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Terms of Literary Comment in the Epigrams of Martial

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LOYOLA UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Terms of Literary Comment in the Epigrams of Martial

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICAL STUDIES
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICAL STUDIES

BY

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TO MY LOVING PARENTS
FOR THEIR BELIEF IN ME

NOTE ON ABBREVIATIONS AND CITATIONS

The abbreviations used in this dissertation conform to those used in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (1970, see Bibliography).

All citations of Classical authors are drawn from the latest edition available of the Oxford Classical Text unless otherwise noted. Martial's text is from W.M. Lindsay's Oxford text of 1929 (see Bibliography).

Professor J.P. Sullivan's book on Martial, *Martial: The Unexpected Classic* (see Bibliography), was released after the bulk of this thesis had been written. However, since much of Professor Sullivan's book utilized his previous scholarship on Martial, upon which this thesis has drawn, I feel I have been able to give his book a fair representation here.

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INTRODUCTION

PURPOSE AND NATURE OF THE STUDY

Martial's considerable output, over fifteen hundred epigrams which have survived to our day almost intact, stands as a baited trap for the literary critic and historian. One strong temptation or inclination for the critic is to deny Martial's seriousness and import as a poet altogether, usually because of a moral prejudice or a misunderstanding of the literary atmosphere and conventions of his day.¹ Another temptation or inclination, actually more pernicious and especially prevalent of late as a reaction to the denial of Martial's literary import, is to read more into Martial's poetry than is actually there. For example, certain critics, perhaps because they overlook Martial's true import and contribution as a poet or because they also misunderstand his literary age, construe Martial as having a hidden political manifesto or as having "an inner meaning level to be under-

¹E.g., E.J. Kenney in the *Cambridge History of Classical Literature, II, Latin Literature*, eds. E.J. Kenney and W.V. Clausen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 21, who characterizes Martial's poetry as "slight, modish, occasional"; and J.C. Bramble, also in the *Cambridge History of Classical Literature, II, Latin Literature*, 600, says Martial "is poetic--on occasion, . . . never makes us think . . . with never a moral reflection" and "is the court jester" (611).

stood as an amphibolic implication of the text."² Such readings or interpretations, though in some cases provocative and even socially and historically informative, are actually idiosyncratic overlays upon the text and misrepresentative both of Martial and the nature of the literature of his day. In fact, Martial's true position as a poet in the Roman literary tradition lies, as will be seen, between or even beyond these two just-mentioned critical extremes: he certainly is to be taken seriously as a poet, but he does not have, nor does he need some hidden or underlying agenda, political, social, moralistic or philosophic.

In actuality Martial's poetic agenda or literary intent is quite accessible. His poetry abounds with literary comment pertaining both to other poets and poetry, and to his own poetry.³ A consideration of this literary comment as compared to that of other Roman poets can reveal quite accurately Martial's intent and actual place within the Roman literary tradition. Moreover, such an examination reveals the vital elements of Martial's poetry and his overall theme and rationale for writing. In order to assess this body of

²For a hidden political manifesto in Martial see, e.g., Niklas Holzberg, *Martial* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1988), 84-86; for an "inner meaning level" see R.G. Tanner, "Levels of Intent in Martial," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* II 32.4 (1986): 2674.

³E.g., Holzberg, 88, contends that ten percent of Martial's twelve books of epigrams contain material for Martial's "Selbstverständnis als Dichter." Also there are innumerable references to other poets.

literary comment found in the Roman poets this study has focused upon a battery of representative, key terms that Martial uses in his literary comments. These terms that are examined, called literary-critical terms, form a comment on what is proper and improper to poetry and also indicate why the poet writes as he does. But to rely on Martial's remarks alone for an assessment of his literary position and intent is, of course, insufficient. Thus, in order to establish a control for comparison in the examination of the key literary-critical terms that occur in Martial this study first systematically considers the history and usage of such terms as they occur in the Roman poets preceding and contemporary to Martial. As a result Martial's literary comment finds a framework for assessment beyond his own personal and subjective context, but still within parameters not alien to him. Thus his place within the Roman literary tradition and his poetic intent can be more objectively assessed.

A few specifics should be given about the literary-critical terms and their examination which constitute the crux of this thesis. This study does not purport to examine every literary term used by Martial. Instead it centers upon eight representative key terms that are especially revealing of Martial's critical evaluation of poetry. The initial selection of these literary terms was based upon the following criteria: 1) a term is used consistently in making literary comments in Martial and has a history as such in Roman authors prior and

contemporary to Martial; 2) a term has a critical or evaluative sense in Martial's poetry as well as in other Roman poets, and is key to, or representative of a literary stance or rationale. Each of the selected key literary-critical terms receives the following treatment. First the term's history as literary comment in Roman poetry is examined--that is, its usage in context and the particular connotation it had there--starting from the time it first appeared and continuing on through the Roman poets (through Juvenal) in chronological order. The range is wide here. A few literary-critical terms find usage as early as Plautus; most start their history with Catullus or Horace. Some terms find extensive usage by many poets, others not. Sometimes the study looks at the usage of the terms in prose authors such as Cicero and Quintilian, specifically when the context was literary-critical. Primarily, however, the history of the literary-critical term is confined to the range of its usage by Roman poets who preceded or were contemporary to Martial. After a term's history of usage is examined in other poets, Martial's usage of the same term is then considered with the term's literary-critical history serving as a comparison to point up any similarity or change in its sense. Both modifications in the sense of a term and any literary intent or rationale connected with its usage are considered at the end of the sections or chapters on the terms. More general and comprehensive conclusions, however, are reserved for the concluding chapter. Such is the

nature of the investigation.

Mention may be made of a related article in order to justify further this study. In the earlier part of this century Keith Preston wrote an insightful article, surprisingly informative for its length, entitled "Martial and Formal Literary Criticism," in which he briefly surveyed the epigrams of Martial for any formal literary criticism.⁴ Preston's approach was varied: he looked at Martial's views on archaism, proper subject-matter and proper style, use of *doctrina* including mythological allusions, and then surveyed Martial's literary criticism of the more important writers, both Greek and Roman. Preston concluded with a brief examination of Martial's critical views on the genre of epigram. In the article Preston used Quintilian's, Pliny's and Tacitus' relevant literary comments as a touchstone for establishing Martial's critical position. Preston summarized his findings on Martial's critical views on epigram by saying that Martial's poems express a "code of realism, modernism, and personal expression perhaps unique in Martial's time" (351), and further concluded that Martial on the whole "represents an entirely wholesome reaction to a stagnant literary age" (352).

The present study differs from Preston's in several ways. First, it adopts a more systematic and comprehensive approach to the treatment of literary comment of Martial.

⁴Keith Preston, "Martial and Formal Literary Criticism," *Classical Philology* 15 (1920): 340-52.

Every usage of a key and representative literary-critical term in Martial is given contextual analysis so that a more complete and accurate picture of Martial's literary position and intent emerges.⁵ In fairness, Preston's study had as its object the garnering of all literary criticism that occurs in the epigrams, and hence his survey-style approach and the very general nature of his conclusions.

Secondly, this study differs from Preston's in that the history of the terms of literary comment under consideration is traced through all the Roman poets up through the first century A.D. thus giving a wider and more accurate perspective for drawing conclusions and tracking literary-critical theory and intent. Preston used only Quintilian, Pliny and Tacitus for a comparison to Martial's literary comment and his conclusions, accurate enough, are limited. For example, Preston suggests that Martial is unique to his time for his "code of realism, and modernism, and personal expression" (351). Yet examination of literary comment in earlier poets indicates that Martial but follows in a long tradition--

⁵Only two of the literary terms considered have been treated previously in any systematical manner: *ludere*, whose history of usage is compiled by H. Wagenvoort, *Studies in Roman Literature, Culture and Religion* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1956), in his chapter "*Ludus Poeticus*," 30-42, and more recently by Robert Muth, "Poeta ludens; Zu einem Prinzip der alexandrinisch-hellenistischen und der römisch-neoterischen Dichtung," in *Serta Philologia Aenipontana II*, ed. Robert Muth (Innsbruck: Innsbrucker Gesellschaft zur Pflege der Geisteswissenschaften, 1972), 65-82; and *doctus* when applied to poets is examined by N.I. Herescu, "Poetae docti," *Rivista clasica* (Bucharest, 1930).

beginning as early as Lucilius and visible in Catullus, Horace and others--of poets striving for personal expression based more upon everyday reality than Greek models and myths.

Finally, this study differs from Preston's in that it not only is more comprehensive than his more limited study in regard to Martial's literary comment and subsequent place within the Roman literary tradition, but also it goes several steps further in delineating Martial's personal theory of poetry and his literary intent. Such an explication of Martial's theory and intent further informs and illuminates not only his own literary era and his place within it, but even previous and subsequent eras. Even more importantly, it leads to a proper reading and understanding of Martial's poetry itself.

CHAPTER I

NUGAE and *LUDERE*

In the epigrams Martial uses terms of literary comment which have a history of usage in other Roman poets and have developed a specific literary-critical connotation. This chapter examines usage by Roman poets of the forms of *nugae* and the verb *ludere*, along with its related noun forms *ludus* and *lusus*, terms Martial often uses in referring to his medium.¹ First, the usage of the terms by Roman poets preceding and contemporary to Martial is considered. Then Martial's own usage is considered. A comparison and contrast between Martial's and the other Roman poets' usage of these two major and representative literary terms reveal the nature of Martial's own medium, epigram, and his place and impact within the literary tradition.

At the outset a few notes about the terms under consideration might be helpful. The terms *nugae* and *ludus/lusus* or the verb forms of *ludere* can be practically synonymous when used in reference to poetry. This is apparent from Horace's *Epistle* 2.2.141-43 (on which see below) where

¹Martial also many times uses the term *epigramma* to denote his medium, but it has no tradition of use among the Roman poets.

nugae and *ludus* are both used of youthful poetry, and Horace's *Satire* 2.1.73 where *nugari* and *ludere* are used almost synonymously (though not necessarily of poetry).² There are, however, as will be seen, shades of meaning peculiar to each term. It might be helpful to begin with the basic definitions of the two terms. *Nugae* is "something that is worthless" or "rubbish"; it also has the meaning of "a trifle" or "something not serious" in particular reference to literary work.³ The verb *ludere* has a basic meaning of "to play," "jest," "joke," "ridicule," "spend time idly" or "frivolously," and "to sport amorously."⁴ Like *nugae*, *ludere* also has a special sense in a literary context, as will be seen in the analysis that follows.

Section I.1: *Nugae* and *Ludere* in the Roman Poets

The one term under consideration, *ludus*, is first found in a literary-critical context in Lucilius. At fragment 1039-40 he says:

cuius vultu ac facie, ludo ac sermonibus nostris
virginis hoc pretium atque hunc reddebamus honorem.
(Lucil. 1039-40)⁵

²Also cf. Schol. Veron. on Verg. *Ecl.* 6.1; and Wagenvoort, 35.

³See P.G.W. Glare, ed., *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), hereafter *OCD*, s.v. *nugae*.

⁴*OCD*, s.v. *ludo*.

⁵Citations of Lucilius are from Fridericus Marx, *C. Lucilii Carminum Reliquiae*, 2 vols. (Lipsiae: Teubner, 1904; reprint, Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1963).

Lucilius in his verse, his *ludus* and *sermones*, as he designates his satires, returns payment and honor to the face and appearance of a girl. Thus Lucilius uses *ludus* in reference to satire, as later does Horace (see below), presumably because of the playful humor employed in the satire.

The other term under consideration, *nugae*, is first found in a literary-critical context in Catullus' opening and programmatic poem:⁶

Cui dono lepidum novum libellum
 arido modo pumice expolitum?
 Corneli, tibi: namque tu solebas
 meas esse aliquid putare nugas
 iam tum, cum ausus es unus Italorum
 omne aevum tribus explicare cartis
 doctis, Iuppiter, et laboriosis.
 quare habe tibi quidquid hoc libelli
 quaecumque; quod, <o> patrona virgo,
 plus uno maneat perenne saeclo.
 (Catull. 1)⁷

As Copley argues, there is no proof that *nugae* is used by Catullus as a technical term for light verse. His argument (with which this study concurs) is that previous editors (e.g., Baehrens, Merrill) who declare *nugae* to be a technical term for light verse can cite no plausible parallels for this usage before Horace. Moreover, the Horatian usage of *nugae* (*Sat.* 1.9.2 and *Ep.* 1.19.42, on which see below) refers more

⁶Note that Plautus uses *nugae* at *Pseudolus* 1081, with what may be construed as a literary-critical context: "Nugae theatri, verba quae in comoediis / solent lenoni dici." *Nugae* here might refer to a set description or characterization of a *leno* as found in the comic theater, but probably has only the literal meaning of "nonsense."

⁷The Oxford Classical Texts are used throughout this study unless otherwise noted.

to quality than to any poetic form; Porphyrio's comment on Horace's *Satire* 1.9.2, "sic verecunde poetae nugae et lusus solent appellare versiculos suos," is, according to Copley, "a deduction drawn from the usage of the poets themselves rather than a conclusion based on independent evidence."⁸ Hence, Catullus uses *nugae* with the same underlying sense it had in earlier authors in a non-literary-critical context, namely, "rubbish," "stuff," or anything foolish or worthless (e.g., Plaut. *Men.* 54-55, 86, 620-25).

As for the connotation of *nugae* in this opening poem, Catullus seems to use this colloquial and derogatory term to indicate to his addressee, Nepos, what the general opinion was of his (Catullus') poetry, a poetry that was new in style, and needed the acceptance of a writer who was established in the mainstream Roman literary tradition.⁹ In support of this connotation consider *lepidum novum libellum*, line 1, where *novus* can have the secondary sense of "revolutionary" or "first of its kind."¹⁰ There is also the contrast of *nugae*, as Quinn suggests, to the the weight and scope of Nepos' history (three volumes of solid historical research that

⁸Frank O. Copley, "Catullus, c.1," *TAPA* 82 (1951): 203.

⁹Copley, 203; also cf. J.P. Elder, "Catullus I, His Poetic Creed, and Nepos," *HSCP* 71 (1966): 146-47; and John Ferguson, *Catullus* (Kansas: Coronado Press, 1985), 6.

¹⁰Copley, 201-202; cf. Elder, 147.

embrace the whole of time) to whom he sends the poems.¹¹

Nugae, then, the term which becomes a byword for later poets, Martial especially, in designating verse such as Catullus' elegiacs and polymetrics, is associated here with poetry that is revolutionary in the Roman literary tradition because of its pleasant tone (*lepidum*), its originality (*novum*), its conciseness (use of the diminutive *libellum*), and its high polish (*arido pumice expolitur*).¹² These are, of course, Callimachean precepts adopted by the neoterics, and *nugae* is the term used, ironically since Catullus obviously believes his *nugae* have value ("quod, . . . / plus uno maneat perenne saeclo"), to denote the product.

Catullus uses *ludere* of verse that is similar to what *nugae* connoted in poem 1. For instance, Catullus in 50 uses forms of *ludere* several times of the playful verse competition he had with his poet-friend Calvus on the previous night:

Hesterno, Licini, die otiosi
 multum lusimus in meis tabellis,
 ut convenerat esse delicatos:
 scribens versiculos uterque nostrum
 ludebat numero modo hoc modo illoc,
 reddens mutua per iocum atque vinum.
 (Catull. 50.1-6)

Lusimus in line 2, besides having the sense of "had a good time," and also *ludebat* in line 5 refer to the composing of not formal poetry, but occasional verse or *vers de société*,

¹¹Kenneth Quinn, *Catullus, An Interpretation* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1973), 19.

¹²See Ferguson, *Catullus*, 5.

termed *versiculi* in line 4 by Catullus (cf. 16.3, 6). Such verse was practiced by Catullus' circle--educated public figures or men of leisure who as readers and patrons had interests in poetry, but in general were not professional poets themselves.¹³ The basic sense of *ludere* well fits this hypothesis: these were professional career men and members of the aristocratic elite who, having *otium*, used that leisure "to play," *ludere*, at a form of verse that was not considered a serious literary endeavor, and would bring them no such profit as their *negotium* did.¹⁴ Catullus and his literary circle have adopted the style of *vers de société* in their writing despite or in reaction to the prejudice against this type of poetry which is considered to be without practical

¹³Pliny the Younger attests to this tradition at *Ep.* 7.9.9-10, 4.14.2-3, and 5.3.5-6 as also does Quint. 10.5.15 (on both of which see below, this section). Also cf. Kenneth Quinn, *The Catullan Revolution* (Melbourne University Press, 1959; revised impression, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1971), 12-16; and David O. Ross, *Style and Tradition in Catullus* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969), 153-54.

¹⁴In the earlier Roman Republican tradition poetry was not an honorable pursuit for a patrician at all, though this radical view was modified to allow for the writing first of history and didactic poetry, and then also of epic and tragedy. See Cato the Censor's remark in Gellius 11.2.5: "Poeticae artis honos non erat. Si quis in ea re studebat aut sese ad convivia adplicabat, grassator vocabatur." Also see Robert Muth, "Martials Spiel mit dem ludus poeticus," in *Studies in Greek, Italic, and Indo-European Linguistics Offered to Leonard R. Palmer*, eds. Anna Morpurgo Davies and Wolfgang Meid (Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck, 1976), 199-201.

value.¹⁵ Again, as with *nugae*, such a practice shows a Callimachean influence.¹⁶

Besides being used of the composing of *vers de société* and reflecting a Callimachean precept, *ludere* has in Catullus 50 the additional connotation of "to sport amorously." One indication of this is the use of *delicatos* in line 3 of 50 in describing Catullus' and Calvus' behavior, a word which in one of its senses can mean "risqué."¹⁷ In addition a number of scholars have pointed out that the second part of 50 carefully and self-consciously exploits the language of love to describe the literary experience of which Catullus speaks.¹⁸ The sexual connotation of *ludere* elsewhere in Catullus and the amatory if not sexual language of poem 50 leads to several possible conclusions for the usage of *ludere*:¹⁹ 1) Catullus could have been writing poems to Calvus of a sexually graphic

¹⁵Charles Segal, "Catullan *Otiosi*: The Lover and the Poet," *Greece and Rome* 17 (1970): 25 and 28, writing on the usage of *otiosi* in this poem (line 1) says Catullus' defiance of Roman *negotium* for a life of love and poetry (cf. poems 44, 52, and 53) defines the common interests and literary tastes of his coterie.

¹⁶See Muth, "Poeta ludens, 77-82, who examines the Greek poetic tradition of *παίδία* and its influence on the neoterics.

¹⁷Kenneth Quinn, *Catullus, The Poems* (London: St Martin's Press, 1970), *ad loc.*

¹⁸E.g., Kroll, *ad loc.*; M. Lavency, "L'ode à Lesbie et son billet d'envoi," *AC* 34 (1965): 175, n.2; Quinn, *Revolution*, 56.

¹⁹Catullus in other poems several times uses *ludere* with a sexual sense, e.g., 61.207-208: "ludite, ut lubet, et brevi / liberos date"; and 68.17 and 156 (on which see below).

nature, for example, like Catullus 16 ("Pedicabo ego vos et irrumabo," etc.); 2) Catullus could be writing love poems to Calvus (as Segal posits);²⁰ 3) that whatever type of poetry Catullus and Calvus were writing that night, "the amatory language [of Catullus 50] reveals a man who feels his literary experience as something sensual."²¹ *Ludere* can then be said to carry at least a sensual, and perhaps a sexual connotation in 50.

In support of the sexual connotation of *ludere* in Catullus 50 is the manner of its usage near the end of the marriage hymn 61: at line 225 the male chorus says, "claudite ostia, virgines: / lusimus satis." *Lusimus* likely alludes to the singing of Fescennine verses, sexually abusive and apotropaic songs, as well as to Catullus' verse on the subject.²²

Finally, Catullus uses forms of *ludere* at least once more with a sexual connotation in what may be construed as a literary-critical context. In 68 Catullus says of himself:

²⁰Segal, 27.

²¹Segal, 27. Cf. Quinn, *Revolution*, 56 on Catull. 50: the way Catullus suggests the tone of a love-letter conveys "an intellectual excitement that is as acute as sensual excitement."

²²Cf. I. K. Horváth, "Catulle et la tradition populaire italique," *Acta Antiqua Hungaricae* 5 (1957): 170-76 which shows the connection between *Fescennina iocatio* and certain poems of the Catullan corpus. Also cf. Horace's usage of *ludere* of Fescennine verses (*Ep.* 2.1.148, on which see below), and G. Wissowa, K. Mittelhaus and K. Ziegler, eds., *Pauly's Realencyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, (Stuttgart: Metzlersche, 1920), hereafter *PW*, 62.2222-23.

tempore quo primum vestis mihi tradita pura est,
 iucundum cum aetas florida ver ageret,
 multa satis lusi: non est dea nescia nostri
 quae dulcem curis miscet amaritiam.

(Catull. 68.15-18)

The overt sense of *multa satis lusi* in line 17 is that Catullus has had his full share of fun. This is further qualified by what follows: he was not unknown to the goddess of bitter-sweet love. Here again is the sexual connotation of *ludere*. But as Catullus also uses *ludere* of writing verse (50.2, 5) that meaning cannot be excluded here. With *lusi* Catullus, as Quinn suggests, is referring to *vers de société* again, verse that was slick, elegant, light-hearted, playful, almost frivolous in tone, and that oftentimes went hand-in-hand with making love.²³ Catullus, however, (as Quinn posits) renounces that type of writing here because of the death of his brother and his estrangement with Lesbia. Hence, this usage could also show the strong sensual connotation and sexual undertone of *ludere* used for the composing of verse in Catullus, a connotation which subsequent poets carry through.²⁴

Vergil, next considered, does not use the term *nugae* but does use *ludere* several times in a literary-critical

²³Quinn, *Poems*, at 68.15-20; and Quinn, *Interpretation*, 185. Quinn is the only commentator, however, who sees this second sense in this usage of *ludere*.

²⁴Cf. also Catull. 68.156, "et domus, in qua <nos> lusimus et domina"; and 61.232, "lusimus satis," where the meaning of "composing verse" for *lusimus* could also be a secondary sense.

context in his *Eclogues*, *Georgics* and *Culex*.²⁵ At *Eclogue* 1 Tityrus in expressing his gratitude to his benefactor says:

ille meas errare boves, ut cernis, et ipsum
 ludere quae vellem calamo permisit agresti.
 (Verg. *Ecl.* 1.9-10)

Ludere is used of Tityrus' playing on his rustic *calamus*. By transference *ludere* is also used of the composition of pastoral poetry. As Vergil's two other usages of *ludere* in the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* make clear (see below), *ludere* is used of pastoral poetry here in a contrast to the traditionally more serious genres. Coleman notes that Vergil's use of *ludere* for the writing of the *Eclogues* points up the connection between the personal poetry of Catullus that treats erotic themes and the *Eclogues* treatment of the theme of *amor*.²⁶ In other words, Vergil, like Catullus, emphasizes the sorrows of constant love in contrast to a more carefree bisexual promiscuity. Vergil develops this theme of *solliciti amores* in the *Eclogues* in directions that bring out "the affinities of the genre with the elegiac tradition."²⁷

²⁵E.g., Vergil's authorship of the *Culex*, much disputed, is reasonably attributed to him by A. Barrett, "The Authorship of the *Culex*: An Evaluation of the Evidence," *Latomus* 29 (1970), 361-62. Barrett's summation argument is that ancient testimonia, including Martial 8.56.19-20 and 14.185, attests Vergil's authorship of the *Culex* and modern scholarship has not produced concrete evidence to the contrary.

²⁶Especially visible in *Eclogues* 6 and 10.

²⁷Robert Coleman, *Vergil, Eclogues* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1977), 35. Coleman, 26, also notes that Horace's assessment of the general tone of the *Eclogues* as being *molle atque facetum* (*Sat.* 1.10.44) would also describe Catullus' personal poetry or that of the Hellenistic epigrammatists

Hence, the use of *ludere* by Vergil very likely connotes the same sensual and even sexual undertone as it does in Catullus, as well as the contrast between less and more serious verse.

Also at *Eclogue* 6.1 Vergil uses *ludere* of the composition of his bucolics in a *recusatio* addressed to Varus:

Prima Syracosio dignata est ludere versu
 nostra nec erubuit silvas habitare Thalea.
 cum canerem reges et proelia, Cynthius aurem
 vellit et admonuit: 'pastorem, Tityre, pinguis
 pascere oportet ovis, deductum dicere carmen.'
 nunc ego--namque super tibi erunt qui dicere laudes,
 Vare, tuas cupiant et tristia condere bella--
 agrestem tenui meditabor harundine Musam.

(Verg. *Ecl.* 6.1-8)

Syracosio versu (line 1) alludes to Vergil's predecessors in pastoral poetry, Theocritus and Bion, and *Thalea* (line 2), designated as Vergil's Muse is here associated with pastoral poetry.²⁸ As lines 3-7 indicate, the contrast here is between pastoral and epic poetry which is indicated by *canerem reges et proelia* (line 3), and *tristia condere bella* ((line 7). *Pinguis* and *deductum/tenui* (lines 4, 5 and 8) allude to Apollo's injunction in Callimachus' *Aetia* ((fr. 1.23-24, Pf.) to the poet to <feed> the victim as fat as possible, but to keep the Muse slender. Here likewise Apollo instructs Vergil

(26); cf. Propertius (2.34.67ff.) and Ovid (*Tr.* 2.537-38) who recognize a kindred voice in the *Eclogues*.

²⁸Coleman, *ad loc.*, on Thalia: "the Muse *Tháleia* had comedy for her province; . . . but *thálos* 'a shoot', *thálllein* 'to bloom' clearly suggested associations with the countryside (Plut. *Mor.* 9.744F), and her iconography includes both an actor's mask and a shepherd's crook. The extension of her jurisdiction from comedy through mime to pastoral is intelligible enough." Thalia is also Martial's designated Muse (e.g., 4.8.12; 7.17.4; 10.20.3).

to shun epic, which shows the Callimachean and neoteric influence upon Vergil. As in *Eclogue* 1, Vergil uses the imagery of playing upon a humble and common instrument, *tenuis harundo* (line 8), to designate his genre.

In the *sphragis* of the fourth *Georgic* Vergil again uses a form of *ludere* to refer to the writing of his *Eclogues*:

illo Vergilium me tempore dulcis aiebat
 Parthenope studiis florentem ignobilis oti,
 carmina qui lusi pastorum audaxque iuventa,
 Tityre, te patulae cecini sub tergmine fagi.
 (Verg. G. 4.563-66)

Noteworthy here are the associations of *lusi* with: pastoral poetry--note that line 566 is the first line of *Eclogue* 1 slightly altered; the idea of boldness and youth (*audaxque iuventa*, line 565); and *otium*. Also, as in 6.1, the contrast, implied only, is again between bucolics and a traditionally more serious genre, the didactic of the *Georgics*.

Vergil's *Culex* also contains telling literary-critical usages of *ludere*. He begins the *Culex* thus:

Lusimus, Octavi, gracili modulante Thalia
 atque ut araneoli tenuem formavimus orsum.
 lusimus: haec propter Culicis sint carmina dicta,
 omnis ut historiae per ludum consonet ordo
 notitiae. doctrina, vaces licet: invidus absit.
 quisquis erit culpae iocos Musamque paratus,
 pondere vel Culicis levior famaue feretur.
 posterius graviore sono tibi Musa loquetur
 nostra, dabunt cum securos mihi tempora fructus,
 ut tibi digna tuo poliantur carmina sensu.
 (*Culex* 1-10)

Vergil goes on to name mythological themes he will not elaborate upon in this work for Octavius (Augustus). Rather, he says, his *pagina*

mollia sed tenui pede currere carmina, versu
viribus apta suis Phoebo duce ludere gaudet.
(*Culex* 35-36)

In this *recusatio* the forms of *ludere* are used of epyllion, with the associations of *gracilis Thalia* (line 1), *ioci* (line 6), lack of pretension (*invidus absit*, line 5, and *levior*, line 7), *mollia carmina* and *tenuis pes* (both in line 35), all of which is in contrast to verse characterized by its associations with *doctrina* (line 5), a *gravis sonus* (line 8), polish (*poliantur carmina*, line 10) and mythological themes (lines 26-34).

The usage of *ludere* in the *Ciris*, though not Vergilian, is very similar to its usage in the *Culex*. The author says in *recusatio* to his patron, Messalla, that if he had sufficient wisdom:

non ego te talem venerarer munere tali,
non equidem, quamvis interdum ludere nobis
et gracilem molli libeat pede claudere versum;
(*Ciris* 18-20)

As in the *Culex*, *ludere* is used here in the *Ciris* of the poet's lighter verse, and indirectly of the *Ciris* itself. Note the associations *ludere* has with *gracilis* and *mollis* (line 20). In the next twenty lines the *Ciris* is then contrasted to a description of a great philosophical poem the author says he wishes he could write for Messalla.

Usages of *ludere* in both the *Culex* and *Ciris* show the Callimachean influence upon the poets--for example, with the *recusatio* and the terms *tenuis*, *mollis*, *levis* and *gracilis*. The hint at renouncing *doctrina*, polish and the use of

mythological themes in the *Culex*, however, is actually contrary to Callimachean precepts, and is indicative, as will be seen, of a mid-first century sentiment (see below).

Horace uses *nugae* and *ludere* quite a few times in a literary-critical context and with a range of connotations, at first positive, but in his later writings derogatory. He most often uses *nugae* and *ludere* in reference to lyric poetry, including his own *Odes*. For example, in *Ode* 4.9 he uses *ludere* of lyric poetry of Anacreon; after stating in the first stanza that his own lyric poetry will not perish, he says:

non, si priores Maeonius tenet
 sedes Homerus, Pindaricae latent
 Ceaegue et Alcaei minaces
 Stesichorique graves Camenae;

nec siquid olim lusit Anacreon
 delevit aetas; . . .
 (Hor. *Carm.* 4.9.1-10)

Although not epic poetry, Pindar's, Alcaeus', Stesichorus' and Anacreon's lyric poetry will live on. *Ludere* is used of the lyric that Anacreon wrote, probably because Anacreon's chief themes were love and wine, and with this usage Horace establishes that *ludere* formed at least one part of the lyric tradition, namely, lyric poetry of a more sensual nature.

In *Ode* 1.32 Horace again uses *ludere* of lyric poetry, this time of his own *Odes*. He says in address to his lyre:

Poscimur. siquid vacui sub umbra
 lusimus tecum, quod et hunc in annum
 vivat et plures, age dic Latinum,
 barbite, carmen,

. . .
(Hor. *Carm.* 1.32.1-4)

Horace goes on to cite Alcaeus, who, though bold in war, was the first to use the lyre in singing of Bacchus, the Muses, Venus and Cupid, and his love, Lycus. The implication of *vivat et plures* (line 3) and the reference to Alcaeus is that Horace's lyric poetry is worthy of remembrance and has worthy precedents. Notable also are the topics associated with *ludere* here, Bacchus, the Muses, Venus and a beloved, and the association of leisure (*vacui*, line 1) with *ludere*.

In *Epistle* 1.19 Horace uses *nugae* of his *Odes*. After boasting that he was the first of Romans to carry on the tradition of the lyric poetry of Lesbos, he says:

scire velis mea cur ingratus opuscula lector
laudet ametque domi, premat extra limen iniquus?
non ego ventosae plebis suffragia venor
impensis cenarum et tritae munere vestis;
non ego, nobilium scriptorum auditor et ultor,
grammaticas ambire tribus et pulpita dignor.
hinc illae lacrimae. 'spissis indigna theatris
scripta pudet recitare et nugis addere pondus,'
si dixi, 'rides,' ait, 'et Iovis auribus ista
servas; fidis enim manare poetica mella
te solum, tibi pulcher.'

(Hor. *Ep.* 1.19.35-45)

The context is this: Horace calls his *Odes opuscula*, and says they are enjoyed privately but not publicly. This is because he does not cater to the public in behalf of his poetry, nor does he interact with other poets and critics in order to gain their support; hence, Horace does not get public acclamation. Moreover, his modest refusal to recite at public readings, "to treat his trifles as important" (*nugis addere pondus*, line

42), as he says, is taken as insincere and as a slight by other poets and critics. The context shows clearly that Horace is aware of the low public ranking of his genre in contrast to the higher genres, and that he may not be considered as eminent as some poets because of it. Horace's word choice, however, indicates that he believes his *Odes* are not literally *nugae*: *nobilium, ultor, tribus* and the expression *hinc illae lacrimae*, all can be taken as either gently ironical or mildly disdainful.²⁹ Moreover, as the epistle is apparently written to defend the *Odes*, Horace can hardly think them literally to be of small consequence.³⁰ Rather they are termed thus perhaps partly out of modesty in deference to the poetry of higher genres, but more likely ironically in protest against other poets who were envious of him.

Horace also once uses *ludere* in reference to Fescennine verse. In noting the roots of Roman poetic drama in rustic festivities Horace says of certain practices designed to bring relief during the holiday period (after harvest-time) of the farmers of old:

Fescennina per hunc invecta licentia morem

²⁹Cf. Edward P. Morris, *Horace, The Satires* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939), *ad loc.*; John Carew Rolfe, *Q. Horati Flacci Sermones et Epistulae* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1935; revised, New York: Caratzas Brothers, 1976), *ad loc.*

³⁰Cf. Morris, intro. to *Ep.* 1.19: "Under the form of an Epistle Horace is here defending his *Odes* against the critics, as in his earlier career he had defended himself in *Sat.* 1,4 and *Sat.* 1,10 and had made sport of his detractors in *Sat.* 2,1."

versibus alternis opprobria rustica fudit.
 libertasque recurrentes accepta per annos
 lusit amabiliter, donec iam saevus apertam
 in rabiem coepit verti iocus et per honestas
 ire domos impune minax.

(Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.145-50)

Lusit is used of the licentious taunts (*licentia . . . fudit*, lines 145-46) that were practiced until the *ioci* became too abusive.³¹ Notable here are the associations *ludere* has with leisure time (during the holiday period after harvest time), *licentia*, which is reminiscent of the sensual/sexual connotation *ludere* has in Catullus, *libertas* and *ioci*. Horace seems to approve of the practice (cf. *amabiliter*, line 148) until it becomes abusive.³²

Horace also uses *nugae* and *ludere* in reference to his *Satires* with a positive connotation. He begins *Satire* 1.9 saying:

Ibam forte Via Sacra, sicut meus est mos
 nescio quid meditans nugarum, totus in illis.
 (Hor. *Sat.* 1.9.1-2)

Meditans nescio quid nugarum (line 2) could mean "mental composing" of *nugae*, that is, satires, here (cf. the use of *meditans* at *Ep.* 2.2.71, 76 for composing *poemata* while walking through the streets).³³ Certainly the context, though vague,

³¹On *licentia* used here see Chap. IV.1 below.

³²For Horace's attitude toward personally abusive verse see Chap. II.3.

³³For *meditans nugarum* as "(mentally) composing poems" cf. Arthur Palmer, *Q. Horati Flacci Sermones* (Macmillan: London, 1883; reprint, 1949), *ad loc.*; Morris, *ad loc.*, also takes *meditans nugarum* as "composing poems."

is not derogatory.

In *Satire* 1.10 Horace uses *ludere* in reference to his *satires* with an obvious positive connotation. He says of himself:

Turgidus Alpinus iugulat dum Memnona dumque
defingit Rheni luteum caput, haec ego ludo,
quae neque in aede sonent certantia iudice Tarpa,
nec redeant iterum atque iterum spectanda theatris.

(Hor. Sat. 1.10.36-39)

Horace, in contrast to a poor (*iugulat* = "murders," *defingit* = "misshapes") epic writer named Alpinus, uses *ludo* of his writing of satire; his (lowly) poems will not have the public exposure and acclaim of other poetry and drama. The tone is both self-deprecatory and modest--compare lines 47-48 where Horace says he could write satire better than other genres but is *minor inventore* (i.e., Lucilius). Yet Horace can criticize the epic writer Alpinus (M. Furius Bibaculus ?),³⁴ criticize Lucilius for his style (e.g., 64-71 for his careless style and lack of polish), and defend his own satire by listing distinguished men (e.g., Maecenas and Vergil) who form his audience (lines 81-90).

Finally, in *Satire* 1.4 Horace, in defense of the abusive tone of his satires, uses a form of *ludere* of their composition. Horace, after noting at length his father's practice of pointing out wrong-doers as examples and the good effect it had upon him (lines 105-31), describes the process

³⁴Porphyrio *ad loc.* says that Alpinus refers to M. Furius Bibaculus.

he goes through when writing a satire. He says that after noting some instance of ugly behavior observed in someone while walking in public:

haec ego mecum
compressis agito labris; ubi quid datur oti,
illudo chartis.

(Hor. Sat. 1.4.137-39)

Saying nothing in public, he ponders the action to himself, and when he has leisure, he writes it down. Remarkable here is the distinct instructional or moral tone of the context for *illudo*: *ludere* has the sense of "making a jest" concerning someone, with instructional (or moral) purpose (cf. the sentiment expressed earlier in the poem: "ridiculum acri / fortius et melius magnas plerumque secat res," lines 14-15).³⁵ Note here also the usual association of *otium* with *ludere*.

