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# Martial and the City of Rome\*

LUKE ROMAN

## ABSTRACT

*This essay examines the representation of the city of Rome in Martial's Epigrams, and specifically, his references to urban topography. The city is an insistent and vivid presence in Martial's Epigrams to a degree unparalleled in Roman poetry. He fashions a Rome that is more relentlessly sordid, irregular and jagged in texture, and overtly dissonant in its juxtapositions than the literary cities of his poetic predecessors. This new urban emphasis is not only a game of literary one-upmanship. Martial's urban poetics takes shape in the context of renewed attention to the city and monumental building under the Flavians.*

'... et ad cubile est Roma' ('... and at my bedside is — Rome', Martial, *Epigrams* 12.57.27)

The prime setting for Martial's *Epigrams* is Rome, and the life of the city is his main subject. Traditionally, Martial has been mined as a source for aspects of daily urban life: the presumption is that his realist orientation and focus on low-life scenarios bring us closer to the sordid everyday realities of urban existence omitted in other authors. Current scholarship, however, is increasingly impatient of the use of poets as transparent windows onto quotidian reality,<sup>1</sup> and tends to stress their literary motives for constructing realist scenes in a certain form. While it would be reductive to insist that Roman literature does not provide insight, in a complex way, into Roman life, more recent work rightly observes that realist writers, who offer up images of Roman social life — Martial, Pliny the Younger, Juvenal — are also likely to be creating a reality that sets up central aspects of their self-representation.<sup>2</sup> Accepting their picture of Rome as a descriptive impression of their surroundings is tantamount to perpetuating a rhetorical emphasis that is inevitably contestable and interested.

The current trend is accordingly to reverse the determining force of urban reality over literary representation, and to make the writer into the creator of his own city: hence the dual metaphor of reading the city as text, and, in a related twist, writing the city into text.<sup>3</sup>

\* This essay was improved substantially by the comments and suggestions of Greg Woolf and the readers for *JRS*. Stephen Hinds, Alexander Meyer, Carole Newlands, and Monica Roman were kind enough to read draft versions.

<sup>1</sup> D. Fowler, 'Martial and the book', *Ramus* 24 (1994), 31–58. Unless otherwise specified, all translations are my own. I have, however, freely consulted commentaries and translations, especially D. R. Shackleton Bailey's 1993 Loeb edition.

<sup>2</sup> See G. Woolf, 'City of letters', in C. Edwards and G. Woolf (eds), *Rome the Cosmopolis* (1993), 203–21. On approaches to Martial's city that go beyond mining for facts, see J.-M. Paillet, 'Martial et l'espace urbain', *Pallas* 28 (1981), 79–87, at 80.

<sup>3</sup> Much recent work benefits from this perspective: see, for example, C. Edwards, *Writing Rome: Textual Approaches to the City* (1996); T. S. Welch, *The Elegiac Cityscape: Propertius and the Meaning of Roman Monuments* (2005); A. Barchiesi, 'Learned eyes: poets, viewers, image makers', in K. Galinsky (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus* (2005), 281–305. The discussion of the meaning of monuments in D. Fowler, 'The ruin of time: monuments and survival at Rome', in *Roman Constructions: Readings in Postmodern Latin* (2000), 193–217, is fundamental. For a critique of the idea of urban structures 'as verbal or visual signs whose meanings can be constructed or deconstructed at will', see D. Fredrick, 'Architecture and surveillance in Flavian Rome', in A. J. Boyle and W. J. Dominik (eds), *Flavian Rome: Culture, Image, Text* (2003), 199–227, at 203–5.

Pushed too far, this approach could potentially become reductive in its own way. The best recent work equally incorporates an awareness of the ways in which the city and its patterns of social behaviour condition literary creativity. In Martial's case, it has begun to be appreciated how profoundly the urban milieu of epigram's composition and reception permeates its aesthetics.<sup>4</sup> While recent studies examine the broader relation between the urban environment and Martial's epigrammatic genre, I wish to combine this path of inquiry with an interpretation specifically devoted to Martial's references to urban topography, and the ways in which his poetic interest in maps, itineraries, and literary cityscapes coincides with a renewed focus on urban space and structures under the Flavians.<sup>5</sup> It does not seem accidental that a form of poetry featuring a new density and explicitness of topographical reference emerges in a period of frenetic building. Martial flourished for the most part under Domitian, the greatest builder and restorer of the Roman cityscape since Augustus. The great fires of A.D. 64 and 80, the propagandistic requirements of the Flavian dynasty, and the need to control and surpass the memory of Nero all afforded grand possibilities for building and restoration. Martial engages directly with these contemporary developments.

Even as the Flavian remaking of the early imperial city defines the frame of reference for epigram's urban poetics, Martial shapes different literary 'Romes' according to his diverse aims as a writer: a city of cosmopolitan spectacles, consumer items, and imported foods; a palimpsestic Rome overlaid with memories of poetic predecessors' depictions of the city; a Rome packed with literature and books; a Rome dominated and elevated by the divine presence of the emperor. Common to these epigrammatic depictions of Rome is a central underlying feature: the sheer pervasiveness of the city as setting and inspiration of poetry. Martial's *Epigrams* offer richer and more varied depictions of the city's innumerable places, objects, and structures than any previous work in the Roman poetic tradition. Modern readers of Martial risk failing to appreciate the brilliant extremity of this stance, if, under the influence of the modernist paradigm of literature and art, they take for granted the association of literary activity and urban centres. In the ancient setting, Martial's aggressively urban poetics presents a paradoxical aspect: a poet requires *otium*, a space apart from the city's uproar,<sup>6</sup> yet the epigrammatist produces a mode of poetry premised on speed, impromptu wit, and the jagged, surprising texture of urban life.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> W. Fitzgerald, *Martial: the World of the Epigram* (2007); V. Rimell, *Martial's Rome: Empire and the Ideology of Epigram* (2008).

<sup>5</sup> S. L. Dyson and R. E. Prior, 'Horace, Martial and Rome: two poetic outsiders read the ancient city', *Arethusa* 28 (1995), 245–64; R. E. Prior, 'Going around hungry: topography and poetics in Martial 2.14', *AJPH* 117 (1996), 121–41; H. Fearnley, *Reading Martial's Rome*, unpub. Diss. University of South California (1998); G. Lugli, 'La Roma di Domiziano nei versi di Marziale e di Stazio', *Studi Romani* 9 (1961), 1–17; E. Castagnoli, 'Roma nei versi di Marziale', *Athenaeum* 28 (1950), 67–78; Pailler, op. cit. (n. 2); J. P. Sullivan, *Martial: the Unexpected Classic: a Literary and Historical Study* (1991), 147–54; B. Jones, *The Emperor Domitian* (1992), 79–98. On imperial map poems generally, see C. Connors, 'Imperial space and time: the literature of leisure', in O. Taplin (ed.), *Literature in the Greek and Roman Worlds* (2000), 492–518, especially 508–13, and on Martial, 511–12; note also A. L. Kuttner, 'Culture and history at Pompey's museum', *TAPA* 129 (1999), 343–73. Rimell, op. cit. (n. 4), especially 181–206, examines 'the space of epigram'. In addition to his several articles on Martial and questions of Roman topography, see now E. Rodríguez Almeida's book on the subject, *Terrarum dea gentium: Marziale e Roma: un poeta e la sua città* (2003).

<sup>6</sup> Horace, *Epistles* 2.2.77: 'scriptorum chorus omnis amat nemus et fugit urbem' ('the whole chorus of writers loves the grove and shuns the city'); cf. Tacitus, *Dialogus* 12. Note also Pailler, op. cit. (n. 2), on Martial's representation of city life: 'il n'y a pas à Rome, pour le poète, de "chez-soi" véritable' (82).

<sup>7</sup> A useful comparison is afforded by the 'urban pastorals' of Jonathan Swift. The urban conditions of crowding and hygiene of early modern London in many ways approximate those of ancient Rome. Description of the grittier aspects of city life was in provocative tension with the conventional associations of poetry: see in particular his 'Description of a City Shower' and 'A Description of a Morning'.

## I THE FLAVIAN COSMOPOLIS

'Romanae spatium est urbis et orbis idem' ('the same space comprises the city of Rome and the World', Ovid, *Fasti* 2.684)

Martial's representation of the urban environment coheres with the materialist perspective that organizes his representations of sex, writing, patronage, and finance. Martial's choice of genre plays a significant role in determining density of topographical reference: topographical explicitness can be interpreted as a literary strategy in line with the broader aim of establishing the originality of epigram within the poetic tradition. As always, however, we need to appreciate both the ways in which literary genre forms an image of society, and the ways in which historical conditions inform the creation of genres. Martial constructed a form of poetry premised on vivid urban description amid the monumental cityscape of early imperial Rome, and specifically, during a period when the physical structures of Rome constituted a major focus of the new dynasty in power. Martial's urban poetics can be contextualized both in the broader perspective of Rome's development into an imperial capital and cosmopolis,<sup>8</sup> and in terms of a nearer focus on the specific interests of Vespasian and his successors in establishing the city's stability, physical integrity, and public amenity.<sup>9</sup>

A dramatically shifting proportion of monumentality and material splendour characterizes Rome's urban development over the *longue durée*. Whereas Rome's physical infrastructure in the middle Republican period remained notoriously underdeveloped in proportion to its status as political centre of an emerging and then predominant Mediterranean power,<sup>10</sup> imperial Rome's magnificence as cultural capital eventually outstripped its political importance. Rome was no longer necessarily the centre of imperial decision-making starting in the third century A.D., but there were already signs in the second century that the city was beginning to be conceived as a showpiece or emblem of empire that Woolf aptly compares with twentieth-century New York's status as 'totemic vestibule to America' displaying for visitors its 'unrivalled magnificence and squalor'.<sup>11</sup> In this context, the visitor plays a key role in defining the city. The purple passages often cited as testimony to the grandeur that was imperial Rome are typically penned by, or focalized through, visitors to the city, including emperors who no longer have Rome as their chief residence.<sup>12</sup> The Flavians still consider Rome the political centre, and yet the city's status as marvel to be appreciated by foreign visitors begins to come into real prominence in this period, not least through the agency of Martial's poetry. As a Spaniard who comes to Rome to make a literary career, he is in a perfect position to appreciate, and subsequently define in poetic terms, what might be termed the exteriorization of Rome's image, the face it turns toward the empire it rules and toward the visitors it seeks to astonish with the manifestations of its supremacy. At the same time, Martial the outsider succeeds in defining himself as an

<sup>8</sup> For an overview of the topic, see C. Edwards and G. Woolf, 'Cosmopolis: Rome as world city', in Edwards and Woolf, op. cit. (n. 2), 1–20. C. Nicolet, *Space, Geography, and Politics in the Early Roman Empire* (1990), especially 29–47, is fundamental. Note also P. Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos: Augustus and the Northern Campus Martius* (2006), xiii, 143–6; D. Favro, 'Making Rome a world city', in K. Galinsky (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus* (2005), 234–63. On *urbs* and *orbis* in imperial literature, including Martial, see Connors, op. cit. (n. 5), 508–13.

<sup>9</sup> On the Flavian building programme: R. H. Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture: A Study of Flavian Rome* (1996); J. E. Packer, 'Plurima et amplissima opera: parsing Flavian Rome', in Boyle and Dominik, op. cit. (n. 3), 167–98; Jones, op. cit. (n. 5); B. Levick, *Vespasian* (2005), 125ff.; H. Flower, *The Art of Forgetting: Disgrace and Oblivion in Roman Political Culture* (2006), 228–32; C. Newlands, *Statius' Silvae and the Poetics of Empire* (2002), 4–17.

<sup>10</sup> T. Cornell, 'The City of Rome in the Middle Republic (400–100 BC)', in J. C. Coulston and H. Dodge (eds), *Ancient Rome: Archaeology of the Eternal City* (2000), 42–60, at 53–6.

<sup>11</sup> Woolf, op. cit. (n. 2), 204.

<sup>12</sup> e.g., Constantius' visit to Rome in A.D. 357 as narrated by Ammianus Marcellinus (*Histories* 16.10.13–17).

insider, who knows intimately the sordid, back-stage workings of the city as well as its back alleys, and becomes a prime exporter of Rome's authentic squalor<sup>13</sup> to provincial readers.

The nearer perspective of the Flavian building programme is equally important for understanding Martial's poetics of urban space. The keystone of Flavian propaganda was the recovery of the city after Nero's depredations and private *luxuria*: indeed, there is no more complete, eloquent and explicit articulation of this ideological orientation than the three opening epigrams of Martial's *Liber Spectaculorum* celebrating the dedication of the Flavian Amphitheatre by Titus in A.D. 80.<sup>14</sup> Urban space, under Nero, had become highly contested, not least due to the indignation of members of the élite whose residences had given way to the emperor's vast palatial complex. It is not clear, however, that Nero truly harboured the selfish ambition to convert large portions of Rome into his private dwelling.<sup>15</sup> Scholars have increasingly emphasized his probable intention of creating, within the broader complex of the Golden House, spaces of public amenity — an intention that is coherent with his other building projects.<sup>16</sup> It may well be the case that the Flavians needed to reinvent Nero as a hoarder of urban space precisely in order to counterbalance the memory of his building programme's populist orientation.<sup>17</sup> The difficulties of the city, however, went beyond Nero's real or presumptive architectural tyranny. The city was still in ruins from the fire of A.D. 64,<sup>18</sup> and, in 69, was the site of civil conflict. Presenting the city as a place of peace, stability, restored structural integrity, and of imperial munificence for the whole populace was a priority.<sup>19</sup>

Given the city's recent role as battlefield for civil war, the Peace celebrated by Vespasian's *Templum Pacis*<sup>20</sup> may be seen as simultaneously imperial and urban. Accounts of the turbulent year A.D. 69 recall the invasion of the city's civic core by civil violence. According to Plutarch, Galba, hearing a rumour that Otho was murdered, went forth from the Palatine toward the Capitoline in order to sacrifice to Jupiter, but then learned, while passing through the Forum, that Otho, still alive, controlled the Praetorians. Soldiers advanced through the Basilica Aemilia as crowds of bystanders gathered at various vantage points throughout the Forum. Soldiers approached Galba with drawn swords; he fell from his litter and was killed near the Lacus Curtius (*Galba* 27–8). It is disturbing enough that Galba was murdered at this hallowed spot in the middle of the Forum — a perverted sacrifice recalling the stories of sacrifice that serve as aetiologies for the place and its cult.<sup>21</sup> Piso, Galba's designated successor, was also cut down, wounded and attempting to escape, outside the Temple of Vesta. Both of their heads were delivered to Otho.

