blooms are needed to make one pound. (See Moldenke, op.cit. p.87f.) The 'crocus' is here referred to as 'curvus' because we are to picture the parabolic course of a jet of liquid under pressure; that image is also suggested by 'cadit aura'. For the piping of saffron-water (sometimes saffron-wine: Pl. *N.H.* 21.33) cf. Sen. *Ep.* 90.15: 'qui invenit quemadmodum in immensam altitudinem crocum latentibus fistulis exprimat.'

3. poma: for the pleasant smell of apples cf. Theoc. 7.143f.; Philippus, *A.P.* 6.102.3; Ov. *Met.* 8.675; Juv. 5.150.

4. verna: for the smell of spring cf. Lucr. 5.739f.: 'Flora quibus mater praespargens ante viai/cuncta coloribus egregiis et odoribus opplet'; Ov. *Fast.* 5.194.

luxuriosus: commonly used of the thriving growth of plants: e.g. Cic. *Or.* 81 'laetas esse segetes, luxuriosa frumenta'; Ov. *Fast.* 1.690; Bömer, Ov. *Fast.* 1.156n.

5. Palatinis: (for imperial palaces on the Palatine see Platner-Ashby, p.158f.) The first syllable of this word was originally short, but a long scansion came

into fashion around the time of Domitian (see *RE* 18.3.15). Of twenty cases of the word in M., fifteen have the long scansion (see Citroni, 1.70.5n.). The royal pedigree of the presses, as well as the costliness of the garments, again conjures up exoticism.

dominae: of the emperor's wife also at Suet. *Dom.* 13.1 'dọmino et dominae feliciter'; though its primary meaning here is simply of the woman who runs the household, it is still a little strange that M. should use it of Nerva's wife when he carefully avoids any association of *dominus* with the emperor himself (see 11.4 intro.).

Serica: real silk, the most expensive cloth (Pl. *N.H.* 37.204): see 11.49(50).5n.

prelis: of a clothes-press also at 2.46.3 'sic tua subpositis conlucent prela lacernis'; it was an item of furniture associated with luxury: 'placet (sc. vestis) non ponderibus ac mille tormentis splendere cogentibus expressa, sed domestica ac vilis' (Sen. *Dial.* 9.1.5). It is clear that the object was to make the clothes shine (also Amm.Marc. 28.4.19), and part of the attraction of silk was its diaphanous quality. This passage also suggests that the clothes would be perfumed in the presses; the practice of wearing scented garments was common in the ancient world, and evidence for it goes back to Homer (e.g. *Il.* 3.385; *Od.* 5.264), and is clearest in Aristophanes (*Wasps* 1056f.); note also Ar. frag. 319 (*CAF* 1.p474 Kock). The doctor Criton (see 11.60.6n.) gave preparations for the scenting of clothes in his *Kosmêtica* (Galen 12.p.447; p.449 Kühn). See also *D.-S.* 4.644, where there is an illustration of a clothes-press from a Pompeian wall painting (fig. 5796).

6. sucina: it is evident from elsewhere (3.65.5; 5.37.11; Juv. 6.573) that amber was used to perfume the hands. The substance is formed by exudations from a now extinct species of pine, and it has been shown by S.Lilja that it does give off an aroma of pine and camphor when held in the hands and rubbed (*Odours*, p.93f.). Again it was a rare and expensive luxury, prompting one of Pliny's colourful outbursts: 'taxatio in deliciis tanta ut hominis quamvis parva effigies vivorum hominum vigentiumque pretia exsuperet, prorsus ut castigatio una non sit satis ... in omnibus denique aliis vitiis aut ostentatio aut usus placet: in sucinis sola deliciarum conscientia' (*N.H.* 37.49). Pliny enjoys himself castigating dozens of Greek authors for their lies about the origins and provenance of the substance: Demostratus, for example, thought it was formed from lynx urine; but Sophocles comes in for the greatest criticism: 'quod credidisse eum aut sperasse aliis persuaderi posse quis non miretur? quamve pueritiam tam inperitam posse reperiri, quae avium ploratus annuos credat lacrimasve tam grandes avesve, quae a Graecia, ubi Meleager periit, ploratum adierint Indos?' (*N.H.* 37.41). Pliny himself did know of its pine origins, and that it came from the Baltic area (*N.H.* 31.42f.).

7. nigri: an adjective frequently connected with Falernian (e.g. 8.55(56).14; 8.77.5; 9.22.8; 9.90.5; 11.49(50).7), the darkest kind of wine, *sanguineus* being a lighter red.

sed longe: 'sed' again in its idiomatic sense (see 11.6.14n.); the adverb is not to be connected with 'fracta' (as Friedlaender), but refers to distance. Smells from close up were thought less pleasant than evanescent ones from afar (ps.-Arist. *Probl.* 12.2 is devoted to an explanation).

Falerni: see 11.26.3n. Its excellent aroma is remarked by Phaedrus: 'anus iacere vidit epotam amphoram,/adhuc Falerna faece ex testa nobili/odorem quae iucundum late spargeret./hunc postquam totis avida traxit naribus,/'o suavis anima, quale te dicam bonum' (3.1.1f.).

8. Sicanias: Sicilian bees were considered to be among the best (see 11.42.3n.); consequently they would only be attracted by the best kind of garden with the pleasantest smells.

9. Cosmi: Cosmus was the great parfumier of the day, often mentioned by M. (also in this book at 15.6; 18.9; 49(50).6): see Citroni, 1.87.2n. *Kosmos* is of course exactly what he dealt in, and it may be that this is a trade name rather than a real one; but other Cosmi are known (*PIR*² C.1532f). A.P.Ball (*CJ* 2 (1906), p.168f.) has plausibly suggested that M.'s many allusions to Cosmian could have been part of an advertising campaign, and that M. would have received some recognition from Cosmus for them.

alabastra: tall jars associated either with the storage of unguent or of perfume: cf. Petr. frag. 18 'affer nobis, inquit, alabastrum Cosmiani'. The jars were so called because they were made from alabaster; in the New Testament Vulgate the vessels from which Mary pours ointment onto Christ's feet are *alabastra* (Matt. 26.7 etc.); see Hilgers, *Gefässnamen* 9.

focique: the altars smell pleasant because of the incense burnt on them; this practice was probably originally introduced to disguise the smell of the sacrifice, but it has been an integral part of much worship ever since. See 11.54.2n.; E.G.C.F.Atchley, *A History of the Use of Incense in Divine Worship* (1909), esp. p.46f.

10. divitibus: the hair is rich in unguent, *dives* being used in the sense *madidus*, though there is too an overtone of the literal expensiveness of the unguent. Cf. 3.65.8 'quod madidas nardo passa corona comas'. Hair flowing in unguent is a traditional symposiastic motif: see 11.15.6n.

corona: the half line may be borrowed from Ov. *Am.* 1.6.38 'madidis lapsa corona comis'. Again the wearing of garlands was a standard feature of the symposium: e.g. Hor. *Carm.* 1.36.15f. 'neu desint epulis rosae/neu vivax apium neu breve lilium'; and see Lilja, *Odours*, p.85f.

12. mane: a significant detail: it is and was well known that the breath does not smell its best on waking (e.g. Ov. *A.A.* 3.198), but M.'s boy's is delightful even at that time. 'mane' – to tease Sabinus and excite his interest (see below) – also implies that M. and the boy have spent the night together.

13. scire cupis nomen?: in this concluding couplet we have to listen to one end of a conversation between M. and Sabinus and fill in the replies. This technique goes back to Theoc. 15.29f.; Meleager, *A.P.* 5.182 and 184; and

Asclepiades *A.P.* 5.181. It had been used in earlier Latin poetry, most notably Hor. *Carm.* 1.27 (see Nisbet-Hubbard's intro. for more examples; and W.Abel, *Die Anredeform bei den römischen Elegikern*, diss. Berlin (1930), p.23f.). Here M. says he will tell Sabinus the boy's name if he is asking it 'propter basia' only; Sabinus swears that he is, but the very fact that he so swears suggests a greater interest, and M. teases him by refusing to divulge the name.

14. Sabine: though Groag (*RE* 3.1316.(29)) thinks this Sabinus and those of 4.37.3 and 11.17 are fictional, it is likely that he is the Caesius Sabinus of Sarsina in North Umbria to whom a copy of Book VII is sent: 'nosti si bene Caesium, libelle,/montanae decus Umbriae Sabinum,/Auli municipem mei Pudentis' (7.97.1f.); at 9.58 M. celebrates the dedication of a temple by him, and, from inscriptional evidence, we know this was a favourite hobby of his (*CIL* 11. 6489-92); at 9.60 he is sent a garland by M. These references are frequent enough to allow us to see the same real person in all of them; it can be added that M. addresses Flaccus on far more frank sexual topics than this one (see 11.27.1n.), and that as a friend of Aulus Pudens (7.97.3) Sabinus may well have been interested in pederastic affairs (see 1.31 etc.). The overtones of the name Sabinus are humorous in this context (see 11.17.2n.).

9

Made glorious by Jupiter's crown, the fame of Roman tragedy, Memor breathes, rendered by art to match Apelles'.

Scaevus Memor (see 2n.) has won the prize for Latin poetry at Domitian's quinquennial games; these were modelled on the Neronia, which Nero had established for competition in singing, poetry, music and eloquence as well as athletics and gymnastics (Suet. *Nero* 12.3; 21.1), but which had been discontinued after his death. Domitian's new games were held in honour of Jupiter Capitolinus, and incorporated the three spheres of 'musicum equestre gymnicum' (Suet. *Dom.* 4.4); they had been held in 86, 90 and 94 (Cens. *de Die Nat.* 18.15), the latter date of which possibly fits Memor's victory best, the present book appearing in 96. M. had previously celebrated the victory of Collinus in a part of these games (4.54). See further Gsell, *Domitian*, p.122f.; Friedlaender, *SG* 2.p.228f.

M. is here celebrating a painting (as is shown by the reference to Apelles) which showed Memor in his victory crown; Greek epigrams on works of art are of the most frequent and tedious (see e.g. Gow-Page, *Philip*, index s.v. Art). As in this poem, the basic criterion for judging these works is that of realism: this in fact goes back to Homer (*Il.* 18.417f.; *Od.* 7.91f.), and was a yardstick never abandoned in the ancient world. Thus Theoc. 15.80f.:

πότνι' Ἀθαναία, ποῖαι σφ' ἐπόνασαν ἔριθοι,
ποῖοι ζωογράφοι, τάφριβέα γράμματ' ἔγραψαν.
ὡς ἔτυμ' ἑστάωντι καὶ ὡς ἔτυμ' ἐνδινεῦντι,
ἔμψυχ', οὐκ ἐνυφαντά ...

('Lady Athene, what great weavers, what great portrayers of life have worked this and made the likeness accurate. It is just like someone standing, just like someone turning – they are alive, not woven.') From many other examples note e.g. *A.P.* 9.774; 826; 16.97; 182; 327; Verg. *Aen.* 6.847; Prop. 3.9.9; Ov. *Met.* 6.104; M. 1.109.17f.; 3.35; 3.40(41); 7.84.1f.; 8.50(51).19f.; and see Gow on Theoc. loc.cit.; K.Prinz, *WS* 45 (1926), p.90f.; F.Bömer, *Hermes* 80 (1952), p.121f.; O.Fua, *RCCM* 15 (1973), p.49f. Ausonius gives a witty parody:

rhetoris haec Rufi statua est: nil verius; ipse est,
  ipse: adeo linguam non habet et cerebrum.
et riget et surda est et non videt: haec sibi constant;
  unum dissimile est: mollior ille fuit. (*Ep.* 9 p.314 Peiper)

M. makes his epigram the more interesting by combining his praise of the painting with praise of its subject.

1. clarus fronde Iovis: the weight and diction of the epigram may be intended to suggest the grand tragic style which won Memor his prize – which was a simple oak wreath (Stat. *Silv.* 5.3.231; M. 4.1.6; 4.54.1; 9.23.5).

fama: cf. 9.28.1 'dulce decus scaenae, ludorum fama, Latinus'; *fama* used of a person in this way is common in M., but is found elsewhere only at Prop. 1.15.22 and Ov. *Am.* 3.9.5 (*TLL* 6.1.217.24f.).

cothurni: the metonymy of *cothurnus* for tragedy is commonplace (see Bömer, Ov. *Fast.* 5.348n.). The high-heeled buskin was a piece of Roman dress for actors appearing in Greek-based tragedies, and was foreign to the Greek stage: see W.Beare, *The Roman Stage*³ (1964), p.191; 373.

2. Apellea: Apelles was the most famous Greek painter and lived at Colophon and Ephesus in the second half of the fourth century (see *RE* 1.2689.(13)). Reference to him is especially appropriate here because of his legendary realism: 'imagines adeo similitudinis indiscretae pinxit ut – incredibile dictu – Apio grammaticus scriptum reliquerit quendam ex facie hominum divinantem, quos metoposcopos vocant, ex iis dixisse aut futurae mortis annos aut praeteritae vitae' (Pl. *N.H.* 35.88); he is also known to have painted tragic actors – a copy of his Gorgosthenes may survive at Pompeii (see T.B.L.Webster, *Hellenistic Poetry and Art* (1964), p.170f.).

redditus: ambiguous: both 'rendered' and 'restored to life'.

Memor: Scaevus Memor the tragedian was the brother of Turnus Memor the satirist (see 11.10). Nothing is known of his life, but a few lines of his work are preserved in Sergius on Donatus (*Gramm. Lat.* 4.p.537.17f. Keil); they are too few to give any idea of his quality:

scindimus atras veteri planctu Cisseis genas

and:

non ego Myrmidonum sedes Dolopumve superbas
aspiciam, aut Grais servitum matribus ibo
Dardanis et divae Veneris nurus.

Yet Sidonius Apollinaris puts both him and his brother in the same league as Ennius, Lucilius and Lucretius (*Carm.* 9.263f.). See further M.Herz, *De Scaevo Memore poeta tragico*, diss. Breslau (1869); *RE* 2A.344.

10

Turnus brought his colossal intellect to satire. Why not to Memor's type of poetry? He was his brother.

A companion piece to the preceding poem (for other such arrangements see p.5f.). The idea of the voluntary sacrifice of one brother's talents to prevent competition with another brother is found also at 12.44:

Unice, cognato iunctum mihi sanguine nomen
qui geris et studio corda propinqua meis;
carmina cum facias soli cedentia fratri,
pectore non minor es sed pietate prior ...

(Note also 8.18.) The mutual affection of brothers (or *pietas*) was proverbial: e.g. Ter. *Andr.* 292 'te in germani fratris dilexi loco'; Sall. *Jug.* 10.5 'quis amicior quam frater fratri?'; Cic. *ad Famm.* 13.1.5; Plut. *de Fraterno Amore*; *TLL* 6.1.1257.44f.; Otto 714. The closeness of the tie between brothers is illustrated by M. at 1.36; 9.51; and cf. 3.20.17; 5.28.3.

1. ingentia pectora Turnus: the epic name produces an epic phrase; M. is suggesting that Turnus could write tragedy as well as Scaevus if he wanted to, so the wording and associations are apt. Vergil uses *ingens* some two hundred times, and the adjective clearly evokes the Turnus of the Aeneid and the tragedy which befell him (on *ingens* see Citroni, 1.6.4n., with K.E.Ingvarsson, *Eranos* 48 (1950), p.66f.). M. himself uses the word some thirty times; in many instances, though not here, it is virtually synonymous with *magnus*.

Other names of Vergilian inspiration are known: e.g. Lausus (M. 7.81.2); Palinurus (*CIL* 6.23730); Aeneas (four times in *CIL*); Ascanius (nine times in *CIL*); and see Kajanto, *Cognomina*, p.179.

Turnus Memor was highly rated as a satirist: 'nam me diligit ille proximumque/Turni nobilibus legit libellis' (7.97.7f.); Sid.Ap. *Carm.* 9.266; Johannes Lydus (*de Mag.* 1.41) groups him with Juvenal and Petronius in the

savagery of his satire. It is probably Turnus to whom Quintilian is referring when he says in a famous passage on satire 'sunt clari hodieque et olim nominabuntur' (10.1.94; see M.Coffey, *Roman Satire* (1976), p.4; 119); cf. also Rutil. Nam. 1.603. But despite this high reputation only two lines of Turnus, on the poisoner Locusta, remain (*schol.* ap. Juv. 1.71); and the only information we have on his life is from a scholiast on Juv. 1.20: 'Probus ... Turnum dicit Scaevi Memoris tragici poetae fratrem. Turnus hic libertini generis ad honores ambitione provectus est potens in aula Vespasianorum Titi et Domitiani.' See further Teuffel-Schwabe, 323.2; *RE* 7A.1413.(3); L.Quicherat, *Mélanges de Philologie* (1879), p.259f.

2. carmina: for *carmen* used of tragedy cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 1.37; 3.59; Verg. *Ecl.* 8.10; *TLL* 3.466.64f.

11

Boy, take away those cut-glass goblets which come from the warm Nile, and pass me with sure hand cups worn down by my ancestors' lips and pure since the server is short-haired; let the honour of old be restored to my table. It befits you, Sardanapallus, to drink from a precious goblet, who break up original Mentors to make a chamber-pot for your mistress.

An attack on the *luxuria* of the present day: again the standard Roman view which saw a continual moral decline from the glory of the republican past to the decadence of the imperial present is put forward (see 11.5.3n.). This theme is often outlined in poetry in a convivial setting: frequently it is the luxurious modern food which is contrasted with the healthy diet of old, but here M. deals with the table-ware itself. The idea is the same at Tib. 1.1.37f.:

adsitis, divi, neu vos e paupere mensa
dona nec e puris spernite fictilibus.
fictilia antiquus primum sibi fecit agrestis
pocula, de facili composuitque luto.

Cf. also Hor. *Sat.* 2.2.4f.; *Carm.* 1.20.1f.; Juv. 11.108f.; Athen. 6.229c-e; Clem.Alex. *Paed.* 2.3 (= *P.G.* 8.432f.). There is of course a certain amount of inverted snobbery in all this, and people who went too far in the direction of poverty could be just as heavily castigated (see 11.52 intro.): note, for example, what Cicero says about Piso: 'luxuriem autem nolite in isto hanc cogitare, est tamen ingenuo ac libero dignior. nihil apud hunc lautum, nihil elegans, nihil exquisitum – laudabo inimicum – quin ne magno opere quidem quicquam praeter libidines sumptuosum. toreuma nullum, maximi calices, et ei, ne contemnere suos videatur, Placentini ... servi sordidati ministrant, non nulli etiam senes' (*in Pis.* 66f.). On *luxuria* see Friedlaender, *SG* 2.263f., esp. 282f.

Luxuria was not only a poetic and philosophical topic, but was considered a

genuine social problem. From the Lex Orchia of 181 B.C. onwards, attempts had been made at legislation against it – with a conspicuous lack of success; Augustus had passed a sumptuary law (Suet. *Aug.* 34.1; Dio 54.2.3), probably the one which was the subject of an enforcement debate in the Senate under Tiberius. Tiberius saw the main problem: 'quid enim primum prohibere et priscum ad morem recidere adgrediar? villarumne infinita spatia? familiarum numerum et nationes? argenti et auri pondus? aeris tabularumque miracula?' (Tac. *Ann.* 3.53). But Tacitus thought that by his own day the problem had greatly diminished, and he could conclude 'nec omnia apud priores meliora, sed nostra quoque aetas multa laudis et artium imitanda posteris tulit' (*Ann.* 3.55). See Rudd, *Satires*, p.161f.

M.'s readers must have found it an amusing contradiction that he praises old republican standards here while ridiculing them elsewhere in this book (e.g. 11.2; 15; 16).

1. puer: for the address see 11.6.9n.

calices ...toreumata: *toreumata* alludes to the process of engraving (from Greek *toreuein*) and is here a hendiadys with *calices*; it is evident from the fear of breakage in the following line that the material is glass, and that the make is expensive. Luxury glass items were imported (see below), though cheap glass was produced in Rome itself at this period (Strabo 16.2.25; M. 14.94).

Nili: glass-cutting had been known in Egypt as early as Tutankhamen's reign; it was still a thriving industry under the early empire, Alexandria being the main centre of fine glass production (Forbes, *Technology*, 5.p.155f.; 176f.). M. refers elsewhere to these luxury goods: 'dum tibi Niliacus portat crystalla cataplus' (12.74.1; cf. 14.115). See further Hilgers, *Gefässnamen*, p.22; *RE* 7.1382f.; Marquardt-Mau, p.748f.

2. secura: because there is no fear of dropping them; Pliny says that the extreme fragility of expensive glass was its main attraction for the *luxuriosi*: 'hoc argumentum opum, haec vera luxuriae gloria existimata est, habere quod posset statim perire totum' (*N.H.* 33.5); cf. M. 12.74.7f. 'quid quod securo potat conviva ministro/et casum tremulae non timuere manus?'; Petr. 50.7.

3. trita: the enjambement in elegiacs is common in M. (e.g. 2.75.3; 4.15.3; 4.55.3; 5.19.3; 9.16.3; 10.58.5; 11.82.3; 12.2(3).3): see E.Fraenkel, *Kolon und Satz, Kleine Beiträge* (1964), vol. 1 p.80f.

tonso pura ministro: *pura* is not equivalent to *purefacta*, which is Friedlaender's interpretation – 'gereinigt von einem tonsus minister'. It is best to take 'tonso ministro' as ablative absolute: the cups are pure since the server is short-haired – i.e. not a decadent *capillatus*. *pura* is ambiguous however: it is both contrasted with *toreumata*, signifying plain unadorned ware suitable for *anticus honor* (as at e.g. Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.49; Pl. *Ep.* 3.1.9; Juv. 9.141; *Dig.* 6.1.6); and it indicates that the cups are not contaminated (i.e. *impura*) by a server who is sexually perverted or sexually active (i.e. a *capillatus*). This latter idea is usually found in the form that glasses are made impure by being touched by the lips of a fellator (see esp. M. 4.39.10, which has the same ambiguity on *pura* as here; also 2.15; 3.82.3; 12.74.10 etc.). Such might be the implication here, in that the first half of the line could introduce the idea of contact of the cups by the lips in the second half, and in that the *capillatus* often drank from the cup before handing it to his master (see 11.26.4n.). The implication might, however, be more general: simply that a server who is sexually active in any sense could contaminate food or vessels merely by his touch. Thus Columella says 'castum esse continentemque oportere, quoniam totum in eo sit, ne contractentur pocula vel cibi, nisi aut ab impubi, aut certe abstinentissimo rebus venereis' (*R.R.* 12.4.3). The short-haired server, therefore, helps to restore *anticus honor* to the table in that he is the opposite of the decadent *capillatus* (such slaves were often kept for sexual rather than occupational purposes: e.g. Sen. *Ep.* 95.24; M. 11.26; 11.56.12n.). The same contrast between modern and ancient morals, the *tonsi* and the *capillati*, is found at Juv. 11.145f.: 'plebeios calices et paucis assibus emptos/porriget incultus puer atque a frigore tutus,/non Phryx aut Lycius ... idem habitus cunctis, tonsi rectique capilli/atque hodie tantum propter convivia pexi' (and cf. M. 10.98.)

ministro: i.e. the *puer* of line 1.

5. gemma: associated with luxury also at Prop. 3.5.4; *gemma* can refer either to a vessel made of precious stone like onyx, fluorspar or crystal or to one decorated with individual stones (see Hilgers, *Gefässnamen*, p.23; 27f.). Here it refers to the valuable glass *calices* of the opening line; it refers to cut-glass again (sarcastically) at 14.94.

Mentora: Mentor lived in the first half of the fourth century, and was the most famous silversmith of antiquity (see *RE* 15.965f.); he was proverbial for excellence in that field (see Hilgers, *Gefässnamen*, p.25n.96) and any original by him was much sought after by collectors and connoisseurs (e.g. Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.38f.; M. 4.39.5; 9.59.16; 14.93). To melt such an artefact down can be regarded as the height of ostentatious luxury.

frangis: for *frangere* in the sense of break down and remould, cf. Juv. 11.102.

6. scaphium: from the Greek *skaphion*, a chamber-pot, boat-shaped, and so primarily for female use (cf. Ar. *Thesmo.* 633); this is the first occasion the word is so used in Latin; it appears later at Juv. 6.264; *Dig.* 34.2.27.5. The more usual Latin word is *matula* or *matella*. These expensive potties are another symbol of pointless luxury: note also M. 1.37; Mark Antony had a gold one (Pl. *N.H.* 33.50) and silver ones were frequent (ibid. 152); Heliogabalus had golden, murrine and onyx specimens (*S.H.A.* 32.2).

Sardanapalle: mentioned by Herodotus (2.150), so he is anachronistic here. But he was in any case virtually a legendary figure, a king of Assyria; Weissbach has shown that he is a conflation of various Assyrian kings rather than an individual (*RE* 1A.2436f.). He became one of the proverbial decadents and a prime exemplar of the luxurious life (Ar. *Birds* 1021; Otto Nachträge p.90; 209). Various 'epitaphs' for him exist, all stressing a

completely hedonistic philosophy:

εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι θνητὸς ἔφυς, σὸν θυμὸν ἄεξε
τερπόμενος θαλίῃσι· θανόντι σοι οὔτις ὄνησις.
καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ σποδός εἰμι, Νίνου μεγάλης βασιλεύσας.
ταῦτ' ἔχω ὅσσ' ἔφαγον καὶ ἐφύβρισα καὶ μετ' ἔρωτος
τέρπν' ἔπαθον, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ὄλβια κεῖνα λέλειπται.

('Know well that you are mortal and exalt your soul, rejoicing in feasting; a dead man has no enjoyment. For even I, who ruled great Nineveh, am dust. All I have is what I ate, what I did wantonly, and what I suffered pleasurably in love; all my so-called great wealth is left behind me') (ap. Diod.Sic. 2.23.3; cf. F.W.Walbank, *Commentary on Polybius*, vol. 2 (1967), p.83f.; I.Kajanto, *Hommages à M. Renard*, vol. 2 (1969), p.359f.).

12

Let even the *ius septem liberorum* be given to you, Zoilus, so long as no one gives you a father or mother.

This is the first of the cycle of skoptic epigrams on Zoilus in this book (see also 30; 37; 54; 85; 92), and he is a familiar figure from M.'s earlier work: he has another cycle in Book II, where much the same subjects are used – e.g. 2.16, ostentatious wealth; 2.19, meanness giving dinners; 2.42, fellator; 2.58, luxurious living on tick; 2.81, general foulness; and his character as the nouveau riche parvenu is developed at 3.29; 3.82; 4.77; 5.79; and 6.91. K.Barwick, *Zyklen bei M. und Catull, Philologus* 102 (1958), p.302f., points out that the Zoilus cycles cohere not only by reason of their subject, but also by their metre (elegiac) and length (one to three distichs); compare the similar series on Postumus (2.10; 12; 21; 22; 23; 67; 72), Selius (2.11; 14; 27), and Ligurinus (3.44; 45; 50), which are all skoptic. It is an obvious way for an author to tie together a book of short pieces; Barwick suggests that M. is influenced by Catullus (cf. his cycles on Furius and Aurelius (15; 16; 21; 23; 26); Gellius (74; 80; 88; 89; 90; 116); and Mentula (94; 105; 114; 115)), and it is also possible that skoptic cycles figured in M.'s Greek precursors, though they are not extant.

The Zoilus type – the man who rises above his station in wealth or power – is a frequent target for satire in the ancient world: he can be seen as early as Anacreon's *neoploutos* Artemon (frag. 388 Page); compare Aristophanes' attacks on Cleon the sausage-seller, Hyperbolus the lamp-seller, Cleophon the barbarian etc.; such people featured in mimes ('persona de mimo, modo egens, repente dives' (Cic. *Phil.* 2.65)); and cf. Nicarchus, *A.P.* 11.17. In Rome the target was usually the freedman: Hor. *Epod.* 4; Petr. passim; *Catal.*10; Juv. 4.1f. etc.; Claud. *in Eutrop.*; and see P.G.Walsh, *The Roman Novel* (1970), p.136f. The adverse effect of a sudden rise to wealth had been remarked by Aristotle (*Rhet.* 2.1391a15f.):

διαφέρει δὲ τοῖς νεωστὶ κεκτημένοις καὶ τῶν πάλαι τὰ ἤθη τῶι πάντα μᾶλλον καὶ φαυλότερα τὰ κακὰ ἔχειν τοὺς νεόπλουτους. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἀπαιδευσία πλούτου ἐστὶ τὸ νεοπλουτεῖν.

('The difference between the newly rich and those who have had wealth a long time is that the newly rich have more and worse bad characteristics. For to be newly rich is to be, as it were, uneducated in wealth.') See further E.Meyer, *Der Emporkömmling*, diss. Giessen (1913); Sullivan, *Petronius*, p.131f.; A.M.Duff, *Freedmen in the Early Roman Empire* (1958), p.67f.; 124f.

M.'s choice of name for his freedman parvenu is interesting: though it was common as a slave name (see *CIL* 6 index), M. has in mind the unpopular Homeric critic nicknamed Homeromastix, the proverbial carping detractor (e.g. Ov. *R.A.* 361f.). Little is known of his life, for fact was soon obscured by fantasy; and our first reference to him occurs at Vitr. 7.*pref.*8f. It seems he was born in Amphipolis, lived about 400-330, and was the pupil of Polycrates and taught Anaximenes; he was an orator, philosopher and historian as well as a critic (see *FGH* no.71 Jacoby for some scanty fragments). Beyond this most of our information on him is unashamed fiction, stemming from a time when his criticism of Homer, by no means unique in the fourth century, was rather misunderstood. Thus the many versions of his death, having him variously crucified, burned, stoned or flung off a cliff. Because of this vitriolic dislike of him his person and character were made to match: thus Aelian (*Var.Hist.* 11.10):

ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ ὁ Ζωίλος οὗτος κύων ῥητορικός· ἦν δὲ τοιοῦτος· τὸ μὲν γένειον αὐτῶι καθεῖτο, κέκαρτο δὲ ἐν χρῶι τὴν κεφαλήν, καὶ θοιμάτιον ὑπὲρ τὸ γόνυ ἦν. ἦρα δὲ ἀγορεύειν κακῶς καὶ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι πολλοῖς. σχολὴν εἶχε καὶ ψογερὸς ἦν ὁ κακοδαίμων. ἤρετο οὖν αὐτόν τις τῶν πεπαιδευμένων διὰ τί κακῶς λέγει πάντας· ὃς δέ, ποιῆσαι γὰρ κακῶς βουλόμενος οὐ δύναμαι.

('This Zoilus was called 'The Dog of Rhetoric'. This is what he was like: he had let his beard grow long but his head was shaved to the skin, and his cloak did not reach down to his knees. He loved to speak maliciously and to make himself the enemy of many. He had time on his hands and was a nasty, censorious type. One of his students asked him why he spoke evil of everyone; he replied 'Because I want to do them evil, but can't.') Such an allegedly unpleasant character makes the name ideal for M.'s purposes; and just as Zoilus was reviled for attacking the status quo in Homer, so M.'s freedman is reviled as an objectionable challenge to the social status quo. See also U.Friedlaender, *De Zoilo Homeromastige*, diss. Brandenburg a.d. Huvel (1899); *RE* 15.Suppl.1531f.

1. ius ... vel septem: a sarcastic upgrading of the 'ius trium liberorum', as *vel* shows. This law had been introduced as part of Augustus' social legislation in the Lex Julia de maritandis ordinibus of 18 B.C. and the Lex Papia Poppaea of 9 A.D.; he had hoped that by giving privileges to people with children and restricting the childless in matters of inheritance, standing for office, and

even buying theatre seats, he would increase the flagging birth rate. Later emperors used this *ius* as an honorary gift and bestowed it on the childless and unmarried (like M. himself (2.91) and the younger Pliny (*Ep.* 10.2)). As a freedman, Zoilus would benefit by having restrictions on his inheritance rights relaxed and by being released from certain duties due to his patron (see Gaius *Inst.* 3.42). A 'ius septem liberorum' had no legal meaning, of course, but the derisory hyperbole is well suited to Zoilus, who likes everything of grandly ostentatious proportions (e.g. 3.82; 11.37). See Sherwin-White's note on Pliny loc.cit.; *RE* 10.1281f.; *D.-S.* 3.1192f.; *Cambridge Ancient History* 10.p.450f.

2. matrem ... patrem: a clever legalistic paradox. In an obvious sense Zoilus must have parents; but in legal terms he did not, because his patron would have been his 'parent'; hence the question Philippus asks of Mena: 'unde domo, quis,/cuius fortunae, quo sit patre quove patrono?' (Hor. *Ep.* 1.7.53f.; cf. Stat. *Silv.* 3.3.45; *Dig.* 37.15.9; see also F.H.Schulz, *Principles of Roman Law* (1936), p.216f.). M. here rubs in Zoilus' servile origins, and the insult goes further: for if he has no parents, he is a 'homo non natus' – a man of no importance. For the idiom see 10.27.4 'nemo tamen natum te, Diodore, putat'; 8.64.16f.; Housman, *Class.Pap.* 2.p.731f.; Otto 1195; 1763; and 11.65.6n.

nemo ... nemo: the use of metrically different forms of the same word in the same line goes back to Homer's '*Ares Ares*' (*Il.* 5.31; 5.455, quoted at M. 9.11.15); it became an affectation in Hellenistic poetry (see Gow, Theoc. 6.19n.; Headlam, Herodas 7.115n.) For other instances in M. see Citroni, 1.36.1n.; and further, Müller, *De Re Metrica*, p.29f.; Nisbet-Hubbard, Hor. *Carm.* 1.32.11n.

13

Traveller who trudge the Flaminian Way, do not pass by this noble marble tomb. The City's delight, and Egypt's wit, art and gracefulness, jest and merriment, the glory and grief of the Roman stage, and all the Venuses and Cupids, are buried in this tomb with Paris.

Paris the pantomimus had been murdered on Domitian's instructions in 82 or 83, because he had allegedly had an affair with Domitia Longina, the emperor's wife; when people commemorated the spot where Paris had died with flowers, Domitian had them slain too (Dio 67.3.1; cf. Suet. *Dom.* 3.1). Domitian never forgot the episode, and also had a boy pupil of Paris executed because he resembled his teacher (Suet. *Dom.* 10.1). This explains why this epitaph appeared so long after its subject's death: any commemoration of Paris would have been extremely ill-advised while Domitian was alive, yet it could be used to show yet again M.'s support for the new emperor in 96, and to sing his palinode the louder. It is significant that it was thought that Domitia joined in the plot to kill her husband because of her love for the dead

Paris and her anger at his death: 'ascita etiam in consilium tyranni uxore Domitia ob amorem Paridis histrionis a principe cruciatus formidante' (*Epit. de Caes.* 11.11; cf. Aur. Vict. 11.7; Dio 67.15.2). If this is true, it may well have been Domitia who organised Paris' tardy obsequies and arranged for M. to write the epitaph for his tomb. See esp. O.K.Weinreich, *M.'s Grabepigramm auf den Pantomimen Paris, SHAW* (1940/1), Abh. 1; M. Bonaria, *Humanitas* 11/12 (1959/60), p.33f.; for the chronology *RE* 5.1515; *PIR*² D.181; and on Paris *PIR*¹ P.95; *RE* 18.4.1537.(3).

The epitaph is beautifully written; the whole is held together by the echo of 'nobile marmor' in 'hoc sepulcro', thus avoiding the disjointedness and cliché of most addresses to the traveller; similarly traditional topics about the actor's genius (e.g. speaking eyes and talking hands) are avoided; the balance of the qualities buried with Paris is subtle and varied – note, for example, how the copulatives change in word or position or both in each line; and, unlike Greek epitaphs, the name of the dead man is withheld to the last line, where it is given in a subordinate clause (cf. 1.39; 7.40; R. Schmook, *De Martialis epigrammatis sepulcralibus et dedicatoriis*, diss. Leipzig (1911), p.17f.). But the most interesting feature, unique in M., is the use of what may be termed indirect eulogy: all the arts are pictured as dead with Paris, instead of the usual personal eulogy. Compare Moschus' lament for Bion (3.65f.):

πάντα τοι ὦ βούτα συγκάτθανε δῶρα τὰ Μοισῶν,
παρθενικᾶν ἐράεντα φιλήματα, χείλεα παίδων,
καὶ στυγνοὶ περὶ σᾶμα τεὸν κλαίουσιν Ἔρωτες.

('All the Muses' gifts, herdsman, died with you, the lovely kisses of young girls, and the lips of boys. And the sad Loves weep around your grave.') Plautus' epitaph is of the same type (*FPL* Morel, p.32):

postquam est mortem aptus Plautus, Comoedia luget,
scaena est deserta dein Risus Ludus Iocusque
et Numeri innumeri simul omnes conlacrimarunt.

And cf. Alcaeus Mess. *A.P.* 7.412.7f.; Naevius' epitaph (*FPL* Morel, p.28); Sextilius Ena on Cicero (*FPL* Morel, p.119); Cat. 68.22f. Many Greek examples postdate M., and of these one of the closest is by Julian, Prefect of Egypt, on the poet Theodorus (*A.P.* 7.595):

κάτθανε μὲν Θεόδωρος· ἀοιδοπόλων δὲ παλαιῶν
πληθὺς οἰχομένη νῦν θάνεν ἀτρεκέως.
πᾶσα γὰρ ἐμπνείοντι συνέπνεε, πᾶσα δ' ἀπέσβη
σβεννυμένου. κρύφθη δ' εἰν ἑνὶ πάντα τάφῳ.

('Theodorus is dead. Now truly the host of ancient poets has gone from us and died; for while he lived, so did they, but when his light was extinguished, so was theirs. Everything is buried in this one grave.') Also *A.P.* 7.562; 563; 571; 612; 8.134; 135; 16.385. See further Weinreich, op.cit. p.17f. Marullus parodied the technique effectively in his epitaph on Pope Innocent VIII:

Spurcities, gula, avaritia atque ignavia deses,
Hoc, Octave, jacent quo tegeris tumulo.

And Garrick used it in traditional style for Laurence Sterne:

And shall we not by one poore grave stone learn,
Where genius, wit, and humour sleep with Sterne?

For other epigrams on pantomimi – both in praise and irrisory (esp. Lucillius *A.P.* 11.253f.) – see O.K.Weinreich, *Epigramm und Pantomimus, SHAW* (1948), Abh. 1.

1. Flaminiam: the great road leading north from Rome, the heaviness of whose traffic was well known (Tac. *Hist.* 2.64): therefore it was a prime location for a tomb, which would be constantly seen. There were tombs – outside the City gates – on all the roads leading from Rome, some of which can still be viewed. Burials on the Via Flaminia are also known from *CE* 1152; Stat. *Silv.* 2.1.176; M. 6.28.5; Juv. 1.171; and see Platner-Ashby, p.562f.; *RE* 6.2495.

viator: the appeal to the wayfarer is a standard theme of epitaph (see Lattimore, *Themes*, p.230f.).

3. urbis deliciae: on first reading this and most of the following phrases appear to be personal epithets (cf. 6.28, an epitaph for the freedman Glaucias, where they are so used); it is not until the last line that they are seen to be abstract qualities buried with Paris: all pantomime is dead without him. Note the similar phraseology, though in direct eulogy, of 10.53.1f.: 'ille ego sum Scorpus, clamosi gloria Circi,/plausus, Roma, tui deliciaeque breves'; also 6.28.3; 9.28.2. The derivation from *lacio* is helpful here: Paris 'enticed' the City to the pantomime, he was the City's entertainment; on his death entertainment died too.

salesque Nili: Egypt was proverbial for its obscene wits: cf. Stat. *Silv.* 5.5.66f.: 'non ego mercatus Pharia de pube loquacis/delicias doctumque sui convicia Nili/infantem, lingua nimium salibusque protervum,/dilexi'; Ov. *Tr.* 1.2.80; M. 4.42.3f. The inference is that Paris was an Egyptian, as was also the pantomimus Bathyllus (see *PIR*² B.91).

4. ars: Greek *technê*: compare Leontius Scholasticus (*A.P.* 16.288.4) on the pantomima Libania. Pantomimi were actors who represented mainly mythological scenes in dance and mime to the accompaniment of chorus and music; they would play a number of different characters, male and female, in the course of a show, and they used masks to help them. A pantomime could be a lascivious spectacle, with men performing erotic pieces about the libidinous women of mythology, such as Phaedra, Parthenope and Rhodope (Luc. *de Salt.* 2). The pantomime differed from the mime in its use of masks, dancing, chorus and music, all of which were absent from the latter. See further *RE* 18.3.833f.; Friedlaender, *SG* 2.p.124f.

gratia: Greek *charis*, the graceful and expressive movements of hands and body (cf. Crinagoras *A.P.* 9.542.4; Antipater Thess. *A.P.* 16.290.6).

lusus: again frequently used in direct eulogy (e.g. 4.87.2; 5.37.17; 7.14.2), here indirect: all jest has gone from the pantomime. Pantomime could be comic or tragic, and Paris was pre-eminent in both (see 5n.). Pylades was renowned for the comic side, Bathyllus for the tragic (Sen. *Contr.*3.*pref.*10). A pantomimus is called *lusor mutus* at *CIL* 6.4886.

5. decus et dolor: a common pairing: e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 10.507; Sil.It. 13.384; E.Wölfflin, *Ausgewählte Schriften* (1933), p.225f. The phrase here suggests Paris' standing as a tragic pantomime, though there is too a strong hint of the direct meaning – Paris himself was the grief and glory of the stage in his death (cf. *Ep.Gr.* 116 Kaibel *Eutuchos hê goneôn elpis epeita goos* ('Eutychus, hope of his parents, then their woe'); *A.P.* 8.125.4).

6.omnes Veneres Cupidinesque: from Cat. 3.1 'lugete, o Veneres Cupidinesque' (and cf. Cat. 13.12; M. 9.11.9). The multiplicity of deities is essentially a Hellenistic idiom though it goes back earlier (e.g. Pl. *Symp.* 180d; Theoc. 7.117; Call. frag. 200 Pfeiffer; Cicero identifies four Venuses and three Cupids (*de Nat.Deor.* 3.59f.; for further references see Pease's commentary p.1125; 1132)). Here, as in Catullus, the plurality emphasises the grief (see G.Giangrande, *MusLondPhil* 1 (1975), p.141). It may also allude to Paris' acting talents again, because pantomimes were often on erotic themes (see 4n.).

7. hoc ... sepulcro: see 11.91.1n. For the essentially neoteric device of the first word of a line agreeing with the last one, see Citroni, 1.6.1n.

Paris: a frequent name for pantomimi, who seem to have kept their stage names down to a few examples, especially Paris, Pylades and Bathyllus. The teacher probably handed his name down to his pupil (see Friedlaender, *SG* 4.p.198f.); Paris is deliciously apposite for this unfortunate actor, though his affair with Domitia is only the most illustrious example of the perennial interest noble Roman ladies showed in entertainers – at least according to the satirists (see Friedlaender, *SG* 1.p.288f.).

14

Heirs, don't bury the short farmer; for any little bit of earth is heavy on him.

A parody of epitaph is deliberately placed next to a serious example (for other such juxtapositions see p.5f.); the relationship is emphasised by the similar openings ('viator, noli' – 'heredes, nolite'). The inscriptional cliché here parodied is 'sit tibi terra levis', often abbreviated to 's.t.t.l.': see Lattimore, *Themes*, p.65f.; Friedlaender, 5.34.9n. M. imagines the *colonus* as so small that any amount of earth is necessarily heavy on him: the logical answer is not to bury him at all, anathema to Greeks and Romans. For another parody of this

same motif cf. 9.29.11f.: 'sit tibi terra levis mollique tegaris harena,/ne tua non possint eruere ossa canes'; also *A.L.* 236.7f. There is an epitaph on a small man by Callimachus (*A.P.* 7.447), though the precise interpretation is disputed (see Gow-Page, *Meleager*, p.192):

σύντομος ἦν ὁ ξεῖνος· ὃ καὶ στίχος οὐ μακρὰ λέξων·
"Θῆρις Ἀριστα[ί]ου, Κρῆς" ἐπ' ἐμοὶ δόλιχος.

('Short was the stranger. So too this verse, which will not say much. "Theris, son of Aristaeus, Cretan." – For me that's long.') M.'s piece also belongs to the skoptic type of epigram on defects of stature, whose most notable exponent was Lucillius (see *A.P.* 11.88f.): the chief feature is the use of grotesque hyperbole similar to here (see also 11.101 intro.).