Horace in his later years uses *nugae* and *ludere* with a derogatory sense for poetry that lacks substance, and even specifically of his own youthful lyric poetry. It is as if Horace has succumb to the literary prejudice against verse that does not obviously benefit the state. One instance of this is in the *Ars Poetica* where, in speaking of good writing, Horace says:

interdum speciosa locis morataque recte
fabula nullius veneris, sine pondere et arte,

³⁵Cf. above Horace's use of *ludere* for Fescennine verse which is of an abusive (although playful) nature; and cf. Lucilius' (1039 M.) use of *ludus* for his satire: "cuius vultu ac facie, ludo ac sermonibus nostris / virginis hoc pretium atque hunc reddebamus honorem."

valdius oblectat populum meliusque moratur
 quam versus inopes rerum nugaeque canorae.
 (Hor. *Ars P.* 319-22)

In the first two lines the contrast seems to be between a splendid play, *speciosa fabula*, with characters accurately drawn, *morata recte*, without charm, weight, or craft, *nullius veneris, sine pondere et arte*, but containing (edifying) maxims, *locis*, and, the other element of the contrast, verse that is lacking in substance, *inopes rerum*, and *canorae nugae*.³⁶ The implication is that *nugae*, though well-crafted and polished, lack (moral) substance, very likely an allusion to certain neoteric verse.³⁷

The implication in the *Ars* that *nugae* connote poems that lack real substance finds support in the other *Epistles*. At 2.2 Horace advises the seeker of wisdom to abandon poetry for philosophy:

nimirum sapere est abiectis utile nugis,
 et tempestivum pueris concedere ludum,
 ac non verba sequi fidibus modulanda Latinis,
 sed verae numerosque modosque ediscere vitae.
 (Hor. *Ep.* 2.2.141-44)

Nugae are associated with *ludus*, "play," and with youth, and then are specifically identified as lyric poetry (*fidibus Latinis*, line 143), all of which Horace says is antithetical to acquiring wisdom (*sapere*). In like manner in *Epistle* 1.1 Horace, using the metaphor of the *ludus gladiatorius* (with a

³⁶For the interpretation of this passage see C.O. Brink, *Horace on Poetry, The 'Ars Poetica'* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1971), *ad loc.*

³⁷Cf. Brink, *Ars*, *ad loc.*

play on *ludus* as poetry), says to his patron:

Prima dicte mihi, summa dicende Camena,
spectatum satis et donatum iam rude quaeris,
Maecenas, iterum antiquo me includere ludo.
non eadem est aetas, non mens. . . .
(Hor. *Ep.* 1.1.1-4)

After further elaboration of the *ludus* metaphor he says:

nunc itaque et versus et cetera ludicra pono;
quid verum atque decens curo et rogo et omnis in hoc
sum;
(Hor. *Ep.* 1.1.10-11)

Horace sets aside his lyric poetry in spite of Maecenas' request in order to devote himself to philosophy; he is also declaring with these passages that the poetry he is writing now, that is, the *Epistles*, is to have a philosophic and moral tone (as does, in fact, this *Epistle*).³⁸ By use of the *ludus* metaphor (lines 1-3) and the close association of *ludicra* with *versus* (line 10) Horace gives a derogatory connotation to the writing of lyric poetry, implying it is a game of youth (line 4). In general, Horace, having in his later years turned from lyric poetry to poetry of more substance (as he puts it), uses *nugae* and *ludere* to designate youthful poetry that is lacking in (moral) substance, or has no useful content, as opposed to philosophy and writing that does.³⁹

³⁸Cf. Morris, 16.

³⁹Cf. Jean-Marie André, "Mécène écrivain," *ANRW* II 30.3 (1983): 1782, n.113: "pour Horace le terme [*nugae*] désigne toute poésie «profane» par opposition à la poésie morale." Cf. also Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.93-100, where Greece, having finished with the (Persian) wars is said to have begun *nugari* (lines 93-94) in athletics, games, art, music and the performance of tragedies, and "velut si luderet infans" (line 99).

To sum up, Horace uses *nugae/ludere* with a positive connotation most often in referring to lyric poetry, especially more sensual lyric poetry, and once to Fescennine verse. Horace also several times in contrast to poetry of the more serious genres modestly uses *nugae/ludere* of his *Satires*, poetry which he clearly believes does have some moral substance. However, on three occasions (*Ars* 322; *Ep.* 2.2.141; 1.1.3, 10) in his later works *nugae/ludere* are used disparagingly in reference to poetry that lacks true substance, and specifically of his own youthful lyric poetry twice. In Horace, then, because of his own personal development as a poet, the sense of *nugae/ludere* shows clearly: *nugae/lusus*, as applied to Horace's *Epodes*, *Satires* and first three books of *Odes*, are poems of youth, subjective, sensual, devoid of highly serious or instructional content though well-crafted. In contrast, Horace's later works, the fourth book of *Odes*, the *Carmen Saeculare* and the *Epistles*, are generally of a more serious nature in that they conform more to Augustus' political program, treat literary themes with more depth, and are even more polished and refined than earlier works.⁴⁰

⁴⁰Cf. Niall Rudd, "Horace," in *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature, II, Latin Literature*, eds. E.J. Kenney and W.V. Clausen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 370, on Horace's earlier poems (before 31 B.C.): few "touch on politics and those that do convey attitudes of disgust (*Epod.* 4), disillusion (*Sat.* 1.6), or despair (*Epod.* 7 and 16)." Also see Gordon Willis Williams, "Horatius (2) Flaccus," in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, ed. N.G.L. Hammond and H.H. Scullard (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 528-29.

As Horace uses *ludere* of Anacreon's sensual lyric poetry, two of the Roman elegists use *ludere* in reference to their love elegy. Propertius, speaking in defense of his own medium, cites Varro Atacinus as a distinguished fellow writer of love elegy:

haec quoque perfecto ludebat Iasone Varro,
 Varro Leucadiae maxima flamma suae;
 (Prop. 2.34.85-86)

Ludebat is used of the later erotic poetry of Varro Atacinus in contrast to his earlier translation of the epic *Argonautica*. Propertius goes on to list Catullus, termed *lascivus*, and Calvus and Gallus as part of the love-elegy tradition.⁴¹ For Propertius, then, *ludere* connotes lighter poetry on the subject of *amor*, and has an underlying sensual and even sexual sense.

Ovid, like Propertius, uses *ludere/lusus* of love elegy. To begin with two early usages, in the *Amores*, *Tragoedia personified*, after telling Ovid that he is wasting his talent writing on *amor*, says to him:

quod tenerae cantent, lusit tua Musa, puellae,
 primumque per numeros acta iuventa suos.
 (Ov. Am. 3.1.27-28)

Lusit here refers in general to youthful poetry written on the subject of tender loves, and refers specifically to Ovid's *Amores*. The other early usage of *ludere* comes in the conclusion of the *Ars Amatoria* where Ovid says, "*lusus habet finem*" (809), signifying with *lusus* the whole of the work. These two

⁴¹On *lascivus* see Chap. IV.1 below.

usages show the general sense given to *ludere* in Ovid: he uses the term in referring to the popular poetry he wrote earlier in his career, usually on sensual and sexual themes. Indeed, Ovid, later in his autobiographical sketch and in the epitaph he composed for himself, styles himself as a *tenerorum lusor amorum* (*Tr.* 4.10.1; 3.3.73).

Later in his career Ovid in his *Fasti* uses forms of *ludere* twice of his earlier poetry in contrast to the more serious work of the *Fasti*. He says by way of a preface to Book 2:

nunc primum velis, elegi, maioribus itis:
 exiguum, memini, nuper eratis opus,
 ipse ego vos habui faciles in amore ministros,
 cum lusit numeris prima iuventa suis.
 (Ov. *Fast.* 2.3-6)

And similarly in Book 4:

quae decuit, primis sine crimine lusimus annis,
 nunc teritur nostris area maior equis.
 (Ov. *Fast.* 4.9-10)

The elegiac of his love poetry is contrasted to the *maiores elegi* of the *Fasti*. There is also the common association of youthful efforts with *ludere*.

The remaining usages of *ludere* in Ovid all come in the *Tristia*, and all have the same general context: Ovid is trying to defend or excuse the love poetry of his youth, very probably, the *Ars*, in order to bring an end to his exile. Earlier on in Book 2 Ovid says Augustus should overlook his *inepti lusus* that were the products of his *otia* (2.223-24). He later in the book cites poetry on the art of gambling,

games, swimming, exercise, toilette, rules for entertainment, and the art of pottery, and then says in defense of his own poetry:

talia luduntur fumoso mense Decembri,
 quae damno nulli composuisse fuit.
 his ego deceptus non tristia carmina feci,
 sed tristis nostros poena secuta iocos.
 (Ov. *Tr.* 2.491-94)

The first two lines refer to poetry on light subjects written for the Saturnalia, in this case didactic poetry as just cited by Ovid, and very likely with a playful tone.⁴² Ovid says he patterned his own poetry upon these types of poems--he probably refers here to his *Ars* with its mock didactic tone--but, as he goes on to say, he has been the only one to suffer for writing such poetry. *Ludere* here, then, connotes not love elegy *per se*, but poetry on light subjects, including by implication his own love elegies that were *non tristia carmina* and contained *ioci*.

Shortly thereafter, in the course of this same argument and defense in *Tristia* 2 for his early love poetry, Ovid cites even Vergil as setting a precedent for him. First he says that even the "felix Aeneidos auctor / contulit in Tyrios arma virumque toros" (*Tr.* 2.533-34), and that no part of the *Aeneid* is more read than the illicit *amor* of Aeneas and Dido. He continues of Vergil:

Phyllidis hic idem teneraeque Amaryllidis ignes

⁴²For poetry written for the Saturnalia and its playful nature cf. *Mart.* 5.30; 10.17; 11.6 (on which see below, Sec. 2); *Stat. Silv.* 4.9.

bucolicis iuvenis luserat ante modis.
(Ov. Tr. 2.537-38)

Luserat here is associated specifically with the composing of the amorous and youthful themes of many of the *Eclogues*, the usual association it has in Ovid.⁴³

Three final usages of *ludere* in the *Tristia*, again in the context of defending Ovid's early love elegy and soliciting a return from exile, are very similar. In 1.9 Ovid says to a friend whose help he solicits:

vita tamen tibi nota mea est. scis artibus illis
auctoris mores abstinuisse sui:
scis vetus hoc iuveni lusum mihi carmen, et istos
ut non laudandos, sic tamen esse iocos.
(Ov. Tr. 1.9.59-62)

Ovid's says his *mores* are separate from his poetry, and that a poem of his written in his youth (that caused his exile) was full of *ioci* that were not praiseworthy, but yet were just *ioci* (i.e., [harmless] jokes).⁴⁴ Notable are the associations of *ludere* with youth and with *ioci*, and the implication that those *ioci* were immoral. At 3.1.7 Ovid again uses *ludere* of the composition of that work written in his youth which caused his exile. The book personified says:

id quoque, quod viridi quondam male lusit in aevo,
heu nimium sero damnat et odit opus!
(Ov. Tr. 3.1.7-8)

Again *ludere* has associations with youth. Finally, at 5.1

⁴³E.g., Phyllis appears in *Eclogues* 3, 5, 7 and 10, Amaryllis in 1, 2, 3 and 9.

⁴⁴To Ovid's *apologia* cf. Mart. 1.4.7-8: "innocuos censura potest permittere lusus: / lasciva est nobis pagina, vita proba"; and also Mart. 11.15.11-13.

Ovid says if he were reprimanded by Caesar:

nec tamen ut lusit, rursus mea littera ludet:
sit semel illa ioco luxuriata meo.

(Ov. Tr. 5.1.43-44)

Again *ludere* is associated with *ioci*, and further with the verb *luxurior*, no doubt in the sense of being wanton.

To sum up, in a general sense Ovid uses *ludere* of his own poetry written before his exile, on the subject of *amor*, light in tone and containing *ioci* that could be morally objectionable because of sexual content. In his efforts to be recalled from exile Ovid contrasts this type of poetry, his *Amores* and *Ars Amatoria*, with more serious endeavors, such as his own *Fasti*. Nevertheless, Ovid's frequent use of *ludere* to characterize his poetry and his defense of it in the *Tristia* indicates that he believed in its validity as serious literary work; very likely he only renounced his *lusus* in his efforts to end or lighten his punishment.

Phaedrus' use of *ludere* of the composition of his animal fables in the style of Aesop is informative. At 4.2, entitled *Poeta*, Phaedrus writes:

Ioculare tibi videmur: et sane levi,
dum nil habemus maius, calamo ludimus.
sed deligenter intuere has nenias;
quantum in pusillis utilitatem reperies!
non semper ea sunt quae videntur: decipit
frons prima multos, rara mens intellegit
quod interiore condidit cura angulo.
hoc ne locutus sine mercede existimer,
fabellam adiciam de mustela et muribus.

(Phaedrus 4.2.1-9)

Phaedrus, like Vergil, uses *calamus* in the context of *ludere* and like Ovid associates joking (*ioculare*) with *ludere*. He

shows himself by this firmly within the tradition of the usage of the word. However, he expressly reveals a whole other dimension for the use and sense of *ludere*. His "sporting," he says, has hidden meaning for the more perceptive mind, and his reader will find much *utilitas* in his lowly poems.

In a similar usage of a compound of *ludere* Phaedrus makes his purpose in writing fable even more clear. He says in the prologue to his third book:

Nunc, fabularum cur sit inventum genus,
 brevi docebo. servitus obnoxia,
 quia quae volebat non audebat dicere,
 affectus proprius in fabellas transtulit,
 calumniamque fictis elusit iocis.

(Phaedrus 3 Prol. 34-37)

Phaedrus contends that the lowly expressed their true sentiments under the guise of jests in order to escape censure. In the next several lines he then indicates that he continues in this tradition and has thus provoked the anger of the notorious Sejanus and brought disaster on himself (38-44). Thus *ludere* is used of verse that is ostensibly playful but actually conceals criticism, perhaps political if not personal in nature. Phaedrus continues to say in defense of his verse that persons with a good conscience need not fear him, and that he speaks not of individuals but of life and human nature in general.⁴⁵

Literary-critical usages of *ludere* also occur in the *Priapea* and, though the date and authorship of the poems are

⁴⁵See below, Chap. II.3 on Phaedrus' disclaimer of malice, which is echoed with remarkable similarity by Martial.

matters of dispute, are worthy of note. The first poem of the collection makes clear the content of the verse to come:

Carminis incompti lusus lecture procaces,
conveniens Latio pone supercilium
(*Priapea* 1.1-2)

The would-be reader of the *procaces lusus*, "shameless jokes," is cautioned to put aside his severity, for, as the poem goes on to say, he will be encountering Priapus' monstrous member. *Lusus* connotes the sexual nature of some of the collection. The second poem of the collection begins with the modest disclaimer:

Ludens haec ego teste te, Priape,
horto carmina digna, non libello,
scripsi non nimium laboriose.
(*Priapea* 2.1-3)

The poems composed (*ludens*) for Priapus, worthy of his garden and not a book--that is, rustic and not literary, were written without taking great pains.⁴⁶ *Ludere* connotes here informal poems, with no great literary pretensions.

Persius, the next poet considered, uses both *ludus* and *nugae* in a telling way. In his *Satire* 5 the interlocutor, after repudiating those who adopt the high style--poets who contemplate lofty themes like Procne's or Thyestes' story--says:

'verba togae sequeris iunctura callidus acri,
ore teres modico. pallentis radere mores
doctus et ingenuo culpam defigere ludo.

⁴⁶Cf. W.H. Parker, *Priapea: Poems for a Phallic God* (London: Croom Helm, 1988), *ad loc.* To *non nimium laboriose* cf. Mart. 11.6.3: "versu ludere non laborioso," and 11.106.3: "nimium laboriosus."

hinc trahe quae dicis mensasque relinque Mycenis
cum capite et pedibus plebeiaque prandia noris.'
(Pers. 5.14-18)

This programmatic-like exposition on satire contains the following elements: use of everyday language (*verba togae*), skillful phrasing, a moderate style, and use of *ingenuus ludus*, "liberal [i.e., in the sense of tasteful or worthy of a free or well-born man] humor" or "jest," all for the purpose of morally improving the reader. Furthermore, the poet must shun mythological themes for real-life themes, an anti-Callimachean sentiment first perceived with the use of *ludere* in the *Culex* (see above).⁴⁷

Persius then gives this reply to the interlocutor:

non equidem hoc studeo, pullatis ut mihi nugis
pagina turgescat dare pondus idonea fumo.
(Pers. 5.19-20)

His page does not swell with *pullatis nugis*, literally, "dressed-in-black [i.e., "mournful"] rubbish," where *nugae* suggests the superficial content of other poetry of Persius' day that is covered over with the *pullatus*, "dark" (i.e., "weighty," "tragic") style of tragedy.⁴⁸ Sullivan, with whom

⁴⁷See J.C. Bramble, *Persius and Programmatic Satire; A Study in Form and Imagery* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1974), 2-3; and William Barr, *The Satires of Persius* (Liverpool: Francis Cairns, 1987), *ad loc.* on the interpretation of this passage. On Persius' anti-Callimachean sentiment see J.P. Sullivan, *Literature and Politics in the Age of Nero* (London: Cornell University Press, 1985), 92-99.

⁴⁸The alternative reading of *bullatis*--either "inflated" or "childish" or "decorated"--for *pullatis* (line 19) does not fit the imagery of the passage as well as *pullatis*; see Barr, *ad loc.*, and Bramble, 13-14.

this study concurs, sees the usage here of *nugae*, a neoteric by-word, as part of an attack by Persius on the neoterics and Catullus in particular, and in general the neo-Callimacheans of the day.⁴⁹ Note also that Persius here with his use of *nugae* echoes Horace, who with the same term (*Ep.* 2.2.141-42, on which see above) expressed his disapproval of poetry that lacked real moral substance despite the style with which it presented itself.

Statius three times uses forms of *ludere* in a literary-critical context. First, in his preface to Book 1 he says by way of introducing his own *Silvae*:

sed et Culicem legimus et Batrachomachiam etiam agnoscimus
nec quisquam est illustrium poetarum qui non aliquid
operibus suis stilo remissiore praeluserit.
(Stat. *Silv.* 1 *praef.* 6-8)

Ludere is used of epyllia in contrast to epic, and, by implication, of the *Silvae* themselves, poems which, Statius goes on to say, were written *impromptu*, taking no longer than a day or two. Such a claim, that the poems of the collection were written so quickly, although hardly believable, recalls

⁴⁹Sullivan, *Literature and Politics*, 93-94, who elsewhere (92-99) cites in support of Persius' hostility towards the neo-Callimacheans Persius' *Prologus* (on which see below, Chap. II.1), the whole of *Satire* 1 in that it advocates the non-Alexandrian genre of *satura* and attacks epic, tragedy and also the favored Callimachean genres (e.g., elegy), Persius' commandeering of other Callimachean by-words (e.g., *mollis* and *tener*), Persius' objection to the fashion for archaic writing, a taste compatible to the neo-Callimacheans, and various other ancient authors' like criticisms of the poetry of the day. Also see J.P. Sullivan, *Martial: The Unexpected Classic: A Literary and Historical Study* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1991), 75.

the style of *vers de société*.

Next, in *Silvae* 1.5 Statius uses *ludere* for the writing of a poem on the baths of his friend Etruscus. After claiming that the Muses, Apollo and Mercury are not required for the writing of this poem, and that he has put aside his epic *Thebaid* because he wishes to sport, *lascivire*, with his friend Etruscus (lines 1-11), Statius says:⁵⁰

discede Laborque
Curaque, dum nitidis canimus gemmantia saxis
balnea dumque procax vittis hederisque, soluta
fronde verecunda, Clio mea ludit Etrusco.

(Stat. *Silv.* 1.5.11-14)

Statius' regular Muse, Clio, the Muse of history, normally laborious and careful, is now *procax*, "bold," and free from her reverent laurel (*verecunda fronde*). Thus she plays, *ludit*, with Etruscus. Remarkable here is the strong contrast Statius makes between epic poetry and the lighter, more carefree and playful *Silvae*. The wording is also remarkable--Statius' Muse Clio "plays" with Etruscus--making it clear that this poem is, as with Catullus 50, a form of *vers de société*.

Finally, in *Silvae* 2.7, an ode to Lucan's widow in honor of Lucan's birthday, Statius uses *ludere* of the adaptation of Greek sagas by Lucan in contrast to future adaptation of Roman epic material by Lucan:

ac primum teneris adhuc in annis
ludes Hectora Thessalosque currus
et supplex Priami potentis aurum,
et sedes reserabis inferorum,

. . .

⁵⁰On *lascivire* see on this poem at Chap. IV.1 below.

(Stat. *Silv.* 2.7.54-57)

stadius goes on to say that Lucan, when older, will write of the Roman civil wars, and those involved in them. Once again youth is associated with *ludere*. However, as the contrast here is between Greek and Roman epic and not the usual antithesis of a lighter genre with a more serious one (although Roman material would be more serious matter for Lucan and his audience than Greek material), there is the further sense here that *ludere* is "to practice" or "train oneself," a sense that would fit many of the usages in other poets as well.⁵¹

Finally, Pliny the Younger's and Quintilian's usage of *nugae* and *ludere* in reference to poetry are to be considered. First, Pliny in one of his letters tells of the accomplished poetic efforts of a Passenus Paulus, who modelled himself upon Propertius and Horace. Pliny says Passenus is highly versatile, can love and grieve in his poems like a true lover, and "laudat ut qui benignissime, ludit ut qui facetissime" (9.22.2). Note the paralleling of *laudat* and *ludit*: it reveals the course a writer of light verse often traversed between ingratiating praise and critical, witty jest.

In several of Pliny's letters he uses *nugae* and *ludere*

⁵¹Wagenvoort, 37-38 gives "to train oneself" as one of four "elements of meaning" contained in *ludere* and cites (among others) for this sense: Ter. *Phorm.* 347; Lucr. 2.631; Stat. *Silv.* 1.3.50f; Mart. 9.38.1.

of the light verse he himself has written.⁵² For example, at 4.14.2 Pliny says he is sending some of his *lusus*, as he terms them, along with the letter. He then continues:

Accipies cum hac epistula hendecasyllabos nostros, quibus nos in vehiculo in balineo inter cenam oblectamus otium temporis. His iocamur ludimus amamus dolemus querimur irascimur, describimus aliquid modo pressius modo elatius, atque ipsa varietate temptamus efficere, ut alia aliis quaedam fortasse omnibus placeant.

(Pliny *Ep.* 4.14.2-3)

Pliny's poems, called hendecasyllabics, are verse written during his *otium*, in which he jokes and plays, *iocamur* and *ludimus*, and emotes with a varied style with the hope of producing something to please everyone. Later in the same letter Pliny explains the title "hendecasyllabics":

Unum illud praedicendum videtur, cogitare me has meas nugae ita inscribere 'hendecasyllabi' qui titulus sola metri lege constringitur. Proinde, sive epigrammata sive idyllia sive eclogas sive, ut multi, poematia seu quod aliud vocare malueris, licebit voces.

(Pliny *Ep.* 4.14.8-10)

Pliny's *nugae*, an allusion to Catullus whom he has just cited in defense of the somewhat wanton content of the poems, are called *hendecasyllabi* because of their meter. They are, however, termed variously by others as idylls, eclogues, epigrams and simply *poematia*.

Pliny also refers to his light verse as *nugae* at 7.2.2 where he would send them to a busy friend. At 4.27.3 and 5.3.4 he uses *ludere* of his verse and justifies his efforts in

⁵²See Federico Gamberini, *Stylistic Theory and Practice in the Younger Pliny* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1983), 82-121 on Pliny's poetry.

the latter instance by saying (at 5.3.2) that they form part of his innocent relaxations (*innoxiae remissiones*) necessary because he is human (*homo sum*).⁵³ Also at 8.21.2 he says he intersperses his more serious work, "graviora opera," with "lusibus iocisque," referring to a two-day reading he made of short pieces of his in various meters. And at 9.25.1 he terms his light poetry as "lusus et ineptias," for which a friend of his clamors.

Finally, Pliny, in indirect reference to his own writing of poetry, says to a fellow orator who has asked for a course of study for his prolonged holiday:

Fas est et carmine remitti, non dico continuo et longo (id enim perfici nisi in otio non potest), sed hoc arguto et brevi, quod apte quantas libet occupationes curasque distinguit. Lusus vocantur; sed hi lusus non minorem interdum gloriam quam seria consequuntur. . . . Itaque summi oratores, summi etiam viri sic se aut exercebant aut delectabant, immo delectabant exercebantque. Nam mirum est ut his opusculis animus intendatur remittatur. Recipiunt enim amores odia iras misericordiam urbanitatem, omnia denique quae in vita atque etiam in foro causisque versantur.

(Pliny *Ep.* 7.9.9-10,12-14)

Pliny suggests that his friend write light poetry, called *lusus* here, in his leisure. The purpose, as he goes on to make clear, is both to train and amuse himself.⁵⁴ This passage also well describes the tradition of *nugae* and *lusus* in Martial's time: the verse is *argutus* and *brevis* (as

⁵³For more on *Ep.* 5.3 and Pliny's justification for his *lusus* see at *Ep.* 5.3 in Chap. IV.2 below.

⁵⁴On Pliny's consideration of verse writing as secondary to his other pursuits see Gamberini, 100-103.

opposed to *continuus* and *longus*), and is in contrast to *seria*. It is also expressive of strong emotions that run the gamut, and is unrestricted in subject matter so that it can include details from everyday life. Thus is the tradition of *nugae* and *lusus* as circumscribed by Pliny.

Quintilian, like Pliny, also perceives the writing of *lusus* as good practice for the orator. At 10.5.15 he advises the orator what to write: "Ne carmine quidem ludere contrarium fuerit, . . ." Elsewhere Quintilian also uses *ludere* of the lyric poetry of Alcaeus. He says of him:

Alcaeus in parte operis aureo plecto merito donatur, qua tyrannos insectatus multum etiam moribus confert in eloquendo quoque brevis et magnificus et dicendi vi plerumque oratori similis; sed et lusit et in amores descendit, maioribus tamen aptior.

(Quint. 10.1.63)

The contrast is between that part of Alcaeus' poetry which has moral content, magnificent style and diction akin to oratory in force, and the poetry which *lusit*, "plays," and is on the theme of *amor*.

Finally, Tacitus' and Suetonius' uses of *ludere* in reference to poetry should be noted. Tacitus in his *Dialogus* has Aper say in regard to poetry:

Ego vero omnem eloquentiam omnesque eius partes sacras et venerabiles puto, nec solum cothurnum vestrum aut heroici carminis sonum, sed lyricorum quoque iucunditatem et elegorum lascivias et iamborum amaritudinem <et> epigrammatum *lusus* et quamcumque aliam speciem eloquentia habeat anteponendam ceteris aliarum artium studiis credo.

(Tac. *Dial.* 10.4)

Epigram is characterized by *lusus*, "jokes." Suetonius uses *ludit* of the play writing of Terence (*Poet. Ter.* 3) and once

of the boyhood poetry of Vergil (*Poet. Verg.* 17).

To sum up the literary-critical usage of *nugae/ludere* and their forms in the Roman poets preceding and contemporary to Martial, as most of the examples given illustrate, *nugae* and *ludere* are used of poetry with the contrast generally to the more serious poetic genres such as tragedy and epic, though the context will shade the meaning.⁵⁵ In general the poetry referred to with the terms *nugae* and *ludere* is lyric, pastoral, epyllion, elegy, fable, epigram and satire, the so-called lesser genres, oftentimes associated with youthful efforts and *otium*, and frequently sensual, amorous, or even sexual in nature. Of course the use of such deprecatory terms by Catullus, Vergil, Horace and the other poets stems in large part from the neoteric tradition, where the expressed or implied contrast of *nugae* and *ludere* is, in the Callimachean tradition, to the more serious genres of epic and tragedy.⁵⁶ A poet with his use of *nugae* or *ludere* in reference to his poetry shows that he recognizes the established hierarchy of genres but yet believes he contributes to the literary tradition in his own way. Thus an awareness of and reaction

⁵⁵Cf. Wagenvoort, 31-32 for a categorization of the various shades of contrast between *ludus* and the more serious genres.

⁵⁶J.P. Sullivan, "Martial," *Ramus* 16 (1987): 180 says "that the complex cluster of deprecatory images and critical terms. . . had been established by the poets of pastoral, elegy and epigram to suggest their allegiance to the Alexandrian, specifically the Callimachean, poetic revolution and its Roman analogues and adherents."

to the established Greco-Roman literary traditions are inherent in the terminology beginning with and typified by Catullus, and continue thereafter in the Roman poets working in the so-called lesser genres.

Another basis for the use of the seemingly deprecatory terms *nugae* and *ludere*, especially *ludere*, is the practice of *vers de société*, itself having its roots in Hellenistic epigram.⁵⁷ Such verse was not at first considered serious work in the sense that oratory, epic, history and tragedy were, endeavors which required full time effort to the exclusion of other *negotium*. As evidenced by Pliny and Quintilian this occasional verse remains a hobby for the aristocrat through the first century A.D., and is recommended only as good practice and diversion for the aspiring orator. Yet such informal and topical verse also develops a character and rationale of its own that rivals the so-called higher genres. Compare, for example, Pliny's remark that writers of such light verse have acquired great fame. Typical of such verse, as visible first in Lucilius with his use of *ludus*, and then in Catullus and Horace, also with their use of *ludere*, was a playful but satirical, critical and even moral tone. Compare here Phaedrus' use of *ludere* for verse that concealed personal or even political and social criticism beneath its playfulness. Such *ludus* could be very serious business

⁵⁷On the tradition of Hellenistic epigram and its development in Roman poetry see Muth, "Poeta ludens," 80-81.

indeed, and on a literary plane acquires justification as topical and useful moral and social comment, as evidenced especially by Horace and Persius.⁵⁸

It was noted, furthermore, that within the larger outline of the usage of *nugae* and *ludere* just given there was also a further development of the original Callimachean and neoteric reaction to epic and tragedy. For example, Vergil in his *Culex* protested the use of myth and *doctrina* in general--a decidedly anti-Callimachean program--within the context of his use of *ludere* of his epyllion. Horace denigrated his own early lyric poetry with the terms *nugae* and *ludere* in contrast to his later *Epistles*, poetry that had more substance, as he maintained. Persius likewise eschewed mythology and the high style for a treatment with more meaningful substance, namely, the conversational and moral tone of his satires. The reaction, then, appears to be not only against epic and tragedy but against any poetry in the high style--Callimachean forms included--that lacks real and meaningful substance, regardless of genre.

Section I.2: *Nugae* and *Ludere* in Martial

Martial's usage of the terms *nugae* and *ludere* and its forms in a literary-critical context is next considered. The question specifically addressed is whether Martial follows the

⁵⁸For a summary of the moral and social justification associated with poets working in the so-called lesser genres see Chap. II.3 on disclaimers of malice.

conventional usage strictly as observed above in other Roman poets, modifies it in part, or departs radically from it. Thus by comparison with other poets Martial in his usage of these two key and representative literary-critical terms can be given place within the Roman literary tradition. Moreover, Martial's avowed rationale or purpose for writing emerges in the context of his usage of these two terms and can be accurately assessed, even though self-professed, through comparison with the other Roman poets.

Martial certainly uses the terms *nugae* and *ludere* in many of the same contexts and with much the same connotation as observed in the other Roman poets. For example, there is the same self-deprecatory tone and association with youth and *otium* as illustrated in epigram 1.113 where Martial gives his bookseller a plug:

Quaecumque lusi iuvenis et puer quondam
 apinasque nostras, quas nec ipse iam novi,
 male conlocare si bonas voles horas
 et invidabis otio tuo, lector,
 a Valeriano Pollio petes Quinto,
 per quem perire non licet meis nugas.

(1.113)

Martial here uses *ludere* with the common association of youthful poetry that is hardly worth his reader's time. In this same epigram he uses *nugae* likewise to connote light verse written in his youth, verse also termed as *nostrae apinae* (line 2). This term, *apinae*, is found only in Martial and apparently is a colloquialism with the same literal sense that *nugae* had back in Catullus 1--namely, "nonsense" or "rub-

bish."⁵⁹

In fact, Martial uses *nugae* of his poems nearly as much as the term *epigramma* itself. Examples of more usages in a technical or commercial context are at 2.1.6 where Martial's copyist is busy with his *nugae*, at 4.72.3, 7.11.4 and 7.51.1 where Martial is concerned with the sale of his *nugae*, at 4.10.4 with wording very similar to Catullus 1, where Martial's newest *nugae* are being delivered to a friend for editing, and likewise at 4.82.4, 5.80.3, 7.26.7 and 12 *praefatio* 25, where Martial's *nugae* are being sent out for editing.

The context for *nugae* is vague in the above examples, but in epigram 13.2 Martial points in a general way to what these *nugae* are for him. He says to a critic of his:

non potes in nugas dicere plura meas
 ipse ego quam dixi. Quid dentem dente iuvabit
 rodere? carne opus est, si satur esse velis.
 Ne perdas operam: qui se mirantur, in illos
 virus habe, nos haec novimus esse nihil.
 non tamen hoc nimium nihil est, si candidus aure
 nec matutina si mihi fronte venis.

(13.2.4-10)

Martial shows himself aware of the less formal nature of his *nugae*, but qualifies their worth accordingly: *nugae* are for the honest (*candidus*) reader who is in not too serious-minded or sober a mood. He further qualifies this description in

⁵⁹Martial also uses *apinae* at 14.1.7 of the poems of that book: "sunt apinae tricaeque et si quid vilis istis." See Peter Howell, *A Commentary on Book One of the Epigrams of Martial* (London: The Athlone Press, 1980), *ad loc.*, for suggested etymology.

many other epigrams. For instance, at 4.10.8 he says his *nugae* contain *ioci*. At 4.82.5-6 he advises his editor to read his *nugae* after neither his first nor last cup of wine. At 7.51.2 Martial equates *nugae* with *lasciva carmina*. At 10.17 he calls *nugae* "Saturnalian tribute" (lines 1-2)--that is, of a festive tone, and says they contain *ioci* (line 3) and are not *tristia carmina* (line 3). Finally, at 14.183.2 Martial equates his *nugae* with Homer's "Battle of the Frogs (and Mice)" in the "smoothing of the brow" (*solvere frontem*, line 2).

Martial in his many usages of *ludere* likewise creates the same forthright and playful tone as with the usage of *nugae*. Notable examples are at 1 *praefatio* 3, 3.99.3 and 7.12.9 where he uses *ludere* of satiric poetry, a genre marked by its plain speaking; at 4.49.2 (on which see below) where *epigrammata* are said to be more than *lusus* and *ioci*; at 7.8.1 where he compares *ludere* to the playful and apotropaic abuse practiced by soldiers upon their triumphing general, and associates it with *ioci* and *leviora carmina*; at 9.26.10 where he uses it of Nero's writing of a *lascivum opus* while a youth; 11.6.3 and 11.15.7 where he uses *ludere* of Saturnalian verse of an amorous and sexual nature, and at 12.94.8 where he uses it of elegiac poetry; and 1.3.10, 1.4.7, 1.35.13 and 11.16.7 where he indicates that *lusus* are risqué jokes. To sum up, then, the terms *nugae* and *ludere* connote for Martial verse that can be forthright, playful, festive, risqué, sexual and

satiric in nature. Associations with youth and leisure are present in several instances and, in general, Martial follows the program of usage determined by previous poets and described by Pliny in his letters.

Martial, however, gives even more definition to the terms *nugae* and *ludere*. In epigram 2.86 he gives what may be called the lower limit of *nugae* for him. In answer to an accusation that he lacks skill because he composes only in simple and straightforward meter he says:

Quod nec carmine glorior supino
 nec retro lego Sotaden cinaedum,
 nusquam Graecula quod recantat echo
 nec dictat mihi luculentus Attis
 mollem debilitate galliambon:
 non sum, Classice, tam malus poeta.
 quid si per gracilis vias petauri
 invitum iubeas subire Ladan?
 turpe est difficiles habere nugas
 et stultus labor est ineptiarum.
 scribat carmina circulis Palaemon,
 me raris iuvat auribus placere.

(2.86)

In the first five lines Martial lists or alludes to types of verse that involve unusual metrics.⁶⁰ Such verse, he indi-

⁶⁰*Carmine supino* (line 1) is an allusion to the exercises known as *versus recurrentes*, of which there were several varieties: lines that literally read backwards and forwards letter for letter; lines or couplets that read backwards and forwards word by word giving the same sense and keeping the same meter; lines which read forwards in one meter, and backwards in another. *Sotaden cinaedum* (line 2) makes reference to verses, sexually obscene in nature, made in the style of Sotades, the Greek Alexandrian of the third century B.C. *Graecula echo* (line 3) involves word (or partial word) repetition within a line or lines (H.M. Stephenson, *Selected Epigrams of Martial* [London: Macmillan and Co., 1880], *ad loc*). The Attis reference in line 4 is likely to Catullus 63, written in the metrically demanding and rarely found galliam-bics, although it could be to a (lost) poem by Maecenas.

cates, is beneath him (*non sum tam malus poeta*, line 6). He feels it is degrading to make *nugae*, apparently meaning, according to his own usage of the term, short, occasional poems, into *difficiles* metrical feats (line 9). It would be like asking the champion Olympic runner, Lades, to prove his ability by doing some kind of acrobatic stunt. Hence Martial will not labor foolishly for the throng like Palaemon, a grammarian of much influence, but to Martial a poetaster who composed in various and unusual meters.⁶¹ Martial ends with the literary commonplace that his audience is more select, his skills more refined.⁶²

In another epigram, 6.64, Martial uses *nugae* of his own poems, but at the same time similarly vaunts the more distinguished audience they find. He says in address to critic of his:

emendare meos, quos novit fama, libellos
 et tibi permittis felicitis carpere nugas,--
 has, inquam, nugas, quibus aurem advertere totam
 non aspernantur proceres urbisque forique,
 . . .

(6.64.6-9)

His poems know fame, and his *nugae* are read by leading men of the city, including among others, as he goes on to say, Silius Italicus and Domitian himself. Such a defense is reminiscent

⁶¹On Palaemon see Suet. *Gram.* 23, where Palaemon is said to have written "variis nec vulgaribus metris."