Tacitus, who offers a similar account, adds that Titus Vinius was slain on the same occasion in front of the Temple of Deified Julius. He further comments: 'neither the sight of the Capitol nor the sanctity of the temples which towered above them, nor the thought of emperors past and to come, could deter them from committing a crime which any

<sup>13</sup> Martial's testimony often contributes to modern inquiry into urban living conditions and mortality in ancient Rome: A. Scobie, 'Slums, sanitation, and mortality in the Roman world', *Klio* 68.2 (1986), 399–433; W. Jongman, 'Slavery and the growth of Rome. The transformation of Italy in the second and first centuries BCE', in Edwards and Woolf, op. cit. (n. 2), 100–22; W. Scheidel, 'Germs for Rome', in Edwards and Woolf, op. cit. (n. 2), 158–76.

<sup>14</sup> I adopt the title preferred by K. M. Coleman, *M. Valerii Martialis Liber Spectaculorum* (2006), xxv–xxviii. The traditional dating of Martial's book has come into question: Coleman, xlv–lxiv; T. V. Buttrey, 'Domitian, the rhinoceros, and the date of Martial's *Liber de Spectaculis*', *JRS* 97 (2007), 101–12.

<sup>15</sup> M. Griffin, *Nero: The End of a Dynasty* (1984), 133.

<sup>16</sup> Griffin, op. cit. (n. 15), 137–41; E. Champlin, *Nero* (2003), 205–6; Flower, op. cit. (n. 9), 230–1.

<sup>17</sup> Flower, op. cit. (n. 9), 230.

<sup>18</sup> Suetonius, *Div. Vesp.* 8.5: 'deformis urbs veteribus incendiis ac ruinis erat.'

<sup>19</sup> Again, Suetonius, *Div. Vesp.* 8.1: 'per totum imperii tempus nihil habuit antiquius quam prope afflictam nutantemque rem publicam stabilire primo, deinde et ornare.'

<sup>20</sup> On this structure, see F. Coarelli in E. M. Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* (1999), vol. 4, s.v. Pax, Templum.

<sup>21</sup> cf. Edwards, op. cit. (n. 3), 77.



successor to the imperial power must punish' (*Histories* 1.40).<sup>22</sup> Later, the grim itinerary is retraced when Vitellius is brought to his unpleasant end. He is forced to watch his own statues being toppled, and to 'look again and again on the rostra or the place where Galba had been killed'; at last he is driven to the Gemonian steps, where Flavius Sabinus' body had lain, and then is killed himself. Urban topography, in these texts, has become inextricable from a history of recent violence, which, as Tacitus' comments imply, both defiles our sense of the sanctity of the past, and redefines the associations of these places for the future.<sup>23</sup> Martial's contemporaries inhabited a city haunted by memories of violence and defilement. The remaking of that city thus takes on a special importance and significance.<sup>24</sup>

Vespasian also displayed an interest in the more practical, administrative aspects of the city: he carried out the first systematic census of the city of Rome since Augustus. The results of this census are hypothesized to have been stored in an archive located in a side hall in the Temple of Peace complex. There is credible evidence that this building held a Vespasianic predecessor of the Severan Marble Plan, which was erected on a wall of the south-east hall of the Temple of Peace, currently the exterior wall of SS. Cosma e Damiano.<sup>25</sup> Map-making was as much a symbolic as a practical enterprise at Rome: impractically large, wall-sized maps in particular expressed a mastery of space and a visual articulation of control over city (*urbs*) and world (*orbis*).<sup>26</sup> Assuming that Vespasian created such a map, the significance of his Temple of Peace is further enriched: the map displayed and embodied the stability conferred on a city recently ravaged by war and fire, but now restored in its physical integrity under the *Pax Flavia*; at the same time, a splendid collection of imported art objects housed in the Temple of Peace reinforced the site's association with cosmopolitan hegemony and prestige.<sup>27</sup>

## II EPIGRAMMATIC WORLDS

Martial's earliest poetry, published under Titus and Domitian, Vespasian's successors and the inheritors of his programme of urban restoration, displays a persistent concern with urban topography and the relation between city and broader imperial world. A key dimension of this programme is frank advertisement of the emperor as builder on a massive scale. The defining structure of the age, and the most ambitious expression of the resources and liberality of the regime — to which all three members of the dynasty contributed in succession — was the Colosseum, as it later came to be called, or the

<sup>22</sup> 'Nec illos Capitolii aspectus et imminentium templorum religio et priores et futuri principes terruere quo minus facerent scelus cuius ultor est quisquis successit.' I have cited C. H. Moore's Loeb translation, *Tacitus: The Histories*, vol. I (1925).

<sup>23</sup> Not to mention the most shocking, and for the Flavians, propagandistically significant, incident in the Civil War: the burning of the Capitoline Temple of Jupiter. On this episode, and the use of urban topography in Tacitus' narrative of the civil conflict of A.D. 69, see R. Ash, 'Victim and voyeur: Rome as a character in Tacitus' *Histories* 3', in D. H. J. Larmour and D. Spencer (eds), *The Sites of Rome: Time, Space, Memory* (2007), 211–37; Edwards, op. cit. (n. 3), 74–82.

<sup>24</sup> On Vespasian's restoration of Rome, see Levick, op. cit. (n. 9), 125–30.

<sup>25</sup> Evidence for a Vespasianic map discussed in Darwall-Smith, op. cit. (n. 9), 64–5: 'after Vespasian enlarged the *pomerium* and carried out a census in 73/4, a plan like this, to show the enlarged boundaries of the city, and the great number of people living in it, would appropriately commemorate events which could occur only in an empire at peace'. Note also Coarelli, op. cit. (n. 20), 70.

<sup>26</sup> On map-making, see Nicolet, op. cit. (n. 8), especially 15–47, 95–114. L. Taub, 'The historical function of the "Forma Urbis Romae"', *Imago Mundi* 45 (1993), 9–19, draws a connection between map-making and periods of urban renewal and refoundation.

<sup>27</sup> The ecumenical scope of Vespasian's Temple of Peace and its artworks was a theme in contemporary writers: Josephus, *BJ* 7.158–62; Pliny the Elder, *NH* 36.102.

Caesarean Amphitheatre, as it was called by Martial.<sup>28</sup> The opening epigram of Martial's *Liber Spectaculorum* confirms the Flavian Amphitheatre's instant canonization as architectural masterpiece on a world-wide scale.

omnis Caesareo cedit labor Amphitheatro,  
unum pro cunctis fama loquetur opus.

All labour yields to Caesar's Amphitheatre. Fame will tell of one work in place of all. (*Spect.* 1. 7–8)

Rome's amphitheatre not only earns a place among the world's wonders (*Spect.* 1.1–6), it supplants and absorbs them: 'fame will tell of one work in place of all'. The second poem maintains the focus on Rome, but shifts the perspective in order to track a temporal change from Neronian to Flavian, and an accompanying transformation of urban space. Having established the Amphitheatre's ecumenical prestige, Martial now addresses more local concerns of city topography.

Hic ubi sidereus propius videt astra colossus  
et crescunt media pegmata celsa via,  
invidiosa feri radiabant atria regis  
unaque iam tota stabat in urbe domus.  
hic ubi conspicui venerabilis Amphitheatri  
erigitur moles, stagna Neronis erant.  
hic ubi miramur velocia munera thermas,  
abstulerat miseris tecta superbus ager.  
Claudia diffusas ubi porticus explicat umbras,  
ultima pars aulae deficientis erat.  
Reddita Roma sibi est et sunt te praeside, Caesar,  
deliciae populi, quae fuerant domini.

Here, where the starry colossus sees the constellations closer at hand, and high scaffolding rises in the middle of the road, the hated halls of the savage king used to gleam, and in the entire city there stood a single house. Here, where the revered mass of the far-seen Amphitheatre rises up, was Nero's lake. Here where we admire baths — a rapid gift — a haughty estate had deprived the poor of dwellings. Where the Claudian portico unravels its spreading shade was the furthest point of the palace's extremity. Rome has been restored to herself, and under your guardianship, Caesar, what used to be a master's plaything is now the people's. (*Spect.* 2.1–12)

It is remarkable that in these earliest of Martial's epigrams, a very precise map is already being drawn for the benefit of his readers.<sup>29</sup> The map tells an ideologically charged history of the Principate as viewed through the history of buildings: the Baths of Titus replaced the Neronian *ager* (field); the Amphitheatre lies over Nero's *stagna* (artificial lake); and, perhaps most striking for its historical layeredness, the Claudianum has been restored by Vespasian after being destroyed and covered over by a portion of Nero's palace.<sup>30</sup> Nor is the Colossus

<sup>28</sup> On Martial's poems in praise of the Flavian Amphitheatre, see Coleman, *op. cit.* (n. 14), ad loc., and on the structure itself, lxx–lxxi; R. Rea in Steinby, *op. cit.* (n. 20), vol. 1 (1993), s.v. Amphitheatrum. On Martial's representation of the amphitheatre in the opening poems of the *Liber Spectaculorum*, see Edwards and Woolf, *op. cit.* (n. 8), 1–2; Rimell, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 116–21; Fitzgerald, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 37–41; and on *Spect.* 2, Paillet, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 81–2.

<sup>29</sup> It is perhaps ironic that Martial's epigram celebrating the destruction and replacement of Nero's Golden House has become a key piece of evidence for scholars attempting to reconstruct its nature and extent: Champlin, *op. cit.* (n. 16), 201ff.

<sup>30</sup> Literary layering as well. Martial significantly builds his epigram overtop Ovid's commentary at *Fasti* 6.639–48 on the building of the Porticus of Livia on the former site of Vedius Pollio's mansion: 'ubi nunc Livia est / porticus, immensae tecta fuere domus: / urbis opus domus una fuit' (639–41). An allusion to Augustan literature thus calls attention to the revival of the Augustan ideology of the splendour of public building.

as place-marker innocent: the colossal statue of Nero was said to have been reworked under Vespasian to represent the features of the Sun god.<sup>31</sup> Martial's topographical references condense an entire history of building and its ideological resonance, culminating in a powerful articulation of the Flavian programme for the city: 'reddita Roma sibi est' ('Rome has been restored to herself').

City and world converge in the amphitheatre. The last poem in the opening sequence confirms this emphasis: there is no race of people so barbarous and removed from the civilized world as to be unrepresented in Caesar's city ('in urbe tua') as spectator at the games. The ethnically diverse populace recalls Ovid's multi-ethnic crowd of elegiac *puellae*,<sup>32</sup> yet Martial replaces Ovid's antinomian *Amor*-saturated *Roma* with an ideologically normative Flavian city.

vox diversa sonat populorum, tum tamen una est,  
cum verus patriae diceris esse pater.

The speech of the peoples sounds different, and yet, when you are called the true father of the fatherland, it is one. (*Spect.* 3.11-12)

The first poem in the sequence represented the city's newest wonder to the world; the second traced the history of the recovery of the city under the Flavians; and now the third combines the perspective of City and World by representing the diverse peoples of the world united within the frame of Caesar's world-city and cosmopolitan amphitheatre.

The Colosseum, the world-city of Rome, and Martial's epigrammatic *Liber Spectaculorum* all, in different ways, compress multitudes.<sup>33</sup> The effects of metonymic selection, condensation, and representative embodiment of the vaster whole observed in the Roman cosmopolis and Colosseum can be found at work in Martial's book itself, which encapsulates and circulates through the Empire the arena's cosmic spectacles. A comparably microcosmic dynamic characterizes Martial's other two early collections. The *Xenia* and *Apophoreta*, Martial's collections on food-items and gift-objects published in A.D. 83/84 and 84/85 respectively, bear ideological resemblance to the *Liber Spectaculorum* to a degree that has not been fully appreciated. All three collections are premised on a unifying occasional pretext that distinguishes them from the later numbered collections:<sup>34</sup> a dinner party, Saturnalian gift-giving, the emperor's spectacles. In each collection, a pervasive metaliterary principle assumes the interchangeability of *munera* (= gifts, whether that means hospitality gifts (*xenia*), Saturnalian gifts, or the amphitheatrical *munera* of the emperor) and poems.

Rome as centre of consumption defines the fundamental structure of these poetic representations. Martial makes Rome's status as the site of extravagant expenditure explicit in the opening poems of the *Liber Spectaculorum*: the arena harnesses the diverse resources of the world to create a spectacle for urban audiences. He performs a highly comparable operation in the *Xenia* and *Apophoreta*: while food-items and gift-objects are designated by geographical provenance, the parties at which they are distributed take place in the

<sup>31</sup> Pliny the Elder, *NH* 34.4; but see Flower, *op. cit.* (n. 9), 229.

<sup>32</sup> *Ars Amatoria* 1.173-4, on Augustus' staged battle of Salamis of 2 B.C.: 'nempe ab utroque mari iuvenes, ab utroque puellae / venere, atque ingens orbis in urbe fuit.'

<sup>33</sup> cf. Fitzgerald, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 37-43, on epigram, world and spectacle; Rimell, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 7-9, on epigram, city, and world; also E. Gunderson, 'The Flavian Amphitheater: all the world's a stage', in Boyle and Dominik, *op. cit.* (n. 3), 636-58. Edwards and Woolf, *op. cit.* (n. 8), 5, discuss the city's metonymic representation of the world. S. Hinds, 'Martial's Ovid/Ovid's Martial', *JRS* 97 (2007), 113-54, at 153, shows how allusions to Ovid's *Metamorphoses* enhance the cosmic dimension of Martial's epigrammatic amphitheatre.

<sup>34</sup> See M. Citroni, 'Marziale e la letteratura per i Saturnali (poetica dell'intrattenimento e cronologia della pubblicazione dei libri)', *ICS* 14 (1989), 201-26, at 212.



Empire's capital city.<sup>35</sup> The very design of these early books and the nature of their objects effectively funnel imports into Rome, here figured as all-absorbing consumer city.<sup>36</sup> What the *Liber Spectaculorum* establishes in its opening declaration of the Colosseum's cosmopolitan prestige and ethnically diverse spectatorship, the *Xenia* and *Apophoreta* achieve through the derivation of their objects and the dynamic of consumption informing their literary fictions.