More fanciful explanations can be ignored: Paley and Stone, for example, suggest an ambiguous interpretation of 'Don't bury the farmer shallowly, for he was such a scoundrel'; H.A.Wallon, *L'Esclavage dans l'antiquité* (1879), vol.2, p.368, sees a social message: many *coloni* had become debtor tenants, virtually slaves, and this would give an ironic twist to the earth's being *gravis*. But this epigram is only a typical example of M.'s grotesquerie.

1. heredes: an address to the heirs, whose legal responsibility it was to take care of the dead man's burial and grave, was another common epitaphic feature; the acronym 'h.f.c.' ('heres faciundum curavit') is as frequent as 's.t.t.l.'. See *TLL* 6.2.2647.24f.

2. quantulacumque: elsewhere in poetry between Catullus and M. found only in Ovid (as at *Am.* 3.15.14; *A.A.* 3.264).

15

I have books which Cato's wife and the awesome Sabine ladies could read; but I want this whole book to laugh and be naughtier than all my books. Let it drip with wine and not be ashamed to be greasy with rich Cosmian, let it play with the boys and love the girls, and let it not talk in euphemisms about that thing from which we are created, the parent of all, the thing which revered Numa used to call his prick. But remember that these verses are Saturnalian, Apollinaris: this book does not have my morals.

This is another of the introductory cycle of poems on the obscene nature of the present book (see 11.2 and 6 intros.).

1. sunt chartae mihi: M. may well be thinking of Books V and VIII, both of which contain no obscenities, and both of which advertise the fact (5.2.1f.; 8.1.3f.).

Catonis uxor: both Catos had two wives, though there is no specific reference here: the ladies gain their moral reputation by association with their husbands (compare Fabricius' daughter at 11.2.2). It is significant that M. refers to women in the opening two lines, because it is often suggested that freeborn women should not hear obscenities or even the mention of sexual acts (see 11.2.2n.).

2. horribiles ... Sabinae: frequent exemplars of the moral past (Otto 1562, with Nachträge p.116; 208): elsewhere they are *rigidae* (Ov. *Am.* 2.4.15) and *tetricae* (ibid. 3.8(7).61). *horribilis* here is two-edged, indicating not only their moral fearsomeness, but also their physical squalor (the word literally means 'shaggy'): thus Ovid calls them *immundae* (*Am.* 1.8.39), and cracks the witticism 'forsitan antiquae Tatio sub rege Sabinae/maluerint quam se rura paterna coli' (*Med.Fac.* 11f.). Their morality derives from the fact that 'casta est quam nemo rogavit' (Ov. *Am.* 1.8.43).

4. libellis: for consecutive lines ending with (nearly) identical words, compare Catullan practice (23.5f.; 42.11f.; 49.5f.); for other examples in M. see Friedlaender, 1.7.4n.

5. madeat: often used (as is *madidus*) of wine and drunkenness (*TLL* 8.34.18f.). M. personifies his book as enjoying the light atmosphere of a drinking party – where its contents would be most acceptable (cf. 4.8.7f.); again this evokes a Saturnalian setting (see 11.6 intro.).

6. pingui ... Cosmiano: for Cosmus see 11.8.9n. 'Cosmianum' is his brand of unguent, which is a perfumed ointment deriving its scent largely from spice ingredients; nard is often present. Its use as a hair perfume for parties is a traditional poetic motif (see Meleager *A.P.* 5.136; Lucan 10.164f.; M. 6.57; 6.74; 8.3.10; 10.20(19).18f.; 13.126; 14.146; and Lilja, *Odours*, p.58f.; 79f.).

sordidus: there is an implication of dirtiness in this word, because, in the enjoyment of the party, the *libellus* has put on more unguent than is really necessary (note 'erubescat'). Unguent is naturally greasy (cf. 'pingui'; also 2.29.5), and too much of it would have made the wearer look 'sordidus'; the same adjective is used of the same situation at 8.3.10; 6.57.2.

8. per circuitus: essentially a grammarian's description of periphrasis (see *TLL* 3.1106.29f.); use of technical language of this kind is a feature of M.'s epigrams, because it jars humorously with the basic frivolity.

illam: M. proceeds to give three euphemisms for *mentula*. Periphrastic reference to the penis is common in ancient literature: see O.Hey, *ALL* 11.528f.; *RLAC* 6.951f.; J.N.Adams, *Phoenix* 35 (1981), p.124. For this particular euphemism (i.e. an imprecise noun followed by a relative clause), compare the common 'pars quam ... ' (Adams, *LSV* p.45).

10. sanctus Numa: for a similar appeal to august precedent to excuse obscenity see 11.20; for Numa see 11.5.2n.

mentulam : M. uses this word elsewhere to characterise epigrammatic licence: 'sed hi libelli,/tamquam coniugibus suis mariti,/non possunt sine

mentula placere' (1.35.3f.; cf. 3.69.1f.); it is an archetypal obscenity (cf. *Priap.* 29.1f.). It was about this word that Cicero wrote his letter to Paetus, and he makes its obscene tone quite clear: 'ruta et menta, recte utrumque. volo mentam pusillam ita appellare, ut rutulam. non licet. belle tectariola; dic ergo etiam pavimenta isto modo: non potes' (*ad Famm.* 9.22.3; see also Shackleton Bailey's note ad loc.). M. uses *mentula* some forty-nine times; in earlier poetry Catullus had used it eight times, and probably introduced it to the literary vocabulary. It was also used by Augustus in an epigram (11.20.8).

12. Saturnalicios: for the connection of the Saturnalia and epigram see 11.6 intro.

Apollinaris: the man's name contrasts wittily with the other word in this line: Apollo, god of culture and civilisation, does not combine happily with that element of Saturn exemplified in the Saturnalia. The addressee is Domitius Apollinaris, friend of both M. and Pliny, an advocate who governed Lycia and Pamphylia before his suffect consulship in 97. Elsewhere he receives presentation copies of two books (4.86; 7.26), and he is mentioned again at 7.89.2 and 10.30.4. Pliny addresses two letters to him (2.9; 5.6); like many literary benefactors he had an amateur interest in writing himself (see M. 4.86. 3f.; Pl. *Ep.* 5.6.43). See further White, *Patronage*, p.92f.; *PIR*² D.133.

13. mores ... libellus: cf. 1.4.8 'lasciva est nobis pagina, vita proba'; the same disclaimer was made by Catullus (16.5f.) and especially Ovid (*Tr.* 1.9.59f.; 2.353f.; 3.2.6 etc.). See G.R.Throop, *The Lives and Verses of Roman Erotic Writers*, *Washington Univ. Studies* 1.2.2 (1914), p.160f.; Ellis on Cat. loc.cit.; Nisbet, Cic. *in Pis.* Appx. 6. Legal evidence shows it was a real danger that a writer's morals could be held to be reflected in his work: 'rogatus, invitatus, coactus, ita multa ad istum de ipso quoque scripsit ut omnis hominis libidines, omnia stupra, omnia cenarum conviviorumque genera, adulteria denique eius delicatissimis versibus expresserit, in quibus, si qui velit, possit istius tamquam in speculo vitam intueri' (Cic. *in Pis.* 70); and 'an vos potius calumniosi, qui etiam haec in accusatione, quasi ullum specimen morum sit vorsibus ludere?' (Apul. *Apol.* 11); and cf. Sen. *Ep.* 114.3f. So the purpose of M.'s disclaimer is a little more than a literary convention.

meos Ital.; *meus* $B^{A}C^{A}$: the slight humanist correction is needed to get emphasis and sense right.

16

You who are too strait-laced, reader, can now go from here where you like: what has preceded I wrote for the urban toga; now my page is lascivious with Priapean verse and rattles the castanet with Spanish hand. Oh! how often you'll beat your cloak with your stiff organ, though you are more strait-laced than Curius or Fabricius! And you my girl will be wet when you read the naughty playfulness of my book, even if you hail from Padua! Lucretia blushed and put my book down, but that was when Brutus was present; off

you go, Brutus – she'll read it then.

This is the second of a group of three consecutive pieces on the nature of the book (see 11.2 and 6 intros.) . The tone is again light: M.'s claim that his epigrams are pornographic (in that they will excite the reader) can hardly be taken seriously (for a similar claim, again with humorous intent, note Cat. 16.7f.). Such material did exist in the ancient world, but little has survived: e.g. Philainis' *peri schematôn sunousias*; Elephantis (Suet. *Tib.* 43.2; M. 12.43.4);Botrys (Polyb. 12.13.1, with Walbank's note); Hemitheon of Sybaris (Luc. *Adv.Indoct.* 23); Musaeus (M. 12.95); and see further Licht, *SG* 3.p.154f.; W.Krenkel, *WZRostock* 26 (1977), p.621f. M.'s epigrams are far removed from that world in their intentions and execution.

1. lector: for the address to the reader in M. see Citroni, 1.1.4n. It is not common in Latin poetry on the whole, with the notable exception of Ovid's writings from exile (e.g. *Tr.* 1.7.32; 1.11.35; 3.1.2; 4.1.2; 5.1.66), and M. The reason is that previous poets either had a patron to address or a select audience in mind; Ovid, writing to Rome from Tomis, did not know of whom his readers consisted. But M.'s address to the reader stems from the fact that he is one of the first authors to write for a general public, as is shown by his advertisements for his 'publishers' (see Citroni, 1.2 intro. and 7n.); note his remark 'lector opes nostrae' (10.2.5).

2. urbanae scripsimus ista togae: two interpretations are possible: (i) that M. has now written enough for the 'gravis lector' and will proceed to write obscenely for the 'urbana toga' (in which case 'ista' refers to the poem at hand and what follows); or (ii) that M. has now written enough for the 'gravis lector' and 'urbana toga' and will proceed to write obscenely for another kind of audience (in which case 'ista' refers back to the first fifteen epigrams of the book). M.'s use of 'iste' will not settle the matter, because it can refer both backwards and forwards (see e.g. 1.40.1; Friedlaender, 4.41.2n.; *TLL* 7.2.499.67f.; 11.2.8n.).

What, then, can be deduced from 'urbana toga'? Is the 'urbana toga' an audience which would be suitable or unsuitable for hearing the non-euphemistic obscenities which M. is going to unleash? ('urbana' does not here have any strong connotations of 'urbanitas', because M. clearly would believe that his output, obscene or not, would be aimed at the 'urbani' – note e.g. 10.20(19).1f.). The implications of 'toga' are conclusive: M. is writing for the Saturnalia (see 11.6 intro.), the biggest holiday of the year and a time of general freedom and relaxation from everyday life. A toga was woefully out of place during this season: 'nil lascivius est Charisiano:/Saturnalibus ambulat togatus' (6.24). The *synthesis*, an outfit of matching *tunica* and *pallium* (see Wilson, *Clothing*, p.169f.), was the suitable wear, and the toga was joyfully put away (14.1.1; 14.142(141)). Elsewhere M. constantly expresses irritation at having to wear a toga, both because it was uncomfortable and because it was a symbol of the irksome constraints and duties of everyday life: see 1.49.31, with Howell and Citroni; 1.108.7; 3.4.6; 3.46.1; 5.22.11; 9.100.1; 10.47.5;

10.74.3; 12.18.5f.; and 11.24.11n. A togate audience is patently not suitable for Saturnalian epigrams – rather for epic like Silius Italicus': 'perpetui numquam moritura volumina Sili/qui legis et Latia carmina digna toga' (7.63.1f.). In fact the 'urbana toga' can be seen as the opposite of 'urbana otia', and synonymous with 'gravis lector'; it is the 'urbana otia' for whom M. writes his Saturnalian pieces (see 11.3.1n.). So the serious togate audience is bidden be gone in this passage – the opening poems of the book must suffice them. It might be objected that all the opening poems are scarcely polite and that there is an example of non-euphemistic obscenity in them (11.7.13), but it is M.'s joke that they will appear positively polite when contrasted with the frankness of what is to follow.

This interpretation is corroborated by the tenses of the verbs and the use of *hinc* and *iam* in the first four lines – 'potes hinc iam ... scripsimus ista ... iam lascivit'; the past tense is contrasted with the present tenses on either side, and a reader will logically infer that the present tenses refer to the present and forthcoming epigrams, while the past tense refers to the preceding epigrams. For the thought of the lines compare 3.68.1f., where M. is similarly stating his intention of writing thenceforth obscenely; note the use of *huc*, *hinc* and *iam*, the imperative, and the tense of the verbs:

huc est usque tibi scriptus, matrona, libellus.
cui sint scripta rogas interiora? mihi.
gymnasium, thermae, stadium est hac parte: recede.
exuimur: nudos parce videre viros.
hinc iam deposito post vina rosasque pudore,
quid dicat nescit saucia Terpsichore ...

3.iam B^A; *nam* C^A: on the above interpretation 'iam' is essential: it picks up the same word in the first line and preserves the contrast with the second.

Lampsacio: the best known cult of Priapus was at Lampsacus on the Hellespont, the place universally acknowledged to be his home (see Erycius *A.P.* 16.242,7f.; Val.Flacc. 2.623f.; H.Herter, *De Priapo* (1932), p.95f.; Rudd, *Satires*, p.68f.).

lascivit: again the book is personified (cf. 11.15.5f.), this time as a dancing girl whose performance is designed to stimulate her audience sexually (see 4n.). For *lascivio* in this sense cf. *Priap.* 47.3f. 'illius uxor aut amica rivalem/ lasciviendo languidum, precor, reddat'; *TLL* 7.2.982.61f. *lascivio* is sometimes used of the obscene poetry itself (e.g. Quint. 4.1.77; 9.4.6; *TLL* 7.2.983.1f.).

pagina: see 11.17.1n.

4. Tartesiaca: Tartessos (probably Biblical Tarshish) was strictly an area of south-west Spain, south of the middle and lower reaches of the River Baetis; Arganthonius had once ruled over it (Herod. 1.163). But geographical accuracy was abandoned by the Latin poets, who used the name to refer to either the whole of Spain (e.g. Sil.It. 13.674; Claud. *in Ruf.* 1.101), or, as here, to the city of Cadiz; compare Sall. *Hist.* 2.5 'Tartessum, Hispaniae civitatem, quam nunc Tyrii mutato nomine Gaddir habent.' Cadiz was the most famous home of dancing girls with erotic acts: 'forsitan expectes ut Gaditana canoro/incipiant prurire choro plausuque probatae/ad terram tremulo descendant clune puellae' (Juv. 11.162f.); '*puella Gaditana.* tam tremulum crisat, tam blandum prurit, ut ipsum/masturbatorem fecerit Hippolytum' (M. 14. 203; see Citroni, 1.41.12n.). See further G.Wille, *Musica Romana* (1967), p.200f.; F.Weege, *Der Tanz in der Antike* (1926); G.Salanitro, *Helikon* 13/14 (1973/74), p.492f.

concrepat aera; cf. Petr. 22.6 'cum intrans cymbalistria et concrepans aera omnes excitavit'; the *aera* are presumably castanets, often associated with this type of dance (Meleager *A.P.* 5.175.7f.; Prop. 4.8.39; *Priap.* 27.3).

5. rigida pulsabis ... vena: from Cat. 32.10f. 'nam pransus iaceo et satur supinus/pertundo tunicamque palliumque'; 'rigida vena' also at M. 6.49.2; for *vena* in this sense cf. Pers. 6.72; *Priap.* 33.2; and compare the same use of Greek *phleps* (e.g. Alcaeus *A.P.* 6.218.1; Leonidas *A.P.* 16.261.4). For *rigidus* see further Grassman, *Epoden*, p.65; Adams, *LSV* p.103.

pallia: part of the *synthesis*, appropriate wear for the Saturnalia (see 2n.).

6. Curio: M.Curius Dentatus (cos. 290; 284 (suff.); 275; 274), the great military figure of the period. He was idealised by Cato, and remained a firm favourite in the gallery of old worthies (see Otto 485), especially in M. (see Citroni, 1.24.3n.). He is coupled with Fabricius again at 7.68.4; 9.28.4 (both in the same position in the pentameter); and cf. Manil. 1.787.

Fabricioque: see 11.2.2n.; 11.5.8n.

7. lususque: see 11.3.1n.

8. uda: with the obscene sense of Juv. 10.321f. 'quid enim ulla negaverit udis/ inguinibus, sive est haec Oppia sive Catulla'; see also M. 11.81.2, with note.

Patavina: Padua was noted for its upright morality: thus Pl. *Ep.* 1.14.6 'nosti loci mores: Serrana tamen Patavinis quoque severitatis exemplum est.'

9. Lucretia: the prime exemplar of sexual morality (see Liv. 1.57f., with Ogilvie).

10. leget: cf. 7.88.3f. 'me legit omnis ibi senior iuvenisque puerque/et coram tetrico casta puella viro'. Cf. also M.'s joke about the outwardly staid Roman matron (3.68 and 3.86), and cf. *Priap.* 8. Buchheit (*Priapea*, p.112f.) points out that M. is the first writer to poke fun at the sacred institution of the *matrona* in this way. Note the following lines of Herrick, clearly an echo of this passage:

To read my booke the Virgin Shie
May blush (while Brutus standeth by):
But when He's gone, read through what's writ,
And never staine a cheeke for it.

17

Not every page of my book is nocturnal; you will find something to read in the morning too, Sabinus.

The third of the present group of epigrams on the obscene nature of the book. The equation of the nocturnal/bawdy, morning/polite poem is found also in Ausonius (*Ep.* 25 p.320 Peiper):

est quod mane legas, est et quod vespere; laetis
seria miscuimus; tempore uti placeant.
non unus vitae color est nec carminis unus
lector; habet tempus pagina quaeque suum;
hoc mitrata Venus, probat hoc galeata Minerva;
Stoicus has partes, has Epicurus amat.
salva mihi veterum maneat dum regula morum,
plaudat permissis sobria musa iocis.

We have seen how M. considers other (obscene) poems fit for the evening's symposium (11.15). And compare Herrick's '*When he would have his verses read*':

In sober mornings, doe thou not reherse
The holy incantations of a verse;
But when that men have both well drunke and fed,
Let my enchantments then be sung or read.
When Laurell spirts i'th fire, and when the Hearth
Smiles to it selfe, and guilds the roofe with mirth;
When up the Thyrse is rais'd, and when the sound
Of sacred Orgies flyes, A round, A round.
When the rose raignes, and locks with ointment shine,
Let rigid Cato read these lines of mine.

1. nocturna: the significance of this line is only made clear at 'legas', which is a mild *para prosdokian* for 'scripsi': until then a Roman reader would have been expecting a reference to 'noctes vigilare'. This motif goes back to Callimachus' Agrypnia (*A.P.* 9.507) and is a favourite with Latin writers (e.g. Lucr. 1.140f.; Pl. *N.H. pref.* 18; Stat. *Theb.* 12.810f.; M. 8.3.18 – this latter passage shows M. also connected nocturnal composition with 'serious' works). See T. Janson, *Latin Prose Prefaces* (1964), p.97; Brink, Hor. *A.P.* 269n.

pagina libri: the phrase applies to the column of a roll as well as to the page of a codex (e.g. Cic. *Or.* 41; Ov. *Tr.* 5.9.4; Juv. 7.100). M. is the first author known to have used a codex (for a travelling edition – 1.2), though the present book is clearly envisaged in roll form (11.1.4 etc.). It was not until well into the second century that the codex began to gain in popularity (see C.H.Roberts, *PBA* 40 (1954), p.167f.).

2. Sabine: in all probability this is Caesius Sabinus again (see 11.8.14n.); from there it would seem that he liked risqué epigrams, but his name, with its overtones of old republican morality (see 11.15.2n.), makes a good joke here. It is a joke that had also occurred to Cicero (*ad Famm.* 15.20.1, with R.Syme, *Latomus* 17 (1958), p.73f.).

18

You have given me a farm near the City, Lupus; but there is more of a farm in my window. A farm can you call this, a farm can you entitle it? A bush of rue makes the grove of Diana in it, a clear-toned cicada's wing can cover it, an ant can eat it in a single day, and a rose-bud be its garland; grass is no more found in it than Cosmian leaf or unripe pepper; neither could a cucumber lie straight in it, nor could a snake live whole in it. The vegetable garden provides a meagre meal for a single caterpillar, a flea dies when it has consumed the willow plantation, and a mole is my digger and ploughman. A mushroom cannot expand in it, nor figs split open, nor violets bloom. A mouse ravages the boundaries and is feared by my farmer as if it were the Calydonian boar, and my crop has been lifted up in the talons of a flying swallow and is in its swallow's nest; and, though he stand there minus his sickle and prick, there isn't room for half a Priapus. The gathered harvest scarcely fills a snail shell, and we lay up the must in a pitched nut shell. You have made a mistake, Lupus, but only by one letter; for when you gave me a 'praedium' I would rather you had given me a 'prandium'.

The longest epigram of the book, and one of the most successful with its 'accumulated, acervated, agglomerated exaggeration' (P.Nixon, *Martial* (1927), p.190). For the *cumulatio* technique see 11.21 intro. M. displays similar ingratitude towards (imaginary) gifts he has received at 7.53; 8.71; 10.57; 12.81; and esp. 8.33, where he ridicules a cup in twenty-six lines of the same style of cumulated hyperbole (and see 11.105 with intro.). It is an idea he has taken over from his Greek precursors, but, as often, he has amplified and improved it; compare Lucillius *A.P.* 11.249:

ἀγρὸν Μηνοφάνης ὠνήσατο, καὶ διὰ λιμὸν
ἐκ δρυὸς ἀλλοτρίας αὐτὸν ἀπηγχόνισεν.
γῆν δ' αὐτῶι τεθνεῶτι βαλεῖν οὐκ ἔσχον ἄνωθεν,
ἀλλ' ἐτάφη μισθοῦ πρός τινα τῶν δημόων.
εἰ δ' ἔγνω τὸν ἀγρὸν τὸν Μηνοφάνους Ἐπίκουρος
πάντα γέμειν ἀγρῶν, εἶπεν ἄν, οὐκ ἀτόμων.

('Menophanes bought a field and, through hunger, hanged himself from someone else's oak tree. They couldn't get the earth from his field to throw on his body, but he was buried by a neighbour for payment. If Epicurus had known of Menophanes' field, he would have said everything was full of fields, not atoms.') Note also Lucillius *A.P.* 11.87-9; 90-5; 245; 247; 265. H.C.Nutting, *CW* 25 (1931), p.96, has pointed to a curious parallel to this epigram in a poem of Cicero's, quoted by Quintilian in his treatment of hyperbole (8.6.73):

fundum Vetto vocat quem possit mittere funda:
ni tamen exciderit, qua cava funda patet.

The 'rus sub urbe' of this piece is hardly likely to be the one M. himself owned at Nomentum, and which he could call 'dulce' (8.61.6; 9.97.7; 10.58.9): he would not want to insult Lupus. As with nearly all skoptic pieces, the setting is imaginary, though it reflects M.'s general attitude to *rura*: they should be simple and productive rather than a *domus* in the country (e.g. 3.47; 3.58; 12.72; and G. Steiner, *CJ* 50 (1954), p.85f.). Many Romans from the late republic onwards owned these 'suburban' estates, which provided them with wealth, status, and a means of relief from city life: 'nunc quoniam plerosque nostrum civilis ambitio saepe evocat ac saepius detinet evocatos, sequitur ut suburbanum praedium commodissimum esse putem, quo vel occupato cotidianus excursus facile post negotia fori contingat' (Col. *R.R.* 1.1.19). The most popular areas for these places were Tibur, Tusculum, Praeneste, Lanuvium and Nomentum (where Atticus (Corn.Nep. *vit.Att.* 14.3) and Seneca (*Ep.* 104.1) had retreats as well as M.); ideally they were about fifteen miles away from Rome (see Balsdon, *LL* p.196f.; A.G.McKay, *Houses, Villas and Palaces in the Roman World* (1975), p.108f.). Thus for Romans the idea of suburbanity only indicated a closer proximity to the capital than, for example, a holiday home on the Bay of Naples.

1. Lupe: fictitious here (see intro.), but cf. 11.88.1n.

2. rus ... in fenestra: M. claims his window-box would make a bigger *rus*. Of window-boxes Pliny says 'iam in fenestris suis plebs urbana in imagine hortorum cotidiana oculis rura praebebant, antequam praefigi prospectus omnis coegit multitudinis innumerae saeva latrocinatio' (*N.H.* 19.59), but perhaps the vandals had had a change of heart by this date. The Greek *kêpoi Adônidos* may have been something similar; we know that during the Adonia it was a custom to sow wheat and barley in pots and to call the seedlings 'The Gardens of Adonis' (from scholiast on Plato *Phaedrus* 276b; see Gow, Theoc. 15.113n.).

4. ruta: *ruta graveolens*, the herb rue. It is a small bushy plant which grows from one to three feet high, and is common beside paths and amongst flower terraces in Italy. It smells unpleasant and the Romans remarked its bitterness (Cic. *ad Famm.* 16.23.2), so it is rather surprising that every garden had it (Col. *R.R.* 10.121) and that it was used extensively in the kitchen (see Apicius passim). The Greeks hardly seem to have used it (*pêganon*) at all: see André, *L'alimentation*, p.205f.; A.C.Andrews, *CJ* 43 (1948), p.371f. Mention of it here is particularly appropriate in that 'rutae folium' was a colloquialism for a small space (cf. Petr. 37.10; 58.5).

nemus Dianae: not the famous Nemus Dianae north-east of Lake Nemi (*RE* 5.328f.; 16.2387), but a *nemus* in M.'s *rus* dedicated to Diana. Thus when M. is returning to Spain he hands over his Nomentan estate to Marrius, including 'dominamque sancti virginem deam templi' and 'delicatae laureum nemus Florae' (10.92.8; 11). A *nemus* like this would have contained plants and trees in an uncultivated state (see P.Grimal, *Les Jardins romains* (1969), p.74; 168).

5. argutae: the same epithet at *Culex* 153; the 'arg-' stem (cf. Greek *argês*) suggests sharpness and clarity of tone. It is the male cicada which produces the song, by means of vibrating membranes, or timbals, near the base of its abdomen (and ancient naturalists came very close to this explanation (see Pl. *N.H.* 11.266)).

quod: best taken with 'rus'.

7. clusae ... folium rosae: i.e. a rose-bud, because there is no room for it to flower.

corona: not a flower-bed (as *TLL* 4.987.77), nor a sunshade (as the Loeb editor), nor a boundary (rejected by Friedlaender), but a garland (as D.R.Shackleton Bailey, *CPh* 73 (1978), p.289). One would expect to be able to get flowers for such purposes from a decent *nemus*.

9. Cosmi folium: for Cosmus see 11.8.9n. Lilja, *Odours*, p.81n.4, claims that the *foliatum* (see 11.27.9n.) is not to be confused with this similarly styled 'Cosmi folium', which was a leaflet for the wrapping of odorants (compare 'rutae folium': see 11.31.17n.). But it makes good sense to take the reference here as an ingredient of one of Cosmus' unguents: an exotic, rare and expensive plant to contrast with 'herba'. Cosmus could use more ordinary plants for packaging, if he ever found good reason for not using jars.

piperve: pepper was not by this time as much of a rarity as it had been. Roman trade with Southern India was opening up during the latter part of the first century A.D., and in 92 Domitian had built *horrea piperatoria* in Rome (Hier. in *Chron.Euseb.* 92 A.D.). Pepper was widely used in cookery and as a condiment at the table, where it was served in *piperatoria*; Pliny was amazed at its popularity: 'sola placere amaritudine, et hanc in Indos peti' (*N.H.* 12.29). See further Miller, *Spice Trade*, p.24; 80f. M.'s point here is that pepper was as unlikely to grow in an Italian *rus* as was 'Cosmi folium' (compare Horace's remark at *Ep.* 1.14.23); but attempts had been made at home cultivation, even though they had met with little success (Pl. *N.H.* loc.cit.). Trimalchio, of course, was able to grow his own (Petr. 38.1).

crudum: the strings of berries on the pepper vine are green until they ripen to red. The unripe fruit when dried in the sun produces 'piper longum' (Pl. *N.H.* 12.26). See André, *L'alimentation*, p.209.

10. cucumis ... rectus: completely straight cucumbers are a rarity in any case; hence the ancient etymology of the word: 'cucumeres dicuntur a curvore' (Varro *L.L.* 5.104); Pliny notes their properties of curvature (*N.H.* 19.65).

12. urucam: (B^A's 'erucam' is also possible; there is too a type of grass 'eruca' or 'uruca' – but both spellings are found for both meanings, and one

cannot be sure if they should be differentiated: see *TLL* 5.2.824.44f.). The caterpillar (cf. Spanish *oruga*) was labelled a 'dirum animal' by Pliny for its capacity to defoliate (*N.H.* 17.229; cf. Col. *R.R.* 11.3.63).

hortus: the fruit and vegetable garden of the *rus*; for the distribution of land on this kind of estate cf. Cato *R.R.* 1.7: 'praedium quod primum siet, si me rogabis, sic dicam: de omnibus agris optimoque loco iugera agri centum, vinea est prima, si vino [bono et] multo est, secundo loco hortus inriguus, tertio salictum, quarto oletum, quinto pratum, sexto campus frumentarius, septimo silva caedua, octavo arbustum, nono glandaria silva.' Columella's tenth book deals with the *hortus*; see further K.D.White, *Roman Farming* (1970), p.246f.

13. culix: cf. Pl. *N.H.* 11.3 'natura ... disposuit ieiunam caveam uti alvum'.

salicto: see Cato *R.R.* 1.7, cited above; the osiers were used particularly for the trellissing of vines, though their suitability for fencing etc. is apparent (Cato *R.R.* 6.4; Varro *R.R.* 1.8.3).

15. boletus: it is not certain which fungus this was, though it was the most appreciated: 'inter ea quae temere mandantur et boletos merito posuerim, opimi quidem hos cibi, sed immenso exemplo in crimen adductos' (Pl. *N.H.* 22.92; Pliny (ibid. 94) also thought that *boleti* sucked up poison from rusty bootnails). See André, *L'alimentation*, p.43f.; Howell, 1.20.2n.

hiare: such anthropomorphic terms are frequently used in Roman botany, scientific works as well as poetic. 'hiare', for example, can refer to the opening of seeds (Col. *R.R.* 2.9.18) or the blooming of flowers (Prop. 4.2.45; Ov. *A.A.* 2.115); here it describes the opening of a mushroom's canopy.

Note the irregular caesura in this line (as also 17; 18; and 19), which adds variety in a long poem. M.'s hendecasyllables are metrically stricter than Catullus', and there is usually a caesura after the fifth or sixth syllable (M. is also stricter as regards hendecasyllabic elision: see J.Ferguson, *CPh* 65 (1970), p.173f.). The four irregular caesurae in succession here are exceptional (see Müller, *De Re Metrica*, p.232; D.S.Raven, *Latin Metre* (1965), p.139f.).

mariscae: a large and inferior type of fig, often labelled tasteless (7.25.7; 12.96.9; Col. *R.R.* 10.415), which was grown in Italy (Cato *R.R.* 8.1). Gilbert (*RhM* 40 (1885), p.218) rather pedantically objects to the mention of a large tree in this hyperbole.

16. ridere: the fig splits – or would do if it had the room – to show its ripeness. Löfstedt (*Eranos* 10 (1910), p.169) shows that M. has here transposed the usual verbal images: 'ridere' would be expected to refer to the opening of flowers, 'patere' to the splitting of figs.

18. sus: the assonance between 'sus' and 'mus' is emphasised by their identical position in the line. 'sus' is typical of the mythological debunking of M. and Juvenal.

20. seges:the standing crop, as opposed to the harvested ('messis': line 23).

hirundinino: only here and Plaut. *Rud.* 598 outside scientific writers (see *TLL* 6.2.2828.9f.).

21. sine falce mentulaque: the traditional attributes of Priapus, and often paired (Ov. *Met.* 14.640; M. 6.16.1; *Priap.* 30.1 etc.). The *falx* was largely symbolic of a countryside god, though it was also claimed that it scared off birds and thieves (Cornut. 27). Every respectable *rus* would have its Priapic effigy, for Priapus was 'hortorum decus et tutela' (Ov. *Fast.* 1.415); see H.Herter, *De Priapo* (1932), p.199f.; 208f.

24. nuce picata: the vintage will only fill a nut shell. Most wine jars were coated with pitch before use (Cato *R.R.* 2.3; 23; *Dig.* 19.2.19.2); this must have been necessary because earthenware jars are to some extent porous. The flavour the pitch might give to the wine could be considered an advantage (e.g. the pitchy wine of Vienne: Pl. *N.H.* 14.57; M. 13.107), and pitch was sometimes added to the must as a preservative in any case (Col. *R.R.* 12.22f.). Note also the 'resinata vina', which was not held to be of good quality (3.77.8; Cels. 2.24). See W.Younger, *Gods, Men and Wine* (1966), p.132f.; 214f.

27. prandium: punning (or *annominatio*) is another rhetorical device much used in epigram. It is common in the Greek Anthology, especially among those poets of the generation which preceded M. (e.g. Lucillius *A.P.* 11.69; 197; S.G.P.Small calls it 'virtually the hallmark of Marcus Argentarius': see his discussion at *YCIS* 12 (1951), p.86f.). For M. see Joepgen, *Wortspiele*, p.121f. and passim; and see also E. Wölfflin, *SBAW* (1887), Abh.2, p.187f.; J.Martin, *Antike Rhetorik* (1974), p.304f.

dedisses: for two consecutive lines ending with similar words see 11.15.4n. Here it emphasises the pun and also echoes the first word of the poem – 'donasti'.

19

You ask why I don't want to marry you, Galla? You are eloquent. My prick often commits a solecism.

Friedlaender thought this neat distich was directed at learned women, and to a certain extent this is so (compare Ov. *A.A.* 1.463f.; 2.507, where he comments on the unsuitability of the *disertus* in amatory matters; M. 2.90.9 'sit non doctissima coniunx'; and Juv. 6.434f., a passage which ends 'opicae castiget amicae/verba; soloecismum liceat fecisse marito', probably an echo of this epigram; see also Friedlaender *SG* 1.297f.). But while the first line might lead us to this interpretation, the *para prosdokian* of the second makes us revise our opinion. M.Schuster (*BPhW* 47 (1927), 601f., amplifying Gilbert (*JKPh* 135 (1887), 150)) saw that with the introduction of 'soloecismum', 'diserta' takes on its primary meaning of eloquence; his interpretation is that

when M.'s *mentula* commits a solecism it will offend his eloquent wife, who will use her abilities to berate him – a problem he would not have with a wife who was not *diserta*. But again that seems to miss the point: 'mentula' governs 'soloecismum' and is a *para prosdokian* for 'lingua'; therefore 'soloecismum' has a sexual sense – ineptness in intercourse; so it also reflects back to 'diserta', which then describes Galla's sexual eloquence. M.'s ways in bed will not meet the demands of Galla's expertise. (That M. speaks in the first person is, of course, no invitation to take this, or any other skoptic poem, as autobiography; on M.'s 'wife' see 11.104 intro.)

For another joke on 'diserta' (where it again is given an unexpected reference by the context), cf. 6.48:

quod tam grande sophos clamat tibi turba togata,
non tu, Pomponi, cena diserta tua est.

1. Galla: the name features sixteen times in M., and is well attested elsewhere (see Kajanto, *Cognomina*, p.195); cf. Juv. 1.125f.

2. soloecismum: cf. 5.38.8 '*soloikismon*, Calliodore, facis'; otherwise in Latin poetry only at Juv. 6.456, quoted above. It is a technical term which M. uses partly for its humorous incongruity in 'nugae' (cf. 11.15.8n.); Lucillius had also used it in his epigrams on rhetors and grammarians (*A.P.* 11.138.2; 11.143.6). It is traditionally derived from the town of Soloi in either Cilicia or Cyprus, whose inhabitants spoke a corrupt form of Greek under barbarian influence (Strabo 14.2.28; F.L.von Huttenbach, *RhM* 119 (1976), p.336f.).

20

Spiteful reader, who read Latin words with a frown, read these six verses of Augustus Caesar: 'Because Antony fucks Glaphyra, Fulvia fixed this punishment for me, that I should fuck her too. That I should fuck Fulvia? What if Manius begged me to bugger him? Would I do it? Not if I had any sense. "Either fuck me or we fight," she says. What about my prick being dearer to me than life itself? Let the charge sound!' You do of course free my risqué books from blame, Augustus, who know how to speak with Roman straightforwardness.

This is the final piece of the introductory cycle on the content of the present book (see 11.2 and 6 intros.). The appeal to precedent as an excuse for obscenity is developed at length by Ovid (*Tr.* 2.361f.), where he apologises to Augustus for his 'teneri amores' by cataloguing the poets who had done the same before him and had gone unpunished (which is a little ironic, since Augustus had written this kind of epigram); Pliny cites a host of 'doctissimi gravissimi sanctissimi homines' who had written poetry as naughty as his own (*Ep.* 5.3.3f.); and M. excuses his obscenity to Lucan's widow by quoting her late husband at her: 'si nec pedicor, Cotta, quid hic facio?' (10.64.6).

The authenticity of Octavian's (as he then was) epigram has been doubted, but for no good reason: Groag, for instance, can only claim 'meines Erachtens kaum echt, ist es doch sicherlich von einem genauen Kenner der damaligen politischen Situation verfasst' (*Klio* 14 (1914), p.47). The best argument for authenticity is succinctly stated by Bardon (*Les Empereurs et les lettres latines*²(1968), p.18): 'L'authenticité de l'épigramme n'est pas contestable, car le public lettré du temps de M. n'aurait pas permis une supercherie qu'il eût découverte sans difficulté.' Other evidence helps: language and style is right for the date (see e.g. 5n.); epigrams by Augustus are attested elsewhere ('poetica summatim attigit; unus liber extat, scriptus ab eo hexametris versibus, cuius et argumentum et titulus est Sicelia; extat alter aeque modicus epigrammatum, quae fere tempore balinei meditabatur' (Suet. *Aug.* 85.2; cf. Pl. *Ep.* 5.3.5)); another epigram with the superscription 'Octaviani Augusti' is in fact preserved in a medieval collection, though there are good reasons for doubting its provenance (see H.Hagen, *RhM* 35 (1880), p.569f.; but also H.Bardon, op.cit. p.16f.); and Augustus is known to have written *Fescennini* against Pollio (Macr. *Sat.* 2.4.21). See further V.Gardthausen, *Augustus* (1892), vol.2, p.93; and R.Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (1939), p.214.

The authenticity of the epigram is further corroborated by its convincing historical setting (and Glaphyra and Manius are characters a forger subsequent to the Perusine siege was unlikely to dig up). At the end of 41 B.C. Fulvia and her party were trying to discredit Octavian over the resettlement of the Philippi veterans which he was planning for eighteen Italian towns; she thereby hoped to force her husband Antony, who was in the East, into breaking with Octavian. Manius, an agent of Antony's helping Fulvia, and Antony's brother Lucius, seized what advantages they could against Octavian as the situation grew worse; Lucius eventually armed, but was manoeuvred into Perugia, where he expected to be relieved by help from Pollio and others. It did not materialise, and he was besieged in the town. Fulvia helped by enlisting troops for Lucius, who claimed he was fighting for his brother. It is to this eventually successful siege by Octavian that the epigram belongs (see Syme, op.cit. p.208f.). It is an effectively unpleasant piece of propaganda: it lays the blame squarely on the other side, which is controlled by a woman (compare the Antony and Cleopatra propaganda of ten years later); her motives are reduced to the purely sexual, and it is additionally ridiculous that she wants to punish Octavian for the misdemeanours of her husband Antony; she is moreover portrayed as sexually repellent (lines 7f.; and note the ambiguity of 'poenam' in line 3). This type of personal insult propaganda was rife at the time and can be seen on the lead sling bullets from the siege found at Perugia ('Perusinae glandes'): they attack both sides – e.g. 'peto landicam Fulviae'; 'L.Antoni calve, Fulvia, culum pandite'; 'peto Octaviani(?) culum'; 'salve Octavi felas' (*CIL* 11.6721.5; 14; 7; 9a). Such abuse goes well on 'glandes', the shape and name of which have an obvious double entendre (cf. Greek *balanos*, with Adams, *LSV* p.72; M. 12.75.3 etc.); the bullets are viewed in the same way as Priapus' *mentula*, which punishes his victims through anal and oral channels (e.g. *Priap.*

11; 13; 22; 31; 35), and many of them have inscribed phalli. There is plenty of sexual slanging elsewhere: most interestingly we know that Octavian was attacked for passive homosexuality by Marcus and Lucius Antonius, undoubtedly around this time: 'M.Antonius adoptionem avunculi stupro meritum; item L. Marci frater, quasi pudicitiam delibatam a Caesare Aulo etiam Hirtio in Hispania trecentis milibus nummum substraverit solitusque sit crura suburere nuce ardenti, quo mollior pilus surgeret ... ' (Suet. *Aug.* 68). J.P.Hallett (*AJAH* 2 (1977), p.151f.) convincingly argues that in this epigram Octavian was trying to redress the balance by picturing himself as an aggressively active male: he is fighting for his *mentula*, which makes life worthwhile; even in complying with Manius' offer he would be taking the active role; and he implies a connection between his virility and his military self-confidence. Despite his moral legislation, he seems to have had little objection to a portrayal of himself throughout his reign as a 'selectively voracious womaniser' (e.g. Suet. *Aug.* 69; 71). For a thorough discussion of the propaganda of 44 to 30, see K.Scott, *MAAR* 11 (1933), p.7f.

1. Caesaris Augusti: the sonorous opening brooks no opposition from the 'lividus'; it also jars humorously with 'lascivos versus'. The same effect rounds the poem off at lines 9f.

lascivos: see 11.16.3n.

livide: the colour *lividus* is the dull steely blue of bruises. The word originally had no unpleasant overtones, but it acquired an unpleasantness by its association with abscesses, tumours, and unpropitious entrails in sacrifices and prophecy; poets then used it of the colour of poisons, nasty beasts, the rivers of Hell and suchlike, and eventually to describe uncongenial emotions (see André, *Couleur*, p.172f.). In this latter sense it is most often applied to jealousy in M., particularly of another author envious of his success (e.g. 1.40.2; 10.33.6; 11.33.3; 12.*pref.*15): there may be a hint of that meaning here, but it really suggests the spite of the person who reads M.'s work with a frown (cf. Sen. *Dial.* 5.8.4 'lividus malignitate'; Hor. *Sat.* 1.4.93). Such a reader is made to look ridiculously small-minded by the invocation of the revered Augustus.

2. tristis verba Latina: cf. the 'Romana simplicitas' of line 10 (and compare 'good old Anglo-Saxon words'); at 1.*pref.*12f. M. says 'si quis tam ambitiose tristis est ut apud illum in nulla pagina Latine loqui fas sit, potest epistola vel potius titulo contentus esse' (with Citroni and Howell); and note *Priap.* 3.9f. 'simplicius multo est 'da pedicare' Latine/dicere' (with Buchheit, *Priapea*, p.37).

3. Glaphyram: a very shadowy figure. She was the mother of the man Antony installed as king of Cappadocia in 41; that he had an affair with her has to be assumed from here, unless one regards it as a fiction of Octavian. However, note also App. *Bell.Civ.* 5.7, where he says that Antony manoeuvred Sisines into the kingship because 'he found his mother beautiful'. See *RE* 7.1381.(1).

poenam: ambiguous: it ought to be a punishment for Antony (adultery for adultery), but the wording implies it is one for Octavian (because Fulvia is so repellent).

5. Fulviam ego ut: the harsh elision is evidence of an early date of composition: compare Catullus (e.g. 73.6), whose rate of elision from *Carm.* 69 to 116 is 75 per 100 lines; in general, the more frequent the elisions (in the more colloquial genres), the earlier the poet: see D.O.Ross, *Style and Tradition in Catullus* (1969), p.118f.

Manius: see *RE* 14.1148; little is known of him except what has been said in the introduction. Manius is a common praenomen which came to be used as a cognomen, though only in the male form (see Kajanto, *Cognomina*, p.40).

6. pedicem: *pedico* is an archetypal obscenity; for its occurrence in earlier literature see Adams, *LSV* p.123.

7. vita carior ... mentula: a humorous adaptation of a common idiom, with 'mentula' skilfully held back to the last word: cf. Cat. 68.159 'et longe ante omnes mihi quae me carior ipso est'; 82.1f. 104.2; Cic. *Cat.* 1.27; Verg. *Aen.* 5.724f.