⁶²On the literary commonplace of writing for a select audience cf., e.g., Lucil. 588-89 (Marx), Hor. *Sat.* 1.4.71-72, 1.10.81-88, Prop. 2.13.13-14, and Pers. 5.21ff. (on which see Bramble, 5-6).

of Horace's in *Satire* 1.10 (see above) where Horace likewise cites distinguished readers of his verse after modestly using *ludere* of the composing of his satire.

Martial, also like most of the other poets considered, makes the same contrast between his own medium and the more serious genres many times, and in the context of such a contrast defends even more vociferously his own medium. For example, in his preface to Book 9 Martial gives a telling inscription which he has composed for a bust of himself:

'Ille ego sum nulli nugarum laude secundus,
 quem non miraris sed puto, lector, amas.
 maiores maiora sonent: mihi parva locuto
 sufficit in vestras saepe redire manus.'
 (9 *praef.* 5-8)

Here Martial contrasts *nugae* (line 5) with *maiora* (line 7), which connotes the more serious genres such as epic and tragedy, notes that he is loved rather than admired by his reader (line 6), and then defends himself with popular appeal.⁶³

In epigram 4.49 Martial more strongly defends his lowly genre by the contrast with and reaction to genres employing mythological themes in a way reminiscent of Vergil's *Culex* and Persius' *Satire* 5 in its anti-Callimachean sentiment:

Nescit, crede mihi, quid sint epigrammata, Flacce,
 qui tantum lusus illa iocosque vocat.
 ille magis ludit qui scribit prandia saevi
 Tereos aut cenam, crude Thyesta, tuam,
 aut puero liquidas aptantem Daedalon alas

⁶³Martial's popular appeal is very wide-spread to judge from his own remarks on it: e.g., 5.13.3; 6.64.6-15; 7.17.10; 8.3.4; 9.84; 10.2; 11.24.5-9; 12.11.8.

pascentem Siculas aut Polyphemon ovis.
 a nostris procul est omnis vesica libellis
 Musa nec insano syrmate nostra tumet.
 'Illa tamen laudant omnes, mirantur, adorant.'
 Confiteor: laudant illa sed ista legunt.
 (4.49)

Martial states here that his epigrams are more than just *lusus* and *ioci*, and he who writes about the mythological characters actually plays, *ludit* (line 3,) more at writing because of his overblown themes and frenzied style than does Martial with his *nugae*.⁶⁴ Martial attacks here not only epic and tragedy, but any genre which employs standard mythological subjects and a high (tragic) style (line 8). Flaccus' rejoinder in line 9 gives indication of the traditional literary bias with which Martial has to contend: everyone gives praise, admiration, and respect to the poetry on mythological themes--that is, the traditionally more serious genres. Martial again uses his own popularity with the reader to counter: the public gives lip service to the more serious works, but reads his.

In epigram 8.3, again in a comparison of his *nugae* to tragedy and epic, Martial reveals what he considers proper content for his poetry as well as again pointing up his popular appeal:

'Quinque satis fuerant: nam sex septemve libelli
 est nimium: quid adhuc ludere, Musa, iuvat?
 sit pudor et finis: iam plus nihil addere nobis
 fama potest: teritur noster ubique liber;
 et cum rupta situ Messalae saxa iacebunt
 altaque cum Licini marmora pulvis erunt,

⁶⁴For the use of mythological characters and themes to indicate writers of epic and tragedy in general cf. *Iuv.* 1.2-14 and 1.52-54, where some of the same allusions are used.

me tamen ora legent et secum plurimus hospes
 ad patrias sedes carmina nostra feret.'
 Finieram, cum sic respondit nona sororum,
 cui coma et unguento sordida vestis erat:
 'Tunc potes dulcis, ingrata, relinquere nugas?
 dic mihi, quid melius desidiosus ages?
 an iuvat ad tragicos soccum transferre cothurnos
 aspera vel paribus bella tonare modis,
 praelegat ut tumidus rauca te voce magister
 oderit et grandis virgo bonusque puer?
 scribant ista graves nimium nimiumque severi,
 quos media miseros nocte lucerna videt.
 at tu Romano lepidos sale tinge libellos:
 agnoscat mores vita legatque suos.
 angusta cantare licet videaris avena,
 dum tua multorum vincat avena tubas.'
 (8.3)

Martial, since he is read everywhere and his lasting and widespread fame is assured, asks why his Muse must continue to sport, *ludere* (line 2). Her reply indicates (in Martial's mind) what is lacking in epic and tragedy that makes it unworthy of Martial.⁶⁵ As indicated by the image of the *tumidus magister* dictating Martial's works to unwilling school children until hoarse, Martial believes that the writing of epic and tragedy would be devoid of any real interest. Moreover, it is drudgery, done by those who are *graves nimium nimiumque severi*, and who labor miserably into the night. Lines 19-20 indicate by contrast what Martial's work has that the higher genres lack: his poems are to be tinged with

⁶⁵The *nona sororum* (line 9) is the Muse Thalia, especially associated with comedy and light verse, and often referred to by name by Martial (e.g., 4.8.12; 7.17.4; 10.20.3). But note at 12.94.3 where Thalia is not only Martial's Muse, but the Muse of poetic talent in general--i.e., for all genres including epic and tragedy; this perhaps lends more cogency to her remarks here.

Romanus sal, "Roman wit," and faithful to real life.⁶⁶ This *sal* and realism are Martial's saving grace. Through them he will be able to overcome the *tubae multorum*, the writers of epic and tragedy, though he only plays upon the humble *avena*, the shepherd's reed pipe, an image similar to that used by Vergil twice in the *Eclogues* (though without the tone of protest).⁶⁷ Martial by contrasting his *nugae/lusus* with tragedy and epic and defending his genre reveals his overall theme: to depict real life.

Finally, in epigram 10.4 Martial again uses this same rationale, that his epigrams speak of real life, to justify his lowly medium as opposed to the traditionally more serious genres:

Qui legis Oedipoden caligantemque Thyesten,
 Colchidas et Scyllas, quid nisi monstra legis?
 quid tibi raptus Hylas, quid Parthenopaeus et Attis,
 quid tibi dormitor proderit Endymion?
 exutusve puer pinnis labentibus? aut qui
 odit amatrices Hermaphroditus aquas?
 quid te vana iuvant miserae ludibria chartae?
 hoc lege, quod possit dicere vita 'Meum est.'
 non hic Centauros, non Gorgonas Harpyiasque
 invenies: hominem pagina nostra sapit.
 Sed non vis, Mamurra, tuos cognoscere mores
 nec te scire: legas Aetia Callimachi.
 (10.4)

Martial in the first six lines lists some of the mythological

⁶⁶*Sal* is considered at Chap. II.2 below. On Martial writing about real life cf. Pliny's definition of *lusus*: "Recipiunt enim amores odia iras misericordiam urbanitatem, omnia denique quae in vita atque etiam in foro causisque versantur" (Pliny *Ep.* 7.9.13-14).

⁶⁷Verg. *Ecl.* 1.10: *agrestis calamus*; *Ecl.* 6.1.7: *tenuis harundo*. For *tuba* used of epic see also Mart. 10.64.4 and 11.3.8.

characters found in the higher genres to refer to the traditionally more serious poetry of his day. Then, in the final line, Martial cites specifically Callimachus' *Aetia*, presumably because it dealt with such unreal material (i.e., aetiological legends concerning Greek geography and history), and was loaded with learned allusions, as the ultimate in poetry on mythological themes that lacks any relation to real life.⁶⁸ In Martial's view such poetry on mythological subjects is *vana ludibria* (line 7), "worthless play."⁶⁹

With these last three epigrams, 10.4, 8.3 and 4.49, Martial gives most definitive justification to his own medium by the use of the terms *nugae* and *ludere*. His poetry reflect real life, the ways of mankind, or as Martial himself puts it, *sapit hominem*, so that the reader may come to know himself. Such a defense is similar to that used by Horace in *Satire* 1.4 where he says that he writes satire in order to instruct his reader, as his father had instructed him by pointing out the bad behavior of another, and very similar to Persius' rejection of the grand style and its mythological themes in order to rebuke common vices.⁷⁰ In other words, Martial's

⁶⁸Cf. Martial 10.21, where he criticizes the abstruseness of Cinna's *Zmyrna*.

⁶⁹Cf. Emilia Sergi, "Marziale ed i temi mitologica nella poesia epica e tragica dell'età argentea (*Ep.* 10,4)," *Giornale Italiano di Filologia* 41 (1989), 61 and n. 30. Note that *ludibria* is formed in part from *ludus*.

⁷⁰Cf. John P. Sullivan, "Martial's *Apologia pro opere suo*," in *Filologia e forme letterarie, Studi offerti a Francesco della Corte IV* (Urbino: Università degli studi di

epigrams contain substance morally useful to the reader. The higher genres, on the other hand, which through time had come to do more and more with fantastical and unreal characters and situations, had nothing of real value to offer the reader in Martial's eyes. They had deteriorated into mere literary exercises, had themselves become *nugae* and *ludus*--light verse in the sense of having little real substance and being trifling literary exercises--while Martial's *nugae* and *ludus* took on real value because of their true-to-life content and moral substance.

In perspective and in sum, Martial with his use of the terms *nugae* and *ludere* reveals several things about his medium and his intent, and his place in the Roman literary tradition. First, with his use of the terms in their customary literary sense (as in other Roman poets) he shows he is heir to the Callimachean and neoteric tradition in part. This is primarily evident in the constant awareness he shows with the use of the self-deprecatory terms in drawing the contrast between his own medium and the higher genres. On the other hand he shows an express reaction to this same Callimachean and neoteric tradition with his application of the terms *nugae* and *ludere* with their true derogatory sense to contemporary

Urbino, 1977), 40, who in his discussion of epigram 10.4 says: "Persius had similarly rejected mythological themes in favor of satire which would be based on his knowledge of the world (1,121) and Juvenal's program will also center on his realism and close relationship to life rather than mythology (1,85-86)." Also see Sullivan, *Martial: The Unexpected Classic*, 73.

poetry on mythological themes because it is unreal and lacks true substance.⁷¹ In this sentiment Martial has predecessors, most obviously, Persius. Also, after him Juvenal continues the protest.⁷² Thus, he is not so much a single revolutionary as one more reactionary voice among several in the later part of the first century A.D. that protests the effete content of the higher genres.

Indeed, the true spirit of this protest in the later half of the first century A.D. against poetry that is remote from reality could be said to begin with the tradition of *vers de société*, poetry with a conversational style, more realistic content and emotional appeal, and Lucilius' development of it into *satura*.⁷³ Catullus likewise with his use of *nugae* and *ludere* represents in part of his corpus a continuance of this

⁷¹Cf. Robert Muth, "Martials ludus poeticus und die Dichtungskritik bei nachaugusteischen Dichtern," in *Serta Philologia Aenipontana III*, eds. Robert Muth and G. Pfohl (Innsbruck: Innsbrucker Gesellschaft zur Pflege der Geisteswissenschaften, 1979), 218, where Muth states, based on his earlier study, "Martials Spiel mit dem ludus poeticus," in *Studies in Greek, Italic, and Indo-European Linguistics Offered to Leonard R. Palmer*, eds. Anna Morpurgo Davies and Wolfgang Meid (Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck, 1976), 199-207, that Martial with his use of *ludus* unites the traditions of the neoterics and the Roman satirists by showing his opposition to Callimachean literary precepts (use of mythology and *doctrina*).

⁷²On Juvenal cf. W.S. Anderson, "Studies in Book I of Juvenal," *Yale Classical Studies* 15 (1957), 36: "Epic, become the the refuge of the dilettantes from the reality of the present, now concerns itself with the imaginary, a heroic past of legendary miracles and superhuman people."

⁷³For the general rejection of the middle and lower genres of the unreal mythology of epic and tragedy for realism cf. Sergi, 53-54, and Bramble, 12-13.

more personal verse on everyday events, though he takes no pains to expressly justify this type of poetry. Vergil in the *Culex* eschews mythological topics and excessive *doctrina* in order to sport more informally with his poetry. Horace shows with his usage of *nugae* and *ludere* that he is part of the tradition and further adds the element of moral tone to it in justification. Ovid, like Catullus, also use the terms *nugae* and *ludere* in deference to poetry of so-called higher genres, but even to a greater degree, with an implicit acknowledgment of their own reaction and contribution to the literary tradition. Propertius similarly uses *ludere*. Phaedrus indicates that his *lusus* actually contain hidden meaning, and Persius, who uses *ludus* in reference to his own work, can apply *nugae* in its more literal sense of "rubbish" to verse laden with myth because of its empty content. Martial falls, then, within this reactionary tradition among the satirists with his own usage of *nugae* and *ludere*. In fact, he represents a predictable development of the reactionary tradition coming, as he does, between Persius and Juvenal: he employs the commonplace defense, and finds definitive place in the tradition by protesting more strongly than his predecessors, but not so vehemently as Juvenal.⁷⁴

⁷⁴To maintain, as does J.P. Sullivan, "Martial," 178, that ". . . a large part of Martial's program is to subvert indirectly, and often seductively, the whole hierarchy of literary genres, to establish a new set of poetic values and models in opposition to those already established in Greco-Roman literary theory" overstates the case, to judge from Martial's pervasive use of *nugae* and *ludere* in many other

However, Statius, Pliny and Quintilian, Martial's peers and especially important in an evaluation of Martial as immediate standards for comparison, retain the sense of "diversion and practice for more serious pursuits" for *nugae* and *lusus*. Pliny's conception of *nugae* and *ludere* is in its detail especially informative here. Although he himself writes *nugae* and *lusus*, which for him meant *vers de société* in the style of Martial, he clearly does not put it on a scale with more serious types of poetry or literary pursuits. Such must have been the opinion of the aristocracy and literary coterie of the day and is certainly reflected in Martial's work in his frequent use of *nugae* and *ludere* with a self-deprecatory sense.

On the other hand, Pliny shows himself very much attracted to *nugae* as an expression of the more "human" element in his nature, hence indicating the popular appeal such verse did hold for the literary coterie of the day. Likewise Statius shows the popular appeal of *nugae* by leaving off his epic work to write the *Silvae*, occasional poems. This popular appeal that *nugae* held for Pliny and Statius is very

epigrams with their original Callimachean and neoteric connotation. Juvenal, more accurately, could be described as the revolutionary in that he attempts to supplant epic with his satire. (Cf. W.S. Anderson, "Venusina lucerna: the Horatian Model for Juvenal," *TAPA* 92 [1961], 8-9: Juvenal "denies the validity of epic of his time, in order to raise *Satura* up to the level of the grand style and so replace the counterfeit topics and emotions of epic and tragedy." Also cf. Bramble, 164-73, in his chapter "Juvenal and the High Style.")

much evidenced in Martial by the frequent reference he makes to his own popularity and readability. Indeed, popular appeal is one of Martial's prime defenses against the literary prejudice toward poetry of his type. Also Martial's avowed, overall theme in his epigrams, to depict human nature and life itself, reflects the same basis Pliny uses as a rationale for his own *nugae*--namely, that he gives expression to the more "human" part of his nature. Martial likewise with his verse gives expression to more human elements, and hence his poetry has more appeal for the literary coterie.

Examination in later chapters of other key literary terms used by Martial will support and fill out the picture of Martial sketched here in this chapter as a reactionary who had popular appeal--that is, one who within the limits of the literary tradition protested the lack of realistic, socially meaningful and useful content of the purportedly more serious genres of the day, and claimed the position of poet of the people, one who expressed more human sentiments, to defend and even justify his own poetic efforts.

CHAPTER II

MATERIA; INGENIUM; SAL AND DISCLAIMERS OF MALICE

This chapter examines the usage of three literary terms, *materia* (*materies*), *ingenium*, and *sal*, and disclaimers of malice associated with the use of *sal* as "wit." The term *materia*, meaning subject-matter or overall form and topic, is first considered, primarily to establish a framework for the examination of *ingenium*. Next, the chapter looks at the poetic ability brought to bear upon that *materia*, termed as *ingenium* and used in several distinct senses. Thirdly, the chapter examines a special type of *ingenium*, namely, wit, most often termed as *sal* and a main component of Martial's work. Also disclaimers of malice, often occurring in Roman satire and epigram in association with the use of wit, are considered along with the term *sal*. These disclaimers are especially important because they often reveal a poet's rationale for his writing.

Section II.1: *Materia*

The first term considered, *materia*, has the simple definition of "material," "substance," or "potential."¹ Used in a literary-critical context by a Roman poet it first

¹OLD, s.v. *materia*.

appears in the *Ars Poetica*, where Horace advises the poet on picking his *materia*:²

sumite materiam vestris, qui scribitis, aequam
viribus et versate diu, quid ferre recusent,
quid valeant umeri.

(Hor. *Ars P.* 38-40)

A writer should choose *materia* equal to his strength. *Materia* is used here in the wider sense of the task undertaken by the poet, including choice of form (genre) and style as well as his specific subject-matter.³

Again in the *Ars* Horace uses *materies*, a word which is essentially the same in meaning as *materia*, this time in the sense of subject-matter.⁴ Horace in speaking of choice of subject-matter and originality says:

publica materies privati iuris erit, si
non circa vilem patulumque moraberis orbem,
nec verbum verbo curabis reddere fidus
interpres.

(Hor. *Ars P.* 131-34)

By *publica materies* Horace means stories that are in the public domain.

²But note that Cicero uses *materia* for the potential subject-matter or material for an oration at *Orat.* 119, and at *Att.* 2.12.3 (*materies*) for topics upon which he may write.

³See Brink, *Ars*, *ad loc.*: *materia* "does not here denote subject-matter as opposed to diction--a division to be made presently [lines 119f.]--but the subject chosen by the writer, the task he is undertaking." Also cf. C.O. Brink, *Horace on Poetry, Prolegomena to the Literary Epistles* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1963), 11-13, where on the strength of his analysis of the preceding lines in the *Ars* he says that *materia* here refers to matter, arrangement and style, and not subject-matter.

⁴*Materies* appears to have an archaic and poetic flavor, but the same sense as *materia* (see *TLL* 8.448.29ff.).

Ovid, next considered, also uses *materia* in two senses: specific subject-matter, and overall topic and form. In the *Tristia* after commenting on how he is suited to light verse ("numeris levioribus aptus sim satis," 2.331) Ovid says:

divitis ingenii est immania Caesaris acta
condere, materia ne superetur opus.
(Ov. *Tr.* 2.335-36)

Materia in this case is "subject-matter"--that is, Caesar's accomplishments that require a wealth of poetic talent (*divitis ingenii*) for proper treatment.⁵ And in the *Amores* Tragedy personified says to Ovid of his love poetry:

cessatum satis est--incipere maius opus!
materia premis ingenium. cane facta virorum.
(Ov. *Am.* 3.1.24-25)

Ovid's poetic ability, *ingenium*, is impeded by his *materia*--namely, *amores*, by his topic or theme. Similarly in his letters from Pontus Ovid says of his poetic ability:

dum tamen in rebus temptamus carmina parvis,
materiae gracili sufficit ingenium.
(Ov. *Pont.* 2.5.25-26)

As long as he undertakes only *parvae res* his ability, *ingenium*, suffices for his simple topic, *gracilis materia*. Finally, Ovid in speaking of his *Tristia* says:

non haec ingenio, non haec componimus arte:
materia est propriis ingeniosa malis.
(Ov. *Tr.* 5.1.27-28)

The *Tristia* are not composed using the usual elements of *ingenium* and *ars*, "natural ability" and "technique." Rather

⁵On the usage and meaning of *ingenium* see the next section, below.

their *materia*, their substance and general form comes from Ovid's immediate sufferings.

Phaedrus likewise uses *materia* in the sense of general content and form. For instance, he says of Aesop:

Aesopus auctor quam materiam repperit,
hanc ego polivi versibus senariis.
(Phaedrus 1. *prol.*1-2)

Aesop invented the *materia*, substance or content, of the fables which Phaedrus in turn put into senarii. Similarly in his prologue to Book 4, Phaedrus says of *materia*:

Cum destinassem terminum operi statuere,
in hoc ut aliis esset materiae satis,
consilium tacito corde damnavi <meum>.
(Phaedrus 4 *prol.* 1-3)

He goes on to say that the reason he condemned his plan to leave off writing was that if anyone were to continue in his field, he would not know what *materia* Phaedrus had left out.

Next, Quintilian's use of *materia* in speaking of the poets Macer and Lucretius deserves mention. He says of them: "Nam Macer et Lucretius legendi quidem, sed non ut phrasin, id est, corpus eloquentiae faciant, elegantes in sua quisque *materia* sed alter humilis, alter difficilis" (10.1.87). Macer and Lucretius, though *elegantes* in their *materia*, "tasteful" in their choice of "subject-matter," are not the best stylists.

Pliny's use of *materia* in speaking of a poet is noteworthy. In *Epistle* 8.4 he uses *materia* in conjunction with *ingenium* of the poet Caninius Rufus. He says there to Caninius that Trajan's Dacian war would make excellent *materia*

for a poem, but that even Caninius' great *ingenium*, "poetic ability," would be pressed to find a style of expression worthy of the subject (8.4.2-4). At another letter (9.2.1-4) Pliny again uses *materia* in conjunction with *ingenium* with the same sense, though not of poetry.⁶

Finally, Juvenal's use of *materia* is to be considered. First, at *Satire* 3.147 Juvenal complains that the poor man at Rome unjustly serves as *materia*, "matter," for ridicule (*ioci*). Then, at 7.21 he notes how eager patrons seek out suitable *materia*, "subject-matter," for their poets so that the patron may be properly indulged. And lastly at 1.150-51 Juvenal, after observing the rampant injustice and vice of his day, asks this rhetorical question: "unde / ingenium par materiae?" Where is one to find the poetic ability to match the *materia*, the "subject."

Materia in Martial

Martial uses *materia* with the same senses it has in the other Roman poets. In its most restricted sense he uses *materia* in epigram 5.53 simply to mean "subject-matter." He says in criticism of the poet Bassus:

Colchida quid scribis, quid scribis, amice, Thyesten?
quo tibi vel Nioben, Basse, vel Andromachen?
materia est, mihi crede, tuis aptissima chartis

⁶At 9.2.1-4 Pliny says in order to excuse the infrequency and short length of his letters to a friend that he lacks *materia* for them. Unlike Cicero, he continues, who had both a very copious *ingenium* and a wealth of varied and important topics to suit that *ingenium*, Pliny is confined by narrow limits (because of business pursuits).

Deucalion vel, si non placet hic, Phaethon.
(5.53)

Materia here designates what mythological characters--namely, Deucalion and Phaethon--that Martial considers most fitting as subject-matter for Bassus (i.e., Bassus' poems should be, like Deucalion and Phaethon, subjected to drowning or burning). In epigram 1.4 Martial uses *materia* in the same sense. In defense of his *lasciva pagina*, he cites the practice of soldiers verbally abusing their triumphing *dux* in jest:

consuevere iocos vestri quoque ferre triumphi,
materiam dictis nec pudet esse ducem.
(1.4.3-4)

The *dux* (who is Domitian here) is the *materia*, the "subject-matter" of the *dicta* ("jokes") of his soldiers.⁷

In the next two usages of *materia* that are cited Martial, like Ovid, links *materia* with *ingenium*, once using *materia* as specific subject-matter, once as overall topic and form. First, in the preface to Book 8, Martial uses *materia* to designate what is to be the primary subject-matter of that book, Domitian. Martial says that this eighth book of his will show more *pietas* toward Domitian in that many of the epigrams will be in praise of him. Because this will be so Martial says:

minus itaque ingenio laborandum fuit, in cuius locum
materia successerat: . . .
(8 *praef.* 4-6)

⁷It was customary for the soldiers to run behind the chariot of the triumphing *imperator* singing ribald and abusive songs about him (cf. Livy 3.29.5; Suet. *Iul.* 49.4, 51).

Because his *materia*, subject-matter (Domitian), is so great, Martial will have to exercise his *ingenium*, "poetic ability," all the less, a somewhat fulsome piece of flattery that shows the relation *materia* has with *ingenium*. Secondly, in the preface to Book 12 Martial says to a patron friend of his in explanation of his decreased production of epigrams:

Accipe ergo
rationem. In qua hoc maximum et primum est, quod civita-
tis aures quibus adsueveram quaero, et videor mihi in
alieno foro litigare; si quid est enim quod in libellis
meis placeat, dictavit auditor: illam iudiciorum sub-
tilitatem, illud materiarum ingenium, bibliothecas,
theatra, convictus, in quibus studere se voluptates non
sentiunt, ad summam omnium illa quae delicti reliquimus
desideramus quasi destituti.

(12 *praef.* 6-14)

Martial says that since he moved to Bilbilis from Rome he misses "that fineness of discernment" ("illam iudiciorum subtilitatem," lines 10-11), "that inspiration of his material" ("illud materiarum ingenium," line 11) which Rome provided. Here *materia* is used in its wider sense of the overall substance of the epigrams to which the daily activities of Rome bring inspiration. Removed from the stimuli of the city, Martial can only with difficulty and labor produce epigrams.⁸

In sum, Martial's use of the term *materia* differs not at all from its usage in other Roman poets. It means for him either the specific subject matter of the poem, or the raw

⁸Later on in the preface Martial says in regard to his writing of epigram: ". . . inperavi mihi, quod indulgere consueram . . ." (lines 20-21).

material upon which the poet's *ingenium*, "poetic ability," works. Thus, in his usage of *materia* Martial shows himself to be operating firmly within the literary tradition.

Section II.2: *Ingenium*

Of more note than the usage of *materia* is that of *ingenium*, a term which has the basic meanings of "natural disposition," "inherent quality," "mental powers" and "natural abilities."⁹ The earliest usage of *ingenium* by a Roman poet in a literary-critical context comes in one of Terence's prologues where he says:

repente ad studium hunc se adplicasse musicum,
amicum ingenio fretum, haud natura sua:
(Ter. Haut. 23-24)

Terence is accused of relying on the *ingenium*, "natural ability," of his friends and not his own in writing his plays.

A usage of *ingenium* by Cicero, because it is in reference to Lucretius' work, may be noted here. Cicero says in reply to his brother: "Lucreti poemata, ut scribis, ita sunt, multis luminibus ingeni, multae tamen artis" (QFr. 2.10.3). Lucretius' work is distinguished by excellences of *ingenium*, "natural ability" or "inspiration," and by *ars*, "technique," as well.

Horace, coming soon after Cicero, uses *ingenium* in literary-critical context many times, also with its common sense of "natural (poetic) ability." An example of *ingenium*

⁹OLD, s.v. *ingenium*.

as "natural ability" comes at *Satire* 2.1.75 where Horace acknowledges that he is below his predecessor in satire, Lucilius, in both rank and natural ability ("infra Lucili censum ingeniumque"). With the same sense in *Epistle* 2.1., a protest against archaism, Horace says of anyone who, though he does not really understand it, praises Numa's Salian hymn:

ingeniis non ille favet plauditque sepultis,
nostra sed impugnat, nos nostraque lividus odit.
(Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.88-89)

The archaist blindly prefers the *ingenium*, "(poetic) ability" of dead authors simply to spite the living poets.

Horace's next use of *ingenium* comes in *Satire* 2.1 where, in defense of his own satire, he uses *ingenium* in reference to Lucilius' invective. Horace says there:

cum est Lucilius ausus
primus in hunc operis componere carmina morem,
detrahere et pellem, nitidus qua quisque per ora
cederet, introrsum turpis, num Laelius et qui
duxit ab oppressa meritum Karthagine nomen
ingenio offensi aut laeso doluere Metello
famosisque Lupo cooperto versibus?
(Hor. *Sat.* 2.1.62-68)

Horace here uses *ingenium* for Lucilius' poetic ability employed for invective, as the context and linking of *ingenium* with "famosis versibus" indicates.

With slightly more definition, Horace, distinguishing between writers of satire such as himself and true poets in another poem, says:

ingenium cui sit, cui mens divinator atque os
magna sonaturum, des nominis huius honorem.
(Hor. *Sat.* 1.4.43-44)

Ingenium appears to be "natural poetic ability" again, with

the hint at "genius" because of *mens divinior* and *os magna sonaturum*, expressions which give further definition to a true poet for Horace.¹⁰ Note that Horace in this context does not attribute this sort of *ingenium* ("genius") to himself because he works in the lowly form of satire.

Horace three times in the *Ars Poetica* uses *ingenium* with a definite sense of "natural poetic ability," there in antithesis to *ars* and *studium*. He begins the final section of the *Ars*, which is on the poet, by saying:

*ingenium misera quia fortunatius arte
credit et excludit sanos Helicone poetas
Democritus, bona pars non unguis ponere curat,
non barbam, secreta petit loca, balnea vitat.*
(Hor. *Ars P.* 295-98)

Here Horace satirizes the Democritean notion of the poet: because Democritus believes that *ingenium*, here akin to the Greek *φύσις*, is more desirable than *misera ars*, "laborious art," and because he excludes *sani poetae*, "sane" or "rational poets," from Helicon, many neglect their personal appearance in order to seem inspired.¹¹ Later on in the poem comes a similar antithesis:

*natura fieret laudabile carmen an arte
quaesitum est. ego nec studium sine divite vena
nec rude quid possit video ingenium; alterius sic
altera poscit opem res et coniurat amice.*

¹⁰Cf. Morris, *ad loc.* on *ingenium, mens divinior*: "not two distinct characteristics, but two ways of describing a single characteristic, an inspired imagination."

¹¹See Brink, *Ars, ad loc.* for the Democritean burlesque and *ingenium = φύσις*, and who also translates *ingenium misera fortunatius arte* as "native genius 'succeeds' where laborious art fails."

(Hor. Ars P. 408-11)

Ingenium as "natural (poetic) ability" is antithetical to *studium*, "training." The sense of *ingenium* is further defined by its equation with *natura*, implying natural ability, by its indirect association with *divite vena*, "rich vein," again implying a natural resource, and by the adjective *rude*, "uncultivated."

In the next two usages cited, both from Horace's *Satires*, *ingenium* still has sense of "natural (poetic) talent" although the context gives it slightly more definition. For example, in *Satire* 2.6 Horace, after expressing the great pleasure he takes in his Sabine farm, prays of Mercury:

pingue pecus domino facias et cetera praeter
ingenium, utque soles, custos mihi maximus adsis!
(Hor. Sat. 2.6.14-15)

This is an allusion to Apollo's injunction to Callimachus to keep the sacrificial victim fat but his Muse thin.¹² This sort of *ingenium*--a raw talent honed by technique and practice--is more the style of Horace in contrast to *ingenium* with the sense of "poetic genius" of the high style (as defined in *Satire* 1.4.43-44, above).

Finally, Horace uses *ingenium* of the talent Cassius (and indirectly, Lucilius) had in composing large amounts of verse. After conjecturing that Lucilius might be proud of dictating two hundred lines both before and after supper, Horace says:

¹²Callim. Aet. 1.1.23-24.

Etrusci

quale fuit Cassi rapido ferventius amni
ingenium, capsis quem fama est esse librisque
ambustum propriis.

(Hor. Sat. 1.10.61-64)

Ingenium has again the sense of "natural" or "raw (poetic) ability." Horace with the context--namely, the image of Cassius' books and bookcases forming his own funeral pile--perhaps suggests that raw talent, though essential to a poet, may not be all that is necessary to make a complete poet.

Propertius uses *ingenium* many times in a literary-critical context, and like Horace with the sense of "natural (poetic) ability." For instance, in 2.20B, having supposed his Cynthia as one of the Muses, he then says to her: "nam sine te nostrum non valet ingenium" (2.30B.40). Cynthia provides the stimulus for his *ingenium*, his "(poetic) ability." Similarly, at 2.1.4 Propertius says of Cynthia: "ingenium nobis ipsa puella facit." Here *ingenium* is very close to having the sense of "inspiration," a connotation Statius and Martial both employ (see below). Then at 4.6.75 it is the Muse that "irritet ingenium" of poets. In 2.24B Propertius uses *ingenium* in conjunction with *ars*. He says to Cynthia, who has taken on another lover: "contendat mecum ingenio, contendat et arte" (2.24B.23). Let this new lover compete with Propertius in natural poetic ability, and in poetic technique and skill. Propertius also several times boasts of the renown his *ingenium* has brought him. In 3.2 he says of his poetic ability:

at non ingenio quaesitum nomen ab aevo
 excidet: ingenio stat sine morte decus.
 (Prop. 3.2.25-26)

At 2.34.58 he boasts that his *ingenium*, of which others make light, makes him king among revels with the *puellae*. And at 4.1.66 and 126 Propertius uses *ingenium* for his poetic ability that will bring glory to his birthplace.

Finally, Propertius several times uses *ingenium* of his own ability for writing elegy as opposed to so-called more serious poetry. At 1.7.7 Propertius, speaking to Ponticus, an epic poet, says, "nec tantum ingenio quantum servire dolori / cogor." He is compelled to serve his *dolor* more than his *ingenium*, "poetic inspiration," in writing poetry. Later in the same poem he says if Ponticus should also fall in love:

tum me non humilem mirabere saepe poetam,
 tunc ego Romanis praeferar ingeniis;
 (Prop. 1.7.21-22)

Here *ingeniis* by metonymy stands for "poets." Next, at 3.3 Propertius is rebuked by Apollo for dreaming of writing of the wars of Rome. Using the metaphor of a boat he has Apollo say: "non est ingenii cumba gravanda tui" (3.3.22). Propertius' poetic ability can not bear the heavy load of epic poetry. A final example comes in 3.9, where Propertius says in reply to Maecenas who has urged him to write on historical themes, that with Maecenas as his leader he will sing of Roman historical events, and that his *ingenium*, his "poetic ability," will grow at Maecenas' command ("crescet et ingenium sub tua iussa meum!" [3.9.52]).

Ovid uses *ingenium* numerous times in a literary-critical context, always with the sense of "natural (poetic) ability." Four usages of *ingenium* in conjunction with *materia* have been given above (*Tr.* 2.335; *Am.* 3.1.25; *Pont.* 2.5.26; *Tr.* 5.1.27, all in the previous section). In the first three instances the meaning of *ingenium* was "poetic ability" in the context of matching that ability with the *materia* treated. In the fourth instance (*Tr.* 5.1.27) *ingenium*, "natural ability," along with *ars*, "technique," were given as the two normal elements of composition. As in this last example cited, Ovid again several times uses *ingenium* in the sense of "poetic ability" where it is opposed to *ars* in the context: in his *Amores* he says that Callimachus "*ingenio non valet, arte valet*" (*Am.* 1.15.14), Callimachus was more a skilled versifier than a natural poet; and conversely in his *Tristia* he says that "*Ennius ingenio maximus, arte rudis*" (*Tr.* 2.424), Ennius had natural poetic ability but lacked technical skill.

Ovid also uses *ingenium* of the poetic ability of Homer (*Tr.* 1.1.48), of Germanicus' (*Fast.* 1.24), of Tibullus' "winning" (*comis*) poetic ability (*Tr.* 5.1.18), of his own poetic ability which has brought about his exile and sufferings (*Pont.* 3.4.11, 3.5.4, 4.2.15, 4.14.18; *Tr.* 1.1.56, 1.9.54, 2.2, 2.12, 2.316, 3.3.74), and his own poetic ability in general (e.g., *Fast.* 2.123; *Am.* 1.15.2; *Pont.* 1.5.3; *Tr.* 1.1.36, 2.116, 2.532). In a slightly different context, Ovid says his *ingenium* is moved or inspired by Corinna (*Am.*

3.12.16; *Tr.* 4.10.59), from witnessing an event instead of just hearing about it (*Pont.* 3.4.30), and that it is not moved by renown or fame (*Tr.* 5.1.76). Finally, Ovid says his *ingenium* has brought fame to himself even in an age of great poets (*Tr.* 4.10.126), and to his wife through her mention in his poems (*Tr.* 5.14.4).

Ingenium is also found in the *Epistula Sapphus* (or *Heroides* 15). There Sappho says that the grief over her lover's departure has stopped her *ars*, and her troubles have halted all her *ingenium* (line 196). Then at line 206 Sappho says her *ingenium* has obtained its *vires* from her lover Phaon. The usage and sense are the same as with Ovid: "natural poetic ability" as opposed to a poet's *ars*, "technique."

Phaedrus, like Ovid, uses *ingenium* for "poetic ability," once in reference to his own ability (3 *prol.*4), once of Menander's writing talent (5.1.11), and once of the poetic ability of Aesop and Anacharis, which brought them fame. None of the uses adds by its context anything new to *ingenium*'s sense.

Persius uses *ingenium* in a literary-critical context only once. He begins his *Prologus* saying that he has not been divinely inspired as other poets have claimed they were, and is only a semi-vates. He continues:

quis expedivit psittaco suum chaere,
picamque docuit verba nostra conari?
magister artis ingenique largitor
venter, negatas artifex sequi voces.
quod si dolosi spes refulserit nummi,
coruos poetas et poetridas picas

cantare credas Pegaseium nectar.
 (Pers. *prol.* 8-14)

The belly (i.e., need and the desire for a livelihood) is the teacher of poetic *ars* and the dispenser (or briber) of *ingenium*. Persius here plays upon the usual sense of *ingenium* as "natural poetic ability" to satirize poets who, without real poetic genius, write imitative poetry purely for gain.¹³

Statius uses *ingenium* twice in a literary-critical context, once with its original sense of "natural ability," and once with the meaning of "poetic inspiration." First, at *Silvae* 5.3.136, Statius' father is said to have been "audax ingenii," "bold in poetic ability," in reference to participating in a local poetic contest when a youth. *Ingenium's* other usage as "poetic inspiration," a developed sense, comes in *Silvae* 5.3. There Statius says in address to his recently deceased father: "da vocem magno, pater, ingeniumque dolori" (*Silv.* 5.3.28). Statius asks the spirit of his father to give voice and inspiration to his grief over his death. Here the sense of *ingenium* as "poetic ability" has been transferred to that which inspires it. This recalls Propertius, who used *ingenium* in a similar way in regard to Cynthia (see above).