The *Xenia*, as Stroup has observed, includes a particularly high frequency of epigrams where geographical provenance is stressed — approximately half of the epigrams in the book.<sup>37</sup> The percentage in the *Apophoreta* is lower, but still striking. Martial represents provenance in materially explicit ways: e.g., a cheese ('caseus lumensis') is marked with the 'trademark' indicating its place of origin (13.30). A plurality of other instances (e.g., 13.19, 13.107, 14.51) suggest that *denominazione d'origine controllata* was very much part of the idiom of the urban consumer in ancient Rome. Poets also have geographical origins: more than once the land of origin of Martial's major predecessor Catullus receives mention in the *Apophoreta* (e.g. 14.152). As a Spanish epigrammatist, Martial occupies a distinctive niche, and markets himself accordingly. Spanish steel, dancing girls, and other items of Iberian provenance are included in the gift-cache, anticipating Martial's later more explicit celebration of his homeland's unusual place-names, natural resources, and exports. The imported Spanish author is subsequently distributed back to the provinces as a world-famous poetry book, including, presumably, to Martial's own Spain. In reading the *Apophoreta*, the regions of the Empire receive back their own typical products converted into textual form.<sup>38</sup>

The ideological coherence of the three early books is beginning to emerge. Each occasion-grounded poetry book represents a cosmopolitan accumulation of diversely derived items on a massive scale. Martial's cosmopolitan dinner menu surpasses the bounds of any plausible single dinner. The immense accumulation of gift-objects in the *Apophoreta* similarly approaches encyclopaedic proportions that exceed a single occasion of gift-exchange. It is interesting to note that Martial's lists of food, consumer items, and *objets d'art* match the lists and catalogues in the Elder Pliny's *Naturalis Historia*. The encyclopaedic mode represents, among other things, the accommodation of literary form to the economic trends and distribution networks of the early Empire. Martial's early works are, in a certain sense, miniature encyclopaedias, and participate in comparable cultural discourses of materialist itemization and connoisseurship. The encyclopaedic inclusiveness of the *Xenia* and *Apophoreta*, despite their minimalist mode and genre, expresses an imperial and even cosmic scope.<sup>39</sup>

The city of Rome in each case is the locus of such cosmopolitan display. Beyond overt indications of Rome's topography and social institutions, the sheer mass of objects in Martial's catalogues suggests a city. We tend to think of a city as buildings and their inhab-

<sup>35</sup> Markers of the city in the introductory epigram to the *Apophoreta* include knights, senators, and emperor; the poem that may originally have introduced the *Xenia* refers to the Roman bookseller Tryphon (13.3.4; cf. Quintilian *praef.*, and T. J. Leary, *The Xenia: Martial Book 13* (2001), on 13.3). Likewise the closural epigrams of both books anchor their fictions in Domitian's city: 13.127 refers to the gift of winter roses sent to Rome from Egypt, 14.223 to the resumption of the ordinary round of urban life, as children return to school and buy pastries from the baker.

<sup>36</sup> A highly contested term in recent scholarship: H. Parkins, *Roman Urbanism: Beyond the Consumer City* (1997).

<sup>37</sup> S. C. Stroup, 'Invaluable collections: the illusion of poetic presence in Martial's *Xenia* and *Apophoreta*', in R. Nauta, H.-J. Van Dam and J. J. L. Smolenaars (eds), *Flavian Poetry* (2006), 299–313, at 307.

<sup>38</sup> On this shift from the role of producer to that of consumer, see Fitzgerald, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 41–2, on the Cilicians showered with 'their own' saffron (*Spect.* 3.6).

<sup>39</sup> The cosmic element is not concealed. The introductory epigram of the *Apophoreta* frames the collection with a reference to Saturn's loss of celestial rule ('caelo', 14.1.10) to Jupiter; 'our Jupiter' (i.e., Domitian, 'nostrum ... Iovem', 14.1.2) wears the liberty cap. Martial's spectacle epigrams include allusions to mythic paradigms of apotheosis and catasterism.

itants, yet Martial reminds us that we should also include the multitude of *things* that contribute to the city as its smallest and most easily moveable constituents. These humble objects in some cases recall their place in the city.<sup>40</sup> One specific urban space potentially evoked in the *Apophoreta* is the art museum, of which Flavian Rome contained some signal examples.<sup>41</sup> Martial, in the sequence on art objects in the *Apophoreta* (14.170–82), has created his own textual museum that invites comparison with the museum spaces of the Flavian city. Of crucial relevance is Pliny the Elder's articulation of the propaganda value of the museum: <sup>42</sup> 'atque ex omnibus quae rettuli clarissima quaeque in urbe iam sunt dicata a Vespasiano principe in templo Pacis aliisque eius operibus, violentia Neronis in urbem convecta et in sellariis domus aureae disposita' ('and out of all those which I mentioned, the most celebrated ones, which had been brought to the city by the rapacity of Nero and set out in the sitting rooms of the Domus Aurea, have now been dedicated in the city by *princeps* Vespasian in the Temple of Peace and his other monuments', 34.84). Martial, by presenting works of art in a collection of gifts for the delectation of his literary public, among which may be found replicas of some of the more famous pieces restored to public view by Vespasian, makes an implicit statement in his *Apophoreta* that parallels his open declaration of Flavian ideology in the *Liber Spectaculorum*. Martial, like Pliny, both acknowledges, and recreates in literary form, the Flavian restoration of private Neronian luxuries to a broader public.<sup>43</sup>

Martial is beginning to trace the outlines of his epigrammatic Rome. The epigrammatist's object-catalogues already contain hints of the buildings and cityscapes to which his objects belong, while his descriptions of the Colosseum provide an early example of his close attention to urban topography. And as in the case of the generalized urban poetics of Martial's numbered books, the three early collections employ material specificity and immediacy of presence as central features of their urban descriptive mode.<sup>44</sup> The *Liber Spectaculorum* reduces history, myth, geography, even literature to the present moment of spectacle, while the *Xenia* and *Apophoreta* replace literature in the grand sense with a series of gift-objects and food-items. Epigram's rhetoric of materialist immediacy involves confrontation with the prestige of mythological *doctrina* (erudition) in the poetic tradition, and, more broadly, with the authority of the past in Roman culture. Epigram, like the performances of the arena, condenses, encapsulates, reduces to the flat plane of the present moment. The epigrammatic genre's privileging of immediacy, moreover, merges with aspects of the self-justification of the Flavian regime. While evidently recalling the example of earlier emperors, the Flavians could not insist too dogmatically on reverence for the past: their regime was founded on the severing of the system of the Principate from the Julio-Claudian dynasty.<sup>45</sup> Epigram's rapidity and contemporaneity (cf. 1.1.5–6)<sup>46</sup> are

<sup>40</sup> e.g., amphitheatre (14.133, 13.99, 100), theatre (14.166), Domitian's rebuilt Temple of Capitoline Jupiter (13.74), Palatine (13.91), circus (13.78), barber shop (14.36), auction (14.35), Stephanus' baths (14.60).

<sup>41</sup> K. Lehmann, 'A Roman poet visits a museum', *Hesperia* 14.3 (1945), 259–69, argued that Martial was referring to the collection housed in the Temple of Divus Augustus. Might not the splendid collection in the Temple of Peace equally come to mind? Two items on Pliny's list of celebrated art objects that came to be housed in the Temple of Peace and Vespasian's other public buildings (*NH* 34.84) — the Apollo Sauroctonos ('Lizard-Slayer') of Praxiteles (34.70) and the Brutus' Boy by Strongylion (34.82) — are singled out by Martial among his artworks (14.172, 171). The fact that Martial's statues are replicas does not undermine the potential allusion: T. J. Leary, *Martial Book XIV: The Apophoreta* (1996), ad loc.

<sup>42</sup> See the comments of F. Millar, 'Monuments of the Jewish War in Rome', in J. Edmondson, S. Mason and J. Rives (eds), *Flavius Josephus and Flavian Rome* (2005), 101–28, at 110–11; note also his discussion of Martial *Spect.* 2, 115–17.

<sup>43</sup> After A.D. 96, Nerva or Trajan would employ the same propagandistic gesture against Domitian, putting on display in temples artworks that had been concealed from public view in his palace: *Epigrams* 12.15.

<sup>44</sup> Note again the insightful discussion of Stroup, op. cit. (n. 37).

<sup>45</sup> Fitzgerald, op. cit. (n. 4), 50–2.

<sup>46</sup> cf. Statius, *Silvae* 1 praefatio: 'subito calore ... festinandi voluptate.'

capable of capturing in a series of ‘snapshots’<sup>47</sup> the Flavian city both as it currently stands and as it comes into being.<sup>48</sup>

The metaphor of the epigrammatic ‘snapshot’, however, can be misleading in some respects. For a poet who ostensibly prioritizes material reality over the vagaries of literary fiction, Martial strongly insists on reminding his readers of the textuality of his represented world. What is distinctive about Martial’s epigrammatic mimesis is the crisp simultaneity of realism and illusion,<sup>49</sup> a relentlessly materialist perspective combined with acute metapoetic awareness. On closer inspection, his object catalogues betray signs of sophisticated ordering, thematic interconnection, and literary allusion. As scholars have begun to appreciate, Martial’s depictions of urban reality are laden with references to and ambitious rewriting of his poetic predecessors. The following section will examine how Martial positions his epigrammatic Rome in relation to the literary cities of the Augustan poets. Of particular importance in this negotiation is Martial’s self-positioning *vis-à-vis* Ovid, the key figure of comparison as poet of the imperial city.

### III LITERARY CITIES: THE AUGUSTAN BACKGROUND

The Augustan authors wrote when the Principate was being founded, imperial literature was being created, and the city was assuming its imperial grandeur. The Flavians represent the next major impetus in urban building after Augustus, with emphases designed specifically to recall Augustan benefaction to the city.<sup>50</sup> As McNelis observes, the ‘Flavians exploited the meaning of Augustus in order to strengthen their claims that they had eradicated civil war and brought peace and order to Rome’.<sup>51</sup> Martial thus not surprisingly looks back to the writers who celebrated the city’s transformation under the founder of Rome’s *first* dynastic line. The Augustans witnessed the most concentrated and transformative phase of urban building in Rome’s history. Augustus’ restored city of Rome consequently informs literary production of the period to a remarkable degree. Yet precisely because of the vast scope of the Princes’ urban building, Augustan writers endeavoured all the more intently to distill the ethical import of the new city. It required subtle strategies of selection and emphasis to sustain, simultaneously, the revival of traditionalist virtues, and the Hellenizing splendour of Augustus’ restored Rome. While Augustus was rebuilding the city in marble, contemporary writers embedded reference to this physical restructuring within broader depictions of the moral and religious rejuvenation of Rome and with constant reference to its pre-monumental past.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Fitzgerald, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 45, takes up the term from J.-M. Pailler, ‘Le poète, le prince et l’arène: À propos du livre des spectacles de Martial’, in C. Domergue, C. Landes and J.-M. Pailler (eds), *Spectacula I: Gladiateurs et amphithéâtres* (1990), 179–83.

<sup>48</sup> Martial in one instance appears to be describing, not only the monument itself, but the scaffolding (*pegmata*, *Spect.* 2.2). For the full range of possible interpretations, see Coleman, *op. cit.* (n. 14), *ad loc.*

<sup>49</sup> B. Bergman, ‘Greek masterpieces and Roman recreative fictions’, in *HSCP* 97 (1995), 79–120, has elucidated the aesthetic of materialism at work in Roman wall-painting with its illusionistic representation of polychrome marble surfaces, combinations of stone, wood, metals and gems, and architectonic settings for works of art. The richly differentiated materiality of Martial’s *Apophoreta* offers an intriguing literary correlate for this materialist aesthetic realized in paint.

<sup>50</sup> See Darwall-Smith, *op. cit.* (n. 9), 73; C. McNelis, *Statius’ Thebaid and the Poetics of Civil War* (2006), 5–6; note also P. Heslin, ‘Augustus, Domitian, and the so-called Horologium Augusti’, *JRS* 97 (2007), 1–20.

<sup>51</sup> McNelis, *op. cit.* (n. 50), 6. The Flavians did not imitate exclusively Augustan tendencies: in some cases — the use of public spaces to court the favour of the urban plebs, the minting of high-quality architectural coin-types — they were arguably indebted to Nero; on coins, see Darwall-Smith, *op. cit.* (n. 9), 40.

<sup>52</sup> As Newlands, *op. cit.* (n. 9), 3–7, has argued, architectural grandeur, technology, and opulent artificiality are disfavoured in the literary ideology of the Augustans. Precisely these qualities make a dramatic return in the poetry of Statius and Martial, opening up new possibilities for the representation of the material splendour of villas, artworks, and urban monuments. On the Augustan ‘rhetoric of space’ generally, see E. W. Leach, *The*

The strong ideological filter at work in Augustan literary representations of the city creates an opportunity for Martial. A central claim of Martial's *Epigrams* is to encompass the totality of Rome: every type of person and object, from imperial palace to Subura street-life, stands juxtaposed in the epigrammatist's programmatically unfiltered city.<sup>53</sup> Such a claim, of course, is partially misleading. The Augustan literary city was not always so selectively represented, and Martial's Flavian city not so free of ideological filtering, as the opposition might initially suggest. Martial's project of rewriting the imperial city was anticipated, moreover, in certain crucial respects by the late Augustan intervention of Ovid, who flouts with ironic insouciance the conventional priority accorded primitive Rome. By a deliberate act of misprision, he offers fulsome praise of the amenity and *cultus* (sophistication/refinement) of Augustan Rome,<sup>54</sup> and delights in the emerging urban forest of columns as a lover's playground. Early Rome, he avers, was a nasty, boorish place, devoid of modern refinement of taste in both buildings and personal adornment. In the Ovidian paradigm, the density of the urban fabric and the multiple opportunities it provides for chance meetings have been disembedded from the moral import they were designed to bear. The lover becomes a figure that exults in the city's labyrinth, the inheritor of a city that he turns to his own uses.