8. signa canant: an epic phrase (cf. Verg. *Aen.* 10.310; it may have also been used by Ennius). It contrasts with the preceding epigrammatic crudity.

9. apsolvis: 'free from blame', or almost 'acquit', as befits an emperor (see esp. Hor. *Sat.* 2.1.83f.).

lepidos: 'witty', with the implication that the wit is of rather a risqué variety: 'at tu Romano lepidos sale tinge libellos' (8.3.19; cf. 2.41.17; 3.20.9); 'si forent lepidiora carmina argumentum impudicitiae habendum' (Apul. *Apol.* 11); and Cat. 1.1.

10. Romana simplicitate: cf 2n. 'simplicitas' refers to a lack of artifice and pretence, and often has overtones of honesty and innocence; it can be a laudable moral quality (1.39.4 etc.) – note *CIL* 8.5502, from Thibilis in Numidia: 'Annio Primo ... equiti Romano honestae gravitatis morum, R(omana) sinp(licitate) consacratus'; Symm. *Ep.* 1.2.6. As a technical term it indicates a lack of rhetorical devices (as Quint. 4.2.57; 9.4.21; 11.1.21), and more generally it can be used of behaviour uninhibited by usual social restraints: 'hunc aperit mentes aevo rarissima nostro/simplicitas, artes excutiente deo' (Ov. *A.A.* 1.241f., on the effects of wine). From there it is a short step to uninhibited non-euphemistic language: thus 'simplicitas' here is 'lascivam verborum veritatem, id est epigrammaton linguam' (1.*pref.*9f.); cf. Petr. 132.15: 'quid me constricta spectatis fronte Catones/damnatisque novae simplicitatis opus?/sermonis puri non tristis gratia ridet,/quodque facit populus, candida lingua refert'; also Sen. *de Ben.* 3.26.1; M. 11.63.4; 14.215. 1; *Priap.* 3.9; 38.1; Juv. 1.151f. See also O.Hiltbrunner, *Latina Graeca* (1958), p.43f.; E.T.Sage, *TAPhA* 46 (1915), p.54f.; I.Borzsák, *EPhK* 70 (1947), p.1f.

The 'simplicitas' is 'Romana' here because it was thought of as a specifically Roman virtue (like *gravitas*), and because M. regarded his contribution to epigram as an injection of 'Romanus sal' – or obscenity (see 11.42 intro.).

21

Lydia is as slack as a bronze horseman's anus, as the speedy hoop which sounds its clear rattles, as the wheel hit so many times by the gymnast going through it, as an old shoe soggy with muddy water, as the loosely woven nets which wait for wandering thrushes, as the awnings denied to the audience by the wind in Pompey's theatre, as an arm-band that has fallen off a consumptive queer, as a pillow bereft of its Leuconic stuffing, as the old trousers of a British pauper, and as the disgusting throat of a pelican from Ravenna. It's this woman I'm supposed to have fucked in a marine pool; I'm not so sure – I think I fucked the pool itself.

A very effective skoptic piece: the comparisons suggest not only the size of Lydia's vagina, but also, by their unpleasant associations, its age and overuse, its general floppiness and repellent texture. The technique of *cumulatio* is common in M. (e.g. 1.41; 2.11; 2.53; 2.57; 3.62; 3.63; 3.93; 4.66; 8.6; 9.35; 10.17(16); 11.8; 11.49(50); 11.98 etc.); it is found in Greek epigram, but M. has developed and improved it (cf. Damagetus *A.P.* 7.9; Antipater Sid. *A.P.* 7.218; Antipater Thess. *A.P.* 11.31; Agathias *A.P.* 11.365; and anon. *A.P.* 16.102); note also Cat. 63.21f.; *A.L.* 431; 441; 443; 448; *Priap.* 3; 25; 32; and Citroni, 1.41 intro.; Buchheit, *Priapea*, p.88; Siedschlag, *Form*, p.41f.; 45n.12.

1. laxa: 'de hominibus e respectu earum partium quae coitu frequenti dilatatae sunt' (*TLL* 7.2.1076.20f.): cf. *Priap.* 18.1f. 'commoditas haec est in nostro maxima pene,/laxa quod esse mihi femina nulla potest' (also *Priap.* 17.3; 31.3; 46.5; *CIL* 4.10004 'Eupla laxa landicosa'; and cf. M. 3.72.5). According to J.Atkins, *Sex in Literature* (1970), vol. 1, p.195 'a Bosnian pope's wife once accused him of being a sodomite. His excuse was that her vagina was so large "a goose can go in there, two Turkish penes can go in there, and a board of pinewood and a German cat." '

equitis quam culus aeni: this is puzzling. The other images of the poem evoke floppiness and flaccidity as well as size, but not so here: the very reference to metal dispels such ideas. It could be held that an equestrian bronze's rear is prone to *laxitas* because of his prolonged sitting and because he is affixed to the back of his horse by a large anal prong, as it were; but even so 'aeni' negates all that is apposite about the image and I suspect corruption.

2. arguto ... trochus: a boy's hoop, which had metal rings attached to make the noise: 'garrulus in laxo cur anulus orbe vagatur?/cedat ut argutis obvia turba trochis' (14.169). The hoops were made out of a long thin strip of metal which, as 'laxo' shows, was fairly pliant; they were driven by a stick (Greek *elatêr*, Latin *clavis adunca*) which would contribute to their laxity. The 'anuli' which made the noise were possibly attached to the hoop by pieces of string – a combination of friction and the weight of the rings would ensure that when the hoop was set in motion the rings would cluster in the quadrant between the driving stick and the point of contact of the hoop with the ground (see Harris, *Sport*, p.136f.; *D.-S.* 5.492f.).

3. rota ... petauro: again the phrase is difficult. The *petaurum* has various meanings, though all of them are in some way aerially connected (as the Greek *pedouros* = *meteôros* implies): it can be a bird perch (as Theoc. 13.13; Lycophron 884) or a piece of gymnastic apparatus, either itself in the air, or catapulting the artistes into the air. It is these latter meanings which concern us: for the first cf. Lucil. 1298 Marx 'sicuti mechanici cum alto exiluere petauro'; Manaetho 3.442f. But the second is more promising, since a spring-board was used to catapult the gymnasts through aerial hoops: thus Manil. 5.439f.:

> corpora quae valido saliunt excussa petauro
> alternosque cient motus, elatus et ille
> nunc iacet atque huius casu suspenditur ille,
> membraque per flammas orbesque emissa flagrantes
> molliter ut liquidis per humum ponuntur in undis.

See too Petr. frag. 15; Juv. 14.265f.; M. 2.86.7. It is surely the case that our *rota* is one of Manilius' *orbes*; the problem is that it is the gymnast and not the *petaurum* which goes through them ('transmisso petauro'). It does not seem likely to me that there was an exercise in which a *petaurum* in any of its forms went through a hoop. Housman (as Scriverius, *Animadversiones in M.* (1618), p.260) thus suggests that M. has here coined or used a noun *petaurus*, the equivalent of *petaurista* or *petauristarius* (see his note on Manil. loc.cit.). This is the best solution. Further on these gymnastics see *RE* 19.1124f.; *D.-S.* 4.422.

inpacta $B^{A}C^{A}$; *intacta* A^{A}: as Lydia's *laxitas* is worsened by frequent intercourse, so is the hoop made wider by the gymnasts going through it and banging against it; so follow $B^{A}C^{A}$ here.

4. crassa: the adjective alludes to muddy water: cf. Stat. *Theb.* 4.821 '(sc. alveus) crassus caenoque et pulvere torrens'; Ov. *Am.* 3.6(5).8.

calceus: cf. Hor. *Sat.* 1.3.31f. 'laxus calceus'. Roman shoes were made from soft leather in the first place (see Forbes, *Technology*, 5.p.60f.), a flaccidity which would be heightened by soaking. Wet leather is used elsewhere in comparison to an impotent penis (see 11.60.3n.).

5. rara ... retia: an imitation of Hor. *Epod.* 2.33f. 'rara tendit retia/turdis edacibus dolos'; cf. M. 2.40.3; 3.58.26. The *rete* was about 60 metres long and 1 to 2 metres high, and was presumably stationed in more or less a circle: suitably hyperbolic for the purpose at hand, and nets are also apt to sag. See further Aymard, *Chasses*, p.209f.; Pls. 3a; 6; 32. 'rara' refers to the interstitial

vacuities of the net, simply indicating that they are more vacuous than would be the case in, say, ordinary cloth. 'Wide-meshed' is a common but misleading translation of this word, because nets for catching small birds would obviously not be wide-meshed as nets go.

6. Pompeiano ... Noto: a compressed expression; compare 9.38.6 'et rapiant celeres vela negata Noti'; and 14.29.2 'nam flatus populo vela negare solet'; from these lines it is apparent that 'Noto' here is ablative, and the wind is denying the awnings to the audience. Pompey's theatre was built in 55 B.C., the first permanent one in Rome; see Platner-Ashby, p.515f.

vela: the awnings in the theatres were supported by a system of poles ('mali': the holes which held them can still be seen on the Colosseum and on the amphitheatre at Nîmes, for example), and by crossbeams ('trabes'), over which they were unfurled: 'et vulgo faciunt id lutea russaque vela/et ferrugina, cum magnis intenta theatris/per malos vulgata trabesque trementia flutant' (Lucr. 4.75f.; see Bailey ad loc.; and *D.-S.* 5.677f.). Their object was to protect audiences from the sun, and they were an advertised attraction along with showers of perfumed water (see 11.8.2n.) at Pompeii (*CIL* 4.1177f.). The passages quoted above show they could not be used when there was a strong wind; they then had to be furled back round the circumference of the theatre (as at *D.-S.* fig.7350). Here too the comparison gains by grotesque hyperbole and the sagging effect of furled cloth.

7. de pthisico ... cinaedo: a good example of the comparison unpleasant by association; consumption would entail the shrinking of the *cinaedus*' arm so that the arm-band falls off (cf. Cels. 2.8.24f.; Cael.Aur. *Chron.* 2.196f.; B.Meineke, *AnnMed Hist* 9. p.379f.).

armilla: the kind of vulgar and effete jewellery a Trimalchio wore (Petr. 32.4).

8. culcita: 'culcita quod tomento inculcatur appellata' (Paul.Fest. p.43 Lindsay), either a mattress or pillow.

Leuconico: sc. 'tomento'; see 11.56.9n.

viduata: an empty pillow would again be floppy and sagging, and the opening through which the stuffing was put in or taken out provides the vaginal image.

9. veteres bracae: that the trousers were well-worn would add to their laxity. Trousers were the traditional clothing of non-togate barbarians: 'braccae barbarorum tegmina' (Tac. *Hist.* 2.20; cf. *D.-S.* 1.746n.1). Precisely this comparison is found in the *Priapea:* '(sc. puella) Medis laxior Indicisque bracis' (46.5); and the *laxitas* of western trousers was also remarked: 'et qui te laxis imitantur, Sarmata, bracis/Vangiones' (Lucan 1.430f.; cf. Ov. *Tr.* 5.7.49); compare Greek *thulakoi*, which means literally 'sacks'.

10. turpe: i.e. *deforme*, though it may also have an overtone of *grande* (see Non.Marc. p.662 Lindsay). Pliny's description of the pelican brings out the

point of the comparison: 'olorum similitudinem onocrotali habent, nec distare existumarentur omnino, nisi faucibus ipsis inesset alterius uteri genus. huc enim omnia inexplebile animal congerit; mira ut sit capacitas' (*N.H.* 10.131).

Ravennatis ... onocrotali the *Pelecanus onocrotalus*, or white pelican, found most frequently in Italy, though also on the White Nile, and in Rumania, Bulgaria and Northern Greece. Ravenna's position as the Venice of the day would have made it an ideal habitat for the bird (see D'Arcy Thompson, *Birds*, p.212).

11. piscina ... marina: the early empire saw a rise in the popularity of cold-water (see 11.47.6n.) and sea-water bathing: Augustus used hot sea-water for his rheumatism (Suet. *Aug.* 82.2) and Nero had sea-water baths installed in his Domus Aurea (Suet. *Nero* 31.2); it was used for cures of all kinds (Pl. *N.H.* 31.62f.), and was deemed to be generally beneficial to health: 'ibi maxime usurpanda observatione quae totis corporibus nihil esse utilius sale et sole dixit' (Pl. *N.H.* 31.102). A Pompeian advertisement reads 'thermae M.Crassi Frugi: aqua marina et baln(eum) aqua dulci Ianuarius l(ibertus)' (*CIL* 10. 1063); cf. Stat. *Silv.* 2.2.17f.; G.Rocca-Serra, *AIHS* 22 (1969), p.17f.

futuisse: aquatic sex is quite a common diversion in ancient authors (Suet. *Tib.* 44.1; *Dom.* 22; M. 4.22); the way in which M. mentions it here suggests that it was an everyday entertainment (and see A. Cameron, *Sex in the swimming pool*, *BICS* 20 (1973), p.149f.). But not everyone found it so; thus ps.-Arist. *Probl.* 4.14:

> διὰ τί ἐν τῶι ὕδατι ἧττον δύνανται ἀφροδισιάζειν οἱ ἄνθρωποι; ἢ ὅτι ἐν ὕδατι οὐδὲν τήκεται, ὅσα ὑπὸ πυρὸς τήκεται, οἷον μόλιβδος ἢ κηρός· ἡ δὲ γονὴ τηκομένη φαίνεται πυρί· πρὶν μὲν γὰρ ἡ τρῦψις ἐνθερμάνηι, οὐ τήκεται. οἱ δὲ ἰχθύες οὐ τρίβει ὀχεύουσιν.

('Why are humans less able to make love in water? Is it because none of the things that are melted by fire, such as lead or wax, becomes liquid in water? Semen seems to be liquified by heat, for before it is warmed by friction it is not liquid. Fish do not copulate by friction.') The reasons for the use of sea-water are outlined above; in this case there may have been the added attraction that brine is an excellent spermicide (see K.Hopkins, *Contraception in the Roman Empire, Comparative Studies in Society and History* 8 (1965), p.135); it was widely used as such within the last fifty years (see N.E.Himes, *A Medical History of Contraception* (1936), p.121). Luxorius (*A.L.* 368) was no doubt recalling the closing couplet of this epigram when he penned the following lines:

> quidam concubitu futuit fervente Marinam;
> fluctibus in salsis fecit adulterium ...

22

That you brush kisses from the soft lips of white Galaesus with your rough mouth, that you lie with a naked Ganymede – who can deny it? – is too much; but let it be enough; at least don't stir his groin with your hand that fucks. That does more damage to smooth boys than a prick, and fingers make and hasten manhood; that's where the sweaty smell comes from, the quick-growing hair, the beard to amaze his mother; and neither do baths taken in a clear light delight the eyes. Nature has divided the male: there's a part for girls, and one designed for men. Use your own part.

This epigram, which finds M. at his least restrained, is written in a humorously portentous and indignant tone ('hoc nimiust') as the concluding couplet, with its parody of epic and didactic poetry, shows. Elsewhere M. has few qualms about pederasty, the merits of which he frequently communicates to his readers (as does Juvenal at 6.34f.): thus 11.43, 12.75 and 12.96 show that boys are in no way sexually replaceable by women; at 4.42 and 5.83 M. puts himself in the persona of the confirmed pederast, and he describes encounters with boys at 3.65; 6.34; 11.6; 11.8; and 11.26; at 1.46 he provides advice on sexual technique for Hedylus, and at other times he complains about boys who refuse to comply with his wishes (4.7; 11.58; 11.73; 12.71). Only here does he criticise pederasty, though he does admit that boys provide 'brevis et fugitiva Venus' (12.96.4; cf. Ov. *A.A.* 2.683f.).

The poem states a physiological theory: M. does not claim that sodomy is a sin (in the sense that it advances manhood and makes boys unattractive), but that excitement of the boy's genitals is: the anus belongs to men, the penis to women. The theory that the boy should not be sexually aroused is found in Greek, and it seems that the boy was not expected to derive any physical pleasure from intercourse (e.g. Xen. *Symp.* 8.21; Pl. *Phaedr.* 240d; Dover, *Homosexuality*, p.52f.; 103f.). Thus, though Greek vases abound in scenes of pederastic encounters and 'the penis of the *erastes* is sometimes erect before any bodily contact is established ... that of the *eromenos* remains flaccid in circumstances to which one would expect the penis of any healthy adolescent to respond willy-nilly' (Dover, op.cit. p.96). Such physiological oddities are probably to be explained as the result of a convention which refused to admit pleasure in homosexual passivity. And in fact stimulation of the boy's genitals is a technique well attested in pederastic intercourse (e.g. Ar. *Birds* 142; 443; Adaeus *A.P.* 10.20; Petr. 86.1; Strato *A.P.* 12.7.5f.; 222). However, M.'s objection to the practice is formulated in physiological, not moral terms: 'praecipitant virum'. There is no scientific evidence at all for this, but it must have been a perfectly credible theory to the ancient world (and it is believed by the *Index Expurgatorius* editors, who claim some knowledge of the matter): compare, for example, Aristotle's statement that the voice breaks deeper in experienced boys (see 11.75.3n.), and see 7n. and 8n. But M. is hardly being over-serious here in any case.

1. mollia: a natural feature of the boy, artificially copied by passive homosexual adults (cf. 9.27).

nivei: whiteness is a cliché of poetic descriptions of beauty. It was so considered largely because of its scarcity value in the Southern European countries: 'sit nive candidior: namque in Mareotide fusca/pulchrior est quanto rarior iste color' (4.42.5f.). Hence women used to chalk themselves whiter (2.41.11). The Hellenistic use of *chioneos* (e.g. Bion 1.10; 27; 2.19) is an exact parallel to *niveus* here (see André, *Couleur*, p.25f.; 323f.; Citroni, 1.115.2n.; Otto 1231).

Galaesi: the boy is named after a river near Tarentum (see Nisbet-Hubbard, Hor. *Carm.* 2.6.10n.), and such geographical appellations were frequent for slaves (see Baumgart, *Sklavennamen*, p.65; M.Lambertz, *Die griechischen Sklavennamen*, diss. Vienna (1907), part 1, p.10f.); sometimes, though not always, they indicated the birthplace. Here the name is apt in that it suggests a derivation from Greek *gala* (cf. *lacteus*), and because the Tarentum area was celebrated for the whiteness of its sheep: 'albi quae superas oves Galaesi' (12.63.3; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 2.6.10; Friedlaender, 2.43.3n.). That the same area was also associated with general *luxuria* and immorality may also be pertinent (cf. Hor. *Sat.* 2.4.34; Juv. 6.297; Otto 1743).

3. quis negat?: the parataxis injects a conversational style and indignant tone into the epigram: see Citroni, 1.64.1n.

inguina: i.e. 'mentula', as often (*TLL* 7.1.1580.80f.; Adams, *LSV* p.47f.); for the thought see intro.

4. fututrici: only found twice in literary Latin: at 11.61.10 it refers to Nanneius' tongue, which has usurped the role of his penis. Here it indicates that the hand belongs to the person performing the active role.

sollicitare: note also Ov. *Am.* 3.7(6).73f. 'hanc etiam non est mea dedignata puella/molliter admota sollicitare manu'; Petr. 20.2; cf. M. 3.75.6; 8.55(56).16; 11.46.4; and *Adams, LSV* p.184f. There is an odd echo at *CE* 1468.2 'parce pios Manes sollicitare manu'.

5. levibus: though the word is generally taken to indicate an absence of beard – which it can do (e.g. Tib. 1.8.31f.) – it extends to lack of body hair in general: cf. *schol.* ad Pers. 1.82 'trossulus levis: ephebus sine pilis'; see also 7n.; 11.43.10n.

6. faciunt ... praecipitantque virum: there is no doubt that very young boys were the subject of pederastic attentions, even if the eulogies of M. on Domitian's having rescued babes in cradles from prostitution are somewhat exaggerated (9.5(6).6f.; 9.7(8).3f.): Strato, for example, begins his catalogue of desirable boys with twelve-year-olds (*A.P.* 12.4). But the tradition M. is writing in here shows that he is thinking of older boys and the transition between puberty and adolescence and manhood (see the following notes).

digiti: for 'digiti' or 'manus' used obliquely to suggest manipulation of the genitals see Adams, *LSV* p.209; and 11.104.12n.

virum: the word not only implies that the boy has become physically unattractive to the pederast, but also that he has turned from homo- to heterosexuality: it is never used of the passive partner in a homosexual act. Thus in M.: 'here qui puer, Hylle, fuisti,/dic nobis, hodie qua ratione vir es?' (4.7.5f.); 'et timeat pueros, excludat saepe puellas:/vir reliquis, uni sit puer ille mihi' (4.42.13f.; cf. 1.31.8; 8.46.8; 9.36.6; 11.39.16n.; 11.78.12; the same observations apply to Greek *anêr*). As is clear from these passages, *puer* often does have overtones of passivity (as also 12.75.2; cf. Greek *pais*; and Dover, *Homosexuality*, p.85f.). When the *puer* became a *vir* he was past the age at which homosexual liaisons were considered at any rate excusable; if he remained passive he would suffer the opprobrium of being labelled a *cinaedus* (cf. Strato *A.P.* 12.228). It was realised that this physical change had to occur, and much of the poetry quoted below deals with it (and see G.Luck, *CQ* n.s. 9 (1959), p.34f.); but for the less fortunate castration (e.g. Stat. *Silv.* 3.4.68f.) or some medicine (e.g. Galen 12.p.259 Kühn) provided an alternative.

7. tragus: Greek *tragos*, also in Latin *hircus* and *caper*; the characteristic smell of the arm-pits. It was particularly associated with the onset of puberty (see E.Eyben, *Antiquity's view of puberty*, *Latomus* 31 (1972), p.690; Hopfner, *Sexualleben*, p.237f.). The goat was thought a libidinous animal (*TLL* 6.2.2821.82f.) and puberty a lascivious age, so pubescent boys were likened to goats: 'hirquitalli pueri primum ad virilitatem accedentes, a libidine scilicet hircorum dicti' (Paul. p.90 Lindsay; cf. Cens. *de Die Nat.* 14.7).

celeresque: it was thought that secondary hair grew quicker on the libidinous, though they also suffered from baldness (Arist. *Hist.Anim.* 518a18f.; cf. Pl. *N.H.* 11.231).

pili: hair, particularly around the thighs and buttocks, was a sign that the youth was no longer a *puer*; growth of such hair is a common feature of poems which lament, or gloat in revenge about, the lost beauty of boys (as anon. *A.P.* 11.51; 53; Alcaeus Mess. *A.P.* 12.30; Meleager *A.P.* 12.33; Strato *A.P.* 12.21; 176; 195; 220; M. 4.7.3f.). Much the same preoccupations can be seen in Fr.Rolfe's (Baron Corvo) *Venice Letters*, where he also emphasises the change from homo- to heterosexuality: 'He'll be like this till spring, say three months more. Then some great fat slow cow of a girl will just open herself wide, and lie quite still, and drain him dry. First, the rich bloom of him will go. Then he'll get hard and hairy. And by July he'll have a moustache, a hairy chest for his present great boyish bosom, brushes in his milky arm-pits, brooms on his splendid young thighs, and be just the ordinary stevedore to be found by scores on the quays.'

miranda: the same point as 'celeresque'.

8. barba: facial hair is the most obvious sign of the transition to manhood: 'validae signa iuventae' (Stat. *Silv.* 5.2.62). The first down is the subject of frequent reference in poetry, where it is usually called *lanugo*; when termed *barba* it is given a qualifying adjective like *mollis* (see Eyben, op.cit. p.692n.9). Here it is not: the boy's virility is so pronounced that he grows a proper beard to astound his mother. For the appearance of facial hair as another sign of the passing of boyhood, cf. Flaccus *A.P.* 12.12; Fronto *A.P.* 12.174; Strato *A.P.* 12.178; 186; Hor. *Carm.* 4.10; and see Buchheit, *Priapea*, p.74.

clara: there was at this time a craze for the proper lighting of bathing establishments (see Howell, 1.59.3n.); bathers wanted the sun to come in and to be able to look out on picturesque panoramas (Sen. *Ep.* 86.4f.).

placent: a disappointment for the voyeurs (see 11.63 intro.).

10. genita: for this teleological view of the universe see Nisbet-Hubbard, Hor. *Carm* 1.27.1n.; Mayor, Juv. 1.141n.

utere parte tua: a parody of Verg. *Aen.* 12.932 'utere sorte tua' (and cf. Hor. *Epod.* 14.15). M. finds the phrase of use again in the different context of 12.96.11f.: 'scire suos fines matrona et femina debet;/cede sua pueris, utere parte tua'. For other examples of epic phrases or situations being put to an obscene use, note M. 7.57; 11.47.1n.; 7n.; 11.78.9n.; and see J.N.Adams, *SIFC* 53 (1981), p.199f.

23

Sila is not prepared to marry me without terms; but I want to marry her on no terms. Yet when she persisted I said 'As my bride you will give me a million sestertii in gold for your dowry – what could be less? Nor will I fuck you though it is the first night I'm your husband, nor will I share the same bed with you. I'll kiss my girl friend and you won't stop me, and when I tell you to you'll send your maid to me. The wine-server will give me lascivious kisses as you look on, whether he's mine or yours. You'll come to dinner, but you'll recline far enough away from me so that your clothes won't touch mine. You'll give me kisses rarely, and you won't give them of your own accord, nor will you give them like a bride, but like an old mother. If you can put up with that, and if there's nothing you refuse to tolerate, you'll find the man who wants to marry you, Sila.'

The situation is the same at 9.10(5):

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

On M. and marriage see 11.104 intro.

This piece is a witty exploitation of the Roman ideal of the submissive and obedient wife, frequently voiced in epitaphs (see Lattimore, *Themes*, p.296f.; G.Williams, *JRS* 48 (1958), p.24f.): M. reduces it to absurdity by cataloguing the sexual humiliations Sila is to suffer – she will be more of a grandmother than a wife. Lives of husband and spouse will be entirely separate, as is highlighted in the poem by the rigid division of property: the key words are the pronouns and possessive adjectives, stressed by their position at the beginnings and ends of lines and before the caesura. M.'s demands on Sila are ridiculous and intended to be so (lines 2 and 15; what he is after is, of course, the dowry), though it is well known that Roman marriage allowed far greater freedom to the husband than the wife: 'Unfaithfulness in a husband –

as long as it took account both of the law and of convention – was, in general, a concern neither to his conscience nor to the law' (Balsdon, *Women*, p.215). But even so, there was some protection for the wife, and a marriage without affection was considered no marriage: 'et ab initio talem adfectionem circa mulierem non habuisse, quae eam dignam esse uxoris nomine faciebat' (*Cod.Just.* 5.27.10.2); cf. Quint. 5.11.32: 'nihil obstat, quominus iustum matrimonium sit mente coeuntium etiamsi tabulae signatae non fuerint; nihil enim proderit signasse tabulas, si mentem matrimonii non fuisse constabit.' M. is trying to get Sila to agree to just such an abnegation of marriage.

1. Sila: a fairly common cognomen (*CIL* has four men and five women – Sila is also the male form), probably derived from *silus*, a doublet of Greek *sîmos* ('snub-nose'), and one of a group of names referring to parts of the body (as e.g. Naso, Simus, Silo: see Kajanto, *Cognomina*, p.237). It may be intended to suggest an ugliness repellent to a prospective husband.

lege: as the ensuing charter of marriage shows, this refers to the *tabulae nuptiales* which had become a part of the wedding ceremony from the early empire. The document specifically contained the agreement about the dowry and was witnessed by a number of the guests. Two such contracts survive on Egyptian papyri, both probably of the first century A.D., and in both, to take one instance, the bride's jewellery is itemised and valued (see Balsdon, *Women*, p.183f.; *RE* 4A.1949f.).

3. deciens: i.e. 'deciens centena', one million sestertii and a convenient sum for a rich woman's dowry because it was the senatorial census (also at Tac. *Ann.* 2.86; Juv. 6.137; 10.335; Val.Max. 4.4.10; M. 12.75.8).

in auro: Friedlaender's comment 'Weil diesselbe Summe in Gold bei der Verschlechterung des Denars seit Nero einen höheren Werth hätte als in Silber' does not explain the stipulation: it is tantamount to saying that a ton of lead is heavier than a ton of feathers. The debasement of the gold and silver currencies is, however, well known, and best attested for the *aureus* (Pl. *N.H.* 33.47; there was a decrease of three-quarters of a gramme in weight between 42 B.C. and 64 A.D., figures backed by numismatic evidence). But coins, both gold and silver, remained in circulation from the end of the republic up to 107 A.D., when Trajan called them in (Dio 68.15) – considerable hoards have been found from this date which contain coins minted up to 150 years earlier. This would not have been the case if the coins were of full metallic standard (i.e. if their face value was equal to their bullion value), since the earlier, heavier coins would have been melted down at a profit. Thus, for instance, pre-Neronian denarii of about 3.5 scruples pure silver stayed in circulation with the Neronian and later issues of about 3 scruples silver and copper alloy. So there is an over-valuation of the gold and silver coinage as regards its bullion value at all times (see S.Bolin, *State and Currency in the Roman Empire to 300 A.D.* (1958), p.51f.; 180f.). M. wants his wife's dowry in gold simply because of the greater prestige value and the convenience.

4. quid ... potest?: repeated at 12.94.9. That the phrase is part of M.'s speech and not an aside to the reader is well shown by Gilbert (*RhM* 40 (1885), p.218): M.'s offer is certainly not intended to be acceptable (lines 2 and 15f.), and is ludicrous to Sila and the reader. So M. is being sarcastic to Sila in these words, not trying to impress the reader with the reasonableness of the contract.

6. lectus: there was no major difference of design between the *lectus cubicularius* and the *lectus triclinaris* (see C.L.Ransome, *Couches and Beds of the Greeks, Romans and Etruscans* (1905); Richter, *Furniture*, p.105f.; figs. 530; 532-4).

7. amicam: see 11.27.2n.

8. ancilla: a domestic maid, usually under the control of the wife, and often her confidante (see 11.49(50).3n.). They are sometimes pictured in literature as the mistresses of their owners, most notably at Hor. *Carm.* 2.4 (with Nisbet-Hubbard); and cf. M. 3.33:

> ingenuam malo, sed si tamen illa negetur,
> libertina mihi proxuma condicio est:
> extrema est ancilla loco: sed vincet utramque,
> si facie nobis haec erit ingenua.

(also 1.84; 12.58; cf. Hor. *Sat.* 1.2.116f.; Ov. *A.A.* 3.665f.). See Balsdon, *Women*, p.215; 230.

9. minister: the wine waiter was often the master's catamite (see 11.11.3n.; 11.26 intro.).

11. ad cenam: during the republic wives used to sit at dinner while their husbands reclined (Val.Max. 2.1.2); under the empire they reclined as well. But the very fact that they were present at meals with their husbands was an advance on Greek treatment: 'contra ea pleraque nostris moribus sunt decora, quae apud illos turpia putantur. quem enim Romanorum pudet uxorem ducere in convivium?' (Corn.Nep. *pref.*6f.); thus when Trimalchio was asked why Fortunata was not reclining on the couch, he replied that she never ate until the remains of the meal had been divided among the slaves (Petr. 67.1f.); and Habinnas brought his wife Scintilla to that dinner (ibid. 66). By M.'s day women were even admitted to official imperial banquets (see Friedlaender, *SG* 1.p.97f.). It is perhaps a little surprising that women are rarely mentioned at Horace's or M.'s dinner parties (though see M. 5.78.31): they may have been excluded from such occasions, or they may simply have been less familiar and noteworthy to readers than the male guests.

14. mater anus: cf. Cat. 9.4 'anumque matrem'; the use of *anus* for *annosa* in the last foot of the line is also a Catullan practice (e.g. 78b4; see Citroni, 1.39.2n.).

24

While I accompany you and escort you back home, while I offer my ear to your chatter, and while I praise whatever you say and do, how many verses could have been born, Labullus? Doesn't this seem a loss to you, that if what Rome reads and visitors ask for, what knights don't mock and senators remember, what lawyers praise and poets censure, perishes because of you? Is it right, Labullus? Could anyone tolerate it? That you should have a larger number of little togate clients, and I a smaller output of writing? In almost thirty days now I've scarcely completed a page. That's what happens when a poet doesn't want to dine at home.

That the duties of clientship waste creative time had occurred to M. before: at 1.70.17f. he excuses the fact that he has sent his book to Proculus to do his *salutatio* for him with the words 'quia qualiacumque leguntur/ista, salutator scribere non potuit'; at 10.70 Potitus' complaint that M. manages to write only a single book a year is countered by a catalogue of everyday activities, including the client's round; and see also 3.46; 10.58; 10.82; 12.68. But it is difficult to know how far these constant complaints reflect the truth (even about the practicalities of the system we know relatively little: how many clients would a patron have, how many patrons a client? How often would a client be obliged to salute his patron? etc.); were all patrons, for instance, the self-centred, awkward, conceited and pompous individuals M. paints? The picture can be corrected to some degree by looking at the relationship through the patron's eyes, for which M. himself provides plenty of material: he begins his preface to Book XII, written in Bilbilis, 'scio me patrocinium debere contumacissimae trienni desidiae; quo absolvenda non esset inter illas quoque urbicas occupationes, quibus facilius consequimur ut molesti potius quam ut officiosi esse videamur.' Patrons must have found clients tiresome indeed – and in M.'s time, without the element of political support in return, the relationship was very one-sided (cf. Sen. *Dial.* 10.14.3f.); this other side of the coin is shown in the numerous attacks on the *kolax-parasitos* (see 15n.), the client as seen by the patron. Most of our evidence is satirical, hence unreliable: we should remember that many of M.'s friends were also his patrons or benefactors (as, for example, Flaccus: see 11.27.1n.).

However, it is clear that there had been great changes in the system of literary benefaction since the halcyon days of Maecenas; poets could no longer rely on the single broad-minded benefactor, and could expect little real help from the imperial courts: thus M.'s connections with the courts of Domitian and Nerva are through a wide range of people (like Crispinus, Earinus and Parthenius) and he always appears very much the outsider trying to break in (see H.Szelest, *Eos* 62 (1974), p.105f.). In fact he had to

have an extremely large network of benefactors from many walks of life (see Friedlaender, *SG* 2.p.239f.). He complains about the drop in quality of benefactors even since he had come to Rome in about 63 A.D. (12.36), and he constantly reiterates his need for money and even clothes (6.82; 7.36; 11.108 etc.). All this does go some way to proving that he had a hard and rather degrading time as a client; on the other hand there must have been many like him, and he himself admirably demonstrates that benefactors did have cause for annoyance. See further S.L.Mohler, *Classical Studies in Honour of J.C. Rolfe*, ed. G.D.Hadzsits (1931), p.239f.

1. dum ... reduco: for the accompaniment of the patron's rounds see Marquardt-Mau, p.259f.

3. quidquid: a sign of the hypocritical *kolax*:

> καὶ λέγοντος δὲ αὑτοῦ τι τοὺς ἄλλους σιωπᾶν κελεῦσαι, καὶ ἐπαινέσαι δὲ ἀκούοντος, καὶ ἐπισημήνασθαι δέ, εἰ παύσαιτο, "ὀρθῶς", καὶ σκώψαντι ψυχρῶς ἐπιγελάσαι τό τε ἱμάτιον ὧσαι εἰς τὸ στόμα ὡς δὴ οὐ δυνάμενος κατασχεῖν τὸν γέλωτα.

('and when Himself says something to order the others to shut up, and to praise what he hears Himself say, and to chime 'Quite right' if Himself stops, and to laugh at Himself's feeble jokes, jamming his cloak into his mouth as though he can't contain his laughter.') (Theophr. *Char.* 2.4; cf. also Ammianus *A.P.* 9.573).

4. Labulle C^A; *Fabulle* B^A: (the same manuscript confusion occurs at Juv. 2.68); the latter is by far the commoner name in M. and elsewhere; the former is attested also at 12.36.5, with the female form at 4.9.1 and 12.93.2. Such mix-ups over names often occur in M.'s manuscripts, where a similar common name is substituted for a less familiar one. That has probably happened here; it also adds some weight that the similar benefactor of 12.36 is called Labullus. See also p.4n.12.

6. Roma: a boast M. liked to make: cf. 5.16.3; 6.60(61).1f.; 9.97.2; and also 11.3.3n.

7. tenet: 'holds in mind', as at 4.37.7.

8. poeta carpit: cf. Ov. *R.A.* 361f.: 'nuper enim nostros quidam carpsere libellos,/quorum censura Musa proterva mea est./dummodo sic placeam, dum toto canter in orbe,/qui volet, inpugnent unus et alter opus.' (See also 11.94.3).

9. hoc ... verum est?: Gilbert, Friedlaender and Lindsay all print this line with the most extraordinary punctuation; they are rightly castigated by Friedrich (*Hermes* 43 (1908), p.631). The phrase does not comment on 'propter te'; 'verum' means 'Is it right?' as at Caes. *Bell.Gall.* 4.8.2; Hor. *Ep.* 1.7.98;

Hor. *Sat.* 2.3.312, and the words form an ironic question parallel to the following one.

10. hoc: best taken referring forwards; the following question keeps up the incredulous and indignant tone.

11. togatulorum: the effect of the diminutive is contemptuous here, reflecting Labullus' feelings as much as M.'s. The word is rare in verse (also at M. 10.74.3). Clients were expected to wear the toga when they attended their patrons ('exigis a nobis operam sine fine togatam' (3.46.1)), though it was an unpopular garment which Romans were only too glad to avoid (see Pl. *Ep.* 5.6.45; 7.3.2; M. 1.49.31; 4.66.1f.; 10.47.5; and 11.16.2n.).

14. pagina: see 11.17.1n.

15. cenare domi: to eat at home was the ultimate indignity for the client and was to be avoided at all costs (see 2.11; 14; 18; 27; 5.47; 7.20; 9.14 etc.): avoiding it is the trademark of the genus *kolax-parasitos*. To what extent it reflects the everyday attitude of the Roman client is impossible to say. It is another traditional satirical theme that these parasites were discriminated against by their patrons (see Mayor, Juv. 5 intro.), which rubbed in their degradation yet further. But the subject has its lighter moments: Lucian's Simon is a parasite who is completely unashamed of his vocation, which he regards as an art (*de Paras.* 9).

Literature on this subject is large: see esp. O.Ribbeck, *Kolax* (1884); C.Beaufils, *De Parasitis* (1861); A.Giese, *De Parasiti Persona*, diss. Berlin (1908); and L.R.Shero, *CPh* 18 (1923), p.126f.

25

That over-salacious prick – known to more than a few girls – has stopped standing for Linus. Watch out, tongue.

For impotence see 11.46 intro.; there, as here, the point is that it leads the protagonist from normal to abnormal sex; cf. 6.26:

periclitatur capite Sotades noster.
reum putatis esse Sotaden? non est.
arrigere desit posse Sotades. lingit.

The attack on the cunnilingus is common (see Citroni, 1.77 intro.; Buchheit, *Priapea*, p.95n.6), though more so in Roman than Greek literature; nor are such accusations limited to the 'lesser' genres (see, for example, Cic. *pro Cael.* 78: *de Domo Sua* 25; Hor. *Carm.* 1.37. 9f. (with Nisbet-Hubbard); Suet. *de Gramm.* 23; Tac. *Ann.* 14.60 etc.). There was a fixed scale of sexual propriety at Rome (especially for men); thus M. 2.28:

rideto multum qui te, Sextille, cinaedum
dixerit et digitum porrigito medium.
sed nec pedico es nec tu, Sextille, fututor,
calda Vetustinae nec tibi bucca placet.
ex istis nihil es fateor, Sextille: quid ergo es?
nescio, sed tu scis res superesse duas.

The 'res duas' are cunnilingus and fellatio (and Galen thought the former was the worse: see 12.p.249 Kühn); passive homosexuality was equally opprobrious (see Dover, *Homosexuality*, p.135f.; Henderson, *Muse*, p.209f.). The general rule is that for an adult male the active role only is acceptable, when activity is defined as penetration (which can be vaginal, anal or oral, with male or female partners); anything else is subject for adverse comment. To a surprising extent this still holds true: see the remarks of Housman, *Class.Pap.* 3. p.1180n.2, and R.Lloyd, *Playland* (1977), p.23: 'Jimmy was appalled. "I'm no queer!" he protested. "Neither am I," retorted Steve. "You're not queer if the other guy does the blowing." '

1. salax: the derivation from *salio* is obviously appropriate (Varro *R.R.* uses it frequently of animals mounting; also Lucr. 4.1200; Ov. *A.A.* 2.485; cf. Hor. *Sat.* 1.2.45 'caudamque salacem'; and compare English sexual slang 'jump').

nota: for 'knowing' in the Biblical sense cf. Cat. 72.1 'dicebas quondam solum te nosse Catullum'; *CIL* 4.8767 'neque mulieres scierunt nisi paucae'; M. 11.87.1; and Adams, *LSV* p.190.

2. stare: see 11.27.1n.

Lino: a common name in M., often, though not always, found in skoptic pieces. It is found four times as a cognomen in *CIL* 6; M. may have used it here for the assonance with 'lingua'.

desît: for the contraction see 11.7.4n.

26

My pleasant solace, my seductive love, Telesphorus, the like of whom has not been in my arms before; give me, boy, kisses wet with old Falernian, give me cups made smaller by your lips. If you add to this the true joys of love, I would deny it is better for Jupiter with Ganymede.

Capillati were often kept for their attractions rather than their ability to serve drink (see 11.11.3n.), and their presence was a noted diversion and temptation for the guests (see 11.56.12n.); for a similar situation to this cf. 11.6.9f., and see L.Malten, *Hermes* 53 (1918), p.165f. The use of these slaves for sexual purposes was widespread: thus Haterius, defending a freedman alleged to have been his patron's *concubinus*, can claim 'inpudicitia in ingenuo crimen est, in servo necessitas, in liberto officium' (Sen. *Contr.* 4.*pref.*10; cf. Petr. 75.11; J.Griffin, *JRS* 66 (1976), p.100f.).

The euphemistic language and the subtly erotic nature of this epigram make a welcome contrast to the physiological explicitness and crudity around it.

1. grata quies: a possible borrowing from Hor. *Ep.* 1.17.6f. 'si te grata quies et primam somnus in horam/delectat'.

blanda: seductiveness is the main idea: thus the adjective is used of Laelia's Graecist excitations at 10.68.10 and of the charms of the freedman Glaucias at 6.29.5; but there is also something of the tameness and submissiveness of the domestic pet (see 11.69.2n.).

Telesphore: a *delicatus* also at 11.58; it is a common name (over fifty instances in *CIL* 6 index). It may have an overtone here of the bringing of sexual fulfilment (compare 11.58.1 and 11.97.2).

3. basia da nobis: as 6.34.1 (of Diadumenus).

vetulo ... Falerno: cf. Cat.27.1 'minister vetuli puer Falerni', with Citroni, 1.18.1n. The adjective is applied to this wine in particular; in fact fifteen years old was considered the optimum age (Pl. *N.H.* 23.34; Athen. 1.26c), though wines of great antiquity could acquire value for their scarcity rather than their quality: 'ut, si quis Falerno vino delectetur, sed eo nec ita novo, ut proximis consulibus natum velit, nec rursus ita vetere, ut Opimium aut Anicium consulem quaerat (i.e. 121 and 160 B.C.) – atqui hae notae sunt optimae; credo: sed nimia vetustas nec habet eam quam quaerimus suavitatem, nec est iam sane tolerabilis' (Cic. *Brut.* 287).

The Falernian vineyards were north of Vulturnum, six miles east of Sinuessa, and it was the 'Faustus' estate which produced the most highly rated wine. Pliny says it used to be considered second only to Setine, but 'exolescit haec quoque culpa copiae potius quam bonitati studentium'; however, he consoles us, 'nec ulli nunc vino maior auctoritas, solum vinorum flamma incenditur' (*N.H.* 14.62). Yet the whole question of wine rankings was tendentious, as Pliny knew: 'genera autem vini alia aliis gratiora esse quis dubitet, aut non norit ex eodem lacu aliud praestantius altero germanitatem praecedere sive testa sive fortuito eventu? quamobrem de principatu se quisque iudicem statuet' (*N.H.* 14.59; Pliny's own list was Setine, Falernian, Alban and Mamertine). Falernian was also heavily adulterated: Galen observed that all the empire was merrily quaffing it, despite the fact that it came from only a small area of Italy (14.p.77 Kühn); cf. Pl. *N.H.* 23.33. For the connection between wine and love see 11.6.12n.