Quintilian's use of *ingenium*, as it is in reference to Ovid, may be mentioned. He uses *ingenium* twice of the poetic ability of Ovid. First, in Book 10 he says: "Lascivus quidem

¹³Cf. Barr, *ad loc.* on *ingenique largitor* (line 10): "The particular talent (*ingenium*) is the imitative faculty of magpies and parrots, which is simulated (not bestowed) when they are bribed with tidbits."

in herois quoque Ovidius et nimium amator ingenii sui, laudandus tamen in partibus" (10.1.88). Ovid is too much enamored of his own *ingenium*, "poetic ability." And again in Book 10 Quintilian says of Ovid: "Ovidii Medea videtur mihi ostendere, quantam ille vir praestare potuerit, si ingenio suo imperare quam indulgere maluisset" (10.1.98). Had Ovid chosen to rule over his *ingenium*, his "natural poetic ability," instead of indulging it, he might have written more of serious poetry like his *Medea*.¹⁴

Pliny's use of *ingenium* as "poetic ability" exercised upon the author's *materia* has already been considered (previous section). To this add also Pliny's use with a different sense at *Epistle* 4.18.1, where he says his own *ingenium*, "poetic ability," is inadequate to translate the Greek epigrams of Arrius Antoninus. At 8.21 Pliny again speaks modestly of his own *ingenium*. There in reference to a two-day reading of his own poetry he says: "Liber fuit et opusculis varius et metris. Ita solemus, qui ingenio parum fidimus, satietatis periculum fugere" (8.21.4). His poems were short and in different meters because he, not confident in his *ingenium*, "poetic ability," feared to bore his audience. Also Pliny, in one of his own so-called hendecasyllabics (not actually hendecasyllabic), uses *ingenium* of Cicero's poetic ability to write an epigram (*Ep.* 7.4.6, on

¹⁴Cf. Sen. *QNat.* 3.27.13 on Ovid: "poetarum ingeniosissimus . . . nisi tantum impetum ingenii et materiae ad pueriles ineptias reduxisset."

which see the next section below). Finally, Pliny uses *ingeniosus*, the adjectival form of *ingenium* and similar in sense, of Martial in his eulogy for him.¹⁵ There he says of Martial:

Audio Valerium Martialem decessisse et moleste fero.
Erat homo ingeniosus acutus acer, et qui plurimum in
scribendo et salis haberet et fellis, nec candoris minus.
(Pliny *Ep.* 3.21.1)

Martial was a man who was gifted, sharp and perceptive, in whose writings there was most of all wit and pungency as well as candor. Here Pliny uses *ingeniosus* to mean "having ability" that is furthermore linked with the writing of satire and invective (*sal* and *fel*).¹⁶

One use by Juvenal of *ingenium* in conjunction with *materia* (noted above, previous section) comes in his first *Satire*. There Juvenal, after observing the rampant injustice and vice of his day, asks the rhetorical question: "unde / ingenium par materiae?" (1.150-51). Where is one to find "poetic ability" equal to a subject so large. Also Juvenal uses *ingenium* twice in his complaint of the niggardly patronage of the day. First Juvenal says:

quis locus ingenio, nisi cum se carmine solo
vexant et dominis Cirrhae Nysaeque feruntur
pectora vestra duas non admittentia curas?
(Juv. 7.63-65)

Ingenium, "poetic ability," must give itself completely to

¹⁵Cf. *TLL* 7₂.1520.55 for the single definition given for *ingeniosus*: "i.q. plenus ingenii, bene natura compositus sim."

¹⁶On *sal* here see below, next section.

Apollo and Dionysus, and not be concerned with any other cares. Juvenal then gives examples of poets in the past who did find proper support and patronage. He ends the section with this comparison to former days:

tunc par ingenio pretium, tunc utile multis
 pallere et vinum toto nescire Decembri.
 (Juv. 7.96-97)

Back in those days *ingenium*, "genius," got a fitting and equal reward from pale cheeks and abstinence during the festive season (i.e., its dedication to its craft). Finally, worthy of note although not in a literary-critical context, Juvenal elsewhere also uses *ingenium* with a derogatory sense of the quick wit (*ingenium velox*) of Greeks who worm their way into the houses of the great with their ready speech (3.73-74).¹⁷

Juvenal, then, with his usage of *ingenium* shows the connotation of both "natural genius" in reference to poetry, and "mental facility" with reference to speech.

To summarize, *ingenium* in a literary-critical context in the Roman poets had two distinct senses, most often and at its most complimentary the sense of "natural poetic ability" or "genius" as opposed to *ars*, "technique," the other necessary ingredient of composition, and secondly, the sense of "inspiration," where it is used of the object or person which stimulates a poet to write.

Ingenium in Martial

¹⁷On *velox ingenium* cf. Mart. 6.28.7 where he uses it in complimentary fashion on the tombstone of a patron's freedman.

Martial, as will be seen, uses *ingenium* with all the same senses found in previous Roman poets. To begin with an example of its commonplace sense, in epigram 8.70 Martial uses *ingenium* of Nerva's potential poetic ability or genius:

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

(8.70.1-6)

Martial here at first parallels *ingenium* with *facundia*, "eloquence," but then as the poem proceeds widens its sense to connote the traditional poetic gift--"inborn genius"--that comes from the Muses.

Another example in Martial of *ingenium* used as "poetic ability" or "genius" comes in epigram 8.18, addressed to Cerrinius, a fellow epigrammatist, friend and, to judge from the tone of the epigram, patron. Martial begins the epigram by commending Cerrinius for not publishing his own epigrams, flattering him by saying that he himself might have been equalled or even outdone by Cerrinius if that man had chosen to publish. He then continues with a comparison of Cerrinius to Vergil:

sic Maro nec Calabri temptavit carmina Flacci,
 Pindaricos nosset cum superare modos,
 et Vario cessit Romani laude cothurni,
 cum posset tragico fortius ore loqui.
 Aurum et opes et rura frequens donabit amicus:
 qui velit ingenio cedere rarus erit.

(8.18.5-10)

Ingenium here is clearly "poetic ability," and even "genius"

because of its indirect association with Vergil.

Martial also uses *ingenium* specifically of his own poetic ability, as in the preface to Book 8 where he uses *ingenium* in conjunction with *materia*:

minus itaque ingenio laborandum fuit, in cuius locum
materia successerat: . . .

(8 praef. 4-6)

Because his *materia* for this book is so great, in this case the emperor Domitian, Martial will have to exercise his *ingenium*, his "inspiration" or "genius" all the less. Then, in epigram 9.50 Martial, speaking in defense of his own *ingenium*, gives it more definition:

Ingenium mihi, Gaure, probas sic esse pusillum,
carmina quod faciam quae brevitare placent.
confiteor. Sed tu bis senis grandia libris
qui scribis Priami proelia, magnus homo es?
nos facimus Bruti puerum, nos Langona vivum:
tu magnus luteum, Gaure, Giganta facis.

(9.50)

Here Martial opposes his own *ingenium* to that of an epic poet called Gaurus (unknown) who has written a voluminous work on the Trojan War. Martial contends that his own *ingenium*, which produces short but highly finished and realistic works (*brevitate*, *Bruti puerum*, *Langona vivum*), is better than Gaurus', which produces massive and undistinguished works (*luteum Giganta*).¹⁸

¹⁸On *Bruti puerum* cf. Pliny HN 34.82 where it is said that a statue of the sculptor Strongylion so impressed Brutus, Caesar's friend and murderer, that it was called *Bruti puer*; also cf. Mart. 2.77.3. *Langona*, however, is unknown, but the parallel usage with *Bruti puer* suggests a similar type of piece.

Martial likewise uses *ingenium* as poetic ability in 8.55[56] specifically of Vergil and indirectly of himself in his plea for support from his patron Flaccus:

Temporibus nostris aetas cum cedat avorum
 creverit et maior cum duce Roma suo,
 ingenium sacri miraris desse Maronis
 nec quemquam tanta bella sonare tuba.
 sint Maecenates, non derunt, Flacce, Marones
 Vergiliumque tibi vel tua rura dabunt.
 (8.55[56].1-6)

Ingenium, "poetic genius," such as Vergil's at writing epic is not to be found in Martial's time. Given proper support (from Flaccus), however, Martial's own *ingenium* could match Vergil's.

To this plea for support Martial makes in 8.55[56] compare epigram 12.4, where Martial acknowledges a patron:

Quod Flacco Varioque fuit summoque Maroni
 Maecenas, atavis regibus ortus eques,
 gentibus et populis hoc te mihi, Prisce Terenti,
 fama fuisse loquax chartaque dicet anus.
 tu facis ingenium, tu, si quid posse videmur;
 tu das ingenuae ius mihi pigritiae.
 (12.4)

As Maecenas fostered the poetic ability of Horace, Varius and Vergil, so does Priscus foster Martial's *ingenium*, or, as Martial modestly adds, such poetic ability that he does demonstrate (*si quid posse videmur*, line 5). Here, again, Martial gives *ingenium* its usual literary sense and also connects himself with the tradition associated with it.

Martial, like Statius, also uses *ingenium* in the sense of "inspiration," a transference of its sense of "poetic ability" or "gift of the poet" to the thing which stimulates

libellis meis placeat, dictavit auditor: illam iudiciorum subtilitatem, illud materiaram ingenium, bibliothecas, theatra, convictus, in quibus studere se voluptates non sentiunt, ad summam omnium illa quae delicati reliquimus desideramus quasi destituti.

(12 praef. 1-2, 6-14)

Martial feels out of place removed from Rome (where he lived for thirty-four years). He misses the *ingenium*, "inspiration" for his *materia* which came from the libraries, theaters and gatherings of the city. Likewise the setting of Rome provided him with his subtlety of judgment (*iudiciorum subtilitatem*), juxtaposed here with *ingenium* and lending it the connotation of "acumen." This key passage, stating, as it does, Martial's true source of inspiration, reveals the actual nature of his *ingenium*: he is inspired by the life of the city and his interaction with the people of Rome. His reader, or *auditor*, "hearer," in this case, as he states, dictates what he produces and indicates thus the basis of his stance as a poet of the people.²⁰

Martial in epigram 6.61(60), a reaction to a poet who has only technique, further defines *ingenium*:

Rem factam Pompullus habet, Faustine: legetur
 et nomen toto sparget in orbe suum.
 'Sic leve flavorum valeat genus Usiporum
 quisquis et Ausonium non amat imperium.'
 Ingeniosa tamen Pompulli scripta ferentur:
 'Sed famae non est hoc, mihi crede, satis:
 quam multi tineas pascunt blattasque diserti
 et redimunt soli carmina docta coci!
 nescioquid plus est, quod donat saecula chartis:
 victurus genium debet habere liber.'

²⁰For more on Martial's symbiotic relation with his reader where he creates an informal dialogue with the public about itself see Chap. IV.2 and Chap. V.2 below.

(6.61[60])

Though Pompullus (otherwise unknown) is read throughout the world Martial thinks his renown is short-lived. Faustinus' rejoinder is that Pompullus' *scripta* are said to be *ingeniosa*, "showing (poetic) ability or talent," and, as *ingeniosa*'s associations with *diserti* and *docta* in lines 7 and 8 indicate, ability and talent to write fluently and learnedly.²¹ Yet Pompullus' book still lacks *genium*, "spirit" or "life" or even "soul" in the broadest sense, and more specifically in this literary-critical context, "poetic inspiration" or "genius," and hence will not achieve immortality.²² The usage of *genius* in this sense is rare, but is substantiated by Statius' usage of *genius* in the *Silvae* (4.6.19), where he says a night spent with his friend Vindex will have eternal *genius*, "inspiration," for him (as it inspired him to write on the incidents of the night).²³ For Martial, then, true *ingeniosa*

²¹*Ingeniosus*, the adjectival form of *ingenium*, as noted above (TLL 7₂.1520.55, quoted above, this section) has a sense very similar to *ingenium*. On *doctus* and *diserti* and their connotation here see on this epigram below in Chap. III.2.

²²It should be noted that another possible meaning given by the TLL for *genium* in this epigram is *acumen ingenii*, *festivitas*, *ioci*, *lepores* (TLL 8.2.1840.20-21 which cites Budaeus on *genium*: "gratia et lepos natus;" and two very much later uses of *genius* from Sidonius [*Carm.* 2.191; 10.20]). This meaning of "pleasantry" or "jest" could work as an underlying sense as it conforms (somewhat) to the idea of bringing "life" to a work. However, *nescioquid plus est* in line 9 argues more for *genius* = genius than jokes, as *genius* is certainly more intangible than are jokes.

²³"Nox et Erythraeis Thetidis signanda lapillis / et memoranda diu geniumque habitura perennem!" (Stat. *Silv.* 4.6.18-19). Also cf. Juvenal who says no astrologer will (be

scripta is not just poetry of technique or *ars*, but poetry with *genius*, "genius" or "inspiration" also. Here Martial again shows his anti-Callimachean sentiment by denouncing poetry with technique but devoid of real substance.²⁴

Finally, Martial uses *ingenium* in its devalued sense of "cleverness" or "wit."²⁵ This usage comes in the preface to Book 1 (on which see below, next section), where Martial begins by stating that he, unlike earlier poets, will not abuse real people in his epigrams. He then continues by saying: "Mihi fama vilius constet et probetur in me novissimum ingenium" (lines 5-6). He desires that *ingenium*, "cleverness" or "wit," as it is usually translated here, used for the purpose of overly-abusive invective be the last thing to be approved in him. A few lines later he says of those who would misconstrue or rewrite his epigrams with malicious intent: "inprobe facit qui in alieno libro ingeniosus est" (lines 8-9). He who is *ingeniosus*, "who exercises his (poetic) talent" in another's book acts improperly. Again, as with *ingenium* in the previous usage, *ingeniosus* has a devalued sense through the context.

thought to have) *genius*, "(true) ability," unless he has been imprisoned and has suffered ("Nemo mathematicus genium indemnatus habebit, / sed qui paene perit, . . ." [Juv. 6.562-63]), and A. Ernout and A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la Langue latine* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1959), s.v. *genius*: "*genium* tardif. d'après *ingenium*."

²⁴See Chap. I.2 above.

²⁵See TLL 7₁.1534.1f.

In summary, Martial almost always uses *ingenium* in its commonplace literary-critical sense of "natural poetic ability" and sometimes even as "poetic genius." Several of his usages of *ingenium* make clear that it is comprised of more than just technique or *ars*; it must also contain the elements of genius or true inspiration. Also Martial, like Statius, uses *ingenium* for that which inspires a poet to write. With this type of usage he reveals the nature of his own *ingenium*: it stems from the interaction between him and his reading (or hearing) public. His poetry is inspired by the public, the basis for his stance as poet of the people. Finally, Martial uses *ingenium* in the devalued sense of "cleverness" or "wit" that is used to create overly-abusive invective.

Section II.3: *Sal* and Disclaimers of Malice

Ingenium, as has been noted, has the particular sense in Horace and Martial of "acumen" or "wit" used in satire and invective. However, the term Martial most often uses to connote wit, a pervasive and vital element of his epigram, as will be seen, is *sal*, and this term is examined next. Also disclaimers of malicious intent in the use of wit, a commonplace in satire and epigram, are examined in conjunction with *sal* in this section because such disclaimers often reveal a poet's rationale for his writing.²⁶

²⁶Cf. Bramble, 190: "Iambists, epigrammatists, and satirists tend to disown malice, the product of illiberal humour, claiming to be free of gratuitous invective, and perhaps arrogating some reformatory mission."

The term *sal* has the original sense of "salt," and also a figurative sense of "that which gives life or character to something" (e.g., Ter. *Eun.* 3.1.10; Catull. 86.4; Lucr. 4.1162; Pliny *HN* 31.88).²⁷ Used in connection with speech or writing *sal* is rendered as "wit" (or its product), sometimes simply for the purpose of humor and sometimes for invective, a distinction Cicero makes.²⁸

Sal is first found in a literary-critical context among the Roman poets in Catullus. In 16, Catullus' famous disclaimer that the poet's verses do not necessarily reflect his life, Catullus says in definition of his *versiculi*:

Pedicabo ego vos et irrumabo,
 Aureli pathice et cinaede Furi,
 qui me ex versiculis meis putastis,
 quod sunt molliculi, parum pudicum.
 nam castum esse decet pium poetam
 ipsum, versiculos nihil necesse est;
 qui tum denique habent salem ac leporem,
 si sunt molliculi ac parum pudici,
 et quod pruriat incitare possunt,

. . .

(Catull. 16.1-9)

Catullus, accused of shameful sexual conduct because of his verse, disassociates himself from the *impius* content of his

²⁷Cf. OLD, s.v. *sal*.

²⁸Cf. Cicero at *Orat.* 26.87 where he says that a speech should be sprinkled with *sales*, and then subdivides *sales* into two types: *facetiae*, "humor," used "in narrando aliquid venuste," and *dicacitas*, "wit," used "in iaciendo mittendoque ridiculo." Also cf. Quint. 6.3.18-19: "Salsum in consuetudine pro ridiculo tantum accipimus; natura non utique hoc est, quanquam et ridicula oporteat esse salsa. . . . Salsum igitur erit, quod non erit insulsum velut quoddam simplex orationis condimentum, quod sentitur latente iudicio velut palato, excitatque et a taedio defendit orationem."

versiculi, verse, which he goes on to say, contains *sal* and *lepos*. From the context here *sal* takes on the sense of "piquancy" through use of sexual material, further defined by its juxtaposition with *lepos*, "charm," or "humor." In his other non-literary-critical usages of *sal*, *salsus* and *insulsus* Catullus indicates by context that the "piquancy" of *sal* comes through the use of mental facility and hence *sal* is here best construed as "wit."²⁹

Catullus' claim here in poem 16, that his poetry does not reflect his character, becomes a commonplace plea, is also used by Martial, and is thus worthy of note.³⁰ A poet who used an autobiographic form in his verse claimed poetic licence in order to protect himself from charges of indecency: his persona and his actual person were not the same thing.³¹ Catullus nowhere in his poems, however, disclaims malevolence in his use of *sal*, "wit," although his poems certainly contain

²⁹Cf. at 13.5 where the dinner guest is asked to bring a girl, wine, *sal* and laughter; at 12.4 the napkin-stealer thinks his action is *salsum*; at 14.16 Calvus is addressed as *salse* because he jokingly sent bad verse to Catullus; at 10.33 Varus' mistress is called an *insulsa male* for exposing Catullus' lying boast.

For exactly how *sal* creates piquancy cf. Cicero *de Or.* 2.255 who says in definition of jest: "Quod si admixtum est etiam ambiguum, fit salsius." Also cf. *de Or.* 2 .260, and 2.278: "Salsa sunt etiam quae habent suspicionem ridiculi absconditam, . . ."

³⁰Cf., e.g., Ov. *Tr.* 1.9.59, 2.353-54, *Pont.* 2.7.47, 4.8.19; Pliny *Ep.* 4.14.5; Apul. *Apol.* 11; Mart. 1.4.8: "lasciva est nobis pagina, vita proba."

³¹Cf. Gordon Williams, "Poetry in the Moral Climate of Augustan Rome," *Journal of Roman Studies* 52 (1962), 40.

invective and attacks of a sexual nature.³²

Two literary-critical uses of *sal* can be found in the *Catalepton*. Both references have to do with Attic wit, which is usually construed as similar to Roman *sal*, only more refined and milder--that is, "dry wit" and with less or no sexual context.³³ In 9, addressed to Messalla, the poet says:

pauca tua in nostras venerunt carmina chartas,
carmina cum lingua, tum sale Cecropio,

. . .

(*Catal.* 9.13-14)

The author of the poem has turned some Greek verses of Messalla's into Latin, verses containing Attic wit. Later in the same poem the author says of his own poetic aspirations:

. . . si adire Cyrenas,

³²Catullus' attacks on Caesar are famous (cf. Suet. *Iul.* 73 where Caesar is given to have said that Catullus' verses about Mamurra [Catull. 29 and 57] inflicted "perpetua stigmata" on his name). Catullus himself speaks of his *iambi* (not iambic meter but invective, usually in hendecasyllabics) in three poems referring to past or future personal attacks (36.4-5, 40.1-2, and 54.6-7), and at least half of his fifty short elegiac poems are invective in tone (cf. Quinn, 38, who says in specific reference to over half of the Catullan elegiacs: "The short elegiac poem was a recognized genre used to abuse a person addressed or as the vehicle for satirical comment on a person spoken of. It was compounded of wit, ingenuity and savage elegance of expression, rather than quality of imagery, complexity of diction, emotional depth or other more specially poetic qualities").

³³See Cic., *Orat.* 26.90, who says in speaking of wit in oratory: "Hanc ego iudico formam summissi oratoris sed magni tamen et germani Attici; quoniam quicquid est salsum aut salubre in oratione id proprium Atticorum est." Also see Cic. *Fam.* 9.15.2 where Cicero in praising the attributes of his friend Paetus says: "Accedunt non Attici, sed salsiores, quam illi Atticorum, Romani veteres atque urbani sales." Cf. Cic. *De Or.* 2.217.

si patrio Graios carmine adire sales
 possumus, optatis plus iam procedimus ipsis.
 (Catal. 9.61-63)

The author will go beyond his hopes if he can approach Cyrene-
 -that is, Callimachus, and Greek witticisms with his own
carmina. In both passages Attic wit of Callimachean poetry
 shows its influence over the use of *sal* in Roman poetry.

Horace uses *sal* several times in a literary-critical
 context. In a most general sense in a section in the *Ars* on
 iambic meter Horace says in regard to Plautus' meter and wit:

at vestri proavi Plautinos et numeros et
 laudavere sales: nimium patienter utrumque,
 ne dicam stulte, mirati, si modo ego et vos
 scimus inurbanum lepido seponere dicto
 legitimumque sonum digitis callemus et aure.
 (Hor. *Ars P.* 270-74)

Plautus' *sales*, "witticisms," are too much admired by those
 who are unable to distinguish the *inurbanum dictum* from the
lepidum dictum, the "coarse joke" from the "elegant joke."³⁴
 Here Menander's *sal* seems to be used strictly for humor though
 it may involve sexual innuendo also.

Horace quite often uses *sal* to connote wit where the
 context indicates it is used specifically for the purpose of
 invective. For instance, in *Satire* 1.10 Horace recalls how in
Satire 1.4 he not only criticized Lucilius for his meter, but

³⁴For *dictum* as "joke" compare *Ars P.* 247: *ignominiosa dicta* as jokes from a satyr play. Note Cicero *Off.* 1.104 for a differing view of Plautus' *sales*:

duplex omnino est iocandi genus, unum illiberale petu-
 lans, flagitiosum obscenum, alterum elegans urbanum,
 ingeniosum facetum. quo genere non modo Plautus noster
 Atticorum antiqua comoedia, sed etiam philosophorum
 Socraticorum libri referti sunt, . . .

praised him because he "sale multo / urbem defricuit" (*Sat.* 1.10.3). Here *sal* is wit used for the purpose of invective. It may be noted also that Horace at *Satire* 1.4.7-8 terms Lucilius as *facetus*, "witty," and *emunctae naris*, "keen-scented" in discovering the weaknesses of others.³⁵

Horace once more uses *sal* as wit, again with the context indicating it is for the purpose of invective. In speaking of choosing a genre Horace says of his own readers' tastes:

denique non omnes eadem mirantur amantque.
carmine tu gaudes, hic delectatur iambis,
ille Bioneis sermonibus et sale nigro.
(Hor. *Ep.* 2.2.58-60)

One reader likes lyric poetry (Horace's *Odes*), another is pleased by iambics (the *Epodes*), a third by *sermones* (the *Satires*) in the style of Bion, the third century B.C. philosopher noted for his caustic satire, and by *niger sal*, "coarse wit," referring to the less refined invective of Horace's own earlier satires.³⁶

Horace's defense for his own use of wit is very informative. In *Satire* 2.1.39-40 he says that he (unlike Lucilius, as is the implication) will never "petet ultro

³⁵Cf. Niall Rudd, *The Satires of Horace* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), 97-98, who substantiates Horace's criticism of Lucilius as being too coarse and abusive in light of the fragments of Lucilius.

³⁶For *niger sal* as coarse salt cf. *Sat.* 2.4.74. For the overall interpretation of this passage cf. C.O. Brink, *Horace on Poetry, Epistles Book II: The Letters to Augustus and Florus* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1982), *ad loc.*

quemquam animantem," though he goes on to say he will attack if provoked. And in *Epistle* 1.19 he says:

Parios ego primus iambos
ostendi Latio, numeros animosque secutus
Archilochi, non res et agentia verba Lycamben.
(Hor. *Ep.* 1.19.23-25)

He imitates Archilochus in meter (the iambics of the *Epodes*) and spirit, but not in his subject-matter (*res*) and attacking words (against Lycambes). He further defines the abusive invective of Archilochus a few lines later in a comparison of Alcaeus (and himself indirectly) with Archilochus:

temperat Alcaeus, sed rebus et ordine dispar,
nec socerum quaerit, quem versibus oblinat atris,
nec sponsae laqueum famoso carmine nectit.
(Hor. *Ep.* 1.19.29-31)

Alcaeus (and Horace) does not, like Archilochus, "smear with black verses," and weave a snare with a *famosum carmen*. Then, in *Satire* 1.4 Horace protests strongly against the charge, "'Laedere gaudes / . . . et hoc studio pravus facis'" (78-79), by saying that no one living can accuse him--that is, he attacks no one who is alive. He then strongly berates the type of person "solutos / qui captat risus hominum famamque dicacis" (*Sat.* 1.4.82-83). He goes on to condemn others who, though perceived by some to be *comes*, *urbani* and *liberi* (line 90), actually abuse their friends and acquaintances. He ends by saying:

quod vitium procul afore chartis
atque animo prius, ut si quid promittere de me
possum aliud vere, promitto.
(Hor. *Sat.* 1.4.101-103)

After this disclaimer of malice Horace immediately continues with this justification for his own satire:

Liberius si
dixero quid, si forte iocosius, hoc mihi iuris
cum venia dabis. insuevit pater optimus hoc me,
ut fugerem exemplis vitiorum quaeque notando.
(Hor. Sat. 1.4.103-106)

Horace asks indulgence for his forthright manner of speaking and his jokes. Thus did his father point out the faults of others as a lesson to him. Horace, then, defends his satire by calling it moralistic and instructional.³⁷

Propertius uses *sal* just once, in the sense of wit for the purpose of humor. In 3.21, where Propertius meditates a trip to Athens in order to forget his Cynthia, he says that when there he shall study at Plato's Academy or in the gardens of Epirus. He continues:

persequar aut studium linguae, Demosthenis arma,
librorumque tuos, docte Menandre, sales.
(Prop. 3.21.27-28)

He shall also study the *sales*, "witticisms," of the books of Menander.

Ovid uses *sal* only once in a literary-critical context.

In his *Tristia* he says of his past works:

non ego mordaci destrinxi carmine quemquam,
nec meus ullius crimina versus habet.
candidus a salibus suffusis felle refugi:
nulla venenato littera mixta ioco est.
(Ov. Tr. 2.563-66)

³⁷Cf. Williams, "Poetry in the Moral Climate," 45-46, for a summation of Horace's unique position "among Augustan poets in giving explicit support to Augustus's programme of moral reform."

Ovid disclaims use of witticisms suffused with gall, and has not mixed his verse with poisoned jests. *Sales suffusi felle* would be the most abusive witticisms used for invective, and *venenatus iocus* an abusive joke or broad humor likewise used in invective.³⁸

Phaedrus uses the term *sal* only once, not in a literary-critical context, in defining a *scurra* who was "notus urbano sale" (5.5.8), noted for his "urbane wit." Important in Phaedrus is his disclaimer of malice: it is remarkably similar to what Martial, more than fifty years later, gives as his own, and shows well the continuity of the tradition of disclaimers.³⁹ Phaedrus' defense for his use of wit and the satiric nature of many of his fables runs as follows. First, Phaedrus explains that the genre of fable (*fabula*) was invented so that slaves could speak their personal sentiments by telling stories and making up jokes (*ficti ioci*) without fear of repercussions.⁴⁰ After noting that his own jokes incurred the wrath of Sejanus, Phaedrus continues thus:

suspicione si quis errabit sua,
 et, rapiens ad se quod erit commune omnium,
 stulte nudabit animi conscientiam,
 huic excusatum me velim nihilo minus.
 neque enim notare singulos mens est mihi,
 verum ipsam vitam et mores hominum ostendere.

³⁸Cf. S.G. Owen, *P. Ovidi Nasonis Tristium, Liber Secundus* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1967), *ad loc.* for the distinction between *sal*, "wit," and *iocus*, "broad humor."

³⁹See at 1 *praef.* 1-6 and 10.33.5-10, this section below, and on the next passage below.

⁴⁰For this passage see on Phaedrus in Chap. I.1 above.

(3 *prol.* 45-50)

Phaedrus claims, just as Martial will claim, that those who have a good conscience need not fear his poems. Moreover Phaedrus says, again just as Martial will, that he speaks not of individuals, but of life and human nature in general.⁴¹ In other words, he puts his satire on a social and moral plane: he shows life and mankind as it really is for his reader's benefit.

Persius, though he does not use the term *sal* in a literary-critical context, also, like Horace and Phaedrus, disclaims malevolence in his use of wit and humor in his poetry. For instance, he has his interlocutor ask in *Satire* 1:

'Sed quid opus teneras mordaci radere vero
auriculas? vide sis ne maiorum tibi forte
limina frigescant: . . .'

(Pers. 1.107-109)

Writing satire could lose Persius friends. Persius in reply cites the practice of Lucilius and Horace:

secuit Lucilius urbem,
te Lupe, te Muci, et genuinum fregit in illis;
omne vafer vitium ridenti Flaccus amico
tangit et admissus circum praecordia ludit,
callidus excusso populum suspendere naso.

(Pers. 1.114-18)

Lucilius flayed the city, even made personal attacks, and

⁴¹For this sentiment cf. at Mart. 8.3.19-20: "at tu Romano lepidos sale tinge libellos: / adgnoscat mores vita legatque suos." Also cf. 10.4.10-12: "hominem pagina nostra sapit. / Sed non vis, Mamurra, tuos cognoscere mores / nec te scire."

Horace in a more congenial way pointed up the faults of his friends.⁴² Persius goes on to say that he too will speak the truth freely in his satire (lines 119-123), but for a discerning audience. Specifically, he says his audience must be able to appreciate the writers of Greek Old Comedy in order to be worthy of his more refined (*decoctius*) writing (lines 123-25). His satire is not intended for the crude person (*sordidus*), one who laughs at foreign dress or physical deformity, nor for one who feels overly self-important or shows disrespect for learning (lines 127-34). Persius' implied defense in these several lines is that he is part of a tradition, visible also in Horace, wherein proper use of humor and wit for satire is a constructive assault on vice.⁴³

Similarly in *Satire 5*, Persius connects himself with the same tradition of the proper use of humor and wit for constructive purposes. There the interlocutor says in description of Persius' satire:

pallentis radere mores
doctus et ingenuo culpam defigere ludo.
(Pers. 5.15-16)

With the phrase *ingenuo . . . ludo*, "with a liberal [i.e.,

⁴²Note that Lucilius, though having acquired a reputation for abusive invective, "regarded it as his duty, and the essential function of his work, to expose quite freely whatever he deemed harmful to Roman society" (C.A. Van Rooy, *Studies in Classical Satire and Related Literary Theory* [Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1966], 54).

⁴³See Bramble, 132-42, for the interpretation of this passage and the nature of Persius' defense, and at 190-191 for a short exposition of the history of the tradition of refined or "liberal," as he terms it, as opposed to illiberal humor.

"honorable"] wit," Persius connects himself with a long-standing tradition (back to Plato and Aristotle) that disowns bitterness and malevolence in its use of humor in satire.⁴⁴

Statius uses *sal* once in a literary-critical context.

At 1.6.6 in his account of the entertainment given by the Emperor to the people during the Saturnalia he says:

Saturnus mihi compede exsoluta
 et multo gravidus mero December
 et ridens Iocus et Sales protervi
 adsint, dum refero diem beatum
 laeti Caesaris ebriamque aparchen.
 (Stat. *Silv.* 1.6.4-8)

The recounting of the Saturnalian festivities calls for the presence of laughing mirth, *ridens Iocus*, and bold or wanton witticisms, *Sales protervi*. Note the association of wantonness with *sal*, so common in Martial, as will be seen.

Quintilian's use of *sal* in a literary-critical context should be mentioned. In Book 10 he says of Lucilius: "Nam eruditio in eo mira et libertas atque inde acerbitas et abunde salis" (10.1.94). Lucilius' *sal*, "wit" used for satire along with his *acerbitas* are components of his *libertas*, "freedom (of speech)."

Pliny uses *sal* twice, once in his eulogy for Martial (given above, previous section), where Martial's writing was

⁴⁴See G.C. Fiske, *Lucilius and Horace, A Study in the Classical Theory of Imitation* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1920; reprint, Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1966), 118: "In this passage we have clear evidence of Aristotle's distinction between *βωμολοχία* or scurrility, and *εὐτραπελία* or refined humour." Also cf. Bramble, 192-93 for Persius' connection with the tradition of liberal humor.

said to have had most of all *sal* and *fel*, "wit" and "bite." *Fel* obviously refers to the element of invective. *Sal* is here either wit variously used for invective, for the purpose of humor, or wit that is sexually risqué. Pliny's other use of *sal* comes within one of his own poems, which he quotes in *Epistle 7.4*:

Cum libros Galli legerem, quibus ille parenti
ausus de Cicerone dare est palamque decusque,
lascivum inveni lusum Ciceronis et illo
spectandum ingenio, quo seria condidit et quo
humanis salibus multo varioque lepore
magnorum ostendit mentes gaudere virorum.

(Pliny *Ep.* 7.4.6)

Pliny, speaking of an epigram of Cicero's that he has read, discovered that Cicero could lay aside his serious endeavors and delight the minds of great men with his *humani sales*, "refined witticisms," and *multus varius lepos*, his "much varied charm." *Sal* here appears to be "wit" for the purpose of coarse humor, as it needs the refinement of *humanus* and is given in contrast to *lepos*.

To summarize, *sal* is used by the Roman poets to connote "wit" or its product. This wit can be used for humor, often-times in an unrefined and sexual context, and even more often is associated with satire and invective. Horace, Phaedrus, Ovid and Persius disclaim malevolence in their use of this wit in their poetry, and all but Ovid further claim, or imply in Persius' case, that their use of wit for satire serves a social and moralistic purpose.

Martial, like the other Roman poets, uses *sal* to connote humorous or piquant wit in general, oftentimes in a sexual context, and very often for the purpose of satire or personal criticism. In the most general sense of wit Martial uses *sal* in comparison or connection with Attic *lepos*. First, in epigram 4.23 he says of the Greek epigrammatist Brutianus:

qui si Cecropio satur lepore
 Romanae sale luserit Minervae,
 illi me facias, precor, secundum.
 (4.23.6-8)

Here Martial parallels *Romanae sale Minervae* with *Cecropio lepore*, Attic wit, a milder form of Roman *sal* (as noted above at *Catal.* 9.13), with both standing by metonymy for Roman epigram and Greek epigram respectively. Note also the use of *ludo* for writing witty epigram. The other epigram linking *sal* with Attic *lepos* is 3.20, a playful poem addressed to Martial's friend and fellow-poet, Canius Rufus. The epigram begins by asking the Muse what Canius is doing: Is he writing history, naughty jests, wanton elegy, severe heroics or tragedy? It continues thus:

an otiosus in scola poetarum
 lepore tinctos Attico sales narrat?
 (3.20.8-9)

He may be in the company of poets telling *sales*, "witticisms," tinged with Attic charm, or *sales* simply as "jokes," with *lepos* as "wit."

In the next several usages *sal* is still wit used in epigram, but further qualified by the context as wit involving sexual matter. For example, at 5.2, a prefatory epigram for

the book, Martial says:

Matronae puerique virginesque,
vobis pagina nostra dedicatur.
tu, quem nequitiae procaciores
delectant nimium salesque nudi,
lascivos lege quattuor libellos.
(5.2.1-5)

The *sales* are *nudi*, "unveiled" or "unsoftened," in the sense of "graphic" made coordinate with *nequitiae procaciores*, "more shameless wantonness," and further defined by *lascivos libellos*, "wanton books."⁴⁵ Also at 12.95, a playful epigram addressed to Martial's friend, Istantius Rufus, the context indicates that *sal* involves sexual matter:

Musaei pathicissimos libellos,
qui certant Sybariticis libellis,
et tinctas sale pruriente chartas
Instanti lege Rufe; . . .
(12.95.1-4)

Pruriente gives immediate definition to *sale*, and the context is otherwise blatantly sexual.⁴⁶

In the next five usages of *sal* in Martial the context indicates that *sal* is wit used for satire or invective. First, at 10.9 Martial says in speaking of his own renown:

Udenis pedibusque syllabisque
et multo sale, nec tamen protervo
notus gentibus ille Martialis
. . . .

⁴⁵For *nudus* with the sense of "unsoftened" in respect to language cf. *OLD*, s.v. *nudus*, 14.b. On *nequitia* (*nequam*) with an erotic sense cf. at epigrams 2.4.4, 3.69.5, 10.35.11 and 11.15.4. On *lascivos libellos* see Chap. IV.2 below.

⁴⁶Cf. Ker, *ad loc.* on *Sybariticis libellis*: these are works "by Hemitheon, 'a Sybarite of the vilest character,' and author of an obscene work, a text-book of vice, probably called *Sybaritis*."