Or so a highly plausible literary critical story goes.<sup>55</sup> Another perspective, more reluctant to read Ovid's relegation in A.D. 8 retrospectively into his earlier poetry as proof of subversive intent, might with equal justice emphasize points of convergence between Ovid's elegiac city and the Augustan building programme.<sup>56</sup> The Ovidian celebration of urban *cultus* that, in some readings, appears as a subversive rejection of the early and mid-Augustan valorisation of Rome's virtuous past, might also be read as the logical adjustment of literary representation of the city to the different situation of Augustus' later reign. It is significant that Ovid begins to take advantage of the immense unrealized potential of a poetics of the city in a period when the monumentalization of Rome as imperial capital, along with other

*Rhetoric of Space: Literary and Artistic Representations of Landscape in Republican and Augustan Rome* (1988), especially 276ff. For the detail and richness of Martial's urban descriptions in comparison with Horace's, see Dyson and Prior, op. cit. (n. 5). The deeper reasons behind Horace's avoidance of and disdain for urban material culture are examined in P. Hardie, 'Ut pictura poesis? Horace and the visual arts', in N. Rudd (ed.), *Horace 2000: A Celebration: Essays for the Bimillennium* (1993), 120–39. The exceptional *tour de force* of ecphrastic architectural description in love elegy only underlines the more typically generic vagueness of the elegiac city; on the Propertian city, see Edwards, op. cit. (n. 3), 53–7; E. Fantham, 'Images of the city: Propertius' new-old Rome', in T. Habinek and A. Schiesaro (eds), *The Roman Cultural Revolution* (1997), 122–35; Welch, op. cit. (n. 3). The avoidance of topographical specificity in pre-Ovidian love elegy coheres with a broader pattern of avoidance of explicitness and physicality: see J. Connolly, 'Asymptotes of pleasure: thoughts on the nature of Roman erotic elegy', *Arethusa* 33 (2000), 71–98. On the presence of the Augustan city in Virgil, see J. Morwood, 'Aeneas, Augustus, and the theme of the city', *Greece and Rome* 38.2 (1991), 212–23; in Livy, M. Jaeger, *Livy's Written Rome* (1997). That there was a 'certain duplicity' in this Augustan programme of archaic rusticity was long ago observed by R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (1939), 452: 'the author of the most eloquent commendations of rustic virtue and plain living was himself a bachelor of Epicurean tastes, a man of property and an absentee landlord.'

<sup>53</sup> J. Henderson, *Pliny's Statue: The Letters, Self-Portraiture, and Classical Art* (2002), 51: 'Martial's favourite idiom of the cityscape, traipsing from mud to mansion, from slum to showhome, from Subura to high court.'

<sup>54</sup> *Ars Amatoria* 3.113–28.

<sup>55</sup> A line of argument pursued by, among others, A. J. Boyle, *Ovid and the Monuments: A Poet's Rome* (2003), 1–53.

<sup>56</sup> The assumption that the Augustan regime's stance *vis-à-vis* adultery always necessarily precluded an appreciation of cultivated *amor* in the private sphere can be misleading; in a *cubiculum* of the Villa Farnesina, probably an imperial villa of the Augustan period, the surviving wall-paintings include 'panels with amorous scenes like those recounted in Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*' (Bergman, op. cit. (n. 49), 103). The lover was a figure utterly absorbed in peaceful pursuits, a non-threat in political terms, and thus potentially useful for the redefinition of elite identity in a post-republican era. On the broader aspects of the problem, see D. Kennedy, "'Augustan' and 'anti-Augustan': reflections on terms of reference', in A. Powell (ed.), *Roman Poetry and Propaganda in the Age of Augustus* (1992), 26–58, especially 45–7.



aspects of imperial culture, were becoming better established and more familiar.<sup>57</sup> Central Augustan monuments such as the Ara Pacis (dedicated 9 B.C.) and the Forum of Augustus (2 B.C.) were only completed after most of the main cohort of Augustan poets were dead or inactive. Ovid's later works — notably the *Fasti* and *Tristia* — constitute his most detailed, explicit explorations of the Princeps' transformation of and dominant presence within the city fabric.<sup>58</sup> It is thus not surprising that Martial looks to Ovid as a major exemplar of topographical poetry. Ovid's *Fasti* provides Martial with the blueprint for the ecphrastic description of imperial monuments, his *Ars Amatoria* exemplifies the topographical catalogue and roving itineraries of the *flâneur*, while the exile poetry pioneers the imperial map-poem and travelling book.<sup>59</sup> Finally, it was Ovid who first gave definitive expression to Rome's status as world-city in connection with the world-wide circulation of his own poetry.<sup>60</sup>

We can begin to appreciate the depth of Ovid's importance for Martial as poet of the city in all its material aspects: explicit description of books, explicit description of sex, explicit description of buildings and cityscape. Yet even as Ovid celebrates *aurea Roma* of the present day, he eschews a radically materialistic position: *cultus*, he insists, is the key — not marble, masonry, and gold. Nor should we be surprised if, as in book-representation, so also in urban topography and sex, Martial pushes the Ovidian model to extremity, at once debasing and splintering into epigram-sized fragments the more streamlined city of porticos and heterosexual courtship-games of the *Ars Amatoria*. Epigrammatic *eros* is diversified, fragmented, made to represent the truly vast, defiling untidiness and perversity of Rome. The one-track mind of the Ovidian *praeceptor* ('teacher') revolved around seduction played out in its innumerable variations with benign cynicism. Martial's erotic Rome has harsher edges and more unsettling surprises.<sup>61</sup> The denizens of Martial's Rome, moreover, are less uniform in their pursuits, and in most cases, lack the elegant, aesthetized negligence of the gentleman-lover: the city becomes the site of relentless *captatio* ('hunting'), not only of inheritances, but of grosser, smaller things (e.g. dinners, *sportulae*).

2.14, a satiric epigram on Silius' desperate pursuit of a dinner invitation, is a prime example.

Nil intemptatum Silius, nil linquit inausum,  
cenandum quotiens iam videt esse domi.  
currit ad Europen et te, Pauline, tuosque  
laudat Achilleos, sed sine fine, pedes.  
si nihil Europe fecit, tunc Saepta petuntur,  
si quid Phillyrides praestet et Aesonides.  
hic quoque deceptus Memphitica templa frequentat,  
assidet et cathedris, maesta iuvenca, tuis.  
inde petit centum pendentia tecta columnis,  
illinc Pompei dona nemusque duplex.

<sup>57</sup> A sophisticated discussion of Ovid's representation of Rome in the *Ars Amatoria* can be found in M. Labate, *L'arte di farsi amare: Modelli culturali e progetto didascalico nell'elegia ovidiana* (1984), 48–64 ('la retorica della città'). On the specifically Roman setting of love in the *Ars Amatoria*, see K. Volk, 'Ars Amatoria Romana: Ovid on love as a cultural construct', in R. Gibson, S. Green and A. Sharrock (eds), *The Art of Love: Bimillennial Essays on Ovid's Ars Amatoria and Remedia Amoris* (2006), 235–51.

<sup>58</sup> This point gains strength when we observe, not only the differences between Ovid and the early Augustan poets, but also the break *within* Ovid's oeuvre: the *Amores* contain scant reference to specific places in the city, which take on a much more prominent role in his later works: see P. White, 'Ovid and the Augustan milieu', in B. W. Boyd (ed.), *Brill's Companion to Ovid* (2002), 1–26, at 12, 18. On Ovid's praises of Rome from Tomis, see Edwards, op. cit. (n. 3), 123–5.

<sup>59</sup> The fundamental treatment of the topic is Hinds, op. cit. (n. 33).

<sup>60</sup> World-city: *Fasti* 2.684: 'Romanae spatium est urbis et orbis idem' (cited above). World-wide circulation: e.g., *Tristia* 3.7.51–2.

<sup>61</sup> See, for example, the discussion of 9.67 in Hinds, op. cit. (n. 33), 128–9, and on Martial's treatment of the *Ars Amatoria* and elegiac *amor* generally, 114–29.



nec Fortunati spernit nec balnea Fausti,  
 nec Grylli tenebras Aeoliamque Lupi:  
 nam thermis iterumque iterumque iterumque lavatur.  
 omnia cum fecit, sed renuente deo,  
 lotus ad Europes tepidae buxeta recurrit,  
 si quis ibi serum carpat amicus iter.  
 per te perque tuam, vector lascive, puellam,  
 ad cenam Selium tu, rogo, taure, voca.

Selius leaves nothing untried, nothing unventured, whenever he sees that he must dine at home. He runs to the Portico of Europa and praises you, Paulinus, and your Achillean feet — he does so without end. If Europa has got him nothing, then the Saepta are sought out to see if Chiron and the son of Aeson have anything to offer. Cheated of his hopes here too, he spends time in the Egyptian temple, and sits down, unhappy cow, in your chairs. From there he seeks the roof supported by a hundred columns, and from there, the gifts and double grove of Pompey. He disdains neither the baths of Fortunatus nor those of Faustus; neither the darkness of Gryllus nor Lupus' Cave of the Winds; and he bathes in the public baths again and again and again. When he has tried everything, but the god still denies him, he runs back, well bathed, to the boxwood grove of sun-warmed Europa, to see if any friend is taking a late walk there. I beg you, frisky mount, o bull, in your name and your girl's, *you* ask Selius to dinner.

Martial's most famous map-poem, through the allusive fabric of its metonymic toponyms (Europa, Io, Achilles, Jason, Aeolia), is packed with metachartographic references to geography, travel, epic journeys, and map-making.<sup>62</sup> Immediately striking is the remarkable energy of the poem's central protagonist, the unflagging Selius, who, like Achilles and Paulinus, is running a relentless race of his own, and whose lust for a dinner invitation conveniently, for Martial's purposes, drives him to a densely packed series of urban locations. Repetition, cyclicity, and exhaustion are themselves thematic: 'iterumque iterumque iterumque' ('again and again and again', 13).<sup>63</sup> The city is represented as saturated both with monumental building and with the relentless drives and behaviours of its inhabitants. Martial's poetics of urban saturation goes beyond the highly selected slices of cityscape we get in Augustan poetry. His city is a jumble of buildings, periods, overlapping and competing functions. Imperial porticos and dodgy private baths are juxtaposed in the urban parataxis of Selius' journey and Martial's poem. Selius' urgent need sends the poem into places (e.g. dank and drafty *balnea*<sup>64</sup>) Ovid's lover might not have deigned to go. If, in Augustan writers, the struggle to define the value-associations of the emerging imperial city is especially prominent, Martial plays on the axiological dissonance of the diverse segments of cityscape in relation to the social uses made of them. The Campus Martius was, broadly conceived, a place for public *otium* (leisure), yet, for the humourless Selius, strolling in public places is serious business.<sup>65</sup> The splendid artworks

<sup>62</sup> As Prior observes (op. cit. (n. 5), 126), if 'Europa' refers to the Porticus Vipsania, which housed Agrippa's famous map of the world, an allusion to map-making has been tacitly incorporated. Note especially the excellent discussion of Connors (op. cit. (n. 5), 511–12), who explores the connections between the myth of Europa, Agrippa's map, and Martial's poem. See also C. Williams (ed.), *Martial: Epigrams Book Two* (2004), ad loc. for commentary on Martial's topographical references. Rodríguez Almeida, op. cit. (n. 5), 45–64, devotes a section of his book to arguing that Martial's 'portico of Europa' is to be identified as the *dromos* of the Iseum. The reference remains enigmatic. It is not even clear that Martial's 'Europa' refers to a portico rather than simply a sculpture group or some other structure, although his other references to 'Europa' (3.20.12, 7.32.12, 11.1.11) best suit a portico.

<sup>63</sup> The third *iterum* has attracted the improvement of textual critics, but is an apt expression of Selius' disproportionate obsession: L. and P. Watson, *Martial: Select Epigrams* (2003), ad loc.; Williams, op. cit. (n. 62), ad loc.

<sup>64</sup> Mentioned in passing at *Ars Amatoria* 3.640.

<sup>65</sup> Connors, op. cit. (n. 5), 512: 'the hard work of urban leisure'.

Selius rushes past mean little to him, although they may offer ironic commentary on his quest.

Selius' route both recalls and travesties the sleek ambulations of the Ovidian *flâneur*. Pompey's portico enjoyed frequent and conspicuous mention in Roman erotic and elegiac poetry, and was awarded primacy of place in Ovid's catalogues.<sup>66</sup> The Temple of Isis, often featured in love poetry, and mentioned more than once by Ovid, enters Martial's catalogue with overtly Ovidian phrasing.<sup>67</sup> The frantic Selius, however, hardly cuts the same figure as the otiose lover, and his pedestrian conquest of the city does not suggest an alternative elite ethos.<sup>68</sup> Selius, moreover, resembles Ovid's lover in passing through structures that just happen to coincide with major works and restorations of the reigning emperor.<sup>69</sup> Martial's epigram thus reproduces the underlying dynamic of the *Ars*: the figure traversing the city does so in the name of pursuits that notionally clash with the ideological emphases of the emperor whose structures he traverses. Selius' single-minded pursuit of a dinner cannot but contrast with the grandeur of the imperial benefactions that surround him, and with the austere traditionalism of Domitian's views on social mores. Crucially, however, Martial's satiric perspective mercilessly isolates Selius and stigmatizes him: he does not represent an alternative life-path that others are encouraged to admire and emulate. Domitian's ideological position remains unchallenged, insofar as the potentially subversive uses made of his city by its inhabitants are fragmented and isolated as so many individual vices and shameful obsessions. Martial succeeds in offering a richer diversity of modes of urban behaviour than his Augustan predecessors, even as he dissolves their potential for ideological subversion by making their practitioners into pariahs and objects of disgust.

As this section has begun to sketch out, there are strong precedents for Martial's poetics of the city in the Roman tradition. Martial, however, distinguishes himself by the degree of topographical explicitness, his relentless materialist vision, the fragmentation and axiological instability of his urban world, and the sheer accumulation of urban scenes, objects, monuments, persons. Selius, whose immense yet sordid desires drive him across a broad section of the Campus Martius, and then back again to his starting-point, is an apt symbol of the exhaustive drive of Martial's totalizing urban poetics. Martial is the inheritor and subversive renovator of the Augustan poetics of the city: the epigrammatist delves into grittier corners of the city and maps out more explicit itineraries within it than his predecessors, who were similarly concerned to create modes of poetry adequate to a newly monument-dense Rome. Of course, in making this argument, I am largely following the positive spin that privileges Martial's originality and that derives from his own literary self-positioning. One could equally pursue an inverse argument, namely that Martial, in taking up literary themes organized around a tension between implicit and explicit, streamlined and fragmented, generic and realist, in the well-established areas of city, sex, and books is merely hunting out the last scraps of originality within the tradition of Roman poetry

<sup>66</sup> *Ars Amatoria* 1.67, 3.387; *Remedia Amoris*, 613–14. See Hinds, op. cit. (n. 33), 121. Note in general the subterranean layer of erotic associations on Selius' route: Europa, Io, Pompey's Venus Victrix.

<sup>67</sup> *Ars Amatoria* 1.77 ('Memphitia templa'), 3.387 ('vaccae Memphitidos aras').

<sup>68</sup> Selius is the antitype of the *flâneur*. Pailler, op. cit. (n. 2), 84–5, aptly contrasts Selius' urgent, businesslike itinerary with the leisurely promenade suggested by Martial's poem on the rich Canius Rufus (3.20) — a catalogue which begins in literary pursuits and the *schola poetarum*, continues amid the city's porticos, then moves outward to the countryside and the villas of wealthy Romans.