4. labris facta minora: i.e. 'which your lips have touched first', a common motif in erotic writing, because it is a good way of exchanging kisses without being too overt. Ovid instructs Corinna, at a dinner where her *vir* is present: 'quod tibi miscuerit, sapias, bibat ipse iubeto;/tu puerum leviter posce quod ipsa voles:/quae tu reddideris, ego primus pocula sumam,/et, qua tu biberis, hac ego parte bibam' (*Am.* 1.4.29f.; cf. *A.A.* 1.575f.). Hera is well aware of this trick when Zeus appoints Ganymede as his wine-server, despite having Hebe and Hephaestus available (Luc. *Dial.Deor.* 5.2):

ὁτὲ δὲ καὶ ἀπογευσάμενος μόνον ἔδωκας ἐκείνῳ, καὶ πίοντος ἀπολαβὼν τὴν κύλικα ὅσον ὑπόλοιπον ἐν αὐτῇ πίνεις, ὅθεν καὶ ὁ παῖς ἔπιε καὶ ἔνθα προσήρμοσε τὰ χείλη, ἵνα καὶ πίνῃς ἅμα καὶ φιλῇς.

('And when you give him the cup only after you have sipped from it, then take it back from him when he has drunk and finish off what's left, drinking from the place from which he too has drunk and put his lips, so that you can both drink and kiss him at the same time.') See E.Rohde, *Der griechische Roman*[3] (1914), p.175; Gow. Theoc.7.70n. and note Ben Jonson's famous lyric '*To Celia*' based on Philostr. *Epist.* 33:

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 ask for wine.

5. Veneris gaudia vera: a euphemism frequent in Ovid (e.g. *Am.* 2.3.2; *A.A.* 2.459; 3.805; *Met* 12.198; and cf. Petr. 132.15 'nam quis concubitus, Veneris quis gaudia nescit?'; also Adams, *LSV* p.197f.).

6. esse ... melius ... Iovi: a common idiom, especially in the comedians (see *TLL* 2.2113.84f.); cf. Cat. 14.10 'non est mi male, sed bene ac beate'; M. 10. 14(13).10.

cum Ganymede: the comparison of the mortal and his boy to Zeus and Ganymede is another well worn theme. It usually takes the form that Zeus should not look on the poet's boy, because he would prefer him to his own (e.g. *A.P.* 12.64-70).

27

You are a man of steel, Flaccus, if your prick can stand when your girl-friend asks you for six measures of *garum*, or two pieces of tunny, or a skinny mackerel, and doesn't even think herself worth a whole bunch of grapes; or whose triumphant maid brings her *allec* on a red dish – which she would immediately guzzle down; or, when she has made her blushes disappear and set aside all sense of shame, asks you for five untreated fleeces for a little cloak. But may my girl-friend ask of me a pound of *foliatum*, or emeralds, or a pair of sardonyxes; nor let her want silk unless it's top quality stuff from the Vicus Tuscus; and let her ask for a hundred gold pieces as though they were coppers. Do you think I want to give this to my girl now? No, I don't, but I do want her to be worth them.

The quality of a girl is similarly assumed to be reflected in the gifts she asks for at 12.65:

formonsa Phyllis nocte cum mihi tota
se praestitisset omnibus modis largam,

et cogitarem mane quod darem munus,
utrumne Cosmi, Nicerotis an libram,
an Baeticarum pondus acre lanarum,
an de moneta Caesaris decem flavos:
amplexa collum basioque tam longo
blandita quam sunt nuptiae columbarum,
rogare coepit Phyllis amphoram vini.

Traditionally in Roman poetry the *amica* was demanding and expensive to keep ('spoliatricem commendat fastus amicam' (4.29.5)), particularly so for impoverished poets (see 11.49(50) intro.); conversely, the girl who 'sold' her favours cheaply was thought suspect (e.g. Hor. *Sat.* 1.2.55f.; M. 10.75), and the ultimate in unattractiveness was the old hag who had to pay for sex (see 11.29 intro.). These two themes are wittily exploited here: M. assumes that a girl's merit is mirrored in the expense of her tastes and requests; but he knows up-market girls are out of his financial reach, and he would like his own to be worthy of the best without actually demanding it. On this subject in general see H.Herter, *Die Soziologie der antiken Prostitution, JbAC* 3 (1960), p.82f.

1. ferreus: a clever reversal of an elegiac idea, where the man or woman who rejects a partner is labelled *ferreus* (e.g. Tib. 1.2.65; 2.3.2; Prop. 2.8.12); but Flaccus is *ferreus* if he accepts her.

stare: for *stare* and *surgere* referring to erection of the penis see Brandt, Ov. *Am.* 2.15.25n.

Flacce: there is a play with the preceding phrase (Mr. Flaccid); note also Hor. *Epod.* 15.12 'nam si quid in Flacco viri est'; and Hor. *Sat.* 2.1.18f., with Rudd, *Satires*, p.125.

An addressee of the name Flaccus appears twenty-two times throughout M.'s twelve books. In all probability it is one and the same person. At 1.76 M. advises him to give up poetry and practise law, a theme suitable for his early twenties; so he would now be just over thirty. He was a friend of Arruntius Stella (1.61; 9.55; 10.48) and probably held a government appointment in Cyprus (9.90); beyond that, his wealth (12.74), and his Patavian origin (1.61; 1.76), we know little about him. Some of the poems addressed to him are of a very frank nature (e.g. 4.42; 9.90; 11.100 and here) and indicate a close friendship betweeen M. and him. See further White, *Patronage*, p.113f.; and, for different views, Friedlaender 1.57.1n.; Citroni, 1.59 intro. and 1.61. 4n.; *PIR*² F.170.

2. sex cyathos: a small quantity (about a quarter of a litre: see *Oxford Classical Dictionary* s.v. Weights and Measures) of this cheap substance. All the food the girl asks for is cheap and commonplace, small in bulk, and mostly highly-flavoured and smelly – a sign of her low estimation of herself.

amica: the usual term for the loved one in elegy; the *amica* is a girl-friend, though with some characteristics of a courtesan (i.e. she does expect payment, though it takes the form of gifts, not the fee which a prostitute would charge); a relationship with an *amica* was viewed as an emotional involvement on both sides, not just as a convenient release for sexual energy (e.g. Ov. *A.A.* 1.37f.). Such a girl is obviously very different from a *meretrix* (compare Greek *pornê* and *hetaira*: see Dover, *Homosexuality*, p.20f.).

gari: Greek *garon* or *garos*, also *liquamen* in Latin; it was the basic Roman condiment. It was made by putting fish guts in a bucket of salt and leaving them to reduce in the sun; a large type of porous container was then inserted into which the *garum* flowed; the dregs left behind were called *allec* (*Geopon.* 20.46; Garg.Mart. 62). Quality depended on the type of fish used (for high qualities see M. 7.27.8; 13.82.2; 13.102-3; Pl. *N.H.* 31.93f.); the cheaper sort was very cheap (in Diocletian's Edict only two types are listed, one at 16 denarii per pound, the other at 12 denarii – second grade honey, the basic sweetener, was 20 denarii: see *CIL* 3.suppl. p.1931.3.lines 6f.). The numerous jars from Pompeii, labelled to contain it, also show a plentiful supply at the cheaper end of the market (*CIL* 4.5660f.). *Garum* might sound a rather dubious culinary delight, but to have survived as the main condiment in the Mediterranean for a millennium it cannot have been too vile. In fact the national Indochinese sauce (nuoc-nam) is virtually identical in content and manufacture – the salt prevents complete putrefaction of the fish but does allow a certain maturation. Indeed it is surprising that it died out in Western cookery: perhaps the need to mask boring or rotten staple foods declined. See André, *L'alimentation*, p.198f.; P.Grimal, *Sur la veritable nature du garum, REA* 54 (1952), p.27f.

3. cybii: Greek *kubion* or *kubeias*, a kind of tunny: at 5.78.5 it forms part of the *gustus* of a simple meal. D'Arcy Thompson (*Fishes*, p.134f.) thinks the reference is to a pickled preparation of the fish, like the Greek *hôraion* (and that again would demonstrate the girl's unsubtle palate and tastes: for the nasty smell of fish and pickles see Lilja, *Odours*, p.100; 104f.). The cheapness of this food is indicated by a nickname of Vespasian: 'Alexandrini Cybiosacten eum vocare perseveraverunt, cognomine unius e regibus suis turpissimarum sordium' (Suet. *Vesp.* 19.2).

tenuemve lacertum: (C^A's *-ve* is preferable to B^A's *-que*: the girl was not that grasping!). This fish is the Spanish mackerel (*scomber colias*), another unedifying item (see M. 7.78.1; 12.19.1; Stat. *Silv.* 4.9.13; Juv. 14.131). It was strong-flavoured but nourishing, and, like the *cybium*, seems often to have been pickled (cf. Cels. 2.18.7; D'Arcy Thompson, *Fishes*, p.120f.).

4. botryone: Greek *botrus*; this seems to be the only occurrence of the word in Classical Latin, and it is a ludicrous way for the girl to ask for such a common item.

5. cui portat gaudens ancilla: the maid (often her mistress' accomplice in amatory affairs: see 11.49(50).3n.) triumphantly brings back this plate of cheap food from the lover – her sights are set as ridiculously low as her mistress'.

paropside: again from the Greek, a large square dish, a bigger version of an *acetabulum* (see Isid. *Or.* 20.4.10; Hilgers, *Gefässnamen*, 275; p.34).

rubra: a pointed word; one would have expected this dish to be metal, probably precious metal (cf. Petr. 34.2; 50.6), but it is only red earthenware, hence valueless.

6. allecem: for the preparation see 2n. Again there were also expensive varieties: 'vitium huius (sc. gari) est allex, atque imperfecta nec colata faex. coepit tamen et privatim ex inutili pisciculo minimoque confici ... transiit deinde in luxuriam, creveruntque genera ad infinitum' (Pl. *N.H.* 31.95). But Cato (*R.R.* 58) shows it was fed to slaves, and *CIL* 4.5717f. is evidence for its common use in Pompeii (see further André, *L'alimentation*, p.115f.; Marquardt- Mau, p.441).

sed: i.e. despite its being unpleasant food and little less than an insult.

protinus voret: the verb is of a vulgar nature when used of humans (cf. 3.77.6; 10.37.12), which the adverb heightens. A decent *amica* ought to have decent table mannners.

7. perfricuit frontem: the origin of the phrase lies in the habit of rubbing the face to make blushes disappear, and it thus comes to signify losing one's sense of shame: 'quando recepit/eiectum semel attrita de fronte ruborem' (Juv. 13.241f., with Mayor); also Luc. *Vit.Auct.* 10; Otto 631.

8. sucida: the girl screws up her courage to make this bizarre request, the climax of the list. Five fleeces of untreated wool – a huge, smelly heap – is hardly the demand of the elegant *amica* (who would want expensive silks: see 11n.; cf. 12.65.5 quoted above); that she wants them to make a *palliolum* (note the diminutive) is further confirmation of her ignorance and vapidity. 'sucida' refers to recently shorn wool, sticky and moist because of the oils (*oesypum*) the sheep secretes on to it: anyone who has felt such a fleece (or even one attached to a sheep) will know how greasy, dirty and generally unpleasant it is in an untreated state; *oesypum* also has a nasty smell (cf. Ov. *A.A.* 3.213f.; *R.A.* 354f.); see Forbes, *Technology*, 4.p.20f.

9. libram foliati: cf. 12.65.4, quoted above, where the same weight, a large one, is mentioned. *Foliatum* was an unguent made from the leaves of various aromatic plants, especially nard: 'nardinum sive foliatum constat omphacio aut balanino, iunco, costo, nardo, amomo, murra, balsamo' (Pl. *N.H.* 13.15); it was a luxury (see Galen 12.p.429 Kühn; Juv. 6.465; Lilja, *Odours*, p.81; and, on ancient cosmetics in general, Forbes, *Technology*, 3.p.24f.).

10. virides gemmas: emeralds (as at 9.59.17; Juv. 6.458); for the coupling with sardonyxes cf. 4.28.4 'Indos sardonychas, Scythas zmaragdos', with Friedlaender ad loc.

sardonychas: a sardonyx needed three layers to merit the name (starting from the base, black, white, and red: Ach.Tat. 2.1; M. 4.61.6), though it could have any number more. It was skilfully faked, which shows its value (Pl. *N.H.* 37.197); Juvenal refers to a lawyer who pleaded his cases with a (rented) sardonyx ring on his finger to show his success (7.143f.). See further

C.W.King, *The Natural History of Gems* (1870), p.287f.

11. prima: top quality, as at 12.66.5 'gemmantes prima fulgent testudine lecti'.

de Tusco ... Vico: the Vicus Tuscus was the road which issued from the Forum between the Basilica Julia and the Temple of Castor, ran south along the west side of the Palatine, and formed the principal means of communication between the Forum, the Forum Boarium, the Circus Maximus and the eastern boundary of the Velabrum. It was very busy and ideal for a shop; it is particularly associated with luxury goods (e.g. it was also known as the Vicus Turarius and Unguentarius), though it had a seamier side as well (Plaut. *Curc.* 482; Hor. *Sat.* 2.3.228). Inscriptions survive which show the thriving clothes trade there: 'P.Fannius P.L. Apollophanes de Vico Tusco vestiarius ...' (*CIL* 6.9976); '... Primus vestiarius tenuiarius de Vico Tusco ...' (*CIL* 6.33923); and see Platner-Ashby, p.579.

Serica: see 11.49(50).5n.

12. aureolos: as a diminutive of *aureus* found only in M. (also 5.19.14; 9.4.1; 10.75.8; 12.36.3). The diminution does not affect the value (25 denarii), but shows the lofty way in which the *amica* treats large sums of money. She asks for gold coins as though they were coppers.

13. donare $A^{AB}B^{A}$; *dare dona* C^{A}: C^{A}'s reading has intruded through a scribal abbreviation; it is hardly, as Lindsay suggests (*Ancient Editions*, p.15), an author variant; see p. 3f.

28

Doctor Euctus' mad patient Nasica pounced on his Hylas and buggered him. I think he was quite sane.

1. invasit: a military metaphor to describe a sudden and unexpected embrace. It is a particular favourite with Petronius: 'nam cum puer non inspeciosus inter novos intrasset ministros, invasit eum Trimalchio et osculari diutius coepit' (74.8; cf. 20.8; 85.6; 139.4; Suet. *Nero* 29). Such imagery is frequent in erotic contexts, the lover often being pictured as the soldier who has to besiege his loved one's fortress (e.g. Ter. *Eun.* 771f.; Tib. 1.10.54; Prop. 2.5.22; Hor. *Carm.* 3.26.6f.; Ov. *A.A.* 3.567; *Am.* 1.9.20, with Barsby).

Nasica: a rare cognomen (seven times in *CIL* 6 index; also of the famous branch of the Scipio family: Kajanto, *Cognomina*, p.237); in poetry also at Hor. *Sat.* 2.5.57; M. 2.79.1. Like Naso, Nasica alludes to a big nose: this feature does not seem to have been associated with curiosity by the Romans, rather with scorn and anger (Otto 1198) and with over-discerning criticism (Citroni, 1.3.6n.). M. may imply that Nasica is astute in his choice of boys.

phreneticus: from the Greek. Celsus (3.18.1f.) distinguishes three types of insanity: that which occurs in fevers and is called *phrenêsis* by the Greeks (i.e.

delirium); depression; and insanity. *Phrenêsis* is further described as 'cum continua dementia esse incipit, cum aeger, quamvis adhuc sapiat, tamen vanas imagines accipit.' Nasica in his delirium is quite capable of separating 'vanae imagines' from more concrete entities. Celsus' cures for mental illnesses range from strict dieting to the sinister implications of 'tormenta'. See also *Mental Disorder in Antiquity,* in *Diseases in Antiquity,* ed. D.Brothwell etc. (1967), p.716f. *phreneticus* is first attested in Latin at Varro *Men.* 271 Bücheler 'venti ... phrenetici septentrionum filii'; note also Petr. 63.10 'baro ille longus ... post paucos dies phreneticus periit'.

Eucti: (the name appears thrice in *CIL* 6 index). A good appellation ('Prayed-For') for a doctor; it also suggests his Greek origins, and nearly all doctors were Greek, a fact lamented by Pliny (*N.H.* 29.17) and Cato: '... quandoque ista gens suas litteras dabit, omnia corrumpet, tum etiam magis, si medicos suos hoc mittet. iurarunt inter se barbaros necare omnes medicina, et hoc ipsum mercede faciunt ut fides is sit et facile disperdant' (ap. Pl. *N.H.* 29.14).

2. percidit: continuing the military metaphor from 'invasit' (literally, Nasica attacked Hylas and struck him); the verb is often used in a sexual sense by M. (see 4.48.1; 6.39.14; 7.62.1; 9.47.8; 12.35.2; cf. 2.72.3; *Priap.* 13.1; 15.6; Adams, *LSV* p.146).

Hylan: not so called only because of his good looks, but also because he was Hercules' right-hand man (as he is Euctus' assistant); it is a well attested name in *CIL* 6 index.

puto: for this parenthetic use of verbs in M., and for the shortening of the final syllable, see Citroni, 1.5.2n.; R.Hartenberger, *De o finali apud poetas Latinas*, diss. Bonn (1911).

29

When you begin to rub my drooping organ with your old hand, Phyllis, I'm slain by your manipulation; for when you call me 'mousey' or 'your eyes' I scarcely think I can get over it in ten hours. You don't know what blandishment is: say 'I'll give you a hundred thousand sestertii and I'll give you cultivated acres of Setine land. Take these wines, this house, these boys, these gold dishes, these tables.' There's no need for your fingers; rub me up this way, Phyllis.

Phyllis is a woman past her prime ('vetula' line 1); old hags are frequently ridiculed in ancient literature as sex-crazed and sex- starved, and perfectly prepared to pay for their lovers. Thus the Old Woman in Aristophanes' *Wealth* (975f.):

ἄκουέ νυν. ἦν μοί τι μειράκιον φίλον,
πενιχρὸν μέν, ἄλλως δ' εὐπρόσωπον καὶ καλὸν
καὶ χρηστόν· εἰ γάρ του δεηθείην ἐγώ,
ἅπαντ' ἐποίει κοσμίως μοι καὶ καλῶς·
ἐγὼ δ' ἐκείνῳ πάντα ταῦθ' ὑπηρέτουν ...

('Now listen to this. I had a nice young boy-friend – he was poor, but on the other hand he was handsome, good-looking and a fine fellow. If I wanted anything he saw to it efficiently and well. And I did all these services for him ...') Also Ar. *Eccl.* 877f.; H.G.Oeri, *Der Typ der komischen Alten*, diss. Basel (1948), p.19f. Horace's two violent epodes on the subject are close to M.:

quid tibi vis, mulier nigris dignissima barris?
munera quid mihi quidve tabellas
mittis nec firmo iuveni neque naris obesae? (12.1f.)

Cf. *Epod.* 8; *Carm.* 1.25, with Nisbet-Hubbard. The theme was treated by Greek epigrammatists: e.g. Nicarchus *A.P.* 11.73.1f.:

γραῦς καλή (τί γάρ;) οἶσθας ὅτ' ἦν νέα· ἀλλὰ τότ' ἤιτει
νῦν δ' ἐθέλει δοῦναι μισθὸν ἐλαυνομένη.

('Yes, when the old woman was young you know she was beautiful. But then she used to ask for it, now she is willing to pay for the ride.') And old women were one of M.'s favourite targets (e.g. 3.93; 7.75; 9.37; 10.67; 10.75; 10.90; cf. Juv. 1.37f.; *A.L.* 362). See further Grassman, *Epoden*, index s.v. 'vetula-skoptik'; 11.87 intro.; H.Herter, *JbAC* 3 (1960), p.90f.

1. languida: of the limp penis also at Cat. 25.3 'vel pene languido senis situque araneoso'; 67.21; Ov. *Am.* 3.7(6).3 etc. It is an effect old women are often held to produce: 'cum pene soluto/indomitam properat rabiem sedare' (Hor. *Epod.* 12.8f.; cf. 8.17f.).

tractare: cf. 'tractatrix' at 3.82.13; and 'at non longa benest, at non bene mentula crassa/et quam si tractes, crescere posse putes' (*Priap.* 80.1f.; cf. Petr. 86.1; 139.1; Adams, *LSV* p.186); for manual stimulation see 11.22.4n.; 11.104.12n.

virilia: for the euphemism compare Petr. 108.10 'Giton ad virilia sua admovit novaculam'; Adams, *LSV* p.69f.

2. iugulor: colloquial; cf. Citroni, 1.18.5n.; *TLL* 7.2.636.44f.

pollice: as at 12.97.9 '(sc. mentula) molli pollice nec rogata surgit'.

Phylli: a common name for a prostitute (also 10.81; 11.49(50).1; 12.65.1; Prop. 4.8.29f.; Hor. *Carm.* 4.11), and frequent in *CIL* 6 index.

3. murem $B^{A}C^{A}$; *vitam* A^{A}: this looks like editing by A^{A}; the other families are right with an appropriate if unexpected reading. Animals of all sorts are used in this kind of blandishment, and in Plautus there is a veritable Noah's ark (see Hofmann, *LU* p.195). This is the only time 'mus' is so used, though it appears as an insult at Petr. 58.4. The mouse was thought a lascivious beast, no doubt appropriate for this kind of coaxing; thus Ael. *de Nat.Anim.* 12.10:

λέγουσι δὲ τοὺς μῦας λαγνιστάτους εἶναι, καὶ μάρτυρά γε Κρατῖνον ἐπάγονται εἰπόντα ἐν ταῖς Δραπετίσι "φέρε νῦν σοι ἐξ αἰθρίας καταπυγοσύνην μυὸς ἀστράψω Ξενοφῶντος". καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον τὸν θῆλυν ἔλεγον ἐς τὰ ἀφροδίσια εἶναι λυττητικόν ... ἐς ὑπερβολὴν δὲ λαγνιστάτην αὐτὴν εἰπεῖν ἠθέλησε "μυωνίαν ὅλην" ὀνομάσας.

('They say that mice are the most lascivious beasts and adduce Cratinus as evidence: he says in his *Drapetides*: "Look, out of a clear sky I will strike with lightning the debauchery of that mouse Xenophon." And they claimed that the female mouse was even more sex-mad ... he (i.e. Epicrates in his *Chorus*) wanted to say that a woman was the ultimate in lechery and so he dubbed her "an utter mousehole" '.)

lumina: a variation of the commoner *oculus* or *ocellus* (Otto 1264); cf. Greek *ophthalmos* (Farnell on Pind. *Pyth.* 5.17n.); for other verbal stimulation see 11.104.11n.

6. Setini: Setia was the district situated on the southern slope of the Volscian Mountains, between Norba and Privernum, overlooking the Pomptine Marsh (it is the modern Sezze). Close to Rome, it would have made an ideal situation for a *rus*, particularly since it was the area which produced the most celebrated wine: this taste came into fashion when Augustus made it his favourite (Pl. *N.H.* 14.61; cf. 11.26.3n.), and M. always mentions it in contexts of wealth, extravagance or appreciation (e.g. 4.69.1; 6.86.1; 8.50(51).19; 9.2.5; 13.112; 13.124; 14.103). See also *RE* 2A.1925.19f.; Marquardt-Mau, p.449n.18. The value of the land is again indicated at 9.22.3.

iugera culta soli $B^{A}C^{A}$; ... *certa* ... A^{A}: again A^{A} is not to be preferred here; the gift is less generous with a fixed limit, and 'culta' hints at the viticulture which lies behind M.'s request; see Citroni, 1.85.2n., and for similar corruption in this phrase cf. 1.116.2; 6.16.2.

7. vina ... mensas: such cataloguing of objects is derived from Greek dedicatory epigrams from where it came to be used in epigram of all sorts (for many examples see Siedschlag, *Form*, p.40n.2).

chrysendeta: from the Greek; here they are dishes with a gold inlay (probably on a silver base), an expensive item. They were used for serving dishes: 'grandia ne viola parvo chrysendeta mullo:/ut minimum, libras debet habere duas' (14.97); and whenever M. mentions them it is in a context of wealth or ostentation (2.43.11; 2.53.5; 6.94.1). See *RE* 3.2494f.; Hilgers, *Gefässnamen*, 96.

mensas: for expensive tables see 11.70.8n.

8. nil opus est digitis: the 'nil opus est' formula in this part of the line is common (W.Speyer, *Zetemata* 21 (1959), no.48.5n.), but M. seems here to be borrowing from Ovid and distorting things: 'nil opus est digitis per quos arcana loquaris' (*A.A.* 1.137).

mihi: for the sympathetic dative in a sexual context compare e.g. *CIL* 10.4483.4 quoted below; M. 7.55.6; *schol.* ap. Juv. 6.238 'manu sua penem fricat sibi'; and see J.N.Adams, *LCM* 7.6 (1982), p.87.

frica: paradoxical in that the action would naturally be performed by the fingers that Phyllis is not allowed to use. For the obscene sense of *fricare* cf. Plaut. *Pseud.* 1190; Petr. 92.11; *A.L.* 190.8; *CIL* 10.4483.4 ('cunnu tibi fricabo'); and note English slang 'frig'. No object (such as the expected *mentulam*) is given to the verb, because although it clearly has a sexual overtone it here alludes to gratification by monetary rather than sexual means.

30

You say that lawyers' and poets' breath smells bad. But a fellator's is worse, Zoilus.

For Zoilus and the Zoilus cycle see 11.12 intro.; he is mocked as a fellator also at 3.82.33.

Fellatio has a long history as a term of abuse in skoptic and invective poetry: Grassman, *Epoden*, traces it from Archilochus (p.3f.), through Old Comedy (p.14f.) and Greek epigram (p.18f.), to M. (p.25f.) and other Latin authors (p.28f.). The connection between bad breath and fellatio is stated or implied by M. also at 2.12; 3.28; 3.77; and it may be the point behind Nicarchus *A.P.* 11.242. Note M.'s similar piece at 12.85:

pediconibus os olere dicis.
hoc si, sicut ais, Fabulle, verum est,
quid tu credis olere cunnilingis?

But to return to the present poem, why does Zoilus accuse lawyers and poets of having bad breath? It may be because he thought it was factually true, since such people are the most obvious kind of public speaker, subject to nervousness and abstention from food, which causes bad breath (cf. 4.4.7f.; ps.-Arist. *Probl.* 13.7; Ov. *A.A.* 3.277f.; Lilja, *Odours*, p.129). But it is not an observation made elsewhere, or even particularly pointful. So perhaps Zoilus, when he said 'os male olet' was insinuating that lawyers and poets were fellators (and the words could carry such an implication in M.); but M., a poet himself, pretends not to see his meaning and retorts with the same insult explicitly stated; cf. 11.63.5n.

31

Caecilius is the Atreus of the gourds, because he cuts them up and chops them into a thousand pieces as if they were Thyestes' sons. You'll eat them straightaway as the hors d'oeuvre; they are what he'll bring in for the first and second main courses and they are what he'll bring again for the third; from them he'll prepare the tardy dessert too. From them his baker makes

insipid cakes, and from them builds his multi-layered gateaux and concocts dates such as we get at the theatre. From them his cook turns out different varieties of fricassée – you'd think it was a lentil or bean set before you; he imitates fungi and sausages, tail of tunny and dwarf sprats. On them his storeman practises his skills, so as to wrap up with cunning the differently flavoured Capellian dainties in leaves of rue. That's how Caecilius fills up his platters and side-dishes, his polished servers and hollowed plates. He calls it chic and thinks it au fait to spend a single as on so many courses.

Caecilius has something of the Trimalchio in him with his gleeful delight in the rather pointless culinary exercises he carries out: such is the reaction of the typical exhibitionist parvenu (see 11.12 intro.). Thus at his dinner Petronius' freedman is prone to serve up dishes which look like one food yet are really made from another: when the goose and its garnish turn out to be composed of pigmeat he eulogises the chef 'non potest esse pretiosior homo. volueris, de vulva faciet piscem, de lardo palumbum, de perna turturem, de colaepio gallinam. et ideo ingenio meo impositum est illi nomen bellissimum; nam Daedalus vocatur' (70.1f.; cf. M.S.Smith, 33.4n.). Such culinary trickery was much in vogue in this period: Apicius, for example, gives a recipe for *patina* of anchovy without anchovy, commenting 'ad mensam nemo agnoscet quid manducet' (4.2.12).

M. is not only attacking Caecilius' showing off; the final word of the epigram ('assem'), and the fact that the foods that the gourd mixture imitates are in themselves commonplace, show that he is of the genus 'mean host'. Compare Lucillius *A.P.* 11.314:

ἐζήτουν πινάκων πόθεν οὔνομα τοῦτο κάλεσσαι,
καὶ παρὰ σοὶ κληθεὶς εὗρον ὅθεν λέγεται.
πείνης γὰρ μεγάλης μεγάλους πίνακας παρέθηκας,
ὄργανα τοῦ λιμοῦ πεινάλεους πίνακας.

('I wanted to know why plates were so called and when I was invited to dinner by you I found out why. For you set large plates of great hunger before me, empty plates, instruments of famine.') The subject belongs to the mainstream of satire: Horace in *Satire* 2.2 attacks both extravagant expense and meanness in eating: 'sordidus a tenui victu distabit, Ofello/iudice; nam frustra vitium vitaveris illud/si te alio pravum detorseris' (53f.); Juvenal describes the host who feeds himself well but serves his unimportant guests rubbish (5 with Mayor's intro.; also 14.126f.); and M. deals with the mean host elsewhere (see Citroni, 1.43 intro.). See further Brecht, *Typengeschichte*, p.74f.; H.Szelest, *Altertum* 9 (1963), p.27n.3; p.28n.6; and L.R. Shero, *CPh* 18 (1923), p.126f.

1. Atreus: Caecilius is an Atreus not only because he cuts the gourds up into small pieces, but also because he does his best to disguise from his guests what they are eating. For the joke compare the 'penthiacum' of Petr. 47.10, which is probably some kind of stew.

cucurbitarum: the gourd or marrow, a singularly tasteless vegetable.

Celsus includes it in his list of 'imbecillissima materia' (2.18.3), though that is from a medical point of view; Pliny calls it 'saluber ac lenis pluribus modis', though he is more interested in uses of the scooped-out shell (*N.H.* 19.71). Despite its cheapness and insipidity Apicius used it in his cookery, and it was regularly served stuffed (e.g. 3.4.1-8; 4.5.3). See André, *L'alimentation*, p.42f.; *Botanique*, p.107.

4. gustu: Roman dinners were divided into three sections: the hors d'oeuvre (*gustus*) which usually consisted of salad dishes, small fish, fungi, vegetables, eggs and the like (as M. 10.48.13; 11.52.12); the main course (*cena*), which could be further subdivided as occasion demanded (cf. Suet. *Aug.* 74; Juv. 1.94) – thus here we have *prima*, *altera* and *tertia cena*, an extravagance if the whole lot did not consist of a single cheap item; and the dessert (*secundae mensae* or *epideipnis*), which was usually made up of fruit and tarts (cf. M. 3.17.1; 10.48.18f.). See Marquardt-Mau, p.323f.; Balsdon, *LL* p.32f.

7. seras: because the other courses have taken so long.

epidipnidas: from Greek *epideipnis*; otherwise in Latin only at Petr. 69.6. It should be seen here as a rather affected word, much too chic for the poor fare it involves; compare the Greek-named plates at lines 18f. (with notes).

8. hinc: the repetition of 'hinc' and 'has' emphasises the monotony with which disguised gourd appears on the table; for the *cumulatio* structure see 11.21 intro.

fatuas: when applied to food, this adjective refers to tastelessness, especially a lack of salt: e.g. Serv. ap. Verg. *Georg.* 3.395 'et ipsum lac non sit fatuum, sed habeat salis saporem'; Non.Marc. p.48 Lindsay; Apic. 4.2.25.

placentas: Greek *plakous*; they were a kind of cake, flat but thick, and often eaten with honey (cf. Hor. *Ep.* 1.10.11; M. 5.39.3). See Mayor, Juv. 11.59n.; André, *L'alimentation*, p.215; 11.86.3n.

9. multiplices struit tabellas: patisserie of some kind: the expression best suggests a layered cake. Compare what M. says about a *pistor dulciarius* at 14.222:

mille tibi dulces operum manus ista figuras
extruet: huic uni parca laborat apis.

10. caryotidas: from the Greek *karuôtis*, a date (usually Syrian); the word is related to Greek, *karuon*, a nut. In Latin found only here and Stat. *Silv.* 1.6.20, though note 'caryota' at M. 8.33.11; 13.27; see André, *L'alimentation*, p.84.

notas ... theatris: emperors sometimes provided a food largesse at theatrical entertainments: Stat. *Silv.* 1.6.9f. contains a catalogue of food (including 'caryotides') distributed by Domitian at a Saturnalian celebration. But dates are only a small part of such a largesse (cf. Suet. *Dom.* 4.5), and it would be odd if M. called them 'notae theatris' only in reference to these occasions (for which see Vollmer's intro. to Stat. *Silv.* 1.6). Perhaps

they were the ancient equivalent of peanuts and popcorn, and could be bought from the theatre usherettes.

11. varium: because the mixture is made into different shapes (as the following lines show), and because the flavouring is different.

coco: best taken as a dative of the author (see Hofmann-Szantyr, p.96f.).

minutal: a fricassée: Apicius (4.3) gives nine recipes for this dish, and they basically consist of fish or meat, fruit and vegetables, herbs, spices and flavourings: see André, *L'alimentation*, p.85.

13. boletos: see 11.18.15n.

botellos: the similarity with the other noun in the line is marked (see 11.1.5n.). The *botellus* is a small black pudding or sausage (cf. Petr. 49.10; M. 5.78.9; *RE* 3.796; André, *L'alimentation*, p.151).

14. caudam cybii: see 11.27.3n.

brevesque maenas: from Greek *mainê*, a poor food, as D'Arcy Thompson (*Fishes*, p.153) says: 'a worthless little fish, a sprat or its Mediterranean analogue the *Maena vulgaris*; for the smaller Sparidae, especially the *Maena vulgaris, Smaris vulgaris* and *Box boops*, take the place of sprat and herring in the Mediterranean as cheap food ... Cic. *de Fin.* 2.91 'qui enim voluptatem ipsam contemnunt, iis licet dicere se accipenserem maenae non antiponere' shows its low quality. 'Mangiamenoli' ('sprateater') is still a byword for poverty in Italy.' Cf. 12.32.15 'inutiles maenas'.

15. cellarius: though this household official is generally associated with the wine-cellar, he could also be in charge of food (cf. Col. *R.R.* 11.1.19; 12.3.9); at Col. *R.R.* 12.4.2 he is grouped together with 'pistor' and 'cocus', which suggests he could be involved in more than simply storage (and cf. English 'cellarer'). He clearly is here (see 17n.); see *RE* 3.1871f. But the idea is basically humorous: every slave in the Caecilian ménage has a chance to try his hand at the art of gourd-disguising.

16. condat: ambiguous – at first sight it suggests the *cellarius*' chief duty as keeper of the wine.

vario: because he gave each *Capellianum* a different flavour – presumably with herbs and spices; see also 11n.

17. in rutae folium: for the proverb (which has no application here) see 11.18.4n. The *Capelliana* were put in an envelope of a leaf of rue.

Capelliana: a food known only from here; for naming items in this way, after the inventor or manufacturer, compare 'Cosmianum' (see 11.15.6n.); 'Septicianum' (8.71.6 etc.); and 'Gratianum' (see Friedlaender 4.39.6n.). Paley and Stone plausibly suggest that *Capelliana* were a kind of light snack intended to set off and enhance the flavour of the wine. Capellius is an attested gentilicium (see *TLL* Onom.C. 152.62).

18. gabatas: there is a contrast between the great variety of types of dish that Caecilius possesses and the monotony of the food that goes in them. That the dishes at a dinner could be more impressive than the dinner itself – an example of a host's exhibitionism and meanness – was a common motif: cf. Lucillius *A.P.* 11.313:

ἀργυρέῃ λιμῷ τις, ἐς εἰλαπίνην με καλέσσας,
ἔκτανε, πειναλέους τοὺς πίνακας προφέρων.
ὀχθήσας δ' ἄρ' ἔειπον ἐν ἀργυραφεγγέϊ λιμῷ·
"ποῦ μοι χορτασίη ὀστρακίνων πινάκων;"

('Someone invited me to a feast and killed me with silver-plated famine, setting empty plates before me. Angered, I said in my silvery hunger, "Where is the plenty of my earthenware plates?" ') And cf. Sopater frag. 15 Kaibel; Alexis frag. 258, *CAF* 2.p.391 Kock; Palladas *A.P.* 11.371; Cic. *ad Att.*6.1.13; M. 8.6; 10.49. Compare too Herrick's '*Upon Shewbread*':

Last night thou didst invite me home to eate;
And shew'st me there much Plate, but little meat;
Prithee, when next thou do'st invite, barre State,
And give me meate, or give me else the Plate.

Corp.Gloss.Lat 4.136.30 Goetz glosses 'gabata' with 'parapsis' (see 11.27.5n.); cf. M. 7.48.3; Hilgers, *Gefässnamen*, 170.

paropsidasque: Housman points out that M. would use the Greek plural here, his usual practice (*Class.Pap.* 3.p.838). For the dish see 11.27.5n.

19. scutulas: a long, thin dish (also at 8.71.7); see Hilgers, *Gefässnamen*, 326.

20. lautum ... venustum: there is a Catullan flavour to these words (cf. Cat.31.12; 89.2). The former is often applied to food and drink (e.g. Pl. *N.H.* 14.92; Stat. *Silv.* 1.6.32; M. 12.48.5 etc.).

21. ponere: note the ambiguity, which is resolved in the *para prosdokian* of the last word. 'ponere' leads one to expect an item of food – i.e. used in the sense 'serve up' – but is revealed to mean 'spend'.

32

You haven't a toga, or a hearth, or a bed gnawed by bugs, or a mat sewn from thirsty reeds, or a boy slave or an older one, or a maid-servant or child, or a lock or a key, or a dog and cup. Yet, Nestor, you aspire to being called and appearing to be a poor man, and you seek a place in the *populus*. You lie, and flatter yourself with an empty title. It is not poverty to own nothing, Nestor.

The opening of the epigram echoes Cat. 23: 'Furi, cui neque servus est neque

arca/nec cimex neque araneus neque ignis'; yet Furius is 'sat beatus' despite his penury because of some physical benefits which stem from his poor standard of living (lines 16f.); M.'s conclusion is rather different. His point, as usual, is humorous (e.g. line 7: being *pauper* is not a common aspiration), but his attitude and language is typical of the ancient world. It relies on there being no easily definable middle ground between the very rich and the very poor; 'poverty' (*paupertas* or Greek *penia*) would embrace the whole of what we call the lower and middle classes, the ordinary working people. The *dives* was extremely wealthy, while the man who was not *pauper* was ipso facto a beggar; this can be seen in Aristophanes' *Wealth*, in a passage which has many similarities of thought and detail with our own (540f.):

Χρ: πρὸς δέ γε τούτοις ἀνθ' ἱματίου μὲν ἔχειν ῥάκος· ἀντὶ δὲ κλίνης
στιβάδα σχοίνων κόρεων μεστήν, ἣ τοὺς εὕδοντας ἐγείρει·
καὶ φορμὸν ἔχειν ἀντὶ τάπητος σαπρόν ... ἆρά γε πολλῶν
ἀγαθῶν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀπαραίνω σ' αἴτιον οὖσαν;
Πε: σὺ μὲν οὐ τὸν ἐμὸν βίον εἰρηκας, τὸν τῶν πτωχῶν δ' ὑπεκρούσω.
Χρ: οὐκοῦν δήπου τῆς Πτωχείας Πενίαν φαμὲν εἶναι ἀδελφήν;
Πε: ὑμεῖς γ' οἵπερ καὶ Θρασυβούλῳ Διονύσιον εἶναι ὅμοιον.
ἀλλ' οὐχ οὑμὸς τοῦτο πέπονθεν βίος οὐ μὰ Δί', οὐδέ γε μέλλει.
πτωχοῦ μὲν γὰρ βίος, ὃν σὺ λέγεις, ζῆν ἔστιν μηδὲν ἔχοντα·
τοῦ δὲ πένητος ζῆν φειδόμενον καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις προσέχοντα,
περιγίγνεσθαι δ' αὐτῶι μηδέν, μὴ μέντοι μηδ' ἐπιλείπειν.

('*Chremylus*: And as well as that to have a rag instead of a cloak, to have rush-matting full of bed-bugs which wake up the sleeper instead of a bed, and to have a rotted rug instead of a carpet ... Shall I portray you as the bringer of many benefits to all mankind? *Poverty*: You were not describing my way of life; what you were condemning was beggary. *Chremylus*: But is it not said that Poverty is sister to Beggary? *Poverty*: Only by those who say that Dionysius is similar to Thrasybulus! My life certainly isn't like that, nor is it going to be. For a beggar's life, which you were describing, is to live without owning anything. But the life of a poor man is to live economically and by application to labour, to have nothing to spare but to lack nothing either.')

This same lack of distinction about what we now term socio-economic groups is equally evident in the Roman world: thus Porphyrio comments on Hor. *Ep.* 2.2.199 'pauperies: egestas, nam paupertas etiam honestae parsimoniae nomen est et usurpatur in fortuna mediocri'; note also the quotation of Antipater (a philosopher) at Sen. *Ep.* 87.40 'ego non video quid aliud sit paupertas quam parvi possessio'. We can compare the cliché of the 'poor' poet who owns a house in Rome and a suburban farm (esp. Horace: cf. *Sat.* 2.6.1f.; *Ep.* 1.14.1f.; *Carm.* 2.16.37 etc.); when M. calls himself 'contentus modicis meoque laetus' he sees no contradiction in terming this 'paupertas' (4.77.2f.): see the useful remarks of U.Scamuzzi, *RSC* 14 (1966), p.188f.; and, more generally, M.I.Finley, *The Ancient Economy* (1973), ch. 2; R.Vischer, *Das einfache Leben* (1965).

So when M. says that Nestor owns nothing and is therefore flattering himself with the appellation 'pauper' he is stating a literal truth: Nestor is not one of the populace (line 6) because he is a beggar, not a poor man. And to be

a beggar was socially reprehensible (see M. 12.32; Mayor, Juv. 4.116f.n.; Friedlaender, *SG* 1.p.159). Surprisingly there is little evidence for beggars, their activities and the way they were dealt with in either Greece or Rome; but Balsdon (*LL*, p.268) can scarcely be right in thinking that implies their virtual non-existence – special places were associated with them (like the Hill at Aricia: M. 2.19.3; 12.32.10 etc.); they frequented hills in general, for it was easier to waylay passers-by there (M. 12.32.25 etc.); and there was some debate on how to treat them (e.g. Sen. *Dial.* 7.25). See further A.R.Hands, *Charities and Social Aid in Greece and Rome* (1968), p.64f.; 78f.

1. focus: a fire for cooking was considered a basic of civilised life, while its absence indicated squalor (see Citroni, 1.49.27n.; 1.92.5n.; Rudd, *Satires*, p.202f.). Note Leonidas *A.P.* 7.736, where he advocates an acceptable brand of poverty which includes many of the basics which Nestor lacks:

μὴ φθείρευ, ὤνθρωπε, περιπλάνιον βίον ἕλκων,
ἄλλην ἐξ ἄλλης εἰς χθόν' ἁλινδόμενος,
μὴ φθείρευ, κἂν εἴ σε περιστέξαιτο καλιὴ
ἣν θάλποι μικκὸν πῦρ ἀνακαιόμενον,
εἰ καί σοι λιτή τε καὶ οὐκ εὐάλφιτος εἴη
φύστη ἐνὶ γραύνηι μασσομένη παλάμαις,
ἥ καί σοι γλήχων, ἥ καὶ θύμον, ἥ καὶ ὁ πικρὸς
ἁδυμιγὴς εἴη χόνδρος ἐπαφίδιος.

('Don't wear yourself out pursuing the wandering life, migrating from land to land, don't wear yourself out, if a barn warmed by a small kindled fire be your shelter and the bread kneaded in your trough by your own hands be of plain, not good quality wheat, and you have pennyroyal, thyme and bitter, tasty salt to go with your bread.') See also G.Giangrande, *Entretiens Hardt* 14 (1968), p.135f.

cimice: note the similar list of 11.56.3f., including this noun: it is the *cimex lectularius*, or bed-bug (see Keller, *Tierwelt*, 2.p.399f.). Pliny has plenty of ideas for getting rid of it, suggesting it was a common problem (e.g. *N.H.* 27.80; 32.124; 136 etc.).