(10.9.1-3)

Martial's elegiacs and hendecasyllabics have much wit, but not *protervus sal*, impudent or shameless wit. *Protervus sal* would presumably be overly-abusive satire, perhaps of a sexual nature, that might ruin reputations.⁴⁷

Another slightly more definitive usage of *sal* for wit used in satire comes in epigram 7.25. Martial there says to a rival epigrammatist:

Dulcia cum tantum scribas epigrammata semper
 et cerussata candidiora cute,
 nullaque mica salis nec amari fellis in illis
 gutta sit, o demens, vis tamen illa legi!
 (7.25.1-4)

Martial's rival, whose works are *dulcia* and more pale than whitened skin, lacks *sal*, "wit," and *amarus fel*, "bitter gall." According to the context *sal* is satiric wit, since it is coordinated with *fel*, that adds interest to otherwise insipid epigrams.

An even more definite example of *sal* as wit used for satire comes in epigram 3.99. Here Martial says in defense of a specific satiric epigram of his, probably 3.16, on a cobbler:

Irasci nostro non debes, cerdo, libello.
 ars tua non vita est carmine laesa meo.
 innocuos permitte sales. Cur ludere nobis
 non liceat, licuit si iugulare tibi?
 (3.99)

⁴⁷*Protervus* at 11.54.5 is used of a thief's hands; it is used by Statius of *Sales* (*sales* personified) appropriate for the Saturnalia (*Silv.* 1.6.6, on which see above, previous section), and by Horace of satyrs (*Ars P.* 233).

sales here are the witty jokes Martial employed against the cobbler. If 3.16, an epigram where Martial ridicules a cobbler for putting on a gladitorial show, is the satiric poem against which the cobbler protests, the *sales* there take the form of puns and allusions used in ridiculing the cobbler for his presumptuous enterprise. Note also Martial's use of *ludere* for writing invective which employed *sal*.

A final example of *sal* as wit used for satire or invective comes in epigram 1.41, where Martial attacks Caecilius for his pretensions at wit. He begins the poem saying: "Urbanus tibi, Caecili, videris. / non es, crede mihi" (1.41.1-2). He continues by equating Caecilius with various street-trader types. He then says:

Quare desine iam tibi videri,
 quod soli tibi, Caecili, videris,
 qui Gabbam salibus tuis et ipsum
 posses vincere Tettium Caballum.
 non cuicumque datum est habere nasum:
 ludit qui stolidi procacitate,
 non est Tettius ille, sed caballus.
 (1.41.14-20)

Caecilius sees himself as surpassing Gabba, Augustus' well-known court jester, with his witticisms.⁴⁸ Yet Caecilius lacks the critic's nose, and writes, *ludit*, with a stupid (i.e., pointless) impudence.⁴⁹ Martial implies here with the

⁴⁸On Gabba see Mart. 10.101; Juv. 5.3-4. For examples of his wit see Plut. *Mor.* 759f-760a; Quint. 6.3.62, 64, 66, 80, 90; Quintilian describes his humor as *lascivum et hilare* (6.3.27).

⁴⁹For the nose as the organ of criticism cf. 1.3.6, 12.37, 12.88, 13.2.2; also cf. Hor. *Sat.* 1.4.8, 1.3.29-30; *Ep.* 1.19.45; and Pers. 1.40-42.

context that *sal* was regularly used for criticizing others--that is, for satire or invective. He also indicates, as did Persius, that the successful poet must be discerning and tasteful in his use of his wit.

The next usage of *sal* is not strictly speaking in a literary-critical context, yet is relevant in defining *sal* in epigram. Martial uses *sal* in reference to social conversation, which is very close to the *sal* of epigram.⁵⁰ The usage of *sal* comes in epigram 6.44, written against a Callidorus who has pretensions at wit. Martial says to him:

Festive credis te, Callidore, iocari
et solum multo permaduisse sale.
omnibus adrides, dicteria dicis in omnis;
sic te convivam posse placere putas.
(6.44.1-4)

Callidorus believes he is a pleasing guest because he drips with *multo sale*. Line 3 tells how he uses his wit: he derides and makes jokes against all. In other words, Martial, again reminiscent of Persius' viewpoint, believes Callidorus misuses his talent by indiscriminate jesting.

As the last five examples of *sal* used for invective show, wit, joking and humor in Martial are generally for the purpose of satire or invective.⁵¹ Martial furthermore

⁵⁰Cf. Chap. I.1 for the close relation of epigram to *vers de société*, verse that is highly polished social conversation among peers.

⁵¹Other terms that are ancillary to wit and humor in Martial substantiate this. For example, the foul and insulting *dicta* being passed off as Martial's at 10.3.1 are witticisms in epigram that bring *nigra fama* to their author. That is, the *dicta* are abusive. *Dicta* at 1.4.4 are *ioci* such

several times explicitly indicates that *sal* is a necessary element of epigram. For instance, he says at 7.85 to another epigrammatist:

Quod non insulse scribis tetrasticha quaedam,
 disticha quod belle pauca, Sabelle, facis,
 laudo nec admiror.

(7.85.1-3)

Sabellus writes quatrains and distichs not without *sal*, "wit." The implication is that epigrams are expected to contain wit. Similarly at 13.1, one of the *Xenia*, poems written to be attached to gifts given at the Saturnalia, Martial says in justification of his latest book: "postulat ecce novos ebria bruma sales" (13.1.4). *Ebria bruma* of course refers to the season of the Saturnalia, where drinking formed part of the festivities.⁵² *Sales* refers to the general and varied wit of the *Xenia*.⁵³

Then in epigram 8.3 Martial indicates, most emphatically, that *sal* is a vital ingredient of his own epigram. There Martial's Muse tells him to leave epic and tragic themes to men who are "graves nimium nimiumque severi," who labor into the night at their wretched toil and whose works bore school

as are heard in triumphs. *Ioci* also is used for satiric jokes at 1 *praef.* 6 where Martial says abusive *ioci* are not in his books, at 7.8.9 as playfully abusive jokes in a triumph, and at 7.12.2 where Martial says his page has not wounded even those it justly hates with its jokes.

⁵²See Kay at 11.6.1n.

⁵³Though the *Xenia* are poems written to accompany gifts given during the Saturnalia they themselves are not characteristically Saturnalian in tone.

children (lines 15-18).⁵⁴ She continues with this instruction to Martial:

'at tu Romanos lepidus sale tingue libellos:
 adgnoscat mores vita legatque suos.
 angusta cantare licet videaris avena,
 dum tua multorum vincat avena tubas.'
 (8.3.19-22)

Martial's epigrams are to be tinged with *lepidus sal*, "charming wit," probably as opposed to caustic and uncultivated wit (cf. on 1.41 and 6.44 above). More importantly, the lines also indicate that *sal* along with realism are vital to Martial's work and that through their use he will be able to overcome the writers of epic and tragedy, presumably because of popular appeal wit would garner.⁵⁵

In summary, Martial uses *sal*, as do the other Roman poets, to connote piquant wit used for humor, oftentimes involving sexual matter, and most often for the purpose of satire or invective. In this he shows himself very much part of the satiric literary tradition. Moreover, like Horace and Persius, he shows concern to exercise discernment in his use of wit. Martial, however, goes further than the satirists in declaring *sal* to be a vital ingredient of his own poetry. It is his distinctive type of *ingenium*, an acumen and perspicuity

⁵⁴On this epigram see also in Chap. I.2 above.

⁵⁵Earlier in the epigram Martial touted the popularity of his work ("teritur noster ibique liber," line 5); also note the contrast of the schoolmaster boring his students by dictating epic or tragedy.

into human nature that is key to his poetry.⁵⁶ Moreover, Martial's *sal*, the product of his critical discernment into human character, is the very element which occasions his entry into and connection with the literary social milieu of his day.⁵⁷ Simply put, his unique acumen, his insight into character and the urbane and sophisticated life of the city have gained him a popular appeal among the upper classes that formed the literary coterie of his day.

Disclaimers of Malice in Martial

Even more informative than the way Martial uses the term *sal* is his rationale for employing it in his poetry. This will be considered next. So many of Martial's epigrams

⁵⁶Indeed, wit is key to epigrammatic "point," the brief, clever concluding remark or word that informs and often completely upsets the apparent sense of what preceded in the poem, and sets epigram off from all other literary forms (see Edwin S. Ramage, "The *De Urbanitate* of Domitius Marsus," *Classical Philology* 54 [1959]: 253 for *sal* or wit as key to "point," and 254 where Ramage says: ". . . by Martial's time point had become the most important feature of epigram." See also Ramage, *Urbanitas: Ancient Sophistication and Refinement* [Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973], 100-105 for a discussion of the development of "point" in epigram.

⁵⁷Cf. Raymond J. Starr, "The Circulation of Literary Texts in the Roman World," *Classical Quarterly* 37 (1987), 223: "For newer writers such as Martial, . . . arriving in Rome from abroad, lacking the ties of politics and the other elements of aristocratic friendship, literature provided a point of access to the aristocracy, a way of making contact with the élite." Also see Keith Hopkins, "Conquest by Book," chap. in *Literacy in the Roman World*, by Mary Beard, Alan K. Bowman, Mireille Corbier, Tim Cornell, James L. Franklin, Jr., Ann Hanson, Keith Hopkins, Nicholas Horsfall (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan, 1991), 143-44.

are critical or satirical that he feels obligated, either for his own safety or for ethical reasons, to explain in a programmatic preface his own use of wit for satire:⁵⁸

Spero me secutum in libellis meis tale temperamentum ut de illis queri non possit quisquis de se bene senserit, cum salva infimarum quoque personarum reverentia ludant; quae adeo antiquis auctoribus defuit ut nominibus non tantum veris abusi sint sed et magnis. Mihi fama vilius constet et probetur in me novissimum ingenium. Absit a iocorum nostrorum simplicitate malignus interpres ne epigrammata mea scribat: inprobe facit qui in alieno libro ingeniosus est.

(1 *praef.* 1-9)

Martial makes it clear with the first sentence that he is going to be writing poems that could be construed as invective. With his poems, however, Martial says he hopes to achieve a balance, a *temperamentum* (line 1), in his treatment of even the lowest persons such that anyone with self-respect or a good conscience (*quisquis de se bene senserit*, line 2) has no cause for complaint.⁵⁹ Martial further says in definition of his satire that he, unlike ancient authors, will preserve a *reverentia* for people and abuse neither real people nor the great. He says he wishes his fame to be established more cheaply and his *ingenium*, "acumen" or "wit," to be the last thing to bring him approval. Martial ends the passage

⁵⁸Cf. Michael Coffey, *Roman Satire* (London: Methuen and Co Ltd, 1976), 136-37 for the dangers of attacks on contemporaries. But cf. Bramble, 194: "Following Callimachus, Roman satirists, iambists and epigrammatists profess innocence, inhibited more by the ethical and rhetorical dictation of charity and humanity in matters appertaining to the comic, than by legal considerations."

⁵⁹Cf. Phaedrus 3 *prol.* 47, on which see above.

with the wish that no malicious interpreter rewrite his epigrams thereby destroying the *simplicitas*, the "open nature" or "(moral) simplicity" of his *ioci*.⁶⁰ He who is *ingeniosus*, "who employs his talent (at another's expense)," in someone else's book, he says, acts improperly. Martial, continuing in the tradition of other Roman satirists, strives here to elevate his satire above abusive attacks. His defense is that he will exercise a moral restraint with his use of *ingenium*.

In several others epigrams directed specifically against forgers (i.e., poets who circulate their own work under Martial's name) or libelous editors Martial likewise reveals his stance on the use and abuse of wit. For example, the whole of epigram 10.5 is a general and vehement curse upon any forger of Martial's works. It begins:

Quisquis stolaeve purpuraeve contemptor
quos colere debet laesit impio versu,

. . .

(10.5.1-2)

The forger targets noble ladies or senators and wounds with *impious versus*. In epigram 10.3 Martial says after describing the practices of libelers and forgers:

Procul a libellis nigra sit meis fama,
quos rumor alba gemmeus vehit pinna.

(10.3.9-10)

May his pure verse be free of *nigra fama*. Similarly in

⁶⁰Howell, *ad loc.* comments at *scribat*: "the somewhat unsatisfactory balance and rhythm suggest that something may have dropped out before *scribat*. If the text is right, *scribat* here must have the sense of 'rewrite.' Even if M. did not have real people in mind, it was quite possible for others to substitute real names for his fictitious ones."

epigram 7.72 Martial, again in protest of forgers, condemns abusive wit. There Martial calls a friend to his aid:

si quisquam mea dixerit malignus
atro carmina quae madent veneno,
ut vocem mihi commodas patronam
et quantum poteris, sed usque, clames:
'Non scripsit meus ista Martialis.'
(7.72.12-16)

Note the image of *carmina* wet with *ater venenum*. Once again in protest of forgers Martial in 7.72 declares:

Sic me fronte legat dominus, Faustine, serena
excipiatque meos qua solet aure iocos,
ut mea nec iuste quos odit pagina laesit
et mihi de nullo fama rubore placet.
quid prodest, cupiant cum quidam nostra videri,
si qua Lycambeo sanguine tela madent,
vipereumque vomat nostro sub nomine virus,
qui Phoebi radios ferre diemque negat?
ludimus innocui: scis hoc bene: iuro potentis
per genium Famae Castaliumque gregem
perque tuas aures, magni mihi numinis instar,
lector inhumana liber ab invidia.
(7.12)

Martial has not wounded with his verse even those he justly hates, nor does he wish fame at the expense of another's reputation. He disowns personal attacks such as Archilochus made, protesting that "ludimus innocui" (line 9).

Martial, though he indicates in these several passages just cited that he intends no malice and will exercise a judicious restraint in his use of wit, has not specifically justified his own use of wit in his poems. Such a justification, as abbreviated as it is, comes in epigram 10.33, where Martial sums up his position on the use of wit. He begins with the conditional wish that a friend's daughter may enjoy a successful marriage, and then continues with the other half

of the condition:

ut tu, si viridi tinctos aerugine versus
 forte malus livor dixerit esse meos,
 ut facis, a nobis abigas, nec scribere quemquam
 talia contendas carmina qui legitur.
 Hunc servare modum nostri novere libelli,
 parcere personis, dicere de vitiis.
 (10.33.5-10)

Martial's verse is not tinged with *viridis aerugo*, "poisonous malice" (literally, "sea-green verdigris"). Rather he, similar to Phaedrus, follows this *modum*: criticize not individuals, but bad behavior, a moral defense.⁶¹

In effect, Martial, continuing in the direction Horace took and in accordance with Phaedrus and Persius, has taken the personally abusive invective of Lucilius and Catullus to a social and moralistic criticism of human vices. His avowed concern is not to attack any specific individuals, alive or dead, but to point up general character faults presumably in order to enlighten his reader. Thus he would have us believe that strung throughout the epigrams are fictitious names that stand for character types.⁶² Indeed,

⁶¹Cf. Phaedrus 3 *prol.* 49-50, on which see above, previous section.

⁶²Compare for example epigram at 2.23.1-3: *Non dicam, licet usque me rogetis / qui sit Postumus in meo libello, / non dicam; also compare at 9.95b.1-2 where Martial says: Nomen Athenagorae credis, Callistrate, verum. / si scio, dispeream, qui sit Athenagoras.* Editors of Martial by and large have taken him at his word on this matter (e.g., Kay at 11.7.1 who as a general rule of thumb takes the attacked personages of the satiric pieces as unreal, and those of poems which have no barb as real; Howell at 1 *praef.* 1-9 never questions at all that Martial uses anything other than fictitious names in his invective).

some names Martial uses are obviously fictitious, chosen as they are to fit the context of the epigram. For example, the name Lesbia is used for a *meretrix* who is castigated for her sexual activities numerous times (e.g., 1.34, 2.50, 6.23).⁶³ In other cases Martial uses names that are very common and hence have no particular connotation in themselves (e.g., Paulus and Paula). Of course, Martial may be in some cases just protecting himself with his disclaimer while actually using thinly disguised renditions of names of real persons.⁶⁴ Overall, however, Martial seems to have fulfilled the intent he expressed in his preface to his first book and at epigram 10.35.10: to make attacks not on specific persons but on vices or faults.

It might be added that Martial's avowed efforts in his preface to Book 1 at attaining a balance, a *temperamentum*, in the treatment of persons, are manifested further by the many epigrams wherein Martial extolls and brings renown to others.⁶⁵ An epigram which articulates this balance between

⁶³Cf. also Charinus, a Greek name (and stock figure of Doric comedy) suggesting a freedman, which is found eight times in various satiric contexts (e.g., in 4.39 as a *cunnilingus*, in 6.37 as a *cinaedus*, in 11.59 as an ostentatiously wealthy man), and Fidentanus, "Mr. Faithful," which is ironically used of plagiarizers (1.29, 38, 53, 72).

⁶⁴Cf. John W. Spaeth, Jr., "Martial Looks at his World," *Classical Journal* 24 (1929), 362: Martial tells us "it was his purpose to spare the individual while he discussed faults. As an earnest of this endeavor he makes use of assumed names to conceal--rather ineffectively, we imagine--real persons."

⁶⁵E.g., 1.13, 3.58, 4.13, 5.34, etc.

criticism and praise that Martial seeks is 5.15:

Quintus nostrorum liber est, Auguste, iocorum
 et queritur laesus carmine nemo meo,
 gaudet honorato sed multus nomine lector,
 cui victura meo munere fama datur.

(5.15.1-4)

Martial's poems not only cause no complaint, but many are even brought fame by his mention of them. In other words, Martial does not neglect to represent the better side of human character in his writing, as self-serving as the practice may be sometimes, in order to achieve that *temperamentum* he institutes as his goal in the preface to Book 1. Thus, incidentally, he further promotes his popular appeal.

In summary, Martial through his disclaimers of malice shows that he operates within a standing tradition among writers of satire. This satiric tradition first qualifies that it employs wit tastefully and judiciously, and then justifies its use of wit on social and moral grounds: the reader will benefit by example from the poet's satiric castigation of his subject. Martial claims as much. Martial further, however, declares that he will seek a *temperamentum* in his treatment of human subjects in his poetry in order to balance his use of wit for castigation.

To briefly summarize the conclusions for the entire chapter, Martial with his use of *materia* and especially *ingenium* shows his strong connection with the earlier Roman literary tradition where *ingenium* denotes the "nature poetic ability" or even "genius" of a poet brought to bear upon his

materia. He sees himself as part of the true Roman poetic tradition, best evidenced by the Augustans.⁶⁶ On the other hand, Martial, like Persius, reacts to to *ingenium* as being only comprised of accomplished metrical technique and method, notable Callimachian characteristics. Poetry produced by such, though technically correct, is devoid of real inspiration or genius. Martial is reactionary here because he strives to hold on to the traditional sense of *ingenium* in the face of numerous technique-poets of his day. Martial also reveals that his own *ingenium* has its basis in his interaction with the cultural public of Rome, a key piece of information to his stance as a poet of the people.

Ingenium also connotes for Martial "cleverness" or "wit" used for overly-abusive invective. Martial's declaration that this type of *ingenium*, most often termed *sal* and defined as a critical perspicuity into human character and the urbane life, is vital to epigram and his own poetry. Furthermore, Martial's *sal* appears to have occasioned his acceptance into the literary coterie. Through his disclaimers of malice for his use of that wit Martial further reveals his program: he will not offend with personal attacks; rather he will criticize faults for the public's benefit. Thus far he

⁶⁶Cf. Martial's similar type of usage of the term *vates* for Augustan poets (see John Kevin Newman, *The Concept of Vates in Augustan Poetry* [Bruxelles: Latomus, 1967], 100) and other acknowledged poets (or patrons who would have such acknowledgement), and of himself (e.g., 1.61.1, 5.12 and 6.68.6 of Vergil, 2.22.2 and 9 *praef.* 6 of himself, 6.21.1 of his patron Stella, etc.).

follows the tradition for disclaimers. He goes further by giving praise where due in order to achieve a *temperamentum*. Such a program, of course, even further garners popular appeal.

CHAPTER III

DOCTUS

This chapter considers the usage of the term *doctus* (and *doctrina* in a few instances) in a literary-critical context in the Roman poets in order to determine with more accuracy Martial's place in the Roman literary tradition. The first section of the chapter looks at the history of *doctus*' usage in Roman poets other than Martial, and the second section examines Martial's usage of it in comparison. The term *doctus* itself has the basic sense of "skilled," "knowing" or "learned" in any endeavor at all, but acquires the sense of "educated" and "cultured," "possessing good taste," and even more specifically, "able to appreciate or write poetry."¹

Section III.1: *Doctus* in the Roman Poets

Lucilius is the first Roman poet to use *doctus* in a literary-critical context. He says of his reader:

nec doctissimis <nec scribo indoctis nimis>. Man<il>ium
Persium<ve> haec legere nolo, Iunium Congum volo.
(Lucil. 595-96)

He writes not for "too learned" or "erudite" a reader, as represented by Manilius and Persius, but for one who is

¹OLD, s.v. *doctus*. Also cf. the TLL 5₁.1757.12ff., 1758.17ff.

"unlearned," as represented by Iunius Congus.² A passage from Cicero confirms Lucilius' preference in readers:

C. Lucilius, homo doctus et perurbanus, dicere solebat neque se ab indoctissimis neque a doctissimis legi velle, quod alteri nihil intellegerent, alteri plus fortasse quam ipse, de quo etiam scripsit "Persium non curo legere" hic fuit enim ut noramus omnium fere nostrorum hominum doctissimis, "Laelium Decumum volo," quem cognovimus virum bonum et non inlitteratum, sed nihil ad Persium, sic ego . . . "Persium non curo legere, Laelium Decumum volo."
(Cic. *De Or.* 2.25 [Lucil. 592])

First, Lucilius himself is termed *doctus*, "learned," and then *perurbanus*, "very urbane" or "refined," which lends some context to *doctus*. Cicero continues on to say that Lucilius wished his readers to be neither "too unlearned," for they would not understand him, or "too learned" because they may know more than he. Note the correlation here of (*non in*)*litteratus*, "(not un)lettered," with *doctus*.

Lucretius uses *doctus* once of Greek poets. After speaking of the way the earth embodies and manifests primal forms and is the great mother and creatress of all Lucretius says: "Hanc veteres Graium docti cecinere poetae" (2.600). The ancient and *docti* Greek poets have sung the earth's praise. Here *doctus*, like σοφός used of poets by the Greeks, can in general mean not only "skilled at poetry," but also can have the extended sense of "divinely informed" or "possessing

²Manilius was consul in 149 B.C. and Persius was an orator of high birth who lived in the Gracchan period; Marcus Iungius Congus, who represents the reader of average learning, was the author of a legal treatise (E.H. Warmington, ed., *Remains of Old Latin*, vol. 4, *Lucilius; The Twelve Tables* [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1938; reprint, 1957], 201, notes c, d and e).

special knowledge of subject-matter."³ Since Lucretius is speaking of matters that are beyond human knowledge--the formation of the earth and the creation of life on it--the sense of "divinely informed" as well as "poetically skilled" works very well here.

Catullus uses *doctus* several times. In his first and programmatic poem he uses *doctus* in description of the three volumes of history Cornelius Nepos wrote:

Cui dono lepidum novum libellum
 arido modo pumice expolitum?
 Corneli, tibi: namque tu solebas
 meas esse aliquid putare nugas
 iam tum, cum ausus es unus Italorum
 omne aevum tribus explicare cartis
 doctis, Iuppiter, et laboriosis.
 quare habe tibi quidquid hoc libelli
 quaecumque; quod, <o> patrona virgo,
 plus uno maneat perenne saeclo.

(Catull. 1)

Nepos' *chartae* are both *doctae et laboriosae*, "learned and laboriously detailed," attributes of a most serious work of

³Cf. Solon and Theognis, who use σοφός of the poets in the sense of "skilled in the art of poetry" (cf. David A. Campbell, *Greek Lyric Poetry* [London: Macmillan, 1967] on Solon 1.52 and on Theognis 19-20); and σοφός as conceived by Pindar and applied to poets as defined by C.M. Bowra, *Pindar* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), 5:

The poet is wise because he has special knowledge, and this is not merely how to compose poetry correctly but how to reveal through it matters of first importance upon which he is uniquely informed.

Also cf. Basil L. Gildersleeve, *Pindar. The Olympian and Pythian Odes* (New York: Harper, 1885), xxxvi, of poetic σοφία as defined in Pindar: it is "wisdom in the art of the theme, and in the art of the treatment."

literature in contrast to Catullus' *lepidum novum libellum*.⁴ *Doctus* here appears to be an acknowledgement of the scholarly content and form of Nepos' work as well as an epithet that marks it as within the professional literary tradition (in contrast to Catullus' *nugae*).⁵

Another usage of *doctus* occurs in Catullus' poem 35, where he addresses his poet-friend Caecilius. At a certain point in the poem Catullus says to Caecilius' mistress, who, enamored with Caecilius after reading his new poem, has refused to let him visit Catullus: "ignosco tibi, Sapphica puella / musa doctior" (16-17). Caecilius' *puella* has more poetical taste or skill than Sappho, or Sappho's poetry, or the Muse Sappho.⁶ The sense of *doctior* in context is that Caecilius' mistress "knows more about love poetry" than Sappho.⁷ In addition, *doctus* here has the underlying conno-

⁴Ferguson, *Catullus*, 5, however, rightly notes that *doctus* and *laboriosus* apply equally well to Catullus and his associates.

⁵See above, Chap. I.1 on this poem, for the contrast of *nugae* with Nepos' traditional work.

⁶Robinson Ellis, *A Commentary on Catullus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1889; reprint, New York: Garland Publishing, 1979), *ad loc.*, takes *Sapphica Musa* to refer to Sappho as the tenth Muse, and cites several instances from the Greek Anthology (e.g., 7.14.1); C.J. Fordyce, *Catullus, A Commentary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), *ad loc.*, takes *Sapphica Musa* to mean "Sappho's poetry" or "Sappho as poetess."

⁷Ellis, *ad loc.*, comments: ". . . 'a poetess beyond Sappho herself,' whether as merely trained to understand poetry, or to write poems of her own, like Sempronia ([Sall.] Catil. 25) and Cynthia (Prop. ii.3.11)." Also cf. Fordyce, *ad loc.*: "Caecilius' *puella* is *doctior*, has more poetry in her, than Sappho: from Catullus' time onwards *doctus* is almost a

tation of "cultured" or "possessing good taste," as usual when used of *puellae*, since the mistress had enough education or exposure in literary matters and cultural experience to enable her to appreciate Caecilius' poetry.⁸

Catullus uses *doctus* again in a poem addressed to Hortalus, to whom Catullus writes to apologize for sending only a translation instead of a poem. He begins the poem thus:

Etsi me assiduo confectum cura dolore
 sevocat a doctis, Hortale, virginibus,
 nec potis est dulcis Musarum expromere fetus
 mens animi, tantis fluctuat ipsa malis--

. . .

(Catull. 65.1-4)

Catullus' unremitting grief--for his brother, as he indicates a few lines later--calls him away from the *doctae virgines*, meaning, of course, the Muses. As will be seen, Roman poets regularly apply the epithet *doctus* to the Muses where it has the overt sense of "poetical." Moreover, similar to *doctus* used of poets, *doctus* used of the Muses can have the dual

technical term for poetic ability." For the more specific sense of *doctus* used of Muses see on Catull. 65 immediately below.

⁸Carlo Pascal, *Scritti varii di letteratura latina* (Torino: G.B. Paravia, 1920), 111-12, takes *doctus* by extension of sense to mean *mondano*, "worldly," and also *cultus*, "cultured," on the basis that *doctrina* in elegant Roman salons was not defined by erudition, but by knowledge and appreciation of love poetry, music and other arts, and pursuits of leisure. Also cf. A. Guillemin, "Le Public et la vie littéraire a Rome," *Revue des Études Latines* 12 (1934), 330: "Il est critique littéraire, doué d'un bon goût qu'a formé une étude élargie en tout sens." Other similar instances of *doctus* used of *puellae* follow in this section.

sense of being "technically skilled in poetry" as well as "possessing special knowledge."⁹ The *doctae Musae*, then, stand not only for technical poetic skill, but also are the source of divine insight and inspiration for the poets. The overt sense of this passage, then, appears to be that Catullus lacks inspiration to write poetry because of his grief at his brother's death. Note, however, also the secondary sense of Catullus being separated, because of his grief from *doctae puellae*, "cultured mistresses" (as in 35.16-17 above), another source of his inspiration (e.g., Lesbia).¹⁰

Vergil, like Catullus, also uses *doctus* with the sense of "cultured" just mentioned. In the *Culex* he says in praise of the rustic life:

O bona pastoris (si quis non pauperis usum
 mente prius docta fastidiat et probet illis
 somnia luxuriae spretis), incognita curis,
 quae lacerant avidas inimico pectore mentes.
 (Verg. *Culex* 58-61)

The *docta mens*, "educated" or better, "cultured mind," can not appreciate the blessings of the rustic life caught up, as it is, in love of gain. Vergil's use of the term *doctrina* in the opening of this same poem should be mentioned. He says by way of introducing his light-spirited epyllion:

⁹Cf. in Hesiod's invocation to the Muses (*Theog.* 1-115) where the Muses grant to the poet special knowledge and the ability to communicate it (31-32, 36-43 and 104-115). Such a connotation for *doctus* is comparable in sense to the standing epithet *σοφός* used of poets by the Greeks, on which see above at Lucretius, this section.

¹⁰See Quinn, *Poems, ad loc.*, and Ferguson, *Catullus*, 209, for this secondary sense.

Lusimus, Octavi, gracili modulante Thalia
 atque ut araneoli tenuem formavimus orsum.
 lusimus: haec propter Culicis sint carmina dicta,
 omnis ut historiae per ludum consonet ordo
 notitiae. doctrina, vaces licet: invidus absit.
 quisquis erit culpae iocos Musamque paratus,
 pondere vel Culicis levior famaue feretur.
 posterius graviore sono tibi Musa loquetur
 nostra, dabunt cum securos mihi tempora fructus,
 ut tibi digna tuo poliantur carmina sensu.

(*Culex* 1-10)

As discussed above in Chapter I.1, in this *recusatio* the light tone of the *Culex* is being contrasted to the *doctrina* of epic. *Doctrina* here consists of *gravis sonus* (line 8), polish (*poliantur carmina*, line 10), and about twenty lines later in the poem, use of mythological themes (lines 26-34). Thus is *doctrina* delineated.

Several usages of *doctus* that occur in the *Catalepton* and *Ciris* may also be considered at this point. First, in *Catalepton* 5.9 *doctus* has its basic sense of "learned." There the poet says:

nos ad beatos vela mittimus portus,
 magni petentes docta dicta Sironis,
 vitamque ab omni vindicabimus cura.

(*Catal.* 5.8-10)

The poet is seeking the *docta dicta*, the "learned words" of the Epicurean philosopher, Siro. Then at *Catalepton* 4.8, a poem addressed to the poet Octavius Musa, the poet in expressing his affection for that man says:

alter enim quis te dulcior esse potest,
 cui iuveni ante alios divi divumque sorores
 cuncta, neque indigno, Musa, dedere bona,
 cuncta, quibus gaudet Phoebi chorus ipseque Phoebus?
 doctior o quis te, Musa, fuisse potest?
 o quis te in terris loquitur iucundior uno?
 Clio tam certe candida non loquitur.

(Catal. 4.4-10)

Doctior here means simply "more skilled" at writing poetry.

In *Catalepton* 9 *doctus* is used of the Muses, as in Catullus.

The poem begins:

Pauca mihi, niveo sed non incognita Phoebō,
 pauca mihi doctae dicite Pegasides.
 (Catal. 9.1-2)

The poet asks the *doctae Pegasides*, "skilled, knowledgeable and inspiring Muses" (as discussed above) for help in composing the poem. Also in 9 the poet uses *doctus* of Theocritus. He says of certain poems he has translated from Greek to Latin for his patron:

molliter hic viridi patulae sub tegmine quercus
 Moeris pastores et Meliboeus erant,
 dulcia iactantes alterno carmina versu,
 qualia Trinacriae doctus amat iuvenis.
 (Catal. 9.17-20)

Theocritus is termed *doctus* here in his capacity as pastoral poet, presumably for the high polish of the *Idylls* and his general knowledge of Greek poetry and myth, and the skill of his rendering. *Doctus*, as discussed above, could also have the sense of "divinely informed" as well as "skilled." The invocation to the Muses in the opening lines of this poem lends support to that extended sense for *doctus* here.

One more usage of *doctus* occurs in the *Vergiliana* corpus. It comes in the *Ciris* where the author terms the patron of the poem, Mesalla by name, a *doctissimus iuvenis* (line 36). The meaning of "learned" or "cultured" applies here although the poet's invocation of the Muses (line 10) and

preoccupation with wisdom (*Sapientia* personified, line 14; also mention of *sophia*, lines 4 and 40) add the connotation of "very wise" for *doctissimus*.

Horace uses *doctus* a number of times in a literary-critical context, always with the connotation of "educated" or "trained," more so than "divinely informed" or "inspired." His usage of the term *doctrina*, though not in a literary-critical context, is revealing of this general sense he gives to *doctus*. At *Epistle* 1.18.100 he asks whether "virtutem doctrina paret Naturane donet?" Does "training" or "instruction" bring about *virtus*, or is one born with *virtus*?¹¹ Hence Horace uses *doctus* several times of men who have been instructed in a discipline and are learned in the sense of "educated" or "trained." For example, Horace uses *doctus* with this general sense of Trebatius (*Sat.* 2.1.78), a distinguished legal advisor with whom Horace discusses the legal dangers of writing satire. Also Horace uses *doctus* of Plato (*Sat.* 2.4.3) in his capacity of philosopher, and in the same poem of a culinary expert named Cadius (*Sat.* 2.4.88), whose knowledge and zeal for cookery Horace gently satirizes by indirectly comparing him to *doctus* Plato. Likewise Horace terms the rhetor Heliodorus *doctissimus* (*Sat.* 1.5.3), with whom Horace spent a night at an inn in Aricia, and uses *indoctus* of a mixed audience with indiscriminate taste in music at the

¹¹Cf. also *Carm.* 4.4.33 where Horace uses *doctrina* in the same sense: "doctrina sed vim promovat insitam, . . ."

theater (*Ars P.* 212). Finally, Horace uses *doctus* of the fickle Priscus (*Sat.* 2.7.13) who, among his many desires, wishes to live as a *doctus* at Athens.¹²

In the next several usages of *doctus* that are considered Horace uses *doctus* in its general sense of "learned" or "trained" as above, but of would-be critics and poets. Thus he adds the connotation of "trained at, or knowledgeable specifically in poetry." First, in the *Ars* he says of the mad poet:

certe furit, ac velut ursus,
obiectos caveae valuit si frangere clatros,
indoctum doctumque fugat recitator acerbus.
(*Hor. Ars P.* 472-74)

The poet's potential audience is *indoctum doctumque*, "both uneducated and educated." Similarly, again in regard to a poet's audience, Horace at *Epistle* 2.1 says:

Saepe etiam audacem fugat hoc terretque poetam,
quod numero plures, virtute et honore minores,
indocti stolidique et depugnare parati,
si discordet eques, media inter carmina poscunt
aut ursum aut pugiles: his nam plebecula gaudet.
(*Hor. Ep.* 2.1.182-86)

Those who are *indocti stolidique*, "uneducated and stupid," interrupt a poetry reading for a bear fight or boxing. *Indoctus*, in accord with the previous example, has the connotation of "not learned" in a general sense, and more specifically with respect to literature or poetry. Finally, with phrasing and sense similar to the two previous examples,

¹²The alternate reading of *doctor* for *doctus* here does not change the sense of the usage.

Horace in *Epistle 2* remarks on the current zeal for writing at Rome:

Navem agere ignarus navis timet; abrotonum aegro
 non audet nisi qui didicit dare; quod medicorum est
 promittunt medici; tractant fabrilia fabri:
 scribimus indocti doctique poemata passim.

(Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.114-17)

Horace exaggerates for effect, but the sense of line 117 is "we all, whether schooled in the art or not, write poetry."¹³ Here *doctus* specifically pertains to poetic skills.

In the remaining Horatian usages of *doctus* the connotation of "knowledgeable or skilled specifically with respect to poetry" is always almost certainly present. For instance, in *Epistle 1.19* Horace says in address to his patron Maecenas:

Prisco si credis, Maecenas docte, Cratino,
 nulla placere diu nec vivere carmina possunt,
 quae scribuntur aquae potioribus.

(Hor. *Ep.* 1.19.1-3)

Maecenas is *doctus* in his familiarity with poetry, specifically with Cratinus, the Greek writer of Old Comedy. And again of Maecenas, Horace at *Ode 3.8.5* addresses him as "docte sermones utriusque linguae," knowledgeable in the literature of both Greek and Latin.

Similarly, in *Satire 1.9* Horace uses *doctus* of the members of Maecenas' circle, very likely in respect to their literary skills, critical or practicing. He says there to the Bore who has asked to be introduced into Maecenas' circle:

¹³Brink, *Epistles, ad loc.* for the sense translation. Morris, *ad loc.*, comments on line 117: "It is the amusement of the trained professional at the zealous eagerness of the amateur."

domus hac purior ulla est
 nec magis his aliena malis; nil mi officit inquam,
 ditior hic aut est quia doctior; est locus uni
 cuique suus.

(Hor. *Sat.* 1.9.49-52)

Degree of wealth or literary skill do not cause envy within the group. Also earlier in this same *Satire* the Bore had introduced himself to Horace by saying, "Noris nos . . . docti sumus" (*Sat.* 1.9.7), hoping, thus, to ingratiate himself with Horace.¹⁴

Horace also uses *doctus* not only for members of Maecenas' circle, but of the patrons Pollio and Messalla as well, referring to patron and writer alike. In *Satire* 1.10 he says that he seeks for his poetry the approval of men like Maecenas, Vergil and quite a few others, including Pollio and Messalla. He ends by saying: "compluris alios, doctos ego quos et amicos / prudens praetereo" (*Sat.* 1.10.87-88). Here *doctus* indicates, just as in the previous example, one who has literary training or ability, one who is a part of the literary coterie of the day.