<sup>69</sup> Domitian completed a splendid renovation of the Iseum in the Campus Martius, and built intensively throughout this entire area, much of which appears to have been heavily damaged in the fire of A.D. 80. From the epitome of Cassius Dio (66.24), we learn that the fire of A.D. 80 under Titus burned, among other structures, the Temples of Serapis and Isis, the Saepta, the Temple of Neptune, the Baths of Agrippa, the Pantheon, the Diribitorium, and the stage building of Pompey's theatre — in other words, the general area of Selius' circuit. On the concentration of Domitian's building activity in areas affected by the fire, see Darwall-Smith, op. cit. (n. 9), 250–1.

deriving from the Augustans. This assessment might make him an eminently Flavian writer in yet another way.

Martial would not be the only case, of course, of an early imperial writer for whom satiety and overworking of the literary terrain become enabling tropes. The repetition and exhaustion that reflect so poorly on Silius can be recuperated as innovative elements in Martial's epigrammatic urbanism. The epigrammatist ransacks the city for novel perspectives and themes, makes an epic journey out of a sordid itinerary, and injects energy, wit, and surprise into Silius' grimly circular path. Martial writes in a city that is already filled with literary memories. His answer to this challenge is essentially: 'more'. Martial's topographical references are more numerous, more explicit, less neatly confined within building types or regions. Martial packs his poetry with references to urban structures, and, conversely, saturates his epigrammatic city with images of his own poetry. For Martial, the physical book is the conduit of his work, and its movement through the city marks the extent of his poetry's immersion in urban life. While Horace and Ovid offer up images of travelling books, and Ovid goes some way toward situating literary activity in an unapologetically urban environment, Martial, predictably, goes further. The opposition between book (as integral aesthetic object) and city (that tarnishes and corrupts it) collapses as Martial's restlessly mobile book merges with the city through its insertion into vividly imagined contexts of reception and social use.

#### IV ITINERARIES OF THE BOOK

In the second epigram of his first numbered book, Martial directs his reader where to buy a codex edition of his epigrams:

libertum docti Lucensis quaere Secundum  
limina post Pacis Palladiumque forum.

Seek out Secundus, freedman of learned Lucensis, behind the threshold of Peace and the forum of Pallas. (1.2.7–8)

Martial's book is located behind Vespasian's Temple of Peace and behind the Forum Transitorium,<sup>70</sup> here uniquely named after its dominant temple. Just as the first epigram of the *Liber Spectaculorum* describes the world-wide prestige of the Flavian Amphitheatre, followed by an epigram situating the Amphitheatre within the city, so here an introductory epigram announcing the book's world-wide glory ('toto notus in orbe', 'known throughout the entire world', 1.1.2) precedes an epigram on the book's exact location in the city ('ne ... erres / urbe vagus tota ...', 'so that you don't wander, straying, through the whole city', 1.2.5–6). In the same book's penultimate epigram (1.117), Martial, with neat ring-structure, again represents a potential place of purchase for his book, this time not a codex but a scroll: in the Argiletum, across from the 'forum of Caesar' (probably referring to the Forum Transitorium, 1.117.10), there is a shop with its doorposts covered with advertisements for the poets on sale (11–12); Atrectus, the shop-owner, will hand you a 'Martial' from the first or second niche for five denarii (13–18).<sup>71</sup>

Of note here is the immense precision and explicitness of description, progressing from general location to specific shop to the very niche ('de primo ... alterove nido') from which

<sup>70</sup> See P. Howell, *A Commentary on Book One of the Epigrams of Martial* (1980), ad loc.; he locates the bookshop in the approximate area of the present-day Torre dei Conti. On the Forum Transitorium, see H. Bauer and C. Morselli in Steinby, op. cit. (n. 20), vol. 2 (1995), s.v. Forum Nervae.

<sup>71</sup> The ring-structure of 1.2 and 1.117 may not have been a feature of the original edition of Book 1. It has been argued that 1.2 belongs to a later codex edition containing multiple epigrammatic books: see M. Citroni, *M. Valerii Martialis Epigrammaton Liber Primus* (1970), ad loc.

Martial's book will come. Material/materialistic emphasis converges with topographical specificity. The epistolary Horace was already pressing at the limits of literary decorum, when he named, not only the location where his book yearned to go ('Vertumnus Ianumque', 'Vertumnus and Janus', 1.20.1), but also the name of the bookseller where it might be sold.<sup>72</sup> Yet 'Martial', who is identified with and embodied in his book, is already *in* the city, in more than one shop, available in more than one physical form: there is less emphasis on an author-figure separate from the book restraining its trajectory toward the city and more on the embeddedness of the book/author in the city's consumer fabric. At the same time, Martial carefully plots his book's position in relation to the emperor's monumental complex — at a stone's throw from, but not actually in, the Forum Transitorium. Martial is able to acknowledge the emperor's urban building projects, while remaining in the humble, untidy world of epigram — shops and streets, quotidian transactions and pedestrian itineraries.

What both topographical reference and materialist book-description have in common is a realist view of literature that envisions concrete, specific acts of writing, reading, and circulation. In *Epigrams* 1.70, Martial sends his book on a vividly plotted path to the house of his patron Proculus.

Vade salutatum pro me, liber: ire iuberis  
 ad Proculi nitidos, officiose, lares.  
 quaeris iter, dicam. vicinum Castora canae  
 transibis Vestae virgineamque domum;  
 inde sacro veneranda petes Palatia clivo,  
 plurima qua summi fulget imago ducis.  
 nec te detineat miri radiata colossi  
 quae Rhodium moles vincere gaudet opus.  
 flecte vias hac qua madidi sunt tecta Lyaei  
 et Cybeles picto stat Corybante tholus.  
 protinus a laeva clari tibi fronte Penates  
 atriaque excelsae sunt adeunda domus.  
 hanc pete: ne metuas fastus limenque superbum:  
 nulla magis toto ianua poste patet  
 nec propior quam Phoebus amet doctaeque sorores.  
 si dicet 'quare non tamen ipse venit?'  
 sic licet excuses: 'quia qualiacumque leguntur  
 ista, salutator scribere non potuit'.

Go offer a greeting on my behalf, book: you are commanded, dutiful one, to go to the elegant house of Proculus. You ask the way — I shall tell. You will pass by Castor next to ancient Vestae and the House of the Vestals; from there, you will seek out the revered Palatine by the sacred slope, where there gleams many a statue of the exalted Leader. Don't let the ray-crowned mass of the amazing colossus, which glories in surpassing the work of Rhodes, make you linger. Turn your course where stand the shrine of wine-soaked Lyaeus and Cybele's dome with its painted Corybant. Straightaway on the left you are to approach the bright façade of the dwelling<sup>73</sup> and the halls of a lofty home. Make for it. Do not fear haughtiness and an arrogant threshold: no door opens more widely with its entire post, nor is there one to which Phoebus and the learned sisters are nearer in affection. If he says, 'why has he not come himself', thus

<sup>72</sup> The Sosii, *Epistles* 1.20.2. On the associations of Vertumnus' location, see K. O'Neill, 'Propertius 4.2: slumming with Vertumnus?', *AJP* 121.2 (2000), 259–77. Martial's extended allusion in this group of poems on the sale of the book (1.2, 1.3, 1.117) to Horace, *Epistles* 1.20 potentially includes a topographical dimension if we consider that the Forum Transitorium, the landmark used to locate Martial's book, included a Janus that appears to have replaced the Janus Geminus located 'ad infimum Argiletum' (see E. Tortorici in Steinby, op. cit. (n. 20), vol. 3 (1996), s.v. Janus Geminus, Aedes).

<sup>73</sup> Alternatively, F. Coarelli, *Foro Romano: periodo arcaico* (1983), 41, suggests that 'clari ... Penates' may refer to the Temple of the Penates on the Velia.

you may give excuse: 'because, whatever worth these writings are judged to have, a morning caller could not have written them'. (1.70)

Martial's ingenious ploy of sending the book as substitute *saluator* (morning caller) allows him to derive social benefit from a patronal connection without personally carrying out time-consuming duties.<sup>74</sup> The topographical arc described by 1.70 coheres with its social function as surrogate *salutatio* (morning greeting). We might compare the book's urban progress with that of the satiric target Silius, whose manic pursuit of a dinner traces a circular path over the flat plain of the Campus Martius. Silius ends up in the same place, and significantly, at the same elevation, at which he started. 1.70, which concerns the aspirations of the epigrammatist himself, depicts the hunger for social elevation more optimistically. The book begins in the low-lying Forum, and then, after turning near the shrines of Bacchus and Cybele (and in view of the Colossus), follows an upward-tending path toward the Palatine before veering left at Proculus' house ('nitidos ... Lares').<sup>75</sup> Martial deftly compliments Proculus' cultured household, but, as Geysen has argued, the emperor Domitian also appears to be on the epigrammatist's mind, and the poem may be tracing the earlier phases of a progress that ideally ends at the Palace itself.<sup>76</sup> Compared with the flat plain of Silius' zero-sum game, the rising curve of 1.70 is suggestive of Martial's literary and social ambitions at a crucial turning point in his career. The book's journey up the Palatine, however, in addition to mapping the epigrammatist's present and future path of ascent in Flavian Rome, traverses significant intertextual territory: the most important book to travel a similar (though not identical) path up the Palatine previously was Ovid's, sent from exile in *Tristia* 1.1 and 3.1.<sup>77</sup> Ovid's book approaches the public library in the Palatine Apollo complex, but in the end, will find refuge in a private household. Martial inverts this sequence: he first finds refuge in a private household on the slope of the Palatine; later, perhaps, he will be received in an altogether more exalted house, where the

<sup>74</sup> See the discussion of 1.70 in C. Damon, *The Mask of the Parasite: A Pathology of Roman Patronage* (1998), 161–2, and Fitzgerald, op. cit. (n. 4), 99–101, 186. Pailler, op. cit. (n. 2), interprets such strategies of self-displacement as a kind of poet's revenge on the city that otherwise imprisons him (86).

<sup>75</sup> The shrine of Bacchus is hypothesized to have been located in front of the Basilica of Constantine, and the *tholus* of Cybele may have been near the Arch of Titus: see the discussions of Howell, op. cit. (n. 70), ad loc.; E. Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (1967), I.165–8, II.34f.; L. Richardson Jr., *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (1992), s.v. *Lyaei tecta*. These identifications would support the idea that Martial's book turns onto the so-called *clivus Palatinus*. On the topographical references of 1.70 generally, see the detailed remarks of Citroni, op. cit. (n. 71), ad loc. The path of the *Sacra Via* in particular is debated: Coarelli, op. cit. (n. 73), 1–56, and 40–1 on 1.70; T. P. Wiseman, 'Conspicui postes tectaque digna deo: the public image of aristocratic and imperial houses in the late Republic and early Empire', in *L'Urbs: espace urbain et histoire (Ier siècle av. J.-C.–IIIe siècle ap. J.-C.)* (1987), 393–413, 410–11 on *Epigrams* 1.70 and the *Sacra Via*. Martial does not mention the Arch of Titus, which should be prominent on his book's path, although Howell, op. cit. (n. 70), ad loc. observes that the arch 'must have been a much less striking feature in its original context'.

<sup>76</sup> J. Geysen, 'Sending a book to the Palatine: Martial 1.70 and Ovid', *Mnemosyne* 52.6 (1999), 718–38; on the Domitianic importance of the structures mentioned in 1.70, 723–8. They were either restored by Domitian (Temple of Castor), relevant to Domitian's religious emphases (Temple of Vesta, House of the Vestals), or significant elements in Flavian propaganda (the Colossus, statues of the emperor). Verbal and topographical reminiscences of Ovid's *Tristia* bring to mind the path to the emperor's house and the adjacent public libraries: Geysen, 729–34; Hinds, op. cit. (n. 33), 131.

<sup>77</sup> On the itineraries of Ovid's exilic books, see S. Hinds, 'Booking the return trip: Ovid and *Tristia* 1', *PCPS* n.s. 31 (1985), 13–32; C. Newlands, 'The role of the book in *Tristia* 3.1', *Ramus* 26 (1997), 57–79; on Ovid's exilic representation of the city, Edwards, op. cit. (n. 2), 116–25. On Martial's self-positioning *vis-à-vis* Ovid, see Hinds, op. cit. (n. 33), especially 129–36, and Fitzgerald, op. cit. (n. 4), 186–90.



Muses are no less honoured.<sup>78</sup> The motif of *salutatio* via book also comes from Ovid's exile poetry,<sup>79</sup> yet Martial, significantly, adds the dimension of clientage.<sup>80</sup>

The deeper pattern resides in the congruence of literary materiality and topographical specificity for both Ovid and Martial. To track the book's itinerary through the city is to envision what poetry *is* in materialist terms. In Martial, however, the contexts of the book's reception are notable for the extent to which they are multiple, fragmented, and at times cynically profit-driven: specific cliental and mercantile uses situate the book's constant movement among a diversity of locations and itineraries. Previous poetic books are shown on the move, but in Martial's epigrams that movement is sliced into multiple, thickly described segments. In 10.19/20, addressed to the Younger Pliny, Martial once again sends his book on an uphill journey without authorial accompaniment.

Nec doctum satis et parum severum,  
sed non rusticulum tamen libellum  
facundo mea Plinio Thalia  
i perfer: brevis est labor peractae  
altum vincere tramitem Suburae.  
illic Orphea protinus videbis  
udi vertice lubricum theatri  
mirantisque feras avemque regis,  
raptum quae Phryga pertulit Tonanti;  
illic parva tui domus Pedonis  
caelata est aquilae minore pinna.  
sed ne tempore non tuo disertam  
pulses ebria ianuam videto:  
totos dat tetricae dies Minervae,  
dum centum studet auribus virorum  
hoc quod saecula posterique possint  
Arpinis quoque comparare chartis.  
seras tutior ibis ad lucernas:  
haec hora est tua, cum furit Lyaeus,  
cum regnat rosa, cum madent capilli:  
tunc me vel rigidi legant Catones.

Go, my Thalia, convey to eloquent Pliny my little book — insufficiently learned and not very stern but still not unsophisticated: it is quick work, once you have crossed the Subura, to overcome the steep path. There straightaway you will see Orpheus wet at the summit of his watery theatre and the rapt beasts and the king's bird that conveyed the abducted Trojan to the Thunderer. There the small house of your Pedo is chiselled with the wing of a lesser eagle. But make sure you do not drunkenly knock at the distinguished orator's door at a time not your own: he gives all his days to stern Minerva, while he works at something for the ears of the Hundred Men that future ages and posterity will be able to compare even with Arpine writings. It will be safer for you to go when the late-night lamps are lit: this is your hour, when Lyaeus rages, when the rose holds sway, when hair is soaked: then let even inflexible Catos read me. (10.20 [19])

<sup>78</sup> On Domitian's literary interests and support for literature, see K. M. Coleman, 'The Emperor Domitian and literature', in *ANRW* 2.32.5 (1986), 3087–3115, especially 3088–3095.