2. bibula: because reeds like water and grow in it (cf. Pl. *N.H.* 16.157).

palude: for the same metonymy cf. 14.160.1 'tomentum concisa palus Circense vocatur'. For other examples of metonymy in M. see Friedlaender, 3.82.22n.

teges: a mat, associated with dire poverty, and in M. and Juvenal usually for sleeping on (e.g. M. 6.39.4; cf. 9.92.3; Juv. 6.117) or begging from (see Mayor, Juv. 5.8n.). Here it has the first reference (the duplication with 'lectus' is immaterial in a list of this kind: compare 11.56.5).

4. nec sera nec clavis ... : the line is curiously parallel to Theoc. 21.14f., where he is describing the worldly possessions of two fishermen who have nothing but their tackle (although the text is corrupt here; I follow the O.C.T., but see Gow's commentary):

οὗτος τοῖς ἁλιεῦσιν ὁ πᾶς πόρος, οὗτος ὁ πλοῦτος·
οὐ κλεῖδ', οὐχὶ θύραν ἔχον, οὐ κύνα· πάντα περισσά
ταῦτ' ἐδόκει τήνοις· ἃ γὰρ πενία σφας ἐτήρει.

('These were the sole belongings of the fishermen, this their wealth. They had no key or door, and no dog. All that seemed superfluous to them, for poverty was watching over them.') Locks could be found on chests (e.g. Hor. *Sat.* 2.3.146) as well as doors, but Nestor has nothing worth locking up in any case.

canis: dogs were kept by the ancients to guard property (cf. Col. *R.R.* 7.12.13); Trimalchio's Scylax was a large and nasty brute for that very purpose (Petr. 64.7f.). It is worth noting that not having a dog was indicative of even greater poverty than not having a slave (see Longus 1.16; Ael. *de Nat. Anim.* 6.10; *A.P.* 10.86). See further J.M.C.Toynbee, *Animals in Roman Life and Art* (1975), p.108f.; G.Jennison, *Animals for Show and Pleasure in Ancient Rome* (1937), p.126f.

atque: Heinsius wanted to emend to 'arca' (see Cat. 23.1, quoted above); but while unelided 'atque' in the second half of a pentameter would have been anathema to earlier elegiac writers, it occurs eight times thus in M. (see M.Platnauer, *CQ* 42 (1948), p.91f.).

5. adfectas: sarcastic (see intro.); compare 8.19 'pauper videri Cinna vult: et est pauper'.

Nestor: proverbial for longevity and eloquence (see Otto 1223-4), neither relevant here. The point is that the name evokes a king, not a beggar.

33

More frequently after Nero's death do the Greens reach the palm, and they carry back more prizes in victory. Come on, consuming Envy, say you have given in to Nero now! Of course it was not Nero who won, but the Greens.

This epigram has given rise to various misinterpretations, mostly, I think, from its being taken too seriously. Modern editors usually take 'Nero' here to refer to Domitian, the poem thus being evidence that he supported the Greens and made sure they won during his life-time, though the fact that they continue to do so after his death proves they do so fairly (thus Friedlaender, Ker, Izaac and A. Cameron, *Circus Factions*, (1976) p.54n.2; only Paley and Stone dissent). This view is refuted by K.Holzinger (*SitzsbAkadWissWien* (1936), p.121f.). He points out that of twenty-one references to Nero in M., covering his entire output from *Sp.* 2.6 to 12.83.5, this is the only one that is alleged not to designate Nero himself (thus at 11.6.10 'Nero' means Nero) ; and that where 'Nero' does refer to Domitian elsewhere, it is invariably in a context which makes it unambiguously clear: for example, at Juv. 4.38 'calvus Nero' has the adjective to separate the name from its proper owner; and there are similar pointers with the 'sub-Nero' of Tert. *de Pall.* 4.5, the 'portio Neronis de crudelitate' of Tert. *Apol.* 5.4, and the 'vitae semper luxuriosae

atque in pluribus Nero praeter crudelitatem et ludibria' of *S.H.A.* Verus 10.8. These passages show that the Romans saw a similarity between Domitian and Nero (as also Pl. *Pan.* 53.4), but it is always evident in them that Domitian is being called 'a second Nero'; such is not the case here, where there is no hint that 'Nero' might not refer to that particular emperor.

Furthermore, the emperor of our epigram is made out to be a partisan of the Greens, and, with whatever degree of bias, thought capable of affecting the result of races. There is no evidence for the colour Domitian supported, and no suggestion that he was a keen race-goer. Nero, however, had been a passionate frequenter of the Circus from youth on (Suet. *Nero* 22.1; Dio 61.6.1f.), and an equally passionate supporter of the Greens (Pl. *N.H.* 33.90; Suet. *Nero* 22.1; Dio 63.6.3); and it is well known that he did not like to be on the losing side (Suet. *Nero* 22.3; 24.1 etc.). That Nero should have been thought to have rigged races fits this historical evidence better than does Domitian.

Finally the date of the epigram makes the Nero/Domitian equation unlikely; Book XI appeared for the Saturnalia of 96 (i.e. before 17 December), and Domitian had been killed on 18 September of that year: this leaves little time for M. to have proof of his statement that the Greens now win more often than before the emperor's death.

A lot of misunderstanding about this epigram has arisen because it is taken too seriously, as an utterance of fact. It reads better as a piece of light propaganda expressing M.'s own views: compare 6.46:

vapulat adsidue veneti quadriga flagello
nec currit: magnam rem, Catiane, facit.

This is usually taken as evidence that the Blues dared not go as fast as they could to win races because Domitian supported the Greens. But is it likely that M. would publish such a claim in the emperor's lifetime? Clearly not. M. is ridiculing the Blues: they whip away at their horses but are so bad they seem to be standing still. Such is the kind of criticism a Green supporter would level at his rivals – in other words M. himself supported the Greens. He is likewise ridiculing the Blues in the present piece: during Nero's reign they could reasonably claim (in whispers!) that they had to lose, because Nero was an ardent Green fan. But Nero had been dead for nearly thirty years, and the Greens were as strong as ever; M. teases the Blues that they should use the 'Nero' excuse now, with the implication that it would be just as true as it had been in his lifetime – the Greens always have been better, and always will be.

For the development of the circus factions see Cameron op.cit. Though there were always four colours (Greens, Blues, Whites and Reds) only the first two were seriously supported, there being remarkably little interest in the other two (M. 14.131 is a jocular reference to the Reds which shows how they were viewed). This makes it certain that M.'s jibe is directed at the Blues, as is assumed above.

3. i nunc: expressing sarcasm and ridicule (see E.B.Lease, *AJPh* 19 (1898),

p.59f.; Citroni, 1.42.6n.; *TLL* 5.2.632.37f.). As Citroni points out, 'i' at this date is rarely more than an interjection or a reinforcing imperative – of the nineteen times M. uses it, it is not coupled with another imperative on only two occasions (7.84.3; 9.99.6).

livor edax: a personification of the aggrieved losers, the Blues. The expression comes from Ov. *Am.* 1.15.1; cf. also *R.A.* 389; Lucan 1.288; Sen. *Ph.* 493; Sid.Ap. *Ep.* 4.18.5.line 17; and also anon. *A.P.* 16.266.1. Note 'the teeth of envy': 'nec qui detractat praesentia, Livor iniquo/ullum de nostris dente momordit opus' (Ov. *Tr.* 4.10.123f.; cf. *ex Pont.* 3.4.73f.; Hor. *Carm.* 4.3.16f.): thus it appears that Envy bites those against whom the emotion is directed; here it is 'edax' of the Greens.

34

Aper has bought a house, but one which not even an owl would want to call its own; it is such a dark and old hovel. Elegant Maro owns the gardens next door; Aper will dine well, not live well.

1. Aper: a very common cognomen in all periods of the empire (see Kajanto, *Cognomina*, p.325). M. uses it to hint at the type of person Aper is: the boar was noted for its fierceness (see 11.69.9n.), which suits the determined diner-out; it was considered a greedy animal (e.g. Ael. *de Nat. Anim.* 5.45); and its living quarters were no doubt similar to Aper's. M. also uses the name at 10.16(15); 12.30; 12.70.

nec: 'nec' with the sense 'ne ... quidem' is frequent at all periods (see Hofmann-Szantyr, p.449f.).

noctua: *Athene noctua* (Greek *glaux*), the little owl. The comparison is carefully chosen; as its name suggests, the owl is nocturnal and likes the darkness (cf. Arist. *Hist.Anim.* 488a25; 592b8), though Aper's hovel is too dark even for it; like Aper again it is a bird of prey, and its association with ill-omen and death is not without its effect. See D'Arcy Thompson, *Birds*, p.66f.; 76f.

2. casa: a poor kind of dwelling, a contrast with 'aedes' in line 1. Cf. 12.66.4 'casa divitiis ambitiosa latet', of a house that was expensively furnished but worth of itself a scant sum.

3. nitidus: note the *OLD* definition: 'elegant in appearance, spruce, well-groomed (esp. as a sign of affluence)'; cf. 4.54.8 'lautior et nitido sis Meliore licet'; Stat. *Silv.* 2.3.1.

Maro: used by M. also at 4.80; 9.33; 11.67; 12.90. M. may intend his readers to recall the mythological Maron here, who provided Odysseus with the excellent wine with which he overcame Polyphemus; he was a son or grandson of Dionysus (Hom. *Od.* 9.197f.; Roscher, 2.2382f.).

hortos: the *horti* do not attract Aper because of the foodstuffs in them, but because they were a sign of his neighbour's wealth; the singular noun is

usually used of the vegetable garden (see 11.18.12n.), the plural corresponding more to our 'parks' or 'gardens'. We know of a good number of villas in Rome which were famous for the magnificence of the *horti* in which they stood; these mostly lay on the right bank of the Tiber, starting at the river and running back into the hills of Monte Mario and the Gianicolo, and also on the left bank on the Pincio. A considerable number of them stayed in private hands into the second century, though some were appropriated by covetous emperors and their wives (who disposed of present incumbents), or opened to the public. Central Rome was surrounded by this green belt area; the most famous *horti* were the Luculliani, Sallustiani, Caesaris and Maecenatis (see Platner-Ashby, p.264f.). Obviously only the rich could afford them, and they entertained their friends in them (e.g. Cic. *de Off.* 3.58; *de Amic.* 7; *Phil.* 2.15; Vell.Pat. 2.60.3; Tac. *Ann.* 16.34) and held dinner parties there (e.g. Pl. *Ep.* 5.6.36f.; *S.H.A.* Sept.Sev. 4); note also M., when he comments on a villa in a setting of luxurious *horti*: 'atria longa patent. sed nec cenantibus usquam/nec somno locus est. quam bene non habitas!' (12.50.7f.). Thus when Aper moved into his hovel he hoped to force himself on his neighbour for his high-class dinner parties. But he could have had an unpleasant shock – owners of *horti* who wished to enlarge them could be most unsympathetic to the smallholder next door (cf. Hor. *Carm.* 2.18.23f.; Sen. *Contr.* 5.5; Sen. *Ep.* 90.39; Juv. 14.140f.). See further Mayor, Juv. 1.75n.; Balsdon, *LL* p.195f.; 206f.

4. cenabit belle: possibly a reminiscence of Cat. 13.1 'cenabis bene'; see 11.52.1n.

35

Although you invite hundreds of people I don't know, you're surprised, you complain, and you're angry that I don't come to your house when I'm asked; I do not dine alone willingly, Fabullus.

A pleasant little poem with the concluding paradox, an allusion to a traditional theme, providing the wit. The problem of balancing the guests at a dinner was as real for the ancients as for us; Plutarch has sensible advice on inviting mutually congenial guests (*Quaest. Conv.* 7.708d; see also Aul.Gell. *N.A.* 13.11), and it is a feature of invitation poems (for which see 11.52 intro.) that the quality of the guests is stressed as well as of the food (Philodemus *A.P.* 11.44.5; Hor. *Ep.* 1.5.26f.; M. 5.78.31f.; 10.48.5f. etc.); Plutarch commends Chilon for his wisdom in not accepting an invitation until he knew who else was going to be present (*Sept.Sap.Conv.* 148a). Thus M. here refuses to go to a dinner where he knows no one.

1. trecentos: cf. 1.43.1 'bis tibi treceni fuimus, Mancine, vocati'; for 30 and 300 being used to indicate indeterminately large numbers in this way see Fordyce, Cat. 9.1n. and Kiessling-Heinze, Hor. *Carm.* 3.4.79n.. The usual

dinner party was for between three and nine people, but there is evidence for bigger gatherings (see 11.65.1n.).

2. quare: *quare* acquired a causal force in late Latin (whence French 'car') which probably arose from its use as an indirect interrogative particle; the usage here illustrates well how the change of meaning could have begun. Note also M. 4.39.10; 11.66.4; *CIL* 4.2421 'Rufa ita vale, quare bene felas'; J.Herman, *AAntHung* 5 (1957), p.371f.; Hofmann-Szantyr, p.541.

ad te $B^{A}C^{A}$; *a te* Ital.: the same variants as at 11.65.1, where 'a te' is certain; here either is possible and there is no need to reject the paradosis. 'ad te' goes as much with 'veniam' as with 'vocatus'.

3. miraris ... : for the *sunathroismos* of verbs in M., especially common in his hendecasyllabics, see Citroni, 1.10.2n. As often, the device here builds to a crescendo from the smallest to the greatest degree of Fabullus' indignation. In Rome as elsewhere, it was considered rude to refuse an invitation without adequate excuse, and ruder still to accept and fail to materialise (e.g. Pl. *Ep.* 1.15; Balsdon, *LL* p.33f.).

litigasque: of annoyance, as Sen. *Ep.* 60.1 'queror, litigo, irascor'.

4. solus ceno: M. would be dining alone in that he had no friend to talk to at the dinner; but there is a play on the usual sense of 'solus cenare', the greatest evil that could befall an assiduous client (see 11.24.15n.).

Fabulle: M. certainly had a benefactor of this name (cf. 5.35.8; 6.72.3; 12.20.1; 12.22.2; with 11.7.1n.), though nothing else is known about him. A bad patron of the name is satirised at 3.12; and Fabulli are lampooned for sexual misdemeanours at 4.87; 9.66; 12.85. Though these last three are most unlikely to be real people, it is more difficult to decide about 3.12 and the present poem: it depends on how well M. knew this Fabullus – the criticism is not too personal, harsh or malicious to preclude his being real, and he may have found M.'s ingratitude acceptably amusing.

36

Hurrah! Gaius Julius, restored to us by my vows, marks this day with a white sign for me: it is good to have given up hope as though the Sisters' thread was already snapped; they who have feared nothing rejoice less. Hypnus, what are you waiting for, lazy boy? Pour the immortal Falernian; such vows demand a cask of old wine. Let us drink five and six and eight *cyathi*, so that there be GAIUS JULIUS PROCULUS.

This is a *sôtêrion* celebrating Proculus' recovery from a serious illness; note the similarity to 7.47:

doctorum Licini celeberrime Sura virorum,
cuius prisca gravis lingua reduxit avos,

redderis – heu, quanto fatorum munere – nobis
gustata Lethes paene remissus aqua.
perdiderant iam vota metum securaque flebat
† tristitia et lacrimis iamque peractus eras.† ...

For other examples see Cat. 44; Tib. 3.10 (4.4); Prop. 2.28B and C; Hor. *Carm.* 2.17; Stat. *Silv.* 1.4; and F.Cairns, *Generic Composition in Greek and Latin Poetry* (1972), p.73f. All these pieces are a special kind of *prosphônêtikon*, which celebrates the traveller's return from a long and dangerous journey (see Cairns, op.cit. p.21f.); many of the individual topics are therefore the same (see 1n.; 2n.; 3n.; 4n.): compare 8.45:

Priscus ab Aetnaeis mihi, Flacce, Terentius oris
redditur: hanc lucem lactea gemma notet;
defluat et lento splendescat turbida lino
amphora centeno consule facta minor ...

P.White (*JRS* 64 (1974), p.40f.) suggests that this poem must have been sent to Proculus as a separate *libellus* before the publication of the complete book, for otherwise it would have lost its immediacy for him and its effectiveness would have been diminished by his coming across it in the midst of many other epigrams; for a similar situation see 11.106 intro.

1. Gaius ... Julius: Gaius Julius Proculus (cf. line 8) is also addressed at 1.70, where a presentation copy of the book is sent to him; it is a safe deduction from there that he was a wealthy senator (lines 13f.) as well as a benefactor of M. The formal tone of both poems suggests that M. was not particularly close to him, as does the fact that M. does not address him elsewhere. Friedlaender's identification of him with the Julius Proculus of Spain known from *CIL* 2.2349 was wishful thinking in the first place, both because the inscription as he knew it was nonsense, and because Julius Proculus was not an uncommon name (see *PIR*² I.492-502); the inscription has since been recovered, retranscribed and redated (see *L'Année épigraphique* (1913), p.2(3)). See further *PIR*² I.491; 500.

gemma ... **alba:** as at 8.45.2; 10.38.4f.; 12.34.5f. The Romans related the expression to the Thracian custom of putting a black or white pebble in an urn every day to indicate whether or not you had enjoyed it; on your decease your relatives would open up your urn and see how happy you had been in this life (Pl. *N.H.* 7.131; Phylarchus ap. Zenobius *Cent.* 6.13; and see Jahn, Pers. 2.1n.; Otto 299). For the day of recovery from illness being particularly happy see Prop. 2.28.59f.; Stat. *Silv* 1.4.1f.; and for the same topic in *prosphônêtika* cf. Cat. 9.11; Hor. *Carm.* 1.36.10; Juv. 12.1.

2. votis redditus: vows were commonly made during the illness of the patient to be carried out on his recovery, and on the departure of the traveller to be carried out on his safe return. These usually entailed a party too (as here: line 6 'vota'); for *sôtêria* see Tib. 3.10 (4.4).23f.; Prop. 2.28.59f.; Hor.

Carm. 2.17.30f.; Ov. *Am.* 2.13(14).23f.; Stat. *Silv.* 1.4.115f.; for *prosphônêtika* see Aesch. *Agam.* 963f.; Hor. *Carm.* 1.36.2; Ov. *Am.* 2.11(12).46; Stat. *Silv.* 3.2.131; Juv. 12.2f.

3. veluti ... fila: the idea of the Fates spinning out the threads of a man's life and cutting them to cause his death goes back to Homer (*Il* 24.209f.), and had been a commonplace ever since (see Gow, Theoc. 1.139n.). M. uses it also at 4.54.9f.; 4.73.3f.; 6.58.7f. Celebrating the return of the sufferer from the land of death is obviously the basis of *sôtêria*, but reference to a dangerous journey into and return from death's realms is appropriate also in *prophônêtika* (e.g. Eumaeus' greeting of Telemachus at Hom. *Od.* 16.20f.). Note too a prayer for those in distress at sea from the Book of Common Prayer: 'Look down, we beseech thee, and hear us, calling out of the depth of misery and out of the jaws of this death, which is ready now to swallow us up: Save, Lord, or else we perish.'

4. minus gaudent ... : the fear of the person in safety for his friend in danger is again common to both *sôtêria* (e.g. Tib. 3.10 (4.4).11f.) and *prophônêtika* (e.g. Juv. 12.15f.).

5. Hypne: a name well suited to a dilatory slave; it also has overtones of the decadence often found in wine-servers (see 11.26 intro.) , and it carries a sexual implication the other time M. uses it (12.75.2). Compare Somnus at 1.71.4 (with Howell).

immortale Falernum: see 11.26.3n.; for the adjective cf. 9.93.1 'addere quid cessas puer immortale Falernum' (and note Stat. *Silv.* 4.2.12): it does not refer to age but to the excellence and nobility of the wine (see *TLL* 7.1.495.10). Perhaps M. also intended it to have an active sense here (i.e. 'immortalem faciens'), a pleasant thought for a man restored from the jaws of death.

6. talia vota: see 2n. This party is the same as the 'cena adventicia' of the *prophônêtikon* (as Hor. *Carm.* 1.36.11f.; Ov. *Am.* 2.11(12).47f.); such celebratory dinners are attested in real life: thus Suet. *Vit.* 13.2 'famosissima super ceteras fuit cena data ei adventicia a fratre, in qua duo milia lectissimorum piscium, septem avium apposita traduntur'; Plut. *Quaest.Conv.* 727b; and see Nisbet-Hubbard, Hor. *Carm.* 1.36 intro.

7. quincunces ... bibamus: the basic Roman liquid measure was the *sextarius*, which was subdivided into twelve *cyathi* (a *sextarius* was just over half a litre). The drink is here ladled in this way to recall the number of letters in Proculus' three names; the practice, developed from the Greek, was known as 'bibere ad numerum'. See Citroni, 1.71 intro.; Marquardt-Mau, p.334; Bömer, Ov. *Fast.* 3.532n.

besemque: found in poetry only at Manil. 3.571 apart from here.

37

Zoilus, what good does it do you to surround your gemstone in a setting which weighs a whole pound, and to obscure completely the poor sardonyx? That ring was recently more suited to your legs: the same weight does not become your fingers.

For the Zoilus cycle of epigrams and the satire on the ostentatious parvenu see 11.12 intro. The wit here is aimed not only at Zoilus' wealthy vulgarity, but also at his usurpation of status; a parallel piece is 3.29, which charts his rise from *fugitivus* to surrogate *eques* by the play on rings and fetters:

> has cum gemina compede dedicat catenas,
> Saturne, tibi Zoilus, anulos priores.

For Zoilus the erstwhile *fugitivus* see also 11.54; and for other surrogate *equites* see e.g. 3.95; 4.67; 5.8; 5.27; 6.9.

1. tota ... libra: many rings with large stones in grotesquely ornate settings survive from this and later periods: see F.H.Marshall, *Catalogue of Finger Rings in the British Museum* (1907), Pl.21 etc. Such rings, mocked by satirists, were thought to show the worldly success of the wearer (Juv. 7.139f.; see 4n.).

Because of the satire on usurpation of status which is present in this piece (see intro.), the metal setting of Zoilus' ring must be gold. The 'ius anuli aurei' had been given to the *equites* by (probably) Tiberius, to distinguish them from other *ingenui* (Pl. *N.H.* 33.32); the unscrupulous immediately found it a useful way to pass themselves off as what they were not. The matter came to a head under Claudius: 'adeoque id promiscuum esse coepit, ut apud Claudium Caesarem in censura eius unus ex equitibus Flavius Proculus CCCC ex ea causa reos postularet. ita dum separatur ordo ab ingenuis, communicatus est cum servitiis' (Pl. *N.H.* 33.33). As Pliny says, for a freedman to wear a gold ring meant he lied about his *ingenuitas* as well as his status, because the right was given only to those of freeborn fathers and grandfathers; it could, however, be given to worthy freedmen by imperial decree (like Pallas: Pl. *Ep.* 8.6.4, with Sherwin-White's note; F.Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World* (1977), p.488f.), and it had become completely debased by Hadrian's time (see R.Browning, *CR* 63 (1949), p.12f.). The impracticability of this law, and the abuses to which it was open, are well revealed by this epigram: Zoilus is not contravening it in theory, because his ring is not made solely of gold but also contains a gemstone; yet he is trying to pass himself off as an *eques* by obscuring the stone in a heavy gold setting. Trimalchio tries a similar deception: 'extremo vero articulo digiti sequentis minorem (sc. anulum), ut mihi videbatur, totum aureum, sed plane ferreis veluti stellis ferruminatum' (Petr. 32.3, and see M.S.Smith's note); Trimalchio's other ring is gilded – for the same reason —and many such survive from this period: see *RE* 1A.832; *D.-S.* 1.296f.; A.Stein, *Der römische Ritterstand* (1963), p.30f.; 86f.

3. tuis ... cruribus aptus: shackling was a mild punishment for a *fugitivus*: see Marquardt-Mau, p.182n.7; 184.

fuerat: for the use of the pluperfect for the perfect, frequent in M. with the verbs *esse, dicere* and *facere*, see Friedlaender, 1.107.3n.; E.Löfstedt, *Phil. Komm. zu Peregrinatio Aetheriae* (1911), p.152f.

4. pondera: Pliny again shows the reality behind the wit in the wearing of ludicrously large rings: 'alii pondera eorum ostentant, aliis pluris quam unum gestare labor est' and 'multis hoc modis, ut cetera omnia, luxuria variavit gemmas addendo exquisiti fulgoris censuque opimo digitos onerando' (*N.H.* 33.25; 22). M.'s portrayal of Zoilus here foreshadows Juvenal's Crispinus (1.26f.):

> cum verna Canopi
> Crispinus Tyrias umero revocante lacernas
> ventilet aestivum digitis sudantibus aurum
> nec sufferre queat maioris pondera gemmae,
> difficile est saturam non scribere.

38

A muleteer has just been sold for 20,000 HS., Aulus; you are amazed at such a fat price? He was deaf.

The epigram is similar in structure and content to 8.13:

> morio dictus erat: viginti milibus emi.
> redde mihi nummos, Gargiliane: sapit.

1. mulio: the *mulio* was the driver of any type of Roman carriage, from the generally small and fast *cisium, covinnus* and *essedum* to the generally larger and slower *carpentum, pilentum, raeda* and *carruca*; they were usually mule-powered, whence the driver's name (see Blümner, p.458f.). The *mulio* could be rented by the day (cf. *Ed.Diocl.*7.19; there were 'collegiae mulionum' in some towns – e.g. *CIL* 4.97; 10.143), or kept as a household slave in families which did enough travelling or were rich enough (e.g. Suet. *Nero* 30.3; *Vesp.* 23.2; Sen. *Ep.* 47.15). Though the profession is common on epitaphs (see Blümner, p.465n.19), it was held in very low esteem: 'erras si existimas me quosdam quasi sordidioris operae reiecturum, ut puta illum mulionem et illum bubulcum' (Sen. *Ep.* 47.15); it was considered remarkable that P.Ventidius Bassus rose to the consulship after being a prisoner-of-war and a *mulio* (Aul.Gell. *N.A.* 15.4).

viginti ... milibus: because the *mulio* was not skilled and was held in such low esteem, and as the ensuing question shows, this is a ridiculous price. But little is known about slave prices in the ancient world, the figures that have been preserved often being, as here, out of the ordinary. However, slaves were usually assumed to have a value of 2,000 HS. for legal purposes; and R.Duncan-Jones (*The Economy of the Roman Empire* (1974), p.348f.) has collected twenty-eight Roman prices, half from inscriptional, half from literary evidence, and spanning the period from 86 B.C. to Heliogabalus: the range is from 725 HS. for a boy in *c.*60 A.D. (*CIL* 4.3340.154f.) to 700,000 HS. for a grammarian in 86 B.C. (Pl. *N.H.* 7.128); to take an intermediate example, a cook fetched 2,700 HS. in *c.*75 A.D., while the fish he was to cook cost 8,000 HS. (Pl. *N.H.* 9.67). All that is clear from the scanty evidence is that, as expected, a skilled slave was worth far more than an unskilled one like this *mulio*; and most valuable of all was a good-looking slave: at *N.H.* 7.129 Pliny records the sum of 50,000,000 HS. paid for a eunuch. See also 11.70.1n.

venît: 'veneo', not 'venio', is clearly the verb required; for the contraction of the perfect see 11.7.4n.

Aule $B^{A}C^{A}$lemm.; *Aucte* C^{A}: the reading of C^{A}'s lemma might show that it originally read 'Aule'; this use of the vocative strongly suggests that a real person is being addressed (see 11.7.1n.), and the most likely figure here is M.'s friend and benefactor of long standing Aulus Pudens (see Citroni, 1.31 intro.). If C^{A}'s 'Auctus', equally possible, is preferred, he could be the Pompeius Auctus of 7.51; 7.52; 9.21; 12.13 (and see *PIR*^{1} P.454). The praenomen address is frequent in M. (see Howell, 1.5.2n.).

2. grave: for *gravis* of prices cf. M. 10.75.10 'summa gravis'; *TLL* 6.2.2299.25f.

surdus erat: paradoxical, because a physical disability would normally decrease a slave's value. But this *mulio*'s deafness means he would not be able to eavesdrop on his passengers' conversation: cf. 12.24, where M. thanks Aelianus for his gift of a *covinnus*, and one of the things he praises about it is 'nusquam est mulio: mannuli tacebunt./o si conscius esset hic Avitus,/aurem non ego tertiam timerem' (lines 8f.).

39

You were the rocker of my cradle, Charidemus, and my constant companion and protector when I was a boy. Now the towel blackens with my shaven beard, and my girl-friend complains she's pricked by my lips. But I haven't grown up in your eyes; our bailiff is terrified of you and so is the store-keeper – the very house itself fears you. You don't allow me to have some fun or fall in love; you want me to have no freedom and you to have it all. You reproach me, you spy on me, you complain about me, you sigh wearily and your anger scarcely stops short of beating me. If I've put on my Tyrian outfit or oiled my hair, you exclaim 'Your father never did that'; and you tot up the number of drinks I've had with a frown, as though the barrel came from your own cellar. Stop it! I can't stand a freedman Cato. My girl-friend will tell you that I'm now a man!

M. speaks in the person of the eighteen-year-old who has outgrown his

paedagogus' tutelage and is intent on having his fling (compare Hor.*A.P.* 161f.). The institution of the paedagogus was taken over by the Romans from the Greeks around the third century B.C., and most Roman paedagogi were subsequently of Greek origin. Usually slaves or freedmen, they were constantly in the presence of their charges, not merely accompanying them to school and even giving them additional tuition, but also regulating their general behaviour (cf. Suet. *Nero* 36.2; Sen. *Ep.* 94.8) and escorting them to the baths and theatre (cf. Suet. *Aug.*44.2). In quality they could vary greatly, from the ex-muleteer who taught Claudius (Suet. *Claud.* 2.2) to a respected philosopher like Diogenes (Diog.Laert. 6.30f., if the story is to be trusted); some were undoubtedly exceptional, like Sarpedon who controlled the difficult younger Cato (Plut. *Cato Min.* 1.5), and some were recalled with great affection (Cic. *de Amic.* 74); numerous epitaphs record their loyalty and excellence. However, as this epigram shows, the system had inherent faults: where boys were under such constant supervision (cf. line 2) there was bound to be a backlash. See further S.F.Bonner, *Education in Ancient Rome* (1977), p.38f.; *RE* 18.2.2375f.

An abridged version of this epigram is used for the motto of the 84 th. Rambler, which contains a letter from 'Mystilla', aged sixteen, and resolved 'no longer to be treated as a child, to ask advice, or give accounts'. She wishes the Rambler to state 'the time at which young ladies may judge for themselves, which I am sure you cannot but think ought to begin before sixteen; if you are inclined to delay it longer, I shall have very little regard for your opinion.'

1. cunarum ... motor: (this is the only occurrence of *motor* in Classical Latin: *TLL* 8.1532.26f.). The soothing effect on babies of rocking the cradle was well known (e.g. Theoc. 24.10); Galen (6.p.37 Kühn) recommends the practice for keeping babies healthy and contented, and Plutarch comments on Hes. *Op.* 750 that the new born should not be left unrocked, or they will be weaker (7.p.92.80 Bernardakis). See further *D.-S.*1.1588: fig. 2130 shows a baby securely strapped into a rocking cradle; Richter, *Furniture*,p.110 illustrates a reconstruction of a wooden cradle from Herculaneum.

fueras: for the pluperfect see 11.37.3n.; note also line 12.

Charideme: a typically Greek name for the paedagogus, ironic in that he is anything but 'pleasing' to his charge; M. uses the name in other skoptic epigrams (e.g. 6.31; 6.56; 6.81; 11.87).

3. sudaria: neither Greeks nor Romans distinguished between words for towels, napkins or handkerchiefs. Thus we find a *sudarium* used to wipe the sweat off orators' faces (clearly the derivation of the noun: Quint. 11.3.148); to protect Nero's divine voice by his holding it in front of his mouth (Suet. *Nero* 25.3); to clean the fingers (Petr. 67.5); and as a handkerchief (Cat. 12.14; 25.7). Here it is a barber's towel. See *D.-S.* 4.223f.; and on barbers 11.58.5n.; 11.84 intro.

4. puncta: (A^A's 'iuncta' is trivialisation). For *pungere* of the bristly beard cf.

Plaut. *Cas.* 929; the verb is also used by M. of the effect of the sea-urchin's shell on the fingers (13.86.1).

5. crevi C^A; *crevit* A^AB^A: the following 't' explains the different readings, either of which is possible: 'crevit' would refer to the beard (for *crescere* in this sense cf. Lucr. 6.945), but is marginally inferior because the phrase could be taken ambiguously to mean that Charidemus does not have a beard, and because 'crevi' leads better into what follows: Charidemus inspires fear in everyone, whatever their age or position.

vilicus: Columella devotes a chapter to the qualities necessary for this important slave (*R.R.* 11.1); he is usually associated with a farm, though city *vilici* are known (*RE* 8A.2140.57f.). The *vilicus* was in overall charge of the farm, which included supervising the workers and their clothing, and maintenance and care of tools and equipment. It was a very responsible position, and demanded close co-operation with and loyalty to the master (Pl. *N.H.* 18.36). In theory a *vilicus* should have nothing to fear from a paedagogus, but that is not the case when Charidemus is around.

6. dispensator: the accountant and paymaster of the estate: 'ut vilicus naturam agri novit, dispensator litteras scit' (Cic. *de Rep.* 5.3); again he could be found in the city house as well as on the country farm (cf. *Dig.* 50.16.166), and again he should have nothing to fear from Charidemus (see also *RE* 5.1189f.).

7. ludere: virtually synonymous with 'amare': see 11.104.5n. *ludere* and *lusus* are often used of the amatory exploits of youth (see Adams, *LSV* p.162 and n.2 with references).

9. corripis ... ducis: for the *sunathroismos* of verbs see 11.35.3n.; this whole line marvellously encapsulates the reactions of a crotchety old teacher.

suspiria ducis: Ovidian (cf. *Met.* 1.656; 10.402 etc.).

10. ferulis: paedagogi must have had severe disciplinary problems, particularly in view of their unusual position in charge of *ingenui* though of servile origin themselves (cf. Dio Chrys. 72.10; *Rhet. ad Herr.* 4.10.14). Corporal punishment was a remedy – 'ferulaeque tristes, sceptra paedagogorum' (M. 10.62.10). The *ferula* was cut from the stalk of the giant fennel, or narthex, and was light, pliable and easy to handle (Pl. *N.H.* 13.123). It was a feature of their schooldays readily recalled by Roman writers (e.g. Ov. *Am.* 1.13.17f.; Juv. 1.15), but it was the most lenient punishment – the *scutica* and *catomus* were more brutal (see Mayor, Juv. 1.15n.; Bonner, op.cit. p.143f.).

temperat ira sua A^A (*tua* Beverland); *abstinet ira manum* B^AC^A: Lindsay sees an author variant in these readings (*Ancient Editions*, p.13f.), but the theory is to be treated with scepticism (see p.3f.). It is difficult to see why M. should have wanted to change one wording for the other (assuming both to be correct Latin). However *abstineo* and *tempero* are usually intransitive in

such contexts: e.g. 'fervet et a trepido vix abstinet ira magistro' (Lucan 4.242; cf. Liv. 2.16.9; Pl. *Ep.* 2.5.8; *TLL* 1.195.10f.); so while one would hesitate to call the $B^{A}C^{A}$ reading impossible, it is less idiomatic. It may have crept in from lines of similar form: e.g. Ov. *Her.* 11.80 'et vix a misero continet ore manus'; note also Sid.Ap. *Carm.* 7.426, where T offers 'temperat iras' and other manuscripts 'continet iras'. So A^{A} is to be preferred here, with Beverland's small but necessary emendation. For the short final open vowel in the pentameter in M. cf. 8.50(51).2; 9.100.2; 12.94.6 with Friedlaender, vol.1, p.32n.1, and M.Platnauer, *Latin Elegiac Verse*(1951), p.64f.

11. Tyrios ... cultus: Tyrian dye was a byword for luxury. True Tyrian purple was prepared from *murex trunculus* or *brandaris* and was a vat dye; clothes were usually double-dyed with it; it was introduced into Rome in the first century B.C. (Pl. *N.H.* 9.125f.). It was prohibitively expensive in M.'s day (cf. 8.10; 14.156), which is one reason for Charidemus to object to it. Purple was also the badge of the fop, the ostentatiously rich and the social climber (cf. 1.96.6f.; 2.57.2; 5.8; 5.23; 6.11). Because of its rarity the manufacture of substitutes for the true dye had long been a thriving industry (cf. Theoph. *Hist.Pl.* 4.6.5; Pl. *N.H.* 22.3f.): most of them were mordant dyes (i.e. they required a mordant like filtered lime-water or iron acetate to be precipitated onto the fibre). See further M.Rheinhold, *Purple as a Status Symbol in Antiquity, Coll. Latomus* 116 (1970), p.52f.; Forbes, *Technology,* 4.p.114f.; Marquardt-Mau, p.504f.; Mayor, Juv. 1.27n.

unxive capillos: oiling the hair (except at symposia: see 11.8.10n.) is, in satire, another sign of the fop or fashionable man-about-town (e.g. M.2.29.5; Juv. 2.41 etc.); Silius Italicus describes Voluptas as 'Achaemenium spirabat vertice odorem,/ambrosias diffusa comas' (*Pun.* 15.23f.). Charidemus thus criticises wearing hair oil as a decadent habit. See also Lilja, *Odours,* p.86f.; and, on Roman dandyism in general, E.Eyben, *De Jonge Romein* (1977), p.180f.

13. adstricta fronte: for the frown of displeasure see 11.2.1n.

15. Catonem: for Cato, the archetypal kill-joy, see 11.2.1n.

16. esse virum: M. is a *vir* because he has now grown up and is out of Charidemus' charge, and also (cf. 'amica') because he is sexually experienced (note Charidemus' complaint at line 7). For *vir* in this latter sense see 11.22.6n.; Ov. *Am.* 3.7(6).20; *A.A.* 1.698; *A.L.* 308.2; R.G.Tarrant, Sen. *Agam.* 299n. For a similar scenario note Plaut. *Bacch.* 481f.

40

Lupercus loves beautiful Glycera and he alone keeps her to himself and he alone commands her. When he was sadly lamenting that he hadn't fucked her for a whole month and wanted to tell the reason to Aelianus, who was asking him about it, he replied that Glycera had tooth-ache.

The humour of the epigram lies in Lupercus' slip of giving away the type of sex he enjoys with Glycera: though there is no great stigma attached to him for the practice (see 11.25 intro.), it is reason enough for a wry smile that what he calls 'fututio' (line 3) turns out to be 'irrumatio'. An epigram of the same kind occurs later in the book, where Charisianus accidentally betrays that his talk of 'pedicare' should be 'pedicari' (11.88). An epigram of Meleager (*A.P.* 11.223) produces a similar effect in a different way (the ambiguity being on the part of the author; the speaker does not betray himself):

εἰ βινεῖ Φαβορῖνος ἀπιστεῖς· μηκέτ' ἀπίστει·
αὐτός μοι βινεῖν εἶπ' ἰδίωι στόματι.

('You are not sure if Favorinus fucks. You can be sure now: he told me he fucks with his own mouth.')

1. formonsam: this could be a reminiscence of the opening of Verg. *Ecl.* 2: 'formosum pastor Corydon ardebat Alexin'; note the positions of the adjective and verb. If so, it evokes a pastoral atmosphere which is soon rudely dispelled by the crudities of epigram.

Glyceram: a common name for a prostitute (in M also at 6.40.2); see Nisbet-Hubbard, Hor. *Carm.* 1.19.5n.

Lupercus: a frequent name in M. (an *irrumator* also at 3.75; a grasping lover at 4.28; and cf. 6.51; 7.83; 9.87; 12.47(46)) and a common cognomen generally (see Kajanto, *Cognomina,* p.318); the Luperci of 1.117 and 6.6 are probably real people. The name recalls the priests of Faunus, Roman youths who ran naked round the City during the Lupercalia in February; this seems originally to have been a purificatory rite, though its best known aspect is of fertility: the Luperci beat the Roman women with strips of flayed goat-skin to make them conceive (cf. Juv.2.142). The festival had been toned down by Augustus, but that M. knew of it in its full-blooded form is apparent from 4.28, where he plays on the name Lupercus and its connotations to great effect (see A.W.J.Holleman, *Latomus* 35 (1976), p.861f.). Such an allusion would not be so pointed here, but the name has unmistakeable sexual overtones, and it may be ironic that someone so closely associated with fertility should only be interested in a sexual practice which cannot bear fruit. See also Frazer and Bömer, Ov. *Fast.* 2.267n.

2. et solus ... solus: a line Catullan in structure: for the chiasmus compare e.g. 6.3 'velles dicere nec tacere posses'; for the same word at the beginning and end of the line e.g. 42.2 'omnes undique, quotquot estis omnes'. The repetition of 'solus' here suggests the state of mind of the obsessive lover (see Nisbet-Hubbard, Hor. *Carm.* 1.13.1n.).

imperat: a strong and unusual word for an erotic context; it may suggest that Glycera was an unwilling partner in the act.

5. Aeliano: probably a real person (see 11.7.1n.), though this instance is slightly unusual in that the benefactor is not simply addressed in the vocative, but is made a character in the poem as well. However, there is no great difficulty in assuming Glycera and Lupercus to be fictitious, Aelianus to be real. It is a common cognomen (see Kajanto, *Cognomina*, p.139) and is the name of the man who gave M. his *covinnus* (12.24.3): he does not appear elsewhere, and these two references give no information. Consequently, attempts to identify him with the author of the *Taktikê Theôria*, or Casperius Aelianus, praetorian prefect under Domitian (as Friedlaender, 12.24.3n.), are futile.

41

While Amyntas the swine-herd was spoiling his pigs too much and was feeling pleased with their reputation for plumpness, his weight proved too much for the boughs and rippling branches, and he followed the fruits he had shaken off down to the ground. His father prevented the ill-omened grove surviving its cruel plunder, and condemned the lethal wood to the pyre. Lygdus, let neighbour Iollas keep his plump pigs; I'm satisfied if you just keep a count of the number of my herd.

This literary epitaph (or, more accurately, story about a death) has much in common with pieces in the Greek Anthology which describe unusually picturesque demises; Friedlaender remarks 'vielleicht Uebersetzung eines griechischen Epigramms', but that is probably overstating the case (see below). Nevertheless, M. is moving essentially in the field of Greek epigram: note the similarity of this piece by the Philippan poet Antiphilus of Byzantium, which likewise describes a pastoral scene in which the herdsman falls to his death (*A.P.* 7.622):

Βόρχος ὁ βουποίμην ὅτ' ἐπὶ γλυκὺ κηρίον εἶρπεν,
αἰγίλιπα σχοίνωι πέτρον ἐπερχόμενος,
εἵπετό οἱ σκυλάκων τις ὁ καὶ βοσίν, ὃς φάγε λεπτὴν
σχοῖνον ἀνελκομένωι χραινομένην μέλιτι·
κάππεσε δ' εἰς Ἀΐδαο· τὸ δ' ἀτρυγὲς ἀνδράσιν ἄλλοις
κεῖνο μέλι ψυχῆς ἄνιον εἰρύσατο.

('When Borchus the herdsman was creeping towards the sweet honeycomb, climbing up the steep rock with a rope, one of his dogs followed him, like it followed the cattle, and, as he hauled himself up, ate through the thin rope which was smeared with honey. And Borchus fell to Hades. That honey, which other men could not harvest, he plundered at the price of his life.')

Other examples of such improbable disasters can be found in the Ninth Book of the Greek Anthology (e.g. Erycius 9.233; anon. 9.252; Crinagoras 9.276; Bianor 9.278; 548; and note also M. 2.75; 3.19; 4.18; 4.60, and H.Szelest, *Philologus* 120 (1976), p.251f.; 11.82 with intro.). These instances are presumably of a fictive nature, but interest in unusual deaths is also found

in inscriptional epitaphs; Lattimore (*Themes*, p.151) says 'Here also (i.e. in Latin as well as Greek) we have a tendency to record the manner of death when it is unusual or in any way noteworthy. Death from sickness or in old age is passed over, but death at sea, in battle, in childbed, by murder or accident is put forward even more perhaps than in the Greek inscriptions.' But it must be admitted that real deaths rarely matched the fictive ones for bizarrerie or downright silliness.