Similarly Horace uses *doctus* of a literary critic in *Satire* 1.10. He says to Fundanius (unknown outside the *Satires*) in justification of his own criticism of Lucilius:

Age, quaeso,
 tu nihil in magno doctus reprehendis Homero?

¹⁴Several editors maintain that the use of *doctus* of the Bore is an attack by Horace upon the Alexandrian school (e.g., Palmer, *ad loc.* and Morris, *ad loc.*). However, because Horace uses *doctus* of his own circle in the same poem and elsewhere (see immediately below), the sense probably is simply "cultured" or, more specifically, "experienced in letters."

(Hor. Sat. 1.10.51-52)

The learned critic can find something to blame even in the great Homer.¹⁵

Finally, Horace uses *doctor* of Apollo in his function as patron of poets. In Ode 4.6 Horace in asking for Apollo's support says:

doctor argutae fidicen Thaliae,
Phoebe, qui Xantho lavis amne crinis,
Daunia defende decus Camenae,
levis Agyieiu.

(Hor. Carm. 4.6.25-28)

Here *doctor* with *fidicen* has the sense of "lyric teacher" of the Muse, Thalia.¹⁶

In the final two examples Horace uses *doctus* strictly in reference to poetical skill. In Ode 1.1 Horace, after enumerating some of the chief ambitions and pursuits of his fellow Romans, says in regard to his own aspirations:

me doctarum hederæ præmia frontium
dis miscent superis, me gelidum nemus
nympharumque leves cum Satyris chori
secernunt populo, si neque tibus
Euterpe cohibet nec Polyhymnia
Lesboum refugit tendere barbiton.
quodsi me lyricis vatibus inseris,

¹⁵Morris, *ad loc.*, comments: "The Alexandrians and their followers (the *docti*) criticized Homer freely."

¹⁶Charles E. Bennett, ed., revised by John C. Rolfe, *Horace, The Complete Works; Odes and Epodes* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1934), *ad loc.* translates line 25 as "the lyric teacher of melodious Thalia," where *fidicen* has adjectival force and *Thaliae* is an objective genitive. Less desirably, Henry Darnley Naylor, *Horace: Odes and Epodes* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1978), *ad loc.* takes the line as, "master harpist of melodious Thalia," where *doctor* has adjectival force and *Thaliae* is a subjective genitive standing for poetry in general. Either way the sense of *doctor* as "teacher" stands.

sublimi feriam sidera vertice.
(Hor. *Carm.* 1.1.29-36)

As the context indicates, *doctarum frontium* is the equivalent of "poets' brows." The word that originally meant "learned" or "cultured" has come to connote specifically "poet."¹⁷

Finally, in *Epistle* 2.1 Horace in his protest against archaism lists this issue among the examples of what occupies the Roman reader:

ambigitur quotiens, uter utro sit prior, aufert
Pacuvius docti famam senis, Accius alti,

. . .

(Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.55-56)

The issue concerns the style of the two early Roman tragedians, Accius and Pacuvius. Brink's conjecture that *doctus* here used of Pacuvius parallels the meaning of *σοφός* as applied to Greek poets, particularly in its Pindaric sense of "divinely informed," seems to go against Horace's intent in the passage to belittle those who admire the ancients overmuch.¹⁸ It also goes against the consistent connotation which Horace has given *doctus* elsewhere as "learned" or "skilled." Furthermore, the antithesis of *altus*, "sublime," used of Accius might

¹⁷Cf. Kenneth Quinn, *Horace, The Odes* (London: Macmillan, 1980), *ad loc.* on line 29 gives: "'the ivy garlands which grace literate brows', i.e., recognition as a poet."

¹⁸Brink, *Epistles, ad loc.*, equates *doctus* with *σοφός* as specifically applied to Sophocles, with whom, he says, Pacuvius was comparatively assessed by the Romans (Brink cites Porphyryon's note on Horace's line--"nam Pacuvius famam docti aufert atque consequitur Sophoclis, Acci<us> Aeschlyli Euripidis<que>, qui dicendi sunt [sint codd.] <alti>"--for the parallel assessment of Pacuvius and Sophocles by Roman critics).

further suggest the sense of "schooled" or "poetically trained" for *doctus* here as opposed to a divinely inspired but personally unknowing or untrained poet.¹⁹

In sum, then, for Horace, *doctus*, as this usage of Pacuvius and his others usages indicate, has the more specialized sense of "trained in literature" or even "technically skilled" more than the sense of "divinely informed or inspired" as in Catullus and the elegists (as will be seen). In general, *doctus* connotes for Horace a member of the literary coterie of the day, and ultimately, a practicing poet from that group.

Tibullus, in contrast, uses *doctus* several times in a literary-critical context with connotations similar to Catullus'. For example, in 2.3 Tibullus, in speaking of Apollo's period of servitude to Admetus, says:

o quotiens ausae, caneret dum valle sub alta,
rumpere mugitu carmina docta boves!
(Tib. 2.3.19-20)

Apollo, the ultimate poet, sings *docta carmina*, apparently meaning poems that are "well-crafted" or "artistic" as well as "divinely informed." Then in 1.4 Tibullus uses *doctus* of poets. There he says in his plea to boy lovers:

Pieridas, pueri, doctos et amate poetas,
aurea nec superent munera Pieridas.
(Tib. 1.4.61-62)

Let the beloved prefer the Muses and "skilled" or even

¹⁹Cf. above, Chap. II.2, for the similar contrast Horace makes between *ingenium*, "natural poetic ability" or "inspiration" and *ars*, "technique."

"divinely informed" poets over gifts of gold.

Lygdamus uses *doctus* twice in a literary-critical context with a sense similar to Tibullus'. First, in 3.4 Lygdamus uses *doctus*, as seen several times before, of the Muses. There a youthful apparition says to the poet:

salve, cura deum: casto nam rite poetae
 Phoebusque et Bacchus Pieridesque favent:
 sed proles Semelae Bacchus doctaeque sorores
 dicere non norunt quid ferat hora sequens.
 (Lygdamus 3.4.43-46)

The *doctae Pierides*, "skilled" and "knowledgeable Muses" are patrons to the *castus poeta*, "pure poet," but are not prophetic (like Apollo, the apparition's master).

Then in 3.6 Lygdamus uses *doctus* of Catullus:

sic cecinit pro te doctus, Minoi, Catullus
 ingrati referens impia facta viri.
 (Lygdamus 3.6.41-42)

Catullus is termed *doctus* in context for his long epyllion (64) which contains the story of the desertion of Ariadne. Exactly why *doctus* was used so often of Catullus has long been a matter for debate.²⁰ The consensus is that Catullus is termed *doctus* by his successors in recognition of his acceptance and representation of the literary ideals of Alexandrianism, particularly with regard to the technique and form of his poetry.²¹ However, several scholars also see the

²⁰See, e.g., Herescu, 13-24, who presents the views of at least six other scholars besides his own.

²¹See, e.g., G. Friederich, *Catullus* (Leipzig, 1908), 317; Herescu, 22 and 24; and C.J. Fordyce, "Catullus (1)" in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, ed. N.G.L. Hammond and H.H.

sense of "poet inspired" or "true poet" in *doctus* used of Catullus (as with *σοφός* used of poets, on which see above).²² Catullus could be termed *doctus* with either or, more likely, both these senses here.

Similarly in 4.6 of the *Tibullianum* corpus the author uses *doctus* of the poetess Sulpicia. There the poet says in regard to her birthday:

Natalis Iuno, sanctos cape turis acervos,
quos tibi dat tenera docta puella manu.
(*Corpus Tib.* 4.6.1-2)

Sulpicia is called *docta* certainly for her marked poetic skills (six poems of the *Corpus* are hers). The sense of *doctus* here is probably the same as that of Catullus in the previous passage, namely, "skilled" and "inspired."²³

Propertius uses *doctus* with a varied connotation, but again in the manner of those poets already considered. He

Scullard (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 216.

²²E.g., G. Albin, "Doctus Catullus," *Atene e Roma* December, 1911: 353-54; and Katherine Allen, "Doctus Catullus," *Classical Philology* 10 (1915): 223. Cf. Fabio Cupaiuolo, *Tra poesia e poetica: su alcuni aspetti culturali della poesia latina nell'età augustea* (Napoli: Napoletana, 1981), 165-167, for the concept of the Augustan *doctus poeta* as a divine teacher of the people and a *vatis*, and the same equation of *doctus* with *σοφός* used of poets, as discussed above (at *Lucr.*).

²³Kirby Flower Smith, *The Elegies of Albius Tibullus* (New York: American Book Co., 1913), *ad loc.*, notes that "*doctus* is an evident attempt to translate the Greek *σοφός* as an epithet of poets The poet is 'wise,' but his wisdom is the result of acquired skill as well as native ability So the *doctus* is the native genius thoroughly trained in the resources of his department; in short he is the literary artist in the highest sense of that word."

uses it in the sense of "learned" or "cultured" several times: at 1.6.13 he speaks of visiting *doctae Athenae*, and likewise at 3.21.1 he speaks of a journey to *doctae Athenae*; also at 3.21.26 he terms the philosopher Epicurus *doctus*.

In its more specialized sense Propertius uses *doctus* specifically in reference to literary skills several times. For example, in 3.21 he says in regard to a trip he meditates taking to Athens:

persequar aut studium linguae, Demosthenis arma,
librorumque tuos, docte Menandre, sales.
(Prop. 3.21.27-28)

He will study the *sales*, "witticisms" of the books of *doctus* Menander.²⁴ Menander is termed *doctus* certainly not for his erudition but for his versification and wit--that is, he was not so much learned as a skilled poet in his own genre.²⁵

Propertius also uses *doctus* in the context of his own love elegy. For example, in 2.30.16 he uses "tibia docta" for the instrument which sounds his love poetry. Likewise at 3.23.1 he uses *doctae* of the *tabulae* upon which he wrote his elegies. In the first example *doctus* has the sense of "skilled," and in the second the sense "full of poetic accomplishment." Then in 2.34 Propertius says in justification of his own love poetry that both Varro and Catullus wrote such poems for those they loved. He continues by adding

²⁴On *sales* see above, Chap. II.2.

²⁵Cf. Herescu, 24, where he uses the phrase "propriae artis periti" for *doctus* used of the lyric poets.

Calvus to the list:

haec etiam docti confessa est pagina Calvi,
cum caneret miserae funera Quintiliae.
(Prop. 2.34.89-90)

Doctus Calvus also wrote of passionate love (antecedent of *haec*, line 89) when he sang of the death of Quintilia (his wife). Propertius terms Calvus *doctus* here in his capacity as an elegist, no doubt for his accomplished style of writing (as with Catullus, with whom he is often linked), and perhaps also as a "divinely informed or inspired" poet as he *canit*, "sings" his grief for his deceased wife.

Finally, again in 2.34, Propertius uses *doctus* of *carmen* in speaking of Vergil's *Eclogues*, also alluding to his own poetry. He says there of Vergil in a general defense of love poetry:

non tamen haec ulli venient ingrata legenti,
sive in amore rudis sive peritus erit.
nec minor hic animis, ut sit minor ore, canorus
anseris indocto carmine cessit olor.
(Prop. 2.34.81-84)

Haec (line 81) is a reference specifically to the erotic themes within Vergil's *Eclogues*, and, within Propertius' defense of elegy, to erotic poetry in general. The sense of the rest of the passage is partially conjecture as the text of line 83 is uncertain. The last two lines seem to say that erotic poetry of the *Eclogues*, signified by *canorus olor*, though lesser in *os*, "diction" or "expression," than poetry of higher genres is not less in *animi*, "spirit" or "inspiration." Line 84 further qualifies that elegy, despite its less

elevated style, has not sunk to the level of *indoctum carmen*, the "crude" or "uninspired song," of the goose.²⁶ *Doctum carmen* connotes here then a poem that, though it does not have elevated expression, does have *animi*, "spirit" or "inspiration," and is *canorus*, "melodious,"--that is, "polished," "technically perfect"--as is the swan's song.

Ovid uses *doctus* a number of times, several times with its common connotation of "learned" or "cultured" in general, but much more often with the sense of "skilled in poetry" and even with the extended sense of "divinely inspired" several times. To begin, Ovid uses *doctus* with the general connotation of "learned" three times, once of Socrates (*Ib.* 559), once of the city Athens (*Her.* 2.83), and once for men with a store of wisdom (*Pont.* 4.11.12).

Next, Ovid uses *doctus* many times with its general sense of "learned," but with the context pertaining to literature. He uses *doctus* of Germanicus, the patron of the

²⁶Cf. Harold Edgeworth Butler and Eric Arthur Barber, *The Elegies of Propertius* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933; reprint, Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1969), *ad loc.*, who for line 83 use Housman's emendation for the MSS. (NFL) *his animis (animi FL) aut sim minor ore canorus*, and give this translation for lines 83-84: "And the melodious swan, displaying equal genius in these themes, though less stately diction, has not retired with the tuneless strain of a goose." W.A. Camps, *Propertius, Elegies, Book II* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1967), *ad loc.*, goes a step further: "The sense is (?) that the self-critical artist proves his superiority to the pretentious ranter." Note the allusion to Vergil's *Eclogue* 9.35-36 where Vergil, imitating Theocritus (7.39), depreciates his own poetic ability in comparison with Varius' and Cinna's, terming himself an *anser* among swans. (as noted by Butler and Barber, *ad loc.*, and Coleman at Verg. *Ecl.* 9.36).

Fasti (1.19), *doctus* of Suillius, an addressee of one of his letters from Tomi in his capacity as a scholar (*Pont.* 4.8.77), and *doctus* of the consul, Sextus Pompeius, to whom he addresses one of his poems from Tomi (*Pont.* 4.5.1). Finally, at *Tristia* 3.1.71 he uses *docti* of *libelli* contained in the library in the temple of *Libertas*, from which his books were banned by Augustus.

Ovid then several times uses *doctus* of those who are appreciative of or critics of poetry. For example, at *Tristia* 2.419 he uses *docti* of men who have personal libraries, and at *Tristia* 3.1.63 he uses *doctum* of the *pectus* of men who determine what materials go into public libraries. Then twice in the *Ars* (2.281, 282) Ovid uses *doctae* of *puellae* (as at *Catull.* 35, above) who are able to appreciate poetry written for them, and finally, he uses *doctus* three times of his own readers and critics (*Tr.* 2.119, 5.9.9 and *Pont.* 3.9.45). In all these uses *doctus* could have the sense of "cultured" as well as "learned" with respect to literature.

In this next and final grouping Ovid uses *doctus* in direct relation to the writing of poetry. First, he several times uses *doctus* of those who write poetry. For instance, at *Ars Amatoria* 3.320 he uses *doctus* of the *femina* who is able to write lyric poetry, at *Ex Ponto* 2.5.15 of Salanus who is both critic and poet, of Brutus (the conspirator) as poetry writer at *Ex Ponto* 1.1.24, at *Tristia* 3.14.1 of men who write poetry, including himself, who have patrons, and then of poets in

general (*Trist.* 1.5.57). In all these instances *doctus* has at least the connotation of "skilled at poetry."

In several other cases Ovid uses *doctus* of poets or their poetry with the further sense of "divinely informed or inspired" as well as "poetically skilled." For example, he uses *docta* of his step-daughter Perilla (*Trist.* 3.7.31) in her devotion to *libri* and the Pierides (line 4), and to "singing" her *docta carmina* (line 12), in which she is second only to the "vates Lesbia" (line 20). *Doctus* certainly appears to mean more than simply "skilled at poetry" here. Likewise in *Amores* 3, his elegy for Tibullus, Ovid uses *doctus* of Catullus. Several times in the poem Ovid calls to mind the sacred nature of poets (e.g., "at sacri vates et divum cura vocamur," line 17) and then ends with an image of Tibullus meeting Catullus in Elysium: "obvius huic venias hedera iuvenalia cinctus / tempora cum Calvo, docte Catulle, tuo" (3.9.61-62). Catullus, linked with Calvus (and Gallus, two lines following), is here termed *doctus* apparently for his mastery of learned lyric verse.²⁷ The context further extends the sense of *doctus* to "inspired" in the sense of "possessing special knowledge" of his subject-matter. Finally, Ovid uses *doctus* with the extended sense of "divinely informed" as well as "skilled in poetry" in the *Ars Amatoria*. He says there in speaking of poets in general:

²⁷See Herescu, 24: "Epitetul aplicat lor se [Catullus and Calvus] referea la maestria de a modela savante versuri lirice."

vatibus Aoniis faciles estote, puellae:
 numen inest illis, Pieridesque favent.
 est deus in nobis, et sunt commercia caeli:
 sedibus aetheriis spiritus ille venit.
 a doctis pretium scelus est sperare poetis.
 (Ars Am. 3.547-51)

The context here lends *doctus* used of poets the connotation of "divinely informed" as well as "skilled."

In support of the extended sense of "divinely informed" for *doctus* used of poets Ovid uses of *doctus* of the goddess Minerva and the Muses in his *Fasti*. First, in one passage Ovid reveals the goddess Minerva to be the source of his information on his subject-matter:

et iam Quinquatrus iubeor narrare minores.
 nunc ades o coeptis, flava Minerva, meis.
 'cur vagus incedit tota tibicen in urbe?
 quid sibi personae, quid stola longa volunt?'
 sic ego. sic posita Tritonia cuspide dixit:
 (possim utinam doctae verba referre deae!)
 (Ov. Fast. 6.656)

The *docta dea*, "knowledgeable goddess," gave Ovid the information on the origins of the ceremony for the lesser Quinquatrus. Similarly, twice more in the *Fasti* the *doctae* Muses are said to supply Ovid with information for his poem: at 4.191 he asks the *doctae* granddaughters of Cybele (Jupiter was the son of Cybele) to provide him with information, and likewise at 6.811 the Muse Clio and her *doctae sorores* give Ovid information on his subject-matter. All these usages show how *doctus* used of poets could connote "divinely informed or inspired": divinities, most often the Muses, who are *doctae*, "knowledgeable," themselves, impart the knowledge of subject-matter to the poet. Ovid four more times uses *doctus* of the

Muses (*doctae sorores*, *Met.* 5.255 and *Trist.* 2.13; *doctae pierides*, *Trist.* 3.2.4; *doctae Musae*, *Ars. Am.* 3.411), but with the context giving little more than the overt sense of "poetical" or "skilled in poetry."

Phaedrus uses *doctus* three times in a literary-critical context. First, in the prologue to Book 3 Phaedrus is encouraging his patron, Eutyclus, to read the book of poetry Phaedrus has dedicated to him. He instructs Eutyclus that proper appreciation of poetry takes time and effort, and to that effect notes that he himself, who was born on the Pierian Mountain, who was all but born in a *schola* and who has blotted out all interest in property, is only with distaste admitted into the society of poets. He continues:

quid credis illi accidere qui magnas opes
exaggerare quaerit omni vigilia,
docto labori dulce praeponens lucrum?
(Phaedrus 3 *prol.* 24-26)

Doctus labor refers to the poet's training or even his profession, just described as based upon natural talent or predilection, dedication to the craft, and schooling.

Similarly, in the epilogue to Book 2 Phaedrus uses *doctus* again of *labor*, and by context gives *doctus* even more definition. Phaedrus says there in an effort to gain recognition from his fellow Romans:

si nostrum studium ad aures cultas pervenit,
et arte fictas animus sentit fabulas,
omnem querelam submovet felicitas.
sin autem rabulis doctus occurrit labor,
sinistra quos in lucem natura extulit,
nec quidquam possunt nisi meliores carpere,
fatale exilium corde durato feram,

donec Fortunam criminis pudeat sui.
 (Phaedrus 2 *Ep.* 12-19)

Doctus labor here is synonymous with "poetry," and is given some definition by what follows: if it reaches the ears of the cultivated (*ures cultas*) and is found to have been written with skill (*ars*), then Phaedrus will achieve recognition. *Doctus labor* implies, then, by context poetry that itself is, through the poet's efforts, cultivated and skillfully written.

Finally, at 4.23, entitled *De Simonide*, Phaedrus uses *doctus* of the Greek poet Simonides. He begins the poem with this line: "Homo doctus in se semper divitias habet" (4.23.1). The rest of the poem is an illustration of this maxim. Simonides, who supported himself by singing the praises of victors in the games, was once shipwrecked with many others. The others lost their possessions, but Simonides' poetic skill enabled him to soon reestablish his standard of living while the others were forced to beg. Here *doctus* connotes a man who is skilled in writing poetry. In sum, Phaedrus, like Horace, gives *doctus* the sense of "poetically skilled" with little or no connotation of "divinely informed."

Indoctus is used once in the *Priapea* in such a way that it adds to its literary-critical connotation. Poem 68 begins:

Rusticus indocte si quid dixisse videbor,
 da veniam: libros non lego, poma lego.
 (*Priapea* 68.1-2)

The author seeks pardon if he has spoken *indocte*, "unlearn-

edly," for he does not read books. The rest of the poem is a play upon certain scenes of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* of which the author says he has heard. The context shows that *indoctus* means "poorly-read," particularly in the Greek classics.

Persius' one use of *doctus*, though it does not come within a literary-critical context, is worth mention. Persius in his first *Satire* says in criticism of legal rhetoric:

Nilne pudet capiti non posse pericula cano
 pellere, quin tepidum hoc optes audire 'decenter'?
 'fur es' ait Pedio. Pedius quid? crimina rasis
 librat in antithetis, doctas posuisse figuras
 laudatur: 'bellum hoc.'

(Per. 1.83-87)

Pedius, charged with theft, sidesteps the moral issue, weighs the charges with smooth antitheses, and is praised for his *doctae figurae*, "learned" or "artistic tropes."²⁸ Persius here makes *doctus* connote artistry or skill of an accomplished level that is misused.

Statius uses *doctus* a number of times in a literary-critical context with several different connotations. The first usage considered is when *doctae* is used of the *aves* who are called to mourn the death of Melior's parrot. Statius says of these birds: "Huc doctae stipentur aves, quis nobile fandi / ius Natura dedit" (*Silv.* 2.4.16-17). The birds are humorously termed *doctae* in their capacity to speak.

In the next several usages of *doctus* Statius by context gives the term the sense of "learned," "cultured" and "poeti-

²⁸See Bramble, 123-26, for the interpretation of this passage.

cally appreciative," if not skilled. For example, in *Silvae* 2.7, a poem celebrating Lucan's birthday, Statius says of the infant Lucan that he will not move rivers or wild herds like Orpheus,

sed septem iuga Martiumque Thybrim
et doctos equites et eloquente
cantu purpureum trahes senatum.
(Stat. *Silv.* 2.7.45-47)

Lucan will attract as an audience with his eloquent poetry the *equites* who are *docti*, educated and cultured enough to appreciate poetry. Then, in *Silvae* 5.3, a lament for his father, Statius, after just having praised his father's skill in poetry, makes this comparison using his father's birthplace, Parthenope:

quo non Munichiae quicquam praestantius arces
doctaque Cyrene Sparteve animosa creavit.
(Stat. *Silv.* 5.3.107-108)

Neither Athens, *docta* Cyrene nor Sparta has produced anything more excellent. Of course Cyrene is noted for Callimachus, as Athens and Sparta are for their poets.²⁹ Hence, *doctus* here can mean not only "learned" or "cultured," but almost "poetical." Later in the same poem Statius says of his father:

tu pandere doctus
carmina Battidae latebrasque Lycophronis arti
Sophronaque implicitum tenuisque arcana Corinnae.
(Stat. *Silv.* 5.3.156-58)

²⁹Athens' poets are well known, Sparta produced Alcman and Tyrtaeus (see Friedrich Vollmer, *P. Papinii Statii, Silvarum Libri* [Leipzig: Teubner, 1898; reprint, Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1971], *ad loc.*, for the allusions).

Stattius' father is *pandere doctus*, "learned (enough) to explain," the verse of Callimachus and other earlier Greek poets. Finally, in *Silvae* 1.3, on the villa of Manilius Vopiscus, Statius ends with this wish for the owner:

*sic docta frequentes
otia, sic omni detectus pectora nube
finem Nestoreae precor egrediare senectae.*
(Stat. *Silv.* 1.3.108-10)

Manilius is to have *docta otia*, literally, "learned leisure." As, however, it has already been established in the poem that Manilius is an amateur poet and composes while at his villa (lines 99-104), *docta otia* takes on the connotation of leisure devoted to the writing and singing of his poetry.

In the remaining usages of *doctus* in Statius there is a directly perceivable connotation of "poetically skilled" for the word. Instances are numerous. Statius says in praise of Lucan that "*docti furor arduus Lucreti*" yields to Lucan's Muse (*Silv.* 2.7.76). Apollo is termed *doctus* (*Silv.* 5.3.91) in his capacity as patron of poets. Lucan's wife, Polla, is called a *docta* suitable to Lucan's *ingenium* (*Silv.* 2.7.83). A slave boy who was an accomplished poet is termed *doctissimus* (*Silv.* 2 *praef.* 21), and Statius' patron Pollius, an amateur poet, is called a *doctus alumnus* of Puteoli (*Silv.* 2.2.97). In all these examples *doctus* not only means "learned" but also connotes at least "possessing poetic taste" or "skill."

Furthermore, Statius uses *doctus* several times in a way which brings out the extended sense of "divinely informed or inspired," as discussed above with the elegists. For example,

Stattius twice uses *doctus* of *amnes*, "streams" from which poets draw their inspiration (*Silv.* 1.2.259 and 2.7.12). He also uses *doctus* of his own *penates* (*Silv.* 1.2.50), metonymy for Stattius' own home (and ultimately, himself), which are said to be receptive to the teachings of the Muse Erato on the subject-matter at hand. Likewise Stattius uses *doctus* of Pollius' *chelys*, "lyre" (*Silv.* 2.2.119), meaning his lyric poetry, with which he is able to charm the Sirens, Tritonia and even dolphins. Finally, Stattius uses *doctus* of *oestrus*, "passion" or "frenzy" by which poets' hearts are fired who drink from the fountain of Hippocrene (*Silv.* 2.7.3). The context in all these examples suggests strongly that for Stattius *doctus* had the extended sense of "divinely informed or inspired" as well as simply connoting "skilled at poetry."

Quintilian's use of *doctus* in a literary-critical context bears mention. At 10.1 in his discussion of Homer Quintilian says:

Adfectus quidem vel illos mites vel hos concitatos, nemo erit tam indoctus, qui non in sua potestate hunc auctorem habuisse fateatur.

(Quint. 10.1 48)

Indoctus has the connotation of "uneducated" or "lacking culture," and probably with respect to poetry. Next, Quintilian says of Domitian's poetry:

Quid tamen his ipsis eius operibus, in quae donato imperio iuvenis secesserat, sublimius, doctius, omnibus denique numeris praestantius?

(Quint. 10.1.91)

Doctius means here "more skillfully and properly written,"

both in regard to meter and content.

Then, finally, at 10.1.97 Quintilian says in regard to Accius and Pacuvius: "Pacuvium videri doctiorem qui esse docti affectant volunt." Those who affect learning think Pacuvius to be *doctiorem*. The implied criticism in the phrasing of "qui esse docti affectant" shows that Quintilian himself withholds judgment on the matter. However, as with Horace's terming of Pacuvius as *doctus* that was discussed above (at Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.55-56), Quintilian appears to use the term *doctus* in the sense of "learned," and by extension, "technically proficient at poetry." And again, as with Horace, *docti* here seems to designate those who comprise the contemporary literary coterie.

In sum, *doctus* in its most general sense for the Roman poets means "educated" or "cultured," and more specifically "trained in formal literature," and hence "able to appreciate or write poetry." In context *doctus* takes on two even more specific senses. First, it is used as the equivalent of the Greek term *σοφός* as applied to early Greek poets in its sense of having privileged knowledge of a theme--"being divinely informed," and having poetic skill in presenting that theme. Closely related to this sense is *doctus* used of the Muses or another divinity where it means "knowledgeable" as well as "skilled in poetry." Second, *doctus* is used of one who embraces and practices technical literary ideals--namely, those of Alexandrianism, in the main, where there is a high

regard for form, language and meter, an erudite manner and style. *Doctus* in this sense can connote one who was a member of the contemporary literary coterie.

Section III.2: *Doctus* in Martial

Martial uses *doctus* in a literary-critical context often, much in the manner of the other Roman poets, though in a few cases with a connotation unique to him. To begin, Martial uses *doctus* in its most general sense of "learned" or "cultured" in epigram 2.90, addressed to Quintilian, where Martial is describing what he himself desires of life. After expressing his zeal for enjoying life and his disinterest in wealth and political renown Martial says:

me focus et nigros non indignantia fumos
 tecta iuvant et fons vivus et herba rudis.
 sit mihi verna satur, sit non doctissima coniunx,
 sit nox cum somno, sit sine lite dies.

(2.90.7-10)

He desires a simple, almost rustic life with a wife not too *docta*, "learned," or better, "cultured," because a very cultured woman, a "blue-stockings," would not be content with the rustic life Martial presents here.³⁰

Next, Martial uses *doctus* several times of men who are learned in the sense of educated, but not professional literary critics or poets, though they all are benefactors of Martial and are certainly expected to appreciate poetry and

³⁰I.e., the *doctissima* wife would aspire to wealth, social position and other things typical of the cultured and urban set.

their mention in the epigrams. Examples of *doctus* used in this context are: of Votienus of Narbo (8.72.5), most likely the orator who lived during the reign of Tiberius;³¹ of Novius Vindex (9.43.14), art connoisseur, whose ownership of a statuette of Hercules forms the subject of an epigram;³² of a Marcus (10.73.10), thought to be Marcus Antonius Primus of epigrams 9.99 and 10.23, one of Vespasian's generals to whom Martial expresses gratitude for the gift of a toga.³³ And finally in this context, *doctus* is used of Licinius Sura, a man of senatorial rank who served with great distinction under Nerva and Trajan.³⁴ Epigram 7.47 is addressed to Sura and begins as follows:

Doctorum Licini celeberrime Sura virorum,
cuius prisca gravis lingua reduxit avos,

. . .

(7.47.1-2)

Martial praises Sura for his old-fashioned style of oratory.

³¹On Votienus see Tac. *Ann.* 4.42, where he is described as a man who was noted for his *ingenium*, and was condemned by Tiberius for insulting expressions made against the emperor in the Senate, and Sen. *Controv.* 9 *praef.* 1, where he is said to have condemned the showiness of declamations.

³²Also mentioned by Martial at 9.44.1, and by Statius (*Silv.* 4.6), also for his ownership of the Hercules statuette.

³³Taken as Marcus Antonius Primus by Bridge and Lake, *ad loc.*; L. Friedländer, *Valerii Martialis Epigrammaton Libri* (Leipzig: 1886; reprint, Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1967), *ad loc.*; and B.D Izaak, H.J., trans. and ed., *Martial: Épigrammes, Tome II* (Paris: Budé, 1973), 303, s.v. M. Antonius Primus.

³⁴Dio Cass. 68.15.3ff. for historical information on Sura. Martial also mentions Sura at 6.64.13 as being appreciative of his epigrams, and possibly at 1.49.40 with no remarkable context.

Besides his being a man of learning and culture and an orator, he may be termed *doctus* as a natural philosopher, as Pliny consults him in one letter on the unexplained ebb and flow of a spring (*Ep.* 4.30), and in another on the existence of ghosts (*Ep.* 7.27).

Martial also uses *doctus* in its general sense of "learned" or "cultured" but with a somewhat stronger connotation of having to do specifically with literature. For example, Martial terms Seneca the philosopher *doctus* (4.40.2) for his general accomplishments, no doubt including his writings. Then, in relation to the writings of Sallust, Martial says in one of the *Apophoreta*:

Sallustius

Hic erit, ut perhibent doctorum corda virorum,
primus Romana Crispus in historia.

(14.191)

Docti, learned men, men of education and, apparently, literary discernment, judge Sallust first of Roman historians.

Next, Martial uses *doctus* of men who serve as patrons and critics of his own work and are probably amateur poets also. Not only does *doctus* acquire the further connotation of "poetically skilled" in these examples, but also Martial shows his concern for *doctrina* in his own poetry. To begin, Martial uses *doctus* of a Secundus, who may be Pliny the Younger, in epigram 5.80.³⁵ The epigram is actually addressed to Seve-

³⁵Cf. Stephenson, *ad loc.*, and Izaac, 340, s.v. Plinius; but Peter White, "Aspects of Non-Imperial Patronage in the Works of Martial and Statius" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University,

rus, another critic of his, who is himself termed *doctus* elsewhere (in 11.57 on which see below). Martial says in this epigram in regard to his own poems:

Non totam mihi, si vacabis, horam
 dones et licet inputes, Severe,
 dum nostras legis exigisque nugas.
 'Durum est perdere ferias': rogamus
 iacturam patiaris hanc ferasque.
 quod si legeris ista cum diserto
 --sed numquid sumus improbi?--Secundo,
 plus multo tibi debiturus hic est
 quam debet domino suo libellus.
 nam securus erit, nec inquieta
 lassi marmora Sisyphi videbit,
 quem censoria cum meo Severo
 docti lima momorderit Secundi.
 (5.80)

Martial wishes Severus to read and edit (*exigis*, line 3) his *nugae*, and presumes upon Severus to pass the poems along to *disertus* Secundus for reading. Martial then flatters both men by saying that their editing will do more for the book than Martial did himself (lines 8-9). Specifically he says that the *censoria lima*, "the censorial file" (lines 12-13) of Severus and *doctus* Secundus will have made his book *securus* and toil not done in vain.³⁶ Clearly Secundus is *doctus* for his professional literary expertise and very likely his own poetic skill as well. Also clear here is Martial's own concern for *doctrina* in that he solicits the opinions of two

1972), 74-78. 58, n.5, argues against.

³⁶For the figure of Martial's book not having to look upon "the restless stone of weary Sisyphus" Ker, *ad loc.*, gives: "i.e., regard its labour as wasted." Stephenson, *ad loc.*, gives: "That is, it will not be consigned to limbo."

learned men on his own poems.³⁷

Martial uses *doctus* also of Apollonaris, a critic and patron of Martial twice mentioned elsewhere in the same capacity.³⁸ In epigram 4.86 Martial says to his book of poems in regard to Apollonaris:

Si vis auribus Atticis probari,
 exhortor moneoque te, libelle,
 ut docto placeas Apollonari.
 nil exactius eruditiusque est,
 sed nec candidius benigniusque:
 si te pectore, si tenebit ore,
 nec rhonchos metues maligniorum,
 nec scombris tunicas dabis molestas.
 si damnaverit, ad salariorum
 curras scrinia protinus licebit,
 inversa pueris arande carta.

(4.86)

In the first several lines Martial equates the approval of *doctus* Apollonaris with Attic approval, which represented the highest literary standards.³⁹ Martial further characterizes Apollonaris as *exactus* and *eruditus*, "precise and polished,"

³⁷On Martial's concern for professional approval of his work cf. epigram 7.26, immediately below; also 1.3 where Martial speaks of his constant erasures and critical pen in regard to the writing of Book 1; and 10.2 where Martial tells of the previous hurried composition of Book 10 and his subsequent revision and re-release of it.

³⁸Cf. 7.26.1 where Apollonaris, as a critic and lover of Martial's poems, is presented a book; and 11.15.12 where he is presented Book 11 with the warning that the book has no morals.

³⁹On the approval of *Atticae aures* as representing the highest literary standards cf. Edwin Post, *Selected Epigrams of Martial* (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1908), *ad loc.*: "ears of people most critical, who recognize only the highest standards. As Athens represented the high-water mark of everything Greek, *Atticus* came to mean 'preëminent,' 'learned,' 'critical.'"

and then he ends by saying that his poems need the approval of *doctus Apollonaris* in order to be successful.⁴⁰ Implied is that *doctrina* consists of metrical correctness and polish, a degree of cultivation in treatment, and overall conformity to prescribed literary standards, as represented in *doctus Apollonaris*.

Martial also uses *doctus* of a critic in an ironic context. In epigram 10.70 Martial says to this critic, named Potitus:

Quod mihi vix unus toto liber exeat anno
desidiae tibi sum, docte Potite, reus.
(10.70.1-2)

Potitus, otherwise unknown (and likely fictitious) is called *doctus*, no doubt ironically, in his capacity as a poet or at least as knowledgeable enough of poetry to criticize. Martial goes on to reply that his day is filled with so many duties, social, literary and otherwise, that it is a wonder that even one book a year is published. *Doctus* used ironically of Potitus, then, in this context seems to designate one who affects being part of the contemporary literary coterie, as with Horace and Quintilian.

In the rest of examples considered Martial uses *doctus* strictly in association with poets, the most usual context for him. To begin, Martial uses *doctus* in his lament for Maevius,

⁴⁰On *exactus* cf. at 5.80.3 where *exigis* is used for the "editing" of Martial's book done by Severus; and at 9.81.2 where a certain poet says Martial's *libelli* are not *exacti* (on which see below, this section).

a poet who, though a native Roman, honest, blameless and "lingua doctus utraque" (10.76.6), learned in both Greek and Latin, is yet destitute. The context indicates that *doctus* used of poets can mean knowledge of Greek and Latin.⁴¹

In the next several examples Martial expands the sense of *doctus* used in association with poets. One usage comes at epigram 7.29, addressed to the patron and amateur poet Voconius Victor. There Martial asks Voconius' beloved slave boy, whom Voconius has made well known through his poems, to lay aside his master's *docti libelli* (7.29.5). *Doctus* here apparently connotes "skilled" or "full of poetic accomplishment." Similarly, Martial says in epigram 7.46 to a certain Priscus, probably fictitious, who has delayed sending Martial a gift while trying to write an accompanying poem for it:

Commendare tuum dum vis mihi carmine munus
Maeonioque cupis doctius ore loqui,
excrucias multis pariter me teque diebus,
et tua de nostro, Prisce, Thalia tacet.
(7.46.1-4)

Priscus desires to speak *doctius Maeonio ore* in his poem, "more skillfully than Homer." His Muse is not up to the challenge, and so Martial has received no gift. In spite of the mention of the poet's Muse, Thalia, the term *doctus* here, obvious by syntax, connotes only "skilled at poetry" and not "divinely informed."