<sup>79</sup> In *Tristia* 1.1, he directs the book to 'greet' (*saluta*) the sites of Rome he himself can no longer visit, and in 3.7, directs his book to his stepdaughter Perilla's house ('Vade salutatum subito perarata, Perillam, / littera, sermonis fida ministra mei', 'Go greet Perilla, rapidly written letter, trustworthy servant of my speech', 3.7.1–2).

<sup>80</sup> Howell, *op. cit.* (n. 70), 266. Note Hinds, *op. cit.* (n. 33), 131: Martial 'translates a moment of Ovidian epistolarity ... into a moment of typical-looking Martalian clientship'.

The *libellus* (little book) is evidently Catullan,<sup>81</sup> yet whereas Catullus places the book directly into Nepos' waiting hand ('habe tibi', 'take it', C. 1.8), Martial sends his book on a journey to reach the patron's lofty, intimidating abode. Indeed, Martial makes much — almost too much — of the distance between himself and the ultra-serious Pliny. As in 1.70, the book must travel uphill, from the low-life milieu of the Subura to Pliny's house on the Esquiline ('altum vincere tramitem', 'to overcome the steep path'). The book will first pass by what appears to be a fountain depicting Orpheus soothing wild beasts with his music,<sup>82</sup> and the house of the Augustan epigrammatist Albinovanus Pedo.<sup>83</sup> Topography, in this case, speaks volumes. The mythic poet Orpheus appears alongside the king of birds, the eagle that carried Ganymede to Zeus, whereas a lesser eagle ('aquilae minore pinna') is chiselled in relief on Pedo's house, suggesting a hierarchy of literary as well as architectural grandeur. The same verb is used to convey (*pertulit*) Ganymede to the Thunderer as conveys (*perfer*) Martial's book to Pliny's house via his epigrammatic Muse. Both Martial's *libellus* and Ganymede are attractive aesthetic objects whisked off to supply convivial entertainment to weighty, powerful figures. It goes without saying that Ganymede is an ideal mythic *exemplum* for correlating movement from lower to higher altitude with change in social elevation.<sup>84</sup>

Once again Martial combines representation of the material book with description of the urban fabric in the process of constructing a complex picture of his poetry's insertion into contexts of social interaction and use. Martial replaces traditional metaphors of literary circulation with concrete scenes of dedication, mercantile sale, and patronage, while exploiting those scenes' metonymic potential: the book's urban itineraries map out social and literary hierarchies. The eventual end-point of such itineraries is often, as in 1.70, the imperial palace.<sup>85</sup> Later epigrams explicitly represented the book's ascent up the Palatine in hopes of obtaining imperial favour.<sup>86</sup> Domitian's death by assassination in A.D. 96, however, naturally disrupted this familiar path of ascent for Martial's book. In the first poem of Book 11, published under Nerva, Martial first asks if his book is going to see Parthenius on the Palatine, but then corrects that false impression: he is too busy reading petitions to read poetic *libelli* (little books).<sup>87</sup> Martial is possibly registering, with mild humour, the awareness that his books were all too often observed travelling the path up the Palatine to be received into Domitian's 'mighty hands' ('magnas ... manus',

<sup>81</sup> Three adjectives describing the book open the poem ('nec doctum satis ... parum severum ... non rusticulum'; cf. Catullus, C. 1, 'novum lepidum libellum'); the metre is hendecasyllabic; and Martial, like Catullus, addresses the Muse of his nugatory poetry.

<sup>82</sup> Richardson, op. cit. (n. 75), s.v. Lacus Orphei.

<sup>83</sup> Pliny's house is probably not Pedo's, as some scholars have suggested, but in the same area of the Esquiline along with the houses of other Augustan writers connected with Maecenas: see the discussion of E. Rodríguez Almeida, 'Qualche osservazione sulle Esquilie patrizie e il Lacus Orphei', in *L'Urbs: espace urbain et histoire, (Ier siècle av. J.-C. - IIIe siècle ap. J.-C.)* (1987), 415–28. It is significant that Martial does not describe or laud Pliny's house. See Henderson, op. cit. (n. 53), 52: 'not one word — not even swanky "Esquiline" — for consular Pliny's indubitably spanking marble mansion.'

<sup>84</sup> The epigram's overall tone (presumably by design) is hard to pin down. Henderson, op. cit. (n. 53), 47–57, reads the exchange between Martial and Pliny as adversarial and barbed; note also Woolf, op. cit. (n. 2), 212, 'a brilliant pen portrait of a public figure'. In the discussion of I. Marchesi, *The Art of Pliny's Letters: A Poetics of Allusion in the Private Correspondence* (2008), 64–8, the key point in Martial's representation of Pliny is the carefully regulated division of serious forensic work and playful neoteric leisure — a division in keeping with aspects of Pliny's epistolary self-representation.

<sup>85</sup> The case of 10.20 is complicated: Book 10, originally published under Domitian, was revised for republication under Trajan. The references to Minerva and Jupiter Tonans bring into play well-known divine associations of Domitian, although arguably in a negative light (e.g., *tetricae*). The suggestion that Martial's Ganymede book will be snatched off to the celestial Palace to enliven the *convivia* of Jupiter is laced with irony in a post-Domitianic setting.

<sup>86</sup> Martial sometimes envisions sending his book to Caesar directly (5.1), in other cases by intermediary (5.6, 6.1, 7.99).

<sup>87</sup> See Fitzgerald, op. cit. (n. 4), 3, on the play on different senses of *libellus*.

6.1.5). Now, his book will have to content itself with falling into the ‘lesser hands’ (‘*manus minores*’, 11.1.8) of idlers in the portico attached to the Temple of Quirinus near Martial’s house.

vicini pete porticum Quirini:  
turbam non habet otiosiore  
Pompeius vel Agenoris puella,  
vel primae dominus levis carinae.  
sunt illic duo tresve qui revolvant  
nostrarum tineas ineptiarum,  
sed cum sponsio fabulaeque lassae  
de Scorpo fuerint et Incitato.

Seek out the portico of neighbouring Quirinus: neither Pompey, nor the daughter of Agenor, nor the fickle master of the first ship, has an idler crowd. There are two or three there to unroll the bookworms of our trifles, but only when betting and talk about Scorpus and Incitatus have been exhausted. (11.1.9–16)

The tone is self-denigrating and mildly repentant, and the shift in topography telling: his book will no longer make the long journey to the Palace, but will remain in the plebeian milieu of the nearby Porticus Quirini. Ovid, whose book failed to find lodging on the Palatine and comparably sought reception in the hands of the people (‘*plebeiae ... manus*’, *Tristia* 3.1.82), affords a suggestive precedent:<sup>88</sup> his exilic circumstances and imperial disfavour resemble Martial’s post-Domitianic predicament and subsequent departure. As always, however, Martial goes further along the path of realist description, substituting Ovid’s generalizing *plebeiae manus* with a sordid scene of chariot-racing gossip in the portico neighbouring the house that (unlike the exiled Ovid) he still inhabits in Rome.

Is there any alternative between venal bookshop and sordid *turba* on the one hand, and the uphill path to the patron’s or emperor’s imposing house on the other? In 7.51, Martial answers the query of the urban reader, who will not pay good money for trifling poems, but still wants to enjoy Martial’s latest epigrams.

Mercari nostras si te piget, Urbice, nugas  
et lasciva tamen carmina nosse libet,  
Pompeium quaeres — et nosti forsitan — Auctum;  
Ultoris prima Martis in aede sedet.  
iure madens varioque togae limatus in usu  
non lector meus hic, Urbice, sed liber est.  
sic tenet absentes nostros cantatque libellos  
ut pereat chartis littera nulla meis:  
denique, si vellet, poterat scripsisse videri;  
sed famae mavult ille favere meae.  
hunc licet a decima — neque enim satis ante vacabit —  
sollicites, capiet cenula parva duos;  
ille leget, bibe tu; nolis licet, ille sonabit,  
et cum ‘iam satis est’ dixeris, ille leget.

If it annoys you to purchase my trifles, Urbicus, and yet you want to get to know my wanton poems, you will seek out Pompeius (perhaps you know him) Auctus: he sits at the entrance of the Temple of Mars Ultor. Steeped in legal knowledge, polished in the diverse practice of the toga, he is not my reader, Urbicus, but my book. He has by heart and recites my little books in their absence so that not a letter is lost from my pages. In fine, if he wished, he could appear to have written them, yet he prefers to support my glory. You may solicit him from the tenth

<sup>88</sup> On *Epigrams* 11.1, *Tristia* 3.1, and *manus*, see Fitzgerald, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 188; note also Rimell, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 165–6.

hour on — for he will not have enough free time before this. A little meal will do for both of you: he will read, you drink. Even if you don't want him to, he will sound on, and when you say 'enough already', he will go on reading. (7.51)

Martial now directs the potential reader not to his book's place of sale but to a person, the lawyer Pompeius Auctus, whose location in Rome he identifies with precision: 'Ultroris prima Martis in aede sedet' ('he sits at the entrance of the Temple of Mars Ultor'). A well-established Roman poetic tradition personifies the book as slave (1.3). Here, instead of personifying a book, Martial does the inverse: he assigns the qualities of his book to a person. Each detail in the description plays into the opening conceit that Pompeius Auctus is not Martial's reader, but his book. He is 'madens' ('wet, dripping, soaked'), a familiar term of epigrammatic self-definition — not, however, actually drunk, but instead 'steeped in law'. Moreover, like a good Callimachean book, he is 'limatus' ('filed, polished') but 'vario togae usu' ('in the diverse practice of the toga') — a polish of a different kind.

Auctus comes off as an appealingly open character, willing to recite Martial's epigrams to anyone who is willing to share a bite to eat with him. The small shared dinner nicely adequates Martial's humble, sociable genre. Yet, despite epigram's notionally limited scope, a book of epigrams may go on longer than its more impatient readers might prefer.<sup>89</sup> So also Auctus: 'nolis licet, ille sonabit, / et cum "iam satis est" dixeris, ille leget' ('even if you don't want him to, he will sound on, and when you say "enough already", he will go on reading'). In the following poem, 7.52, Martial expresses his gratitude that Auctus recites his books to Celer, Legate of Nearer Spain. In a witty development, Auctus the reciter is at the same time a lawyer pleading his *literary* case before a formidable judge.

Gratum est quod Celeri nostros legis, Aucte, libellos,  
 si tamen et Celerem quod legis, Aucte, iuvat.  
 ille meas gentes, Celtas et rexit Hiberos,  
 nec fuit in nostro certior orbe fides.  
 maior me tanto reverentia turbat, et aures  
 non auditoris, iudicis esse puto.

I am gratified, Auctus, that you read my little books to Celer, if, however, what you read also pleases Celer, Auctus. He governed my peoples, Celts and Iberians, nor was there steadier trustworthiness in our world. So much the more does a sense of awe overcome me, and I consider his ears to be not a listener's but a judge's. (7.52)

The listener is not chosen at random. Urbicus ('Urban')<sup>90</sup> was to be Auctus' audience in the previous city-focused epigram; now, the choice of the imperial legate Celer as addressee broadens the scope to include the wider world, specifically Martial's native Spain. Auctus' location is central in both literal and symbolic terms: the Forum of Augustus was a key site of activity in Rome's civic core and a focal point of imperial *Romanitas*. Celer, by contrast, represents Roman *fides* (trustworthiness) in the provinces: 'nec fuit in nostro certior orbe fides' ('nor was there steadier trustworthiness in our world'). According to Cassius Dio (55.10.2–4), provincial governors departed from the Forum of Augustus and returned there after their tour of duty, while triumphing generals dedicated spoils of victory in the Temple of Mars Ultor. Auctus' customary position in front of Mars Ultor thus functions as the symbolic counterpoint to Celer's Spanish *provincia*: the two figures stand at opposite points of a shared centrifugal/centripetal circuit from Rome to province and back again. Between them, 7.51 and 7.52 map out relations between city and province, ruler and

<sup>89</sup> cf. 1.118, 4.89.

<sup>90</sup> On the adjective *urbicus* in Martial, see the remarks of Fitzgerald, op. cit. (n. 4), 178.

ruled, the literary capital and provincial readers and writers.<sup>91</sup> There is perhaps a final point in the names themselves: Celer and Auctus, Speed and Increase,<sup>92</sup> may be seen as a witty pairing of the two principles of Martial's literary circulation throughout the city and the world.

#### V IMPERIAL CONSTRUCTIONS

Martial, as we have seen in the preceding section, increases the range of contact points between book and city. He represents his books' movement through, and at the edges of, major public monuments, along the winding streets of the Subura, and among the mansions of the Esquiline. Representation of literary materiality and explicit topographical reference are already meaningfully combined in Ovid and Horace, but Martial introduces a new degree of diversity, fragmentation, and graininess of material detail in his depiction of his books' urban itineraries. His *libelli* are relentlessly mobile, and not only in one or two directions. Whereas the Augustan books of Ovid and Horace typically enact a discrete, mono-directional transition (from the poet's protected villa to the outer world, from exilic periphery to imperial capital), Martial's books splinter off into multiple directions, following an often highly uneven path that touches on and hints at other possible trajectories.<sup>93</sup>

Martial's propensity for topographical explicitness and constant engagement with poetic predecessors in literary representation of the city are equally in evidence in his treatment of the Domitianic city. Of the Flavian emperors, Domitian pursued the most far-reaching and ambitious programme of urban and provincial building and restoration. Martial, for his part, shows himself adept at using the medium of epigrammatic verse to interpret and appreciate Domitianic urban renewal. Martial's panegyric of Domitian emphasizes topographical and architectural elements: the Palatine residence comes to function as metonym for the emperor himself, and the emperor's virtues and greatness manifest themselves in concrete works of monumental building and urban restoration. Some of Martial's praises address the broader outlines of the emperor's care for the city: in 5.7, he proclaims that the city of Rome under Domitian, like the phoenix, is rising again from the ashes.<sup>94</sup> Other epigrams address specific monuments and aspects of the emperor's building programme, as in the following distich from the *Apophoreta*.

#### *Toga*

Romanos rerum dominos gentemque togatam  
ille facit, magno qui dedit astra patri.