Despite similar epitaphs in other books of M., this one seems out of place in this particular book; it has an innuendo of sorts at the end (see 7n.), but it goes strangely against M.'s dictum 'hominem pagina nostra sapit' (10.4.10) in a collection of poems which is more down to earth than most. The epigram is also strangely oblique or even directionless for M.: it is not, for example, until the last couplet that the 'pecus/grex' is shown to be pigs and we gather that the 'opes' are acorns. Berends (*Anordnung*, p.54) rightly suggests that this is the companion of the following piece, where M. complains that Caecilianus wants a lively epigram out of a lifeless subject; in that the present epigram is so out of tune with M.'s canon of realism (see 11.42 intro.), it is an excellent example of a 'mortuum lemma'. It is a frequent device of M.'s to apologise in an epigram for what he has done in the preceding one, and this is the way to interpret 11.41-2. Compare, for example, 1.35, which apologises for obscenity, while 1.34 is obscene; 1.110 and 3.83 apologise for lengthy poems, while 1.109 and 3.82 are long; 6.65 apologises for long hexametric epigrams, while 6.64 is such a one; and 10.45 apologises for pieces which lack invective, and 10.44 does so. See also p.5f.

1. Amyntas: a good pastoral name (see Gow, Theoc. 7.2n.; Vergil uses both Amyntas and Iollas in *Ecl.* 2 and 3), also well attested in *CIL* 6 index.

2. luxuriaque: the noun is used of exuberant, almost unhealthy growth in plants and animals: e.g. Col. *R.R.* 4.27.6 'nam cacumina flagellorum confringere luxuriae conprimendae causa'; Aul.Gell. *N.A.* 6.22.4 'cuius corpus in tam immodicum modum luxuriasset exuberassetque'. In view of what happened, it here suggests that Amyntas fed his pigs too well.

3. fluentem: an appropriate participle, suggesting the instability of the branches, the movement as Amyntas shakes the acorns off, and, proleptically, the downward rush.

4. vicit: the spondee followed by a pause evokes the fatal fall; for the verb cf. 1.82.6 (of a portico) 'victa est pondere cum suo repente'.

opes: undoubtedly acorns (see intro.), which are often mentioned as the staple food of pigs (e.g. Varro *R.R.* 2.4.6; Cato *R.R.* 54; Col. *R.R.* 7.9.6f.; see further K.D.White, *Roman Farming* (1970), p.316f.).

5. triste: for *tristis* used of the ill effects of things on people, cf. 10.62.10 'ferulaeque tristes, sceptra paedagogorum'; Hor. *Carm.* 2.13.11 'te triste lignum'; an inanimate object is often blamed for what is either an accident or

the victim's own fault (e.g. the tree which nearly felled Horace: *Carm.* 2.13, with Nisbet-Hubbard's intro.; the writing tablets which failed to deliver the right reply to Ovid: *Am.* 1.12; or the portico which almost crushed Regulus: M. 1.12). Here M. piles up words which suggest that the tree was at fault ('triste ... dirae rapinae ... damnavit ... noxia').

rapinae: (de Rooy's 'ruinae' is unnecessary); Amyntas is the tree's 'rapina' because the tree is made human to the extent that it can bear responsibility for its actions. Cf. 6.68.11.

7. Lygde: the concluding couplet gives advice to Lygdus drawn from the example of the preceding events: he is not to bother about neighbour Iollas' fat pigs so he will not come to Amyntas' untimely end by enviously fattening up his own herd. (It was proverbial that the grass was greener or the flock fatter on the other side of the fence: e.g. Ov. *A.A.* 1.349f. 'fertilior seges est alienis semper in agris/vicinumque pecus grandius uber habet'; and Otto 59.) The implication is that Lygdus' owner is more interested in the swineherd than in the swine: this suits both the pastoral atmosphere of the piece and the overtones of the name Lygdus – derived from Greek *lugdos*, which was a kind of Parian marble famed for its whiteness (cf. Diod.Sic. 2.52.9; Pl. *N.H.* 36.62; Page, Rufinus 10.2n.), it at once suggests a *delicatus* (see 11.22.1n.). Thus it was the name of a favourite eunuch of the younger Drusus 'aetate atque forma carus domino interque primores ministros' (Tac. *Ann.* 4.10; see *PIR*² L.465), and is used of *delicati* elsewhere by M. (6.39.13; 6.45.3; 11.73.1; 12.71.1).

Iollas: essentially a pastoral name, though also attested for real people (e.g. *PIR*² I.40; *RE* 9.1855).

8. adnumerare: the basic role of the shepherd, to keep a count of his animals and make sure none stray (as Verg. *Ecl.* 3.34; Tib. 1.5.25); Lygdus, for his own safety, is not to exceed this duty.

42

Though you demand lively epigrams, you give me lifeless subjects. How can I manage it, Caecilianus? You ask me to produce honey of Hybla or Hymettus for you, yet you place Corsican thyme before an Attic bee.

Caecilianus has either commissioned an epigram from M., or he has asked him to write an impromptu piece; the latter alternative is the more attractive. Compare the similar situation of 9.89:

> lege nimis dura convivam scribere versus
> cogis, Stella? 'licet scribere nempe malos.'

Extempore composition, both in poetry and prose, was a popular intellectual test and game of this period (see G.Williams, *Change and Decline* (1978), index

s.v. 'improvisation'); M. reasonably complains that he cannot be expected to produce a good epigram off the cuff unless he is given an interesting subject, and he uses this excuse to apologise for a 'poor' poem (see 11.41 intro.). In what sense, then, is 11.41 'mortuum' while most of M.'s output is considered by himself to be 'vividum'? There is a play on words: it is 'mortuum' firstly because it is about death; but it is dead in a literary sense both because it is divorced from M.'s usual realism, and because it is in an essentially Greek style, lacking what M. saw as his specific contribution to the epigram – 'Romanus sal'. These two aspects are evident at 8.3.19f. (a poem which is M.'s literary credo), where his Muse says:

> at tu Romano lepidos sale tinge libellos:
> adgnoscat mores vita legatque suos.

For M.'s canon of realism see also 10.4; 12.*pref.*; for his 'Romanus sal' see also 4.23; 7.25; Pl. *Ep.* 3.21.1, with K.-H.Mehnert, *Sal Romanus und Esprit Français* (1970),p.22f.

1. mortua: see above. It is not found with such literary overtones elsewhere, but they are apparent from the juxtaposition with 'vivida' and the balance of the sentence (adjective, verb, neuter plural Greek noun in both parts).

2. lemmata: the noun can have three basic meanings when used of epigrams: (i) the subject of an epigram (e.g. Pl. *Ep.* 4.27.3, where he praises the *poematia* of Sentius Augurinus and comments 'nam lemma sibi sumpsit, quod ego interdum versibus ludo'); (ii) by extension, the epigram itself (e.g. M. 10.59.1 'consumpta est uno si lemmate pagina, transis'); and (iii) the title of an epigram, actually written out by a *rubricator* above it (e.g. M. 14.2.1f. 'quo vis cumque loco potes hunc finire libellum:/versibus explicitumst omne duobus opus./lemmata si quaeris cur sint adscripta, docebo:/ut, si malueris, lemmata sola legas'). The meaning here is (i); there is no suggestion that the lemmata which appear in our manuscripts were from M.'s pen: 14.2.3, quoted above, suggests the practice was exceptional in M.'s day, and Lindsay (*Ancient Editions*, p.34f.) has shown that the manuscript lemmata are of a fairly late date (in late antiquity?) because of frequent divergences of reading in the three families, and because of the impossible howlers they sometimes record.

qui B^A; *quid* A^AC^A: 'quid' is preferred by Heraeus and Housman (*Class. Pap* 3.p.1099), but though instrumental 'qui' is not found elsewhere in M., it is used in other literature of the period (note esp. Pl. *Ep.* 2.6.4, in a conversation Pliny records between himself and a mean host: 'qui fieri potest?'). 'qui' also gives better sense and should be preferred.

Caeciliane: a common name in M. (see Citroni, 1.65 intro.), and frequent in inscriptions, particularly of people of African origin (see Kajanto, *Cognomina*, p.18; 35; 142). Real here (see 11.7.1n.), but not identifiable.

3. mella: the connection between bees, their honey, and poetical or rhetorical inspiration is well established at an early date (e.g. Hes. *Theog.* 81f.); Cicero

narrates of Plato that bees settled on his lips when he was asleep in his cradle, which was a sign that he would be particularly eloquent (*de Div.* 2.36; cf. Pausanias on Pindar (9.23.2)); and Valerius Maximus says 'mihi ... apes non montem Hymettium thymi flore redolentem, sed Musarum Heliconis colles omni genere doctrinae virentes, dearum instinctu depastae, maximo ingenio dulcissima summae eloquentiae instillasse videntur alimenta' (1.6.3). The Muses themselves could be pictured as bees (e.g. Philostr. *Imag.*2.8), or, as here, the work of the poet could be called honey (e.g. Lucr. 1.947). See further F.Williams, Callim. *Hymn to Apollo* 110n.; J.H. Waszink, *Biene und Honig als Symbol des Dichters und der Dichtung* (1974); G. Robert-Tornow, *De apium mellisque apud veteres significatione* (1893).

Hyblaea ... vel Hymettia: the mountains are bracketed together also at 7.88.8; Symm. *Ep.* 1.102. Traditionally the best honey came from these areas of Sicily and Greece: 'ibi optimus semper ubi optimorum doliolis florum conditur. fit Atticae regionis hoc et Siculae, Hymetto et Hybla, apricis locis, mox Calydna in insula' (Pl. *N.H.*11.32); see Otto 835; 838; 1081; *RE* 15.367f.

4. thyma: it was thought that the best honey was produced by bees fed on thyme: 'sic ex alia re ut e fico mel insuave, e cytiso bonum, e thymo optimum' (Varro *R.R.* 3.16.26; cf. Arist. *Hist.Anim.*626b21); Pliny gives a reason: '(sc. mel) coit palam e violis pingue, e marino rore spissum, quod concrescit autem minime laudatur. thymosum non coit et tactu praetenuia fila remittit, quod primum bonitatis argumentum est; abrumpi statim et resilire guttas vilitatis indicium habetur' (*N.H.*11.39). Pliny thought that as Attic honey was the best, so was Attic thyme (*N.H.* 21.56f.); thus M. here assumes that the poorness of Corsican honey is indicative of the bad quality of Corsican thyme.

Cecropiae: Cecrops was the mythical first king of Athens (see Roscher, 2.1014f.); M. portrays himself as an Attic bee since they produced the best honey – an adroit piece of self-flattery which neatly points out to Caecilianus that it is not the poet, but the material he has been given which is at fault. There is also the point that M. is asked to write an epigram on a Greek theme and in a Greek style, to use 'Cecropius lepor' rather than 'Romanus sal' (see intro.).

Corsica: a honey as proverbially bad as Attic and Sicilian were good: e.g. Porph. ap. Hor. *A.P.* 375 'Corsicum et Sardum mel pessimi saporis est'; Verg. *Ecl.* 7.37f.; Ov. *Am.* 1.12.10; Pl. *N.H.* 30.28; M. 9.26.4. This bitterness was in fact attributed to the box tree, not to thyme (Theoph. *Hist.Pl.* 3.15.5; Diod.Sic. 5.14.3; Pl. *N.H.* 16.71; and see *RE* 15.369).

43

When you catch me red-handed up a boy, you harangue me with sour words and claim that you too have an anus, wife. How often did Juno say the same thing to the lecherous Thunderer? Yet he still sleeps with his big boy Ganymede. The man from Tiryns used to lay aside his bow and bend Hylas instead; do you think that Megara didn't have a bum? Daphne, as she fled,

was tormenting Phoebus with desire: but the Oebalian boy bade those flames be gone. Although Briseis often used to lie with her back turned, his smooth boy-friend was closer to Aeaeus' grandson. So stop labelling your parts with masculine names and consider, wife, that you possess two cunts.

This epigram is almost a companion piece to 11.104: it is addressed to a 'wife' (on whom see 11.104 intro.), it deals with the theme of sodomy (though the wife volunteers the service here, whereas she refuses it at 11.104), and the humour in both poems depends to a large extent on an irreverent skit on mythological exempla. Here M. contradicts the remedy for homosexual love which had been advanced by Marcus Argentarius (*A.P.* 5.116.3f.):

εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀρσενικὸν στέργεις πόθον, οἶδα διδάξαι
φάρμακον, ὃι παύσεις τὴν δυσέρωτα νόσον.
στρέψας Μηνοφίλαν εὐίσχιον, ἐν φρεσὶν ἔλπου
αὐτὸν ἔχειν κόλποις ἄρσενα Μηνόφιλον.

('If you are in love with a boy I can teach you a cure to allay this disease of passion. Turn round Menophila with her nice hips, and imagine that you hold the boy Menophilus in your embrace.') See also Gow-Page, *Meleager*, p.613; 658. Such is the remedy the wife suggests, but M. retorts that sodomy with a woman is not the same as sodomy with a boy; he reaches the same conclusion at 12.96.9f.:

non eadem res est: Chiam volo, nolo mariscam:
ne dubites quae sit Chia, marisca tua est.
scire suos fines matrona et femina debet:
cede sua pueris, utere parte tua.

Strato (*A.P.* 12.7) is more explicit:

σφιγκτὴρ οὐκ ἔστιν παρὰ παρθένοι, οὐδὲ φίλημα
ἁπλοῦν, οὐ φυσικὴ χρωτὸς εὔπνοίη ...
ψυχροῦνται δ' ὄπιθεν πᾶσαι· τὸ δὲ μεῖζον ἐκεῖνο,
οὐκ ἔστιν ποῦ θῇς τὴν χέρα πλαζομένην.

('Girls do not have a sphincter nor a straightforward kiss nor a naturally nice smell of the skin ... They are all cold behind. But this is worse – there is nowhere to put your wandering hand.') Of course, none of this theorising should be taken too seriously: the epigrammatist's opinion on such matters is likely to vary from poem to poem. At 11.78.5f., for example, M. suggests to Victor that sodomy with his wife is a suitable alternative to his boys, and at 11.22 he questions the propriety of some aspects of homosexual intercourse.

1. deprensum in puero: *deprensus in* is the equivalent of caught red-handed (e.g. Cic. *Verr.* 5.111; *TLL* 5.1.605.15f.); here the phrase describes the crime as well.

tetricis: frequent in M. (see Citroni, 1.62.2n.), this adjective regularly occurs in contexts where he expresses a sarcastic opinion about old world morality.

4. grandi: of sexual maturity, as at 2.48.5 'et grandem puerum diuque levem'; cf. 7.62.1; 12.49.13; *TLL* 6.2.2180.29f.

Ganymede: the most famous *delicatus* in myth, first associated with that role at Ibycus frag. 289 Page. See Dover, *Homosexuality*, p.196f.; Woldinga, Xen. *Symp.* 8.30f.n.

5. incurvabat: balances and picks up 'posito arcu'; this is the only time the verb is used in this sense (at Vulg. Job 31.10 it has a different sexual reference), but compare *inclino* in Juvenal (9.26; 10.224) and *inclinabiliter* in inscriptions (Adams, *LSV* p.137n.1); see further Adams, *LSV* p.191f.

Hylan: the fullest account of Hercules' love for Hylas is Ap.Rhod. 1.1207f. (and see Frazer, Apollod. 1.9.19n.; Roscher, 1.2792f.). Note the similarity of the exempla at Marlowe's Edward II, Act 1 sc.4, where Mortimer Senior excuses Edward's passion for Gaveston:

> The mightiest kings have had their minions:
> Great Alexander loved Hephaistion;
> The conquering Hercules for Hylas wept;
> And for Patroclus stern Achilles drooped ...

8. Oebalius puer: Hyacinthus, so called because Oebalus was an early king of his homeland Sparta (cf. Ov. *Met.* 13.396); for the story of Apollo's love for him, see Apollod. 1.3.3; 3.10.3 with Frazer; Roscher, 1.2759f.; *RE* 9.9f. M. seems to be the only author to link the Daphne and Hyacinthus episodes in this manner.

9. multum: for *multum* in the sense 'often', a usage found as early as Terence (e.g. *Phorm.* 194), see *TLL* 8.1617.20f.; Kiessling-Heinze, Hor. *Carm.* 1.25.5n.; and note also M. 8.6.15; 9.49.1; 9.59.1.

10. levis: an absence of body hair, whether natural or artificially produced, was considered a mark of effeminacy: thus Ovid (*A.A.* 3.437): 'femina quid faciat, cum sit vir levior ipsa?'; smoothness is an indication of youthfulness and a prerequisite of *delicati* (see 11.22.5n.; 7n.), but in an older man it is a sign of his being a *cinaedus* – and *levis* often carries overtones of passive homosexuality (cf. *TLL* 7.2.1222.44f.).

amicus: the supposition of a pederastic relationship between Achilles and Patroclus is old, the mainstay of the interpretation being Aeschylus' trilogy Myrmidons, Nereids and Phrygians (see Dover, *Homosexuality*, p.197f.). But there is an anomaly in it: Phaedrus (at Pl. *Symp.* 180a) claims that Aeschylus is talking nonsense when he makes Achilles the *erastês* of Patroclus, because Homer says that the latter was the elder (e.g. *Il.* 11.786f.); so the relationship must have been the other way round (and there may be some indications that this was the case in the version of the myth which pre-dated Homer: see G.Murray, *The Rise of the Greek Epic*[3] (1924), p.124n.2; W.M.Clarke, *Hermes* 106 (1978), p.381f.). But because of Achilles' prowess and pre-eminence in war it would obviously not have been fitting for him to be portrayed as an

erômenos, so later writers changed his role to that of the older man. See further *RE* 11.903; Woldinga, Xen. *Symp.* 8.31n.

12. cunnos ... duos: M. is here playing humorously with the *annominatio* between *culus* and *cunnus* (see too 11.46.5). The structure of the epigram as a whole is important: lines 1-2 give the opening address to the wife; lines 3-10 give the mythological exempla to contradict her; and lines 11-12 give the closing address, which picks up and refutes the opening couplet (it is no coincidence that 'culum' in line 2 is in the same position as 'cunnos' in line 12: the latter is M.'s renaming of the former – and for *cunnus* in inscriptions being used of the *culus* of a pathic see Adams, *LSV* p.116).

O.K.Weinreich (*RhM* 77 (1928), p.112) notes a curious but coincidental similarity of phrase between 'cunnos duos' and the *tâs phuseis* of *Pariser Zauberpapyrus* Z 326: *hê phusis* is the vagina, and the plural, in a list of female anatomy, can only refer to the anus as well.

This particular line was cited by Voltaire (Collected Works (1878), vol. 18, p.560) as a good example of M.'s obscenity.

44

You are childless and rich and were born when Brutus was consul: do you think that you have any real friends? You do, but they are those you had when you were young and poor. Your new friend is fond only of your death.

This is the first in a series of short poems which deal with *captatio* in this book (see also 55; 67; 83). Legacy-hunting was an essentially Roman practice which had been on the increase since the last days of the republic, when the birth-rate was falling and there were people deciding, for one reason or another, not to get married. Cicero laments 'mihi quidem etiam verae hereditates non honestae videntur malitiosis blanditiis, officiorum non veritate sed simulatione si sunt quaesitae' (*de Off.* 3.74). Another contributory factor was the Roman idea of *amicitia*, which qualified a man who was assiduously attentive as an *amicus*, which in turn entailed a virtual right to figure in the will; this made *captatio* all the easier, and the difficulty of distinguishing between a friend and a *captator* all the harder. But on the other hand the continuous attention which the combination of childlessness, wealth and old age ensured would not have been an unattractive prospect to many, and some old men were quite alert enough to beat the legacy-hunters at their own game (see further Sherwin-White, *Pliny*, p.203f.).

Captatio is a common Roman satirical subject: e.g. Hor. *Sat.* 2.5 with Lejay; Petronius' account of Croton, which is divided into two classes of citizen – 'aut captantur aut captant' (116f.); M. 2.40; 4.56; 5.39; 6.62; 6.63; 8.27; 9.8(9); 9.48; 12.40; 12.90 etc.; Juv. 12.93f. This reflects a real concern about a social problem of the day; the unscrupulous had to be guarded against, and the scrupulous had to ensure their motives were not misunderstood: thus Pliny, when discussing the possibility of conveying some money to the

Platner-Ashby, p.549f.).

coacta: cf. Ov. *Met.* 8.666 'lactis massa coacti': again we are reminded of Baucis and Philemon. The verb refers to the process of curdling in the making of cheese (cf. Col. *R.R.* 7.8.1; Pl. *N.H.* 23.126).

11. Picenum ... olivae: olives could either be eaten as hors d'oeuvres or as dessert (M. 13.36). Picentine olives were good food, well-liked, abundant and inexpensive (see Citroni, 1.43.8n.). Pliny says 'quam ob causam Italicis transmarinae praeferuntur in cibis, cum oleo vincantur, et in ipsa Italia ceteris Picenae et Sidicinae' (*N.H.* 15.16). Italy is still a noted olive exporter, and the Picentine area is particularly fruitful. That the olives M. is here offering have felt the frost is, like the age of the fish, an indication that they are not at their best: cf. 7.31.4 'nec iam frigoribus pares olivas'. Olives for eating are generally picked before they are fully ripe, in September, while those for oil are left on the trees until November or December.

12. haec satis in gustu: cf. again 10.48.13 'gustus in his'.

13. mentiar: M. alleges that the dishes he is offering for the main course are beyond his means: though they are not in fact extravagant, Cerialis should not expect such elegant fare from the poet.

conchylia: from Greek *konchê* or *konchulion*, a blanket term for any or all species of shell-fish – with 'pisces' it covers all sea-food: cf. Cic. *in Pis.* 67 'exstructa mensa non conchyliis aut piscibus, sed multa carne subrancida'. Apicius gives a recipe for *conchylia* at 9.7; see also D'Arcy Thompson, *Fishes*, p.118; André, *L'alimentation*, p.106.

sumen: sow's udder, a noted Roman delicacy, especially in Plautus (and cf. *A.P.* 11.44.4 quoted above). Apicius again gives the recipe: 'boil the udder, bind together with reed, sprinkle with pepper, lovage, *liquamen*, blend with wine and *passum*, thicken with cornflour and pour over the udder' (7.2.1). Another popular pig dish was sterile sow's womb (Apic. 7.1.1), gourmets having decreed which type of pig was best for each cut (Pl. *N.H.* 11.211). *sumen* again features at 10.48.12, and at 9.14 it is held to be the type of food for which the glutton courts friendship.

14. chortis ... aves: cf. 7.31.1 'raucae chortis aves' – chickens. The *chors* is the poultry yard of the farm: cf. Varro *R.R.* 3.3.6; M. 7.54.7; 9.54.11; 13.45.2 etc.

paludis aves: ducks are fond of a marshy habitat: 'cui autem volunt greges anatium habere ac constituere nessotrophion, primum locum, quoi est facultas, eligere oportet palustrem, quod eo maxime delectantur' (Varro *R.R.* 3.11.1).

15. nec: for 'ne ... quidem'; see 11.34.1n.

Stella: L.Arruntius Stella, the third most mentioned individual in M., his twenty-one references putting him only behind Domitian and Flaccus (see 11.27.1n.); though he reached the consulship, the tone of M.'s poems to him

and other allusions show that he remained a good personal friend as well as a benefactor (see P.White, *HSCPh* 79 (1975), p.267f.). He also knew Cerealis (10.48.5) and was an amateur poet (ibid.; 9.89); he was one of the few people friendly with both M. and Statius (Stat. *Silv.* 1.2; cf. M. 6.21). See also *PIR*² A.1151; *RE* 2. 1265.(26); Citroni, M. 1.7 intro.

16. nil recitabo tibi: considering the literary circles in which M. and Cerealis moved (see 1n.) and the preceding reference to Stella, a recitation over dinner was definitely on the horizon. It was a common Roman practice (cf. M. 3.45; 3.50; 5.78.25; 7.51.13f.; 9.89; Pl. *Ep.* 3.1.9; Juv. 11.180f.) which satirists regarded as the height of boredom and a very good reason to refuse an invitation. At *A.P.* 11.10 Lucillius similarly promises Aulus that he will have to suffer no such ordeal if he comes to dinner (note also *A.P.* 11.394); here M. pays Cerealis the compliment of not reciting his own work, but being prepared to listen to his guest's.

Among Ben Jonson's *Leges Conviviales* (rules engraved in marble and fixed over the chimney-piece in his club room, the Apollo, at the Old Devil Tavern) was this: 'Rule xviii: Insipida poemata nulla recitantur,' which he translated 'Dull poems to read let none privilege take'.

17. Gigantas: Cerealis had written a Gigantomachy, a popular subject (see *RE* 3.Suppl.656f.; Owen, Ov. *Tr.* 2, p.66f.); it must have produced many a tedious poem, and one wonders how Cerealis would interpret M.'s offer in view of his tirades against stale mythological epic elsewhere (see 11.48 intro.).

18. Rura: i.e. Georgics – all Vergil's works were much imitated from his death onwards (see *RE* 8A.1463f.; Schanz-Hosius, 2.p.98f.). Again it is selfless of M. to offer to sit through something which might well open limitless vistas of boredom. That is friendship.

53

Although Claudia Rufina is descended from woad-stained Britons, she really does have the sensibilities of the Latin race. And what a gracious deportment! Italian mothers would think she was one of them, Greek mothers one of them. The gods be praised that she is fertile and has borne a child to her noble husband, and that, though still a girl, she looks forward to sons- and daughters-in-law. May she so please the gods that she always rejoices in a single husband and in three children.

Claudia is one of the few British ladies we meet in imperial Rome; she is praised in what we would consider patronising terms for her assimilation of Roman mores and culture. Precisely the same compliments are paid to Marcella, who came from Spanish Bilbilis, in 12.21. Whether Claudia had come to Rome in her lifetime we do not know; it is perhaps likelier that she was descended from Britons who had emigrated earlier: Julius Caesar had

brought back hostages and slaves from his British expeditions, as had Claudius from his; and there had been contacts between the two nations in the intervening century (see S.S.Frere, *Britannia* (1967), Ch. 4). So the British blood in her may well have been watered down. The Romanisation of Britain was well advanced by this date (cf. Strabo 4.5.3; Tac. *Agr.* 21), though Romans found plenty to criticise in the natives: Tacitus labels them 'dispersi ac rudes' and 'imperiti' (*Agr.* 21.1f.) and finds nothing complimentary to say about them outside the context of *libertas*; Strabo criticises their barbarity (4.5.2); and *caerulei* (see 1n.) was an acceptable characterisation. M.'s praise of Claudia sets her apart from this inauspicious background.

1. Claudia ... Rufina: it has been suggested (e.g. by the Loeb editor and Balsdon, *Women*, p.202) that this lady is one and the same as the Claudia Peregrina of 4.13, the wife of Aulus Pudens. Neither person is known from elsewhere, and the identification remains at best a possibility; Stein (*PIR*² C.1113; 1118) keeps them separate. Rufina is a very common cognomen (see Kajanto, *Cognomina*, p.229), but is especially apposite for a woman of British origin since all people who did not hail from the Mediterranean countries were said to have red (i.e. fair) hair (cf. Tac. *Agr.* 11.2 with Ogilvie's note).

caeruleis: (note the colour scheme with Rufina); the adjective refers to the British habit of dyeing the skin with woad to make it blue (cf. Caes. *Bell.Gall.* 5.14; Ov. *Am.* 2.16(17).39; M. 14.99.1); see Friedlaender ad loc.; *TLL* 2.2195.79f.

2. Latiae pectora: 'pectora' in the 'ingenium' sense; Claudia's accomplishments belie her origins. M. says of Marcella 'municipem rigidi quis te, Marcella, Salonis/et genitam nostris quis putet esse locis?/tam rarum, tam dulce sapis' (12.21.1f.).

gentis B^A; *plebis* C^A: C^A's reading would ruin the point.

3. quale decus formae: the expression is appropriate in epic (e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 7.473), and compare also Ov. *Am.* 1.5.19f. With her barbarian ancestry and physique Claudia might be expected to look foreign, but that is not the case (cf. Strabo on British boys (4.5.2)).

5. di bene quod: the phrase indicates satisfactory results ensuing on the prayer 'di bene vortant'; cf. Stat. *Theb.* 2.170 'di bene quod tales stirpemque animosque venitis'; *TLL* 2.2121.72f.

sancto: here in the sense of Greek *sôphrôn*, as Paley and Stone (though one finds *sancta* applied to the wife much more commonly than *sanctus* to the husband); cf. *CIL* 6.3500 'D.M. L.Verginio Verginiano a militis domino marito sanctissimo Gaunia Tarsis fecit'.

7. coniuge ... uno: one prayer has been granted; M. rounds off the epigram by making another one (compare 6.38.9f.; Antipater Sid. *A.P.* 6.276; anon. *A.P.* 6.280). The ideal of marriage to a single husband for life (the *univira*) is one frequently found on inscriptional epitaphs (see Lattimore, *Themes*, p.296 n.251; G.Williams, *JRS* 48 (1958), p.23f.). But it is a strangely two-edged ideal: it is used as a eulogy on a woman who is *univira*, but the opposite is not considered a reproach for a woman who is not. Thus in a survey of 25,000 inscriptions from *CIL* 6, it was found that twenty-eight praise the *univira*, though thirty-one show no objection at all to the remarriage of both men and women (the fact that second marriages were so recorded shows that they were not opprobrious). An example of each kind is helpful: 'hic iacet Aufidia Severina, signo Florenti, bis quinos denos quae vixit annos aetatis, casta fide semper toru(m) maritale(m) dilexit, sobria, non moecha, simplex animoque benigno, dedita coniugi soli suo, ignara alienum ... ' (*CIL* 6.12853); and 'D.M. C.Menanio Batyllo et C.Menanio Anthimo Menania Martina bene merentibus coniugibus suis fecit' (*CIL* 6.22398). These two quite different views of marriage existed happily side by side until the advent of Christianity; see further M.Humbert, *Le Remariage à Rome* (1972), p.64f.; 102f.; 109f.; 301f. etc.

8. natis ... tribus: I understand this to mean that Claudia has recently had one child (lines 6f.) and is hoping for more. Three children was a desirable number (cf. also Stat. *Silv.* 4.8) since it gave the parents the 'ius trium liberorum' (see 11.12.1n.); for the woman this would entail the acquisition of full legal independence, if she were freeborn, and sundry other rights (see *D.-S.* 3.1194f.).

54

Wicked Zoilus, turn out of your foul pocket the unguents, cassia, and myrrh that reeks of funerals, the half-burned incense from the middle of the pyre, and the cinnamon you snatched from the funeral couch. Your flighty hands have learned their sin from your feet: I'm not surprised you're a thief – you were a runaway slave.

The thief is a favourite epigrammatic character: Catullus lampoons him (12; 25; 33; 59); Lucillius has eight treatments of the subject (*A.P.* 11.174-179; 183-184); Automedon writes of one Arrius who stole from Apollo's altar (*A.P.* 11.324); and in M. see also 6.72; 8.59; 12.28(29). Thieves are found in Old Comedy (Socrates and Chaerephon both stole: Eupolis frag. 361, *CAF* 1.p.355 Kock; Ar. frag. 291, *CAF* 1.p.467 Kock), and were popular in the mimes (Reich, *Mimus*, 1.p.306); see also Brecht, *Typengeschichte*, p.68f. The thief's activity is seen as obnoxiously anti-social: he steals your dinner-napkins, your clothes from the baths, or your offerings from the altar; here Zoilus' pilfering is especially disgraceful in that he robs corpses. This subject was not new: e.g. Cat. 59.2f. 'saepe quam in sepulcretis/vidistis ipso rapere de rogo cenam,/cum devolutum ex igne prosequens panem/ab semiraso tunderetur ustore'; in anon. *A.P.* 11.125 a doctor receives from a grave-digger winding-sheets to use as bandages and he sends him expired patients in return; cf. also Plaut. *Pseud.* 361; Ter. *Eun.* 491; Tib. 1.5.53; Calp.Sic. 3.82.

For Zoilus and his genus see 11.12 intro.

1. unguenta: the expensive spices and ointments mentioned in this poem were used not to embalm the body, but to anoint it before cremation, a practice which originated to allay the smell of decay before the burning took place: thus Apul. *Apol.* 32 'nec tamen omnia idcirco ad nequiorem suspicionem trahuntur, ut si tus et casiam et myrram ceterosque id genus odores funeri tantum emptos arbitreris'; spices could also be thrown on the pyre at the time of burning (cf. M. 10.26.6; 10.97.1f.). See too Ov. *ex Pont.* 1.9.51f.; Pers. 3.103f.; Stat. *Silv.* 2.1.157f.; 2.4.33f.; 2.6.86f.; Juv. 4.108 with Mayor; and Lilja, *Odours*, p.88f.

casias: Greek *kasia*, an inferior-quality cinnamon. It is taken from a forest tree of average size and, like cinnamon, consists of a fine bark stripped from the branches and tender tips which is dried in the sun and rolled into tubes. The Romans probably got most of their supply from Southern China (where it had been known from at least 2500 B.C.) via Troglodytica (Somalia?). Both Theophrastus and Pliny realised that cinnamon and cassia represented different species of the same genus of tree, that the spice came from the bark and not the wood, and that different qualities depended on which part of the tree was cut. Popular superstition added some more colourful natural history: some believed that these spices were gathered from the nest of the phoenix, others that they were harvested from around marshes which were protected by obstreperous bats and winged serpents (Pl. *N.H.* 12.85) – Pliny sensibly concluded that these tales were designed to keep the prices high. See further Miller, *Spice Trade*, p.21f.; 42f.

murram: myrrh, Greek *smurna*, is the gum of the *Balsamodendron myrrha*, a thorny shrub whose main place of growth is in Africa, particularly Somalia. The Romans knew of many different qualities, and it was a profitable racket to adulterate it (cf. Pl. *N.H.* 12.66f.; Miller, *Spice Trade*, p.104f.).

2. turaque: here probably specifies frankincense, though it often refers to incense in general. Frankincense, Greek *libanos*, is obtained from the tree of the same name by cutting into the trunk and collecting the milk-like juice, which hardens on exposure to the air; it was imported to Rome from Arabia and Africa, and again it was worthwhile for the unscrupulous to adulterate it (cf. Pl. *N.H.* 12.51f.; Miller, *Spice Trade*, p.102f.).

de medio ... rogo: cremation was the usual type of funeral in this period; Tacitus (*Ann.* 16.6) called it 'Romanus mos'. During the second century A.D. a gradual shift to inhumation began, exemplified by the sudden flowering of sarcophagus carving in the Roman world. The reasons for the changeover are complicated, but by the mid-third century it had spread throughout the provinces: see J.M.C.Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World* (1971), p.39f.; 49f.

semicremata: only elsewhere in poetry at Ov. *Ibis* 632 'membra feras Stygiae semicremata neci'; M. may have borrowed it from there.

3. de Stygio ... lecto: the *lectus funebris* was used both for the lying in state of the bodies of the wealthy and their subsequent cremation: see Toynbee, op.cit., p.44 and Pl.9.

cinnama: see 1n. Cinnamon, Greek *kinnamômon*, is generally regarded as the Malayan bark as distinct from the Chinese (which is *cassia*); its natural habitat has been established as North Vietnam and Assam, from there it was brought at an early date to be cultivated in Southern China and South-East Asia generally. It was the most expensive spice Romans could buy, and had reached a peak of 1500 denarii per pound (Pl. *N.H.* 12.93); see also Miller, *Spice Trade*, p.153f.

4. de turpi ... sinu: note Quintilian on the right way for an orator to arrange his toga: 'ille (sc. sinus), qui sub humero dextro ad sinistrum oblique ducitur velut balteus, nec strangulet, nec fluat' (11.3.140); this fold of the garment across the chest was used for carrying things (in the absence of pockets), and, as Quintilian indicates, could be arranged to carry as much as was necessary. In M. see also 4.51.3; 5.16.8; 7.20.14; 8.59.8; 9.30.3; 10.78.6; and cf. Theophr. *Char.* 22.7.

5. a pedibus ... : for a similar idea and expression cf. Lucillius A.P. 11.179:

εἰ πόδας εἶχε Δίων οἵας χέρας, οὐκέτ' ἂν Ἑρμῆς
πτηνὸς ἐν ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλὰ Δίων ἐκρίθη.

('If Dio had feet like his hands, mortals would no longer consider Hermes 'winged', but Dio.')

6. furem: one of the greatest insults available to Romans because of their highly developed sense of property (see R.G.M.Nisbet, *Gnomon* 39 (1967), p.67f.; Opelt, *Schimpfwörter*, index s.v. *fur*; *TLL* 6.1.1607. 54f.).

fugitivus: the reference picks up the previous poem in the Zoilus cycle of this book (see 11.37 intro.); *fur* and *fugitivus* are also paired at Juv. 8.174.

55

Just because Lupus urges you to become a father, Urbicus, don't trust him; there's nothing he'd like less. The art of legacy-hunting is to look as if you want what you don't want; he hopes you won't do what he asks you to do. Only let your Cosconia announce she's pregnant; Lupus will grow paler than her when she's giving birth. But appear as though you're using his friendly advice: die in such a way that he'll think you have become a father.

The epigram advises Urbicus on how to outwit the *captator* Lupus. For this topic see 11.44 intro.; two other illustrations (and these of the most witty) of the prey turning the tables on his *captator* are given by Lucian: at *Dial.Mort.* 18(8) Cnemon tells Damnippus how he had showered attentions on Hermolaus, a rich and ancient *orbus*; he had even put him in his will,

expecting the favour to be reciprocated, but unfortunately his own roof had collapsed and killed him; so all his estate went to Hermolaus, whom he likens to a fish that has swallowed the bait as well as the hook. 'Not just that,' retorts Damnippus, 'but the fisherman too!' In the same work (16(6).4) Terpsion tells Pluto how he died of worry over expenses incurred while paying court to one Thucritus; the final straw was when Thucritus came to his funeral to mock him; Pluto hopes that all Thucritus' *captators* will suffer a similar fate.

1. Lupus: a very common cognomen (see Kajanto, *Cognomina*, p.327), and very apt for the *captator*; the wolf's rapacity was proverbial (Otto 979).

Urbice: again common (Kajanto, *Cognomina*, p.311).

patrem: note that it is not the presence of a wife (cf. line 5) which will dash the legacy-hunter's hopes, but of children; by the Lex Voconia of 169 B.C. a wife was not allowed to be designated *heres* (see Rudd, *Satires*, p.226f.).

4. ne facias ... : a slightly clumsy construction: in the preceding line the second person verb has been used of the *captator*, while here it is used of his prey.

7. ut usus: for *ut* used with a participle in comparisons which are both subjective and hypothetical, see Kühner-Stegmann, 1.p.790f.

8. ut factum ... patrem: i.e. leave him out of your will. The epigram is cleverly structured by the tension it sets up between appearance and reality: Lupus' encouragement of parenthood is precisely contrary to his real wishes, and that is the art of *captatio*; Urbicus foils him by appearing to act in accordance with his 'friend's' wishes (though in fact he acts in accordance with his own real wishes, his 'friend's' feigned wishes), and dies giving him the impression that he has become a father (though he has not – he has simply omitted Lupus from his will).

56

Because you praise death excessively, Chairemon the Stoic, do you want me to admire and revere your spirit? It is your jug with its broken handle, your gloomy hearth with no flame to heat it, your rush mat, your bed-bugs, your bare bed-frame, and the small toga which clothes you night and day alike which instil this virtue in you. Oh! what a great man you are to forgo the dregs of dark vinegar, bean-stalks and black bread! Only let your mattress swell with Leuconian stuffing, and purple blankets hug close to your couch, and a boy sleep with you who when he was mixing the Caecuban a moment ago tortured the guests with his rosy lips: Oh! how you will then wish to live thrice Nestor's years and not lose a second of any day! It is easy to despise life in reduced circumstances; the brave man is he who can live in penury.

This criticism of the Stoic attitude to suicide is well-reasoned and effective, if not philosophically original; it coincides well with M.'s character as it comes through his work – an unceasing interest in the life around him and the pleasures it can provide (cf. 5.58.7f.): see Citroni and Howell, 1.15 intros. Though he can admire the Stoic nobility of the deaths of Arria and Paetus (1.13), this is an aspect of Stoicism which did not coincide with his own views on life: 'nolo virum facili redemit qui sanguine famam,/hunc volo, laudari qui sine morte potest' (1.8.5f.). M. is first and foremost an epigrammatist who entertains by his wit – and this comes through here in the way he contrasts a picture of abject poverty with one of luxurious wealth, assuming the Stoics base their decisions on nothing else, and in the illustrations he uses – but, as the concluding *sententia* shows, he is also making a serious point.

Stoics did not question whether suicide was permissible, only when it was permissible (the *eulogos exagôgê*): Diogenes Laertius gives a typical list of suicide for one's country or one's friends, or if a man should suffer unbearable pain or mutilation or an uncurable disease (7.130); a Christian annotator (Cramer, *Paris Anecdota*, 4.p.403f.) says that the Stoics recognised five reasons for leaving life's banquet, corresponding to five reasons for breaking up a real party: a great advantage, as when the oracle ordered a man to kill himself for his country; the irruption of autocrats who try to force men to shameful actions; protracted disease; madness; or poverty. Discomfort in a purely physical sense was reason enough for the wise Stoic to kill himself (cf. Sen. *Ep.* 70.5); see further R.Hirzel, *Der Selbstmord, Archiv fur Religionswissenschaft* 11 (1908), p.243f.; 451f.; J.M. Rist, *Stoic Philosophy* (1969), p.233f.; M.Pohlenz, *Die Stoa*[2] (1959), 1.p.156; 2.p.84 and 160; Citroni's and Howell's intros. to 1.8 and 1.13; and *Stoic.Vet.Frag.* (ed. von Arnim) 3.757f.

There are reactions against this particular tenet of Stoic philosophy in Roman historical writings: Critognatus (Caes. *Bell.Gall.* 7.77.5) comments 'animi est ista mollitia, non virtus, paulisper inopiam ferre non posse. qui se ultro morti offerant facilius reperiuntur quam qui dolorem patienter ferant'; Tacitus is most vociferous (and he had lived through Domitian's reign and written about Nero's, when Stoicism and its doctrines were a support, even a tool of 'opposition', to some of the disaffected: see C.Wirszubski, *Libertas as a Political Idea at Rome*[3] (1968), p.143f.): cf. Agr. 42.5 'sciant, quibus moris est inlicita mirari, posse etiam sub malis principibus magnos viros esse, obsequiumque ac modestiam, si industria ac vigor adsint, eo laudis excedere, quo plerique per abrupta sed in nullum rei publicae usum ambitiosa morte inclaruerunt' (cf. also *Hist.* 2.46). This inevitably brings to mind Seneca, who spent much time planning his glorious exit from life (e.g. *Ep.* 58.32f.; 70; 98.15f.; and G.Williams, *Change and Decline* (1978), p.177f.). It is such lust for death that M. is criticising; his attitude recalls that of Aristotle (*Eth.Nich.* 1116a12f.):

> τὸ δ' ἀποθνήσκειν φεύγοντα πενίαν ἢ ἔρωτα ἢ τι λυπηρὸν οὐκ ἀνδρείου, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον δειλοῦ.

('To die in order to escape poverty or love or something painful is not the action of a brave man, but rather of a coward.')

M. attacks Chairemon for praising death simply because he is poor; if he were wealthy he would soon change his tune. It is worth looking briefly at Stoic attitudes to wealth. They rejected the cult of asceticism favoured by the Cynics (cf. Sen. *Ep.* 5.2), and found poverty sufficient reason for suicide. Adequate means were therefore desirable, though wealth, like health, was placed in the category of *indifferentia* (Greek *adiaphora*), things which in themselves were neither good nor evil (cf. Diog.Laert. 7.102). Seneca, one of the wealthiest men of his day, necessarily spent much time on the subject (esp. *Dial.* 7.21f.), coming to the conclusion that 'riches are not good, and, though not evil in themselves, are a cause of evil' (M.Griffin, *Seneca, A Philosopher in Politics* (1976), p.295). M., however, suggests that Chairemon will look on wealth as anything but *indifferens* and will find it an excellent reason for reversing his inclination to suicide. See also *Stoic.Vet.Frag.* (ed. von Arnim) 3.117f.; Pohlenz, op.cit., 2.p.312; F.H.Sandbach, *The Stoics* (1975), p.29f.