Next, in epigram 8.70, addressed to Nerva, Martial uses

⁴¹Cf. Mart. 9.44.4 where Vindex says to Martial: "'Graece numquid' ait 'poeta nescis?'"

doctus of Nero. Martial, after praising Nerva's poetic potential, ends the poem with this justification of Nerva's talent:

sed tamen hunc nostri scit temporis esse Tibullum,
 carmina qui docti nota Neronis habet.
 (8.70.7-8)

Doctus Nero in the poems called Nerva a Tibullus. Martial apparently calls Nero *doctus* to indicate he was an acknowledged poet, wrote in accord with the literary tradition, and thus he adds validity to his own praise of Nerva.

Similarly in epigram 2.77 Martial says in reply to a complaint that his epigrams are too long:

disce quod ignoras: Marsi doctique Pedonis
 saepe duplex unum pagina tractat opus.
 (2.77.5-6)

In defense of the length of his own epigrams Martial cites the practice of Marsus and *doctus* Pedo, both poets of the Augustan age who wrote (among other things) long epigrams. Although Pedo is termed *doctus* here specifically in regard to his epigram, he also wrote epic poetry, and was part of the established mainstream tradition.⁴²

Martial also uses *doctus* of his own work. At 10.20(19), addressed to his Muse, Thalia, he says:

Nec doctum satis et parum severum,
 sed non rusticulum tamen libellum
 facundo mea Plinio Thalia
 i perfer.

⁴²Pedo is listed among the writers of epic by Quint. 10.1.90; Ov. *Pont.* 4.10.71 gives him as the author of a *Theseis*; and Sen. *Suas.* 14 mentions him for an epic poem on a Roman subject.

(10.20[19].1-4)

Let Thalia take Martial's book to *facundus*, "eloquent," Pliny.⁴³ Although Martial with modestly terms his book not *doctus* and *severus* enough, "learned" and "austere" enough for a Pliny, yet he maintains it has some refinement (*non rusticulus*).⁴⁴ *Doctus* in context implies "sophisticated" or "cultured," and connotes also "in accordance with professional literary standards."

Martial with a similar connotation uses *doctus* of Severus, the critic mentioned in 5.80 (on which see above), in his capacity as a poet. In epigram 11.57 he says to Severus, who has been invited to dinner by Martial with a poem:⁴⁵

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?
 (11.57)

Martial suggests that Severus may be amazed in that he, *doctus* himself, has been sent poetry.⁴⁶ *Doctus* here means not only

⁴³Pliny quotes a large part of this epigram in a letter which he wrote shortly after Martial's death (*Ep.* 3.21).

⁴⁴Both Post and Stephenson, *ad loc.*, equate "non rusticulum nimis" with having a degree of *urbanitas*, "wit" (on which see above, Chap. II.2).

⁴⁵On Severus cf. 2.6, 5.11, 5.80 and 7.38.

⁴⁶Kay, *ad loc.*, points out that the repetition of *doctus* used of Severus marks a concession by Martial that Severus is truly *doctus*. That is, in the first line "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

"learned," but connotes "poet," and presumably one working in higher genres, as the Jupiter conceit suggests.

With slightly more definition Martial in epigram 1.25 uses *doctus* of Faustinus, a patron of his, whom he is encouraging to publish:

Ede tuos tandem populo, Faustine, libellos
 et cultum docto pectore profer opus,
 quod nec Cecropiae damnent Pandionis arces
 nec sileant nostri praetereantque senes.
 (1.25.1-4)

Faustinus' *opus* would be *cultum docto pectore*, such that it would get Attic approval and acclaim from the Roman elders. The context dictates for *doctum pectus* the sense of trained and educated according to the literary standards, as represented by the Athenians and Roman elders.⁴⁷

Similarly, at 9.77 Martial says to the didactic poet Priscus (otherwise unknown, likely fictitious):

Quod optimum sit disputat convivium
 facunda Prisci pagina,
 et multa dulci, multa sublimi refert,
 sed cuncta docto pectore.
 Quod optimum sit quaeritis convivium?
 in quo choraules non erit.
 (9.77)

Priscus discusses the proper form of entertainment sometimes delightfully, sometimes sublimely, but always with a *doctum pectus*, a "learned mind." Again the context dictates the more usual sense of trained or educated according to accepted

why he should nevertheless accept his poems."

⁴⁷For Athens as representing the highest literary approval see on 4.86.1 above, this section.

literary standards.

In epigram 6.61(60) Martial goes even further in giving *doctus* definition. In this epigram, as discussed above (Chap. II.1), Martial discusses what is necessary for truly good poetry:

Rem factam Pompullus habet, Faustine: legetur
 et nomen toto sparget in orbe suum.
 'Sic leve flavorum valeat genus Usiporum
 quisquis et Ausonium non amat imperium.'
 Ingenuosa tamen Pompulli scripta ferentur:
 'Sed famae non est hoc, mihi crede, satis:
 quam multi tineas pascunt blattasque disertis
 et redimunt soli carmina docta coci!
 nescioquid plus est, quod donat saecula chartis:
 victurus genium debet habere liber.'
 (6.61[60])

Martial thinks the poet Pompullus' renown is short-lived. Faustinus' rejoinder is that Pompullus' *scripta* are said to be *ingeniosa*, "showing ability," which is then given more definition by its associations with *diserti* and *docta carmina* in lines 7 and 8. In those two lines Martial says there are many poets who are *diserti*, "fluent" or "eloquent," whose works worms devour (i.e., go unread), and whose *docta carmina*, poems that adhere to the established literary code or format, are bought only by cooks. To be *disertus* and *doctus*, however, is not enough for lasting fame. A book must have *genium*, "poetic inspiration" or "genius," to achieve immortality.⁴⁸

Docta carmina then in this poem connotes poetry that is technically and conventionally correct (according to the

⁴⁸See above on 6.61 at Chap. II.1 for this sense of *genius*.

standards of the day), certainly in expression, as *disertus* indicates, and presumably in content, meter and general format. *Doctrina* alone, however, does not make a poet, says Martial, referring without doubt to his own poetry here, poetry which, he feels, though it falls short of contemporary literary standards for *doctrina*, is inspired. Thus Martial shows his reactionary stance: he denigrates the established literary standard of his day--characterized by its high degree of *doctrina*--for the more traditional view of a poem as inspired, even divinely so, as the term *genius* implies.

Martial quite a few times applies *doctus* to Catullus, his avowed model, the contexts making it difficult to determine exactly what it connotes.⁴⁹ For instance, Martial uses *doctus* of Catullus twice in the *Apophoreta*, both times in identifying the origin of an object: at 14.100.1 and 14.152.1 he says articles mentioned in the poems are from the *terra docti Catulli*, a stock application of the epithet.

Martial's use of *doctus* of Catullus in epigram 8.73 helps little to determine a connotation. Martial says there in address to a patron who has requested poems:

si dare vis nostrae vires animosque Thaliae
 et victura petis carmina, da quod amem.
 Cynthia te vatem fecit, lascive Properti;
 ingenium Galli pulchra Lycoris erat;
 fama est arguti Nemesis formonsa Tibulli;
 Lesbia dictavit, docte Catulle, tibi:
 non me Paeligni nec spernet Mantua vatem,
 si qua Corinna mihi, si quis Alexis erit.

⁴⁹For Catullus as Martial's model see 10.78.16, 7.99.6-7 (on which see below), 5.5.5-6, and 1 *praef.* 11.

(8.73)

Catullus here is termed *doctus* specifically for his lyrical or elegiac poetry, as the context indicates. Martial, as Paukstadt argues, uses *doctus* of Catullus only because it had been attributed to him so frequently by prior poets, and hence it is just a stock epithet for Catullus connoting, as in the two previous examples, only that he is part of the established literary tradition.⁵⁰

In epigram 1.61 Martial again includes Catullus in a list of Roman authors, this time for the renown they have brought to their birthplaces. The epigram begins with the line, "Verona docti syllabas amat vatis" (1.61.1), and continues with similar laudatory references to many other writers, including Livy, Vergil and Ovid, and several contemporaries of Martial's, though none with epithets. *Doctus* qualifying *vates* is potentially interesting: it implies that *doctus* connotes "technical proficiency" since *vates* would account for the element of divine inspiration normally part of the poetic process. *Vates*, however, has by Martial's time already lost its earlier solemn associations,

⁵⁰R. Paukstadt, *De Martiale Catulli imitatore* (Diss., Halle 1876), 8-9, whose argument is that since Martial is concerned with only the *amatoria*, *lusoria* and *iambica carmina* that Catullus wrote, and not the poems which he composed *more Alexandrinorum* that display more his learning, Martial uses *doctus* of Catullus only because it had been attributed to him so frequently by prior poets. More recent studies of Catullus, however, do not dichotomize Catullus' poems as does Paukstadt. Rather Catullus' *doctrina* is to be found in all the poems, but is used with different intent (Quinn, *Revolution*, 30-32).

and is practically synonymous with *poeta*.⁵¹ *Syllabae*, however, may suggest Catullus' hendecasyllabics, and then his adaptation of the Greek meter into Latin which is distinctly neoteric.⁵² Hence, the sense of "learned master technician" may apply best here for *doctus*.

Finally on Catullus, in epigram 7.99 Martial, in commending his work to Domitian, would have his intermediary to the emperor say of him:

'Temporibus praestat non nihil iste tuis,
nec Marso nimium minor est doctoque Catullo.'
(7.99.6-7)

Martial believes that he, like Marsus and *doctus* Catullus, brings something to Domitian's times. The neoteric sense for *doctus* works particularly well here because it fits the sentiment of the lines in that Catullus brought the Alexandrian style of poetry to his times, many elements of which Martial himself employs.⁵³ As far as it is possible to tell,

⁵¹Newman, 104-105.

⁵²For *syllabae* suggesting hendecasyllabics see Howell, *ad loc.*, who then cites Mart. 10.9.1-3:

Udenis pedibusque syllabisque
et multo sale, nec tamen protervo
notus gentibus ille Martialis . . .

Cf. Post, *ad loc.*, who comments that *doctus* is probably applied particularly to Catullus for his making hendecasyllabic meter fashionable at Rome.

⁵³Cf. J. Ferguson, "Catullus and Martial," *Proceedings of the African Classical Association* 6 (1963): 7, who says that *doctus* "is more than a stock epithet for a poet; it is peculiarly applied to Catullus, and marks him out as the leading poet among the neoteric school, which adapted Alexandrian poetry to Latin. Such adaptations were never mere imitations, and Martial, who shows his own skill in adapting Catullus, is interested in Catullus's skill in adapting his

then, Martial applies *doctus* to Catullus in its sense of neoteric "learned master technician," both here and in general.

In the next usage of *doctus*, applied to the poetess Sulpicia (of the late first century A.D.), Martial gives to *doctus* much of the sense of σοφός.⁵⁴ This usage of *doctus* comes in epigram 10.35, where Martial begins by calling all young wives and husbands who wish to please their spouses to read Sulpicia's love poetry. He continues:

non haec Colchidos adserit furorem,
 diri prandia nec refert Thyestae;
 Scyllam, Byblida nec fuisse credit:
 sed castos docet et probos amores,
 lusus, delicias facetiasque.
 cuius carmina qui bene aestimarit,
 nullam dixerit esse nequiores,
 nullam dixerit esse sanctiores.
 Tales Egeriae iocos fuisse
 udo crediderim Numae sub antro.
 Hac condiscipula vel hac magistra
 esses doctior et pudica, Sappho.
 (10.35.5-16)

Martial begins by lauding Sulpicia for eschewing typical tragic and epic themes, and then goes on in praise of her great ability in presenting the subject of *amor*. Specifically he says that Sulpicia in her poetry *docet*, "teaches," pure and proper love, but in such a way that no one is *nequior*, "more

predecessors." Catullus is also Martial's model for the use of sexual obscenity (Mart. 1 *praef.* 9-11), his care in metrics (Ferguson, "Catull. and Mart.," 7-8), and in the development of the genre of epigram.

⁵⁴First discussed above, previous section, at Lucretius, where, it will be recalled, *doctus* (and σοφός) used of poets meant having privileged (divine) knowledge of a theme, skill in presenting it, and using both properly.

naughty," than she, but also no one is *sanctior* than she. She is then compared to one of the old Italian Camenae, Egeria, who was Numa's *coniunx* or *amica*, in her capacity to achieve a medium between the risqué and the proper, and as a Muse, to give it best expression.⁵⁵ The use of *doctior* in the comparison with Sappho then connotes not only "more technically skilled in poetry," as in previous examples, but also "more knowledgeable," in this case, about *amor*, because she has privileged (divine) information on the subject-matter. Indeed, Martial goes on in the last five lines of the poem (17-21) to praise Sulpicia for her own attractiveness and extreme devotion to her husband.

Martial shows by his usage of *doctior* here in this epigram that he is aware of the extended sense *doctus* has in many other Roman poets: it connotes not just "technical expertise," but also the ability to impart privileged knowledge. One implication of this meaningful epigram on Sulpicia is that Martial is describing his own poetic process with the poem. He, as he says of Sulpicia, also appears to teach proper conduct (though not on *amor*) by presenting the extremes in behavior with his satire.⁵⁶ The further implication in this context, where Sulpicia is commended for eschewing traditional epic and tragic themes, is that the

⁵⁵On Egeria see Livy 1.19.5, and Ov. *Fast.* 3.275.

⁵⁶Martial not only criticizes but also celebrates ideals of behavior with his poems (see on epigram 5.15 in Chap. II.2 above).

doctrina of epic or tragedy consists of only using proper expression and form, and not having real knowledge of a worthwhile subject and knowing how to best express it. Thus Martial again shows his reactionary position: he abjures the sense *doctus* has acquired in his day--namely, "verse technician," for its traditional and true sense of "(divinely) knowledgeable," and hence able to teach.

In support of the extended sense Martial gives to *doctus* in his poem on Sulpicia is his use, like many Roman poets before him, of *doctus* for the Muses. For example, at 9.42.3 he invokes the *doctae sorores* and Apollo's priestess to serve his patron Stella in writing poetry. And at 10.58.5-6 he speaks of the allegiance Faustinus, another patron of his who wrote poetry, and he himself had for the *doctae Pierides*. He ends this poem by swearing "per veneranda mihi Musarum sacra," on the rites of the Muses that he venerates. Thus he shows the extended sense of "divinely knowledgeable" as well as "poetically skilled" for *doctus* used of the Muses.

In summary, Martial gives the following senses to *doctus* in his epigrams. In most instances it has the underlying sense of "learned" or "cultured" with respect to literature. With this usage he follows the other Roman poets and adds nothing new. Martial more often uses *doctus* specifically of one who knows Greek as well as Latin, is well read and trained in literature, and is a poet himself. Again, with this sense of *doctus* Martial follows in the steps of the

other Roman poets, at least from Horace onwards, where *doctus* can be synonymous with "poetically skilled," and stands in general for one who adheres to the literary practices and standards of the day. A good example of this sense is Martial's use of *doctus* for Catullus, where it appears to connote "learned master technician," especially for the lyric form. Martial, again like many other Roman poets, also uses *doctus* with the extended sense of σοφός (of the poetess Sulpicia), where it connotes "divinely informed poet," as well as technically skilled. Likewise he uses *doctus* of the Muses to mean "divinely knowledgeable" as well as "poetically skilled."

Martial deviates from other Roman poets, however, by using *doctus* in a potentially pejorative context: in such usages *doctus* indicates an adherence to literary conventions and technical standards of the day, but without divinely inspired knowledge and expression of the subject-matter. Such a usage is unique with Martial and reflects his own reactionary position within the literary tradition: his *doctrina*, unlike the *doctrina* of the higher genres of his day, which is only a technical adherence to literary standards, is a true knowledge and teaching of a worthwhile subject.

Martial, however, by no means abjures technical expertise. Instead he looks for a balance between it and the expression of his subject-matter that will be acceptable and

pleasing to the majority among his readers.⁵⁷ In this Martial shows his stance as a poet of the people, very well expressed by him in epigram 9.81, where he neatly sums up the degree of learnedness he strives for in his own poems:

Lector et auditor nostros probat, Aule, libellos,
 sed quidam exactos esse poeta negat.
 non nimium curo: nam cenae fercula nostrae
 malim convivis quam placuisse cocis.
 (9.81)

Martial, more than any other Roman poet, seeks to establish rapport with the general reader, even at the expense of alienating a more erudite audience--that is, members of the literary coterie of his day.⁵⁸

⁵⁷Cf. Mario Citroni, "Pubblicazione e dediche dei libri in Marziale," *Maia* 40 (1988): 38-39, who concludes that Martial with his dedicatory epigrams creates numerous points of support among potential readers, with the exception of pedantic critics.

⁵⁸On Martial's special relation with his reader see Chap. IV.2 below.

CHAPTER IV

LICENTIA AND LASCIVUS

This chapter considers the terms *licentia* and *lascivus*, terms Roman poets use to connote the forthright and graphic language, imagery and subject-matter that are found in their poetry. Martial's poetry in particular is characterized by its *licentia* and *lascivia*, and examination of these two terms is crucial for an accurate assessment of his place in the Roman literary tradition.

A few notes before beginning may be helpful. *Lascivus* has the basic sense of "playful" and "free from restraint," especially in sexual matters.¹ *Licentia*, the other term considered in this chapter, in its most general sense means "freedom" or "license," but also has a specialized meaning of "frankness of speech," oftentimes in regard to sexual matters, and is here considered in that latter sense.² As *licentia* occurs relatively infrequently in a literary-critical context, and when it does it is oftentimes linked with *lascivus*, its usage is examined concurrently with *lascivus*.

¹See *OLD*, s.v. *lascivus*.

²See *OLD*, s.v. *licentia*. Note that *licentia* also can mean "poetic license," but as it is not used by Martial in that sense its usage as such is not considered in this study.

Section IV.1: *Licentia* and *Lascivus* in the Roman Poets

This section has to do with the terms *lascivus*, *lascivia* and the verb *lascivire* as used in a literary-critical context by the Roman poets other than Martial. *Lascivus* is first found in a literary-critical context in Propertius. Propertius uses *lascivus* of Catullus, who is included in a list of poets who wrote poetry inspired by a beloved. Speaking of the passion expressed in such love poetry Propertius writes:

haec quoque lascivi cantarunt scripta Catulli,
Lesbia quis ipsa notior est Helena.
(Prop. 2.34.87-88)

Lascivus here obviously has an amorous if not sexual connotation because of the mention of Lesbia.

The next usage comes in Horace's *Ars*. Horace says there in regard to creating tone in poetry that a poet must first feel an emotion himself before he can hope to convey it to his reader. He continues:

tristia maestum
voltum verba decent, iratum plena minarum,
ludentem lasciva, severum seria dictu.
(Hor. *Ars P.* 105-107)

Sad words befit a sorrowful face, threatening words an angry face, and things playful in speech, *lasciva dictu*, befit one who plays, as serious words befit a stern person. *Lascivus* is opposed here to *seria* and *severus* which help form its sense of "playful" or "wanton" (with no sexual undertone). Note the association with *ludere*.

Horace also uses *licentia* in reference to Fescinnine verse. In noting the roots of Roman poetic drama in rustic festivities he says of certain practices designed to bring relief during the holiday period (after harvest-time) of the farmers of old:

Fescennina per hunc invecta licentia morem
versibus alternis opprobria rustica fudit.
libertasque recurrentes accepta per annos
lusit amabiliter, donec iam saevus apertam
in rabiem coepit verti iocus et per honestas
ire domos impune minax.

(Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.145-50)

Licentia here means license or freedom of expression in verse, taking the specific form of *opprobria*, "taunts."³ Note that *Fescinnina licentia* is paralleled by *libertas* in line 147, and note the use of the verb *ludere* (line 148) to connote the process of delivering the verse.

Ovid uses *lascivus/lascivia* and *licentia* several times. The first usage examined comes from the *Tristia*. There Ovid says of his fifth Book:

delicias siquis lascivaque carmina quaerit
praemoneo, non est scripta quod ista legat.
aptior huic Gallus blandique Propertius oris,
aptior, ingenium come, Tibullus erit.
atque utinam numero non nos essemus in isto!
et mihi, cur umquam Musa iocata mea est?

(Ov. *Tr.* 5.1.15-20)

Lasciva carmina, love poems, are associated with *deliciae*, "delights," a word that has erotic connotations.⁴ Such

³See on this passage in Chap. I.1 above.

⁴*Deliciae* with an erotic sense is found as early as Cicero (cf. *Cael.* 44), and in Catullus several times (see Quinn, *Poems*, at 2.1). For the erotic connotation of *deliciae*

poetry is typical of the elegists Gallus, Propertius and Tibullus, and also Ovid in his earlier years when his Muse "joked," as he puts it. The sense of *lascivia* here is "playfully risqué and wanton," but not sexually graphic in language or content.⁵

Ovid next uses *lascivus* in similar fashion of Sappho. He says in his *Ars* by way of instruction to his female reader:

nota sit et Sappho--quid enim lascivius illa?
 cuive pater vafri luditur arte Getae.
 et teneri possis carmen legisse Properti,
 sive aliquid Galli, sive, Tibulle, tuum.
 (*Ars Am.* 3.331-34)

In order to learn of love Ovid advises his reader to become familiar with Sappho--for no one is *lascivius*, "more wanton,"--and also Menander, Propertius, Gallus and Tibullus, all of whom wrote poetry that had to do with love matters. Sappho is singled out as especially *lasciva* probably because she wrote so intently on *amor*.⁶ The connotation, then, is the same as in the previous passage--"playfully risqué and wanton."

Ovid gives more definition to *licentia* and *lascivus* in his *Remedia*. There Ovid tells his reader that he must imagine

in Ovid cf. *Tr.* 2.78, 349, 368; *Rem. Am.* 154; *Ars Am.* 3.649, etc. (cf. Owen, 2.78n.).

⁵For the euphemistic and inexplicit sexual language and content of Roman elegy see J.N. Adams, *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary* (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982), 224-25.

⁶Perhaps there is an allusion to Sappho's alleged sexual persuasion also, which would be decidedly contrary to moral standards of Ovid's day. In the context, however, it seems unlikely.

or take more from Ovid's words than Ovid actually says because lately men have criticized his work and called his Muse *proterva*, "shameless" or "wanton" (lines 359-62). He goes on in the next ten lines to attribute to envy this criticism his work has received. At line 371 Ovid then resumes with this advice to his critics:

at tu, quicumque es, quem nostra licentia laedit,
Si sapis, ad numeros exige quidque suos.
(Ov. Rem. Am. 371-72)

Ovid uses *licentia*, "license," to describe the element in his work that has caused objection and which he defined above with the image of *proterva Musa*. The sexual connotation is obvious here. The wise reader, Ovid then advises in the next lines, will recognize that different themes suit different genres. He then continues on to list different genres, each with its appropriate theme, including elegy which is said to sing of *amores* (lines 379-80). At the end of this list Ovid says specifically in regard to his *Remedia*:

Thais in arte mea est; lascivia libera nostra est;
nil mihi cum vitta; Thais in arte mea est.
(Ov. Rem. Am. 385-86)

Thais was a famous Athenian courtesan whose name was proverbial for subsequent ladies of the profession.⁷ *Lascivia*, characterized as *libera*, "free," hence would be "sexual freedom" here. Also Ovid's disassociation of his work with the *vitta*, the headband worn by matrons, further suggests that

⁷Cf. Menander's play of the name, Prop. 2.6.3, 4.5.43, and Ov. *Ars Am.* 3.604.

lascivia here connotes sexual license, though not sexually graphic language and content.

Similarly Ovid speaks of his poetry in the *Tristia*. He says there at one place:

at cur in nostra nimia est lascivia Musa,
 curve meus cuiquam suadet amare liber?
 nil nisi peccatum manifesta que culpa fatenda est:
 paenitet ingenii iudicique mei.

(Ov. *Tr.* 2.313-16)

Ovid poses the question, why is there so much *lascivia*, "wantonness," in his poetry, and why does he advise anyone to love? He does not deny that he does such things. However, he does go on in the lines that follow to defend his love poetry by saying he was incapable, through lack of ability, to write in the higher genres. Then he states:

ad leve rursus opus, iuvenalia carmina, veni
 et falso movi pectus amore meum.

(Ov. *Tr.* 2.339-40)

This *opus* of which he speaks, meaning probably the *Amores* and *Ars*, is what he refers to a few lines later when he says:

haec tibi me invisum lascivia fecit, ob artes,
 quis ratus es vetitos sollicitare toros.

(Ov. *Tr.* 2.345-46)

Lascivia again means "sexual license," particularly objectionable to Augustus because it taught adultery (*sollicitare toros*). Again, however, as above, *lascivia* does not connote sexually graphic language or content; instead it is wanton in the sense that it goes against contemporary moral edicts.

Somewhat later in the same book of the *Tristia* Ovid, reminiscent of Propertius, uses *lascivus* of Catullus. Again

in defense of his own poetry Ovid says after citing many examples of Greeks who have written on love: "et Romanus habet multa iocosa liber" (Tr. 2.422). As an instance of this he says:

sic sua lascivo cantata est saepe Catullo
 femina, cui falsum Lesbia nomen erat;
 nec contentus ea, multos vulgavit amores,
 in quibus ipse suum fassus adulterium est.
 par fuit exigui similisque licentia Calvi,
 detexit variis qui sua furta modis.
 (Ov. Tr. 2.427-32)

Catullus is termed *lascivus* for writing not only of his *amor* with Lesbia, but of many other *amores* which were also adulterous. Then Calvus is cited for his similar *licentia*, as Ovid terms it, again involving sexual escapades that flouted contemporary moral conventions.

Statius uses *lasciva* twice of Thalia in her capacity as the Muse of comedy. In *Silvae* 2.1 he says of the deceased beloved of one of his friends:

 seu Graius amictu
 Attica facundi decurreret orsa Menandri:
 laudaret gavisa sonum crinemque decorum
 fregisset rosea lasciva Thalia corona.
 (Stat. *Silv.* 2.1.113-16)

Had the boy chosen to act in one of Menander's plays "playfully wanton" Thalia would have praised and adorned him. Here *lasciva* has associations with Greek New Comedy, notable for its playfulness and love themes, but not for graphic sexual language and content.⁸

Statius again uses *lasciva* of Thalia in *Silvae* 5.3.

⁸See Adams, 218.

it is used for the writing of *vers de société*.¹⁰ Here, as usual, there is a sensual if not sexual connotation to *lascivire* when used of verse, as the poem is full of erotic motifs and allusions.¹¹ There is, however, no graphic sexual language or content.

Quintilian uses *lascivire* (and its forms) in reference to poetry in a somewhat different manner. For example, at one place he says that there is a pedantic and childish affectation in vogue in the schools where an epigram is used to mark a transition (4.1.77). He then continues with: "ut Ovidius *lascivire* in *Metamorphoses* in solet, quem tamen excusare necessitas potest res diversissimas in speciem unius corporis colligentem." (4.1.77). Ovid, instead of using conventional transitional devices in his *Metamorphoses*, playfully used an epigram to pass from one subject to the next. There is no sexual connotation here.

Then in another place Quintilian uses both *lascivus* and *licentia* in indirect reference to poetry. In speaking of the value of *compositio* in oratory says:

Neque, si parvi pedes vim detrahunt rebus, ut Sotadeorum et Galliamborum et quorundam in oratione simili paene licentia lascivientium, compositionis est iudicandum.

(Quint. 9.4.6)

¹⁰Indeed, five lines later in the poem Statius also uses *ludere* for the writing of this particular poem (see on this poem and at Catull. 50 in Chap. I.1 above).

¹¹On the erotic motifs and allusions see Alex Hardie, *Statius and the "Silvae"; Poets, Patrons and Epideixis in the Greco-Roman World* (Liverpool: Francis Cairns, 1983), 135.

There are certain *pedes*, "feet," that *lasciviunt*, "play about" or "make wanton" in oratory that are almost the same as Sotadean and Galliambic meters in their *licentia*, their "license." Similarly at 9.4.108 Quintilian in speaking of an iambic trimeter says such a rhythm "*lascivi carminis est*," referring again to Sotadean meter. Again, as in the previous passage, there is no sexual connotation with these two citations. Quintilian means only license and playfulness in regard to meter.

Finally, in Book 10 Quintilian twice uses *lascivus*, both times of Ovid. In one place he says in his survey of the Roman authors: "*Lascivus quidem in herois quoque Ovidius et nimium amator ingenii sui, laudandus tamen in partibus*" (10.1.88). Ovid is *lascivus*, "playful," even in his hexameters. Again, as above, there is no sexual connotation. Shortly thereafter Quintilian says in speaking of Roman elegy that Tibullus seems the most polished and elegant, though some prefer Propertius. He then continues with: "*Ovidius utroque lascivior, sicut durior Gallus*" (10.1.93). Ovid is more playful or sportive than Tibullus and Propertius, while Gallus is harsher. Again, *lascivus* seems to have no sexual connotation.¹²

To close this section, Pliny's usages of *lascivus* and its forms in a literary-critical context are considered

¹²Cf. Adams, 224: "Ovid's *Amores* and *Ars Amatoria* are more explicit than other elegy, but both works are lexically inoffensive."

because they specifically refer to *vers de société*. Also Pliny's usage marks an important difference in the connotation of the term. First, in one of his so-called hendecasyllabics Pliny speaks of an epigram written by Cicero:

Cum libros Galli legerem, quibus ille parenti
ausus de Cicerone dare est palmamque decusque,
lascivum inveni lusum Ciceronis

(Pliny *Ep.* 7.4.6)

Pliny discovered the *lascivus lusus*, "sportive poem," of Cicero, meaning an epigram Cicero wrote to his Tiro (as stated previously in this letter at 7.4.3). The poem goes on to speak of Tiro's coy behavior towards his lover showing that *lascivus* has a definite sexual connotation here, though with no further sense perceivable. However, in another letter Pliny says at one point in regard to his writing of his so-called hendecasyllabics:

ex quibus tamen si non nulla tibi petulantiora paulo
videbuntur, erit eruditionis tuae cogitare summos illos
et gravissimos viros qui talia scripserunt non modo
lascivia rerum, sed ne verbis quidem nudis abstinuisse.

(Pliny *Ep.* 4.14.4)

Lascivia rerum here refers to the sexual matter typical of some of the social verse, *vers de société*, to which Pliny refers.¹³ Note the indirect contrast between *lascivia* and *gravis*, which gives it the sense of "playful," and the associations *lascivia* has with *petulans*, "wanton" or "lustful," and especially *verba nuda*, "forthright language."

¹³Note the great similarity in thought and expression between this passage and Mart. 8 *praef.* 11-15 (on which see below, next section).

Lascivia has here, then, for the first time the definite connotation of sexually graphic language and content.

Pliny goes on in this same letter, *Epistle* 4.14, to cite in defense of the *lascivia* of his own verse the *locus classicus* for disclaimers of immorality from Catullus 16:¹⁴

Nam castum esse decet pium poetam
 ipsum, versiculos nihil necesse est,
 qui tunc denique habent salem et leporem
 si sunt molliculi et parum pudici.

(Pliny *Ep.* 4.14.5 [Catull. 16.5-8])

This passage not only indicates the degree of Pliny's poetic *lascivia*--such that it can call his reputation into question, but also points to the function of *lascivia* in the verse. Namely, without the element of *lascivia*, designated here by "molliculi et parum pudici," the verse would not be able to have *sal*, "piquancy" or "wit," and *lepos*, "charm" or "humor."¹⁵

In summary, Roman poets other than Martial used *licentia* and *lascivus* almost always with reference to so-called lighter poetry, especially elegy, usually to point up the amorous and risqué nature of the poetry. Furthermore, Ovid several times used *lascivia* and *licentia* to connote the morally objectionable content of poetry. Quintilian was remarkable in using the verb *lascivire* of the license taken by a poet in his form and meter. Pliny, speaking in justifica-

¹⁴Cf. also at Pliny *Ep.* 5.3 where he defends his senatorial dignity which has been called into question by the "hendecasyllabics" he wrote and publically recited.

¹⁵On this passage see at Catullus 16 in Chap. II.3, above.

tion of his own poetry, added to *lascivia* the connotation of "frank, sexual content" accompanied by the use of forthright language, a sense which Martial will develop even further.

Section IV.2: *Licentia* and *Lascivus* in Martial

Lascivus and its forms occur many times in the epigrams of Martial; *licentia* occurs a few times. In many cases, as with the other Roman poets, the terms connote an amorous or risqué element found in poetry. However, *lascivus* and *licentia* connote in Martial most often sexually forthright language--that is, non-euphemistic language--and sexually oriented subject-matter and imagery. As these two elements, sexually forthright language and content, are dominant in over one hundred of the poems of Martial's twelve books and ancillary in many, many others, his usage of the terms is key to an accurate analysis of his poetry.¹⁶

To begin, Martial uses *lascivus* several times in reference to the poetry of others. For example, he uses it in epigram 8.73 of Propertius, who is included in a list of poets that have received inspiration from their beloved ones. Martial says there: "Cynthia te vatem fecit, lascive Properti" (8.73.3). Propertius is "wanton" for his love elegy.

¹⁶Cf. John P. Sullivan, "Martial's Sexual Attitudes," *Philologus* 123 (1979): 288-89, who comes up with the figure of eighty-six out of eleven hundred and seventy-two epigrams (twelve books) "which a Victorian amateur of Latin literature would blush to offer in a literal English translation." Cf. Holzberg, 49, who sets the number of epigrams with sexual themes at 191.

Martial in another epigram uses *lascivus* again in reference to elegy. In 3.20 he, surmising what his friend Canius Rufus might be doing, asks: "lascivus elegis an severus herois?" (3.20.6). Martial terms Canius "playful, wanton" in the writing of elegy. Note the contrast with *severus* and epic verse.

Martial also uses *lascivus* in describing certain verse composed by Nero. In an epigram addressed to a patron Martial says by way of smoothing the path for his own poetry:

nec tibi sit mirum modici quod conscia vatis
 iudicium metuit nostra Thalia tuum:
 ipse tuas etiam veritas Nero dicitur aures,
 lascivum iuvenis cum tibi lusit opus.
 (9.26.7-10)

Nero while a youth *lusit*, "composed," a *lascivum opus*, a "playful work," perhaps elegy or epigram, certainly poetry in some genre involving amorous or sexual matter. Note the association of *ludere* and *lascivus*. Of course Martial indirectly refers to his own work with the terminology he uses of Nero's.

Martial similarly uses *lascivus*, though with even more definition, in regard to certain verses of Lucan, again in an attempt to promote his own poetry. In epigram 10.64, addressed to Polla, Lucan's widow, he says:

Contigeris regina meos si Polla libellos,
 non tetrica nostros excipe fronte iocos.
 ille tuus vates, Heliconis gloria nostri,
 Pieria caneret cum fera bella tuba,
 non tamen erubuit lascivo dicere versu
 'Si nec pedicor, Cotta, quid hic facio?'
 (10.64)

In order to justify his own *ioci*, a term which Martial oftentimes gives a sexual connotation, Martial recalls that Lucan, though he wrote epic, was not ashamed to write in *lascivus versus*, verse that was "sexually graphic," as the language and content of the last line indicate.¹⁷

Finally, Martial uses *lascivus* of a poem written by Augustus Caesar, again with reference to Martial's own poems. In epigram 11.20, Martial's appeal to precedent for his own graphic sexual language and content, he says:

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!'
 Apsolvīs lepidos nimirum, Auguste, libellos,
 qui scis Romana simplicitate loqui.

(11.20)

The envious reader, the one who gloomily (*tristis*) reads *Latina verba*, that is, plain or forthright Latin, is asked to read Augustus' wanton verses.¹⁸ Martial then gives Augustus' poem which is indeed sexually graphic both in language and

¹⁷For *ioci* with a sexual connotation in Martial cf. 1.35.13, 1.4.3, 6.82.5, etc. Since the last line of this epigram does not appear in Lucan's extant works the exact meaning and context is uncertain. The sense is clearly sexual, however, and *pedico* is non-euphemistic (cf. Adams, 123-24).