*Toga*: He, who gave the sky to his great father, makes the Romans 'lords of the world and the toga-clad race'. (14.124)

Martial's toga with admirable density refers at once to Domitian's Temple of the Flavian Gens on the Quirinal ('qui dedit astra patri', 'who gave the sky to his great father'),<sup>95</sup> his laws reviving Augustan laws enforcing the wearing of the toga, and Virgil's *Aeneid*. According to a story in Suetonius, Augustus, upon seeing Romans wearing ordinary dark cloaks in the forum, reprovingly quoted Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.282: 'Romanos rerum dominos

<sup>91</sup> See K. Hopkins, 'Conquest by book', in J. H. Humphrey (ed.), *Literacy in the Roman World*, Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 3 (1991), 133–58.

<sup>92</sup> On Auctus' name, see Rimell, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 27.

<sup>93</sup> Rimell, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 182.

<sup>94</sup> The same activity is described from a different perspective in 5.22, where Martial mentions the continual freight of marble being transported to building sites on the streets of the Subura (7–8).

<sup>95</sup> The Temple of the Flavian Gens is the probable reference, but others are possible: see Leary, *op. cit.* (n. 41), ad loc.



gentemque togatam' ('Romans, lords of the world and the toga-clad race', *Div. Aug.* 40.5). Domitian's restoration of proper Roman attire in public places such as the forum 'makes' (*facit*) contemporary Romans lordly and dignified in accordance with Augustan moral standards and with Virgil's prophecy of Roman destiny.

The epigram creates a surprising double genealogy: from Augustus as builder and moral legislator to Domitian as builder and moral legislator; from Virgil as poet/ideologue of imperial *Romanitas* to ... Martial. The anti-climax is humorous, yet hints at an important role for the epigrammatist in Flavian Rome. Martial may not produce poetry of Virgilian grandeur, but he can redeploy Virgil's poetry within an impressively compressed epigrammatic frame. Martial's epigram links Domitian both with Augustus, the founder of the Principate, and with Vespasian, founder of the Flavian line, whom he honoured not only in the Temple of the Flavian Gens, but also in the Porticus Divorum and the Temple of the Deified Vespasian and Titus. Augustus comparably built his adoptive father's temple, and amplified Caesar's monument to his ancestor goddess through the adjoining complex of his own genealogically obsessed forum, which has, in turn, been compared with the narrative architecture of Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita* and Virgil's *Aeneid*. Martial's choice of citation in 14.124 thus brilliantly frames the architectural embodiment of dynastic continuity with the Virgilian *locus classicus* of imperial genealogy.

Hic iam ter centum totos regnabitur annos  
*gente* sub Hectorea, donec regina sacerdos,  
 Marte gravis, geminam partu dabit Ilia *prolem*.  
 Inde lupae fulvo nutricis tegmine laetus  
 Romulus excipiet *gentem*, et Mavortia condet  
 moenia, Romanosque suo de nomine dicet.  
 His ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono;  
 imperium sine fine dedi. Quin aspera Iuno,  
 quae mare nunc terrasque metu caelumque fatigat,  
 consilia in melius referet, mecumque fovebit  
 Romanos rerum dominos *gentemque* togatam:  
 sic placitum. Veniet lustris labentibus aetas,  
 cum domus Assaraci Phthiam clarasque Mycenae  
 servitio premet, ac victis dominabitur Argis.  
*Nascetur* pulchra Troianus origine Caesar,  
 imperium oceano, famam qui terminet astris, —  
 Iulius, a magno demissum nomen Iulo.

Here then for the full span of three hundred years there shall be kingly rule under Hector's race (*gens*), until Ilia, a royal priestess, pregnant by Mars, shall give birth to twin offspring. Then Romulus, rejoicing in the tawny skin of his wolf-nurse, will take up the line (*gens*), found the walls of Mars, and call the Romans after his own name. For these I set neither boundaries nor restraints of time; I have granted limitless dominion. And what is more, harsh Juno, who now harasses and alarms the sea, lands, and sky, will change her mind for the better, and, along with me, will hold dear the Romans as masters of the world and the toga-clad race (*gens*): this is my will. An age will come with the passage of time when the house of Assaracus will oppress in servitude Phthia and famous Mycenae, and will be master of vanquished Argos. There will be a Trojan born of noble lineage (*origo*), Caesar, who will bound his empire by the ocean, his fame by the stars — a Julius, a name descended from great Iulus. (*Aen.* 1.272–288)

Jupiter's words of consolation to Venus shore up the integrity and eternity of the imperial *gens* with the authority of divine prophecy, and at the same time, outline a proleptic history of Roman space, building, and expansion. The entire passage, as the italicized terms demonstrate, traces a genealogical line stretching from Aeneas to Caesar and Augustus: 'Iulius, a magno demissum nomen Iulo' ('a Julius, a name descended from great Iulus').<sup>96</sup> In Martial's citation of Virgil, literary inheritance and imperial legacy merge: Augustus and the Augustan poets pass on the torch to Martial and the Flavians, while Jupiter's authority underpins both dynasties.<sup>97</sup> Martial's poetry elsewhere routinely identifies Domitian with Jupiter, whose temple first Vespasian, then Domitian took pride in restoring after its destruction in A.D. 69. The present passage aligns Domitian with his divine father Vespasian, the divine Augustus, and ultimately with the Virgilian Jupiter, who first dubbed the Romans 'the toga-clad race'. Martial's use of a carefully selected citation to emphasize divine genealogy and continuity may be responding, at some level, to the Flavians' concerns with legitimacy and the *lack* of a sufficiently ennobling genealogy. It was previously suggested that Martial's celebration of the present over the past in the *Liber Spectaculorum* was coherent with the ideological emphases of a new imperial family unanchored from the Julio-Claudian line: the present strategy of emphasizing continuity of imperial authority and rôle despite genealogical discontinuity may be seen as both complicating and complementing the earlier stance.<sup>98</sup>

Martial's materialist vision of the city unlocks the latent significance of an item of quotidian use, the toga.<sup>99</sup> A later epigram, no longer confined by the fiction of Saturnalian gift-exchange, lends more expansive treatment to the Temple of the Flavian Gens.<sup>100</sup>

Dum Ianus hiemes, Domitianus autumnos,  
 Augustus annis commodabit aestates,  
 dum grande famuli nomen asseret Rheni  
 Germanicarum magna lux Kalendarum,  
 Tarpeia summi saxa dum patris stabunt,  
 dum voce supplex dumque ture placabit  
 matrona divae dulce Iuliae numen:  
 manebit altum Flaviae decus gentis  
 cum sole et astris cumque luce Romana.  
 invicta quidquid condidit manus, caeli est.

As long as Janus shall supply the years with winters, Domitian with autumns, and Augustus with summers, as long as the great day of the Kalends of Germanicus shall claim the mighty name of the enslaved Rhine, as long as the Tarpeian rock of the supreme father shall stand, as long as suppliant matrons shall propitiate Divine Julia's fair deity with speech and incense, the lofty glory of the Flavian race shall endure along with the sun and stars and Roman daylight. Whatever an unconquered hand has founded, belongs to the sky. (9.1)

9.1, like 14.124, refers to Domitian's Temple of the Flavian Gens within the thematic nexus of time, the Roman race, monumental building, and the immortality of the imperial *gens*. In the present epigram, time is the focus: like Caesar, Augustus, and Janus, Domitian has incorporated his name into the Roman calendar, and his family's monument will be

<sup>96</sup> It is notoriously difficult to decide whether 'Caesar' refers to Julius Caesar or Augustus — and that may be the point: see R. G. Austin, *P. Vergilii Maronis Aeneidos Liber Primus* (1971), ad loc.

<sup>97</sup> On the analogy between literary and political inheritances and genealogy in epic, see P. Hardie, *Virgil's Epic Successors: A Study in the Dynamics of a Tradition* (1993), 88–119.

<sup>98</sup> cf. Coleman, op. cit. (n. 78), 3099: 'the Flavian policy of promoting contemporary literary celebration of their exploits to compensate for their lack of historical tradition.'

<sup>99</sup> The toga and other significant objects in Martial are illuminatingly discussed in C. Salemmé, *Marziale e la poetica degli oggetti* (1976), 119; on materiality in Martial, note also E. Gowers, *The Loaded Table: Representations of Food in Roman Literature* (1993), 245ff.

<sup>100</sup> On this structure, see F. Coarelli in Steinby, op. cit. (n. 20), vol. 2 (1995), s.v. Gens Flavia, Templum.

co-extensive with the endurance of Roman institutions. In both 14.124 and 9.1, Martial links imperial genealogy (Augustus–Vespasian–Domitian) with a divine progenitor (Janus/Jupiter), who oversees the cosmic order. In 10.28, Martial, addressing Janus as progenitor of time and the cosmos and guarantor of the Pax Flavia, praises the new quadrifons Janus in the Forum Transitorium that replaces the Janus Geminus of the Roman Forum.

Annorum nitidique sator pulcherrime mundi,  
 publica quem primum vota precesque vocant,  
 pervius exiguos habitabas ante penates,  
 plurima qua medium Roma terebat iter:  
 nunc tua Caesareis cinguntur limina donis  
 et fora tot numeras, lane, quot ora geris.  
 at tu, sancte pater, tanto pro munere gratus,  
 ferrea perpetua claustra tuere sera.

Magnificent begetter of the years and the bright world, whom public vows and prayers first invoke, previously you occupied a meagre dwelling on a thoroughfare, through the midst of which Rome's great crowd wore a path. Now your threshold is encircled by Caesar's gifts, and you count as many fora, Janus, as you have faces. But, holy father, grateful for so great a gift, guard your iron doors with perpetual bolt.

In doubling his number of faces, Janus has significantly doubled the number of fora<sup>101</sup> he encompasses. Martial, praising the current emperor's project for surpassing previous structures, at the same time plays his own game of literary one-upmanship. Ovid's Janus Geminus stood at the juncture of only *two* fora.<sup>102</sup> In his ability to draw out the significance of contemporary monuments, Martial rivals the Augustan poets, just as Domitian sets himself up as the rival of previous emperors in monumental building. Emulation, however, also functions as differentiation. Martial, especially in his later Domitianic books, pursues a markedly encomiastic approach to the emperor's building projects by comparison with the more guarded references in Augustan poets. Even instances of full-blown architectural ecphrasis in Augustan poetry rarely develop into explicit panegyric of the builder Princeps. The Augustans, moreover, counterbalance their praise of the Princeps' city with pride in their own poetic *monumenta*. Martial, in awarding primacy to Flavian bricks and marble, subverts the Augustan motif of the superior durability of poetic words.

In the epigrams devoted to Domitianic monuments, Martial stresses the Jovian divinity of the emperor as reflected in works of celestial grandeur. In several instances, Domitian's prestige even eclipses Jupiter's.<sup>103</sup> The celestial imagery typically employed by Martial in his descriptions of Domitianic monuments is summed up by his praise of the majestically towering Palace: 'par domus est caelo, sed minor est domino' ('the house is equal to the sky, but inferior to its master', 8.36.12). The Augustan poets, following a tradition that

<sup>101</sup> The likely candidates are the Forum Romanum, the Forum of Julius Caesar, the Forum of Augustus, and the Forum Transitorium: Richardson, op. cit. (n. 75), s.v. Janus Quadrifons (2), also considers the Temple of Peace as a possibility.

<sup>102</sup> *Fasti* 1.257–8: 'cum sint tot iani, cur stas sacratus in uno, / hic ubi iuncta foris templa duobus habes?' Ovid's Janus is fundamental for Martial: he is viewed as a cosmic figure, arbitrating between peace and war, city and world. On Janus, Domitian, and the Forum Transitorium, cf. Statius, *Silvae* 4.1. It is tempting to interpret Martial's interest in Janus, god of transitions, in light of the themes and very nature of his tenth book. Revised after Domitian's assassination for republication under Trajan, the book presents a Janus face, looking both backward and forward, and presiding over a series of transitions and changes — literary, political, architectural: 'Caesareis ... donis' ('Caesar's gifts') is conveniently ambiguous. On Janus and themes of mutability and Roman power in Ovid and Virgil, see P. Hardie, 'Augustan poets and the mutability of Rome', in A. Powell (ed.), *Roman Poetry and Propaganda in the Age of Augustus* (1992), 59–83, at 72–5.

<sup>103</sup> e.g., 7.56, 9.3, 9.20, 9.34.

goes back to Ennius and Pindar,<sup>104</sup> insisted that they were building *their own* monuments out of metrically-arranged words, monuments that glorified their authors as much as the Princesps. Horace challenged the privilege accorded physical monuments in C. 3.30, when he proclaimed that the monument he had built would outlast the pyramids. Martial does not despise the glory he garners from his monumental oeuvre of epigrams,<sup>105</sup> yet in architectural ephrases assigns the lion's share of glory to the emperor's works, sometimes explicitly inverting Augustan topoi of poetry's monumental status.<sup>106</sup> 8.36, written in praise of Domitian's Palace, begins, like Horace C. 3.30, with a claim that the pyramids have been surpassed: 'regia pyramidum, Caesar, miracula ride' ('laugh at the royal wonders of the pyramids, Caesar'). The name immediately following *pyramidum*, however, alerts us to the fact that it is not Martial's poetry, but the emperor's residence, that has merited such praise. In a more explicit allusion to C. 3.30, Martial proclaims the eternity of the Temple of the Flavian Gens in terms recalling the Augustan motif of the temporal endurance of the Roman social and religious order: 'Tarpeia summi saxa dum patris stabunt, / dum voce supplex dumque ture placabit / matrona divae dulce Iuliae numen' ('as long as the Tarpeian rock of the supreme father shall stand, as long as suppliant matrons shall propitiate Divine Julia's fair deity with speech and incense', 9.1.5–7).<sup>107</sup> The allusion becomes yet more pointed when we recall that the Temple of the Flavian Gens also served as family mausoleum:<sup>108</sup> the durability of Horace's poetic monument outstripped the 'royal decay/site' ('regalique situ') of the Pharaohs' pyramids and the tomb of Mausolus — perhaps implicitly Augustus' mausoleum as well.<sup>109</sup> Domitian's family tomb, easily outperforming poetic monuments, is as enduring as the cosmic order itself: 'manebit altum Flaviae decus gentis / cum sole et astris cumque luce Romana' ('the lofty glory of the Flavian line shall endure along with the sun and stars and Roman daylight', 9.1.8–9).