1. Chairemon: the name with its *chair-* stem is suitably inappropriate for this pessimistic individual; M. also intends it as a recognisable Stoic appellation. One Chairemon had been a tutor to Nero and a Stoic; born in Alexandria, he had become an Egyptian priest and written a history of Egypt, fragments of which survive (*FGH* 3.618 Jacoby); he had been a member of the Alexandrine delegation to Claudius in 41 A.D. (see *PIR*² C 706; *RE* 3.2025.(7)). M. is using the name as a label rather than making a point about an individual (cf. 11.60.6n. and 11.84.5n. for similar uses of names).

3. fracta urceus ansa: 'urceoli sex' feature in Juvenal's pauper's inventory at 3.203; the *urceus* was a type of jug much used as a water container (cf. 14.106); see Hilgers, *Gefässnamen*, 378; p.84f.

4. et tristis ... focus: the list of the poor man's belongings here has obvious similarities to that at 11.32.1f. and thus with Cat. 23 (see 11.32 intro.); the hearth is 'tristis' because it has no fire, regarded as a basic of civilised life (see 11.32.1n.). This line is structurally akin to Tib. 1.1.6 'dum meus adsiduo luceat igne focus'.

5. teges: see 11.32.2n.

cimex: see 11.32.1n.

nudi sponda grabati: cf. 1.92.5 'sed si nec focus est nudi nec sponda grabati'. The *grabatus*, Greek *krab(b)atos*, is invariably the poor man's bed (see Citroni loc.cit.; C.L.Ransom, *Couches and Beds of the Greeks, Romans and Etruscans* (1905), p.109). The *sponda* is the frame of any piece of furniture: in a bed it would support the interlacing strips of material on which the mattress was placed: 'imperavi Gitoni, ut raptim grabatum subiret annecteretque pedes et manus institis, [quibus sponda culcitam ferebat]' (Petr. 97.4; the deletion is Müller's). As at 1.92.5 the bed is *nudus* because it has no bed-clothes or mattress.

6. brevis ... toga: 'brevis' indicates that the toga is too small, for Chairemon cannot afford a larger one; compare the garment belonging to the pauper Mamurianus at 1.92.8 'dimidiasque nates Gallica paeda tegit'. The fact that he has to wear it day and night again shows that he has no proper bed-clothes: cf. the Cynic at 4.53.5 'cerea quem nudi tegit uxor abolla grabati'. The doubling-up of garments is known also in Greek (see Gow, Theoc. 18.18n.); references to *nocturnae vestes* in Latin show the Roman equivalent to pyjamas (old, worn-out clothes?): cf. Hor. *Sat.* 1.5.85; Lucr. 4.1036; Prop. 2.15.17.

Jeremy Taylor had the exempla of this epigram, especially this line, in mind in his *Discourse on Faith Working by Love*, though he gave them an overtly Christian moral: 'Some men are very good when they are afflicted, when the gown of the day is the mantle of the night ... ; when they have but one broken dish and no spoon, then they are humble and modest, then they can suffer an injury and bear contempt. But give them riches and they grow insolent; fear and pusillanimity did their first work, and an opportunity to sin undoes it all.'

7. faece rubentis aceti: cf. the question the mugger asks his victim at Juv. 3.292f. 'cuius aceto,/cuius conche tumes?'; Mayor (and note *TLL* 1.380.28f.) takes this as a reference to the water and vinegar mixture (*posca*) which was a thirst-quenching drink for soldiers and the poor. But as 'faece' and 'rubentis' here show (cf. Ov. *Fast.* 5.511), it is a pejorative expression for cheap and nasty wine. See also Hor. *Sat.* 2.3.117; M. 10.45.5; *OLD acetum* 1a.

8. stipula: *stipula* is the stubble left after the harvesting of crops; it is usually mentioned as something to sleep on (e.g. Ov.*Fast.* 1.205f.), but that will not do here – it is in the food section after bedding has been dealt with, so it refers to a low quality food in the same way that 'acetum' refers to a poor wine. Cf. Ov. *Fast.* 4.725 'stipulas fabalis' (and also Ar. *Wealth* 543f.) – bean-stalks would be appropriate here.

nigro pane: Romans distinguished three main types of bread: (i) *panis candidus, siligineus* or *mundus* which was made from the top quality wheat (*siligo*) and was white (e.g. Quint. 6.3.60; Pl. *N.H.* 22.139); (ii) the intermediate variety, *panis secundarius* or *sequens* (e.g. Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.123; Pl. *N.H.* 18.90); and (iii) the worst sort, *panis cibarius, plebeius, sordidus, ater, niger,* or *durus* (e.g. Sen. *Ep.* 18.7; Suet. *Nero* 48.4). The differences between the breads were caused either by differences in the wheat or differences in the grade of the same wheat: see L.A.Moritz, *Grain Mills and Flour in Classical Antiquity* (1958), p.154f., esp. p.175f. Bread of the worst quality could be quite appalling (cf. Juv. 5.67f.), and a useful way of separating important from unimportant guests (M. 9.2.4); 'not knowing the colour of one's bread' was a colloquialism for rising above one's station (cf. Juv. 5.74f.). See also André, *L'alimentation*, p.70f.; *D.-S.* 4.498.

9. Leuconicis ... lanis: see 11.21.8n. The Leuci were a Gallic tribe situated north-west of the Sequani, south-west of the Mediomatrici, between the Rivers Moselle and Matrona (see *RE* 12.2152f.). Gallic wool was highly rated (e.g. Col. *R.R.* 7.2; Pl. *N.H.* 8.190; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.16.35f.), and this Leuconian variety was considered the best for mattress- and pillow-stuffing (M. 14.159-160). The Romans were fond of luxurious bedding: see Richter, *Furniture*, p.135; Ransom, op.cit., p.54f.; 62f.; Pls. 27-28; and, for the various types of stuffing, which ranged from down to woollen scraps to straw, Marquardt-Mau, p.724; Ransom, op.cit., p.70f.

10. constringatque: used as a synonym of *circumdare*, especially in the wearing of clothes (e.g. Sen. *Ph.* 390; M. 14.66.1); here the idea is that the blanket or rug is draped over the mattress or couch.

purpura pexa: cf. Hor. *Sat.* 2.6.102f. 'rubro ubi cocco/tincta super lectos canderet vestis eburnos'. *pexa* is wool that has the nap on it, long, fleecy and fluffy, like a sheepskin rug (cf. Pl. *N.H.* 8.191). Purple was a proverbial luxury (see 11.39.11n.); Pliny says that the once highly praised purple cloth fell into unpopularity because it had been used so much for couch coverings (*N.H.* 9.137).

11. Caecuba: usually considered one of the very best wines, as here (see Nisbet-Hubbard, Hor. *Carm.* 1.20.9n.; 1.37.5n.); see also 11.26.3n.

modo qui dum Caecuba miscet Gronovius; *qui cum modo caecuba miscet* B^A; ... *misces* C^A: Gilbert (cf. G.Friedrich, *Hermes* 43 (1908), p.632) emended to 'commoda Caecuba miscens' because of the breaking of the sequence of tenses with B^A's 'cum ... miscet'; but 'commoda Caecuba' is not a convincing phrase. However, 'cum ... miscet' is simply not Latin, and so Gronovius' emendation is attractive: cf. 12.28(29).11 'attulerat mappam nemo dum furta timentur'; for 'modo qui' cf. 3.24.13 'modo qui Tuscus fueras'; 11.61.6; and Heraeus' apparatus on this line.

12. convivas ... torserat: the idea of the beautiful waiter tormenting the guests is a commonplace: e.g. 9.22.11f. 'aestuet ut nostro madidus conviva ministro,/quem permutatum nec Ganymede velis'; 9.25; 9.73.6; 10.98; Juv. 5.56f.; 11.145f.; Strato *A.P.* 12.175.

roseo ... ore: a mark of sensuality. M. includes red lips in his description of the perfect boy: 'Paestanis rubeant aemula labra rosis' (4.42.10; cf. 7.80.9; 8.55(56).15; Hor. *Carm.* 4.10.4; André, *Couleur*, p.325f.).

puer: on *capillati* see 11.11.3n.; 11.26 intro.

13. ter ... Nestoris annos: Nestor's longevity was proverbial in itself: see Otto 1223; Friedlaender, 2.64.3n.

15. rebus in angustis: compare Hor. *Carm.* 2.10.21f. 'rebus angustis animosus atque/fortis appare'.

16. fortiter ... miser: cf. Ov. *Tr.*5.11.4 'qui iam consuevi fortiter esse miser';

the sentiment is echoed by Seneca 'saepe impetum cepi abrumpendae vitae: patris me indulgentissimi senectus retinuit. cogitavi enim non quam fortiter ego mori possem, sed quam ille fortiter desiderare non posset. itaque imperavi mihi ut viverem; aliquando enim et vivere fortiter facere est' (*Ep.* 78.2). M. had known Seneca when he first came to Rome from Spain (see Friedlaender, 1.p.4f.): he may be deliberately recalling his writing and personality here.

For *miser* in a virtually material sense (i.e. 'poor'), see *TLL* 8. 1104.25f.; and cf. M. 4.5.9.

57

Are you amazed that I send poems to learned Severus when I invite you to dinner, learned Severus? Jupiter is replete with ambrosia and lives on nectar, yet we still offer him raw offal and undiluted wine. Since everything has been granted you by the gift of the gods, and if you do not want what you have already got, then what will you accept?

We must imagine a situation in which M. has sent Severus a poetic dinner invitation (see 11.52 intro.); M. suggests that Severus may be amazed at his temerity in sending poems to him when he is himself *doctus*; but M. retorts that he should accept these humble offerings as they are all he has to give. The poem is meticulously structured: M., by amplifying the reference to a *cena* with a metaphor about Jupiter's eating habits, also hints that Severus may not want to come to dinner in any case, for he can eat better at home.

The theme of poetic modesty has already been noted in M.'s dealings with his benefactors (see 11.1 intro.): he honours them by admitting that they could produce better poetry than he himself if they wanted. 7.42 is particularly close to the present epigram:

muneribus cupiat si quis contendere tecum,
audeat hic etiam, Castrice, carminibus.
nos tenues in utroque sumus, vincique parati:
inde sopor nobis et placet alta quies.
tam mala cur igitur dederim tibi carmina quaeris?
Alcinoo nullum poma dedisse putas?

Note also 9.26, addressed to the then future emperor Nerva, and Juv. 7.36f.

1. Severo B^A; *Severe* C^A: D.R.Shackleton Bailey (*CPh* 73 (1978), p.290) prefers C^A, but that would leave 'docto' intolerably alone. However, he is right to point out that the repetition of 'docte Severe' in the following line cannot be merely idle: M. is putting himself in Severus' shoes; Severus is thinking 'I am *doctus* myself. Why is that M. sending me his trivial poems?'; in the second line M.'s address to him concedes the point – 'Yes, you are *doctus*' – and he goes on to explain to him why he should nevertheless accept his poems. 'docto Severo' need not (as Shackleton Bailey) be taken as a quotation

Wörter, die sich auf lächerliche, plebejische, verkommene Personen u.s.w. beziehen, und es wurde nach Form und Inhalt vulgär'; note Cic. *in Pis.* 27 ('Caeso') with Nisbet's note, and compare the Greek suffix *-ias*.

3. oro: see 11.75.2n.

77

When Vacerra spends his time and sits all day long in all the public conveniences, Vacerra wants to dine, not to shit.

For the stigma of eating at home and the necessity for clients to eat out see 11.24.15n.

The metre here (iambic trimeters) is also used by M. at 6.12; it features in Latin epigram of all periods (e.g. Bibaculus *FPL* p.81.3 Morel; Manilius ibid. p.52.1 and 3; Cat. 4; 29; 52; *Catal.* 6; 10; 12; *Priap.* 85 Bücheler; Aus. *Ep.* 74 p.339 Peiper; and Luxorius *A.L.* 288; 315; 360); see also Siedschlag, *Form,* p.129n.9. There are some thirty examples given by Gow-Page of the use of this metre in the epigrams of the Garlands of Meleager and Philip (*Philip,* p.xxxviii).

1. Vacerra: the name is pointful: see 11.66.4n.

conclavibus: a euphemism for *latrina* (see *Corp.Gloss.Lat* 3.20.14; O.Hey, *ALL* 11.p.534), found also at 5.44.5f. 'quem thermis modo quaerere et theatris/et conclavibus omnibus solebas' (of a man likewise angling for dinner invitations). The noun does not refer to individual compartments in the convenience (there weren't any), but to the building or room in which they were located. Roman urinals were provided by jars at the side of the road (cf. 6.93.1f.; 12.48.8), so conveniences were largely for defecation. Some have been excavated at Pompeii and Ostia (see Meiggs, *Ostia,* p.143f.; Pl. 9b; *D.-S.* 3.987f.; fig. 4363); since privacy in them was non-existent, they were an excellent place to waylay people and conduct conversations. Suetonius tells this amusing anecdote in his *Life of Lucan* ' ... adeo ut quondam in latrinis publicis clariore cum strepitu ventris emissi hemistichion Neronis magna consessorum fuga pronuntiarit: "sub terris tonuisse putes".' See also F.Drexel, ap. Friedlaender, *SG* 4.p.310f.

3. cenaturit ... non cacaturit: the first verb appears only here, the second occurs elsewhere only at *CIL* 4.Suppl.5242. Some of the wit of the epigram stems from these unusual words, the desiderative forms of *cenare* and *cacare* (see Neue-Wagener, 3.p.425). For *annominatio* on verbs in M. see Joepgen, *Wortspiele,* p.138f.; and cf. 11.18.27n.

78

Use feminine embraces, Victor; use them and let your prick learn a job unknown to it. Your fiancée's veil is being woven, now the virgin is getting ready, now your new bride will cut the hair of your boys. She will let her desirous husband bugger her once, while she fears the first wounds of a new weapon. But her nurse and mother will stop it happening more frequently, and will say 'She is your wife, not a boy.' Alas what torments, what travail you will suffer, if cunt shall be a thing foreign to you! So apprentice yourself to the mistress of the Subura. She will make you a man. A virgin is not a good teacher.

1. Victor: usually identified with the poet Voconius Victor (*RE* 9A.704. (7); *PIR*[1] V.613), who also receives 7.29: he wrote poems about the boy Thestylus (see Teuffel-Schwabe, 324.4), and it is presumably his homosexuality which has persuaded scholars to identify the addressees of these two epigrams as the same person. If that is so, we must conclude that he and M. were on very close terms; but there are no other references to him in M., and it may be doubted whether M. did know him all that well. Victor here may be fictitious, a suitable appellation for someone with this arduous task in front of him.

3. flammea: there are unmistakable echoes of Catullus 61 in this couplet: most obvious are the use of the present tense; the mention of 'flammeum' (Cat. 61.8); the repetition of 'iam' (Cat. 61.176; 184; 195); the phrase 'nova nupta', which occurs in the Catullan refrain 'prodeas nova nupta' (Cat. 61. 91; 96; 106; 113); and the cutting of the boys' hair (Cat. 61.129f.). Catullus portrays a wedding ceremony as it takes place, and the reminiscences of it in this poem show how near is Victor's marriage, and how quickly he needs to act to remedy his heterosexual inexperience.

The *flammeum* was the flame-coloured veil which was a traditional part of the Roman wedding ceremony (cf. Pl. *N.H.* 21.46); it was still in use in Claudian's day (*de Nupt.Hon. et Mar.* 285), it was large enough to cover the bride from head to foot, and it was worn over the head so that it covered the sides of the face (cf. Lucan 2.360f.); see Ellis, Cat. 61.8n.; *D.-S.* 3.1655; and, on the wedding ceremony in general, Balsdon, *Women,* p.181f.; A.Rossbach, *Die römische Ehe* (1853).

iam virgo paratur: i.e. she is putting her wedding finery on – an exaggeration (otherwise the concluding advice is pointless) – but emphasising the imminence of the marriage.

4. tondebit pueros: cf. Cat. 61.129f. 'sordebant tibi vilicae,/concubine, hodie atque heri:/nunc tuum cinerarius/tondet os. miser a miser/concubine, nuces da'. It could be a feature of the epithalamium that the groom gave up his homosexual attachments to divert his energies to procreation and the duties of marriage (cf. ps.-Dionysius *Meth.Gam.* 8 Usener-Radermacher). Long hair was especially associated with *delicati*, and cutting it off indicated

that they had reached manhood and that the pederastic liaison was at an end (see Citroni's and Howell's intros. to 1.31).

5. pedicare ... dabit: for the idiom see 11.104.17n.

6. dum metuit: this passage is recalled in *Priap.* 3:

obscure poteram tibi dicere 'da mihi, quod tu
des licet assidue, nil tamen inde perit ...
quod virgo prima cupido dat nocte marito,
dum timet alterius vulnus inepta loci.'
simplicius multo est 'da pedicare' Latine
dicere: quid faciam? crassa Minerva mea est.

The nervousness of the new bride and the fear of intercourse in virgins is well documented: e.g. Antiphanes *A.P.* 9.245.3f.; Sen. *Contr.* 1.2.22 'novimus, inquit, istam maritorum abstinentiam, qui etiamsi primam virginibus timidis remisere noctem, vicinis tamen locis ludunt'; Varro *Sent.* 11.p.265 Riese; M. 4.22; Cat. 62.20f. etc. Some new brides were made aware of the facts of life by a visit to the shrine of Mutunus Tutunus: cf. Lactant. *Inst.Div.* 1.20.36 'Tutinus, in cuius sinu pudendo nubentes praesident, ut illarum pudicitiam prior deus delibasse videatur'; Aug. *Civ.Dei* 6.9 'sed quid hoc dicam, cum ibi sit et Priapus nimius masculus, super cuius immanissimum et turpissimum fascinum sedere nova nupta iubebatur, more honestissimo et religiosissimo matronarum' (and see 11.63.2n.); cf. also Varro *Men.* 10 Bücheler. It is probable – even in M.'s Rome – that many new brides were unaware of basic physical matters (see the remarks of A.D.Nock, *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World* (1972), 1.p.479f.). In fact, to allay this nervousness, continence for a long or short period after the wedding is of frequent occurrence in a number of societies: medieval Christianity, for instance, ordained abstinence for three nights after marriage, the so-called Tobias nights (see F.Henriques, *Love in Action*, Panther ed. (1964), p.248f.). M.'s suggestion that the bride will consent to sodomy because of her fear is strange, and possibly included more for the purposes of the poem than truth to nature. Similar instances elsewhere are contraceptive measures rather than for the alleviation of nerves: thus Hagnon, a pupil of Carneades, comments that in Sparta before marriage men have intercourse with girls in the way they do with boys (Athen. 13.602d); and Peisistratus lay with Megacles' daughter 'not according to custom' because he did not want any more children – but his wife told her parents (note the similarity to this epigram), and Megacles was so incensed and insulted that Peisistratus had to flee to Eretria (Herod. 1.61f.).

teli vulnera: the violent imagery encapsulates the cause of the girl's fear. The image of the penis as a weapon is common: for Greek instances see Henderson, *Muse*, p.44f.; Dover, *Homosexuality*, p.134; G.Devereux, *Dreams in Greek Tragedy* (1976), p.336; for Latin references see Adams, *LSV* p.19f.; and for defloration see Adams, *LSV* p.152. Such imagery later becomes a stock in trade of defloration pornography (see S.Marcus, *The Other Victorians* (1966),

p.212 etc.).

8. ista: see 11.2.8n.

9. heu ... labores: the line has an epic flavour; compare Verg. *Aen.* 12.33 'quantos primus patiare labores'; it is humorously incongruous with the 'cunnus' of the next line and the general tone of the poem; see 11.22.10n.

11. Suburanae: see 11.61.3n.
tironem: the Subura was a major trading area, and this line parodies the practice of apprenticing to those trades; see further J.G.W. Henderson, *Anecdote and Satire in Phaedrus*, diss. Oxford (1976), p.341.

12. illa virum faciet: for Roman brothel sex education see 11.45 intro.; for the sexual overtones of 'virum' see 11.22.6n.

79

Because I have reached the first milestone at the tenth hour, I am accused of slothful tardiness. It isn't the road's fault, it isn't my fault, but it's your fault, Paetus, since you sent me your mules.

This is a peculiarly lame piece: we are probably to assume that M. is late for a dinner party (1n.; compare *A.P.* 11.330, where Nicarchus says he is late for dinner because his host lives up so many stairs); Paetus has kindly sent M. his wagon to collect him, but he is rudely told how useless it is. So either Paetus' mules were excessively slow (and M. had his own to compare them with (8.61.6f.)), or he has forgotten the Roman traffic regulations. M. lived on the Quirinal, and Paetus' wagon would have been unable to get to it till the tenth hour (the Lex Julia Municipalis of 45 B.C. forbade wagons in the streets of Rome for the first ten hours after sunrise, though there were certain exceptions like Vestal Virgins, triumphing generals, or conveyances carrying equipment for demolishing houses – but no private vehicles: see *CIL* 1.2.593 esp. line 56f.; Friedlaender, *SG* 4.p.22f.; Blümner, p.443f.). Paetus' wagon could thus only have got to the city walls to pick M. up – but if M. had intended this explanation he would surely have alluded to it more positively. Perhaps this is a suitable place to recall his words at 1.16:

sunt bona, sunt quaedam mediocria, sunt mala plura
quae legis hic: aliter non fit, Avite, liber.

1. ad primum lapidem: calculations of distance were taken from the gates in the Servian Wall; M. has therefore reached one Roman mile (1481.5 metres) beyond it, which is not very far. Further on the milestone system see *D.-S.* 3.1897f.; *RE* 6.Suppl.395f.
decuma ... hora: suggesting the time for dinner: see 11.52.3n.

A.493); M. is using the name as one that would be readily recognisable for the genus surgeon (see too 11.56.1n.; 11.60.6n.); Ausonius borrowed it from him (*Epp.* 80-1 p.342 Peiper).

6. fractaque ... ossa: the operation described is removing the broken bone which pierces the skin in a splintered fracture (cf. Galen 18.2. p.602 Kühn). The Romans used a saw (*serrula*) or chisel (*scalper*) for this operation, and again the pain caused is obvious. See further J.S.Milne, *Greco-Roman Surgical Instruments* (1907), p.122f.; p.130f. with illustrations; W.J.Bishop, *The Early History of Surgery* (1960); M.Tabanelli, *Lo strumento chirurgico* (1958).

fabrili: cf. Ov. *Met.* 4.175f. 'et mens et quod opus fabrilis dextra tenebat/excidit'.

7. inopes: Cynic tramps abounded in first century Rome; their cult of poverty bordered on squalor and stemmed from the doctrine of *autarkeia* (self-sufficiency); wealth was abhorrent to them, as it was not to the Stoics, for example (see 11.56 intro.); cf. Hor. *Ep.* 1.17.18f., where Aristippus says to Diogenes 'scurror ego ipse mihi, populo tu; rectius hoc et/splendidius multo est. equus ut me portet, alat rex/officium facio: tu poscis vilia, verum/dante minor, quamvis fers te nullius egentem.' See further D.R.Dudley, *A History of Cynicism* (1937), p.5f. and passim.

Cynicos et Stoica menta: both Cynics and Stoics made a cult of the beard, which was unfashionable in other circles (see 11.58.5n.); the reasons generally given by the philosophers for wearing it were that it served as a protection and was a symbol of the male as distinct from the female – Nature does not give things without a purpose (cf. Epict. *Disc.* 1.16.14; 1.2.29; Mus.Ruf. 21; Luc. *Herm.* 18; *Cyn.* 14; and A.C. van Geytenbeek, *Musonius Rufus and Greek Diatribe* (1963), p.119f.). But the wearing of a beard could be complete affectation, broadcasting that one wanted to be thought a philosopher: thus Gellius tells of a man who went to Herodes Atticus for money – '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' (*N.A.* 9.2.1f.). Lucian's *Eunuch* (9) wittily remarks that if philosophers are to be judged by their growth of beard, then the goat will be the wisest creature of all. And philosophic beards were an endless source of fun to epigrammatists, who mocked them (e.g. *A.P.* 11.154-8; 430; 434; M. 4.53), and to children, who pulled them (e.g. Hor. *Sat.* 1.3.133; Pers. 1.133). It is a good throwaway joke here that a demon barber like Antiochus is told to work his worst on philosophers, and that philosophers' beards are put on a level with horses' manes.

8. collaque ... iuba: considerable importance was attached to the looks of a horse and the *tonsura* of its mane; Vegetius (*Mulomedicina* 1.56.34f. Lommatzsch) describes various styles, and himself prefers the Persian cut, where the mane is exactly polled on the left, while the right is uncut (see further P.Vigneron, *Le Cheval dans l'antiquité greco-romaine* (1968), 1.p.20f.).

Pliny found that mane cutting had more practical effects, extinguishing mares' libido (*N.H.* 8.164), but also persuading them to suffer mounting by asses, mares with unshorn manes being too haughty to do so (*N.H.* 10.180). See also R.E.Walker, ap. J.M.C.Toynbee, *Animals in Roman Life and Art* (1973), p.321.

9. Scythica: the usual setting of the myth (Aesch. *Prom.Vinct.* 1 with Thomson).

10. nudo pectore poscet $B^{A}C^{A}$; *duro pectore pascat* A^{A}: the $B^{A}C^{A}$ tradition is to be preferred: 'poscet' is guaranteed by the chiastic conditionals 'radat ... poscet, fugiet ... sonent'; and 'nudo' is preferable in that it highlights Prometheus' vulnerability and pain as the bird rips his defenceless chest, an ordeal still more bearable than Antiochus' razor ('duro' makes too little of his suffering). Part of A^{A}'s reading could have intruded because it expected 'pascere' in this context: cf. Tib. 1.3.76; Ov. *Ibis* 192; M. *Sp.* 7.2. See R.Kassel, *RhM* 109 (1966), p.6f.

13. stigmata: runaway or thieving slaves were branded on their faces: 'sequar ego frontes notans inscriptione sollerti, ut videamini stigmate esse puniti' (Petr. 103.2; cf. Quint. 7.4.14; *RE* 3A.2520; Blümner, p.294; *D.-S.* 4.1510).

14. pyctae: Greek *puktês*. Boxing was notoriously liable to disfigure the participants (cf. Artemid. *Oneir.* 1.61), and the face was a particularly vulnerable target: thus Lucillius *A.P.* 11.75.1f.:

οὗτος ὁ νῦν τοιοῦτος 'Ολυμπικὸς εἶχε, Σεβαστέ,
ῥῖνα, γένειον, ὀφρῦν, ὦτάρια, βλέφαρα·
εἶτ' ἀπογραψάμενος πύκτης ἀπολώλεκε πάντα ...

('This Olympicus, now as you see him, once, Sebastus, had a nose, a chin, a forehead, ears and eyelids. Then he enrolled as a boxer and lost the lot.') Cf. also *A.P.* 11.76-81; 258; 316; 351; Lucil. 1266 Marx. Harris (*Sport*, p.74) says that evidence from art shows that the boxing-gloves in gladiatorial contests could be loaded with lead and even have projecting spikes; boxing was not considered a gentleman's sport (cf. Tac. *Ann.* 14.20).

15. unguibus: for women fighting with their nails, a common motif in erotic poetry and epigram see Nisbet-Hubbard, Hor. *Carm.* 1.6.18n.

85

Zoilus, your tongue was suddenly planet-struck while you were licking; certainly, Zoilus, you will now fuck.

The humour lies in the predicament of the man forced to forgo the pleasures of abnormal sex and resort to ordinary intercourse (compare 11.87). For the attack on the cunnilingus see 11.25 intro.; for the Zoilus cycle of this book see 11.12 intro.

1. sidere percussa: it was believed that thunderbolts came from planets, especially Jupiter, Mars and Saturn (cf. Pl. *N.H.* 2.82; 191), and that these were the cause of paralysis and other ailments in man and beasts: 'quin partibus quoque signorum quorundam sua vis inest ... adflantur alii sidere, alii commoventur statis temporibus alvo, nervis, capite, mente' (Pl. *N.H.* 2.108). The theory was accepted by medical writers: 'quamobrem facit et ad tremulos et sideratione temptatos utralibet: una enim cum contractione altera cum remissione nervorum conspicitur. *paralusin* hoc utrumque vitium Graeci appellant' (Scrib.Larg. 101 Helmreich). Paralysis of the tongue is expressly referred to and a cure detailed by Marcellus Empiricus: 'origanum tritum cum melle impositum ulcera oris purgat nec patitur ea longius serpere, coctum vero cum aqua et arida ficu atque adsidue gargalizatum facit et ad alia vitia, id est ad anginam et linguam sideratam, quod genus morbi Graeci paralysin vocant' (*de Med.Lib.* 14.41 Niedermann); Pliny's cure is rather less palatable: 'sideratis urina pulli asini nardo admixto perunctione prodesse dicitur' (*N.H.* 28.226). In the Aeneid, Anchises is unable to move because he has been planet-struck (2.648f.), and to be planet-struck naturally became a colloquialism for astonishment and dumbfoundedness (e.g. Liv. 8.9.12; Petr. 2.7; M. 7.92.9).

The theory persisted: in Hamlet (Act 1 sc. 1) Marcellus says 'The nights are wholesome; then no planets strike'; and 'to be taken in a planet' was an acceptable explanation of death in Shakespeare's time. Nicholas Culpeper (*Culpeper's Last Legacy* (1657), p.30) comments on catalepsy 'In English it is called congelation, or taking, and by the ignorant, struck with a planet. It is a sudden detention and taking both of body and mind ...' The modern 'stroke' is the same idea. See further K.Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, Penguin ed. (1973), p.757f.

lingua: for paralysis of the tongue in a similar context see 11.61.13n.

86

To soothe your throat, which a racking cough constantly troubles, Parthenopaeus, the doctor orders you to be given honey, pine nuts and sweet cakes, and whatever stops boys from being troublesome. But you don't stop coughing all day long. This isn't a cough, Parthenopaeus, it's greed.

M. had similarly described a malingerer at 2.40:

uri Tongilius male dicitur hemitritaeo.
novi hominis fraudes: esurit atque sitit.
subdola tenduntur crassis nunc retia turdis,
hamus et in mullum mittitur atque lupum.
Caecuba saccentur quaeque annus coxit Opimi,
condantur parco fusca Falerna vitro.
omnes Tongilium medici iussere lavari:
o stulti, febrem creditis esse? gula est.

See also 12.56; Galen devotes a section to how a doctor can tell those who are genuinely ill from those feigning illness, and mentions that drugs can be used to cause swellings, and that people can fake the coughing up of blood; he recommends a psychological approach to detection (i.e. seeing what patients might want to get out of); see Galen 19.p.1f. Kühn.

2. Parthenopaee: the name of the son of Atalanta, one of the Seven Against Thebes; it was a common slave name, as many mythological ones were (see Baumgart, *Sklavennamen*, p.54), and is rather grandiloquent for this sissy.

3. nucleosque: the *nucleus* is the pine nut (Greek *pituis*), the *nux* being the pine cone (Greek *strobilos*). Both were noted, especially in conjunction with honey, as remedies for coughs (see Diosc. *de Mat.Med.* 1.87 Kühn; Athen. 2.57c; Pl. *N.H.* 15.36; 23.143; Galen 13.p.58 Kühn). Pine nuts today are much used in vegetarian cookery as a substitute for animal fat. See further André, *L'alimentation*, p.87; Gow-Page, *Philip*, p.253; *RE* 20.1708f.

placentas: Cato (*R.R.* 76) gives a detailed recipe; they were made from bayleaves, honey, cheese and pastry. See also 11.31.8n.

4. pueros non sinit: Galen thought coughs were predominantly a childhood ailment (5.p.694 Kühn), and that a sweet-tasting medicine was ideal (14.p.440 Kühn).

5. at tu ... tussire: the alliteration on 't' and 's' illustrates the patient's coughing and spluttering; for 'totis diebus' (all day long) as opposed to 'omnibus diebus' (every day), see E.Löfstedt, *Phil. Komm. zu Peregrinatio Aetheriae*[2] (1936), p.51f.

87

Once you were rich, but then you were a pederast and for a long time no woman was known to you. Now you chase old women. Oh! what poverty forces people to do! It's made you fuck, Charidemus.

This piece draws on various themes found in Greek epigram: first, the pederast who turns to women: e.g. Meleager *A.P.* 12.41:

οὐκέτι μοι Θήρων γράφεται καλός, οὐδ' ὁ πυραυγὴς
πρίν ποτε, νῦν δ' ἤδη δαλός, Ἀπολλόδοτος.
στέργω θῆλυν ἔρωτα· δασυτρώγλων δὲ πίεσμα
λαισταύρων μελέτω ποιμέσιν αἰγοβάταις.

('I do not count Thero beautiful any longer, nor Apollodotus, from whom the fire which once flashed is now extinguished. I am in love with a girl. Let shaggy-arsed pathics be embraced by goat-mounting shepherds.') Cf. also Meleager *A.P.* 5.208; Rufinus *A.P.* 5.19. Second, the rich lover turned poor: e.g. Marcus Argentarius *A.P.* 5.113 (M. could be imitating the opening couplet here):

ἠράσθης πλουτῶν, Σωσίκρατες· ἀλλὰ πένης ὢν
οὐκέτ' ἐρᾷς· λιμὸς φάρμακον οἷον ἔχει.
ἡ δὲ πάρος σε καλεῦσα μύρον καὶ τερπνὸν Ἄδωνιν
Μηνοφίλα, νῦν σου τοὔνομα πυνθάνεται,
"τίς πόθεν εἶς ἀνδρῶν, πόθι τοι πτόλις;" ἦ μόλις ἔγνως
τοῦτ' ἔπος, ὡς οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ἔχοντι φίλος.

('You were in love when you were rich, Sosicrates. Now you are poor you are no longer in love. What a cure hunger is! Menophila, who used to call you 'sweety' and 'my gorgeous Adonis', now asks you your name: 'Of what race are you? Where is your home town?' You have learnt this maxim the hard way – that no one is the friend of the man who has nothing.') Third, the rich old woman whose allegedly enormous sexual appetite makes her the prey of the stout-hearted *captator*: e.g. Parmenion *A.P.* 11.65:

λιμοῦ καὶ γραίης χαλεπὴ κρίσις· ἀργαλέον μὲν
πεινῆν, ἡ κοίτη δ' ἔστ' ὀδυνηροτέρα.
πεινῶν εὔχετο γραῦν· κοιμώμενος εὔχετο λιμὸν
Φίλλις· τὸ δ' ἀλήρου παιδὸς ἀναιμοτίην.

('The choice between hunger and an old woman is difficult. It is terrible to be hungry, but to sleep with an old woman is even worse. When Phillis was starving he prayed for an old woman; when he was sleeping with her he prayed for hunger. The dilemma of the son with no inheritance!') Cf. Lucian's teacher of rhetoric, whom hunger forced to satisfy the desires of a seventy-four year old who still had some teeth left, though stopped with gold; he managed to get himself made her heir, but a slave told her that he had bought some poison and his plans were ruined (*Rhet. Praec.* 24); also Juv. 1.37f.; 11.29 intro. Cf. M. 6.33.

2. nulla diu femina: as Prop. 2.25.22 'credule, nulla diu femina pondus habet'.

nota B^A; *nata* C^A: B^A's reading is preferable; for *noscere* used of carnal knowledge see 11.25.1n.

3. sectaris: for *sector* in an amatory sense see also Plaut. *Cas.* 466; Hor. *Sat.* 1.2.78 'desine matronas sectarier'.

o ... egestas: a parody of the commonplace that poverty (or necessity) is the mother of invention: e.g. Ter. *Andr.* 274f. 'bene et pudice eius doctum atque eductum sinam/coactum egestate ingenium inmutarier?'; Pers. *Prol.* 10 'magister artis ingenique largitor venter'; Otto 590; 640; 1358.

4. Charideme: see 11.39.1n.; as there, 'Mr. Pleasing-the-People' is pointed here.

88

Charisianus says, Lupus, that he has not been able to sodomise for many days now. When his friends recently asked him the reason, he said that his bowels were loose.

The point of the epigram is that Charisianus shows himself to be a passive homosexual, not active as 'paedicare' would suggest: compare 11.40, where Lupercus accidentally lets slip that his remark 'non fututam' is not what it seems. Though there would have been no stigma in being a *pedicator*, there was, of course, in being a pathic (see 11.25 intro.).

1. Lupe: as the addressee of an epigram who is not himself the target of the humour, this Lupus should be regarded as real (see 11.7.1n.). We may identify him with the Lupus of 10.48.6 where he is invited to dinner at M.'s with Arruntius Stella, Canius Rufus, Julius Cerealis, Flaccus and Nepos: these men were M.'s closest literary friends, and perhaps, like them, Lupus was an amateur litterateur; note too 5.56, where the frivolous advice M. gives Lupus about his son shows they knew each other well; a taste like Flaccus' for the risqué (see 11.27.1n.) is indicated by his receiving 10.40 as well as this piece; cf. also 6.79. Against this view, see *RE* 13.1851.(3); *PIR*² L.421.

2. Charisianus: also used at 6.24.1.

4. ventrem ... solutum: accepted medical parlance for defecation and diarrhoea (e.g. Col. *R.R.* 9.13.2; Pl. *N.H.* 14.117; Cels. 4.8.2). M. implies a similar connection between sodomy and relaxation of the bowels at 13.26: 'sorba sumus, molles nimium tendentia ventres:/aptius haec puero quam tibi poma dabis'; cf. 9.69. Compare the closely related idea 'pediconum mentula smerdalea est' (*Priap.* 68.8; Juv. 9.44; *CIL* 10.4483; with Buchheit, *Priapea*, p.144f.; Adams, *LSV* p.171f.).

89

Why do you send me garlands in pristine condition, Polla? I prefer to hold roses ruffled by you.

Garlands are frequent in erotic poetry and other literature; to weave one could be taken as a sign of being in love (cf. Ar. *Thesmo.* 400f.), and they were regarded as tokens of love: 'et modo solvebam nostra de fronte corollas/ponebamque tuis, Cynthia, temporibus' (Prop. 1.3.21f.; cf. Longus 1.15.3; Athen. 15.669d; Rufinus *A.P.* 5.74; K.Baus, *Der Kranz in Antike und*

Christentum (1940), p.34f.). Another motif is that of the rumpled garland as an indication that the wearer is hopelessly lovesick (e.g. Meleager *A.P.* 5.136; Callimachus *A.P.* 12.134; Asclepiades *A.P.* 12.135; Prop. 2.34b.59f.; Athen. 15.669f; Gow, Theoc. 7.64n.; Gow-Page, *Meleager*, p.631). Though I know of no exact parallel to here (but cf. Philostr. *Ep.* 46), it is evident that the visible signs of Polla having held the garland will make it something to remind M. of her: for such transmission of affection compare the cups kissed by the loved one and passed to the lover (see 11.26.4n.); and in a poem ascribed to Petronius, the author asks his girl-friend to kiss the fruit she is sending him (43 Bücheler).

1. Polla: not Argentaria Polla, Lucan's widow, whom M. knew (7.21; 7.23; 10.64), but fictitious (as at 3.42; 10.40; 10.69; 10.91); it is a common name (see 11.7.1n.).

90

You approve of no poetry which runs on a smooth path, but of that which stumbles over potholes and large stones, and of that which you consider greater than Homer – 'Here is sited Metrophanes, pillar of Lucilius' house'; and you read with awe of 'ye fruit-bearing earth' and whatever Accius and Pacuvius spew up. Do you want me to imitate your antique poets, Chrestillus? I'll be damned if you don't know the flavour of cock.

From Horace onwards writers had objected to a school of criticism which equated ancient with good literature, and modern with bad (e.g. Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.18f.; Lucillius *A.P.* 11.132; M. 5.10; 8.69; and see Gudeman, Tac. *Dial.* 15.1n.; 23.11n.): M.'s epigram falls under this general heading, but his criticism is more specific – he is voicing disapproval of a deliberately archaising style. There is evidence to show that some authors cultivated this, and the gods of their pantheon were the ones M. specifically mentions here; it was the archaic language and metre that was thought worth reproducing. The subject is best approached by looking at these 'antique' poets in turn:

(i) Lucilius: Horace respected him as his predecessor, but criticised the vast amount of ugly verse he poured out like a muddy river: 'facetus,/emunctae naris, durus componere versus:/nam fuit hoc vitiosus: in hora saepe ducentos,/ ut magnum, versus dictabat stans pede in uno:/cum flueret lutulentus, erat quod tollere velles:/garrulus atque piger scribendi ferre laborem,/scribendi recte' (*Sat.* 1.4.7f.; cf. 1.10.1f.; 50f.; Rudd, *Satires*, Ch.4, esp. p.98f.); Marcus Aper (Tac. *Dial.* 23.2) objects to readers who still prefer Lucilius to Horace, and Quintilian, though he steers a middle course, refuses to side with those who consider Lucilius the greatest of all poets (10.1.93f.). It is no surprise that M.Aurelius Fronto, a prime example of a writer with archaising inclinations ('scis colorem sincerum vetustatis appingere' (p.152 Naber)), admired Lucilius' *gracilitas* (p.114 Naber; and see M.D.Brock, *Studies in Fronto and His Age* (1911), p.125f.). M. himself, though he admired

him as a satirist (12.94.7), was clearly worried by his popularity and the imitators he attracted. See also J.W.H.Atkins, *Literary Criticism in Antiquity* (1952), 2.p.58f.

(ii) Ennius: again the roughness of the verse was criticised: 'Ennius ingenio maximus, arte rudis' (Ov. *Tr.* 2.424); 'Musa rudis ferocis Enni' (Stat. *Silv.* 2.7.75). Quintilian shows how greatly he was revered at this period, a sure indication that he attracted imitators: 'Ennium sicut sacros vetustate lucos adoremus, in quibus grandia et antiqua robora iam non tantam habent speciem quantam religionem' (10.1.88). It is interesting that M. should ridicule his archaic genitives here, for they were also used by Vergil, the most polished of all writers (e.g. *Aen.*3.354; 6.747; 7.464; 9.26): Gellius suggests that Vergil used these genitives so that fans of Ennius could perceive in the Aeneid 'aliquid antiquitatis' (*N.A.* 12.2.10; Gellius himself was an archaiser). Cf. also Hor. *A.P.* 258f.; *Ep.* 2.1.50f.

(iii) Accius and Pacuvius: often paired together, they are criticised for their ponderous effects: 'tragoediae scriptores veterum Attius atque Pacuvius clarissimi gravitate sententiarum, verborum pondere, auctoritate personarum. ceterum nitor et summa in excolendis operibus manus magis videri potest temporibus quam ipsis defuisse' (Quint. 10.1.97). Persius has a witty parody of their style, which shows something of what the Romans found amusing in it: 'est nunc Brisaei quem venosus liber Acci,/sunt quos Pacuviusque et verrucosa moretur/Antiopa aerumnis cor luctificabile fulta' (1.76f. with J.C.Bramble, *Persius and the Programmatic Satire* (1974), p.174f.): he too is objecting to the archaising tendency. These again are the kind of authors recommended by Fronto (p.224 Naber); note Vitr. 9.*pref.*16; Marcus Aper inveighs against orators who admiringly quoted fragments from them in their speeches (Tac. *Dial.* 20.5; 21.7), and in fact oratory attracted as much archaising as did literature (cf. Sen. *Ep.* 114.13; Quint. 8.3.24f.; Pl. *Ep.* 1.16).

It is in the context of this debate over the influence and imitation of old writers that the present epigram belongs; not everyone, it seems, could keep as sane and balanced a view as Pliny: 'sum ex iis qui mirer antiquos, non tamen (ut quidam) temporum nostrorum ingenia despicio' (*Ep.* 6.21.1). See further Bramble, op.cit. p.176f.; G.Williams, *Change and Decline* (1978), p.306f.; Friedlaender, *SG* 2.p.192f.; K.Preston, *CPh* 15 (1920), p.340f.

1. molli ... limite: for *mollis* of the smooth flow of verse, cf. Hor. Sat. 1.10.57f. 'num rerum dura negarit/versiculos natura magis factos et euntis/ mollius'; Verg. *Georg.* 3.293; *TLL* 8.1377.22f.

2. per salebras altaque saxa: describing the bumpy and jolting effect of much early verse; *salebrae* was a technical word of criticism: 'proclivi currit oratio, venit ad extremum, haeret in salebra' (Cic. *de Fin.* 5.84; cf. ibid. 2.30; see also 11.2.7n.). Ben Jonson in his *Discoveries* (vol.8.p.649 ed. Percy and Simpson), remarking on archaising writers, expressly alludes to this epigram and adeptly enlarges this line to 'You admire no poems but such as run, like a brewer's cart upon the stones, hobbling.'