¹⁸On *Latina verba* see Kay, *ad loc.*, who compares it to *Romana simplicitas* in this same epigram (line 10) and which he construes as "uninhibited non-euphemistic language." Also see at 1 *praef.* 13, below, this section, where Martial uses *Latinus* with this same sense.

subject-matter. *Lascivus versus*, then, connotes here poetry that is sexually graphic in language--referred to as "Latina verba" and "Romana simplicitas"--and in content.¹⁹

With the remaining usages of *lascivus* Martial refers directly to his own poems. In most instances *lascivus* through context directly connotes free and graphic expression of sexual matter, as discussed in the two previous epigrams. To begin, however, with some examples with a less definitive context, in epigram 7.51 Martial says in regard to his poetry:

Mercari nostras si te piget, Urbice, nugas
 et lasciva tamen carmina nosse libet,
 Pompeium quaeres--et nosti fortisan--Auctum.
 (7.51.1-3)

Martial calls his poems *nugae* and *lasciva carmina* with the context adding nothing other than the association with *nugae*. But more definitively, in epigram 7.17 Martial says in address to Julius Martialis' library:

Ruris bibliotheca delicati,
 vicinam videt unde lector urbem,
 inter carmina sanctiora si quis
 lascivae fuerit locus Thaliae,
 hos nido licet inseras vel imo,
 septem quos tibi misimus libellos
 auctoris calamo sui notatos.
 (7.17.1-7)

Martial terms his Muse, Thalia, *lasciva*, and asks place for her among more reverent poems (*sanctiora carmina*). Here the contrast with *sanctiora carmina* gives some indication of what

¹⁹On similar expressions for non-euphemistic language cf. at 1 *praef.* 9 and 13, and 8 *praef.* 12-13, immediately below. For (*Romana*) *simplicitas* as "graphic, sexual language" cf. epigrams 11.63.4, 14.215.1; also cf. Petron. 132.15 and *Priap.* 3.9, 38.1.

lasciva would be. Another example comes in epigram 1.3, where Martial says in address to his newly written book:

sed tu ne totiens domini patiare lituras
 neve notet lusus tristis harundo tuos,
 aetherias, lascive, cupis volitare per auras:
 i, fuge: sed poteris tutior esse domi.
 (1.3.9-12)

The book, addressed as the *lascivus* one, is eager to fly before its author in a serious mood (*tristis*) can edit out its *lusus*, "jokes," which oftentimes has a sexual connotation.²⁰

In the rest of the examples Martial, through the context, definitively gives to *lascivus* the sense of free and graphic expression of sexual matter. For example, in his preface to Book 1 Martial prepares his reader for his freedom of expression by appealing to precedent. He says there:

Lascivam verborum veritatem, id est epigrammaton linguam,
 excussarem, si meum esset exemplum: sic scribit Catullus,
 sic Marsus, sic Pedo, sic Gaetulicus, sic quicumque
 perlegitur.
 (1 praef. 9-12)

The force of the argument is that epigram always has employed *lasciva verborum veritas*, a "playfully wanton realism of language," and Martial is only continuing on in the tradition. Martial then goes on to give definition to his *lasciva verborum veritas*:

Si quis tamen tam ambitiose tristis est ut apud illum in
 nulla pagina latine loqui fas sit, potest epistola vel
 potius titulo contentus esse. Epigrammata illis scribun-
 tur qui solent spectare Florales. Non intret Cato
 theatrum meum, aut si intraverit, spectet. Videor mihi
 meo iure facturus si epistolam versibus clusero:

²⁰On the sexual connotation of *lusus* see 1.4.7, 1.35.13 and 11.16.7 (on which see above, this section).

Nosses iocosae dulce cum sacrum Florae
 festosque lusus et licentiam volgi,
 cur in theatrum, Cato severe, venisti?
 an ideo tantum veneras, ut exires?

(1 *praef.* 12-21)

Martial's work is not for anyone so ostentatiously gloomy, *ambitiose tristis*, that he tolerates no plainly spoken or non-euphemistic language--*latine loqui*.²¹ Martial then compares epigram to the *Florales*, games in honor of the old Italian goddess Flora which included nudity, verbal obscenity and probably sexual activity.²² In his concluding verse Martial characterizes the atmosphere of the Floralia with *lusus*, *licentia volgi* and the image of *severus* Cato shunning the ceremony. Martial means, then, by *lasciva verborum veritas* a playful directness or forthrightness of language that by context involves sexual matter. He also further suggests that his *lascivia* and *licentia* serve a positive social function just as the festivals of the Floralia did, where moral and

²¹On this and other expressions Martial uses for non-euphemistic language see on epigram 11.20, this section, immediately above. Also cf. epigram 11.15 where Martial says of his Book 11: "nec per circuitus loquatur illam, / ex qua nascimur, omnium parentem, / quam sanctus Numa mentulam vocabat" (11.15.8-10), Book 11 is not to use roundabout language, "per circuitus loquatur," (see *TLL* 3.1106.29f.), but to speak plainly without using euphemisms; and cf. epigram 3.68 where Martial gives this caution to his matron reader: "schemate nec dubio sed aperte nominat illam / quam recipit sexto mense superba Venus, / custodem medio statuit quam vilicus horto, / opposita spectat quam proba virgo manu" (3.68.7-10).

²²On the Floralia see *PW* 6.2749f. and Howell, *ad loc.*

social norms were reversed for religious and other reasons.²³

In another preface Martial again speaks of the *licentia* of his epigrams. He says in the preface to Book 8, addressed to Domitian, that this book, although it has Domitian as its main subject-matter, will nevertheless be intermixed with *ioci*. Martial then continues with this qualification:

Quamvis autem epigrammata a severissimis quoque et summae fortunae viris ita scripta sint ut mimicam verborum licentiam adfectasse videantur, ego tamen illis non permisi tam lascive loqui quam solent.

(8 *praef.* 11-15)

Epigrams written by even the most serious and high ranking men were characterized by their *licentia verborum*, "freedom of expression." *Licentia* is further defined here as *mimica*, "mimic," typically farcial and sexually graphic in language and content.²⁴ Martial declares that his epigrams in this book will not, however, speak so wantonly, *lascive loqui*, as usual.

In this next epigram Martial uses *lascivus* in giving the traditional disclaimer for what may be taken as immoral content. Also he again compares his work to a mime performance. In 1.4, addressed to the Domitian, he says:

Contigeris nostros, Caesar, si forte libellos,
terrarum dominum pone supercilium.
consuevere iocos vestri quoque ferre triumphi,
materiam dictis nec pudet esse ducem.

²³See Sullivan, *Martial: The Unexpected Classic*, 66-69, for Martial's obscenity serving a positive social function.

²⁴Cf. Adams, 219: "Primary obscenities were undoubtedly admitted in farce and mime." Also cf. Quint. 6.3.47 and *PW*, 15₂.1743-49.

qua Thymelen spectas derisoremque Latinum,
 illa fronte precor carmina nostra legas.
 innocuos censura potest permittere lusus:
 lasciva est nobis pagina, vita proba.
 (1.4)

Martial compares his epigrams to the abusive and sometimes sexually graphic *ioci* triumphing leaders endure from their soldiers, and to mime or pantomime, likewise sexually graphic, through the reference to the two well known mimes, Thymele and Latinus.²⁵ He protests that his own *lusus* are *innocui*, "harmless," and then, like Catullus and Ovid before him, Martial disassociates the moral tone of his work from his personal morals.²⁶ *Lasciva pagina*, by context then, connotes poems that are abusive and sexually graphic in language and content.

In another epigram Martial again compares his poems to mime. With a teasing and humorous tone he used before in another epigram of the same book (epigram 3.68) Martial cautions any innocent or pure female reader:

Ne legeres partem lascivi, casta, libelli,
 praedixi et monui: tu tamen, ecce, legis.
 sed Panniculum spectas et, casta, Latinum,--
 non sunt haec mimis improbiora,--lege.
 (3.86)

In epigram 3.68 Martial had cautioned the *matrona* that in the

²⁵On the nature of the *ioci* triumphing leaders endured cf. on epigram 1.4 at Chap. II.1 above. On mime cf. on 8 *praef.*, immediately above, and on the mimes Thymele and Latinus cf. Juv. 1.36, 6.44, 6.66, 8.107, 8.197, and Suet. *Dom.* 15.

²⁶Catullus' disclaimer comes at 16.5-8 (on which see above, Chap. II.3), Ovid's at *Tr.* 1.9.59f., 2.353f., 3.2.6.

rest of the book she would encounter sexual matter expressed in plain language.²⁷ He then jokingly ended that poem saying that the matron who was about to put down the book now eagerly reads it. Here he carries over the joke. The *matrona* is here become the *casta*, "innocent" or "pure women," and is likewise cautioned to avoid Martial's *lascivi libelli*. Martial qualifies, however, that his books are not worse than mime. *Lascivi libelli* then connotes, as above, poems that are sexually graphic in language and content.

In epigram 11.16 Martial, employing somewhat the same joke as in 3.68 and 3.86, uses the verb *lascivire* in regard to his poetry, with the context giving it obvious definition. Again in address to his reader Martial says:

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 nequitas nostri lususque libelli
 uda, puella, leges, sis Patavina licet.
 Erubuit posuitque meum Lucretia librum,
 sed coram Bruto; Brute, recede: leget.
 (11.16)

Martial begins by warning off the reader who is too serious, *gravis nimium*, and too formal--those who wear the *urbana toga* during the Saturnalia.²⁸ He then employs several images to

²⁷On epigram 3.68 cf. above, this section, at note on 1 *praef.* for *latine loqui*. Ovid has a similar caution near the beginning of his *Ars Amatoria* (lines 31-34).

²⁸For "urbanae scripsimus ista togae" Kay, *ad loc.*, gives "we have written the preceding for the urban toga," where "urban toga" represents someone too formal because they wear

indicate the nature of the book: his *pagina* makes wanton, *lascivit*, with Priapean verse and excites like a dancing girl from Tartessos.²⁹ Martial continues with the image of the most moral persons becoming sexually excited by his verse, including the prime exemplar of sexually morality, Lucretia.³⁰ Note also the usage of *nequitia* and *lusus*, both of which often have a sexual connotation in Martial.³¹ The suggestion here that Martial's epigrams are actually pornographic, that is, are written to sexually excite, is an exaggeration for humorous effect.³² However, the poems certainly used graphic sexual language and content to create an effect--humor, shock and especially, as the last line indi-

the toga during the Saturnalian season (Book 11 was expressly written for the Saturnalia) when it is normally put aside.

²⁹Lampsacus was the site of Priapus' best known cult (Paus. 9.31.2) and Tartessos is used to represent Cadiz, famous for its erotic dancing girls (see Kay, *ad loc.*).

³⁰On Curius see Mario Citroni, *M. Valerii Martialis Epigrammaton Liber Primus* (Firenze: La Nuova Italia, 1975), at 1.24.3n.: on Fabricius see Kay at 11.2.2n.; on Patavina see Pliny *Ep.* 1.14.6; and on Lucretia see Livy 1.57f.

³¹On *nequitia/nequor* cf. 3.69.5, 5.2.3, 11.15.4, etc. On *lusus* cf. at 1.4.7 and 11.16.7 above, this section, and at 1.35.13, below, this section.

³²See Holzberg, 48-58, who analyses Martial's epigrams with sexual themes in order to estimate their capacity to sexually stimulate; his conclusion is that most of the erotic poems are "Moralsatiren" (57-58). Cf. also Sullivan, "Martial's Sexual Attitude" 302, who says that Martial, far from being a pornographer, was really by the standards of his age "fairly conventional, if not prudish, in his sexual values." However, compare H.A. Mason, "Is Martial a Classic?" *Cambridge Quarterly* 17 (1988), 328, takes Martial to be announcing with 11.16 the pornographic intent of a set of epigrams in Book 11.

cates here and as in epigrams 3.68 and 3.86, reader interest.

In the next usage *lascivus* also plainly connotes, as above, poems that are sexually graphic. In epigram 5.2, a prefatory poem, Martial says in regard to the content of Book 5:

Matronae puerique virginesque,
vobis pagina nostra dedicatur.
tu, quem nequitiae procaciores
delectant nimium salesque nudi,
lascivos lege quattor libellos:
quintus cum domino liber iocatur;
quem Germanicus ore non rubenti
coram Cecropia legat puella.

(5.2)

Book 5 is different in that it does not contain the *nequitiae procaciores*, the "bolder wantonness," and the *sales nudi*, "unveiled wit," that the first four *lascivi libelli* do.³³ In contrast, Book 5 may be read by Domitian without shame in the presence of his patroness, Pallas, a model of chastity herself.

In the next several usages Martial uses *lascivus* in regard to his poems with a somewhat mollified sense, but still with the underlying connotation of "wanton" as above. For example, he says at 7.68 to his friend Instantius Rufus:

Commendare meas, Instanti Rufe, Camenas
parce precor socero: seria forsan amat.
quod si lascivos admittit et ille libellos,
haec ego vel Curio Fabricioque legam.

(7.68)

If Instantius' father-in-law, who loves *seria*, "serious poetry," also admits Martial's *lascivi libelli*, he will not be

³³On *sales nudi* see at this epigram in Chap. II.3.

put out by their content for they are suitable for a Curius and Fabricius.³⁴

Similarly in epigram 4.14 Martial attempts to introduce his poetry, characterized by *lascivi ioci*, to another patron. He there entreats Silius Italicus, the author of the *Punica*, to lay aside his normally serious mien, his *severitas*, during the Saturnalia in order to give one of Martial's books a reading. Martial continues:

nostris otia comoda Camenis,
nec torva lege fronte, sed remissa
lascivis madidos iocis libellos.
sic forsan tener ausus est Catullus
magno mittere Passerem Maroni.

(4.14.10-14)

Silius is to read Martial's poems, steeped in *lascivi ioci*, with a relaxed manner. Martial's comparison of himself to Catullus giving *Passer* poems to Vergil suggests what type of poems Martial means--namely, those that were amorous if not sexual.³⁵

To close this section and chapter, two epigrams are examined which sum up Martial's attitude toward the use of

³⁴On the high moral character of Curius and Fabricius see above, this section on epigram 11.16.

³⁵*Passerem* stands as the title of Catullus' book of lyric poems (see R. Pitcher, "Passer Catulli: The Evidence of Martial," *Antichthon* 16 [1982], 98 and n.7, who cites Mart. 8.56.19 and 14.185.2, where *arma virumque* stands as the title for the *Aeneid*). *Passer*, however, could conceivably also stand by *double-entendre* for *mentula* (see Yvan Nadeau, "Catullus' Sparrow, Martial, Juvenal and Ovid," *Latomus* 43 (1984), 862-64; and Richard W. Hooper, "In Defence of Catullus' Dirty Sparrow," *Greece & Rome* 32 (1985), 170-71), thus giving the epigram a second-level sexually graphic sense.

sexually graphic language and material. Though neither epigram employs the terms *lascivus* or *licentia* they do contain related terms and certainly are germane in their content to the discussion. The first is epigram 3.69 wherein Martial indicates that graphic sexual language is vital to his genre. He says there of a fellow epigrammatist:

Omnia quod scribis castis epigrammata verbis
 inque tuis nulla est mentula carminibus,
 admiror, laudo; nihil est te sanctius uno:
 at mea luxuria pagina nulla vacat.
 Haec igitur nequam iuvenes facilesque puellae,
 haec senior, sed quem torquet amica, legat.
 at tua, Cosconi, venerandaque sanctaque verba
 a pueris debent virginibusque legi.

(3.69)

Cosconius does not use non-euphemistic language, such as *mentula*, the archetypal obscenity, in his epigrams.³⁶ As a result his poetry is fit only for boys and girls. Martial's poetry, on the other hand, is full of *luxuria*, "licentiousness," and is fit for "naughty boys and easy girls" (*nequam iuvenes facilesque puellae*), and old men with tormenting mistresses.³⁷

Then in epigram 1.35 Martial defends his use not only of sexually graphic language but sexual material as well:

³⁶For the history of *mentula*'s usage and connotation see Adams, 9-13. On Martial's use of the word *mentula* to stand for the sexually graphic in his poems cf. 1.35.5, on which see immediately below, and 11.15.10; also cf. *Priapus* 29:

Obscenis, peream, Priape, si non
 uti me pudet improbisque verbis.
 sed cum tu posito deus pudore
 ostendas mihi coleos patentes,
 cum cunno mihi mentula est vocanda.

³⁷For *luxuria* as "licentiousness" see *TLL* 7₂.1922.80f.

Versus scribere me parum severos
 nec quos praelegat in schola magister,
 Corneli, quereris: sed hi libelli,
 tamquam coniugibus suis mariti,
 non possunt sine mentula placere.
 quid si me iubeas thalassionem
 verbis dicere non thalassionis?
 quis Floralia vestit et stolatum
 permittit meretricibus pudorem?
 lex haec carminibus data est iocosis,
 ne possint, nisi pruriant, iuvare.
 quare deposita severitate
 parcas lusibus et iocis rogamus,
 nec castrare velis meos libellos.
 Gallo turpius est nihil Priapo.
 (1.35)

Martial's *versus* is called *parum severi*, *severus* being a term Martial used in contrast with *lascivus* in several other places in speaking of his poetry (1 *praef.* 20, 4.14.6, 8 *praef.* 11). Then Martial uses several images in an attempt to justify his *licentia*, the sexually graphic element in his poetry: first he compares his poems' *licentia* to the husband's *mentula* without which no pleasure is given to the wife; next he compares his poems' *licentia* to the words and style appropriate to a marriage celebration, no doubt referring to Fescinnine verse or the like which contained licentious material;³⁸ and then Martial compares his poetry's *licentia* to the nudity of the the Floralian festival.³⁹ Indeed, as Martial goes on to say, *iocosa carmina*, "humorous poems," by law, *lex* (line 10), must *pruriunt*, "create a sexual desire,"--that is, have

³⁸*Thalassio*, an ancient invocation used at marriages, stands here for the marriage ceremony (see Howell, *ad loc.*). On the nature of Fescinnine verse used at marriage ceremonies see at Catull. 61 in Chap. I.1, above.

³⁹On the Floralia see at 1 *praef.*, this section above.

to do with sexual matter, if they are to please. Finally Martial ends with an unforgettable comparison that shows how indispensable his sexually oriented *lusus* and *ioci* are to his poetry: his books without such sexually oriented jokes are like a castrated Priapus.

In sum, as these last two poems indicate, graphic sexual language and content were vital elements of Martial's epigrams. The sexual language could be euphemistic, the content and imagery suggestive and inexplicit, as with the elegists, whom Martial terms *lascivus* on several occasions. But more often for Martial *lascivia* and *licentia* meant non-euphemistic language--he terms it variously as *lasciva verborum veritas*, or as *licentia verborum*, or simply as *Latina verba* or (*Romana*) *simplicitas*. Martial noted that such forthright language was typical of epigram and cited Catullus, among others, and even Augustus as a precedent.⁴⁰ Also he several times compared his epigrams to mime, hymeneal songs, the Floralia and Saturnalia for their *lascivia* and *licentia*. With these comparisons Martial suggested that the *lascivia* of his epigrams served a positive social function as did these

⁴⁰Indeed, the archetypal obscenity *mentula* is first found in Catullus (eight times), and such sexually graphic language is thereafter typical of epigram and only of epigram in the history of Roman poetry (Adams, 10-12 and 219-21). Martial carries on the tradition, using, for example, *mentula* forty-eight times in the epigrams as well as a host of other non-euphemistic sexual words. The other genres of Roman poetry, with the exception of Horace's first book of *Satires* (where he uses *cunnus* and *futuo*), the *Priapea* and perhaps Lucilius, do not use sexually graphic language (Adams, 218-25).

socially accepted activities.

Within the framework of the other Roman poets, Martial's justification for his *lascivia* and *licentia*, especially in the last two epigrams considered above, 3.69 and 1.35, is informative. It was observed above in the previous section that for the Roman poets, with the exception of Catullus, *lascivia* and *licentia* did not connote graphic sexual language and content. At the most extreme *lascivia* and *licentia* connoted a violation of moral precepts (e.g., adultery). With Pliny and Martial, however, *lascivia* and *licentia* were found to connote specifically graphic sexual language and content, and that these elements were typical and expected of Roman epigram or *vers de société* since Catullus' time. At this point Pliny's own justification for his "hendecasyllabics" may be given. He says in one of his letters in reply to censure he has received for a public recitation of his verse:

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.

(Pliny *Ep.* 5.3.2)

Pliny's justification for his *versiculi severi parum* is simple:⁴¹ he is human, meaning that *lascivia* is a part of his (and everybody's) nature and not to be repressed. Martial's own justification of his *lascivia* is very much the

⁴¹Cf. Martial's *versus parum severi* at 1.35.1, above.

same. In epigram 3.69 he indicated that he wrote not for idealistic boys and girls, but for persons who had a degree of licentiousness within them. Then in epigram 1.35 Martial with a series of images indicated that *lascivia* and *licentia* were as vital to his poetry as they were to life itself. Both Pliny and Martial argue, then, not for immorality or revolt against moral precepts, the accusation leveled against Ovid for his *lascivia*, but for the acknowledgement of a realistic and accurate delineation of human character.⁴²

Martial's use of and justification for his *lascivia* and *licentia* relate closely to the positions and rationales already uncovered in the examination of other key literary-critical terms he used.⁴³ With the use of the terms *lascivia* and *licentia* Martial shows, first, as discussed immediately above, that he is not revolting against moral precepts or even the literary tradition (for epigram, anyhow, as Pliny substantiates) of the day. He is, however, reacting, as he did, especially with his use of *nugae* and *ludere*, against an effete, overly-idealized and highly unrealistic style of writing that was current in his day. Martial considers

⁴²Cf. Sullivan, "Martial's Sexual Attitudes," 302, who concludes: "We find, therefore, to our surprise, that Martial, far from being a classic of pornography, . . . was really, by the lights of his age, fairly conventional, if not prudish, in his sexual values, indeed in everything except his frank language, which was hallowed by literary tradition and contemporary practice."

⁴³See the next chapter for a detailed presentation of overall conclusions.

lascivia to be a part of life, and hence it must be given expression if his poetry is to be an accurate and realistic portrayal of human character, as he posits. Moreover, poetry that denies or glosses over the existence of *lascivia*, Martial would say, is not real poetry after all. It is instead an overly-idealistic and impractical literary exercise.

Secondly, Martial indicates with his use of the terms *lascivia* and *licentia* that his purpose in using graphic sexual language and content seems to be, especially as with his use of *ingenium* and *doctus*, to engage his reader. This was made apparent in epigrams 3.68, 3.86 and 11.16, where he humorously suggested that the risqué element of the epigrams made his reader all the more eager to read on. This rationale, to use risqué material and language to evoke reader interest, is also strikingly apparent in 6.60[61] where Martial says of his verse:

Laudat, amat, cantat nostros mea Roma libellos,
 meque sinus omnes, me manus omnis habet.
 Ecce rubet, quidam, pallet, stupet, oscitat, odit.
 hoc volo: nunc nobis carmina nostra placent.
 (6.60[61])

Martial observes that he is popular, but is even more pleased that he evokes strong reactions, even negative ones, from his reader. The contrast Martial apparently has in mind is to the overly-refined and overly-learned, and hence, unreal, unpalatable and boring works of writers of the day who worked in other genres. Martial, on the other hand, strives to produce a strong emotional reaction that will engage his

reader, one way or another. He may be thus termed a poet of the people in that he seeks to stir elemental human emotions in order to link with his reader.

CHAPTER V
CONCLUSIONS

The previous four chapters have looked at the usage and evaluative or critical sense of eight key and representative terms of literary comment in other Roman poets and particularly in Martial. The word study was undertaken in order to assess Martial's place within the Roman literary tradition and his literary intent. This final chapter will briefly review the findings of the first four chapters on the usage of these literary-critical terms. It will then use conclusions garnered from the examination of the literary-critical terms to discuss the position Martial has within the Roman literary tradition and the unique relation he has with his reader.

Section V.1: Summary

Chapter I dealt with the terms *nugae* and *ludere*, terms through which Martial revealed the theme and intent of his writing. In general, the use of the deprecatory and ironic terms *nugae* and *ludere* in the Roman poets stemmed from two sources: first, the Callimachean and then neoteric reaction to epic and tragedy, and second, from the Roman tradition of *vers de société* that took on independent life in the Roman genres of elegy, satire and epigram. As part of the Calli-

machean and neoteric tradition a Roman poet with his use of *nugae* or *ludere* in reference to his poetry showed that he recognized the established hierarchy of genres, but yet believed he contributed to the literary tradition in a significant way. Thus an awareness of and reaction to the established Greco-Roman literary traditions was inherent in the terminology beginning with and typified by Catullus, and continued thereafter in the Roman poets working in the so-called lesser genres.

It was noted further that besides the Callimachean and neoteric usage of *nugae* and *ludere* just given there was also another literary tradition--apparently with its source in *vers de société*--which began with Lucilius' development of *satura*.¹ Within this tradition the reaction was not only against epic and tragedy but against any poetry in the high style--Callimachean forms included--that lacked real and meaningful substance, regardless of genre. Verse of this type could be very serious business indeed, and on a literary plane acquired justification as topical and useful moral and social comment, as evidenced especially by Horace and Persius. This type of verse also justified itself by its more realistic

¹This counter tradition can be extended back to at least Ennius, whose *Sota*, a Latin version of a bawdy poem by Sotades, and his *Saturae* mark him as part of the counter literary tradition (see A.S. Gratwick, "The Satire of Ennius and Lucilius," in *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature, II, Latin Literature*, eds. Kenney, E.J. and W.V. Clausen [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982], 156-58).

content and "human" element, both of which garnered popular appeal.

Martial with his use of the terms *nugae* and *ludere* in their customary literary sense (as in other Roman poets) showed he was heir to the Callimachean and neoteric tradition. Martial furthermore, in the spirit and manner of *vers de société* and then *satura*, showed an even stronger reaction to the contemporary literary coterie with his application of the terms *nugae* and *ludere* with their true derogatory sense to contemporary poetry on mythological themes which lacked real and worthwhile substance. Martial, then, fell within this reactionary tradition, prevalent among the satirists, with his own usage of *nugae* and *ludere*. In fact, he represented a predictable development of it coming, as he did, between Persius and Juvenal: he employed the commonplace defense of moralism for his poetry, used the customary realistic and "human" element, and found definitive place in the tradition by protesting more strongly than his predecessors, but not so vehemently as Juvenal.

Chapter II looked at three terms, *materia*, *ingenium* and *sal*, as well as disclaimers of malice associated with the use of *sal*. *Materia* was seen to have the sense of the specific subject-matter of a poem, or, more generally, the overall form and topic of a *corpus* of poems. *Ingenium* in a literary-critical context in the Roman poets had several distinct senses: 1) most often, the sense of "natural poetic ability"

or "genius" as opposed to *ars*, "technique"; and 2) the sense of "that which inspires a poet to write" or "inspiration."

Martial with his use of *materia* and especially *ingenium* showed his strong connection with the earlier Roman literary tradition where *ingenium* denoted the "nature poetic ability" or even "genius" of a poet brought to bear upon his *materia*. Martial certainly saw himself as part of the true Roman poetic tradition. On the other hand, Martial, from his stance as a traditional poet, gave evidence of, and reacted to the degradation of the sense of *ingenium* from "innate or natural poetic ability" to "poetry which exhibited *doctrina*," poetry which was technically correct but devoid of real inspiration or genius. Martial was reactionary here because he strove to hold on to the traditional sense of *ingenium* in the face of numerous technique-poets of his day. Martial, moreover, revealed that his own *ingenium* had its basis in his close interaction with the cultural public of Rome, a key piece of information to his stance as a poet of the people.

The term *sal* was used by the Roman poets to connote "wit" or its product. This wit could be used for humor, oftentimes in an unrefined and sexual context, and even more often was associated with satire and invective. Most poets disclaimed malevolence in their use of this wit in their poetry, and further claimed (or implied) that their use of wit for satire served a social and moralistic purpose.

Martial used the term *sal*, as did the other Roman

poets, to connote piquant wit used for humor, oftentimes involving sexual matter, and most often for the purpose of satire or invective with a moral purpose. In this he showed himself very much part of the tradition of *satura*.² Martial, however, went further than the satirists in declaring *sal* to be a vital ingredient of his own poetry. It was marked by an acumen and perspicuity into human nature that was said to be key to his poetry. Moreover, Martial's unique acumen, his insight into character and the urbane and sophisticated life of the city, was the very element which occasioned his entry into, and appeal to the *literati* of his day.

Chapter III looked primarily at the term *doctus*. *Doctus* in general for the Roman poets meant "educated" or "cultured," and then "trained in formal literature" and "able to appreciate or write poetry." More specifically, *doctus* was used as the equivalent of the Greek term *σοφός* as applied to early Greek poets with the sense of having privileged knowledge of a theme--"being divinely informed," and having poetic skill in presenting that theme. Closely related to this sense was *doctus* used of the Muses or other divinities associated with poetry where it meant "knowledgeable" as well as "skilled in poetry." Also, *doctus* was used of one who embraced and practiced technical literary ideals--namely, those of Alexan-

²Few critics, as noted by J.P. Sullivan, "Martial's Satiric Epigrams," in *Homo Viator; Classical Essays for John Bramble* (Oak Park, IL: Bolchazy-Carducci, 1987), 259, give Martial proper place in the history of Roman satire.

drianism, in the main, where there was a high regard for form, language and meter, an erudite manner and style. *Doctus* in this latter sense often connoted one who was a member of the contemporary literary coterie.

Martial gave the following senses to the term *doctus*. In most instances it had the underlying sense, as in the other Roman poets, of "learned" or "cultured" with respect to literature. Martial more often used *doctus* specifically of one who was a poet himself. Again, with this sense of *doctus* Martial followed in the steps of the other Roman poets, at least from Horace onwards, where *doctus* could be synonymous with "poetically skilled," and stood in general for one who adhered to the established literary practices and standards of the day. Martial, again like many other Roman poets, also used *doctus* with the extended sense of *σοφός*, where it connoted "divinely informed poet," as well as being technically skilled. Martial differed from other Roman poets, however, in using *doctus* in a potentially pejorative context: in such usages *doctus* indicated an adherence to literary conventions and technical standards of the day, but without divinely inspired knowledge and expression of the subject-matter. Such a usage was unique with Martial and reflected his own reactionary position within the literary tradition: his *doctrina*, unlike the *doctrina* of the higher genres of his day, which was only a technical adherence to literary standards, was a true knowledge and teaching of a worthwhile

subject.

On the other hand, Martial by no means abjured technical expertise. Instead he looked for a balance between it and the expression of his subject-matter that would be acceptable and pleasing to the majority among his readers. In this Martial showed a basis for his popular appeal in that he sought to establish rapport with the general reader, even at the expense of alienating a more erudite audience.

Chapter IV dealt with two terms, *licentia* and *lascivus*. Roman poets other than Martial used *licentia* and *lascivus* almost always with reference to so-called lighter poetry, especially elegy, usually to point up the amorous and risqué nature of that poetry. Furthermore, Ovid several times used *lascivia* and *licentia* to connote the morally objectionable content of poetry. Pliny added to *lascivia* the connotation of "frank sexual content" accompanied by the use of forthright language.

Martial, like previous Roman poets, used *licentia* and *lascivus* with reference to love elegy to point up its playful and amorous content. More often, however, Martial, like Pliny, used the terms to connote the expression of graphic sexual content accompanied by the use of non-euphemistic sexual language. Martial claimed that graphic language and content was traditionally part of his own genre and not a reflection of his personal morals. Also he several times compared his epigrams to mime, hymeneal songs, the Floralia

and Saturnalia for their *lascivia* and *licentia*, perhaps suggesting that the *lascivia* of his own work served the same positive social function as did these socially accepted activities. Martial, like Pliny, also considered *lascivia* to be a part of human nature, and hence gave it expression in his poetry as part of an accurate and realistic portrayal of human character.

With the use of the terms *lascivia* and *licentia* Martial showed, first, that he was not revolting against moral precepts or even the literary tradition (for epigram) of the day. He was, however, reacting to an effete, overly idealized and highly unrealistic style of writing that was current in his day. Martial also indicated with his use of the terms *lascivia* and *licentia* that his purpose in using graphic sexual language and content was to engage his reader. He could thus be termed a poet of the people to a degree more than most Roman poets in that he sought to touch off an elemental emotional response in order to link with his reader.

Section V.2: General Conclusions

The examination of Martial's usage of representative, key terms of literary comment as compared to usages of these same terms by other Roman poets has revealed both Martial's actual place within the Roman literary tradition and his literary agenda and intent. Martial has been assessed here as a reactionary and a poet of the people. With almost every term examined he has showed himself a reactionary because he

consistently espoused fundamental or conservative--that is, Augustan--literary precepts in corrective reaction to contemporary literary ideals which had gone astray from the tradition.³ For example, with *nugae* and *ludere* he actually used the terms in their literal sense of epic and tragic poetry of his day because these genres were so far removed from reality and lacking in true substance. In contrast his own poetry, he maintained, had real and worthwhile substance to offer his reader--more in line with what was expected of a true poet. With his use of *ingenium* he bemoaned the lack of true *ingenium*, true "genius," of the otherwise accomplished poetry of his day. Similarly with his use of *doctus* Martial showed himself a true "teacher," divinely informed on his subject as opposed to the poet who was simply *doctus* in the sense of "technically proficient." Finally, Martial with his use of *sal* showed a reaction to those who, contrary to the tradition of satire, abused that element by criticizing without moral purpose.⁴

In general, Martial indicates with his usage of the literary-critical terms examined that he is part of a long reactionary tradition, dating at least back to Lucilius with

³Cf., e.g., Martial's extensive borrowings from the classical Augustan poets (see Sullivan, *Martial: the Unexpected Classic*, 102-109, for a survey of the borrowings).

⁴Even with his use of the terms *licentia* and *lascivus* Martial showed his respect for tradition first, by citing precedents for his sexually graphic language and content, and secondly by his awareness of the proper place for *lascivia*.

his *satura*, and continuing in subsequent satire and lyric, elegy and epigram. This reactionary tradition is characterized throughout by a deference to the so-called higher genres. With the Catullan circle the reaction is to the more elevated forms such as epic and tragedy, which relied heavily on mythology. Subsequent satire, elegy and epigram reacted not only to epic and tragedy, but to the Callimachean genres of aetiological elegy as well--to their mythology, bombast and extreme emphasis on learning.⁵ Martial comes near the end of this counter-tradition and hence is strongly reactionary, and even represents the culmination of the reactionary element of the counter-tradition.⁶ In general, Martial with his realism challenges the more elevated genres for their loss of vitality and their remoteness from reality.

Martial likewise with almost every literary-critical term examined exhibits another feature of the literary reactionary tradition--namely, a more informal style that is meant to engage the reader and is especially typical of satire. For example, Lucilius expressed his desire for readers that were neither wholly inexperienced nor unduly expert--that is, the man of average literary tastes.⁷ Like Lucilius,

⁵Cf. Sullivan, *Martial: The Unexpected Classic*, 75.

⁶Juvenal, his heir in the reactionary tradition, is better characterized as a revolutionary (see conclusions to Chap. I above).

⁷Besides Lucilius' passages cited above at Chap. III.1 cf. also frgs. (M) 594 and 595, where Lucilius claimed to write for readers whose Latinity was dubious; also cf. Lejay,

Horace also accommodated in some part the informal, dialogue or conversational style in contrast to the high style of epic and tragedy.⁸ Martial likewise shows himself part of this reactionary tradition that, in opposition to poets working in epic and tragedy, writes on a more personal level to reach a more pervasive audience. More specifically, Martial places himself with his use of the literary-critical terms firmly within the ranks of the Roman satirists, a place denied him in most discussions of Roman satire today.⁹

Besides what has been given in the text proper to point up Martial's more personal tone and his special relation with his reader the following passages can be cited.¹⁰ At epigram 5.16 Martial renounces more serious poetry for *delectantia*, "that which delights," because of reader approval:

101. Moreover, Lucilius' informal and discursive style--he several times refers to his poems as *sermones* (frgs. (M) 1015, 1016, 1039)--would presumably make him accessible to a wider audience.

⁸Horace himself gives indication of his "middle style" by having published his *Satires* under the title *Sermonum libri* (confirmed by Porphyry on Hor. Sat. 1.1.1 and Ep. 1.1.1), by saying he writes "sermoni propiora" (Sat. 1.4.42), and also by styling his *Epistles* and *Satires* expressly as *sermones* "repentes per humum" (Ep. 2.1.250). See Brink, *Ars*, 445-46 for an overview on Horace's colloquial tone and the resulting "middle style" he achieves with the use of it, and Gordon Williams, *Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 49-50 for the pervasive sense in Horace "of a potentially unrestricted audience."

⁹Only Sullivan, "Martial," 259, and *Martial: The Unexpected Classic*, 104, acknowledges Martial's important place within the satiric tradition.

¹⁰On Martial's special relation with his reader see, for example, at 12 *praef.*, Chap. II.2 above.

Seria cum possim, quod delectantia malo
 scribere, tu causa es, lector amice, mihi,
 qui legis et tota cantas mea carmina Roma:
 sed nescis quanti stet mihi talis amor.
 (5.16.1-4)

Also compare at epigram 7.12.11-12 where Martial says that his reader's ears are "magni mihi numinis instar," like a great divinity to him, and at epigram 10.2 where Martial says to his reader in speaking of the two editions of his recently published book:

lector, utrique fave
 lector, opes nostrae: quem cum mihi Roma dedisset,
 'Nil tibi quod demus maius habemus' ait.
 'pigra per hunc fugies ingratae flumina Lethes
 et meliore tui parte superstes eris.'
 (10.2.4-8)

Martial's reader is his "opes" and only through him shall he survive. All these several citations give indication of the unique relation Martial had with his reader. To this also add Martial's frequent and in other poets uncommon usage of direct address for his reader in most of these citations just given and elsewhere.¹¹ Such frequent use of direct address for the reader suggests that Martial is striving for a rapport and appeal with his audience that goes much beyond that sought by his predecessors.

Indeed, just as Martial is the culmination of the reac-

¹¹For the direct address of the reader see epigrams 1.1.4; 1.113.4; 2.8.1; 4.55.27, 89; 5.16.2; 7.12.12; 9 *praef.* 6; 11.16.1; and 11.108.2, 4; also cf. Citroni at 1.4.4: "In M. l'appello al lettore . . . è piuttosto uno dei più vistosi indizi del fatto che egli scrive per un pubblico più vasto della tradizionale cerchia di poeti"; and cf. Kay at 11.16.1, and Citroni's remarks on Martial's advertisements for his so-called publishers at 1.2 intro. and 1.2.7.

tionary element in the reactionary tradition, he also represents the culmination in Latin poetry of the poet's efforts both to reach and represent the public at large. He is unique in the Roman literary tradition for the symbiotic relation and close dialogue he had with his audience. Hence, he has been labelled here a "poet of the people"--although "humanist" may in some ways even better indicate his actual stance and intent--as his main theme is to reflect and comment upon human nature and life as it really was. Thus did he, in reaction to the effete and esoteric verse of his day, return poetry to its more traditional function of teaching about life.

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