In Book 8, dedicated to Domitian, Martial's introductory epistle addresses the emperor as a deity, and announces that the book devoted to his praises will be purified of epigram's customary obscenity: 'cum pars libri et maior et melior ad maiestatem sacri nominis tui alligata sit, meminerit non nisi religiosa purificatione lustratos accedere ad templa debere' ('since the greater and better portion of the book is tied to the majesty of your holy name, let it recall that only those purified by religious lustration ought to approach temples'). Poetry in the divine Domitian's honour, according to a well-established metaphor, is figured as a temple. Martial, as poet, is the temple guardian: 'quod ut custoditurum me lecturi sciant, in ipso libelli huius limine profiteri brevissimo placuit epigrammate' ('So that those about to read may know that I will be guardian of this principle, I have decided to announce it on the very threshold of this little book with a very short epigram'). The architectural metaphor of the *limen* (threshold) arises in the preface's closing sentence — i.e. at the book's threshold. The following poem, 8.1, remains on the threshold: the book is about to enter ('intrature', 1) the laurel-adorned residence of the emperor (later described in 8.36). Martial, conscious of his role as guardian of his book's purity, sends away nude Venus, and summons instead Caesar's Pallas ('Pallas Caesariana', 4). In the following epigram,

<sup>104</sup> See R. G. M. Nisbet and N. Rudd, *A Commentary on Horace, Odes, Book III* (2004), on *Odes* 3.30; Fowler, op. cit. (n. 3), 197–8.

<sup>105</sup> *Epigrams* 10.2.12; see C. Williams, 'Ovid, Martial, and poetic immortality: traces of *Amores* 1.15 in the Epigrams', *Arethusa* 35.3 (2002), 417–33; Fitzgerald, op. cit. (n. 4), 158, on books, monuments, readers and *dammatio memoriae*. Rimell, op. cit. (n. 4), 51–93, examines the metapoetic tension between monumentality and ephemerality in Martial's epigrams.

<sup>106</sup> For comparable instances of a distinctly Augustan poetic immortality topos conferred on something other than poetry, see Statius, *Silvae* 1.1.91–4; 1.6.98–102; 4.3.155–63. Note the discussion of 'the paradoxes that cluster around monumentality' in Fowler, op. cit. (n. 3), 202.

<sup>107</sup> cf. Horace, *Odes* 3.30.8–9 ('dum Capitolium / scandet cum tacita virgine pontifex'); discussion and parallels in Nisbet and Rudd, op. cit. (n. 104), ad loc.

<sup>108</sup> Richardson, op. cit. (n. 75), s.v. Gens Flavia, Templum.

<sup>109</sup> cf. 10.63, a similarly flippant reworking of Horace, C. 3.30.

8.2, Janus, father of the calendar ('fastorum genitor parensque', 1), wishes he had even more faces to look upon the victorious Domitian. The choice of deities in these opening epigrams is significant: Martial is outlining the main elements of the Forum Transitorium. After the preface, which resembles the entrance to a *templum*, the book's first two poems feature Minerva and Janus, the deities honoured in Domitian's new forum. Martial's book thus shows deference to Domitian not only in refraining from obscenity, but also in accommodating itself to the shape of the emperor's monumental project.

Book 8 marks itself out as different from other books by Martial. In a comparable way, the epigrams on imperial monuments partake of a sacral awe and encomiastic style quite unlike Martial's satiric treatment of the *urbs*. What is the relation between the emperor's works and the sordid, defiling city that normally absorbs Martial's attention? 10.28, addressed to Janus newly installed in the Forum Transitorium, briefly references the city's attritive force: 'pervius exiguos habitabas ante penates, / plurima qua medium Roma terebat iter' ('Previously you inhabited a meagre dwelling on a thoroughfare, through the midst of which Rome's great crowd wore a path', 3–4). Now Janus occupies the more protected precinct of the new imperial forum. Caesar's monuments are imbued with the sacred reverence owed to the emperor: they cannot be worn down or defiled. Domitian's palace seems to belong to another realm: it exists in Rome and yet somehow is not of Rome. Specifically, the emperor's *domus* belongs to the heavens, as does the Temple of the Flavian Gens, itself apparently constructed out of the emperor's birth-house: 'caeli est' ('it is of the sky', 9.1.10). The height, massiveness, and dazzling materials of Domitian's palace, as well as its expansive occupation of the Palatine hill, contributed to the impression that it belonged to a higher realm all its own.<sup>110</sup> The contrast with Augustus' house, which presented itself, at least in part, as one especially distinguished house (*domus*) among others, has been amply appreciated by scholars. In Martial's encomiastic epigrams, Domitianic monuments are abstracted from the urban fabric, just as, to a certain extent, they stand out from the scoptic epigrams that surround them within the space of Martial's books.

Of course, it might be doubted whether the emperor's buildings can be truly sequestered from the urban fabric any more than an encomiastic epigram can remain sealed off from the contextual intrusions of surrounding epigrams in the 'juxtapository environment' of Martial's books.<sup>111</sup> An especially revealing point of contact between emperor and *urbs* is legislation focused on the city. In 7.61, Martial lauds Domitian's edict of A.D. 92 forbidding shopkeepers from allowing their stalls to extend into the street.

tonsor, copo, cocus, lanus sua limina servant.  
nunc Roma est, nuper magna taberna fuit.

Barber, tavern-keeper, cook, butcher keep to their own thresholds. Now it is Rome; only recently it was a big shop. (9–10)

The effect of Domitian's edict is uncanny. The usual state of affairs in Martial's satiric vision of Rome is promiscuous mixing, erasure of boundaries, and the destruction of moral and spatial distinctions. Such was the case before the edict: 'inque suo nullum limine limen erat' ('no threshold remained within its own threshold', 7.61.2). A praetor being forced

<sup>110</sup> cf. Statius, *Silvae* 4.2. Modern scholarly assessments stress how the palace's architectural features were designed to create a sense of awe and 'to widen the gulf between emperor and citizen and to remove the princeps to an unattainable, private world' (S. Hales, *The Roman House and Social Identity* (2003), 79). Note in particular P. Zanker, 'Domitian's palace on the Palatine and the imperial image', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 114 (2002), 105–30. The same structure undergoes a mysterious transformation under Trajan so as to become more open and inviting: Pliny, *Panegyricus* 47–9. On the dominating presence of Domitian in contemporary architecture, see Fredrick, *op. cit.* (n. 3).

<sup>111</sup> Fitzgerald, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 5.



to walk through filth (7.61.6) is precisely the sort of thing that characterizes the Rome validated as authentic in the *Epigrams*. By the end of 7.61, however, *limina* are neatly preserved; everyone keeps to their own space. Domitian's Hausmanizing scheme imposes an unfamiliar (not to mention implausible) degree of order on the normally chaotic streets, and so wins an exceptional status in Martial's epigrammatic image of Rome.<sup>112</sup>

The question of the relation between the emperor's awe-inspiring, sacred monuments and the sordid city surrounding them ultimately resists easy resolution — and it may well be that there is not meant to be a resolution. A final example will serve to illustrate the contours of the problem. In Book 9, Martial juxtaposes two epigrams designed to be read as a pendant-piece. 9.59 and 9.61 are both long epigrams in elegiac couplets exactly twenty-two lines in length, and begin with markedly similar patterns of syntax and word-order.

*In Saeptis Mamurra diu multumque vagatus,  
hic ubi Roma suas aurea vexat opes ...*

In the Saepta, Mamurra, wandering long and often, where golden Rome rummages through her own wealth ... (9.59.1–2)

*In Tartesiadis domus est notissima terris,  
qua dives placidum Corduba Baetis amat ...*

In the land of Tartessus there is a very well known house, where rich Corduba loves tranquil Baetis ... (9.61.1–2)

Despite parallelism of syntax, the subject matter is systematically contrasting. In 9.59, Mamurra, wandering through the trendy shopping area located in the Saepta Julia, affects to be a rich buyer seriously considering expensive merchandise, but in the end purchases only two cheap wine cups which, since he has no slave, he must carry off himself (9.59.21–2). Mamurra makes false pretence of his resources, and practises consumer voyeurism: his lust for luxury items, as his viewing of slave boys suggests ('inspexit molles pueros oculisque comedit', 'he inspected the soft slave boys, and devoured them with his eyes', 3), is compulsive to the degree that it is unfulfillable.<sup>113</sup> While 9.59 takes place in the capital, 9.61 concerns a house (*domus*) in southern Spain. In the clearer air of Corduba, there is plentiful natural resource and tranquil affection ('placidum ... amat'). In the middle of the Corduban house is an immense plane tree originally planted by the 'auspicious right hand' of Julius Caesar while he was visiting Gades during his Spanish campaign of 44 B.C.

*O dilecta deis, o magni Caesaris arbor,  
ne metuas ferrum sacrilegosque focos.  
perpetuos sperare licet tibi frondis honores:  
non Pompeianae te posuere manus.*

O beloved of the gods, o tree of great Caesar, do not fear steel and sacrilegious hearths. You may expect the glories of your foliage to be everlasting: it was not Pompey's hands that planted you. (19–22)

The tree, removed from Rome, has remained pure and integral, a living embodiment of the continuing glory of the Caesars ('perpetuos ... honores'). Whereas Mamurra will never have a right to claim ownership of the diverse objects he puts his hands on, the plane tree

<sup>112</sup> Discussion of 7.61 in Rimell, op. cit. (n. 4), 24–5. Another instance of imperial order imposed on the city is Domitian's revival of the Augustan *lex theatralis* repeatedly lauded by Martial in *Epigrams* 5: 5.8, 14, 23, 25, 27, 35.

<sup>113</sup> On the objects Mamurra fetishizes, see the discussion of Salemme, op. cit. (n. 99), 133ff., under the heading *la segnicità degli oggetti*.

planted by Caesar's hand belongs to him perpetually as the manifestation of his undying fame.

Despite these contrasts, there is an underlying connection between the two sites honoured in their respective epigrams. The term *Saepta* ('enclosure') refers, of course, to the *Saepta Julia*, a monumentalization of the Republican voting pens, planned or begun by Julius Caesar and completed under Augustus by Agrippa in 26 B.C. It was damaged in the fire of A.D. 80, and quickly restored by Domitian: the renovation appears to have made a positive impression on contemporaries (Stattius, *Silvae* 4.5.2; Martial, *Epigrams* 2.14.5, 57.2; 11.59.1; 10.80.4). The structure attested to a connection between Julius Caesar and Augustus, under whom, respectively, the project was begun and completed, and Domitian, who restored it. Both the Caesarian plane tree ('*platanus ... Caesariana*') and the *Saepta Julia* embody the perpetual glory of the Caesarian *gens* — a tree in the province that still puts forth green leaves, and a stone structure in the city, continually repaired by Caesar's successors. The name of Martial's satiric target Mamurra has not been chosen at random: excoriated in Catullus' poetry for his immoral voraciousness, a Mamurra was Julius Caesar's notorious chief of engineers.<sup>114</sup> Catullus' Mamurra devoured patrimonies, invaded everyone's beds, and plundered provinces. Martial's Mamurra has no patrimony to devour, must content himself with staring lecherously at unattainable boys, and, far from plundering a province, barely succeeds in removing two wine cups from an urban market. The movement from Julius Caesar to Domitian, and from Catullus to Martial, is marked by both continuity and progress. Whereas Catullus' Mamurra and Caesar are all too closely conjoined,<sup>115</sup> *Epigrams* 9.59 and 9.61 ensure that Caesar and 'Mamurra' remain morally and topographically separate. In Domitian's restored Rome, 'Mamurra' cannot become Mamurra: his voracious desires are safely confined to the *Saepta*.<sup>116</sup>

The Spanish location of Caesar's tree in 9.61 tree is not accidental. In Martial's pendant-piece on the urban and provincial legacy of the Caesars, he honours his own two *patria*e. Spain and Rome intertwine throughout Martial's *Epigrams*, defining each other through complementarity and opposition. Yet while Martial sometimes builds up the cachet of Spain, Rome remains the chief focus. This essay has explored how Flavian and especially Domitianic interest in urban buildings informed Martial's poetic representation of the city: a heightened awareness of urban topography characterizes both the new regime and the epigrammatist. It is misleading to prioritize either the tendency of the epigrammatic genre to enable a newly explicit mode of urban description, or the determining impact of the Flavian *urbs* on Martial's poetry: both phenomena are simultaneous and mutually reinforcing. The concepts of the consumer city and world-city cohere, as we have seen, with the underlying dynamics of Martial's earliest collections. Martial's work also engages with specifically Flavian concerns with the public display of art, the post-Neronian restoration of the city, the emperor's divinity, and the genealogy of the imperial line. In fashioning his urban poetics, Martial drew upon the seminal work of the Augustan poets and especially Ovid. At the same time, he developed his own distinctly epigrammatic themes of saturation, juxtaposition, dissonance, and the attritive relentlessness of the city.

It is a measure of the importance of the city for Martial that when, at the end of his life, he returns to Spain, he nonetheless includes some of his most vividly imagined scenes of

<sup>114</sup> cf. 'Mamurra' in *Epigrams* 10.5 and Watson and Watson, op. cit. (n. 63), 15, 99. It is tempting to read Martial's poem on the *Saepta Julia* as a sordidly epigrammatic rewriting of Statius, *Silvae* 4.6: a rather different art-collector features as the protagonist here.

<sup>115</sup> C. 57: 'pulcre convenit improbis cinaedis, / Mamurrae pathicoque Caesarique ... morbosi pariter, gemelli utriusque' (1–2, 6).

<sup>116</sup> 9.59 and 9.61 have interesting implications for our understanding of Martial's relation to Catullus as *auctor* of satiric epigram: the more uncontrolled Mamurra of Julius Caesar's times required the savage *libertas* of Catullan invective; the harmlessly pathetic and self-damaging Mamurra who wanders Domitian's restored 'enclosure' is adequately punished within the confines of Martial's epigrammatic satire.

urban life in his final, twelfth book. In 12.57, the epigrammatist explains to his rich friend Sparsus Rome's power to undermine sleep. Sparsus might not understand such things, since he resides in the rarified domain (*regnis*) of his suburban villa: 'in profundo somnus et quies nullis / offensa linguis, nec dies nisi admissus' ('sleep in the depths, and a quiet undisturbed by any tongues, and no daylight unless it is admitted', 12.57.24–5). Martial, by contrast, lives in threatening intimacy with the city: 'nos transeuntis risus excitat turbae / et ad cubile est Roma' ('as for me, the laughter of the passing crowd rouses me, and at my bedside is — Rome', 26–7). In a shocking phrase, Martial reverses his normal metonymic procedure of representing Rome's totality through its materially specific components: next to the poet's humble bedside is — not some specific person or thing, but the City itself. Despite Martial's complaint, loss of sleep can be advantageous in poetic terms: the Callimachean poet was conventionally known for his sleepless devotion to the composition of exquisite verse. In Martial's *Epigrams*, the City's relentlessly intrusive presence creates another kind of insomniac, and another kind of poetry.

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