3. quod ... maius C^A; *res ... maior* B^A; *quoque ... maius* Lachmann: there is no need to adopt the emendation here (as Lindsay does); either manuscript version makes good sense. Heraeus prefers B^A, explaining C^A as arising when 'maior' was corrupted into 'maius' (for '-ior' into '-ius' and vice versa in M. see Heraeus' apparatus ad loc.); 'quod' was then substituted for 'res'. Housman (*Class.Pap.* 3.p.1100) argues that no scribe would change 'res' to 'quod' instead of 'maius' back to 'maior'. A better explanation would be that B^A found 'quod' difficult (taking it in its causal sense), and therefore tampered with it: it is parallel to 'quae' in line 2, and, like it, is governed by 'probas' in line 1. So C^A should be accepted here.

Maeonio: Homer was never thought archaic (in the sense that early Roman writers were); cf. Quint. 10.1.46f. '... omnibus eloquentiae partibus exemplum et ortum dedit. hunc nemo in magnis rebus sublimitate, in parvis proprietate superavit ... in verbis, sententiis, figuris, dispositione totius operis nonne humani ingenii modum excedit?'; the faults that were found in him were nothing to do with his style, which is M.'s concern here (see Brink, Hor. *A.P.* 359n.).

4. Lucili columella ...: the line is also quoted, with the preceding one ('servus neque infidus domino neque inutilis quamquam'), by Donatus on Ter. *Ph.* 287. It is probably the opening couplet of Book XXII, the first of Lucilius' to be in elegiacs; Marx suggests that M. quotes it because the first Lucilian pentameter would have a certain fame (579- 80n.), though it is also well sign-posted by having the author's name in such a prominent position. For *columella* cf. Eur. *Iph.Taur.* 57 '*stuloi gar oikôn paides eisin arsenes*' ('for male children are the pillars of a house').

hic: the jarring elision proves M.'s point; see also 11.20.5n.

situs B^A; *situs est* C^A; *situst* Lindsay: Marx (loc.cit.) shows that Lucilius often omits the part of *esse* with the past participle; but the point is hardly more than orthographical, and it is impossible to say what M.'s view of Lucilian orthography was. See further Heraeus ad loc.; W.M.Lindsay, *Early Latin Verse* (1922), p.74f.

5. terraï frugiferaï: from Ennius *Ann.* 489; it is also preserved by Charisius (*Gramm.Lat.* 1.p.19 Keil). For archaic genitives see intro.; Neue-Wagener, 1.p.17f.; W.M.Lindsay, *The Latin Language* (1963), p.381f.

7. Chrestille: the only occurrence in M., though cf. Chrestilla at 8.43.1; Chrestillus appears also at *CIL* 6.34827.

8. dispeream ni: a common colloquialism in M., as in Catullus and in poetry of 'lesser' genres generally (see Citroni, 1.39.8n.).

mentula quid sapiat: ambiguous: one meaning is that Chrestillus is a fellator (for the metaphor of eating related to oral acts see Adams, *LSV* p.139f.), appropriate in that men who strongly approve of aspects of old Rome are regularly assumed by M. to be sexually abnormal – their tastes are a cover for their morals (note esp. 9.27; and see Citroni, 1.24 intro.). But these

words also maintain the theme of the archaising style: M. asks Chrestillus if he wants him to imitate his beloved antique poets, and adds 'I'll be damned if you don't know the virile flavour of their verse'. The same equation between virility (expressed in sexual terms) and ancient writing, and effeminacy and modern, is found at Pers. 1.103f., where, after a sample of the effete style of the present day, the author comments:

> haec fierent si testiculi vena ulla paterni
> viveret in nobis? summa delumbe saliva
> hoc natat in labris et in udo est Maenas et Attis
> nec pluteum caedit nec demorsos sapit unguis.

In rhetoric, similar criticism was aimed at the degeneracy of Asianism as compared to the masculinity of Atticism: 'rursusque Ciceronem a Calvo quidem male audisse tamquam solutum et enervem, a Bruto autem, ut ipsius verbis utar, tamquam "fractum atque elumbem" ' (Tac. *Dial.* 18.5; cf. Sen. *Ep.* 114.1f.; Cic. *Or.* 231; Petr. 2; and see Bramble, op.cit. p.129). See also Housman, *Class.Pap.* 2.p.732.

For *sapor* and *sapere* in the context of literary 'flavour' cf. 7.25.7f. 'infanti melimela dato fatuasque mariscas:/nam mihi, quae novit pungere, Chia sapit'; 6.64.18f.; Cic. *Brut.* 172; Petr. 3.1; Quint. 6.3.107; 12.10.19.

91

Canace, daughter of Aeolis, lies buried in this tomb; her seventh winter was the last for the little girl. Oh! what a crime, what a sin! You, traveller, who are on the verge of tears – it is not fitting for you to complain about the shortness of life here. The way her death came is sadder than her death itself; a horrible sore took away her looks and settled on her tender mouth, cruel disease ate away her very kisses, nor were her lips given entire to the blackening pyre. If the Fates were going to come with such swift descent, they should have come some other way. But death hastened to shut off the path of her charming voice, lest her tongue could sway the dread goddesses.

This touching epitaph for a young slave girl is of a type M. produced elsewhere, most notably on Erotion (5.34):

> hanc tibi, Fronto pater, genetrix Flaccilla, puellam
> oscula commendo deliciasque meas,
> parvola ne nigras horrescat Erotion umbras
> oraque Tartarei prodigiosa canis.
> impletura fuit sextae modo frigora brumae,
> vixisset totidem ni minus illa dies.
> inter tam veteres ludat lasciva patronos
> et nomen blaeso garriat ore meum.
> mollia non rigidus caespes tegat ossa nec illi,
> terra, gravis fueris: non fuit illa tibi.

5.37 and 10.61 are also on Erotion; other epitaphs on slave or freed children in M. are 1.88 on Alcimus; 1.101 on Demetrius the scribe; 6.28-9 on Atedius Melior's freedman Glaucias; 6.52 on the barber Pantagathus; and 6.68 on Eutychus, a *delicatus*; 1.114; 116 and 7.96 are also on children, though not of servile origin.

Epitaphs for young slaves are found on inscriptions in the first century B.C. (e.g. *CE* 54; 55), though their great popularity was under the early empire. Thus we find that M.'s immediate Greek predecessors worked in the genre: note, for example, Crinagoras on Hymnis (*A.P.* 7.643):

Ὑμνίδα τὴν Εὐάνδρου, ἐράσμιον αἰὲν ἄθυρμα
οἰκογενές, κούρην αἰμύλον εἰναέτιν,
ἥρπασας, ὦ ἄλλιστ' Ἀΐδη, τί πρόωρον ἐφίεις
μοῖραν τῆι πάντως σεῦ ποτ' ἐσσομένηι;

('Baneful Hades, you have snatched away Hymnis, Evander's daughter, born into the house and always its pretty ornament, a delightful girl just nine years old. Why did you send an early fate to her when she had to be completely yours in any case one day?') Cf. also Antipater Thess. *A.P.* 7.185; Crinagoras *A.P.* 7.371; Diodorus *A.P.* 7.632; and see P.Laurens, *REL* 43 (1965), p.319. Statius too wrote on dead *delicati* (*Silv.* 2.1; 2.6; cf. 5.5); and note *CE* 403; 434. The frequency of these pieces reflects the sentiment of the age, and a genuine affection of masters for their young slaves; but we should remember, however cynically, that affection was lavished on pets in epitaphs (see 11.69 intro.), and that masters and patrons liked to display their *humanitas* on epitaphic inscriptions for their slaves (cf. the frequent claim that the slave has been liberated on his deathbed: see Citroni, 1.101 intro.). Yet it would be unreasonable to take this line of thought too far: Cicero, for example, was greatly upset by Sositheus' death, though he tempers his emotion by doubting its propriety (*ad Att.* 1.12.4; for the qualification see also Pl. *Ep.*8.16.3; M. 5.37.20); and there is no doubting the sincerity of Pliny's feelings towards Zosimus (*Ep.* 5.19), or his concern for the ailing Encolpius (*Ep.* 8.1). See further Citroni, 1.88 intro.

The earliest extant example of a slave epitaph is that of Lucilius on Metrophanes, which M. quoted in the previous poem (see 11.90.4n.); Canace's epitaph is placed immediately afterwards to contrast modern sophistication and polish with ancient ineptitude (on the ordering of M.'s epigrams see p.5f.).

1. Aeolidos Canace: Aeolis is not the place, but the name of Canace's mother (for the possessive genitive see Kühner-Stegmann, 1.p.414: it can be used to indicate the relationship of slave to master, wife to husband, or, as here, child to parent. Compare e.g. Varro *L.L.* 5.32 'Europa Agenoris'; Verg. *Aen.* 6.36 'Deiphobe Glauci'). Canace is a name attested also at *CIL* 6.14318; in mythology she was the daughter of Aeolus (and in fact is called Aeolis at Ov. *Her.* 11.5); Izaac (in the Budé ad loc.) suggests that in this case the girl's father was called Aeolus and her mother Aeolis (in strict mythological terms it should have been Enarete; an Aeolis is attested at *CIL* 6.11274). Such games with slave names were well established: thus we find a Pylades, son of Orestes (*CIL* 6.25244), an Anassa daughter of Bassilius (CIL 6.11605), and so on (see Baumgart, *Sklavennamen*, p.5f.).

iacet hoc ... sepulcro: a standard epitaphic formula (cf. 11.13.7; *CE* 495.1; 555.1; 766.1; 1378.1; 1645.1; 1758.1).

2. septima ... hiems: detailed biographies were more a feature of Roman than Greek epitaph (see Lattimore, *Themes*, p.266); M. often gives the age of the deceased (particularly children), and varies considerably the way he describes it (see Citroni, 1.101.4n.).

3. ah scelus, ah facinus: for a similar reproach to the gods see 10.50.5, on Scorpus the charioteer; their injustice is often remarked in epitaphs which deal with *mors immatura*: cf. *A.P.* 7.643 quoted above; Kaibel 371; *CIL* 11.3413 'Caenius Rufus A. l(ibertus). o facinus'; for numerous examples see Lattimore, *Themes*, p.183f.; B.Lier, *Philologus* 62 (1903), p.460f.; and, for the theme of premature death, see E.Griessmair, *Das Motiv der Mors Immatura in den griechischen metrischen Grabinschriften, Comment.Aenipontanae* 17 (1966); J.Ter Vrugt- Lenz, *Mors Immatura* (1960).

properas qui flere: the traveller was frequently asked to shed tears for the deceased when *mors immatura* was involved: see Lattimore, *Themes*, p.234f.; Lier, op.cit. p.467f. And it would have been expected that this epitaph would take this line, but instead M. tells the wayfarer to hold back his tears and hear the horrible nature of the girl's death.

viator: see 11.13.1n.

5. horrida lues: cf. 1.78.1f. 'indignas premeret pestis cum tabida fauces/ inque ipsos vultus serperet atra lues'; Citroni identifies these two diseases of the face as one and the same, but he is not necessarily correct: what attacks a grown man may not attack a female child, and *lues* is in any case an imprecise term (it can refer to plagues attacking trees as well as people, and it can be an external or internal illness). Friedlaender identified Festus' disease in 1.78 as *mentagra* or *lichenes* (see 11.98.5n.), but that cannot be the case here because it was not fatal and did not affect females (Pl. *N.H.* 26.3). Paley and Stone say Canace perished of cancer of the lip, but that does not affect children, being found exclusively in men over fifty. B.Peyer and H.Remund (*Medizinisches aus M.* (1928), p.26) suggest tuberculosis of the larynx or leprosy, but the former is not this disfiguring and the latter does not attack only the face. Perhaps more convincing is noma (or cancrum oris), a gangrenous condition which occurs in poorly fed children and tends to complicate debilitating infections (like tuberculosis). It begins on the gum margin and spreads to the cheek, where an inflammatory red appearance forms; it then becomes darker and ultimately gangrenous (this would account for the rotting of Canace's face and lips). Deficient intake of the vitamin B complex, especially of nicotinic acid, is a cause of the condition. Note W.E.Nelson et al., *Textbook of Paediatrics*[9] (1969), p.764: 'the gangrenous area spreads slowly but inexorably until the cheeks are perforated and the jaws denuded'. Cf. too *Muir's Textbook*

of Pathology[10] (1976), p.171.

On other causes of childhood death in the ancient world revealed in epitaphs, see R.Goetze, *Der Tod im Kindesalter*, diss. Erlangen (1974). Kaibel 314, on an infant, chronicles in great detail the three successive illnesses of which it died.

9. praecipiti volatu: again the *mors immatura* theme: see 3n.

11. blandae: M. also refers to the attractiveness of Erotion's speech (5.34.8 quoted above); cf. 7.96.5; Crinagoras *A.P.* 7.643.2 quoted above; *A.L.* 345.10f.; Fronto p.101 Naber.

12. duras ... deas: the Parcae, as at Stat. Theb. 3.491; 6.325.

92

He's a liar who calls you vicious, Zoilus: you are not a vicious man, Zoilus, but vice itself.

This is the last of the Zoilus cycle of epigrams in this book (see 11.12 intro.): it is a fitting summary of this unattractive character. Ben Jonson adapted this poem in his Epigram 115:

> But this is one
> Suffers no name, but a description;
> Being no vicious person, but the vice
> About the towne.

2. non vitiosus ...: for the structure of the insult cf. Cat. 115.8 'non homo, sed vero mentula magna minax' (with Kroll); Sacerdos (ap. *Gramm.Lat.* 6.p.462 Keil) 'quem non pudet et rubet, non est homo, sed sopio'; Petr. 43.3 'discordia, non homo'; Hofmann, *LU* p.160; J.N.Adams, *PACA* 16 (1982), p.39. For the identification of a man with a distinctive defect which he has – here vice itself – cf. Cat. 52.2 'struma' and M. 4.52.2 'ficus'.

93

Flame took away the Pierian abode of the bard Theodorus. How could you permit that, you Muses and Phoebus? Oh! what a crime, oh! what a monstrously wicked sin and misdemeanour of the gods – that the householder didn't blaze with his house!

This piece is put next to the following one because they both deal with an aspect of the bad poet. It is also juxtaposed with 11.91: both open sonorously, with funereal trumpets at 11.91.1, and with what turns out to be a parody of them at 11.93.1; both contain the key word *abstulit* (11.91.6; 11.93.2); and both rail at the injustice of the gods, even using the same phraseology (11.91.3; 11.93.3). This is acute planning on M.'s part, for his reader will be expecting a likeness to the earlier poem here; it is only when he reaches the last line that he finds it is a parody. The parody is of the type of poem which offers a thanksgiving to the gods for a rescue from disaster (see 11.82 intro.).

The bad poet is a regular butt of ancient humorous writing: he figures in comedy (e.g. Ar. *Birds* 904f.; Cratinus frag.306 *CAF* 1.p.102 Kock; Xenarchus frag.7 *CAF* 2.p.470 Kock); in Catullus (22; 36.18f.; 95); in Greek epigram (Lucillius *A.P.* 11.234; 131-7; Pollianus *A.P.* 11.127); in Persius (1.69f.; 5.7f.); and in M. (3.44).

1. Pierios vatis ... penates: the inflated language would perhaps suggest an epic poet (see 11.48 intro.).

Theodori: 'God's gift to poetry', with unveiled sarcasm; there is a bad poet of the same name at 5.73.3.

3. o scelus ...: see intro. and 11.91.3n.; for a similarly sarcastic epic exclamation see 2.65.3.

4. arsit: as well as the obvious meaning, this could refer to the onset of poetic inspiration (cf. Quint. 10.1.90 'Lucanus ardens'; Juv. 1.165; *TLL* 2.485.68f.); for similar double entendres with verbs cf. 2.17.5; 4.33.4; 9.15.2; 10.43.2; 12.78.2; Joepgen, *Wortspiele*, p.75f. For fire as a purgative of bad poetry see also Cat. 36.18f.; Ov. *Tr.* 4.10. 61f.; M. 5.53.4.

domus et dominus: the similarity of the nouns suggests the similarity of fate hoped for; note 8.36.12 'par domus est caelo sed minor est domino'.

94

That you are excessively jealous of my books and disparage them on every possible occasion, I forgive: you are sensible, circumcised poet. Neither do I care about the fact that, although you criticise my poems, you make up your own from them: there too you are sensible, circumcised poet. But this crucifies me: that even though you were born in Jerusalem itself, you bugger my boy, circumcised poet. Behold, you deny it and swear to me by the Thunderer's Temple. I don't believe you. Swear, O circumcised one, by †Anchialus†.

1. lives ... detrahis: for *livor* see 11.20.1n. That successful poets have critics, and that that criticism is motivated by envy, is a commonplace; such critics are often (bad) poets themselves (cf. Hes. *Op.* 26; Leonidas *A.P.* 9.356.3f.; Philip *A.P.* 11.321; Verg. *Ecl.* 7.26; Hor. *Sat.* 1.10.78f.; *Ep.* 1.19.35f; *Carm.* 2.20.4; Ov. *Am.* 1.15.1); it is a constant complaint of M. too (e.g. 1.91; 2.71; 2.86; 6.64; 8.61; 9.97). His retort comes at 9.81:

Friedlaender, Dessau (*PIR*¹ S.46) and Lieben (*RE* 1A.1731) to identify the two occurrences of the name in M. as one and the same person. If this be so then we would expect Safronius to have been very close to M. to receive an epigram of this frankness (cf. Flaccus; 11.27.1n.).

104

Wife, either get out or conform to my morals; I am not a Curius or a Numa or a Tatius. I get pleasure from nights drawn out in joyful drinking; you glumly hurry to get up when you've drunk water. You like the darkness; I like to have fun with the lamp as witness and to bust my guts with the light let in. Brassières and tunics and obscuring shawls hide you from view; but no girl lies naked enough for me. Kisses like those of fawning doves captivate me, but you give me ones like those you give your grandmother in the morning. Nor do you consider it right to help the job along by movement, voice or fingers – it's as if you were getting ready the incense and wine. Phrygian slaves used to masturbate by the door whenever Andromache rode Hector's horse, and though the Ithacan snored, modest Penelope used always to keep her hand down there. You forbid me sodomy: Cornelia used to allow it to Gracchus, Julia to Pompey, and Porcia, Brutus, to you; when Ganymede hadn't yet begun to mix the sweet drinks as wine-server, Juno served Jupiter in place of him. If puritanism delights you, you can be a Lucretia through the whole day if you like, but I want a Lais at night.

Like 11.43, this poem is addressed to M.'s 'wife', and it shares with it a treatment of the theme of sodomy and the parodistic use of mythological exempla. M. mentions a wife outside this book as well (cf. 3.92; 4.24; 7.95.7), and it used to be scholarly opinion that he did have one in real life and, moreover, that she was the Marcella of 12.21 and 12.31 (as e.g. A.Brandt, *De M. poetae vita et scriptis*, diss. Berlin (1853), p.35f.). This was for no better reason than that Marcella is called *domina* (12.31.7) and gave M. a present of some gardens – she was simply the least unlikely candidate. But it has been pointed out (11.7.1n.) that M.'s proclaimed principle is to 'spare the person and castigate the vice', and it is highly unlikely that he would launch onslaughts like the present piece against a person as readily identifiable as his own wife. One must be constantly on one's guard against taking every first person epigram as autobiography (see M.Schuster, *BPhW* (1930), 219f.). Furthermore, people who regard epigrams such as this as documentary evidence of a wife have to ignore other pieces like 2.49; 8.12 and 11.19, where M. discusses in the first person his reasons for not getting married: how can he both have a wife and not have one in the same book? It thus seems certain that the *uxor* of 11.43 and 104 is not intended as a real person, though that does not prove that M. himself was in real life unmarried. Our only means of judging that is from a non-skoptic epigram on the subject; 2.92 is the best evidence:

natorum mihi ius trium roganti
Musarum pretium dedit mearum
solus qui poterat. valebis, uxor.
non debet domini perire munus.

This is a thanksgiving to Domitian for his bestowing on M. the honour of the *ius trium liberorum*; the crucial phrase is 'valebis uxor', and by far the most likely interpretation of it is 'goodbye to the idea of my ever having a wife'; there is no suggestion in M.'s work that he had a change of heart. The burden of proof lies firmly with those who think he was married (see L.Ascher, *CW* 70 (1976/7), p.441f.).

Extensive and witty adaptation of parts of this poem was made by George Colman (?) in his *Don Leon* and *Leon to Annabella*; as the titles suggest, the poems are not dissimilar to *Don Juan*, and they were in fact once accredited to Byron (since they mention events subsequent to his death they cannot be). They deal with Byron's eventful sex life, and they are mainly concerned with sodomy and his attempts to persuade his reluctant wife to undergo the experience. They have a good claim to be considered the best bawdy poems in English. See 15n.; 17n.

1. vade foras: this would suggest divorce to Roman ears: cf. Plaut. *Cas.* 211 'i foras mulier', in a similar context. It is not known what the original Twelve Table formula for divorce was, but Bücheler (*JKPh* 105 (1872), p.565f.) postulates 'baete foras mulier': this is derived from a satire by Varro (553 Bücheler): 'annos multos quod parere ea non poterat, mulierem foras baetere iussit'. If the theory is correct, M.'s formula would be close, though its import is in any case clear (see Marquardt-Mau, p.70n.5; *RE* 5.1241f.). See also 11.2.4.

2. sum: elided again in M. at 10.9.5; 12.68.3; 13.76.1. On the elision of monosyllables see Müller, *De Re Metrica*, p.339f.

Curius: see 11.16.6n.

Numa: see 11.5.2n.

Tatius: not as common a figure as the preceding two in the 'worthy' gallery: it is his Sabine origin and early republican date which make him suitable for inclusion here. He is a very shadowy character, traditionally king of the Sabine town of Cures, who, after the rape of the Sabine women, was said to have captured the Capitol through Tarpeia's treason. After the reconciliation effected by the women, Tatius and Romulus ruled jointly over the two peoples. Varro (*L.L.* 5.74) says that Tatius enlarged Rome and established several cults; but even his existence is questionable: he could have been invented as the eponym of the tribe Tities, or as the founder of the Sodales Titii, or as an explanation of collegiate magistracy (see Ogilvie, Livy p.71; *RE* 4A. 2471f.).

4. pota ... aqua: M. imagines a symposium which he thoroughly enjoys, though his wife leaves as quickly as possible after only a glass of water –

showing her puritanical bent. M. is here foreshadowing the sexual nature of the rest of the epigram: the link between wine and love, or drink and sex, was well rehearsed (see 11.6.12n.), and the reverse held true: thus Antipater Thess. (*A.P.* 9.305) connects water-drinking with sexlessness:

ὕδατος ἀκράτου κεκορημένωι ἄγχι παραστὰς
χθιζὸν ἐμοὶ λεχέων Βάκχος ἔλεξε τάδε·
"εὕδεις ἄξιον ὕπνον ἀπεχθομένων Ἀφροδίτηι·
εἰπέ μοι, ὦ νήφων, πεύθεαι Ἱππολύτου;
τάρβει, μή τι πάθηις ἐναλίγκιον." ὣς ὁ μὲν εἰπὼν
ὤιχετ'· ἐμοὶ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς οὐκέτι τερπνὸν ὕδωρ.

('After I had drunk my fill of undiluted water yesterday, Bacchus stood near my couch and said 'You sleep the sleep of those whom Aphrodite hates. Tell me, sober one, do you know about Hippolytus? Fear lest your fate be similar.' So he spoke, and left. Since then, water no longer is pleasurable to me.') And cf. M.Rubensohn, *Hermes* 26 (1891), p.153f.

surgere: usually from a bed, here from a dining couch.

tristis: note the contrasts and balance between this line and the preceding one: me / te; iucunda / tristis; tractare / properas; pocula / aqua; cf. 11.23 intro. for the same kind of technique.

5. tenebris: the juxtaposition with 'admissa luce' shows that M. here considers making love in the light more adventurous than making love in the dark. Thus in Ovid a girl's *pudor* requires intercourse at night or with the window-shutters closed (e.g. *A.A.* 2.619f.; *Am.* 1.5.7f.; and cf. Tac. *Ann.* 15.37), and even orgies were generally held in the dark (e.g. Hor. *Carm.* 3.6.28; M. 12.43.10; Min.Fel. *Oct.* 9.7). This convention of darkness is one which M. does not find liberated enough.

ludere: this verb is often used in erotic contexts, and can denote most kinds of sexual activity: e.g. heterosexual intercourse (e.g. Cat. 61.204f.); homosexual intercourse (e.g. Petr. 11.2); anal intercourse (e.g. Sen. *Contr.* 1.2.22); fellatio (e.g. Suet.*Tib.* 44.1); and masturbation (e.g. Juv. 7.239). Or it can leave the precise activity unspecified, as here (cf. Cat. 68.17; Hor. *Ep.* 2.2.214; Ov. *A.A.* 2.389); note also Greek *paizein* (Henderson, *Muse,* p.157), and see further H.Wagenvoort, *Studies in Roman Literature, Culture and Religion* (1956), p.37f.

teste lucerna: the lamp as the silent witness is a frequent motif in erotic epigram (e.g. Meleager *A.P.* 5.166.7f.; 5.197.3f.; 6.162; Philodemus *A.P.* 5.4; Marcus Argentarius *A.P.* 5.128.3f.; Asclepiades *A.P.* 5.7; Flaccus *A.P.* 5.5; Agathias *A.P.* 5.263; M. 14.39 'dulcis conscia lectuli lucerna,/quidquid vis facias licet, tacebo'; 10.38.6f.). To have a witness to love-making would normally be considered shameful exhibitionism (note esp. M. 1.34), but here M. regards it as a feature of sexual liberation.

6. rumpere ... latus: the phrase is similar to the hunting term 'leporem rumpere', which involved running the hare to exhaustion by chasing it with horse and hound (see Friedlaender, 1.49.25n.). 'latus rumpere' means to tire oneself out by sexual exertion: cf. Cat. 11.19f. 'nullum amans vere, sed identidem omnium/ilia rumpens'; M. 12.97.1f. 'uxor cum tibi sit puella qualem/votis vix petat improbus maritus/... rumpis, Basse, latus, sed in comatis'; Prop. 2.16.14; Juv. 6.37; *Priap.* 83.45 Bücheler.

On *latus* Adams comments that it is used particularly often to express the general site of exhaustion which might follow intercourse: e.g. *Priap.* 26.11 'defecit latus' (see *LSV* p.49).

7. fascia: literally a bandage, but in women's clothing a strip of cloth tied underneath the breasts for support – the Roman bra. Cf. 14.134, on a *fascia pectoralis*: 'fascia crescentes dominae compesce papillas,/ut sit quod capiat nostra tegatque manus'; Ov. *A.A.* 3.274; *D.-S.* 2.980f.

tunicaeque: see 11.99.2n.

obscuraque: this would usually refer to the dark colour of the clothes (as e.g. Pl. *N.H.* 35.183; Stat. *Theb.* 8.88), which is pointless here. It has an active sense: i.e. 'te obscurantia', and it reinforces 'celant'.

9. basia: ancient writers on language tried to draw distinctions between the various nouns for kisses: e.g. *Corp.Gloss.Lat.* 5.170.33 'basium quod uxori datur. nam distantia haec est, ut basium uxori, osculum filiis, suavium scorto sit deputatum'; Isid. *Diff.* 1.398 'osculum caritatis est, basium blanditiae, savium voluptatis'; but clear-cut distinctions are not always observed in such common nouns (see P.Moreau, *RPh* 52 (1978), p.87f.).

blandas: cf. 8.32.2 'blanda columba'; Ov. *Am.* 2.6.56 'oscula dat cupido blanda columba mari'.

columbas: frequent in poetry, especially in elegy, as exemplars of voluptuous kissing (see *TLL* 3.1732.6f.): thus Cat. 68.125f. 'nec tantum niveo gavisa est ulla columbo/compar, quae multo dicitur improbius/oscula mordenti semper decerpere rostro,/quam quae praecipue multivola est mulier'; even to the natural historian this kissing was proverbial (e.g. Pl. *N.H.* 10.32; 10.158). Note a fragment of Cn.Matius, the mimiambic poet, in Gellius (*N.A.* 20.9.2): 'sinuque amicam refice frigidam caldo,/columbulatim labra conserens labris'. Isidore (*Or.* 12.7.61) comments on doves 'quas antiqui venerias nuncupabant, eo, quod nidos frequentant et osculo amorem concipiant'; see also Otto 414. Somewhat paradoxically, the Romans also thought highly of doves' *pudicitia* (*TLL* 3.1732.20f.) – not because of restraint in sexual activity, but because they are strictly monogamous (see D'Arcy Thompson, *Birds*, p.241).

10. aviae ... mane: both words have their depressing implications (cf. 11.23.13f.).

11. motu: cf. Ov. *Am.* 1.10.36 'quam socio motu femina virque ferunt'; ibid. 2.10(11).35; M. 7.18.5; and Adams, *LSV* p.195.

opus: see 11.60.7n.

voce: for verbal stimulation cf. Philodemus *A.P.* 5.132.5f.; Dioscorides *A.P.* 5.56.1; Strato *A.P.* 12.209.4; Ov. *A.A.* 3.795f. 'nec blandae voces

iucundaque murmura cessent/nec taceant mediis improba verba iocis'; Ov. *Am.* 3.7(6).11f.; M. 11.29.3 with note; 11.60.7; Juv. 6.196f. 'quod enim non excitet inguen/vox blanda et nequam? digitos habet.' See also Brandt, Ov. *A.A.* 2.705n.

iuvare: cf. *CIL* 10.4483 'diciti adiuvabunt pruriginem'; *Priap.* 83.23 Bücheler; M. 11.60.8.

12. digitis: for manual stimulation cf. Ov. *A.A.* 2.706f. 'nec manus in lecto laeva iacebit iners,/invenient digiti quod agant in partibus illis,/in quibus occulte spicula tangit Amor' (and see Brandt's note); cf. 11.22.4n.; 11.29.1n.; 11.46.3n.

tamquam tura ...: two explanations come to mind, and there may be some truth in both of them. The first is spelt out by the *Index Expurgatorius*: 'Those of our readers who are in the habit of 'communicating' must have noticed the awful seriousness of young ladies when they take the consecrated elements between their thumb and forefinger. Imagine a girl so utterly lost to all the duties of wedlock as to treat her husband's penis in this manner.' The second is that the wife is preparing for a religious festival which involved a statutory period of chastity beforehand (this applied in particular to the festivals of corn and fertility goddesses: see J.G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*[3] (1911f.), 5.p.43n.4; E.Fehrle, *Die kultische Keuschheit im Altertum, Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten* 6 (1910)). Such customs were a traditionally unwelcome obstacle for the amorous poet: e.g. Tib. 1.3.23f. 'quid tua nunc Isis mihi, Delia, quid mihi prosunt/illa tua totiens aera repulsa manu,/quidve, pie dum sacra colis, pureque lavari/te, memini, et puro secubuisse toro?'; Ov. *Am.* 3.10(9).1f.; Prop. 2.33.1f.; 4.5.33f.; Juv. 6.535f.

13. masturbabantur: apart from grammarians and glossarians, this verb is found only here and at 9.41.7; Adams (*LSV* p.211) thinks that it may have been an obsolescent word which M. resuscitated, though no trace of its earlier history remains. Generally the Romans only condemned masturbation when it was pursued to the exclusion of all other sexual activity (as at M. 9.41). The first signs of the concept of masturbation as a disease do not appear until about 1700, with the publication of the anonymous *Onania* in Holland; this was followed by S.A.Tissot's *Tentamen de morbis ex manustupratione* (1758), a highly influential work which laid the foundations for the medical opinion of the nineteenth century (see H.T.Engelhardt jr., *BullMedHist* 48 (1974), p.234f.).

post ostia: for mixoscopy see 11.45.6n.

14. Hectoreo ... equo: a borrowing from, and a contradiction of, Ov. *A.A.* 3.777f. 'parva vehatur equo: quod erat longissima, numquam/Thebais Hectoreo nupta resedit equo'. For *equus* in this sense see also Lucil. 1042 Marx; Hor. *Sat.* 2.7.50; Ov. *A.A.* 2.732; and (in a homosexual context) Petr. 24.4; cf. Buchheit, *Priapea*, p.104n.6 with references. Compare the Greek imagery of the horse and riding which goes back as far as Anacreon's *pôle Thrêikiê* (frag. 417 Page); cf. Dioscorides *A.P.* 5.55; Asclepiades *A.P.* 5.202-3.

sederat: *sedere* is used elsewhere of the jockey position: e.g. Petr. 140.7 'puellam quidem exoravit, ut sederet super commendatam bonitatem'; ibid. 126.10; Ov. *A.A.* 3.778 quoted above; and see N.J.Herescu, *Glotta* 38 (1959), p.125f.

15. Ithaco stertente pudica: i.e. even when Ulysses was asleep and there was no prospect of immediate action; the *pudica* Penelope can do this quite naturally, but M.'s wife far outstrips her in *pudor*. Note the borrowing at *Don Leon* 828f.:

Penelope, the model of a wife,
Grasps in her hand all night the staff of life,
And e'en in her sleep to lose that bauble fears,
For which she sighed, a widow twenty years.

16. illic: a typical euphemism: see 11.15.8n.; O.Hey, *ALL* 11. p.532; J.N.Adams, Phoenix 35 (1981), p.126.

17. pedicare: for the idiom (*pedicari* might have been expected), compare, in the light of the ensuing 'dabat hoc', the Greek *dos pugisai* and cf. M. 11.78.5; *Priap.* 3.9 with J.N.Adams, *LCM* 7.6 (1982), p.88 (i.e. 'negas' is to be understood in the sense forbid; this is more likely than understanding 'negas' in the sense refuse and taking 'pedicare' as intransitive).

Dover (*Homosexuality*, p.101) suggests that anal intercourse between male and female was a contraceptive measure (see 11.78.6n.); here, of course, it is indicative of sexual liberation.

Note *Don Leon* 751f.:

There (i.e. in Turkey) the fond wife, whene'er the marriage rite
Palls on her husband's sated appetite,
The wily Parthian's stratagem has learned,
Most sure to vanquish when her back is turned.

Cornelia: again note the similarity of *Don Leon to Annabella*:

Matrons of Rome, held ye yourselves disgraced
In yielding to your husbands' wayward taste?
Ah no! By tender complaisance ye reign'd:
No wife of wounded modesty complained.
Though Gracchus sometimes his libations poured
In love's unhallowed vase: yet still adored
By sage Cornelia, 'twas her pride to be
His paradise with no forbidden tree.

18. Iulia ... Porcia: matrons of more recent fame than Cornelia, and not, perhaps, as revered as her, but included for the same irreverently humorous reasons. Porcia appears in a very different setting at 1.42. These ladies are

cited as exemplars of *pudicitia* by Seneca (frag. 79 Haase): 'haec Lucretiam Bruto aequavit, nescias an praetulerit ... haec aequavit Corneliam Graccho, haec Porciam alteri Bruto'.

20. Iuno: cf. 11.43.3f.

21. gravitas: a staple Roman virtue, humorously regarded by M. here as unbefitting a wife; usually it would have been prized as a feminine quality: e.g. Cic. *ad Famm.* 15.7 'matris tuae, gravissimae atque optimae feminae'; it is frequently recorded on ladies' epitaphs, where it has the right kind of staid matronly ring; and it is associated with old republican worthies (e.g. Vell.Pat. 2.49.3; Sen. *de Ben.* 2.1.4). The whole of the Eleventh Book of M. has been concerned with dispelling the *gravitas* which might be appropriate for normal times but which is contrary to the spirit of the Saturnalian season.

Lucretia: see 11.16.9n.; compare these lines from Herrick's '*What Kind of Mistress He Would Have*':

Let her Lucrece all day be
Thais in the night to me.
Be she such as neither will
Famish me, nor over-fill.

22.Laida: cf. 10.68.11f., against a woman who, despite being thoroughly Italian, affects Greek ways: 'tu licet ediscas totam referasque Corinthon,/non tamen omnino, Laelia, Lais eris'. There were two ladies of the name Lais, but M. is thinking of the more famous one from Corinth (the other was probably Sicilian). Both were famed courtesans, and consequently their lives became conflated and confused. But the Corinthian's figure was especially admired (Athen. 13.587d) and one of her lovers was the philosopher Aristippus (ibid. 12.544b); she was still remembered in Pausanias' day (2.2.4), and a proverb ran *ou Korinthos oute Lais*. Her monument, rather appropriately, depicted a lioness tearing apart a ram; one of her 'epitaphs' expresses her beauty particularly well (ap. Athen. 13.589b):

τῆσδέ ποθ' ἡ μεγάλαυχος ἀνίκητός τε πρὸς ἄλκὴν
Ἑλλὰς ἐδουλώθη κάλλεος ἰσοθέου,
Λαίδος· ἣν ἐτέκνωσεν Ἔρως, ἔθρεψεν δὲ Κόρινθος·
κεῖται δ' ἐν κλεινοῖς Θετταλικοῖς πεδίοις.

('Most glorious Greece, unvanquished in courage, was once enslaved to this woman's godlike beauty. She was Lais: Eros begot her, Corinth raised her; she lies at rest in the famous plains of Thessaly.') See also *A.P.* 7.218-20; Aul.Gell. *N.A.* 1.8; *RE* 12.514f.

105

You used to send me a silver dish that weighed a pound, Garricus; now you send me only a quarter-pounder. At least pay me a half, Garricus.

For M.'s pose of ingratitude towards gifts he has received see also 11.18 intro. Here he regards the giving of gifts as a strict debt; cf. 10.57:

argenti libram mittebas; facta selibra est
sed piperis: tanti non emo, Sexte, piper.

At 8.71.3f. he remarks 'nam stare aut crescere debent/munera'. Though there is humour in the impoliteness and improperness of such statements, M.'s attitude would not have appeared as grasping to his Roman audience as it does to us; M. would be justified in expecting a fair return for his own present to Garricus (cf. 'solve' and note 5.18). Thus Cicero says (*de Off.* 1.48) 'nam cum duo genera liberalitatis sint, unum dandi beneficii, alterum reddendi, demus necne in nostra potestate est, non reddere viro bono non licet, modo id facere possit sine iniuria.' A.R. Hands (*Charities and Social Aid in Greece and Rome* (1968), p.30) sums up the situation: 'the essential point is that there remains basic to the discussion the assumption that the gifts, benefits or favours in question are to be conferred upon somebody who *can* make a return, so that a return, even though it may no longer be decently asked for, is confidently expected.'

The principal occasion in the Roman calendar for the giving of gifts was the Sigillaria, the closing days of the Saturnalia (cf. Macr. *Sat.* 1.10.23f.); since this book was published for that festival the subject has an obvious topicality. The custom is the precursor of our exchange of presents and cards at Christmas (cf. 11.6 intro.). Under the republic these gifts consisted simply of *cerei* (wax candles) and *sigilla* (small figurines), but the field was expanded during the empire to include all sorts of more exotic and expensive items: a good idea of the range can be had from M.'s *Xenia* and *Apophoreta*. A special market was set up at this time of the year, held originally in the Porticus Argonautarum (see 11.1.12n.) and subsequently in a portico of Trajan's Baths; it too was called the Sigillaria: see Suet. *Claud.* 16.4; *schol.* ap. Juv. 6.154; *RE* 2A.2278; *D.-S.* 4.1081f.

1. libram: as Friedlaender shows (2.44.2n.), this is not an unfashioned lump of metal – presumably silver – but silver plate to the weight of one pound (similarly at 7.53.12; 7.86.7; 10.15(14).8; 12.36.1); it is well illustrated by 8.71.1f.:

quattuor argenti libras mihi tempore brumae
misisti ante annos, Postumiane, decem ...
besalem ad scutalam sexto pervenimus anno;
post hunc in cotula rasa selibra data est;

Buchrolle in der Kunst (1907), p.235f.; *Kritik und Hermeneutik nebst Abriss des Antiken Buchwesens* (1913), p.299). S.Besslich (*Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1973), p.44f.) has provided the most satisfactory explanation: 'usque ad sua cornua' is similar in phrase and identical in meaning to the more frequent '(usque) ad umbilicum (or -os)': e.g. Hor. *Epod.* 14.8; Sen. *Suas.* 6.27; and M. 4.89.2. The *umbilicus* is the rod in the centre of the roll from which it was unwound; the noun often occurs in M., both in the singular and plural (see Citroni, 1.66.11n.). Blümner (*Philologus* 73 (1914/16), p.426f.) suggests that the plural does not refer to two rods (on to the second of which was wound the perused portion of the roll), but to the two ends of the same rod which could be seen projecting from the centre of the roll. As for *cornua*, he puts forward the ideas that they could be the knobs on the ends of the *umbilicus* by which to turn it, or a curved *umbilicus* in the shape of an animal's horns, or simply the *umbilicus* itself. Besslich (loc.cit.) takes up the last suggestion, explaining that two words which refer to the same thing were current because *umbilicus* does not scan in elegiac metre. So *cornua* picture the two sections of the central rod which would project from the roll and which would look like horns; and *frons* (or *frontes*) pictures the external front and side sections of the roll when it is wound shut (cf. M. 3.2.8f.), continuing the animal head image.

2. Septiciane: only here in M.; also attested on inscriptions (see Kajanto, *Cognomina*, p.155). An alert reader might recall that *Septicianum* is a type of second-rate silver ware (e.g. 4.88.3; 8.71.6), and he might infer that this man is a second-rate poet.

3. credo ... verum est: for the *sunathroismos* of verbs see 11.35.3n.

108

Although you could be satisfied by such a long book, reader, you still want a few distichs more from me. But Lupus wants his loan back and my slaves want their rations. Reader, pay up! You pretend you can't hear? Goodbye then.

M. rounds off the book with a piece jocularly aimed at his readers – 'opes nostrae' (see 11.16.1n.) – and he plays with the arrangement between poet and benefactor from which the former derived some of his living (cf. 5.36). As P.White remarks (*JRS* 64 (1974), p.60) 'the poet dispenses his apostrophes and accolades on credit, as it were, and awaits recompense from the beneficiary. But in 11.108 ... that convention is transferred to the relationship between author and reader, which it does not fit. Only in jest could M. have claimed from unknown readers the due to which he felt entitled from individuals honoured by his poems.' This jest had appeared in much the same form in 5.16, where M. tells the reader that he writes *nugae* for him though he would be better off writing legal speeches; true, he is praised,

sed non et veteres contenti laude fuerunt,
cum minimum vati munus Alexis erat.
'belle' inquis 'dixti: satis et laudabimus usque.'
dissimulas? facies me, puto, causidicum.

This epigram gives the book an emphatic ending; only two other books are brought to such a clear conclusion, and both the pieces in question self-deprecatingly assume that the reader will have had enough (1.118; 4.89).

1. longo: in fact it is the second longest of M.'s books, measured by the number of epigrams (Book I has 118).

3. Lupus: an appropriate name for a money-lender, pointing to the rapacity of the profession (see 11.55.1n.); on the unpopularity of usurers see 11.76 intro.

4. solve C^A; *salve* B^A: B^A's reading is nonsense and unmetrical to boot (see Gilbert, *JKPh* 127 (1883), p.644; and Heraeus' and Friedlaender's apparatuses).

Bibliography

This bibliography is not exhaustive. I have included in the first section the works which I have cited most frequently, under the abbreviations by which they are labelled in the commentary. I have excluded articles and books which are relevant to only a single epigram or word (they will be found cited ad locc.), but I have added two sections to include some important works which I have used, and to which no, or little, previous reference has been made. Further work on the Nachleben of M. is given in the notes to that section of the introduction. Again, the bibliographies of Citroni (p. lxxxii-xc) and Howell (p. 20f.) are useful, especially for earlier editions of M.

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The abbreviations used in this commentary are those found in *L'Année philologique*.

Indexes

Though there is inevitably some inconsistency and overlap, the Index of Latin Words should be consulted primarily for specific points of Latinity and Realien, while the General Index should be consulted for wider topics and themes (such as the subjects, character-types and structures of epigram). Specific authors who influenced or were influenced by M., as well as persons and places named in Book XI, will be found in the Index of Proper Names, whereas more diffuse influences (e.g. elegy and epic) will be found in the General Index.

Index of Proper Names

Index of Latin Words

General Index